

SCRIBAL HABITS IN SELECTED NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS,  
INCLUDING THOSE WITH SURVIVING EXEMPLARS

by

ALAN TAYLOR FARNES

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## Abstract

In the first chapter of this work, I provide an introduction to the current discussion of scribal habits. In Chapter Two, I discuss *Abschriften*—or manuscripts with extant known exemplars—, their history in textual criticism, and how they can be used to elucidate the discussion of scribal habits. I also present a methodology for determining if a manuscript is an *Abschrift*. In Chapter Three, I analyze P<sup>127</sup>, which is not an *Abschrift*, in order that we may become familiar with determining scribal habits by singular readings. Chapters Four through Six present the scribal habits of selected proposed manuscript pairs: 0319 and 0320 as direct copies of 06 (with their Latin counterparts VL76 and VL83 as direct copies of VL75), 205 as a direct copy of 2886, and 821 as a direct copy of 0141. I discuss in Chapter Four the need to better understand the scribal habits of manuscripts written by scribes who wrote in their non-native language. Additionally, I conclude that 205 and 2886 are, in fact, not copies of one another. In the conclusion, I argue that there is no common scribal habit shared by all scribes except that this study has not found a scribe who adds more words than they lose. Additionally, textual critics should place greater emphasis on the roles played by patrons and readers of the text rather than on scribes alone.

To my Sons of Thunder, John and James, and their loving mother, Erin, my wife.

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It is hoped that this dissertation can advance the quest for scribal habits in some small way and provide ideas for future research opportunities.

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## Chapter One: The Quest for Scribal Habits

Within New Testament textual criticism<sup>1</sup> there seem to be two main entrenched theories concerning how scribes went about their work.<sup>2</sup> One theory claims that scribes intentionally altered the text to make it say what they wanted while another claims that scribes simply copied their texts as best as humanly possible. A paragraph from a recent article in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* illustrates one side of this bifurcation within the field:

Textual scholars have long recognized that the wording of their manuscripts contain residues of scribal practices and attitudes. The popular caricature of the scribe as automaton, aiming only at the flawless reproduction of an antigraph, is wholly inappropriate in light of the textual evidence provided by the early Greek manuscript record of the New Testament. Evidence suggests that copyists were also, at times, careful readers who altered the wording of their *Vorlagen* to convey more explicitly a work's meaning (deep structure).<sup>3</sup>

The author, Garrick V. Allen, cites as support for his claim articles by Barbara Aland and Kim Haines-Eitzen. Allen cites Aland's eight page article but not a specific passage or page so it is difficult to know exactly where Aland argues that scribes were "careful readers who altered the wording of their *Vorlagen*" especially in light of the rest of Barbara Aland's body of work which seems to repeatedly emphasize the opposite. Indeed Aland's first paragraph of the article cited by Allen reads

Hat die Arbeit im Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung gezeigt (und jedermann kann es an einem guten kritischen Apparat überprüfen), dass

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<sup>1</sup> I use this term, New Testament textual criticism, with full knowledge of its problematic nature as explained by David C. Parker in his *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2008), 6, because the scribal habits which I discuss bridge multiple books of the canonical New Testament corpus. Had my comment focused solely on one book of the New Testament, then I would have used a different term.

<sup>2</sup> See Ulrich Schmid, "Conceptualizing 'Scribal' Performances: Reader's Notes," in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research* (K. Wachtel and M. W. Holmes, eds; TCSSt 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 50–52 for another way of thinking about this division in the field. All abbreviations referring to publications or biblical books follow the conventions outlined in *The SBL Handbook of Style: Second Edition: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> Garrick V. Allen, "The Apocalypse in Codex Alexandrinus: Exegetical Reasoning and Singular Readings in New Testament Greek Manuscripts," *JBL* 135.4 (2016): 859–60.

insbesondere frühe Handschriften zwar von Schreibfehlern übersät sind, dass aber wirklich ernsthafte Fehler, die einen Gestaltungswillen des Schreibers erkennen lassen, relativ selten sind. *Schreiber, so kann man daraus entnehmen, wollen kopieren und damit ihre handwerkliche Berufsaufgabe erfüllen.*<sup>4</sup>

Aland's article was an attempt to show that harmonizations offer a rare glimpse into scribal habits because, since harmonizing one passage to another takes a good amount of intellectual effort, harmonizations are most likely scribally created. She continues, immediately following the above quote, that *only* in the "narrow framework"<sup>5</sup> of harmonizations can we find traces of intentional changes by the scribe. She repeats this caution again later in the same article.<sup>6</sup> She concludes that it is possible that scribes can indeed be seen as interpreters of the text since they do at times harmonize but emphasizes in her concluding paragraph that it must first be known that the main goal of *all* scribes (aller Schreiber) was to reproduce their *Vorlage* correctly.<sup>7</sup>

Aland's belief that scribes do their best to faithfully transcribe their *Vorlage* is well known and thus it was surprising to see Allen enlist Aland in defending his argument of the opposite. Elsewhere she has repeated her claim. In a 2003 article analyzing the scribal habits of papyri of John she writes that, as a principle, it is important to remember that the scribes of the papyri do not interpret their *Vorlage* but they copy it. She also notes that scribes are not authorized to make such changes.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Barbara Aland, "Sind Schreiber früher neutestamentlicher Handschriften Interpreten des Textes?" in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-critical and Exegetical Studies* (Jeff W. Childers and D. C. Parker, eds; TS 3.4; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 114, emphasis added.

<sup>5</sup> Aland, "Schreiber," 114: engen Rahmen.

<sup>6</sup> Aland, "Schreiber," 116: "Nur in den damit gesteckten *engen Grenzen* kann man daher nach Spuren der Rezeption des Textes durch den Schreiber fragen," emphasis added.

<sup>7</sup> Aland, "Schreiber," 122: "dass es das Hauptziel aller Schreiber bleibt, ihre Vorlage zuverlässig wiederzugeben."

<sup>8</sup> See Barbara Aland, "Der textkritische und textgeschichtliche Nutzen früher Papyri, demonstriert am Johannesevangelium," in *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism: New Testament, Other Early Christian and Jewish Literature: Papers Read at a Noster Conference in Münster, January 4–6, 2001* (W. Weren and D-A. Koch, eds; Studies in Theology and Religion 8; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 36: "Grundsätzlich muß jedoch festgehalten werden, daß

Allen is technically not incorrect in saying that, according to Aland, “copyists were also, at times, careful readers who altered the wording of their *Vorlagen*” since Aland did indeed argue that we can see intentional changes in scribal harmonizations. But using her article to support his claim presents only part of her argument and misrepresents her long-held philosophy.

Allen also cites Kim Haines-Eitzen (who in turn cites David Parker, Wayne Kannaday, Juan Hernández, and Eldon J. Epp) saying “We are forced now to recognize that ancient scribes were not simply copyists—at times (and possibly even frequently) they were interested readers, exegetes, and writers who left their mark on the copies they made.”<sup>9</sup>

I do not disagree with Allen’s summary claim that “textual history functions as a medium for reception history.”<sup>10</sup> I do think that scribal changes can be a way to trace reception and interpretation throughout time. Such a methodology has been popularized by David C. Parker’s *The Living Text*.<sup>11</sup> But I differ from Allen in how often and aggressively scribes changed their text. I will argue in Chapter Four and in the Conclusion that it is often not the scribes themselves who make decisions to change the text. Textual scholars have *not* “long recognized” that scribes were “careful readers who altered the wording of their *Vorlagen*.” This is a relatively new concept held by a few scholars who have successfully marketed their ideas to a larger audience.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the most recognizable name in the same camp as Allen is Bart Ehrman whose influential book *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*

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frühe Papyri nicht erfinden und auch nicht ihre Vorlage interpretieren, sondern kopieren. Das entspricht der Berufsauffassung ihrer Schreiber, die zum großen Teil Dokumentenschreiber sind. Sie sind nicht befugt und auch ohne Interesse daran zu verändern.”

<sup>9</sup> Kim Haines-Eitzen, “The Social History of Early Christian Scribes,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis: Second Edition* (NTTSD 42; Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 489.

<sup>10</sup> Allen, “Codex Alexandrinus,” 860.

<sup>11</sup> David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>12</sup> It must be conceded that this concept can also be found in the work of Kenneth W. Clark, “The Theological Relevance of Textual Criticism in Current Criticism of the Greek New Testament,” *JBL* 85.1 (1966): 1–16.

argued that “Proto-orthodox scribes of the second and third centuries occasionally modified their texts of Scripture in order to make them coincide more closely with the christological views embraced by the party that would seal its victory at Nicea and Chalcedon.”<sup>13</sup> But it is important to note that Ehrman restricts his study to the scribes of the second and third centuries but later commentators have mistakenly broadened his findings to include all scribes of all times and all places. Such scholarly laziness on the part of later commentators has a long history. It is the root of the misuse of Griesbach’s *Lectio Brevior* which we will discuss below. Similarly, just since Royse’s 2008 *oeuvre* many have already forgotten that his study applied only to the six scribes included in his study who lived in the second and third centuries (or perhaps also into the fourth century). We must be vigilantly careful to apply conclusions only to the times and places in which they were originally intended. And so we can place Allen and Haines-Eitzen (a student of Ehrman’s) in the camp of those who believe that scribes frequently intentionally altered their texts for their own purposes.

I fall into the other camp and will argue that the scribes who I studied did their best at a difficult job to faithfully reproduce the text from their *Vorlage*. I, of course, accept that at times scribes did indeed make intentional changes, even perhaps changes that were dogmatically motivated, but in my findings this is very rare. I would also argue, against Allen, that the most current tide of text critical scholarship seems to be moving the other way—that scribes did their best to faithfully reproduce their text. This is apparent in the “basic assumptions” of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) one of which states: “A

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<sup>13</sup> Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford, 1993), 321. See also his other summarizing statements: “Theological disputes, specifically disputes over Christology, prompted Christian scribes to alter the words of Scripture in order to make them more serviceable for the polemical task. Scribes modified their manuscripts to make them more patently ‘orthodox’ and less susceptible to ‘abuse’ by the opponents of orthodoxy,” and “Scribes altered their sacred texts to make them ‘say’ what they were already known to ‘mean.’” Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 4, 322.

scribe wants to copy the *Vorlage* with fidelity.”<sup>14</sup> Gerd Mink explains: “Most variants do not result from intentional tampering with the text. In most cases they simply reflect the human factor in copying, and the scribe himself would probably have considered them errors. This does not mean that deliberate interpolations and even redactional reworking of whole texts never occurred.”<sup>15</sup>

Many text critics believe that most intentional changes actually were not made by a scribe at all but rather by later readers. Michael Holmes has stated: “We must not forget that [NT manuscripts] were copied and read by *individuals*, with widely varying levels of skill, taste, ability, and scruples.”<sup>16</sup> He continues, “A well-educated, well-informed, conscientious but unscholarly anonymous *reader* is much more likely to have been responsible than any ‘important personality.’”<sup>17</sup> He quotes Zetzel saying: “‘It is amateur bibliophiles,’ writes Zetzel, ‘... who had the most direct effect on the transmission of Latin literature.’ I would like to suggest that for the second century, and perhaps the first half of the third, the same holds true for the New Testament as well.”<sup>18</sup> Elsewhere Holmes has written that the origin of many of the substantive deliberate variants “are due to the activity of educated, thoughtful, usually conscientious but unscholarly *readers* (as distinguished from pure copyists as such).”<sup>19</sup> Larry Hurtado agrees and writes that he has been persuaded that “We should view most *intentional*

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<sup>14</sup> Gerd Mink, “Contamination, Coherence, and Coincidence in Textual Transmission: The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) as a Complement and Corrective to Existing Approaches,” in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views and Contemporary Research* (Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes eds.; TCSt 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 151–52.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Michael W. Holmes, “Codex Bezae as a Recension of the Gospels,” in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994* (D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux eds.; NTTS 22; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 148, emphasis in original.

<sup>17</sup> Holmes, “Codex Bezae,” 149, emphasis in original.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* Zetzel’s quote can be found in James E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (New York: Arno, 1981), 6.

<sup>19</sup> Michael W. Holmes, “The Text of P<sup>46</sup>: Evidence of the Earliest ‘Commentary’ on Romans?” in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (TENTS 2; Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 201, emphasis in original.

changes to the text as more likely made by readers, not copyists.”<sup>20</sup> Parker adds: “Where we may compare a manuscript and its antigraph, the few examples presented suggest that there is no evidence whatsoever of mass intentional alteration by scribes or even by readers.”<sup>21</sup> Peter Malik’s recent monograph on the earliest and most extensive manuscript of the book of Revelation, P<sup>47</sup>, concludes that its scribe “attempts to copy his exemplar accurately, but frequently lacks the adequate skill and/or discipline to do so.”<sup>22</sup> I could continue to cite studies *ad nauseam* which conclude that most scribal errors were not theologically motivated and that scribes did their best to copy their *Vorlage*.<sup>23</sup>

Ulrich Schmid vehemently argues against the Ehrmanian view that scribes were authors and editors arguing directly against Ehrman and Kannaday (the very authors to whom Kim Haines-Eitzen appealed):

In the work of Ehrman, and even more so in the work of Kannaday, scribes are effectively portrayed as performing the roles of authors or editors. It is important to note that they arrive at this result by looking only at variants. They do not try to back up this new and rather eccentric perception of scribes by seeking for supporting evidence either from New Testament manuscripts themselves (scribal hands, layout, corrections, marginalia etc.) or from other ancient sources. In other words, the concept of scribes as authors is entirely built on the interpretation of variants in almost complete isolation from their physical containers (the manuscripts) and their sociological environment (the professional setting of those who produced them).<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Larry W. Hurtado, “God or Jesus? Textual Ambiguity and Textual Variants in Acts of the Apostles,” in *Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott* (NTTSD 47; Jeffrey J. Kloha and Peter Doble eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 239, emphasis in original.

<sup>21</sup> David C. Parker, “Scribal Tendencies and the Mechanics of Book Production,” in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (TS 3:5; H. A. G. Houghton and David C. Parker eds.; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 183.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Malik, *P. Beatty III (P<sup>47</sup>): The Codex, Its Scribe, and Its Text* (NTTSD 52; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 172.

<sup>23</sup> See Peter M. Head, “Scribal Behaviour and Theological Tendencies in Singular Readings in P. Bodmer II (P<sup>66</sup>),” in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (TS 3:5; H. A. G. Houghton and David C. Parker eds.; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 74; David C. Parker, “Variants and Variance,” in *Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott* (NTTSD 47; Jeffrey J. Kloha and Peter Doble eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 25–34.

<sup>24</sup> Ulrich Schmid, “Scribes and Variants—Sociology and Typology,” in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham*

Schmid then provides an example from P<sup>75</sup> with evidence that an addition is made by a reader rather than a scribe due to the documentary hand used as opposed to a literary book hand. He shows that these types of readers' notes could be incorporated into a copy as part of the actual text. Schmid concludes: "Not everything we find in our manuscripts is the product of scribes. Some material is derived from readers and has been at times clumsily picked up by a scribe, thereby entering part of the tradition. ... What actually reaches us is a complex editorial decision mediated by the scribes but not inaugurated by them in the course of the copying process."<sup>25</sup> Schmid rejects the idea that all scribes everywhere can be categorized as authors who intentionally change the text to fit their own desires.

In a later essay on the same subject Schmid reinforced his previous conclusions arguing that there are four stages of literary production and during only two of those stages could a scribe influence the resulting text.<sup>26</sup> The editorial stage, which involves "acquiring copies of texts and selecting and preparing them for publication—a stage that could include adding titles and prefaces, subdividing longer texts into books or chapters, even reworking the texts to fit the needs of a certain targeted audience,"<sup>27</sup> is a stage that could possibly involve many people in many different times and places. This editorial stage could include the patron of the text, readers of a text, and the scribe themselves. Schmid concludes his article stating definitively: "I hardly see much theological/ideological creativity at work" by the scribe and: "I am clearly with those who argue for scribes as copyists"<sup>28</sup> as opposed to those who believe scribes to be authors and alterers of the text.

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*Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (TS 3:5; H. A. G. Houghton and David C. Parker eds.; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 8–9.

<sup>25</sup> Schmid, "Scribes and Variants," 23.

<sup>26</sup> Schmid, "Reader's Notes," 62–63.

<sup>27</sup> Schmid, "Reader's Notes," 63.

<sup>28</sup> Schmid, "Reader's Notes," 64.

Allen makes the broad statement that “copyists were also, at times, careful readers who altered the wording of their *Vorlagen*.” Which scribes? When? And where? Such a grouping of scribal habits flattens all scribes into one, disconnected from time and place. Eldon Epp’s book (which was used as support by Haines-Eitzen) concerns “one New Testament book in one manuscript ... with one specific tendency.”<sup>29</sup> Aland’s article refers to specific scribes in papyri of John. This present project concerns specific scribes whose exemplar survives to the present day. Allen’s and Haines-Eitzen’s statements on scribal habits refer to “scribes” or “ancient scribes” in general without respect to time or place.

My aim in arguing against Allen’s recent statement is not to pick on or be overly tedious about a certain phrase. Allen’s article is a fine article which makes many good points which I agree with—except the section I have quoted. My aim in using this quote is to illustrate a philosophical and conceptual divide within the field of textual criticism and larger biblical studies. This divide can only be bridged by a thorough understanding of how scribes actually acted with firm data as evidence. This is the quest for scribal habits. The quest for scribal habits is an attempt to understand better how specific individual scribes acted. Only when we understand how a good number of individual scribes within the same time and place acted can we tentatively extend their scribal habits to other scribes; *but only* to other scribes who also fit within the same time and place. Such a requirement to attribute scribal habits only to scribes within a certain time and place effectively eliminates the possibility of following textual canons such as *lectio brevior potior* since we should never assume that all scribes everywhere acted similarly. Parker admonishes: “Even if we restrict our discussions to theological debates and extant manuscripts from the period down to about 500, we must avoid

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<sup>29</sup> Schmid, “Scribes and Variants,” 3 concerning Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTSMS 3; Cambridge: Cambridge, 1966).

assuming that scribal customs and attitudes to textual alteration were constant throughout the period.”<sup>30</sup>

### *Lectio Brevior Potior*

For over two hundred years, one of the most firmly entrenched, most easily remembered, and most oft-cited text-critical canons has been *lectio brevior potior* (the shorter reading is to be preferred to the more verbose).<sup>31</sup> Text critics have long employed this canon as a means of evaluating the earlier reading of a New Testament text. Johann Jakob Griesbach formulated fifteen canons of criticism in 1796 of which this canon was the first and, since then, countless text critics over four centuries have passed down Griesbach’s canon with little to no variation. Until only recently, very few text critics have offered any objection to his first

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<sup>30</sup> Parker, “Scribal Tendencies,” 176.

<sup>31</sup> As found in Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (London: Mackinlay and Martin, 1809), I:lxiv. Metzger and Ehrman provide an English translation: “The shorter reading (unless it lacks entirely the authority of the ancient and weighty witnesses) is to be preferred to the more verbose, for scribes were much more prone to add than to omit. They scarcely ever deliberately omitted anything, but they added many things; certainly they omitted some things by accident, but likewise not a few things have been added to the text by scribes through errors of the eye, ear, memory, imagination, and judgement. Particularly the shorter reading is to be preferred, even though according to the authority of the witnesses it may appear to be inferior to the other,—a. if at the same time it is more difficult, more obscure, ambiguous, elliptical, hebraizing, or solecistic; b. if the same thing is expressed with different phrases in various manuscripts; c. if the order of words varies; d. if at the beginning of pericopes; e. if the longer reading savours of a gloss or interpretation, or agrees with the wording of parallel passages, or seems to have come from lectionaries. But on the other hand the longer is to be preferred to the shorter (unless the latter appears in many good witnesses),—a. if the occasion of the omission can be attributed to homoeoteleuton; b. if that which was omitted could have seemed to the scribe to be obscure, harsh, superfluous, unusual, paradoxical, offensive to pious ears, erroneous, or in opposition to parallel passages; c. if that which is lacking could be lacking without harming the sense or the structure of the sentence, as for example incidental, brief prepositions, and other matter the absence of which would be scarcely noticed by the scribe when re-reading what he had written; d. if the shorter reading is less in accord with the character, style, or scope of the author; e. if the shorter reading utterly lacks sense; f. if it is probable that the shorter reading has crept in from parallel passages or from lectionaries,” Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.; Oxford: Oxford, 2005), 166–67.

canon and many today still praise his genius.<sup>32</sup> Griesbach's canons were, essentially, an attempt to codify scribal habits. The quest for scribal habits is an attempt to do away with unspoken assumptions concerning whether scribes altered their texts or if they did their best to reproduce their *Vorlage* faithfully. The quest for scribal habits is an attempt to base our judgment of transcriptional probability on firmly rooted observed evidence.

Our goal, however monumental, is to analyze all Greek New Testament manuscripts according to their scribal habits so at each point of variation we can appeal to the specific scribe's habits rather than general transcriptional probability or the canons of New Testament textual criticism. While this goal is indeed monumental in scope and we cannot feasibly hope to analyze all witnesses of the New Testament within our lifetimes, achieving our goal is still not as simple as it sounds because we must first agree on a suitable method for determining scribal habits. We must first create a reliable method for determining when a variant was scribally created. One such method is offered by James R. Royse.

### **Royse's Criticism of Griesbach's First Canon**

James R. Royse expresses his doubt in *lectio brevior potior* by first introducing us to Griesbach:

One of the most detailed and influential statements of the canons of textual criticism has been that of Griesbach. If we look at, say, his first canon, that of *lectio brevior potior* ('the shorter reading is to be preferred'), we will gain the

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<sup>32</sup> Zuntz refers to Griesbach's canons as "a series of carefully worded rules which gave the essence of his vast experience," Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (London: British Library, 1953), 6; "The canon states that 'the shorter reading...is preferable to the more verbose;' this, says Griesbach—quite correctly, is based on the principle that scribes are for more prone to add to their texts than to omit," Eldon Jay Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symptom?" *HTR* 69.3/4 (July–Oct. 1976): 225–26; "The venerable maxim *lectio brevior lectio potior* ('the shorter reading is the more probable reading') is certainly right in many instances," Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; trans. Errol F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 281; "In general the shorter reading is to be preferred," Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Stuttgart: UBS, 1994), 13\* (see also 10\*–14\*); "Griesbach showed great skill and tact in evaluating the evidence of variant readings....The importance of Griesbach for New Testament textual criticism can scarcely be overestimated," Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 167.

impression that Griesbach had the wide-ranging knowledge of documents necessary to delineate precisely when scribes were likely to add and when, as exceptions, they were likely to omit. We may, of course, be sure that Griesbach *did* have such knowledge, and may well regard his distillation of this knowledge into various rules as having sound authority. Nevertheless, it is significant that no specific reading of a manuscript is cited as a foundation for this first canon. And in fact, no specific reading of a manuscript is cited *anywhere* within Griesbach's [canons].<sup>33</sup>

Royse argues that Griesbach's canon originally lacked evidence and that subsequent studies have simply perpetuated Griesbach's canon in spite of its lack of manuscript evidence for its claims.

Dirk Jongkind has questioned whether Royse misrepresents Griesbach's canon.<sup>34</sup>

Jongkind argues that while Griesbach's canon has perhaps been received and wielded improperly by text critics since its original formulation by Griesbach, Griesbach himself did originally qualify his canon with caveats and conditions for when the canon may apply. So Royse's critique of Griesbach may not be warranted as a critique of Griesbach himself but rather a critique of how his canon has been used through the ages. But Royse's critique that Griesbach does not provide evidence for how he came about his canons still stands.<sup>35</sup>

Griesbach's canons have been followed for over two hundred years even though, in addition to Royse's critique that this canon lacks evidence, Griesbach's logic is problematic. Royse argues that it is logically difficult to balance Griesbach's first canon with his second: *lectio difficilior potior* (the more difficult reading is preferable). Royse critiques Griesbach's canons, saying,

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<sup>33</sup> James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 4–5, see also 705–36.

<sup>34</sup> See Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, (TS 3.5; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007), 139.

<sup>35</sup> Holger Strutwolf agrees with Royse that Griesbach does not provide evidence for his canons. See Holger Strutwolf, "Scribal Practices and the Transmission of Biblical Texts: New Insights from the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method," in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present* (John S. Kloppenborg and Judith H. Newman, eds; RBS 69; Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 141.

Among the general rules that critics have formulated, two of the most common are to prefer the shorter reading (*lectio brevior potior*) and to prefer the harder reading (*lectio difficilior potior*). The justification for the former is that scribes tended to add to the text, and for the latter that scribes tended to simplify the text. The use of these two principles, however, must be circumspect. As Edward Hobbs has pointed out, “if you have enough variations, these two rules will inevitably lead to the following absurd results: if you follow the shorter readings, you will end up with no text at all; and if you follow the harder readings, you will end up with an unintelligible text.” Consequently, more elaborate statements of textual principles will usually qualify these principles.<sup>36</sup>

Elsewhere, Royse has added that at times “the different canons conflict with one another.”<sup>37</sup>

Royse rejects the notion that anything can be known about scribal habits in general. Royse cites Ernest C. Colwell’s pioneering study<sup>38</sup> concerning the scribal habits of P<sup>45</sup>, P<sup>66</sup>, and P<sup>75</sup> and synthesizes Colwell’s findings saying, “the three scribes studied have quite different profiles of errors. The implications of this point for the usual presentation of the criteria are profound. Instead of saying that scribes tend to do something, *one should rather say that some scribes tend to do one thing, and other scribes tend to do something else*. Yet such precision in the evaluation of particular readings rarely occurs in the literature.”<sup>39</sup> Royse counsels that “any generalization at all might be problematic, since it could well appear that the patterns found in specific witnesses vary a good deal.”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> James R. Royse, “Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis, Second Edition*, (NTTSD 42; ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 465. See also James R. Royse, “Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (SD 46; ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 242. Royse is here quoting Edward Hobbs, “An Introduction to Methods of Textual Criticism,” in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts* (ed. Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty; Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1979), 19.

<sup>37</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 5.

<sup>38</sup> Ernest C. Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: Study of P<sup>45</sup>, P<sup>66</sup>, and P<sup>75</sup>,” in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1969), 106–24.

<sup>39</sup> Royse, “Scribal Tendencies,” NTTSD 42, 469–70; Royse, “Scribal Tendencies,” SD 46, 245–46; emphasis added.

<sup>40</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 13–14.

Royse then, however, pushes his conclusion a bit further to not only discount *lectio brevior* but to overturn it entirely. He continues:

All three scribes tended to lose, rather than gain, words. Most of these omissions were no doubt accidental, but whether they were accidental or not, the fact is that each scribe omitted more often than he added. A subsequent study that I undertook for the six extensive papyri from before the fourth century confirmed Colwell's finding on this point: all six omitted more text than they added....The corresponding general principle of textual evaluation would thus seem to be that, other things being equal, one should prefer the longer reading.<sup>41</sup>

Royse synthesizes his own thorough analysis of the six extensive early papyri and concludes that their general tendency was to omit rather than to add.<sup>42</sup> This means that the shorter text could not be preferred but instead that, as a rule and with all things being equal, the longer text should be preferred. Royse attempts to ascertain the individual scribal habits of P<sup>45</sup>, P<sup>46</sup>, P<sup>47</sup>, P<sup>66</sup>, P<sup>72</sup>, and P<sup>75</sup>. To Royse, determining their scribal habits is essential because “knowledge of the sorts of errors that a particular scribe tended to make, and of his overall method and accuracy of copying, is an essential portion of [Hort's] ‘knowledge of documents.’”<sup>43</sup> Royse begins his tome by bemoaning the current state of the use of scribal habits and canons in transcriptional probability arguing that “at least sometimes, statements about scribal activity are presented simply to give plausibility to choices that were made on the grounds of external evidence alone.”<sup>44</sup> Royse instead desires concrete evidence and examples as an argument for choosing one reading over another. In order to do so Royse analyzed the singular readings in each of the papyri which he studied.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Royse, “Scribal Tendencies,” NTTSD 42, 470–71; see also Royse, “Scribal Tendencies,” SD 46, 246.

<sup>42</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 719–20. Royse wonders if later scribal habits by scribes in the fourth and fifth centuries influenced early text critics to adopt *lectio brevior*: “That some shift in scribal activity occurred would explain how so many textual critics could place such weight on a principle that so clearly contradicts the evidence from the papyri” *Scribal Habits*, 734.

<sup>43</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 1.

<sup>44</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 8.

<sup>45</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 39–101.

**Table 1.1—Statistics of Previous Scribal Habits Studies<sup>46</sup>**

	Significant Singulars	Additions	Words in Additions	Average Words	Omissions	Words in Omissions	Average Words	Words in Omissions / Words in Additions	Substitutions	Net Words Gained / Lost in Substitutions	Net Words Lost	Net Words Lost Per Significant Singular	Transpositions
P <sup>45</sup>	210	29 (13.8%)	36	1.2	60 (29%)	126	2.1	2.1	73 (35%)		90	.43	48 (23%)
P <sup>46</sup>	452	52 (11.5%)	54	1.04	161 (36%)	298	1.9	3.1	195 (43%)		245	.54	35 (7.7%)
P <sup>47</sup>	53	6 (12%)	6	1.5	15 (28%)	37	2.5	2.1	28 (53%)		29	.55	2 (3.8%)
P <sup>66</sup>	109	16 (15%)	18	1.1	20 (18%)	36	1.8	1.2	54 (50%)		16	.15	18 (16.5%)
P <sup>72</sup>	74	14 (18.9%)	17	1.2	22 (30%)	44	2.0	1.6	30 (41%)		26	.35	7 (9.5%)
P <sup>75</sup>	106	11 (10.4%)	12	1.1	34 (32%)	44	1.3	3.1	49 (46%)		32	.30	11 (10.4%)
Revelation 01 <sup>47</sup>	158	40 (25.3%)	66	1.65	49	116	2.37				50	.32	
Revelation 02	60	12 (20%)	13	1.08	17	34	2				21	.35	
Revelation 04	43	5 (11.6%)	6	1.2	21	30	1.43				24	.56	

<sup>46</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 719, 730–31 for the model for this table. See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 719, 730–31, 903.

<sup>47</sup> See Hernández, *Scribal Habits*, 154 for his figures for this table.

**Table 1.2—Orthographic Phenomena in Previous Scribal Habits Studies<sup>48</sup>**

	Total Singulars	Orthographic Singulars	Percentage	Orth. Sings. / NA Page	Orth. Sings. / 1,000 Words	Nonsense Singulars	Percentage	Nons. Sings. / NA Page <sup>49</sup>	Nons. Sings. / 1,000 Words
p <sup>45</sup>	226	8	3.5%	.19		9	4%		
p <sup>46</sup>	639	124	19.4%	.97		63	9.9%		
p <sup>47</sup>	76	18	23.7%	1.14		5	6.6%		
p <sup>66</sup>	128	14	10.9%	.23		5	3.9%		
p <sup>72</sup>	150	64	42.7%	3.32		12	8%		
p <sup>75</sup>	166	33	19.9%	.38		27	16.3%		
Revelation 01 <sup>50</sup>	201	19	9.45%			24	11.94%		
Revelation 02	81	9	11.11%			12	14.81%		
Revelation 04	77	12	15.58%			22	28.57%		

<sup>48</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 885, 902 for a model for this table. I have copied his data from this same source.

<sup>49</sup> Royse does not provide this figure.

<sup>50</sup> See Hernández, *Scribal Habits*, for figures for this table.

**Table 1.3—Error Rate in Royse’s Scribal Habit Study**

	NA Lines	Words	Adjustment Factor	Singulars	Singulars / NA Page	Singulars / 1,000 Words
p <sup>45</sup>	1894		.57	227	5.3	
p <sup>46</sup>	3592		.89	632	4.9	
p <sup>47</sup>	439		.90	76	4.8	
p <sup>66</sup>	1688		.83	128	2.3	
p <sup>72</sup>	474		1.00	150	7.9	
p <sup>75</sup>	2683		.82	161	1.8	

One of Royse’s conclusions, in fact surely his most groundbreaking conclusion, was that, contra *lectio brevior potior*, the third-century scribes whom he studied tended to omit more than they added (see Tables 1.1–1.3).<sup>51</sup> Royse calls his new criterion *lectio longior potior*.<sup>52</sup> Royse proclaims that the “fourth-century barrier has been penetrated with the discovery of the papyri, and the criteria utilized in textual criticism must take into account this new set of evidence.”<sup>53</sup> He then rewrites Griesbach’s canon:

In general the longer reading is to be preferred, except where: a) the longer reading appears, on external grounds, to be late; or b) the longer reading may have arisen from harmonization to the immediate context, to parallels, or to general usage; or c) the longer reading may have arisen from an attempt at grammatical improvement. The frequency of omissions by scribal leaps and of omissions of certain inessential words such as pronouns must be kept in mind, and when such omissions may have occurred the longer reading should be viewed as even more likely.<sup>54</sup>

Royse appropriately calls his new canon *lectio longior potior* while being careful to ensure against an uncritical application of this principle that does not keep *ceteris paribus* in mind.

Royse, in his 2008 *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, calls upon New Testament text critics to re-examine NT witnesses according to what he calls the

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<sup>51</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 732.

<sup>52</sup> Royse did not invent the concept that the longer reading was to be preferred. Albert C. Clark championed it in the early twentieth century (see Albert C. Clark, *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism* [Oxford: Oxford, 1914]; Albert C. Clark, *The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts* [Oxford: Oxford, 1914]; Albert C. Clark, “The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts, A Rejoinder,” *JTS* 16.1 [1915]: 225–40; Albert C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* [Oxford: Oxford, 1933]). Metzger and Ehrman seem to imply that Clark coined the phrase “*longior lectio potior*” saying “Clark applied his principle *longior lectio potior* to the text of the Gospels and Acts ...” Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.; Oxford: Oxford, 2005), 213. See also Bart D. Ehrman and Mark A. Plunkett, “The Angel and the Agony: The Textual Problem of Luke 22:43–44,” *CBQ* 45.3 (1983): 403–04 = Bart D. Ehrman, *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 33; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 180: “Albert C. Clark could do so only as part of his tendentious schematization of the principle *longior lectio potior*.” Although Metzger and Ehrman seem to imply that Clark coined the phrase *longior lectio potior*, Clark never uses the phrase in print. Clark does, of course, argue in favor of *longior lectio potior*, but he never uses the phrase to do so. He simply criticizes *lectio brevior potior*.

<sup>53</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 734.

<sup>54</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 735.

“Colwell method.” This method analyzes singular readings in each manuscript—readings which only exist in one manuscript. It is then assumed that a singular reading is the invention of the copyist of the manuscript.<sup>55</sup> Royse calls upon text critics to assist in this work, saying

Ideally, of course, all the major witnesses to the text of the New Testament—that is, the continuous-text Greek manuscripts, the lectionaries, the versional manuscripts, and the Fathers—would be studied in detail in order to provide this same kind of information concerning scribal habits, translational tendencies, and so on. One’s assertions could then be based on empirical evidence about the witnesses.<sup>56</sup>

Royse entreats text critics to systematically and methodically reanalyze all of the witnesses of the New Testament with respect to singular readings in order to ascertain each scribe’s tendencies.<sup>57</sup> Royse invites his fellow text critics to perform the same type of analysis of the witnesses as the study he performed on the six extensive early Greek papyri. To Royse, such

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<sup>55</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 39: “[Colwell’s] view is that the singular readings of a manuscript are the textual creations of the scribe, and thus than analysis of the patterns found within these singular readings will reveal the habits of the scribe.” See also Ernest C. Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of  $\mathfrak{B}^{45}$ ,  $\mathfrak{B}^{66}$ ,  $\mathfrak{B}^{75}$ ,” *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1969), 108: “this study is restricted to singular readings (readings without other manuscript support) on the assumption that these readings are the creation of the scribe. The restriction of this study to singular readings can be made with confidence in view of the wealth of manuscript attestation for the Greek New Testament. A singular reading has been defined as a reading which has no Greek support in the critical apparatus of Tischendorf’s 8<sup>th</sup> edition.”

<sup>56</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 13. See also his earlier work: James R. Royse, “Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (SD 46; Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, eds.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 239–52 = James R. Royse, “Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis: Second Edition* (NTTSD 42; Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 461–78.

<sup>57</sup> The need for these studies are emphasized: “The general habits serve, then, as the basis of our knowledge of transcriptional probability (and improbability): what sorts of alterations scribes are likely (or unlikely) to have made in the text” Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 4. Quoting Ernest C. Colwell, Royse urges text critics to “begin at the beginning” and “commence with the oldest witnesses and work down the stream of tradition” Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 14. Here he quotes Ernest C. Colwell, “Hort Redivivus,” in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 159. Again, Royse reemphasizes, “The scribal (and translational) peculiarities of all the major sources for the New Testament should be catalogued” Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 738.

an undertaking is imperative in order to determine the very foundational principles of textual criticism.<sup>58</sup> David C. Parker and S. R. Pickering criticize the “general assumption” that “texts tended to be treated more freely in the early stages of their existence.”<sup>59</sup> Royse likewise attempts to move away from such “general assumptions” in order to base text-critical decisions on known data rather than “uninformed ‘common sense.’”<sup>60</sup> Royse’s massive work attempted to overturn, at least with respect to the six early papyri which he analyzed, the long held text critical maxim *lectio brevior potior*. In its place Royse concludes that, *ceteris paribus*, these early New Testament scribes tended to omit rather than to add.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, if a canon is to be set in place, it should be *lectio longior potior*.<sup>62</sup> However, as mentioned above, Royse is cautious to warn against any categorical canon because most likely some scribes acted one way and others acted another. Therefore, in light of the fact that hasty generalizations should not be projected onto the habits of ancient scribes, a methodical study of their habits must be carried out. Only after we understand each scribe’s tendencies can we evaluate which reading is more “original.”

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<sup>58</sup> “We wish to find a way to characterize the habits of scribes that will avoid, as far as is possible, both any question-begging assumptions about scribal behavior and any controversial presuppositions about the history of the text. Some presuppositions are, as we shall see, necessary; but they should be as limited as possible in order that the results attained can be used with confidence in deciding textual issues” Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 31.

<sup>59</sup> D. C. Parker and S. R. Pickering, “4968. Acta Apostolorum 10–12, 15–17,” in D. Leith et. al. eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri LXXIV* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2009), 3. They conclude that, contrary to this “general assumption,” “perhaps we should be looking for a different explanation.” Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 14.

<sup>60</sup> Kim Haines-Eitzen, critiquing those who argue in favor of the existence of scriptoria in the second and third centuries, coins the phrase “uninformed ‘common sense’” to describe the faulty logic of previous scholars. Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford, 2000), 86: “The problem with the arguments advanced by Fee and others is that they have been advanced purely on the basis of uninformed ‘common sense,’ rather than on the grounds of a careful comparison with known data from the ancient world.”

<sup>61</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 719–20.

<sup>62</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 734.

Such was the genesis of this project. Given the strong influence which Griesbach's canon still exerts upon the field today and Royse's challenge to the canon, this project began as an attempt to decisively conclude whether scribes omitted or added. It was an attempt to answer anyone who may identify with Stephen C. Carlson's conflict: "Due to this conflict over the status of the criterion of the shorter (or longer) reading, this study is agnostic about the value of mere length as diagnostic of scribal error. As a result, decisions about which variant to prefer had to rely on criteria other than the length of the reading."<sup>63</sup> As we will see, finding a solution is not simple and Royse's caution against any generalization and Carlson's agnosticism is probably the best method. Thus Peter Malik concludes: "Perhaps, then, the language of length ought to be dropped from our terminology altogether; rather, different types of variation need to be treated on their own terms. For instance, omissions of words and clauses often involve different factors compared to harmonisations, let alone major expansions or editorial interventions."<sup>64</sup>

Eldon Jay Epp offers a compromise between the longer and shorter reading and cogently provides advice on how to use these criteria. He points out that Griesbach's original first canon did indeed have qualifications that must first be met before invoking *lectio brevior* but that scholars have since preferred the more "sound-bite" form of Griesbach's canon.<sup>65</sup> His new criteria reads:

In a variation unit containing a shorter/shortest reading and a longer/longest reading, the preferable variant depends on the circumstances: that is, a choice is required because (a) scribes tend to shorten readings by omission due to parablepsis, especially as a result of homoeoteleuton, in which case the longer reading is preferable. But (b) scribes also tend to add material through interpretation, harmonization, and grammatical or stylistic improvement, in

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<sup>63</sup> Stephen C. Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History* (WUNT 2:385; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 90.

<sup>64</sup> Malik, *P<sup>47</sup>*, 114–15.

<sup>65</sup> Eldon Jay Epp, "The Papyrus Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis: Second Edition* (NTTSD 42; Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 34.

which case the shorter reading is preferable. In all cases, both readings must be tested also by other criteria.<sup>66</sup>

Epp's balance of these criteria in light of Royse's research is a delicate and accurate method for determining the primary reading. But his conclusion seems to confirm my statement above that length should probably be disregarded altogether. That is to say, if one must first determine if an omission is due to parablepsis or homoeoteleuton or interpretation or harmonization then what use is length at that point? If one must first make the difficult, if not impossible, decision of whether a reading is accidental as in Epp's (a) or intentional as in Epp's (b) then what use is length at that point? Then his final sentence is that the readings must be tested by other criteria. Epp's above statement shows that length should be ignored altogether and that all readings should be evaluated by other criteria.

### **Royse's Reception**

Royse's theory has been widely accepted by text critics and many have used his method in similar studies.<sup>67</sup> Juan Hernández Jr. applauds Royse's work saying, "I do think that Royse has not only fulfilled Colwell's wish for a commentary on the singular readings, but that he has surpassed it by producing a veritable *encyclopedia* on them—an encyclopedia that deserves to take its rightful place as *the* canonical standard for *any* study of scribal habits for generations to come."<sup>68</sup> Hernández' own study of the scribal habits in witnesses of the

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> For additional studies that use Royse's method see Thomas A. Wayment, "The Scribal Characteristics of the Freer Pauline Codex," in *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts: Fresh Studies of an American Treasure Trove* (ed. Larry Hurtado; Text-Critical Studies 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 251–62; Daniel B. Sharp, "Early Coptic Singular Readings in the Gospel of John" (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2012); Tommy Wasserman, "The Early Text of Matthew," in *The Early Text of the New Testament* (ed. by Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger; Oxford: Oxford, 2012), 83–107; Peter Head, "The Early Text of Mark," in *The Early Text*, 108–20; Juan Hernández, "The Early Text of Luke," in *The Early Text*, 121–39; Peter Malik, "The Earliest Corrections in Codex Sinaiticus: A Test Case from the Gospel of Mark," *BASP* 50 (2013): 207–54.

<sup>68</sup> Juan Hernández Jr., Peter M. Head, Dirk Jongkind, and James R. Royse, "Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri: Papers from the 2008 SBL Panel Review Session," *Textual Criticism: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 17 (2012): 8, emphasis in

book of Revelation supports Royse's findings: "On the basis of careful study of the singular readings of each MS, it is clear that the scribes of these MSS tended to omit far more often than they added to their texts."<sup>69</sup>

Peter M. Head, after conducting his own study of early papyri, comments that his findings agree with Royse's and that "most fundamental is the support given to the conclusion that omission is more common than addition."<sup>70</sup> Head then performed a second study of this same type with the same results saying that "in general, omission was more common than addition.... Broadly speaking these results serve to confirm the picture presented in our previous study of the early manuscripts of the synoptic gospels, and thus serve as further confirmation of the much fuller study of Royse."<sup>71</sup> Lastly, Head reaffirms "Once again it seems that the evidence suggests that most early scribes are more likely to omit than to add material."<sup>72</sup>

Michael W. Holmes is also convinced by Royse's research stating, "In the light of Royse's study the venerable canon of *lectio brevior potior* is now seen as relatively useless, at least for the early papyri."<sup>73</sup>

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original. See also Tommy Wasserman, "Criteria for Evaluating Readings in New Testament Textual Criticism," NTTSD 42: 589: "The 'shorter reading' criterion ... is one of the most debated criteria and has proven to be in such need of qualification that some regard it as relatively useless, in particular for the early papyri." See also Kim Haines-Eitzen, "The Social History of Early Christian Scribes," NTTSD 42: 488: "Royse's work sheds important light on the tendencies of scribes and works to counter some of the maxims of textual criticism (e.g., the preference for the shorter reading)."

<sup>69</sup> Juan Hernández Jr., *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse: The Singular Readings of Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi* (WUNT 2.218; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 194.

<sup>70</sup> Peter M. Head, "Observations on Early Papyri of the Synoptic Gospels, especially on the 'Scribal Habits,'" *Bib* 71 (1990): 246.

<sup>71</sup> Peter M. Head, "The Habits of New Testament Copyists: Singular Readings in the Early Fragmentary Papyri of John," *Bib* 85.3 (2004): 407.

<sup>72</sup> Head, "Habits of Copyists," 408.

<sup>73</sup> Michael W. Holmes, "Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism," SD 46: 343.

Lastly, Emmanuel Tov, in the parallel field of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, adds that all of the usual criteria have glaring problems: “The logic behind [*lectio brevior potior*] is that ancient scribes were more prone to add details than to omit them, but this is certainly not true in the case of all NT scribes, as has been demonstrated by several scholars. Also, in the case of the OT, it cannot be decided automatically that the shorter reading is original. It would be helpful to know whether certain sources tend to add or omit details, but few such sources are known.”<sup>74</sup>

Royse’s study has been accepted by many in the field. Most in the American field have accepted his conclusions, some in the UK have accepted them, and few in Germany have accepted them. David C. Parker voices two questions with the singular readings method: first that, due to incomplete collations, some supposed singular readings may not in fact be singular.<sup>75</sup> Second, singular readings are only singular readings until another manuscript is found which contains the same reading. In such a case, the reading is no longer singular.<sup>76</sup> Parker accepts however that overall such difficulties may not be fatal and that “it has to be acknowledged that such tendencies do emerge, and with them evidence about the way in which scribes went about their work.”<sup>77</sup> Parker questions Royse’s conclusion that *lectio brevior* be reversed in favor of the longer reading on a grand scale but accepts Royse’s findings with respect to the early papyri. Parker wants to be sure that Royse’s findings are not expanded outside of their proper time frame unless further research is conducted.

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<sup>74</sup> Emmanuel Tov, “Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules,” *HTR* 75.4 (Oct. 1982): 441. Tov cites Royse when he refers to “other scholars.” Also, he seems to be hinting at the importance of determining scribal tendencies before evaluating a textual reading.

<sup>75</sup> David C. Parker, review of *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, by James R. Royse, *BASP* 46 (2009): 256.

<sup>76</sup> Parker, review of *Scribal Habits* (by Royse), 256. Such is the case in my analysis of P<sup>127</sup>. Many readings which were previously singular readings in Codex Bezae (05) are no longer singular because of their support by P<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> Parker, review of *Scribal Habits* (by Royse), 256–57.

Dirk Jongkind similarly questions Royse's rejection of *lectio brevior* because "traditions tend to grow over the course of centuries: they pick up extra phrases, extra verses, sometimes an extra ending, or a whole story is inserted."<sup>78</sup> Jongkind then, however, continues: "though on one hand we see that it is in the nature of the actual process of copying that a text is more likely to come out shorter than longer—as I believe has been convincingly demonstrated by Royse."<sup>79</sup> While Jongkind critiques Royse on some of the finer details of his work, Jongkind agrees with Royse's overall method of using singular readings to understand a scribe's habits. Jongkind's 2007 *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus* uses the singular readings method and concludes: "It will be clear from this that the scribal tendency to omit rather than to add is in *Sinaiticus* similar to that found by Royse in the papyri," and: "It appears that, in *Sinaiticus*, we have an example of a post-300 AD manuscript that behaves as the pre-300 papyri."<sup>80</sup>

Holger Strutwolf finds flaws with the singular readings method noting some of the same problems that have been noticed by other scholars such as Parker; namely that because "it is far from sure that the singular readings a manuscript contains really are the individual readings [i.e. scribal creations] of the scribe who produced the manuscript" therefore "the singular readings of a certain manuscript might have been invented by its scribe, but could also already have existed in the ancestor or even been passed down through three or more generations of ancestors now lost."<sup>81</sup> I agree with Strutwolf's critique and it is the main reason why I endeavor to find a different method for determining scribal habits.

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<sup>78</sup> Juan Hernández Jr., Peter M. Head, Dirk Jongkind, and James R. Royse, "Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri: Papers from the 2008 SBL Panel Review Session," *Textual Criticism: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 17 (2012): 17.

<sup>79</sup> Hernández, Head, Jongkind, and Royse, "Scribal Habits," 17.

<sup>80</sup> Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 246.

<sup>81</sup> Strutwolf, "Scribal Practices," 142. Malik agrees saying: "It needs to be noted that, since singulars do *not* constitute all of the errors in the manuscript and since some of them may even have been inherited from the exemplar, what follows must be regarded as an

Royse's method employing singular readings necessitates the use of hypothetical and reconstructed *Vorlagen*. Royse concedes that the method is not perfect and that not all scribally created readings will be found among the singular readings.<sup>82</sup> Additionally, there is no way to know if a singular reading is indeed scribally created or if the scribe inherited the reading from a now lost exemplar. Royse's method is indeed one of the best and most fruitful methods available but it is not without its flaws.

### **Other Methods for Determining Scribal Habits**

#### *Barbara Aland*

Barbara Aland has been critical of Colwell's and Royse's methods arguing instead that all readings which depart from the Nestle-Aland text—not just singular readings—should be accounted for, evaluated, and used in determining a scribe's habits.<sup>83</sup>

As mentioned above, she argues that the only place where we can be securely confident that a scribe has taken liberties with the text is in harmonizations.<sup>84</sup> She argues that harmonizing a passage to another requires more mental aptitude and understanding than simply copying without thinking. She repeatedly stresses that, on the whole, scribes simply copy but that in harmonizations we gain a rare glimpse into deliberate changes.

One benefit of Aland's method for determining scribal habits is that by studying all readings that differ from the Nestle-Aland text we get a better impression of what kind of text

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approximation of the scribe's copying behaviour rather than an absolute account thereof," Malik, *P<sup>47</sup>*, 167, emphasis in original.

<sup>82</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 42.

<sup>83</sup> See Barbara Aland, "Kriterien zur Beurteilung kleinerer Papyrusfragmente des Neuen Testaments," in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel* (A. Denaux ed.; BETL 161; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2002), 1–2. See also Barbara Aland, "Der textkritische und textgeschichtliche Nutzen früherer Papyri, demonstriert am Johannesevangelium," in *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism: New Testament, Other Early Christian and Jewish Literature: Papers Read at a Noster Conference in Münster, January 4–6, 2001* (W. Weren and D-A. Koch eds.; Studies in Theology and Religion 8; Leiden: Brill, 2003) where she practices her method proposed in her 2002 article.

<sup>84</sup> Aland, "Schreiber," 114–15.

each manuscript contains. We will be able to determine perhaps where the manuscript came from and what textual tradition it transmits. Royse argues that such an ability is outside of what Colwell was trying to do with his singular readings method.<sup>85</sup> And while he is right that Colwell was not interested in determining text types but rather only the habits of the scribe himself, perhaps he should have been. That is to say, understanding where a manuscript came from and the type of text it contains, I believe, is an essential element of understanding a scribe's habits. This is why in my analysis I attempt to understand the historical worlds in which the scribes lived in order to better understand how their cultural milieu might influence them to make certain scribal decisions if they indeed did make conscious changes.

One disadvantage of Aland's method is that it assumes that the Nestle-Aland text is, or is at least very close to, the "original text."<sup>86</sup>

#### *Peter Malik*

Peter Malik's monograph on P<sup>47</sup> studies the manuscript as a whole and focuses on its corrections, singular readings, re-inking, and its affinity with the Sahidic tradition of the Apocalypse.<sup>87</sup> He finds that although the scribe of P<sup>47</sup> attempted to "reproduce his *Vorlage* accurately, he did not always succeed in doing so."<sup>88</sup> Malik's work demonstrates the need for an understanding of the manuscript as a whole as part of the discussion on scribal habits. Similarly, Parker comments: "We think of manuscript copies as texts, but they are far more than that. To be a scribe was to be a book producer and a graphic artist as well as a copyist."<sup>89</sup> He then discusses a page from Sinaiticus which required preparing the parchment, pricking

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<sup>85</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 61.

<sup>86</sup> See Eldon Jay Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text,'" *HTR* 92 (1999): 245–81 on the difficulty with using the term "original text."

<sup>87</sup> Malik, *P<sup>47</sup>*, 224: "The general approach of this work lay in the integration of the study of material aspects of our papyrus with the study of its scribal behaviour and text (with the emphasis on the former)."

<sup>88</sup> Malik, *P<sup>47</sup>*, 223.

<sup>89</sup> Parker, "Variants and Variance," 29.

and ruling the pages and other ornamentation. He continues: “In the context of the entire process, the copying of the text was actually the part of the process which was most mechanical, in which the scribes had the fewest decisions to make.”<sup>90</sup> Therefore, if Parker’s claim that often scribes manufactured a manuscript from start to finish is true and it is likely that an entire manuscript was the product of one scribe, an analysis of the entire manuscript including its paleography, codicology, and text provides a more complete picture of the scribe’s habits.

## Conclusion

In light of all the previous methods and attempts to determine scribal habits, this project represents another method and another attempt. In the next chapter we will discuss that the *Abschrift* method is the best method for determining scribal habits.

## On English Pronouns

Throughout this study, I will employ the gender-neutral singular “they” pronoun when referring to a scribe whose preferred personal gender pronoun is unknown.<sup>91</sup> Ancient scribes were not in all cases male.<sup>92</sup> I will therefore avoid gender specific nouns except in cases

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<sup>90</sup> Parker, “Variants and Variance,” 30.

<sup>91</sup> On the use of the singular “they” see Amy Warena, “They,” *Writing Across the Curriculum* 4 (1993): 99: “Observers have long pointed out the ambiguity of the use of the pronoun *HE* in generic contexts and the advantages of having a true generic singular pronoun, which would be sex-neutral. In the absence of such a sex-neutral pronoun, speakers of English have been expected to utter sentences such as ‘Everybody should bring his book tomorrow,’ where the everybody referred to includes forty women and just one man. For centuries, speakers and writers of English have been happily getting around this obstacle by using *THEY* in such situations, yielding sentences such as ‘Everybody should bring their book tomorrow.’” See also Julie Foertsch and Morton Ann Gernsbacher, “In Search of Gender Neutrality: Is Singular *They* a Cognitively Efficient Substitute for Generic *He*?” *Psychological Science* 8.2 (1997): 106: “With increasing frequency, writers and speakers are ignoring grammatical proscription and using the plural pronoun *they* to refer to singular antecedents. ... singular *they* is a cognitively efficient substitute for generic *he* or *she*.” For more recent treatments see <https://www.grammarly.com/blog/use-the-singular-they/> and <http://www.arrantpedantry.com/2016/10/31/stupidity-on-singular-they/>.

<sup>92</sup> On female scribes see Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford, 2000), 41–52; Kim Haines-Eitzen, “‘Girls Trained in Beautiful Writing’: Female Scribes in Roman Antiquity and

where the normative binary gender of the scribe is known. For example, a male scribe named Camillus Venetus copied 821. Although I do not know Venetus' preferred personal gender pronoun, when speaking of his scribal habits I will use masculine pronouns since I know Venetus was male. Additionally, I cannot avoid instances when I cite a previous scholar who refers to a scribe as a male. In all other cases when the gender of a scribe is unknown I will use the gender-neutral pronoun "they" or will repeat the noun itself to avoid using a pronoun. This will at times sound awkward but I will not assume that all scribes in this study were male. In short, this is an attempt to use inclusive language.

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Early Christianity," *J ECS* 6.4 (Winter 1998): 629–46. The British Library published the following blog post on the occasion of International Women's Day 2017 detailing some of the manuscripts in the British Library which were written by women:

<http://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2017/03/female-scribes-in-early-manuscripts-.html> .

But the fact that it is a possibility that a woman was a scribe should be tempered by the fact that most scribes were indeed men. See, for example, Georgi Parpulov's statement: "All but a few scribes were men, yet Hagiopetrites had a daughter who inherited the profession" Georgi R. Parpulov, "The Bibles of the Christian East," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 2: From 600–1450* (Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter eds.; Cambridge: Cambridge, 2012), 313. Nonetheless, this project will use gender-neutral language.

## Chapter Two: Scribal Habits of Greek New Testament *Abschriften*

An *Abschrift* is a manuscript that has been shown to have an extant and identified *Vorlage*. Such manuscripts were formerly referred to by the same Gregory-Aland sigla as their *Vorlage* with a superscript “abs” affixed; for example, D<sup>abs1</sup> as a copy of D and 9<sup>abs</sup> as a copy of 9. *Abschriften* have since been given numbers of their own; for example, D<sup>abs1</sup> is now 0319, and 9<sup>abs</sup> is now 2883. The *Kurzgefasste Liste* recognized eleven *Abschriften* by affixing “abs” next to their GA number<sup>93</sup> but their inclusion as an *Abschrift* in the *Liste* is no guarantee that the manuscript is indeed an *Abschrift* or that there are no other *Abschriften* that are not listed in the *Liste*. Scholars have argued for and against some of the *Liste*’s designations and other studies have expanded the list of *Abschriften*. See Table 2 for a list of all known or suggested *Abschriften*.

There are currently twenty-three supposed Greek New Testament *Abschriften* (see Table 2 below). Of these I have chosen to analyze by test passage the two *Abschriften* of Codex Claromontanus (06), 205 as a copy of 2886, and 821 as a copy of 0141. I chose the *Abschriften* of 06, which are 0319 and 0320, because 0319 is the earliest supposed *Abschrift* being a ninth-century majuscule copying the fifth-century 06. I chose 205 because recent work had argued that it is a copy of 2886 whereas it was thought before that 2886 was the copy of 205. And I chose 821 as a copy of 0141 because Bruce Morrill noticed a high amount of agreement and wondered whether 821 was possibly a copy of 0141. After my research, I conclude that 821 is indeed a copy of 0141.

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<sup>93</sup> See Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994). J. K. Elliott also provides a list but for some reason omits listing 2886 although he mentions that it is an *Abschrift* of 205 later in his article: J. K. Elliott, “Supplement III to J. K. Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*,” *NovT* 52 (2010): 272.

Table 2—*Abschriften* of the Greek New Testament Ordered by Date of the *Abschrift*<sup>94</sup>

GA of Vorlage	Contents	Date	Columns / Lines	Location	GA of Abschrift	Contents	Date	Columns / Lines	Location
06	<i>p (g-l)</i>	6 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 21	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 107 AB	0319	<i>p (g-l)</i>	9 <sup>th</sup>	2 / 31	<i>St. Petersburg, Russ. Nat. Bibl., Gr. 20</i>
					0320	<i>p (g-l)</i>	10 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 42	<i>Lost. Formerly two parts held in two locations: Marburg, Hess. Staatsarchiv, Best. 147 Hr. 2 Nr. 2, 6 fol. and Arolsen-Mengeringhausen, Stadtarchiv s.n.</i>
018	ap (K)	9 <sup>th</sup>	2 / 27	Moscow, Hist. Mus., V. 93, S. 97	0151 <sup>95</sup>	p (K)	9 <sup>th</sup>	2 / 33	Patmos, Joannu, 62
0150	p (K)	9 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 34	Patmos, Joannu, 61	2110 <sup>96</sup>	p (K)	10 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 34	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 702, fol. 252–434

<sup>94</sup> Information concerning dating and location is according to the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room, Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>. Unless otherwise noted, these *Abschriften* were at one time labeled with “abs” for *Abschrift* (copy) in the *Liste* but have recently received their own number. Except for 2886 / 205, D06 / 0319 / 0320, and 821 / 0141 no attempt has been made to verify that these witnesses are actually copies; I have relied wholly on previous scholarship. Entries in italic denote those *Abschriften* which I have analyzed in this study.

<sup>95</sup> 0151 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been argued for by Theodora Panella. See Theodora Panella, “Resurrection Appearances in the Pauline Catena,” in *Commentaries, Catena and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, in association with the COMPAUL project* (ed. H. A. G. Houghton; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 122. Panella has argued that these manuscripts are copies of one another but has not committed to a direction of borrowing.

<sup>96</sup> 2110 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been argued for by Theodora Panella. See Panella, “Resurrection Appearances,” 121. Panella has argued that these manuscripts are copies of one another but has not committed to a direction of borrowing. She notes that although the *Liste* has a ninth-century date for 0150, others have dated 0150 to the tenth century. She posits that both 0150 and 2110 could have been copied by the same scribe.

056	ap (K)	10 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 40	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin Gr. 26	0142 <sup>97</sup>	ap (K)	10 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 40	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Gr. 375
22	e	11 <sup>th</sup> – 12 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 22	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 72	1210 <sup>98</sup>	e	11 <sup>th</sup> – 12 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 22	Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Gr. 173
2193	e	10 <sup>th</sup>	2 / 22	Athos, Iviron, 247 (22)	872 <sup>99</sup>	e	12 <sup>th</sup>	2 / 26	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 2160
1983	p (K)	13 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 32	Milan, Bibl. Ambros., E. 2 inf.	2890	p (K)	13 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 19–21	Milan, Bibl. Ambros., A. 241 inf.
1218	e	12 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 17	Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Gr. 181	1089 <sup>100</sup>	e	1329	1 / 20	Athos, Xiropotamu, 221 (2783)
1929	p (K)	1387	1 / 33	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Gr. 504	2889	p (K)	14 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 32	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Gr. 455
323	ap	11 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 18	Geneva, Bibl. publ. et univ., Gr. 20	322 <sup>101</sup>	ap	15 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 22	London, Brit. Libr., Harley 5620

<sup>97</sup> 0142 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been argued for by Theodora Panella. See Panella, “Resurrection Appearances,” 121–22. Panella has argued that these manuscripts are copies of one another but has not committed to a direction of borrowing.

<sup>98</sup> 1210 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been established by Welsby. See Alison Sarah Welsby, “A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John,” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2011), 161–67; Alison Welsby, *A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John* (ANTF 45; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 107–11.

<sup>99</sup> 872 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been argued for by Amy Anderson. See Amy Anderson, “Codex 2193 and Family 1 in Mark,” in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Michael W. Holmes* (NTTSD 50; Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., Paul Foster eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 122–27.

<sup>100</sup> 1089 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been suggested tentatively by Tommy Wasserman. See Tommy Wasserman, “The Patmos Family of New Testament MSS and Its Allies in the Pericope of the Adulteress and Beyond,” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 7 (2002): §6.3.41.

<sup>101</sup> 322 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been established by W. J. Elliott. See W. J. Elliott, “The Relationship Between MSS 322 and 323 of the Greek New Testament,” *JTS* 18.2 (1967): 423–25. Elliott confirmed the previous assertions by

9	e	1167	1 / 20	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 83	2883	e (g-l)	15 <sup>th</sup>	2 / 21	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Lyell 95
2886	<i>eapr</i> + <i>LXX</i>	15 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 55–56	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc., Gr. Z. 5 (420)	205 <sup>102</sup>	<i>eapr</i> + <i>LXX</i>	15 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 45	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc., Gr. Z. 6 (336)
30	e	15 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 18	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 100	2884	e	15 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 14	Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Kk. 5.35
08	a (g-l)	6 <sup>th</sup>	2 / 24+	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud. Gr. 35	1884 <sup>103</sup>	a	16 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 20	Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibl., Chart. B 1767
0141	<i>e</i>	10 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 31	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 209	821 <sup>104</sup>	<i>e</i>	16 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 30	Madrid, Bibl. Nac., 4673
138	e (K)	11 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 37	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 757	2579 <sup>105</sup>	e (K)	16 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 27	Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D. 466, D. 461, Ambr. D 298, and Ambr. D 282
1909	p (K)	12 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 24	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Gr. 412	2888	p (K)	16 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 27	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Gr. 110

Mill, Wettstein and Griesbach. See J. Mill, *H Kaiνή Διαθήκη* (Oxford, 1707), clxvi; Johann Jakob Wettstein, *Prolegomena ad Novi Testamenti Graeci editionem* (Amsterdam, 1730), 60; Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Symbolae Criticae* (Halle, 1793), 151–52.

<sup>102</sup> The *Liste* has 2886 (formerly 205<sup>abs</sup>) as the *Abschrift* of 205 but Alison Welsby has argued to reverse the direction of dependence. See Chapter Five of the present study.

<sup>103</sup> 1884 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been argued for by Ronald H. van der Bergh. See Ronald H. van der Bergh, “The Influence of the Greek OT Traditions on the Explicit Quotations in Codex E08,” in *Textual History and the Reception of Scripture in Early Christianity* (SCS 60; Johannes de Vries and Martin Karrer eds.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 135.

<sup>104</sup> 821 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* previous to this project. See Chapter Six for my argument that 821 is an *Abschrift* of 0141.

<sup>105</sup> 2579 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been argued for by Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 70–71.

333	e (K)	1214	1 / 40–50	Turin, Bibl. Naz., B. III. 9	423 <sup>106</sup>	e (K)	1556	1 / 30	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Gr. 36.37
2036	r (K)	14 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 17	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 656	2891	r (K)	16 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 28	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Gr. 248
96	e	15 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 18	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D.5.1	2885	e	16 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 16–17	Křivoklát, Schloßbibl., Ie 14 <sup>2</sup>
1068	e	1562	2 / 25	Athos, Kutlumusiu, 290	1065 <sup>107</sup>	e	1576	2 / 24	Athos, Kutlumusiu, 287
1160	e (K)	12 <sup>th</sup>	1 / 35	Patmos, Joannu, 58	2887	e (K)	1888	1 / 17	Athos, Panteleimonos, 661

<sup>106</sup> 423 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been established by Michael Allen Clark. See Michael Allen Clark, “The Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea and its Johannine Text,” (PhD Diss., University of Birmingham, 2016); full access available here: <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/6424/> .

<sup>107</sup> 1065 has not been labeled as an *Abschrift* by the *Liste* but its status has been argued for by Tommy Wasserman. See Tommy Wasserman, “The Patmos Family of New Testament MSS and Its Allies in the Pericope of the Adulteress and Beyond,” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 7 (2002): §6.3.40.

Eric Turner remarked that “we should like very much to look over our scribe’s shoulder, see him at work, and ask him questions about his craft.”<sup>108</sup> Now, by studying *Abschriften*, we can do just that. A thorough study of *Abschriften* has long been a *desideratum* in the field. Royse called for such a study to be undertaken saying

there has been (it seems) a failure to explore the problem of scribal habits for the text of the New Testament in the best possible case, namely, where the *Vorlage* of an extant manuscript is also known to be extant. In such a situation we can *virtually look over the scribe’s shoulder* and compare the text he is copying with his result.<sup>109</sup>

David C. Parker comments that “unless we are able to compare what the scribe produced with the source manuscript, there are limitations to our understanding of scribal activity.”<sup>110</sup> Parker also argues “If we can establish that one manuscript has been copied from another, we can observe the event, certainly not as though we were present, but in enough detail to make some judgement as to how the task was undertaken.”<sup>111</sup> In the quest for scribal habits the analysis of *Abschriften* is the single best method for determining scribal habits.

### **Limitations of the *Abschrift* Method**

A thorough study of *Abschriften* is the best method for determining scribal habits but the method is not without its limitations. Unfortunately, *Abschriften* are rare and generally late. Parker notes that *Abschriften* “will be less useful for the period in which we are most interested, namely early Christianity.”<sup>112</sup> Additionally, Parker comments that “it is quite rare

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<sup>108</sup> Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (BASPSup 47; 2d edition; P. J. Parsons ed.; London: University of London, 1987), 5.

<sup>109</sup> James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 34, emphasis added.

<sup>110</sup> David C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2008), 133.

<sup>111</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 135.

<sup>112</sup> David C. Parker, “Scribal Tendencies and the Mechanics of Book Production,” in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (TS 3:5; H. A. G. Houghton and David C. Parker eds.; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 179.

to be able to demonstrate that two manuscripts are related as exemplar and copy.”<sup>113</sup> So we must be honest about what this method can accomplish. It is unlikely that we will ever find a set of very ancient manuscripts which are parent and child manuscripts. Parker also writes “the further back one goes, with the consequent greater loss of manuscripts, the lower the chance of having two manuscripts closely related.”<sup>114</sup> Therefore a limitation of the present study is that the manuscripts which I will analyze are all late; ranging from the ninth century (0319) to the sixteenth (821). In the conclusion to this study we will discuss how my findings can, if at all, be applied to textual criticism more widely and to the earliest text.

Parker notes another limitation to this method saying “since one of the pieces of evidence that a manuscript is a copy of another will be textual similarity, it follows that it would be much harder to establish that a manuscript was a copy of another if the texts were markedly dissimilar.”<sup>115</sup>

I do not think that the aforementioned limitations of the *Abschrift* method are fatal flaws. They should be kept in mind but I do not think that they are fatal. As previously discussed in the first chapter, and will be discussed in the concluding chapter, the majority of my conclusions concerning *Abschriften* will relate only to those manuscripts and I will only very tentatively extend the conclusions of this project to other manuscripts in other times and places.

### **Recent Work on *Abschriften***

Many have postulated additional *Abschriften* to supplement those found in the *Liste* and studies have been completed concerning *Abschriften* containing texts other than the Greek

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<sup>113</sup> David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1997), 205.

<sup>114</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 140.

<sup>115</sup> Parker, “Scribal Tendencies,” 183. Dirk Jongkind offered this same observation when I presented my preliminary findings at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in 2016 in San Antonio.

New Testament. My study is solely interested in Greek New Testament manuscripts which are copies of other Greek New Testament manuscripts. Other studies of other types of *Abschriften*, however, are useful for methodological purposes.

*Greek New Testament Abschriften*

*Theodora Panella*

In discussing the presentation of the resurrection appearance in 1 Corinthians 15:5–8 in Pauline catenae Theodora Panella noticed that only two Pauline catenae read τοῖς ἑνδεκά at 1 Cor. 15:5 where most witnesses read τοῖς δώδεκα. These two catena are 0150 and 2110.<sup>116</sup> After further examination, Panella tentatively asserted that these two manuscripts form a pair and that one is a copy of the other. Panella, however, did not commit to a direction of borrowing but stated simply that one is a copy of the other. She argued that it is possible that the same scribe copied both manuscripts. Although the *Liste* assigns 0150 to the ninth century, Panella points out that others have dated it to the tenth and it could therefore be contemporary with the tenth-century 2110. 0150 is classed as a majuscule and 2110 is classed as a minuscule but the two manuscripts actually contain the same format of text: biblical lemma written in majuscule with commentary written in minuscule. That they have received different GA categorizations is a problem with the GA system of sigla. Houghton and Parker comment:

If the biblical text is written in majuscule characters, the manuscript may have been categorised among the majuscules in the *Liste* regardless of the presence of minuscule on the same page (e.g. GA 0141, 0142). This explains why catenae constitute practically all of the New Testament manuscripts classified as majuscule but copied in the tenth century or later. On the other hand, there are also catenae in which the biblical text is initially written in majuscules but

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<sup>116</sup> See Theodora Panella, “Resurrection Appearances in the Pauline Catenae,” in *Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, in association with the COMPAUL project* (ed. H. A. G. Houghton; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 121.

later gives way to minuscules: these are usually classified among the latter in the *Liste* (e.g. GA 2351).<sup>117</sup>

An example of another catena with biblical lemma written in majuscule and the commentary written in minuscule is 0141, the *Vorlage* of 821, discussed in Chapter Six of the present study. Houghton and Parker critique the GA numbering system for being inconsistent at times saying “There is, however, some inconsistency, including the example given by Panella ... : GA 0150 and 2110 are possibly written by the same scribe and identical in format, with majuscule lemmata and minuscule comments, but are assigned to different categories in the *Liste*.”<sup>118</sup>

Panella identifies another pair of manuscripts as likely forming a pair but again she refrains from assigning a direction of dependence.<sup>119</sup> GA 056 and 0142 are both tenth-century catenae and have identical formatting including line and page division. She also asserts that 018 and 0151 form a pair noting that, in addition to textual affinity, both 018 and 0151 are “written in two columns per page and have the same numbering system that goes all the way through to the last comment at the end of the Epistle.”<sup>120</sup>

#### *Alison Welsby*

Alison Welsby argued that the eleventh- to twelfth-century minuscule 1210 is an *Abschrift* of the eleventh- to twelfth-century minuscule 22 saying “1210 contains 90 A-1 readings: 86 of these occur in sections where 22 is extant, and all but 2 of these 86 readings

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<sup>117</sup> See H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, “An Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries with a Preliminary Checklist of New Testament Catena Manuscripts,” in *Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, in association with the COMPAUL project* (ed. H. A. G. Houghton; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 11.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> See Panella, “Resurrection Appearances,” 121–22.

<sup>120</sup> See Panella, “Resurrection Appearances,” 122.

are shared by 22.”<sup>121</sup> Welsby also argued that 205 is a copy of 2886 thereby reversing the direction of dependence that was previously supposed. The relationship between 205 and 2886 will be the subject of our discussion in Chapter Five. Welsby mainly used textual data to ascertain the genealogical relationships among these manuscripts but also historical data as well. For example, as we will discuss in Chapter Five, 2886 cannot be a copy of 205 because, based on their inscriptions, 2886 predates 205.

*Amy Anderson*

Amy Anderson argues that 872 is a direct copy of 2193.<sup>122</sup> Minuscule 872 nearly always follows the corrected text of 2193 and therefore a relationship is seen. Anderson admits, however, that it is possible that there might have been an “intermediate MS that reproduced the corrected version of 2193 and then became the exemplar for 872.”<sup>123</sup>

*Tommy Wasserman*

Tommy Wasserman analyzed thirty-four manuscripts from Patmos focusing on their version of the *Pericope Adulterae*. His study also included test passages from other books. He argued that based on the test passages 1065 and 1068 form a pair and “if their datings are correct (1576 and 1562) then MS 1068 is the exemplar of 1065. Since they are practically identical (also in terms of external characteristics and present location), it is difficult to

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<sup>121</sup> Alison Sarah Welsby, “A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John,” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2011), 161 = Alison Welsby, *A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John* (ANTF 45; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 107.

<sup>122</sup> See Amy Anderson, “Codex 2193 and Family 1 in Mark,” in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Michael W. Holmes* (Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster eds.; NTTSD 50; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 127. See also Amy Sue Anderson, “Codex 1582 and Family 1 of the Gospels: The Gospel of Matthew,” (PhD. Diss., University of Birmingham, 1999), 139, 141; Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew* (NTTS 32; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 143.

<sup>123</sup> See Anderson, “Codex 2193,” 127.

confirm this on the basis of textual data.”<sup>124</sup> In addition to 1068, Wasserman found that “MSS 1089 and 1218 are practically identical in all test pericopes. Their proximity to the Majority text makes it difficult to confirm their exact relationship. In the PA, however, they are clearly identifiable, and joined by MS 2550. MS 1218 from the 12<sup>th</sup> century may possibly be the exemplar of 1089, dated 1329 (although we note their different present locations—Sinai and Xiropotamu respectively).”<sup>125</sup>

*W. J. Elliott*

W. J. Elliott noticed that in 322 and 323 there was a “system of elision, common to both” and that “the particular way this system works can only mean that 322 is a direct copy of 323.”<sup>126</sup> Elliott’s argument confirmed the previous assertion that 322 was a copy of 323 by Mill, Wettstein and Griesbach.<sup>127</sup>

*Ronald H. van der Bergh*

While discussing the influence of Septuagint traditions on quotations in 08 Ronald H. van der Bergh discovered that the sixteenth-century 1884 is an *Abschrift* of 08.<sup>128</sup> This is a great discovery. With this discovery there is another *Abschrift* of a somewhat early majuscule bilingual manuscript. Without this *Abschrift* the only *Abschriften* of a somewhat early bilingual majuscule are 0319 and 0320. Although the copy itself is quite late the text it copies

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<sup>124</sup> Tommy Wasserman, “The Patmos Family of New Testament MSS and Its Allies in the Pericope of the Adulteress and Beyond,” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 7 (2002): §6.3.40.

<sup>125</sup> Wasserman, “Patmos Family,” §6.3.41.

<sup>126</sup> W. J. Elliott, “The Relationship Between MSS 322 and 323 of the Greek New Testament,” *JTS* 18.2 (1967): 424.

<sup>127</sup> See J. Mill, *H Kainē Διαθήκη* (Oxford, 1707), clxvi; Johann Jakob Wettstein, *Prolegomena ad Novi Testamenti Graeci editionem* (Amsterdam, 1730), 60; Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Symbolae Criticae* (Halle, 1793), 151–52.

<sup>128</sup> Ronald H. van der Bergh, “The Influence of the Greek OT Traditions on the Explicit Quotations in Codex E08,” in *Textual History and the Reception of Scripture in Early Christianity* (SCS 60; Johannes de Vries and Martin Karrer eds.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 135.

is somewhat early. Van der Bergh writes that 1884 “does not only agree remarkably with the text of E08—in fact, almost invariably—but the text of 1884 stops abruptly at exactly the word where E08’s missing folios break off in Acts 26:29 (Ο ΔΕ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ) and resumes with exactly the same word with which the extant text of E08 begins (ΠΟΡΕΥΘΗΤΙ). In a case such as E08’s ΕΠΙΣΤΡΕΨΟΥ[CIN] in Acts 26:27, the scribe of 1884 could clearly also not see the missing text and ended up copying the nonsense reading *επιστρεψουζ*.”<sup>129</sup> Van der Bergh employs textual affinity but also graphical affinity in order to determine that 1884 is a copy of 08.

*Joseph Sickenberger*

Sickenberger argues that 2579 is a copy of 138 based on the catena contained in the two manuscripts and because both manuscripts omit the lemma in the same place.<sup>130</sup>

*Michael Allen Clark*

Michael Allen Clark has discovered that the sixteenth-century catena manuscript of Nicetas, 423, is a direct copy of 333—a thirteenth-century catena manuscript of Nicetas. Clark notes the close textual affinity but also discusses their shared distinctive readings and paleographical affinity. Of the paleographical similarities Clark writes “333 is damaged and sometimes difficult to read or even illegible. 423 often leaves spaces in the text that correspond to these damaged sections of 333.”<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Van der Bergh, “The Influence of the Greek OT Traditions,” 135.

<sup>130</sup> See Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 70–71.

<sup>131</sup> Michael Allen Clark, “The Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea and its Johannine Text,” (PhD Diss., University of Birmingham, 2016), 37; full access available here: <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/6424/>.

### *Printed Editions*

Another category altogether is manuscripts of printed editions. Darius Müller identifies *Abschriften* which copy Erasmus' printed edition of the Apocalypse.<sup>132</sup> Stephen Carlson has convincingly shown that 2427 is a copy of Philipp Buttmann's 1860 edition of the New Testament.<sup>133</sup> Because these *Abschriften* are not copies of a Greek New Testament manuscript and my study is only interested in Greek New Testament manuscripts which copy other Greek New Testament manuscripts they will be omitted from consideration and from the catalogue in the Appendix.

### *P<sup>75</sup> and Codex Vaticanus*

Kurt and Barbara Aland mention that P<sup>75</sup> is "textually so close to Codex Vaticanus that it could almost be regarded as its exemplar in those portions of Luke and John preserved in it."<sup>134</sup> If this were true it would be groundbreaking to have a fourth-century majuscule in 03 copying a third-century papyrus in P<sup>75</sup>. 03 would be the earliest surviving *Abschrift* by five centuries! Additionally, Calvin Porter, after collating the variants between P<sup>75</sup> and 03 concluded: "This present writer is convinced that this collation alone is a clear and conclusive demonstration of the affinity of the texts of Codex Vaticanus and P<sup>75</sup>."<sup>135</sup> Due to their ambiguous wording by using the phrases "it could *almost* be regarded" and "clear and

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<sup>132</sup> See Darius Müller, "Abschriften des Erasmischen Textes im Handschriftenmaterial der Johannesapokalypse," in *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse* (ANTF 47; Marcus Sigismund, Martin Karrer and Ulrich Schmid eds.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 165–268.

<sup>133</sup> See Stephen C. Carlson, "'Archaic Mark' (MS 2427) and the Finding of a Manuscript Fake," *SBL Forum*, n.p. [cited Aug 2006]. Online: <http://sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleID=577>

<sup>134</sup> 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* (2d edition; translated by Errol F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 14. Elsewhere they say that P<sup>75</sup>'s "text proved to be so close to Codex Vaticanus (B) that the theory of recensions, i.e., of thoroughgoing revisions of the New Testament made in the fourth century, was no longer defensible" Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 87.

<sup>135</sup> Calvin L. Porter, "Papyrus Bodmer XV (P75) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus," *JBL* 81.4 (1962): 374.

conclusive *affinity*” (rather than direct dependence), it is unclear whether either the Alands or Porter claim explicitly that 03 is a *direct* copy of P<sup>75</sup> or if they simply note a very strong textual relationship between the two manuscripts. Arguing for a direct parent-child relationship with P<sup>75</sup> as the exemplar would be difficult in light of Brent Nongbri’s reconsideration of the dating of P<sup>75</sup>. Nongbri argues that P<sup>75</sup> should probably be dated later to the fourth century and that editors should be more careful and humble in assigning a date to a manuscript.<sup>136</sup> His argument is based on a new approach to P<sup>75</sup>’s paleography and on a fresh analysis of its codicology. Nongbri found that P<sup>75</sup> follows Turner’s “Group 8” codex typology and that many other “Group 8” codices can also be dated to the fourth century. If Nongbri is correct that P<sup>75</sup> was created later than originally assumed then it would even be possible that P<sup>75</sup> was created after 03. In this case many new questions and possibilities emerge concerning P<sup>75</sup> and 03: could P<sup>75</sup> be a direct copy of 03? Could 03 be a direct copy of P<sup>75</sup>? Could 03 and P<sup>75</sup> share an exemplar? Or are they simply closely related? This project will not attempt to answer these questions but the possibility that one of these manuscripts could be an *Abschrift* would be monumental for this method since it would provide an *Abschrift* set of very early manuscripts whereas now the earliest surviving *Abschrift* dates to the ninth century. This, however, is probably wishful thinking and it is statistically unlikely that one is a direct copy of the other especially if Nongbri’s later dating is accepted. Carlo Martini, in his exhaustive study of P<sup>75</sup> in Luke in relationship to 03, directly asks whether P<sup>75</sup> is a copy of 03 and concludes that it is not.<sup>137</sup> In light of Nongbri’s redating of P<sup>75</sup> more attention and research should be devoted to determining if P<sup>75</sup> and 03 could in fact be sister manuscripts.

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<sup>136</sup> See Brent Nongbri, “Reconsidering the Place of Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV (P75) in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament,” *JBL* 135.2 (2016): 405–37.

<sup>137</sup> See Carlo Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV* (AnBib 26; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1966), 62–65.

*The Septuagint*

Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis* to the Göttingen Septuagint Project lists a few manuscripts which he believed to be direct copies of another manuscript. Likewise, the introduction section to most volumes of the Göttingen Septuagint has a small paragraph on which manuscripts were left uncollated and often a brief explanation of why they were not collated. Often they were left uncollated because a certain manuscript was either a known copy of another manuscript which was collated or because the text in a certain manuscript was very closely related to another manuscript which was collated. Frustratingly, when a manuscript is identified as an *Abschrift* there is little or no explanation concerning how this conclusion was reached. Their only motivation for identifying *Abschriften*, as with other studies, was so the *Abschriften* could be eliminated from textual consideration.<sup>138</sup> The *Abschriften* are only cited in the apparatus when they contain singular readings. The following is a list of many of the Septuagint *Abschriften* I was able to locate in the Göttingen volumes. It is important to note that simply because a manuscript is a copy of another manuscript in one book that does not necessitate that it is a copy of that same manuscript in all books. Thus, Parker: "one cannot assume that because one part of a manuscript is copied from another, the whole must be."<sup>139</sup> Additionally, as with all *Abschriften* presented in this study aside from the four I analyze, no effort has been made to verify if these manuscripts are indeed *Abschriften*. I here simply present manuscripts which have been identified as *Abschriften* in other studies.

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<sup>138</sup> For a good discussion of the use and methodology of *Abschriften* in the Göttingen editions see Robert Hanhart, ed., *Esdrae liber I (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum VIII.1; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991)*, 14.

<sup>139</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 140. Natalio Fernández Marcos agrees with Parker saying "Es sabido que los manuscritos pueden cambiar de filiación textual de libro a libro, e incluso dentro del mismo libro," Natalio Fernández Marcos, "Un manuscrito Complutense redivivo: Ms. griego 442 = Villa-Amil 22," *Sefarad* 65 (2005): 78.

Rahlfs 320 is a copy of Rahlfs 73 in the Octateuch.<sup>140</sup>

Rahlfs 483 is a copy of Rahlfs 14 in Genesis at least.<sup>141</sup>

552 is a copy of 550 in Genesis at least.<sup>142</sup>

666 is a copy of 17 in Genesis at least.<sup>143</sup>

478 is a copy of 248 in Sirach at least.<sup>144</sup>

501 is a copy of 36 in the Twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, the Letter of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Susanna, Daniel, and Bel and the Dragon at least.<sup>145</sup>

420 is a copy of 631 in the Twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, the Letter of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Susanna, Daniel, and Bel and the Dragon at least.<sup>146</sup>

631 is a copy of 46 in Judith, Tobit, the Twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, the Letter of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Susanna, Daniel, and Bel and the Dragon at least.<sup>147</sup> If 420 is indeed a copy of 631 and if 631 is indeed a copy of 46 then we have now found our first known example of an extant three-generation family with 46 as the grandparent, 631 as the parent, and 420 as the child. 52 is a copy of 46 in 1–2 Esdras, Esther,

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<sup>140</sup> See John Lowden, “The Production of the Vatopedi Octateuch,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 115–26.

<sup>141</sup> John William Wevers, ed., *Genesis (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum I;* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 21.

<sup>142</sup> Wevers, *Genesis*, 21.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum XII.2;* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 11.

<sup>145</sup> Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetae (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum XIII;* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943), 11; Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Isaias (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum XIV;* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), 11; Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum XV;* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 11; Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Ezechiel (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum XVI.1;* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), 11; Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum XVI.2;* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), 31.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

Judith, Tobit and 1–3 Maccabees at least.<sup>148</sup> 332 is a copy of 46 in Esther, Judith, and Tobit at least.<sup>149</sup> If this is true, and the above stemma concerning 420, 631 and 46 is true, then we now have a grandparent in 46, three copies of 46 in 631, 332 and 52, and a grandchild through 631 in 420.

97 is a copy of 87 in Ezekiel at least.<sup>150</sup>

379 is a copy of 98 in Kings, Chronicles, 1–2 Esdras, Esther, Tobit, Judith, and 1–3 Maccabees at least.<sup>151</sup>

In at least 1–2 Esdras, Esther, Judith, Tobit, and 3 Maccabees 44, 125, and 610 go back to 107—either directly or through an intermediate family member.<sup>152</sup> In his Esther volume Hanhart elaborates on his discussion of these manuscripts and states categorically that 610 is a direct copy of 107 but that they all might be a copy of 107.<sup>153</sup> If all three of these manuscripts are copies of 107 then we would have the first known example of three *Abschriften* dependent upon an extant *Vorlage*.

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<sup>148</sup> Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 14; Robert Hanhart, ed., *Esdrae liber II*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* VIII.2; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 11; Robert Hanhart, ed., *Esther*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* VIII.3; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 14; Robert Hanhart, ed., *Judith*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* VIII.4; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 12; Robert Hanhart, ed., *Tobit*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* VIII.5; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 10; Werner Kappler, ed., *Maccabaeorum liber I* (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* IX.1; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936), 11; Robert Hanhart, ed., *Maccabaeorum liber II*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* IX.2; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 8; Robert Hanhart, ed., *Maccabaeorum liber III*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* IX.3; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 8.

<sup>149</sup> See Hanhart, *Esther*, 14; Hanhart, *Judith*, 12; and Hanhart, *Tobit*, 10.

<sup>150</sup> Ziegler, *Ezechiel*, 11.

<sup>151</sup> Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II*, 11; Kappler, *Maccabaeorum I*, 11; Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum II*, 8; Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum III*, 8; and Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta-Unternehmen* (Göttingen, 1914), 54, 57.

<sup>152</sup> Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 14; Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II*, 11; Hanhart, *Esther*, 14; Hanhart, *Judith*, 12; Hanhart, *Tobit*, 10; and Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum III*, 8.

<sup>153</sup> Hanhart, *Esther*, 14.

471 is a copy of 260 in Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Psalms of Solomon, and Sirach at least.<sup>154</sup>

517 is a copy of 733 in Proverbs at least.<sup>155</sup>

241 is a copy of Codex Alexandrinus in Ruth at least.<sup>156</sup>

669 is a copy of 488 in Tobit at least.<sup>157</sup>

671 is a copy of 120 in 2–3 Maccabees at least.<sup>158</sup>

68 is a copy of 731 (Venice, Marc. Gr. Z. 16 [338]) in 1–2 Esdras, Esther, Judith, Tobit, and 1–3 Maccabees at least.<sup>159</sup> The designation of 68 as a copy of 731 is especially interesting since Rahlfs 68 is none other than 205 which is the subject of Chapter Five. Rahlfs 68 is the number that refers to the LXX portion of Marc. Gr. Z. 5 (420) and 205 being the number that refers to the NT portion of the same manuscript. Ziegler states that 68 (GA 205) is a copy of 122 (GA 2886) in Wisdom and Isaiah.<sup>160</sup>

442 is a copy in 1–2 Esdras at least of none other than 68 which is GA 205 and the subject of our Chapter Five.<sup>161</sup> Rahlfs tells us that 442 was copied from 68 and then used as a source for the Complutensian Polyglot. If 442 is indeed a copy of 68 then we have another pairing of three-generation manuscripts with 68 being a copy of 731 and 442 being a copy of 68. Unfortunately, 442 was burned during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>162</sup> Natalio Fernández

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<sup>154</sup> Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 145.

<sup>155</sup> Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 170.

<sup>156</sup> Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 114–16, 336.

<sup>157</sup> Hanhart, *Tobit*, 10.

<sup>158</sup> Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum II*, 8; Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum III*, 8.

<sup>159</sup> Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 14; Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II*, 11; Hanhart, *Esther*, 14; Hanhard, *Judith*, 12; Hanhart, *Tobit*, 10; Kappler, *Maccabaeorum I*, 11; Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum II*, 8; and Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum III*, 8. See Dirk Jongkind's blogpost about 68's dependence on 731 at <http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.co.uk/2016/08/the-composite-ancestry-of-big-codices.html> .

<sup>160</sup> Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Sapientia Salomonis, (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum XII.1; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962)*, 11; Ziegler, *Isaias*, 11.

<sup>161</sup> Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 14; Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II*, 11; Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 123–24.

<sup>162</sup> Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 14.

Marcos, however, gives us hope by showing that some extensive portions of 442 still exist and some have yet to be restored. He states that sizable portions of Judges, Ruth, and 1–4 Kings have been restored and digitized.<sup>163</sup> Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, 1–2 Esdras, Esther, Wisdom, Judith, and Tobit have not yet been restored but are mostly complete and untouched. Fernández states that the fire affected mainly the beginning and end of the manuscript but that the middle portion remains intact.<sup>164</sup> Fernández also agrees that 442 is a copy of 68 in Judges and Ruth at least.<sup>165</sup> We therefore have another three-generation manuscript group with 731 as the grandparent, 68 as the parent, and 442 as the child.

122 (GA 2886 which we will discuss at length in Chapter Five) is a copy of the famous Codex Vaticanus in 1–2 Esdras, Esther, Judith, Tobit, 1–3 Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach, the Twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, the Letter of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Susanna, Daniel, and Bel and the Dragon at least.<sup>166</sup>

In total I have located twenty-two supposed *Abschriften* in the Septuagint.

*David C. Parker*

David C. Parker, while studying the sixth-century Vulgate manuscript Codex Mediolanensis (M) discovered a few leaves placed in M that were a reduplicated section of the text. Parker found evidence that these leaves were a copy of Mediolanensis.<sup>167</sup> He called these leaves M<sup>abs</sup>. Parker provides three points of evidence that M<sup>abs</sup> is a copy of Mediolanensis based on paleography and textual evidence:

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<sup>163</sup> See Fernández, “442,” 69–70.

<sup>164</sup> Fernández, “442,” 71.

<sup>165</sup> Fernández, “442,” 78.

<sup>166</sup> Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 14; Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II*, 11; Hanhart, *Esther*, 14; Hanhard, *Iudith*, 12; Hanhart, *Tobit*, 10; Kappler, *Maccabaeorum I*, 11; Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum II*, 8; and Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum III*; Ziegler, *Sapientia*, 11; Ziegler, *Sirach*, 11; Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 11; Ziegler, *Isaias*, 11; Ziegler, *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae*, 11; Ziegler, *Ezechiel*, 11; Ziegler, *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 31.

<sup>167</sup> See David C. Parker, “A Copy of the Codex Mediolanensis,” *JTS* 41.2 (1990): 537–41; see also his summary in Parker, *Introduction*, 135–36.

First, palaeographical, is the way in which initial *A* in the later text sometimes imitates the extremely distinctive triangular bow of the older hand. Then there is the fact that the point at which the later text breaks off is marked by a cross in the right hand margin of the older one. ... Thirdly there is the textual evidence.<sup>168</sup>

Parker here outlines a few methods used to determine that a manuscript is an *Abschrift* of another. I have used these same methods, and others, in my determinations. Parker found that the Latin copyist of M<sup>abs</sup> made thirty changes in a text of approximately 3,200 words for a rate of about ten changes in every thousand words. Parker notes that some of these changes are corrections of evident copying errors in M accounting for about six of the thirty variants.<sup>169</sup> He continues: “Only in three places did M<sup>abs</sup> change a more distinctive reading of M, that is to say, a reading which it shares with few other manuscripts.”<sup>170</sup> Parker finds that M<sup>abs</sup> made a significant change once every thousand words.

Parker has also argued that the Latin supplemented leaves of Codex Bezae (referred to as 5<sup>s</sup>) were made from a known exemplar that is currently in Lyons, France in the Bibliothèque Municipale, manuscript 431.<sup>171</sup> His evidence that the supplemental leaves are *Abschriften* is: “(a) MS 431 has been corrected at three places to a spelling followed by 5<sup>s</sup>; (b) some words initially omitted by 5<sup>s</sup> constitute a whole line of text in MS 431.”<sup>172</sup> Parker found about four significant changes per thousand words.

#### *Ulrich Schmid*

Ulrich Schmid has found some examples of non-Greek New Testament *Abschriften* of the Latin editions of the *Diatessaron*. C. W. M. Grein created an edition of the Latin Diatessaron Codex Cassellanus but made numerous mistakes that were carried into later

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<sup>168</sup> Parker, “Codex Mediolanensis,” 537.

<sup>169</sup> See Parker, *Introduction*, 136.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> See David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An early Christian manuscript and its text*, (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1992), 45–46; Parker, *Introduction*, 136–37.

<sup>172</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 136.

editions which copied Grein's edition of Cassellanus.<sup>173</sup> Schmid analyzed the variants in the *Abschriften* of Grein's Cassellanus and notes that "modern editors of ancient manuscripts are basically less or more accurate *copyists* of the manuscripts they edit. In that sense they not only contribute to the *study* of a manuscript tradition, but with their errors they are part of the *manuscript tradition itself*."<sup>174</sup>

*Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Malcolm Choat*

Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Malcolm Choat argue that "documentary texts offer a better opportunity to identify the conditions under which texts were produced, as well as the practice by which copied were made" than literary texts as studied in previous studies.<sup>175</sup> Their short study is extremely useful in understanding scribal habits but is not perfectly applicable to our situation. In their study they analyzed only papyri which were rewritten by the same scribe: "We have chosen to focus on texts for which we have two copies written by a single scribe."<sup>176</sup> This makes their study not directly relevant to our present study because the situation of a scribe recopying their own writing probably minutes after writing it the first time is much different than a scribe copying a literary text which was copied by a different scribe in a different country in a different literary hand with different proclivities. Surely a scribe recopying what they have just written would have no problem discerning their own handwriting and spelling but a scribe separated from the original scribe by a different time and place would have a more difficult time reading the original writing and interpreting the

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<sup>173</sup> C. W. M. Grein, *Die Quellen des Heliand, nebst einem Anhang: Tatians Evangelienharmonie herausgegeben nach dem Codex Cassellanus* (Kassel: Kay, 1869).

<sup>174</sup> Ulrich Schmid, "Genealogy by Chance!" in *Studies in Stemmatalogy II* (Pieter Th. Van Reenen, A. A. den Hollander, Margot van Mulken eds.; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 132, emphasis in original.

<sup>175</sup> See Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Malcolm Choat, "The Copyist at Work: Scribal Practice in Duplicate Documents," in *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie: Genève, 16–21 août 2010* (Paul Schubert ed.; *Recherches et Rencontres* 30. Geneva: 2012), 827.

<sup>176</sup> Yuen-Collingridge and Choat, "Copyist at Work," 828.

text on the page. We will see this exemplified especially in our discussion of 0319 in Chapter Four.

### *Frederick William Shipley*

Frederick William Shipley identified a copy of the fifth-century Latin Livy manuscript Codex Puteanus called Codex Reginensis 762 from the ninth century.<sup>177</sup> Shipley also found that Reginensis had a copy of its own called Codex Mediceus.<sup>178</sup> In my work on the Latin text in the *Abschriften* of 06 I relied upon Shipley's categories for Latin corruptions such as errors due to corrections in the *Vorlage*.

### **The Prevailing Attitude Toward *Abschriften***

As we can see, many have attempted to find direct copies of manuscripts but their motivations have been different than mine. Previous scholarship has attempted to locate *Abschriften* in order that they may discount and ignore the *Abschrift* from text-critical consideration. My motivation is exactly the opposite. By locating and analyzing *Abschriften* we gain special insight into the scribal habits of the *Abschrift*. Rarely have previous scholars employed *Abschriften* as a way to understand scribal habits better. Only Parker and Shipley have studied *Abschriften* as a way of determining scribal habits.

Eberhard Nestle typified the attitude that has largely been held toward *Abschriften* when he wrote of 0319: "in the Greek merely an incorrect transcription of [06], and may therefore be dismissed."<sup>179</sup> Hort agreed saying "These instructive phenomena naturally receive little consideration now, because the exact knowledge that we possess of the original

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<sup>177</sup> Frederick William Shipley, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts* (New York: Macmillan, 1904). See Royse's discussion of Shipley's study: James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 34–35.

<sup>178</sup> See Shipley, *Latin Manuscripts*, 10.

<sup>179</sup> Eberhard Nestle, *Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* (tr. William Edie; New York: Putnam's Sons, 1901), 77.

[Claramontanus] renders attention to the copy [Sangermanensis] superfluous.”<sup>180</sup> The previous habit of ignoring a manuscript because it is thought to be a copy of another manuscript has led to some difficulties. Because 0319 and 0320 have long been considered copies of 06 they have often been ignored. This is, in fact, a larger problem that faces all *Abschriften*: they have been ignored from text critical consideration. While it is correct to exclude a manuscript from critical editions when we can know that it is a copy, it is not sufficient to ignore them altogether since they provide a unique glimpse into scribal activity. The tradition of ignoring *Abschriften* has persisted for some time. Kirsopp Lake ignored 205 because he thought it is was copy of 209, saying: “It is for this reason that no further notice has been taken of 205.”<sup>181</sup> But, unfortunately for Lake, more recent scholarship thinks that 205 was not actually a copy of 209 but that they were simply very closely related. As we will discuss in Chapter Five, most believe that 2886 is a copy of 205 as is found in the *Liste*. For this reason, Amy Anderson ignored 2886 from her study of Family 1 in Matthew.<sup>182</sup> Frederick Wisse did the same.<sup>183</sup> But now more recent scholarship believes that 205 is actually a copy of 2886.<sup>184</sup> The only time an *Abschrift* should be excluded from text critical consideration is in the formation of critical editions. Above all, *Abschriften* are invaluable in revealing scribal habits.

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<sup>180</sup> Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton James Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), II:255.

<sup>181</sup> Kirsopp Lake, *Codex 1 of the Gospels and Its Allies* (TS 7; Cambridge: Cambridge, 1902), xxii.

<sup>182</sup> See Amy Sue Anderson, “Codex 1582 and Family 1 of the Gospels: The Gospel of Matthew,” (PhD. Diss., University of Birmingham, 1999), 118–19; Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew* (NTTS 32; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 116.

<sup>183</sup> See Frederick Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* (SD 44; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 106.

<sup>184</sup> See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 82–83; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 122–24.

## Methods for Identifying an *Abschrift*

In classifying her catenae as forming a pair Panella noted that manuscripts which may form a pair “both have the same ruling pattern, the same number of lines, and the same numbering system; the lemma is written in majuscule and the comment in minuscule.”<sup>185</sup> Panella’s arguments for claiming that these manuscripts are pairs is similar to the methods I have used to underscore the relationship between 0320 / VL83 and 06 / VL75 as I will discuss in Chapter Four of the present study. As I will discuss later, 0320 has exactly twice as many lines on each page as 06 and maintains the same line division as 06. Although VL83 is *textually* related more closely to VL76, based on paleographical evidence there is no doubt that 0320 / VL83 is indeed a direct copy of Codex Claromontanus. Panella continues detailing her method for establishing an *Abschrift* saying of 056 and 1042 “These two witnesses share the same ruling system and have an identical number of pages: the contents of any page chosen at random corresponds to the equivalent folio of the other manuscript, sometimes with slight differences in the distribution of words on each line. The verse 1 Cor. 15:4 is missing from both manuscripts.”<sup>186</sup> Here we see that Panella employs both textual and paleographical evidence but the paleographical evidence is the indisputable smoking gun that confirms that these manuscripts form a pair. While the textual evidence confirms that they are closely related, such close relationship is likely shared with many manuscripts of the same family. But the exact ruling system, number of pages, line division, and other paleographical features provide a much stronger argument that these manuscripts form a pair.

Only one further method can strengthen the claim that a certain manuscript is a copy of another and that is graphical affinity. Graphical affinity is most often seen when there is a correction. As we will discuss at length in Chapter Four concerning the *Abschriften* of Codex

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<sup>185</sup> Panella, “Resurrection Appearances,” 121.

<sup>186</sup> Panella, “Resurrection Appearances,” 121–22.

Claromontanus, there are many instances in that manuscript where a correction mark was passed on completely into the *Abschrift*. There is an instance at Titus 3:5 where the first hand wrote δία. This word was corrected to be omitted by placing small slashes through the letters. When 0319 came to this word the scribe wrote δία with small slashes through the letters just as found graphically in its *Vorlage*. The scribe of 0319 made many of these same blunders and passed on intended corrections often. Such instances are clear evidence of direct copying.

In order to facilitate the identification of *Abschriften* I have formulated a checklist in the form of a series of questions to ask of a manuscript in the following order before concluding that it is an *Abschrift*.

(1): Does the proposed *Abschrift* share a high percentage of textual agreement with another manuscript?

(2): do these manuscripts share a good number of peculiar dual agreements or readings which are found only in these two manuscripts?<sup>187</sup>

(3): Historical considerations: can one of the manuscripts be demonstrated to be older than the other or were the two manuscripts created contemporaneously to each other? This is important in order to discern the direction of borrowing between the manuscripts.

(4): Paleographical concerns: is there any evidence from the appearance of the text itself that one is a copy of the other?

(5): Corrections: does the proposed *Abschrift* stumble over corrections in the *Vorlage* or show their hand in any way?

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<sup>187</sup> The term peculiar dual agreement comes from Eldon Jay Epp, "Toward the Clarification of the Term 'Textual Variant,'" in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (edited by Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 53. Royse states that any singular readings that are shared by a parent manuscript and a known descendent are the singular reading of the parent manuscript. See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 65.

(6): Codicological concerns: do the two manuscripts share similar formatting, i.e. line breaks, page breaks, columns, pages, etc.?

Concerning the first step in the process of identifying an *Abschrift*: does the proposed *Abschrift* share a high percentage of textual affinity with another manuscript? Tools that will help determine textual affinity are the *Text und Textwert* Cluster—both the website<sup>188</sup> and the printed volumes<sup>189</sup>—and Bruce Morrill’s PhD dissertation.<sup>190</sup> Identifying manuscripts which share a high percentage of textual agreement is the starting point from which to ask further questions. Note that, as discussed above, it is possible that there are manuscripts which are copies of another manuscript that do not share a high percentage of textual agreement. In these cases establishing the manuscript as an *Abschrift* is made much more difficult. In these cases the following steps are very useful but it would be difficult to first find a candidate to further investigate without close textual affinity.

(2): Do these manuscripts share a good number of peculiar dual agreements or readings which are found only in these two manuscripts? If one manuscript is truly a copy of another then the two manuscripts will surely share a good number of peculiar dual agreements. These are readings which are only found in these two manuscripts and would have been singular readings in the *Vorlage* if the *Abschrift* were not found. Such peculiar dual agreements do not prove that a manuscript is a copy of another but the presence a good number of peculiar dual agreements does suggest an extremely close relationship between the two manuscripts.

(3): Historical considerations: can one of the manuscripts be demonstrated to be older than the other or were the two manuscripts created contemporaneously to each other? Most

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<sup>188</sup> Accessed here: [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/TT\\_Clusters.html](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/TT_Clusters.html) .

<sup>189</sup> Kurt Aland, ed., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 26–31, 35–36; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987–2005).

<sup>190</sup> M. Bruce Morrill, “A Complete Collation and Analysis of all Greek Manuscripts of John 18,” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England, 2012).

often known *Abschriften* are copied from manuscripts which are hundreds of years old at the time of copying. In such cases determining a direction of dependence—that is, assigning one manuscript as the *Vorlage* and the other as the *Abschrift*—is obvious if the dating of the manuscripts is correct. Sometimes, however, the two manuscripts were produced during the same century and thus determining a direction of dependence is difficult. Such is the case with 2886 and 205. As we will discuss in Chapter Five, Welsby noticed that the inscriptions to these manuscripts offered a clue as to when they were written and therefore to the direction of borrowing between them. Additionally, in Chapter Six I have used similar historical clues to argue that 1370 was likely copied from 0141 before 821 was copied from this same exemplar.

(4): Paleographical concerns: are there any clues based on the appearance of the text itself that one is a copy of the other? During this step in the process of determining *Abschriften* we begin to move into the territory of providing strong evidence that a manuscript is a direct copy instead of simply suggesting that it is a copy. Is there damage to the *Vorlage* which caused a reading in the *Abschrift*? Is there difficult or illegible writing in the *Vorlage* that the *Abschrift* had a difficult time deciphering? As has been mentioned above, Parker noted that the copyist of the *Abschrift* wrote a mark in the *Vorlage* at the point in the text where the *Abschrift* broke off. Similarly, Clark noticed that the *Abschrift* struggled with understanding the *Vorlage* when there was damage to the *Vorlage*. Again, as we will see, 0319 greatly struggled with the difficult and obscured readings in their *Vorlage*. Concerning the benefit of paleographical and other paratextual evidence in determine *Abschriften*, Parker has written

Since one of the pieces of evidence that a manuscript is a copy of another will be textual similarity, it follows that it would be much harder to establish that a manuscript was a copy of another if the texts were markedly dissimilar. It is here that the role of palaeographical evidence would come into its own. If one were able (1) to find such evidence and (2) to isolate the scribal habits of the copyist, one should then be in a position to claim that the second was copied

from the first, even if a purely textual comparison of whatever kind indicated that there was no special relationship between them. Of course, one might still want to find some distinctive readings which they shared with not so many other manuscripts. Because so much analysis of manuscripts is, due to the pressure of time and other resources, purely textual, it is unlikely that we will ever be in a position to find many examples of this kind, even though we may speculate that they may have existed.<sup>191</sup>

(5): Corrections: does the proposed *Abschrift* stumble over corrections in the *Vorlage* or show their hand in any way? This step is very similar to the previous step and can provide irrefutable evidence that one manuscript is a copy of the other. Again, as we have already discussed frequently, 0319 has an extremely difficult time with corrections in the *Vorlage*. Instead of interpreting the corrections they decide to reproduce the text from the *Vorlage* as graphically similar as possible even when that means including correction sigla.

(6): Codicological concerns: do the two manuscripts share similar formatting, i.e. line breaks, page breaks, columns, pages, etc.? Do they share identical order of books? Van der Bergh noted that 1884 is missing the exact portion of text that 08 is missing. Panella noted that 0150 and 2110 have exactly the same amount of columns and lines per page. As we will see in Chapter Four, 0320 shares exact line divisions and page divisions with 06 in both Greek and Latin. The manuscript groups in Chapter Four share a unique ordering of books which further strengthen the close relationship among these witnesses. The same will also be seen in Chapter Five. Manuscripts that share lacunae or skip the same line could fall under this category but their resulting text would also probably be very similar and therefore their text could fall under the first or second category.

Parker observed above that we would only be able to notice that a manuscript is an *Abschrift* if it is a good copy of an extant older manuscript. If a younger manuscript is poorly and inaccurately copied then it will be almost impossible to determine that it is a copy even if the exemplar survives. Such a phenomenon may skew the data resulting from my analysis of

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<sup>191</sup> Parker, "Scribal Tendencies," 183.

scribal habits. If I conclude that there are on average 16.1 total variants per thousand words in the Greek New Testament *Abschriften* which I have studied, then this number might be skewed because I do not consider manuscripts which are poor copies of their exemplar and cannot be identified as *Abschriften* because they are such poor copies. If I conclude that scribes of *Abschriften* generally omit more than they add then this may not be accurate since I may be neglecting manuscripts which are poor copies of their exemplar and cannot be identified as *Abschriften* because they are such poor copies. If I conclude that scribes of *Abschriften* make few if any theological changes then this may not be accurate since I may be neglecting manuscripts which are poor copies of their exemplar and cannot be identified as *Abschriften* because they are such poor copies.

In the same way, the opposite is also true. Because establishing an *Abschrift* is difficult on textual grounds alone, it is difficult to determine an *Abschrift* of a very high quality manuscript. In order to declare a manuscript an *Abschrift* it is best for textual affinity to be accompanied by some sort of paleographical, codicological, or graphical affinity. Therefore, a high quality manuscript will probably share a high degree of textual affinity with its *Vorlage* but might not display any paleographical affinity with the *Vorlage*. In short, it will not show its hand. 0319 is obviously a direct copy of 06 because the text is remarkably similar *and* because 0319 carries on intended corrections from 06. VL83's text is only somewhat close to VL75 but the page divisions and line divisions match VL75 perfectly. But a high quality manuscript might not have any problem interpreting the intended corrections in the *Vorlage* and only sometimes do *Abschriften* share common formatting (see Table 2 for a list of the twenty-three supposed *Abschriften* and their formats). Textual affinity may suggest a relationship but paleographical affinity confirms it. But a very high quality manuscript might not betray any paleographical affinity with its *Vorlage*.

Textual studies of percentage of agreement are helpful starting points in order to highlight close textual agreement. But they are only the starting point that then show which manuscripts should be analyzed closer by human eye in order to determine if there is any corroborating paleographical affinity. Without paleographical affinity it is difficult to conclude that a manuscript is an *Abschrift* since many manuscripts of the same family might share such a close textual relationship. If no paleographical evidence corroborates the textual evidence then it is possible that the two manuscripts are sister manuscripts descending from the same *Vorlage* rather than parent-child manuscripts. If no paleographical evidence corroborates the textual evidence then concluding that a manuscript is a direct copy of another should only be done tentatively while accepting that the two manuscripts may actually be sibling manuscripts or simply very closely related.

Thee last three steps provide irrefutable evidence that one manuscript is a copy of another. As stated above, if no paleographical evidence corroborates the textual evidence then concluding that a manuscript is a direct copy of another should only be done tentatively while accepting that the two manuscripts may actually be sibling manuscripts or simply very closely related. But such concrete proof might be wishful thinking and it is likely that no other manuscript will be as obviously dependent on another as 0319 is on 06. While certain proof of an *Abschrift* is desirable, usually it is not available and the case of 0319 should be considered as an anomaly. We therefore must accept, and act tentatively, that when we have a manuscript which we think might be an *Abschrift* it could actually simply be a sibling manuscript. The reverse is also true: manuscripts which we think are siblings may actually be direct copies. This gray area is illustrated well in Josef Schmid's analysis of the relationship between 205 and 2886. He concludes that 2886 and 205 are sister manuscripts and that 2886 is not a copy

of 205.<sup>192</sup> In his concluding sentence to the section, however, he leaves room for 2886 to be a copy of 205.<sup>193</sup> This tentative conclusion is admirable since the distinction between sibling manuscripts and parent / child manuscripts is so fine.

We will see in VL83 in Chapter Four an example where a manuscript shares the closest textual agreement with another manuscript, VL76, but is actually the *Abschrift* of another manuscript, VL75. Although VL83's text shows the most affinity with VL76 it is still a copy of VL75. This is because both VL76 and VL83 Vulgate their *Vorlage* independently of one another. A recent handbook concerning Latin manuscripts of the New Testament has posited that VL83 may actually be a copy of VL76<sup>194</sup> but in fact the two manuscripts are siblings which both descend from VL75. This highlights the need to recognize the fine line between sister manuscripts and *Abschriften*. It also highlights the need for paleographical and codicological analysis in order to determine *Abschriften* and not textual analysis alone. It is only on paleographical grounds that VL83 is definitively concluded to be a copy of VL75 rather than VL76.

Note also that the Göttingen Septuagint series omits from collation any manuscript that is thought to be a daughter manuscript (*Abschrift*) or a sibling manuscript. This shows that, to the editors of the Göttingen Septuagint, the distinction between *Abschrift* and sibling manuscript was very fine to the point that a sibling manuscript was treated the same way as were *Abschriften*.

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<sup>192</sup> Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes, vol. I: Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia. Einleitung* (Munich, 1956), 287–88.

<sup>193</sup> Schmid, *Apokalypse*, 293: “Nach diesem Stemma sind zwei verlorene Hss (*x* und *y*) anzunehmen, während man mit einer (*x*) auskäme, wenn sich 205<sup>A</sup> [2886] als Kopie von 205 verstehen ließe.”

<sup>194</sup> See Hugh Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford, 2016), 246. See also page 80: “VL 83 ... copied in the tenth century from VL 75 or VL 76 ...”

An area for further research is to find a way to overcome the problem that a manuscript must first share a high degree of textual affinity with another manuscript before human eyes can then determine if it is an *Abschrift* or if they simply are in the same family. If a manuscript has been changed considerably from its *Vorlage* then we would never get a chance to determine that it is an *Abschrift* because it is not textually similar to any other manuscript. Perhaps a method could be devised to attempt to identify the group or type of manuscripts that would serve as a good candidate as the *Vorlage* for a manuscript. P<sup>127</sup> (P.Oxy.LXXIV 4968)<sup>195</sup> provides an illustration. P<sup>127</sup> exhibits an extremely high number of singular readings and contains a “free” type of text in the extreme. Following Royse’s model these singular readings would have been the creation of the scribe of P<sup>127</sup> themselves. If P<sup>127</sup> indeed created most of these singular readings then it follows that P<sup>127</sup> would not share a high degree of textual affinity with any other manuscript—not even its exemplar. We could nonetheless determine groups of manuscripts with which P<sup>127</sup> might agree and then employ human eyes to compare the candidate group with P<sup>127</sup>. Due to the text contained in P<sup>127</sup> one manuscript that could serve as a candidate would be Codex Bezae (05). We could then apply our human eyes and steps two through six in the above formula to 05 and P<sup>127</sup> in an attempt to determine if either 05 is the *Vorlage* of P<sup>127</sup> or if P<sup>127</sup> is the *Vorlage* of 05. After a brief investigation into this matter I have tentatively concluded that neither is a copy of the other and that they simply share a number of peculiar dual agreements. This negative result was to be expected. But this method holds true, I believe, that we could devise a way to determine candidates as a *Vorlage* for a manuscript and then apply our human eyes to determine if there is indeed a relationship. Perhaps, however, this was all just to say that it is worthwhile to investigate if a manuscript is an *Abschrift* of its next closest or next couple of closest

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<sup>195</sup> See D. C. Parker and S. R. Pickering, “4968. Acta Apostolorum 10–12, 15–17,” in D. Leith et. al. eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri LXXIV* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2009) for the *editio princeps*.

manuscripts. 821 agrees with 0141 94.7% of the time so this is an obvious pair for further investigation. But if P<sup>127</sup> were to share only 80% agreement with 05 (the exact figure is not known), then it would still be worthwhile to investigate whether P<sup>127</sup> is an *Abschrift* of 05 and its next few closest manuscripts. The likelihood of actually finding a dependent pair will increase when searching among younger manuscripts.

### **Methodology of the Present Project**

The exact method I used to analyze my sets of *Abschriften* varied among the manuscript pairs but not enough, I believe, to alter my conclusions. Part of the reason for the varying method is that the various manuscripts, being different, required different treatment. For example, manuscripts containing the book of John had already been transcribed in full in John by the IGNTP (2886, 205, 0141, 821).<sup>196</sup> For these test passages I relied on the available transcription with only minimal spot-checking.

Due to the large number of manuscripts studied I was not able to examine each manuscript firsthand but rather relied on the best available images and transcriptions if available. I did, however, examine 205 and 2886 in person at the Marciana library in Venice, Italy and P<sup>127</sup> in Oxford, England.

I have attempted to follow Royse's methodology as closely as possible in order that I may be able to compare our data against one another. I have included an analysis of the scribal habits of P<sup>127</sup> according to singular readings even though P<sup>127</sup> is not an *Abschrift* in order that I may familiarize myself with Royse's method and compare the habits in the *Abschriften* to another manuscript. My methodology for determining singular readings will follow the methodology outlined by Royse;<sup>197</sup> specifically, I will restrict collation to continuous-text Greek manuscripts.<sup>198</sup> I have collated the manuscripts in question against

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<sup>196</sup> See <http://www.iohannes.com/XML/start.xml>.

<sup>197</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 39–101.

<sup>198</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 73.

NA<sup>28, 199</sup> Tischendorf<sup>8, 200</sup> von Soden,<sup>201</sup> and Swanson.<sup>202</sup> In Chapter Four I deal with the Latin translation found in 06 / VL75 and its Latin *Abschriften*. When dealing with Latin variants I consulted the *Vetus Latina* (VLB) series where available. When dealing with a book which has not yet been treated by the VLB series I employed Wordsworth and White.<sup>203</sup> My methodology differs, of course, in that I am not focusing solely on singular readings but rather on all available variants between the parent and child manuscript. I have kept his categories of omissions, additions, substitutions, and transpositions. I have also modeled my statistical tables after his. I will discuss methodology further when discussing the manuscript pairs in the following chapters. I have reproduced the key statistics from Royse's study and from Hernández' in Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 for comparison purposes. The Tables also contain statistical analysis of the scribal habits of each scribe with a list of variant readings against their *Vorlage* in apparatus form.

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<sup>199</sup> Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece* (28<sup>th</sup> ed. of Nestle-Aland, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

<sup>200</sup> Constantin Tischendorf, ed. *Novum Testamentum Graece* (8<sup>th</sup> ed. Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1872).

<sup>201</sup> Hermann Freiherr von Soden, ed., *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913).

<sup>202</sup> Reuben J. Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998).

<sup>203</sup> John Wordsworth and Henry Julian White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, (Oxford: Oxford, 1889–1954).

### Chapter Three: Scribal Habits in P<sup>127</sup> (P.Oxy. LXXIV 4968)

Although P<sup>127</sup> is a late fragmentary witness of Acts (fifth century), a study analyzing its scribal habits of this type still must be carried out. In fact, Parker and Pickering explicitly state that such a study is needed.<sup>204</sup> Also, Royse argues that all witnesses should be analyzed: “Only similar analyses of later manuscripts would show in what ways scribal habits may have remained constant, and in what ways they may have changed throughout the scribal tradition.”<sup>205</sup> Additionally, Royse wonders if scribal conventions may have changed and become more constant in post-Constantine Christianity.<sup>206</sup> In light of Royse’s query, such

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<sup>204</sup> D. C. Parker and S. R. Pickering, “4968. Acta Apostolorum 10–12, 15–17,” in D. Leith et. al. eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri LXXIV* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2009), 13: “A number of these [distinctive] readings were previously singulars in Codex Bezae. The task of analysing the differences between them in these distinctive readings will be an important task in the re-examination of the tradition.”

<sup>205</sup> James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 31.

<sup>206</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 732–33: “Such a shift in the way in which scribes dealt with the text could reasonably be seen as resulting from the Church’s acquisition of the power to exercise ‘control’ on the text of the New Testament, and from the explicit establishment of the New Testament canon. And I believe that it is at least plausible that such a shift could have consequences for the likelihood of scribal omission or addition. In the first place, once the explicit canonization of certain books had occurred, we may imagine that scribes and correctors would have felt a weightier obligation to preserve every word of these books in its given order. Readers of the manuscripts would have been more likely to demand such accuracy, and the institution of the Church would have been able to enforce such accuracy more consistently. There is certainly some evidence that later scribes did reach much higher levels of accuracy than did any of the scribes of the papyri, and indeed even orthographic fluctuation appears to be minimal in many later manuscripts. This general striving for complete accuracy in copying could thus have balanced and even strongly outweighed whatever tendency there might have been toward omission. Accordingly, we may reasonably suppose that scribes would have been eager to preserve every word of the canonical text, and that correctors and readers would have desired such preservation.” I interpret Royse’s mention of “the Church’s acquisition of the power to exercise ‘control’ on the text of the New Testament, and from the explicit establishment of the New Testament canon” to have something to do with Constantine or a period soon after him. At Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 20 Royse divides textual history into pre-300 and post-300 and discusses that “the fourth century [the century during which Constantine lived] was probably the decisive century for what Colwell sees as the basic historical framework within which New Testament textual criticism must operate: the progressive establishment of control.” Also, “That some shift in scribal activity occurred would explain how so many textual critics could place such weight on a principle that so clearly contradicts the evidence from the papyri” *Scribal Habits*, 734.

studies on later manuscripts are necessary. A study of this type on all manuscripts is imperative as long as they are extensive enough to yield data.<sup>207</sup> P<sup>127</sup> is especially deserving of such an analysis because of the high praise it has received that it is “the most significant new addition to the Greek evidence since the publication in 1927 of P.Mich.inv.1571, containing 18.27–19.6, 19.12–16 (Gregory–Aland P<sup>38</sup>).”<sup>208</sup> Also, Christopher Tuckett notes that P<sup>127</sup> “has considerable text-critical interest.”<sup>209</sup> Lastly, Georg Gäbel comments that Acts is “among the most fascinating problems of New Testament textual scholarship. Every fresh piece of evidence that allows us to gain new insight into this problem will therefore be most welcome.”<sup>210</sup>

I have included analysis of P<sup>127</sup> in spite of the fact that P<sup>127</sup> is not an *Abschrift* to better understand Royse’s method and to be able to compare the scribal habits of the *Abschriften* to another manuscript. The results of this analysis will provide data with which text critics may factually declare whether the scribe of this fifth-century manuscript tended to add or omit and will provide data concerning the other general tendencies of this scribe (see Appendix for the complete compilation of every singular reading of P<sup>127</sup>). More analyses on other fifth-century witnesses will be needed in order to demonstrate whether the habits of the scribe of P<sup>127</sup> represent those of most fifth-century witnesses or if P<sup>127</sup> is an anomaly.

## Methodology

On the whole, I follow Royse’s method as closely as possible. For the transcription of this papyrus I rely wholly on Parker and Pickering’s transcription without questioning their

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<sup>207</sup> However, Peter M. Head conducted this same method on fragments as small as P<sup>52</sup>. Peter M. Head, “The Habits of New Testament Copyists: Singular Readings in the Early Fragmentary Papyri of John,” *Bib* 85.3 (2004): 399–408.

<sup>208</sup> Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 3.

<sup>209</sup> Christopher Tuckett, “The Early Text of Acts,” in *The Early Text of the New Testament* (ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger, Oxford: Oxford, 2012), 157, n. 1.

<sup>210</sup> Georg Gäbel, “The Text of P<sup>127</sup> and Its Relationship with the Text of Codex Bezae,” *NovT* (2011): 107–08. Gäbel accepts Royse’s findings that the scribes tended to omit more than they added. See Gäbel, “Text of P<sup>127</sup>,” 118 f. 16, 127, 138, 144.

reading of the papyrus or their reconstruction of the text. My methodology for determining singular readings will follow the methodology outlined by Royse;<sup>211</sup> specifically, I will restrict collation to continuous-text Greek manuscripts.<sup>212</sup> For the purposes of this paper I will compile statistics for all singular readings as found in the *editio princeps*. Even if a singular reading is found in a lacuna, I will trust the reconstructed transcription by the editors.<sup>213</sup> Diverging slightly from Royse’s model, this study has omitted “Asterisked Readings”<sup>214</sup> because, for the purposes of this paper, I am only interested in actual singular readings.

### The Manuscript

P<sup>127</sup> (P.Oxy.LXXIV.4968) is the “remains of eight leaves from two gatherings of a papyrus codex.”<sup>215</sup> It contains Acts 10–12, 15–17 and is dated to the fifth century. Although the codex is fragmentary it is still quite extensive and fits within Turner’s aberrants of group six.<sup>216</sup> The manuscript employs seven nomina sacra: θεός, πνεῦμα, πατήρ, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, and ἄνθρωπος. The hand is a relaxed biblical majuscule with brownish ink and generally follows Maas’ law to a slight degree in that the text of the page slants down and to the left. The folia survive in varying degrees of preservation; most of the beginning is highly

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<sup>211</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 39–101.

<sup>212</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 73.

<sup>213</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 93.

<sup>214</sup> Royse explains the importance of asterisked readings to determine a possible *Vorlage* and related mss: “Readings that are singular according to the evidence in Tischendorf, but find support from other sources consulted, are removed from consideration by being prefixed with “\*\*.” These readings, while *not properly part of our investigation*, are nevertheless of interest since the support is usually slender and, I believe, often likely to be coincidental. Thus I have attempted to indicate the origin of these readings as with the singular readings, and have cited them as supplementary evidence” Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 94, emphasis added. See also Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 67. Unlike the papyri studied by Royse, P<sup>127</sup> shares a very large number of readings with other mss (to a very high degree with Codex Bezae [05] but also to a lower degree with Vaticanus [03]), as noted by Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 13. Perhaps a future study would analyze readings shared with mss other than Bezae. For the purposes of this paper, we are only concerned with singular readings.

<sup>215</sup> Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 1.

<sup>216</sup> Eric G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 18. See also, Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 1.

lacunose and then it is better preserved toward the end of the manuscript. Notable features of the manuscript include that it is written in two columns. Only seven New Testament papyri are written in two columns and P<sup>127</sup> is one of them.<sup>217</sup> Folio 7a displays a page number (ριβ̄ = 112) which suggests that the manuscript contained only Acts.<sup>218</sup> The manuscript also retains the remnants of binding ties and binding holes. In addition, our fragment contains some of the most interesting passages in Acts: Cornelius' baptism, James of Zebedee's death by Herod, Peter's miraculous escape from prison, the end of the Jerusalem council, Paul's separation from Barnabas, a "we" passage, and, the best preserved passage in this manuscript, Paul and Silas' seismic escape from jail.

### **Scribal Habits of P<sup>127</sup>**

#### *Corrections*

A total of twelve corrections can be seen in P<sup>127</sup> (at 12:2; **12:3b**;<sup>219</sup> **16:13a**; **16:16d**; **16:16e**; **16:16f**; 16:30; **16:38c**; 16:40; 17:1; **17:4d**; **17:7c**). None of the corrections are *in scribendo* corrections and Hand 1 made only one of the corrections. Therefore only this one correction will concern us. Royse explains that when the original scribe themselves correct an original reading, the final reading is evaluated. Since our aim is to get an idea of the original scribe's habits, if they correct their own mistake then that is part of their own habit and the correction is the text that will stand. However, if the text is corrected by a different, later hand then the text of the first hand will stand. In sum, the latest version of the text as written by the original scribe will be the text that is evaluated for a singular reading. Royse explains: "I have decided to treat all corrections by someone other than the scribe simply as corrections by a

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<sup>217</sup> Parker and Pickering, "4968," 2.

<sup>218</sup> Parker and Pickering, "4968," 3.

<sup>219</sup> Throughout this study, bolded references will refer to variants with an entry in the Appendix. Therefore, for this variant, the reader may refer to "List of Singular Readings of P<sup>127</sup>" in the Appendix and find an apparatus for this variant under 12:3 referring to Acts 12:3. Some of these references are not found in the Appendix because the corrections were made by a later hand and the Apparatus only contains the scribal practices of the original scribe.

later hand, and have thus ignored them when considering the habits of the scribe. In fact, such corrections should be treated simply as another manuscript.”<sup>220</sup> Therefore, we will only discuss corrections made by the first hand in this section. We will however discuss singular readings that were not corrected by Hand 1 in the *Accuracy and Copying Technique* section.

#### *Corrections upon a Singular Reading*

There are no places in our papyrus where the original scribe corrects one of their singular readings to a non-singular reading. One possible correction is found in the insertion of κ(αι) at **16:13a**. However, due to the thickness of the reed, the darkness of the ink, and the ductus (the bottom angled stroke of the κ attaches to the *hasta* whereas most of the time our scribe writes a κ with the final angled stroke touching the first angled stroke) this correction was most likely not performed by the original scribe. Therefore, although this is the original scribe’s best candidate for a correction, I believe this is a correction by a later hand.

#### *Attempted Corrections upon a Singular Reading*

One singular reading exists at **Acts 12:3b** where the original scribe “corrected” from a singular to another singular reading. Hand 1 expunges (with expunging dots placed above the characters) πρoς in πρoς[λ]αβεσθαι and replaces the prefix with c[υλ] resulting in c[υλλ]αβεσθαι. This changes the word from πρoς[λ]αβεσθαι, a singular reading, to c[υλλ]αβεσθαι which is also a singular reading.

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<sup>220</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 77. Also, “Colwell in fact examines the readings of his manuscripts *before* correction, and thus includes as singular readings many errors that the scribes themselves corrected. However, in my opinion this practice is unjustified, and may give a very misleading impression of a scribe’s activity” (emphasis in original) Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 74. Lastly, Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 186 (185–89): “It is important to distinguish between corrections made by the original scribe, corrections made by another scribe but in a contemporary hand, and corrections that appear to be from a later hand. The last sort of corrections may offer important indications of how readers later than the time of the original scribe read a given text, and what sorts of readings they preferred. Corrections in the hand of the original scribe, however, tell us more about the attitude of that scribe toward the task of copying, and how concerned the scribe was to produce a satisfactory copy.”

**Table 3.1—P<sup>127</sup>'s Omissions and Additions<sup>221</sup>**

	Significant Singulars	Additions	Words in Additions	Average Words	Omissions	Words in Omissions	Average Words	Words in Omissions / Words in Additions	Substitutions	Net Words Gained / Lost in Substitutions	Net Words Lost	Net Words Lost Per Significant Singular	Transpositions
P <sup>127</sup>	201	35 (17.4%)	56	1.6	62 (31%)	104	1.68	1.86	72 (36%)	Lost 2	50	.249	32 (16%)

**Table 3.2—P<sup>127</sup>'s Orthographic Phenomena<sup>222</sup>**

	Total Singulars	Orthographic Singulars	Percentage	Orth. Sings. / NA Page	Orth. Sings. / 1,000 Words	Nonsense Singulars	Percentage	Nons. Sings. / NA Page <sup>223</sup>	Nons. Sings. / 1,000 Words
P <sup>127</sup>	209	4	1.9%	.65	3.518	4	1.9%	.65	3.518

<sup>221</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 719, 730–31 for the model for this table. See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 719, 730–31, 903.

<sup>222</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 885, 902 for a model for this table. I have copied his data from this same source.

<sup>223</sup> Royse does not provide this figure.

**Table 3.3—P<sup>127</sup>'s Error Rate**

	NA Lines	Words	Adjustment Factor	Singulars	Singulars / NA Page	Singulars / 1,000 Words
P <sup>127</sup>	154	1137	1.00 <sup>224</sup>	209	33.93	183.82

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<sup>224</sup> While Royse has attempted to calculate an “adjustment factor” in his study, I have not done so. As stated above, I rely entirely on the transcription by the editors. The editors have reconstructed, to the best of their ability, the full text of the fragments. That is to say that with the reconstruction by the editors there are no lacunae in the continuous sections of P<sup>127</sup>. Royse admits that his method is not perfect: “Since the papyri ... are more or less lacunose, we need to adjust the number of line to reflect the fragmentary nature of the texts. This is admittedly problematic. An orthographic variation could occur at any letter or pair of letters, and so we could only get an estimate of how many such singular readings existed in the lacunae by counting extant letters and missing letters; I have not done that. On the other hand, some kinds of variation, transpositions for example, might be detectable even if only a few letters were extant. What I have done is to estimate adjustment factors for the papyri or even for sections of the papyri, which are meant to represent how many of the once existing singular readings are now visible. I can but hope that the many arbitrarinesses in such an undertaking will skew the figures for all the papyri more or less equitably, so that the results will still allow reasonable comparisons. Finally, in order to have more manageable figures, I have arbitrarily considered twenty-five NA lines to be one ‘NA page,’ and calculated the rates of error per NA page” Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 899. The editors of P<sup>127</sup> have reconstructed numerous singular readings. In short, since I am treating the reconstruction with full confidence, I have not felt the need to follow Royse’s arbitrary method.

The references below constitute readings which are found only in P<sup>127</sup> and in no other known Greek manuscript. See Appendix for a full apparatus of each singular reading.

### *Insignificant Singulars*

Royse classifies orthographic singulars and nonsense singulars as insignificant singular variants. When a distinction is made between significant and insignificant singular readings the significant singular readings are the total number of singular readings without the orthographic and nonsense singular readings.<sup>225</sup>

### *Orthographic Singulars*

A total of four orthographic singular readings appear in our papyrus which are divided in two parts: proper names and all others. Two orthographic variants exist for proper names at **16:25b** and **16:29b** (which will be treated below, *Proper Names*). Concerning orthographic singular variants, Royse states: “In order to reduce the material involved in the present study to a more manageable level, I have decided to ignore certain common orthographic variations throughout the collation: interchanges of ει / ι, αι / ε, and οι / υ, presence or absence of movable ν ...”<sup>226</sup> Ignoring common orthographic variations is also important because most printed editions correct common orthographic variants with the result that in order to determine a true orthographic variant, one must consult each manuscript itself individually rather than an edition of the manuscript. The other orthographic singular readings are at **15:38a** and **16:19a**. The four orthographic singular variants are calculated as a group of their own and not as a substitution and constitute 1.9% of all singular readings.

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<sup>225</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 81.

<sup>226</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 81.

### Other Orthographic Singular Variants

15:38a	ηβο[υλε]το	ε→η <sup>227</sup>
16:19a	[ει]δο[ν]	ο→α <sup>228</sup>

### Nonsense Singulars

Four nonsense singular<sup>229</sup> readings are found in this manuscript at **16:24e**; **16:37b**; **17:4d** and **17:7c**. Hand 2 corrected two of the nonsense singulars; one at **17:4d** and the other at **17:7c**. The other two remain uncorrected. Nonsense singular readings are counted as a group of their own and not as substitutions and constitute 1.9% of the total singular readings.

### Nonsense Singular Readings

16:24e	την φυλακην την εωτερω <sup>230</sup>
16:37b	ακαταιτιαςτους δειραν[τ]ε <sup>231</sup>
17:4d	ολιαι
17:7c	πραcco

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<sup>227</sup> See Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino – La Goliardica, 1976), II:228–30 for a discussion of the augment of βούλομαι. “βούλομαι ... regularly augmented η- in the Ptolemaic papyri, show[s] a reversion to the classical ε- augment in different degrees,” and “βούλομαι has the η- augment only sporadically and early; the ε- augment occurs very frequently,” Gignac, *Grammar*, 228, 229. Gignac’s use of “very frequently” signifies “in very many instances (over 200 examples” and “sporadically” signifies “1–5 examples,” Gignac, *Grammar*, I:50. For general substitutions of ε with η see Gignac, *Grammar*, I:244–47.

<sup>228</sup> This orthographic singular variant is only orthographically different from the irregular reading in 05: ειδαν. Codex Bezae is the only text to read ειδαν here (08 and 81 read ειδοντες). P<sup>127</sup> is orthographically singular but only when compared against 05. P<sup>127</sup> actually has a more morphologically correct reading than 05. If 05 had not written ειδαν here then P<sup>127</sup> would instead be a substitution instead of an orthographic variant. Concerning the common substitution of –ον second aorist indicative active first person singular and third person plural endings with –αν (borrowing from the first aorist) see Gignac, *Grammar*, II:335–36: “The endings of the first aorist are very frequently substituted for those of the second aorist. This phenomenon, paralleled throughout the Koine, led to the fusion of these two aorist inflections in the Modern Greek universal aorist paradigm ... . The first aorist endings most frequently used are those of the first person singular, first person plural and third person plural.” See also BDF §80–81; Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 161 n. 282.

<sup>229</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 90.

<sup>230</sup> Nonsense because the dative ending does not match its accusative article.

<sup>231</sup> Nonsense because ακαταιτιαςτους is not a word.

### *Proper Names*

Four times our scribe has a singular reading of a proper name (**16:2b**; **16:25b**; **16:29b**; **17:10b**); most of the time referring to Silas.<sup>232</sup> The proper name singular readings are divided into two groups: orthographic singular variants (**16:25b**; **16:29b**; [both referring to Silas], which are counted with the orthographic variants category) and other proper name singular variants (**16:2b** and **17:10b**, which are calculated as substitutions).

In each case of the proper name orthographic singulars, which all refer to Silas, our scribe adds ε after λ: Cιλεαc. In each case the scribe maintained the proper case ending (except for **17:10b** which will be treated as a substitution below). Only two other times in all extant witnesses of the book of Acts is Cιλαc spelled with ε following the λ, and these two times are both in 05.<sup>233</sup> Also, no extant Greek text (according to the *TLG*, which may not include all orthographic variants) uses this spelling either. An alternate spelling of Cιλαc exists in the form of Cειλαc which is quite common but Cιλεαc is extraordinarily rare outside of P<sup>127</sup>. Blass, Debrunner, and Funk posit that this form comes from “perhaps Grecized and Latinized forms of the same Semitic name.”<sup>234</sup>

#### **Proper Name Orthographic Singular Variants**

16:25b	Cιλεαc	α→εα
16:29b	Cιλεα	α→εα

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<sup>232</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 82, 96. I include proper name singular variants in order to follow Royse’s methodology but also to heed Eldon J. Epp’s advice. After discussing the uselessness of mere orthographic differences, he comments: “There is, however, a genuine area of exception, and that concerns the spelling of proper nouns; some classical text-critical and historical problems turn on the forms of names for persons or places, and both experience and prudence suggests that, other things being equal, these particular orthographic differences be preserved in the critical apparatus and as part of the ‘significant’ data of textual criticism” Eldon J. Epp, “Toward the Clarification of the Term ‘Textual Variant,’” in *Studies in New Testament Text and Language: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick* (ed. J. K. Elliott; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 169.

<sup>233</sup> This is according to Swanson, who is careful to include all orthographic variants. These two instances are at 15:34 in 05 (Cειλεα) and 17:4 in the *margins* of 05 (Cιλεα).

<sup>234</sup> BDF §125(2). See also BDF §52(2).

In addition to the proper name orthographic singular variants, two other proper name substitution singular variants are found in P<sup>127</sup>. At **16:2b**, P<sup>127</sup> reads [Λυ]cτ[ρ]η where all others read Λύcτροιc (except 330 which reads Λυcτρω). Perhaps a better reading here in P<sup>127</sup> would be Λύcτρη. Since most manuscripts, including P<sup>127</sup>, did not employ iota adscript or subscript or accents, the dative singular and the nominative singular are identical. Therefore, similar to 330, perhaps our scribe changed the text to a dative singular rather than a dative plural.<sup>235</sup>

At **17:10b** we find another example of a singular reading of the name Silas. However, in this occasion, although it is an orthographic variant, it will be counted instead as a substitution. In addition to including the same aberrant orthography as discussed above, in this verse P<sup>127</sup> also changes the case of the name Silas from Cιλᾶν (accusative) to Cιλεα (dative). Such a substantive change qualifies as a substitution rather than simply an orthographic variant.

#### Proper Name Other Singular Variants

16:2b	[Λυ]cτ[ρ]η
17:10b	Cιλεα

### *Accuracy and Copying Technique*

#### *Addition*

There are 35 significant singular additions which constitute 17.4% of the total significant singular readings. A total of 56 words were added in the 35 additions resulting in an average of 1.6 words per addition.

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<sup>235</sup> Because the dative form of Λύcτρα is only properly extant in the plural, any attempt to change it to the singular is difficult. 330 substitutes Λύcτρω whereas, if I am correct, P<sup>127</sup> substitutes Λύcτρη. Λύcτρα would be another possible option for the dative singular as found in Epiphanius, *Index discipulorum*, 124.18; John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the First Epistle to Timothy*, 62.501, 556; John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 63.184. Neither Λύcτρω nor Λύcτρη are found in any extant Greek literature (according to the *TLG*). For the declension of Λύcτρα see BDF §57.

The addition at **10:33c** is influenced by the non-singular substitution of *ιδου* for *ουν* with the result that P<sup>127</sup> reads “And now behold...” against the standard “Therefore, now...” This is most likely an intentional variant rather than an accident and has no theological significance.

**10:41c** is an addition and is a possible example of dittography where the scribe read three words beginning with *ουν*- very closely with one another. Perhaps after copying *ουν[ανε]τρα[φημεν]* the scribe went back to find their place in the text and grabbed onto the previous *ουν*- word *ουνεπιουμεν* which is followed by *αυτω*. After copying this word they went back to find their place and got back on track with *μετα*.

**10:42c**, as Parker and Pickering note, is “a remodeling based on 2:23.”<sup>236</sup>

### *Omission*

There are 62 significant singular omissions which comprise 31% of the significant singular readings. A total of 104 words were omitted in 62 cases of omission with an average of 1.68 words per omission. When compared with the additions and substitutions we find a net loss of 50 words.

The omission at **10:33b** is necessary due to P<sup>127</sup>'s non-singular addition of *παρακαλων ελθειν προς ημας* before *ου τε*. Had P<sup>127</sup> retained *παραγενομενος* it would have been somewhat redundant: “Therefore, I sent for you immediately pleading you to come to us and kindly you have come to us.” Instead, P<sup>127</sup> omitted *παραγενομενος* with the result that it now reads: “Therefore, I sent for you immediately pleading you to come to us and kindly you did swiftly” (the addition of “swiftly” *εν ταχει* is also not a singular addition). Therefore, I will classify this omission as intentional with no significant theological intent.

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<sup>236</sup> Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 32.

**10:34b** is related to the singular substitution of ἀποκριθεις for ἀνοιξας at **10:34a**. Instead of reading “And after opening his mouth Peter said...” P<sup>127</sup> reads “And answering Peter said...” This is an intentional variant with no theological change.

In **10:41b**, P<sup>127</sup> omits μαρτυριαν. This is presumably because the scribe finds it unnecessary to say that they were chosen by God *as witnesses* and that it is enough to state that they were simply chosen by God. Also, since P<sup>127</sup> most likely would have retained μαρτυρες in 10:39, he may have found it redundant in 10:41.

### *Transposition*

There are 32 significant singular transpositions representing 16% of the significant singular readings.

### *Substitution*

There are 72 significant singular substitutions which account for 36% of all significant singular readings. Concerning the precise definition of a substitution and how it differs from an addition or omission, Royse comments: “It is often observed in the literature on linguistic errors that substitutions tend to be of the same grammatical category; e.g., a noun is substituted for a noun, not for a preposition.”<sup>237</sup> I have followed this practice. Unlike Royse, however, I will include the total numbers of words lost or gained into the statistics of net words lost. P<sup>127</sup> substitutes often and erratically with 72 substitutions and a net loss of two words.

The conjunction in **10:33a** is an example of P<sup>127</sup>'s habit of substituting (and also transposing) και for δε / τε and vice versa. Due to the post-positivity of δε / τε, και must be placed in the positive position. For this reason I have not treated this as an example of transposition because it is a mandatory transposition. In the same way, we see that this variant

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<sup>237</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 94 n. 95.

is definitely not an accidental change because the scribe has the awareness of mind to change the positivity of the conjunction. This change has no theological significance.

**10:34a** is related to the singular omission of το στομα at **10:34b**. Instead of reading “And after opening his mouth Peter said...” P<sup>127</sup> reads “And answering Peter said...” This is an intentional variant.

**10:40** seems as a simple synonymous substitution. It does not seem to be a transcriptional error but rather an intentional change with no theological importance.

P<sup>127</sup>'s overall error rate<sup>238</sup> of 33.93 singular readings per NA page is extremely high when compared to the error rates for the scribes studied by Royse.<sup>239</sup> His scribes ranged from 1.8–7.9. Parker and Pickering comment about our scribe's “extreme tendency to abbreviate.”<sup>240</sup> Our scribe surely loses more words than they gain (see Table 3.1). Parker and Pickering also posit that P<sup>127</sup> displays two offsetting characteristics: “against expansions similar to those found in Codex Bezae ... may be set a habit of tersely summarizing whole phrases.”<sup>241</sup> Concerning the main question at hand, whether or not the scribe omits more than they add, we can conclude that, on the whole, this scribe does indeed omit more than they add. In total, P<sup>127</sup> lost 50 words omitting 8.12 words per NA page.

Royse also wondered if perhaps witnesses from later centuries (e.g. post-Constantine) would become much more regular and uniform. We can conclusively say that P<sup>127</sup> does not exhibit a uniform or strict text. In fact, P<sup>127</sup> seems to be a narrative rewriting of Acts.<sup>242</sup> That

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<sup>238</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 898–99 for his formula.

<sup>239</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 900. See also Table 3.3.

<sup>240</sup> Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 42.

<sup>241</sup> Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 8. They later restate that here we have an “expanding free text that has a strong tendency to omit. That this is a common feature in manuscripts is undeniable. That it is especially marked in  $\mathfrak{B}$  is evident. This makes a striking contrast with Codex Bezae, which rarely omits” Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 12.

<sup>242</sup> See Georg Gäbel: “A more detailed, more realistic, more logical rendering of events, additional information about times and places, thoughts and emotions, verbatim rendering of quotations instead of abbreviations that presuppose the author's and readers' perspective, the resolution of ambiguities in the text and generally increased narrative

is to say that the types of singular variants in P<sup>127</sup> do not seem to be theological but rather in order to aid the story. Parker and Pickering note that many of P<sup>127</sup> distinctive readings “contain strong echoes”<sup>243</sup> from other parts of the book of Acts. This scribe exhibits drastic textual differences from any other Greek witness. Parker and Pickering have shown that this papyrus agrees with Bezae (05) often.<sup>244</sup> This is true for the most part but there are many readings (209 of them at least) where our scribe does not follow Bezae or any other known manuscript. It has long been assumed that Acts had a two-text problem: a shorter text represented by Codex Vaticanus (03) and a longer form represented by Codex Bezae. But Parker and Pickering clarify that P<sup>127</sup> “offers a strong challenge to this view, leading rather to the recognition that if a text could exist in one free version, it could exist in many. The fact is that P offers a new free version. Although it differs greatly from Codex Vaticanus, it also presents a strikingly different version from that found in Codex Bezae.”<sup>245</sup> They conclude that “it is hard to see how the bipolar concept of a two-text form of Acts can continue to be maintained.”<sup>246</sup> Concerning the relationship between Codex Bezae and P<sup>127</sup> they provide: “Like Codex Bezae, [P<sup>127</sup>] is somewhat longer than Codex Vaticanus, and like Codex Bezae

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coherence—all these changes may be best described in terms of narrative criticism,” Georg Gäbel, “The Text of P<sup>127</sup>,” 148.

<sup>243</sup> Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 13.

<sup>244</sup> “A number of these readings were previously singulars in Codex Bezae,” Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 13. These are the peculiar dual agreements between P<sup>127</sup> and 05: Acts 10:33: παρακαλων ελθειν προς ημας; Acts 10:33: εν ταχει; Acts 10:33: ιδου; Acts 10:41: συνανεστραφημεν; Acts 10:41: ημερας; Acts 11:2: ποιουμενος δια των χωρων διδασκων αυτους ος και κατηντησεν; Acts 11:2: και απηγγειλεν αυτοις την χαριν του θεου; Acts 11:2: αδελφοι ... προς αυτον; Acts 12:1: τας χειρας (transposition); Acts 12:3: η επιχειρησεις αυτου επι τους πιςτους; Acts 12:7: τω πετρω; Acts 15:34: μονος δε ιουδας επορευθη; Acts 15:35: ο δε παυλος; (this is not an exhaustive list). These are readings which were only present in 05, previously called singular readings, before the discovery of P<sup>127</sup> which are now no longer singular readings.

<sup>245</sup> Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 6.

<sup>246</sup> Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 8.

its wording often varies from Codex Vaticanus. But its variations from it are by no means identical with those of Codex Bezae.”<sup>247</sup>

## Conclusions

A conclusion from my study is how matter of fact many of the singular readings are. Most of the singular readings were a word here and there with no significant change to meaning but rather to smooth out the reading.

At first glance the statistics concerning the scribal habits of P<sup>127</sup> seem to imply that the scribe of P<sup>127</sup> acted very similarly to the scribes studied by Royse. In Table 3.1 we see that P<sup>127</sup> had 201 significant singular readings with 35 additions and 62 omissions. These statistics look strikingly similar to those of P<sup>45</sup>'s scribe who had 210 significant singular readings with 29 additions and 60 omissions. Indeed, all of Royse's scribes' additions were about 10–20% of their total significant singular readings—just like P<sup>127</sup>'s 17%. Similarly, their omissions constituted about 30% of their significant singular readings just like P<sup>127</sup>'s 31%. So there appear to be striking similarities between Royse's scribes and the scribe of P<sup>127</sup>. But upon closer examination we find that P<sup>45</sup> made these 210 significant singular readings over 1,894 NA lines or about 75 NA pages (Table 3.3). Additionally, P<sup>46</sup> made 452 significant singular readings over 3,592 NA lines or about 143 NA pages. The scribe of P<sup>127</sup> made their 201 significant singular readings over just six NA pages. So, while the scribe of P<sup>127</sup> acted similarly to Royse's scribe in relation to the ratio of additions, omissions, and substitutions, they did so to an extreme degree. Put another way, we see in Table 3.3 that P<sup>127</sup>'s error rate was more than four times greater than the next closest scribe's error rate in P<sup>72</sup> and is more than six times greater than the error rates in P<sup>45</sup>, P<sup>46</sup>, and P<sup>47</sup>. P<sup>127</sup> created a singular reading thirty-three times per NA page. Royse estimates that an NA page is about twenty-five lines on

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<sup>247</sup> Parker and Pickering, “4968,” 6.

average.<sup>248</sup> P<sup>127</sup>, therefore, created a significant singular reading more than once per line of NA text. P<sup>127</sup> did act similarly to Royse's scribes but to a very extreme degree.

Of importance is that this study has somewhat reinforced Royse's findings concerning *lectio brevior*. The scribe of P<sup>127</sup> does indeed omit more than they add and is within the same range of omission as Royse's scribes. However, the text as contained in P<sup>127</sup> does not depict a greater level of fixity.. In fact, with respect to P<sup>127</sup> only, P<sup>127</sup> suggests that the opposite is true since we see much greater textual variation in this late witness. Since conclusions concerning fifth-century scribal habits as a whole cannot be made based on one manuscript, further analysis of contemporary manuscripts is needed. We can only hope that more data sets will be available to us when more papyri from the fifth century are found and analyzed.

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<sup>248</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 899.

## Chapter Four: Codex Claromontanus and the Scribal Habits of its *Abschriften*

Codex Claromontanus (06) is a fifth-century majuscule bilingual parchment codex of the Pauline epistles housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.<sup>249</sup> Its exact copying location is unknown but was “manifestly in the West and possibly in South Italy”<sup>250</sup> and “possibly in Sardinia.”<sup>251</sup> Jean Irigoin preferred Sicily as their place of origin rather than southern Italy.<sup>252</sup> Alexander Souter argued that the *Vorlage* of the Latin text of

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<sup>249</sup> The *Liste* gives a date of sixth century but Parker, Lowe, Frede, Gryson, Eymann and Fröhlich date it to the fifth century. The entire list of *Abschriften* in Table 2 follows the *Liste* and therefore 06 is listed as sixth century even though a consensus seems to agree on the fifth century. See David C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2008), 259; E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century* (Oxford: Oxford, 1950), V:3; H. J. Frede, *Ein Neuer Paulustext und Kommentar* (VLBSup 7; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1973), I.76; H. J. Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos* (VLB 25.1; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1975), I.23–24; H. J. Frede, *Epistula ad Ephesios* (VLB 24.1; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1962), I.11\*–12\*; Roger Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften Manuscripts Vieux Latins: Répertoire descriptif* (VLB 1/2A; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1999), I.119. Hugo S. Eymann, *Epistula ad Romanos* (VLB 21; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1996), I.19; Uwe Fröhlich, *Epistula ad Corinthios I* (VLB 22; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1995); I.26. See Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 19. See also Constantin Tischendorf, *Codex Claromontanus siue Epistulae Pauli Omnes* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1832), ix–xiv for further description of the manuscript.

<sup>250</sup> Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, V:3. See also E. A. Lowe, “Some Facts about Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts,” *The Classical Quarterly* 19.3/4 (1925): 205 where Lowe concludes that Claromontanus may have been written in Italy due to the fact that it at times employs a large letter at the beginning of each page on the Latin side of the text. Kenyon also assigned Claromontanus to Southern Italy: F. G. Kenyon, “Codex Bezae,” *JTS* 1.2 (1900): 297. Of its location in light of the use of the bd uncial Frede comments: “Die bd-Unziale ist ein toter Nebenzweig am Baum der Entwicklung der lateinischen Schrift, und ihre Verwendung in unserer Handschrift läßt von vornherein darauf schließen, daß sie nicht in den großen lateinischen Schreibzentren Italiens entstanden sein kann, sondern nur in einem abgelegenen, provinziellen Scriptorium, das der Entwicklung nicht folgte” H. J. Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften* (VLBSup 4; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1964), 19. Eymann, Fröhlich and Gryson also say southern Italy: Eymann, *Epistula ad Romanos*, I.19; Fröhlich, *Epistula ad Corinthios I*, I.27; Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, I.119. Perhaps Sardinia would qualify as not a part of the great Latin writing centers of Italy and as a remote provincial scriptorium. In 1973, however, Frede states that Claromontanus was copied in Southern Italy: Frede, *Paulustext*, I.76.

<sup>251</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 259.

<sup>252</sup> See Jean Irigoin, “L’écriture grecque du Codex de Bèze,” in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994* (D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux, eds.; NTTS 22; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 11.

Claromontanus was the same *Vorlage* used by Lucifer of Cagliari and that that bilingual manuscript originally belonged to Sardinia.<sup>253</sup> Souter described the historical situation that necessitated a Greco-Latin copy of the bible detailing that in 533 “Sardinia came into the possession of the Eastern Byzantine empire, the language of which was Greek. Hence the necessity for a Greek version of the Bible in the island. The inhabitants spoke Latin, the invaders Greek. A bilingual bible was a necessity for Church services. Such a codex I believe Claromontanus to have been.”<sup>254</sup> Claromontanus is a descendent of a fourth-century bilingual edition of Paul.<sup>255</sup> The whole of 06 was originally copied by the same scribe<sup>256</sup> except for a few supplemental folia which were added in the sixth century. Frede described it in 1964 as having 533 sheets of very fine parchment<sup>257</sup> and Scrivener writes that the sheets are “the thinnest and finest vellum.”<sup>258</sup> Codex Claromontanus is lacunose in Romans 1:1–7 and is supplemented at Romans 1:27–30 and 1 Corinthians 14:13–22.

In the second half of the eighth century Claromontanus was brought to Corbie, France.<sup>259</sup> The codex is notable for having a total of nine correctors with varying amounts of corrections among them. Most of the corrections were made by a scribe who Tischendorf called D\*\*\* and who worked in the ninth century who I will call 06\*\*\*.<sup>260</sup> This same scribe

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<sup>253</sup> See Alexander Souter, “The Original Home of Codex Claromontanus (D<sup>PAUL</sup>),” *JTS* 6 (1905): 241.

<sup>254</sup> Souter, “Original Home,” 242.

<sup>255</sup> See Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, I.119; Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.23.

<sup>256</sup> See Lowe, “Oldest Latin Manuscripts,” 204.

<sup>257</sup> See Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften*, 16: “Die Handschrift besitzt heute insgesamt noch 533 Blätter aus sehr feinem Pergament.”

<sup>258</sup> F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (London: Bell and Sons, 1883), 163.

<sup>259</sup> Thus Gryson: “in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhundert gelangte der Claromontanus nach Corbie, wo ein ausgeprägtes Interesse an alten Texten bestand ... und wurde dort oder in der Nähe mehrfach kopiert” Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, I.119. See also Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.23.

<sup>260</sup> Tischendorf, *Codex Claromontanus*, xxv.

also added the accents and breathings. Sometime after 06\*\*\* finished correcting, Codices Sangermanensis (0319 / VL76) and Waldeccensis (0320 / VL83) were copied from Codex Claromontanus. Between 1565 and 1582 Theodore Beza found the manuscript in the abbey of Clermont, France (from whence it received the name Claromontanus).<sup>261</sup> It then somehow soon thereafter came into the possession of Claude Dupuy<sup>262</sup> and was passed down through the Dupuy family until it was donated to the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris in 1657.<sup>263</sup>

### Order of Pauline Epistles

The order of the Pauline epistles in Codices Claromontanus and Sangermanensis is strong evidence that 0319 is a copy of 06. Codex Claromontanus contains all of the canonical Pauline epistles, including Hebrews, mostly in canonical order but with Colossians and Philippians transposed. 06 and 0319 are the only New Testament Greek manuscripts with these books in this order (0320 is too fragmentary to tell what order it is in and it is lacunose in both Philippians and Colossians).<sup>264</sup> With respect to Greek manuscripts, Frede calls the ordering of Colossians before Philippians “außerordentlich selten” or “extremely rare.”<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> See Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, I.120; Frederic G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (2d. ed.; London: Macmillan, 1912), 80; Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1883), 164.

<sup>262</sup> See Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.23.

<sup>263</sup> See Ofelia Salgado, “France and the Transmission of Latin Manuscripts,” in *The Classical Heritage of France* (ed. Gerald Sandy; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 40. See also Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900), 107–08.

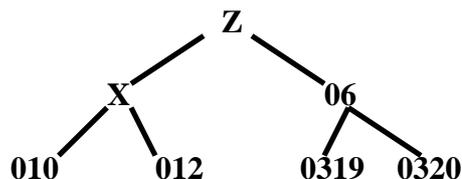
<sup>264</sup> See H. J. Frede, *Epistulae ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses* (VLB 24.2; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1966), 290–303 for the traditions of ordering of the Pauline epistles. See especially 299–300 where he discusses codex Claromontanus. See also H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford, 2016), 195–96 for a table of the order of the Pauline letters in the Latin tradition. See also Parker, *Introduction*, 256.

<sup>265</sup> See Frede, *Epistulae ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses*, 300. 049 (ninth century) also places Colossians before Philippians but also places all the rest of the books in a very different order starting with Acts, then the Catholic epistles, then the Pauline epistles in this order: Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Colossians, Philippians, Galatians, and

Concerning Latin manuscripts Frede writes that such an ordering is “nur selten bezeugt” or “rarely witnessed.”<sup>266</sup> I have not been able to find any Greek or Latin manuscript that follows the exact same order as 06 and 0319. That 06 and 0319 share such a rare ordering system suggests a link between the two manuscripts.

### Codex Claromontanus and its Relatives

Parker gives a stemma of this group of manuscripts:<sup>267</sup>



0319 is our earliest example of a known duplicate New Testament manuscript.

Additionally, Codex Claromontanus is the only extant New Testament manuscript to have two known duplicates in 0319 and 0320. 0319 and 0320 are also the only known duplicate majuscule manuscripts. Lastly, all of these manuscripts are diglots containing both Greek and Latin. According to Parker, there are only twenty-four bilingual Greco-Latin New Testament manuscripts of which we will be discussing three in this study and the above 010 and 012 are two others.<sup>268</sup>

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Ephesians. The fourteenth century minuscule 5 also places Colossians before Philippians but has Hebrews before the Pastoral epistles.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid. Frede details that early Christian writers such as Augustine and Isidore sometimes made passing mention of the Pauline epistles with Colossians before Philippians. See Augustine, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* 2.4; *Epistula* 49.2, 51.5; Isidore, *Prooemia* 93.

<sup>267</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 260. This stemma is found in Parker’s *Introduction* but the explanation of the stemma originates with Peter Corssen, *Epistularum Paulinarum codices Graece et Latine scriptos: augiensem boernerianum claromontanum examinavit inter se comparavit ad communem originem revocavit* (Kiel: Heinrich Fiencke, 1887 and 1889). See also Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*; James R. Royse, “The Early Text of Paul (and Hebrews),” in *The Early Text of the New Testament* (ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger; Oxford: Oxford, 2012), 179.

<sup>268</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 69.

## Methodology

In studying this group of duplicate manuscripts I was fortunate that Tischendorf and others have already studied Codex Claromontanus in depth and have provided a transcription.<sup>269</sup> I relied heavily on Tischendorf's transcription to double-check my work as a resource especially where the manuscript is difficult to read. His appendix concerning corrections was particularly useful. The Bibliothèque nationale de France provides high-resolution full color images of this codex.<sup>270</sup>

The thinness of the parchment of 06 made reading the manuscript very difficult—not only for me but also for the scribes of 0319 and 0320. Scrivener comments, “[The vellum of Codex Claromontanus’] extraordinary delicacy has caused the writing at the back of every page to be rather too visible on the other side.”<sup>271</sup> We will later discuss an example where the thinness of the parchment in 06 caused a variant in 0319. Using the Textus Receptus (TR) as a base, I collated against it Codices Claromontanus (06), Sangermanensis (0319) and Waldeccensis (0320) for the test passages where 0320 is extant.<sup>272</sup>

The tremendous amount of corrections in Codex Claromontanus made comparing 0319 and 0320 to 06 quite difficult. Frederick William Shipley had the same problem when studying duplicate manuscripts of Livy.<sup>273</sup> The fifth-century parent manuscript which he

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<sup>269</sup> Tischendorf, *Codex Claromontanus*. Swanson also includes 06 in his parallel line transcription in the volumes which I consulted which were Romans and 2 Corinthians. See Reuben Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Romans* (Pasadena: William Carey International, 2001); Reuben Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: 2 Corinthians* (Pasadena: William Carey International, 2005).

<sup>270</sup> Images can be accessed through the library's website ([www.bnf.fr](http://www.bnf.fr)) or found more directly here: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84683111> and here: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10515443k>.

<sup>271</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 163–64.

<sup>272</sup> 0320 contains 2 Corinthians 12:7–20; Ephesians 1:13–19; 2:11–18; and Titus 1:9–3:11. I also included more test passages for 0319 since it contains much more material than 0320. I added Romans 1:7–32 and Ephesians 1:3–9 to my analysis of 0319.

<sup>273</sup> Frederick William Shipley, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts* (New York: Macmillan, 1904). See Roysse's discussion of Shipley's study: James R. Roysse,

studied (P) had three correctors before the ninth-century duplicate (R, having eight scribes) was copied: the original scribe himself corrected the text, followed by two others. Shipley noticed: “the scribes follow the one reading or the other almost at random, often giving the reading of P<sup>1</sup> when it is manifestly wrong, or of P<sup>2</sup> when the original reading is manifestly right, and often the correction passed unnoticed entirely.”<sup>274</sup> The scribes of 0319 and 0320 were more consistent in whether to follow the correction or the original hand but were not perfectly consistent. They both mostly followed the corrected text as corrected by 06\*\*\*.

Following Royse’s model the reading that will inform our judgments concerning scribal habits is the final reading given by the original scribe.<sup>275</sup>

Because 0319 and 0320 have long been considered copies of 06 they have often been ignored as is apparent in this comment from Eberhard Nestle: “[Codex Sangermanensis is] in the Greek merely an incorrect transcript of [Codex Claromontanus], and may therefore be dismissed.”<sup>276</sup> This is, in fact, a larger problem that faces all duplicate manuscripts: they have been ignored from text critical consideration. While it is correct to exclude a manuscript from critical editions when we can know that it is a copy, it is not sufficient to ignore it altogether. While the text that duplicate manuscripts contain is dependent upon another known text, these manuscripts contain valuable information concerning the nature of scribal copying. Because these child manuscripts have largely been ignored it has been difficult to find transcriptions or

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*Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 34–35.

<sup>274</sup> Shipley, *Latin Manuscripts*, 64.

<sup>275</sup> “I have considered the readings of a manuscript to be its readings after correction by the original scribe,” Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 76; see also Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 74–79.

<sup>276</sup> Eberhard Nestle, *Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* (tr. William Edie; New York: Putnam’s Sons, 1901), 77. See also Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton James Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), II:255: “These instructive phenomena naturally receive little consideration now, because the exact knowledge that we possess of the original [Claromontanus] renders attention to the copy [Sangermanensis] superfluous.”

any studies concerning them. I was fortunate to find a transcription for all parts of 0320.<sup>277</sup>

These studies on 0320 are especially useful since Codex Waldeccensis has recently been lost.

### **Codex Claromontanus (06) and Codex Sangermanensis (0319)**

Codex Sangermanensis is a ninth-century majuscule bilingual parchment codex of the Pauline epistles housed at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg.<sup>278</sup> The codex contains 177 folia with 31 lines per page. It is 36 cm tall and 27.5 cm wide. The Greek text is a ninth-century biblical majuscule<sup>279</sup> described as a “large, coarse hand.”<sup>280</sup> The Latin text is a ninth-century uncial.<sup>281</sup> The exact copying location is difficult to ascertain but many commentators conclude that 0319 was copied near Corbie, France where Claromontanus was located.<sup>282</sup> Sangermanensis found its way from Corbie to Saint-Germain-des-Prés (from

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<sup>277</sup> Transcriptions and facsimiles of 0320: Karin Bredehorn, “Aus Fuldischen Handschriften. Codex Waldeccensis: Fragmente einer griechisch-lateinischen Bibelhandschrift (olim Arolsen-Mengeringhausen, Stadtarchiv s. n.; Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Best. 147 Hr 2, 2),” *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1999): 455–514; Viktor Schultze, *Codex Waldeccensis (Dw Paul): unbekannte Fragmente einer griechisch-lateinischen Bibelhandschrift* (Munich: C. H. Becksche, 1904). Hugh Houghton also kindly provided me with transcriptions of VL75, VL76 and VL83 from the COMPAUL project.

<sup>278</sup> See Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste*, 19; Kurt Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR: Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan* (TUGAL 91; Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 38.

<sup>279</sup> See Ruth Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands: A.D. 400 – 1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), xvii. Note that Barbour uses the term uncial but accepts the difficulty with the term: “The word ‘uncial’ is not very aptly used, especially of the later styles that developed from biblical uncial; but, since the precise meaning of the word has never been established nor any satisfactory alternative suggested, it remains the most convenient term to describe writing that is not miniscule and yet not entirely capitals,” Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, xvi. I prefer to refer to the hand as a majuscule hand but have here used the term that Barbour supplies. See E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (BASPSup 47; 2d ed.; ed. P. J. Parsons; London: University of London, 1987), 1: “Let us call handwriting in which each letter ‘stands independent and for itself’ writing in *capitals* (not ‘uncials,’ a word which has a precise meaning in Latin writing, but only a derived and imprecise one in Greek).”

<sup>280</sup> Kenyon, *Handbook*, 102. Scrivener: “Its uncials are coarse, large, and thick,” Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 166.

<sup>281</sup> See Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 243; Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 35–36.

<sup>282</sup> See Frede, *Paulustext*, I.76; Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 42–45; Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.25; Gryson, *Allateinische Handschriften*, I.122; Bredehorn, “Codex Waldeccensis,” 470–71; Treu, *Griechischen*

whence it received the name Sangermanensis) in Paris (140 kilometers south of Corbie) at an unknown time.<sup>283</sup> During the French Revolution, Peter Dubrowski brought it to Saint Petersburg where it remains today.<sup>284</sup> In two places in 0319 the words “*Ex museo Petri Dubrowsky*” can be found (1r, 176v). The page is written in two columns with Greek on the left and Latin on the right. Being a copy of Codex Claromontanus, it was formerly referred to as D<sup>abs1</sup>. Like 06, it contains all of the canonical Pauline epistles, including Hebrews, in canonical order but with Colossians and Philippians transposed. One notable difference between 0319 and 06 is that 0319 copies both Greek and Latin on the same page whereas 06 (and 0320) copies Greek on the verso and Latin on the recto. 0319 for the most part follows the same line division as 06 but since 0319 uses 31 lines while 06 only uses 21 the page divisions of course do not line up.

David Parker shows that 0319 actually employed two different scribes: the first for folia 1–68 and the second for the remainder.<sup>285</sup> Eymann agrees that 0319 was written by two different scribes<sup>286</sup> and Gryson in 1999 agrees that the scribes change at folio 68.<sup>287</sup> Scribe A

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*Handschriften*, 38. Fröhlich shows that one reason why Corbie is thought to be the location of origin for Sangermanensis is because there is a section in 1 Corinthians 14 where a different form of the Latin text appears. Rather than the D-text, the I-text appears in 1 Corinthians 14. This I-text is peculiar to Corbie: “Es liegt nahe, sich den Sangermanensis im Bereich von Corbie entstanden zu denken, da sich der I-text, den 76 in 1 Cor 14 für einige Zeilen als Lückenbüßer verwendet, über die Ambrosiasterüberlieferung nach Corbie lokalisieren läßt,” Fröhlich, *Epistula ad Corinthios I*, I.28. Houghton says: “possibly in France,” Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 243 and Eymann simply says northwest France, Eymann, *Epistula ad Romanos*, I.20.

<sup>283</sup> See Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.25; Fröhlich, *Epistula ad Corinthios I*, I.28; Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, I.122; Gregory, *Textkritik*, 110; Kenyon, *Handbook*, 84; Treu, *Griechischen Handschriften*, 38.

<sup>284</sup> See Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.25; Fröhlich, *Epistula ad Corinthios I*, I.28; Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, I.122; Gregory, *Textkritik*, 110; Treu, *Griechischen Handschriften*, 38; Nestle, *Textual Criticism*, 77.

<sup>285</sup> See David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An early Christian manuscript and its text*, (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1992), 65.

<sup>286</sup> See Eymann, *Epistula ad Romanos*, I.20.

<sup>287</sup> See Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, I.122.

copied folia 1r–68r and Scribe B copied 68v–176v. The scribes changed places at the beginning of a page which is at the end of 1 Corinthians 16:14 at a sense break. Because there are two scribes in 0319 I will therefore divide the analysis of scribal habits between Scribe A (0319A) and Scribe B (0319B).

As I have done for all manuscript pairs in this study I have used test passages to gain insight into the copying habits of the scribe of 0319. The test passages for 0319A are Romans 1:7–32. For 0319B the test passages are 2 Corinthians 12:7–20; Ephesians 1:3–9, 13–19; 2:11–18; and Titus 1:9–3:11. These passages were chosen because, aside from Romans 1, these are the extant portions of 0320. I included Romans 1 from 0319 (starting at verse seven because 06 is lacunose at Romans 1:1–7a) to include Scribe A. Additionally, I have included a few more verses of Ephesians since 0319 has more data to yield than 0320. In total, the test passage for 0319A comprises 58 NA lines which is just over two NA pages and is 468 words. The test passages for 0319B comprise 140 NA lines which is five and a half NA pages for 1,150 words.<sup>288</sup>

Codex Sangermanensis as a copy of Codex Claromontanus

As I will show more fully below, there can simply be no doubt that 0319 is a direct copy of 06. Text critics have long accepted this theory. Griesbach was convinced that 0319 copied 06: “There is no doubt at all that our codex [0319] is a copy of Claromontanus.”<sup>289</sup> Hort commented at length on the relationship between these two manuscripts: “The St Germain MS E<sub>3</sub> [0319], apparently written in Cent. X or later in Cent. IX, has long been recognised as a copy of the Clermont MS D<sub>2</sub> [06], ... all possible doubt as to the direct

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<sup>288</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 898–99 for the definition of and how to calculate NA lines. The method is an attempt to estimate approximately how many variant readings there would be on a typical page of Nestle-Aland with a typical page being twenty-five lines.

<sup>289</sup> “Dubitari prorsus nequit, nostrum codicem Claromontani esse apographum,” Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Symbolae Criticae* (Halle, 1793), 77.

derivation of the one from the other is taken away by the senseless readings which the scribe of [0319] has constructed out of a combination of what was written by its correctors.”<sup>290</sup> Scrivener does not have anything nice to say about 0319, saying: “Mill obtained some extracts from it, and noted its obvious connection with Cod. Claromontanus: Wetstein thoroughly collated it; and not only he but Sabatier and Griesbach perceived that it was, at least in the Greek, nothing better than a mere transcript of Cod. Claromontanus, made by some ignorant person later than the corrector indicated by D\*\*\*\*. . . . the facts are too numerous and plain to be resisted.”<sup>291</sup> Scrivener then gives a few examples of obvious borrowing between 0319 and 06 then continues: “The Latin version also is borrowed from Cod. D, but is more mixed, and may be of some critical use: the Greek is manifestly worthless, and should long since have been removed from the list of authorities.”<sup>292</sup> Similarly, Gregory: “This manuscript seems nothing but a pretty poor copy of the Western D Claromontanus.”<sup>293</sup> Kenyon states that 0319 is “of no independent value, being a transcript of the Codex Claromontanus (D<sub>2</sub>).”<sup>294</sup> Frede debates whether 0319 is actually a copy of 06 but ultimately decides that it is a copy.<sup>295</sup> Royse himself mentions these codices saying: “The earliest example among New Testament manuscripts of an exemplar and its copy is D (06),

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<sup>290</sup> Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, II:254.

<sup>291</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 166.

<sup>292</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 167.

<sup>293</sup> “Diese Handschrift scheint nichts als eine ziemlich schlechte westliche Abschrift des D Claromontanus zu sein,” Gregory, *Textkritik*, 109.

<sup>294</sup> Kenyon, *Handbook*, 102. See also Nils Alstrup Dahl, “0230 (= PSI 1306) and the fourth-century Greek-Latin edition of the letters of Paul,” in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament presented to Matthew Black* (eds. Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson; Cambridge: Cambridge, 1979), 81–82: “Subsidiary representatives of this line are all copies of Codex Claromontanus, made in the eighth, ninth, or tenth century, in Corbie or its environs. One of them has been well preserved; 176 of 188 leaves remain of Codex Sangermanensis.”

<sup>295</sup> Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 36–39.

Codex Claromontanus, and D<sup>abs1</sup>.<sup>296</sup> Most recently, Houghton has added his voice in agreement that Sangermanensis is indeed a copy of Claromontanus.<sup>297</sup>

I am in full agreement that 0319 is indeed a copy of 06 but I will reserve my comment on the quality of copying until later. There are a few places in 0319 where there can be no doubt that the scribes were looking directly at 06. Additionally, it will become clear that 0319 and 0320 were copied by letter and not by dictation.<sup>298</sup>

Both Scribe A and Scribe B make obvious errors that reveal that they are clearly copying directly from 06 rather than from an intermediary source or through dictation. At **2 Corinthians 12:15**<sup>299</sup> NA<sup>28</sup> contains the word ἥσσον. The TR has the Atticized ηττον.<sup>300</sup> The first hand of 06 reads ησσον but 06\*\*\* corrected this to ηττον by writing tiny *taus* inside the *sigmas* with the result that the final text looked something like a majuscule *epsilon* or an uppercase Roman G. 0319B apparently was confused and so copied the text as graphically correct as possible by writing *sigmas* with small *taus* inside. The scribe of 0320 was also confused but instead chose to write out ησσττον. In this instance we can be certain that 0319B

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<sup>296</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 35.

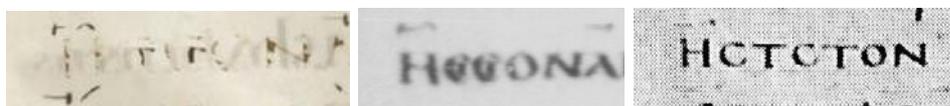
<sup>297</sup> Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 80, 243–44.

<sup>298</sup> Parker states that copying by letter was generally the norm in the Byzantine period: “That Byzantine scribes copied by eye is suggested by the typical portrait of an evangelist, sitting in a scribal posture with the exemplar on a lectern in front of him” Parker, *Introduction*, 155. Parker then refers to an image of a scribe from GA 713 F2r.

<sup>299</sup> Boldface references refer to variant readings that are included in the overall error rate of the scribe and can be found listed in the appendix under the variant reading list for the appropriate manuscript.

<sup>300</sup> See Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino – La Goliardica, 1976), I.145–46: “The fluctuation between –σσ– and –ττ– likewise reflects the dialectal heritage of the Koine. Non-Attic words appear only in –σσ–, e.g., feminine nouns in –ισσα. The multiplicative numerals δισσός, τρισσός, etc., are spelled only with –σσ–, as is βυσσός, but other words are found in both spellings. Forms in –ττ– predominate in Byzantine times. Words which appear only in –ττ– are words which are specifically Attic or later formations or loanwords, e.g., πιττάκιον, ὀλοκόττινος.” See especially Gignac’s examples of this particular word on I.147. James Hope Moulton comments: “Κοινή has σσ almost exclusively where Attic had ττ, which was hardly used outside the contiguous districts of Attica and Boeotia” James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906), II.107. Moulton later discusses the word ἥττων specifically on this same page.

was looking directly at 06 while copying this verse. Because they correctly copied 06 this reading is not considered an error and is not included in the statistics. Since 0320 created a nonsense reading while attempting to interpret the correction, this will count as a nonsense singular variant reading caused by a correction in the *Vorlage*.

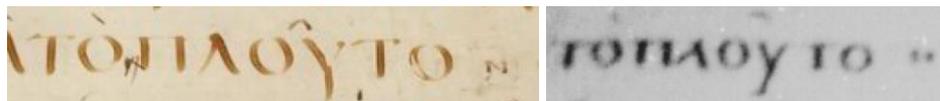


Another place where it is obvious that 0319B is copying from 06 is Ephesians 1:6. At the end of this verse the first hand writes υιω αυτου which is not present in NA<sup>28</sup> or the TR. This addition is found in 06\*, 010, 012, 0319, and 629 (this verse is not extant in 0320). This addition is then corrected by 06\*\*\* by placing a small slash through the first and last letters to be omitted. When 0319B arrived at these words they are again confused and, striving for perfect graphical accuracy and without understanding that the corrector intended these words to be excised, they copied these words with the slashes. Because, however, they correctly copied the *Vorlage* this reading is not counted as an error. The Latin text here contains *filio suo* without any marks indicating that they should be excised. This is because the Latin side of 06 also contains *filio suo* without any deletion marks.

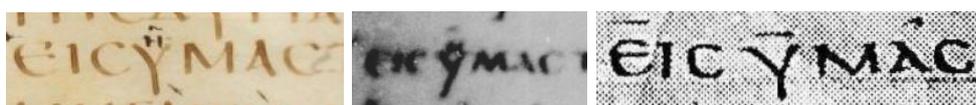


We get a glance into 0319B's copying habits as it pertains to corrections at Ephesians 1:7 and find that 0319B tries to make the copy look as graphically similar as the *Vorlage*. At Ephesians 1:7 06 originally writes το πλουτος but 06\*\*\* changes this to τον πλουτον to match the TR. In order to make this change 06\*\*\* writes a very small ν at the end of πλουτο- but leaves a substantial space between πλουτο- and the appended ν. 0319B writes the text in exactly the same way with a normal sized πλουτο and then a small ν after a bit of a space. It is clear that they did not understand the purpose and meaning of these corrections and simply tried to make the text look as graphically similar to 06 as possible. The countless corrections

in the *Vorlage*, though, made this task difficult. Because 0319B correctly copied some form of the text, however, this oddity is not counted as a variant.

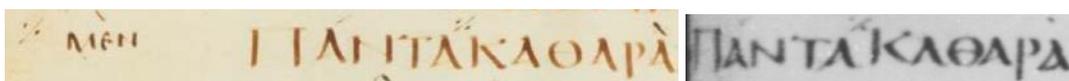


0319B is clearly looking directly at 06 when copying Ephesians 1:19. Here 06 originally wrote υμας which 06\*\*\* corrected to ημας by simply writing a tiny *eta* above the *upsilon* without even slashing or marking the *upsilon* in any way. 0319B, keen to make the copy look as graphically similar to 06 as possible, wrote the word in the exact same way with υμας in the main text and a tiny *eta* above the *upsilon*. Although some may count this as a correction in 0319 I do not consider it a correction and it will not be featured in the section on corrections below. 0319B is not correcting an original reading but rather from the outset writing the word in this manner. We see the exact same thing happening at 2 Corinthians 12:20: επιθειαι. Although there may look like there is a correction in 0319, 0319B is simply purposely making the text look as graphically similar to 06 as possible. At Ephesians 1:19 υμας would be more closely categorized as an error due to a correction in the *Vorlage* but since 0319B copied 06 correctly, albeit strangely, it is not counted as an error. 0320 ignored the correction and copied the text as 06 originally wrote it.



We can see how 0319B treats marginalia in the correction at Titus 1:15. Here they again attempt to make the text look as graphically similar to 06 as possible while at the same time ignoring marginal notes. At Titus 1:15 06 originally writes παντα καθαρα but 06\*\*\* inserts μεν between the two words and notes the insertion with an *obelos*. 0319B, in an attempt to make the text look as graphically similar to the *Vorlage* while at the same time ignoring marginalia, copies the body of the text as found in 06 including the *obelos* but does

not copy the accompanying marginal note. 0320 incorporated the correction in the transcription.



Another example of 0319B making the copy as graphically similar to the exemplar as possible is found in Titus 2:5. Here 06 wrote οικουργους and 06\*\*\* corrected it to οικουρους by placing a slash through the *gamma* matching the TR. When 0319B copied this word, instead of copying the word as οικουρους by taking the correction into account, they copied the word as οικουργους with a slash through the *gamma*. It seems that 0319B is not fluent in the language of the correction marks.



This same phenomenon is seen in Titus 3:5 at δια.



To echo Griesbach, there can be no doubt that 0319 copied 06.<sup>301</sup>

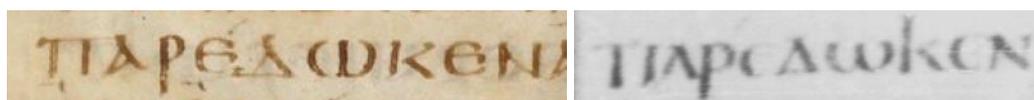
Codex Claromontanus, however, has supplemented pages at Romans 1:27–30 (Greek), Romans 1:24–27 (Latin), 1 Corinthians 14:13–22 (Greek), and 1 Corinthians 14:8–18 (Latin). Are these supplemented pages also the *Vorlage* for 0319? Tischendorf<sup>302</sup> and Scrivener both state that these supplements are very old. Scrivener writes, “[Codex Claromontanus] contains all of St. Paul’s Epistles (the Hebrews after Philemon), except Rom. i. 1–7; 27–30, both Greek and Latin: Rom. i. 24–27 in the Latin is supplied in a later but very old hand, as also is 1 Cor. xiv. 13–22 in the Greek: the Latin of 1 Cor. xiv. 8–18; Hebr. xiii. 21–23 is lost.”<sup>303</sup> Exactly

<sup>301</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 75–76 for more examples of obvious copying of 06 by 0319 especially as it relates to difficulty interpreting corrections in the *Vorlage*.

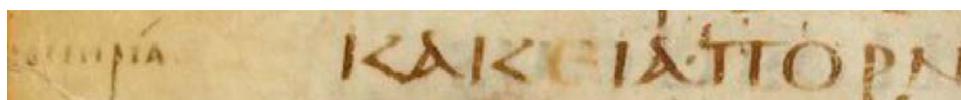
<sup>302</sup> See Tischendorf, *Codex Claromontanus*, xiii–xiv: “Praeterea manu quadam antiquissima suppleta sunt latina paginae 6. graeca pagina 7. i. e. Rom I,27–30.”

<sup>303</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 164.

what Tischendorf and Scrivener mean by “very old” they do not say but it is evidence that leans in the direction of the supplements being old enough to be the *Vorlage* for both 0319 and 0320. One piece of evidence in favor of the Romans 1:27–30 supplement from 06 also being the *Vorlage* for 0319 (and therefore 0320 although 0320 is not extant here) is the nonsense variant in 0319 at Romans 1:28 which will be discussed further below in the section on nonsense readings. 0319 here writes *τιαρεδωκεν* where 06 reads *παρεδωκεν*. Although Claromontanus’ writing is clearly a *pi*, one can see how in this case 0319A saw *τι-*.



Perhaps a more compelling argument for 0319A’s use of 06 is found in the next verse at Romans 1:29. The TR here reads *αδικια πορνεια πονηρια πλεονεξια κακια* but the original reading of 06 is *αδικεια κακια πορνεια πλεονεξεια*. With respect to the TR, 06 here transposes *κακια*, omits *πονηρια*, and makes orthographic changes. 0319A also transposes *κακια*, omits *πονηρια*, and incorporates orthographic corrections from 06\*\*\*. They copy 06 in this manner because it was the simplest text in the body of the manuscript. *πονηρια* is added by 06\*\*\* far away in the margin. 0319A and 0319B almost always ignore such marginal notes (see below concerning corrections). The orthographic corrections were made by erasure and were therefore the easiest text in the body of the manuscript.



Below is a parallel line representation of the corrections to 06 and how 0319A copied 06 in Romans 1:29.

TR	αδικια		πορνεια	πονηρια	πλεονεξια	κακια
06*	αδικεια	κακια	πορνεια		πλεονεξεια	
06 <sup>c</sup>	αδικια	κακια	πορνεια		πλεονεξεια	
06***	αδικια	κακια	πορνεια	πονηρια	πλεονεξια	
0319	αδικια	κακια	πορνεια		πλεονεξια	

Codex Boernerianus (012 / VL77), a close relative of 06, 0319, and 0320, is the only other extant Greek New Testament manuscript to contain the reading found in 0139.

An even more compelling argument for 0319's use of the supplemented page of Romans in 06 comes at Romans 1:30. Here the TR reads καταλαλους but 06 reads κακολαλους. 06's reading would be a singular reading if it were not copied by 0319. That is to say only 06 and 0319 contain this reading here.

Similarly, in Romans 1:30 0319 has a nonsense singular reading. Where the TR reads θεοστυγεις 06 reads θεοστυγισ. 06\*\* corrected the text by writing a tiny *epsilon* under the roof of the *gamma*. To 0319 this correction looked like Π instead of ΓΕ. 0319A therefore wrote θεοστυπις. See below in the section concerning errors due to a correction in the *Vorlage* for more discussion concerning this variant. In conclusion, it is probable that the supplemented page at Romans 1:27–30 in 06 was the *Vorlage* for 0319.

It is probably sufficient to conclude that because the Greek supplement in 06 is the *Vorlage* for 0319 that therefore the Latin text on the other side of the same page is also the *Vorlage* for the Latin text of 0319 (VL76<sup>304</sup>) but just to be sure, we will examine the evidence. The supplemented Latin text is at Romans 1:24–27. The Latin part of the supplement has less evidence to offer since there are much fewer corrections in the Latin text of 06 than in the Greek. Nonetheless, there are two places in Romans 1:24–27 where VL75 and VL76 agree significantly together against the Vulgate and nowhere do they disagree aside from orthography. In Romans 1:24 Claromontanus and Sangermanensis read *quod et tradidit*

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<sup>304</sup> The three codices in this study are all bilingual manuscripts and, as such, have both a Greek manuscript number and a Latin manuscript number. For example, Codex Claromontanus is referred to as 06 in the Greek but as VL75 when speaking of the Latin text. Codex Sangermanensis is 0319 for the Greek text but VL76 for the Latin. Codex Waldeccensis is 0320 in Greek and VL83 in Latin. When speaking of the Greek text I will use the Gregory-Aland number and when referring to the Latin text I will use the Latin manuscript number. Therefore, it is possible to use two different designations to refer to the same codex. For more sigla for Latin manuscripts see Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 209–81.

where the Vulgate reads *quod tradidit*. Only one other manuscript, once again Codex Boernerianus (012 / VL77), includes *et* here. Similarly, at Romans 1:26 the Vulgate reads *naturalem usum* where Claromontanus and Sangermanensis read *naturalem sensum*. VL75 and VL76 are the only manuscripts with this reading. In conclusion, in light of the fact that 06 is the *Vorlage* for 0319 even in the Romans supplement and that VL76 and VL75 share two peculiar readings over these four short verses, it is probable that VL75 was the source for VL76 even for the Romans supplement.

#### Notable Attributes of 0319

As mentioned above, 0319 was copied by two different scribes. Scribe B began copying on folio 68v and maintained the thirty-one lines per page format started by Scribe A. 0319B completed the last remaining verses of First Corinthians and then began 2 Corinthians. When they began writing 2 Corinthians still on their first page of copying, however, 0319B greatly reduced the size of their letters in both Greek and Latin. It seems that 0319B understood that if they did not write smaller then they would run out of parchment or would use too much parchment. The codex in the end amounts to 177 folia and 0319B still had to write from 2 Corinthians to the end of the Pauline corpus in just the remaining 109 folia.

One notable reading in 0319 is found in Romans 1:7. The crux of the issue is whether the epistle is meant specifically to those in Rome or to a general audience and therefore whether the words “in Rome” are original or are later interpolations. Parker writes that these words might be an addition “in the collected edition in order to identify the letters more clearly” from one another.<sup>305</sup> Connected to this issue is the mention of Rome also in Romans 1:15. Although 06 is deficient at Romans 1:7, 0319 indeed reads *εἰς Ῥώμην* at this verse. Additionally, both VL75 and VL76 read *Romae* (VL76: *Rome*). We can therefore be

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<sup>305</sup> See Parker, *Introduction*, 270.

confident that 06 originally contained *εν Ρωμη* even though it is lacunose at this point. Additionally, in Romans 1:15 both 06 and 0319 read *εν Ρωμη* and VL75 and VL76 have “in Rome” (*in Roma*). We can therefore be confident that both 06 and 0319 (and their Latin renditions) are firm in the tradition that this epistle was intended for Rome itself and was not a general epistle. 0319 / VL76 may even be intensifying the importance of the location in Rome by omitting *αγαπητοις θεου* in Greek and *in caritate Dei* (VL75) / *dilectis Dei* (Vulgate) in Latin. If such omission was intentional then to 0319 / VL76 this letter is not addressed only to those who are beloved of God in Rome but to all of Rome itself. That the omission is committed in both Greek and Latin perhaps shows intention by the scribe. The omission of “beloved of God” is a singular reading by 0319 / VL76 in both Greek and Latin (but is not counted in the statistics in Greek because the *Vorlage* is not extant. It would be counted in the statistics in Latin since the Latin *Vorlage* is here extant except that in Latin it is not a singular reading because there is a Greek precedent in 0319).

### **Peculiar Dual Agreements between 06 and 0319A/B**

There are only four peculiar dual agreements shared by 0319A/B and 06 (see Appendix). These nevertheless betray a close relationship between these manuscripts. These peculiar dual agreements and their importance will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Seven. There are not, however, any peculiar dual readings between 0320 and 06.

### **Scribal Habits of Codex Sangermanensis (Greek) Scribe A**

This section will concern the scribal habits of the Greek side of Codex Sangermanensis Scribe A. See Tables 4.1–4.5 to view the error rates and statistics of scribal habits for this codex. Other sections below discuss the scribal habits of 0319B and of the scribes of the Latin side of the codex.

**Table 4.1—Variants in 0319A and 0319B against 06 by Test Passage**

		Words	Sub	Nons	Orth	ErrCorr	GraphErr	Total
0319A	Romans	468	2	2	7	2	1	14
0319B	2 Cor	277	1	0	1	1	0	3
	Eph	397	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Titus	476	0	1	0	1	2	4
	Total	1,618	3	3	8	5	3	22

**Table 4.2— Variants in 0320 against 06 by Test Passage**

	Words	Add	Om	Sub	Nons	Orth	ErrCorr	GraphErr	Total
2 Cor	262	0	0	2	2	3	1	0	8
Eph	261	0	0	1	1	7	0	0	9
Titus	469	0	0	0	2	10	3	0	15
Total	992	0	0	3	5	20	4	0	32

**Table 4.3—Significant Variant Readings in the Greek *Abschriften* of Codex Claromontanus**

	Significant Variants	Additions	Words in Additions	Average Words	Omissions	Words in Omissions	Average Words	Words in Omissions / Words in Additions	Substitutions	Net Words Gained / Lost in Substitutions	Net Words Lost	Net Words Lost Per Significant Variant	Transpositions
0319A (Variants)	2	0 (0%)	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0 (0%)
0319A (Singulars)	2	0 (0%)	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	0	1 (50%)	0	0	0	1 (50%)
0319B (Variants)	1	0 (0%)	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0 (0%)
0319B (Singulars)	0	0 (0%)	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	0	0 (0%)
0320 (Variants)	3	0 (0%)	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	0	3 (100%)	0	0	0	0 (0%)
0320 (Singulars)	2	0 (0%)	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0 (0%)

**Table 4.4—Total Variants in the Greek *Abschriften* of Codex Claromontanus**

	Total Variants	Errors due to Corrections in the <i>Vorlage</i>	Other errors due to Graphical Confusion	Orthographic Variants	Percent age	Orth. Variants / NA Page	Orth. Variants / 1,000 Words	Nonsense Variants	Percent age	Nons. Variants / NA Page	Nons. Variants / 1,000 words
0319A (Variants)	14	2	1	7	50%	3.02	14.96	2	14.3%	.862	4.274
0319A (Singulars)	13	X <sup>306</sup>	X	7	53.85%	3.02	14.96	4	30.1%	1.724	8.547
0319B (Variants)	8	3	2	1	12.5%	.179	.87	1	12.5%	.179	.87
0319B (Singulars)	6	X	X	4	66.67%	.714	3.48	2	33.33%	.862	1.739
0320 (Variants)	32	4	0	20	62.5%	4.065	20.161	5	15.63%	1.02	5.04
0320 (Singulars)	26	X	X	18	69.23%	3.659	18.145	6	23.08%	1.22	6.05

<sup>306</sup> Data is not given in this field because this field analyzes the manuscript as if there were no known *Vorlage* and therefore we would not have access to the corrections in the *Vorlage*.

**Table 4.5—Error Rates in the Greek *Abschriften* of Codex Claromontanus**

	NA Lines	Words	Variants	Significant Variants / NA Page	Total Variants / NA Page	Significant Variants / 1,000 Words	Total Variants / 1,000 Words
0319A (Variants)	58	468	14	.862	6.03	4.274	29.915
0319A (Singulars)	58	468	13	.862	5.604	4.274	27.778
0319B (Variants)	140	1,150	8	.179	1.429	.87	12.174
0319B (Singulars)	140	1,150	6	0	1.071	0	5.217
0320 (Variants)	123	992	32	.61	6.5	3.024	32.258
0320 (Singulars)	123	992	26	.407	5.29	2.016	26.21

### *Insignificant Variant Readings*

Insignificant variant readings include variant readings that have been corrected to match the base text, errors due to corrections in the *Vorlage*, errors due to graphical confusion, orthographic variants and nonsense variants.<sup>307</sup>

### *Corrections*

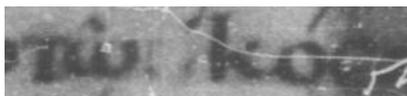
There are two corrections in the test passages of 0319A. One of these corrections was by the original scribe and a later hand made the other. One correction in 0319 is found at **Romans 1:8** τω κοσμω. There appears to be a very faint ν after τω with the result that the scribe originally wrote των κοσμω. There is, in any case, if not ν, some letter erased here since there is a large space after τω. Since the correction is made by erasure rather than with an expunging dot or a slash it is very difficult to tell which scribe made the correction. Turner outlines four main methods of correction in Greek manuscripts: 1) “a sponge may be used to delete a whole word or line (or more);” 2) “deletions may be indicated by enclosing a passage in round brackets;” 3) “by cancelling a letter or letters by means of a stroke drawn horizontally or obliquely through them” as is frequently seen in Claromontanus; and 4) “by placing a dot (‘expunging dot’ ...) or a line above, or above and below, or to either side; or a combination of these methods.”<sup>308</sup> 0319A is clearly not in the practice of marking deletions with slashes through the letter as 06 does. If 0319A had used this method to delete letters then 0319A would not have misunderstood the many places where 06 slashes a letter to mark that it should be deleted. There remain three other popular methods for deleting unwanted text: 1) place an expunging dot over or under the letter, 2) sponge out the letter itself, or 3) enclose

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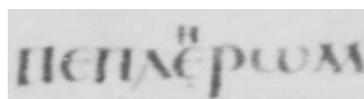
<sup>307</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 74–91 and Shipley, *Latin Manuscripts*, 63ff. for discussions of these categories.

<sup>308</sup> Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 16. See also Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford, 2000), 109.

the letter in round brackets. We will see later that 0319A employs expunging dots to delete unwanted text but never round brackets. The offending letter was sponged out but it appears that some time has passed which has allowed the ink to set in. 0319A generally uses the expunging dot method. Therefore, I believe that this correction was made by a later scribe and not by 0319A. The Latin side of the page reads *in uniuerso mundo* in the ablative case. The original variant of τῶν κόσμῳ will feature below under nonsense variants.



Another correction is found in Romans 1:29. This correction is made by the original hand to match the *Vorlage* and will therefore not be included in the statistics. 0319A originally wrote *πεπλερωμενους* which they then changed to *πεπληρωμενους* by placing an expunging dot under the offending letter and then writing η above ε. 0319A is clearly in the practice of using expunging dots to delete unwanted letters.

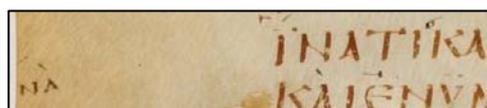


#### *Errors due to Corrections in 06*

It has been difficult to ascertain whether 0319 “correctly” copied their *Vorlage* at the countless corrections in 06. My method has, therefore, been to consider “correct” a transcription that matches any of the previous readings. That is to say, whether 0319 followed the original reading written by 06 or the corrected reading by 06\*\*\* is irrelevant. If 0319 correctly followed any previous reading, then the transcription is correct.

On the whole, both scribes of 0319 followed whatever reading stood in the main text itself. If a correction was made within the main text then they were likely to pick it up. If, however, the correction was made in the margins, then they were likely to ignore it. This is mostly because both scribes of 0319 were not fluent in the meaning of symbols which refer to

something written in the margins. Speaking of P<sup>66</sup> Parker comments: “How easy or difficult the readers of this manuscript found [the system of symbols] to use we do not know.”<sup>309</sup> 0319’s confusion over the corrections may have been because they may have been used to a different system of signs than the system used by 06. Turner writes, “As with the signs used for punctuation, it seems that critical signs did not always have the same meaning or the meaning assigned to them by our authorities. And other signs are employed, the meaning of which is not always easily explicable: for instance, □ or ÷, which sometimes is used as a caret to indicate an omission to be made good . . . , sometimes acts as a reference mark for a marginal note . . . , and sometimes may have a quite separate signification.”<sup>310</sup> It seems that both scribes of 0319 found the system of symbols in 06 very difficult to use. For example, at Romans 1:13 (0319A) where NA<sup>28</sup> reads ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν 06 writes ἵνα τι καρπὸν. 06\*\*\* corrects this reading to match the NA<sup>28</sup> reading but does so by writing a tiny symbol just after τι in the text and then writing να in the left margin on the very edge of the page. In the image below, I have included the left margin so one can see that the insertion να is written on the very left edge. I believe the tiny symbol to be a *sigma*, an abbreviation for συν<sup>311</sup> with the intent that τι be written “with” να.



0319A ignores whatever correction is occurring and simply writes what is clear in the main body text. This is how 0319A treats corrections in the majority of instances: they follow the clearest reading in the main text. Because they correctly transcribed one of the existing readings in 06, this reading is not counted as an error and does not factor into the error rate.

<sup>309</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 191.

<sup>310</sup> Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 14.

<sup>311</sup> See Al. N. Oikonomides, *Abbreviations in Greek: Inscriptions, Papyri, Manuscripts, and Early Printed Books* (Chicago: Ares, 1974), 129.

In total, 0319A contains two errors caused by corrections in 06 in the test passages accounting for 14.3% of the variant readings. All of these errors result in a singular reading.

At **Romans 1:19a** 0319A makes an error that results in a singular reading. This error can only be explained as a confusion concerning the correction. Here is the text as it stands in 06 and 0319 respectively:

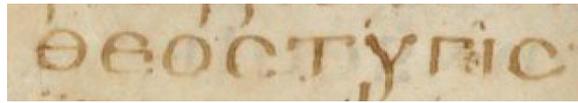


The text as written by 06\* matches that of NA<sup>28</sup>: ὁ θεὸς γὰρ. One can see that the corrector 06\*\*\* placed a dotted *obelos* to the top left of the *nomen sacrum* θε̄ς. 06\*\*\* then wrote another symbol above the *gamma* of γὰρ. This was to indicate to move γὰρ before θεὸς so that the reader would read ὁ γὰρ θεὸς. The correction was probably made in an attempt to place the post-positive γὰρ in the proper location. 0319A seemingly confused the correction to mean to transpose ο and θε̄ς. The resulting text in 0319 reads θε̄ς ο γαρ. This variant is a singular reading which was scribally created. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular transposition.

In **Romans 1:30** 06\* wrote θεοστρυγίς which is corrected by 06\*\* to θεοστρυγεις matching the TR and NA<sup>28</sup>. 06\*\* corrected the word by inserting a small *epsilon* under the roof of the *gamma*. 0319A wrote θεοστρυπις. Mistaking the insertion of ε by 06\*\* for the right *hasta* of Π, they substitute a Π in the place of ΓΕ. This error is a classic example of 0319A misunderstanding the corrections in 06. Of such corrections, Treu noted: “Korrekturen der Vorlage oft mißverstanden, so daß sinnlose Fehler entstanden.”<sup>312</sup> This variant is a singular reading which was scribally created. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular nonsense variant.

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<sup>312</sup> Treu, *Griechischen Handschriften*, 38.



**Errors due to Correction**

Romans 1:19a            θεος ο γαρ  
Romans 1:30            θεοστυπις

*Errors due to Graphical Confusion*

0319A made one error due to graphical confusion which constitutes 7.14% of the variant readings in our test passages. This variant was caused when 0319A had difficulty reading the text of 06 for some other reason than a difficult correction in 06.

At **Romans 1:27** 06 writes κατεργαζομενοι agreeing with NA<sup>28</sup> and the TR. 06 wrote this word, however, very near the end of the line with the end of the word bleeding into the margin. The final two letters have become so faint that they are almost invisible.



Tischendorf transcribes this word in 06 as κατεργαζομενοι and does not include that there are any corrections to this word. One can very faintly see two characters after –εν. Perhaps this text was in a similar condition when 0319A attempted to copy this word. Perhaps 0319A saw that there were two characters there but they were so illegible that 0319A had to guess as to what they were. 0319A's concluding reading turned out to be nonsense and a singular reading. 0319A wrote κατεργοζομενεν which is not a real word. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular nonsense variant which was scribally created.

**Errors due to Graphical Confusion**

Romans 1:27            κατεργαζομενεν

### Orthographic Variant Readings

0319A has seven orthographic variant readings accounting for 46.67% of all variant readings in 0319A's test passages.<sup>313</sup> Unsurprisingly, all of these variants are also singular readings.

In **Romans 1:9** 06\*\*\*, along with the standard text, reads μαρτυς but 0319A writes μαρτις. Although 06\*\*\* corrects the error by 06\* of μαρτυρ, this correction in no way obscures or problematizes the reading of the upsilon in this word. That is to say, no one could claim that the *upsilon* could be graphically mistaken for an *iota*. The cause of the error here is probably faulty hearing due to a different pronunciation.<sup>314</sup> The scribe reads μαρτυς aloud and pronounces it as μαρτις due to the Historical Greek Pronunciation (*HGP*)<sup>315</sup> and therefore writes it as pronounced.<sup>316</sup> It is possible that 0319A's Greek pronunciation is somewhat influenced by the Latin word corresponding to μαρτυς: *testis*. 0319A may have written μαρτις

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<sup>313</sup> Here I am also following Royse's definition of an orthographic variant. See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 79–81 for what qualifies as an orthographic variant. In short, in order to “reduce the material involved in the present study to a more manageable level” Royse ignores common orthographic variations such as the “interchanges of ει / ι, αι / ε, and οι / υ, presence or absence of movable ν, as well breathings, accents, punctuation, *iota* adscript or subscript, and other clear forms of abbreviations or writing conventions” Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 81.

<sup>314</sup> See Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.; Oxford: Oxford, 2005), 254–57 for this cause of error in transmission of the text.

<sup>315</sup> Caragounis clarifies that the term “itacism” refers only to a certain type of pronunciation and that this term is inappropriately broadened by text critics: “So-called *itacism* explains only the confusion of the i-sound vowels and diphthongs, although strictly, it should be used only of the η being pronounced the same way as the ι. The *HGP*, however, which is responsible for this state of affairs, exhibits many other confusions, which under no circumstances can be subsumed under the designation *itacism*: e.g. αι with ε and vice versa, ο with ω and vice versa, the double pronunciation of the diphthongs αυ, ευ, and ηυ (as αν, and αf etc.) and the pronunciation of consonants such as β, γ and δ as well as the absence of aspiration. ... It would be desirable to dispense altogether with the inaccurate and misleading term *itacism*, and to speak, instead, of the *HGP*.” Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament* (WUNT 167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 500–01.

<sup>316</sup> Gignac notes that υ x ι interchanges “occur occasionally throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods” Gignac, *Grammar*, I.267. See also Gignac, *Grammar*, I.267–71; Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 537; Moulton, *Grammar*, II.79: “Changes between υ and ι are practically always due to assimilation or dissimilation.”

because it sounds similar to *testis*. This explanation would suggest that the scribe of 0319A knows enough Greek to at least pronounce Greek words but not enough Greek to recognize a nonsensical word. 0319A often writes ι in place of υ as also seen in **Romans 1:13** and **Romans 1:20c**. These variants are caused in the same way as the variant in **Romans 1:9**. When viewed without the benefit of the *Vorlage* these variants are ruled as singular orthographic variants.

Interestingly, 0319A makes the opposite interchange by writing υ in place of ι at **Romans 1:19b** and **Romans 1:21**. In **Romans 1:19b** 06 reads αυτοις but 0319A writes αυτους. Similarly, in **Romans 1:21** 06 reads διαλογισμοις but 0319 writes διαλογισμους. Although both of these words (αυτους and διαλογισμους) are indeed valid words and could be substitutions rather than orthographic variants,<sup>317</sup> I believe they are better understood as orthographic variants. Especially in the case of διαλογισμους which is preceded by τοις it seems that a simple orthographic υ for ι interchange is occurring here rather than the scribe intentionally changing the word from one word to another. So we see that 0319A interchanges υ and ι occasionally. When viewed without the benefit of the *Vorlage* these variants are ruled as singular substitutions.

At **Romans 1:20b** NA<sup>28</sup>, TR and 06 read καθοραται but 0319A writes κατθοραται. Here 0319A has doubled the *theta* by prefixing the corresponding voiceless stop *tau*. Gignac explains that this orthographic phenomenon occurs occasionally: “Aspirates ... are occasionally strengthened by the insertion of the corresponding voiceless stop.”<sup>318</sup> When

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<sup>317</sup> It is important here to remember Royse’s caution here that “The distinction between an orthographic variation and a more substantive one is, of course, sometimes extremely subtle,” Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 79.

<sup>318</sup> Gignac, *Grammar*, I.100. He also states “Doubling of an aspirate by prefixing the corresponding voiceless stop, as well as the doubling of the aspirate itself, is attested elsewhere in the Koine. Mayser explained it as a graphic representation of the syllable boundary within the aspirate, but most examples from later papyri show the doubling in a position in which the syllable boundary does not lie within the aspirate. Schwyzer thinks that the prefixed voiceless stop (or aspirate) represents the plosive, while the aspirate represents

viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular orthographic variant.

At **Romans 1:25** 0319A reads  $\tau\upsilon\nu$ , a singular reading, in place of  $\tau\eta\nu$  as in 06. I have classified this variant as orthographic but there is, however, I believe, another explanation albeit perhaps not as likely as the first. I'll begin by discussing this reading as an orthographic variant as I have classified it. 0319A interchanges  $\eta$  for  $\iota$  here. Even following Caragounis' strict definition of itacism<sup>319</sup> this example can confidently be called itacism which is a part of the larger *HGP*. Gignac states that the  $\eta$  for  $\iota$  interchange "occurs very frequently in all phonetic conditions throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods."<sup>320</sup> We probably have here a simple orthographic variant as a result of itacism.

A more interesting, albeit not quite as likely, possibility is that this variant arose due to graphical confusion. This example, whether decidedly an orthographic variant or a graphical confusion variant, highlights the benefit and importance of visually consulting the *Vorlage* of a witness. Only by visually consulting the base text manuscript can we fully understand a scribe's habits. Of course, most of the time the *Vorlage* is not available but when it is it

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the fricative, of an affricate [kkh, tth, pph]; but the papyri generally show this doubling only in a position in which the aspiration could be lost, e.g., before another aspirate, or before a nasal. This partial doubling of an aspirate appears parallel to the ordinary doubling of the simple consonants which is so common," Gignac, *Grammar*, I.101. "Single consonants are very frequently doubled in writing and contiguous identical consonants very frequently represented by a single letter through the Roman and Byzantine periods, as elsewhere in the Koine," Gignac, *Grammar*, I.154. See also Moulton, *Grammar*, II.100–01, 110.

<sup>319</sup> See Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 500–01.

<sup>320</sup> Gignac, *Grammar*, 235. Additionally, Gignac adds: "The process of itacism, which resulted in the eventual identification of the sounds originally represented by  $\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\eta\iota$ ,  $\omicron\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ , and  $\upsilon\iota$  in /i/, was well advanced in Egypt by the beginning of the Roman period.  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\iota$  are alternate representations of /i/;  $\eta$  and  $\eta\iota$  are identified;  $\omicron\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ , and  $\upsilon\iota$  all represent /y/. Moreover, there is a very frequent interchange of  $\eta$  with  $\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\iota$ , indicating that  $\eta$  also represented /i/ at least in the speech of many writers. On the other hand, there is a frequent interchange of  $\eta$  with  $\epsilon$  (and sometimes with its phonetic equivalent  $\alpha$ ) throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods, in similar documents and sometimes in identical phonetic conditions and even in the same words in which an interchange of  $\eta$  with  $\iota$  or  $\epsilon\iota$  is found" Gignac, *Grammar*, 235. See also Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 533–37 and Moulton, *Grammar*, II.72.

should be consulted visually. That is to say, when the *Vorlage* is available, working only with transcriptions is not sufficient and care must be given to consult the base text visually. While this example of possible graphical confusion may not be convincing, a more compelling argument for this same type of graphical confusion can be seen in the variant reading in **Romans 1:24** in  $\kappa\alpha\nu$  which I have classified as a substitution.



The base text here in 06 reads  $\tau\eta\nu$  but 0319A wrote  $\tau\iota\nu$ . It is easy to see, however, how a scribe could miscount the correct number of *hastas* and drop out a *hasta* or insert an additional *hasta*. My thought here is that 0319A glanced at the word and mistook the second *hasta* of the *eta* as the first *hasta* of the *nu*. This would result in the word  $\tau\iota\nu$ . While this example may be weak, I think it is an example of a larger phenomenon that can be seen elsewhere. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular orthographic variant.

#### Orthographic Variant Readings

Romans 1:9	$\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\varsigma$	$\upsilon \rightarrow \iota$
Romans 1:13	$\epsilon\kappa\omega\lambda\iota\theta\eta\nu$	$\upsilon \rightarrow \iota$
Romans 1:19	$\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$	$\iota \rightarrow \upsilon$
Romans 1:20b	$\kappa\alpha\tau\theta\omicron\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$	$\theta \rightarrow \tau\theta$
Romans 1:20c	$\delta\iota\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$	$\upsilon \rightarrow \iota$
Romans 1:21	$\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$	$\iota \rightarrow \upsilon$
Romans 1:25	$\tau\iota\nu$	$\eta \rightarrow \iota$

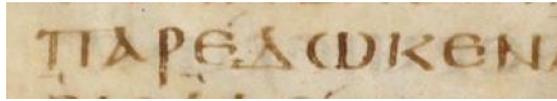
#### *Nonsense Variant Readings*

0319A contains two nonsense readings in our test passages accounting for 13.33% of the total variant readings. Both of these nonsense readings are also singular readings.

At **Romans 1:8** 0319A originally writes  $\tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omega$  which is changed by a later scribe to  $\tau\omega\ \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omega$ . When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular nonsense variant.

In **Romans 1:28** 06 reads *παρεδωκεν* but 0319A wrote the nonsensical *τιαρεδωκεν*.

0319 is here graphically mistaking the Π for ΤΙ.



Such an example also illustrates the subtle line between a graphical confusion and a nonsense reading. In this case however, since both graphical confusion and nonsense reading fall within the category of insignificant variants, it does not much matter tremendously in which category they are placed. Had the writing been more difficult to read or illegible then I would have placed it in the graphical confusion category but the reading here is pretty clear. The problem seems to be then with 0319A's grasp of the Greek language. It is nonsensical variants such as this and other variants caused by graphical confusion and errors due to corrections in the *Vorlage* that leads one to think that 0319A did not know Greek. As stated above, I believe 0319A knew enough Greek to pronounce the words but I do not think 0319A knew the Greek language. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular nonsense variant.

#### **Nonsense Variant Readings**

Romans 1:8	των κοσμου
Romans 1:28	τιαρεδωκεν

#### *Accuracy and Copying Technique*

The following constitute significant singulars and include additions, omissions, transpositions, and substitutions.<sup>321</sup>

#### *Addition*

There are no additions in our test passages.

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<sup>321</sup> See Royce, *Scribal Habits*, 91–93 for his discussion of these categories.

### *Omission*

0319 did not omit any text in our test passages.

### *Transposition*

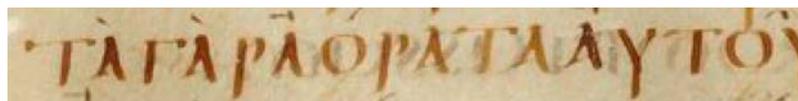
There is one transposition of three words in the test passages of 0319A at **Romans 1:19a**. This variant, however, is classed as an error due to correction in the *Vorlage* and does not therefore count as a transposition. But when considered without the benefit of the *Vorlage* it is ruled as a singular transposition.

### *Substitution*

0319A features two substitutions which consist of 13.33% of all variants in our test passages.

At **Romans 1:20a** the standard text reads *αορατα* but 0319A writes *ορατα*. 012 also writes this variant. If the scribe of 0319A intentionally wrote this variant without the *alpha* privative then they are substantially altering—even reversing—the meaning of this verse. Instead of Paul speaking of invisible attributes of the creator he is now speaking of visible attributes of the creator. Such would be a substantive change indeed if it is more than a simple error.

Nonetheless, in light of all of 0319A's other scribal habits, I am inclined to think that this is an error. I do not think that 0319A knows enough Greek to change the text for dogmatic purposes in this way. This variant is probably simple haplography by dropping out one of the many *alphas* in this verse.



The text here reads *τα γαρ αορατα αυτου* ( *ΤΑΓΑΡΑΟΡΑΤΑΑΥΤΟΥ* ). It is easy to see how one of the many repetitive *alphas* could be dropped from this verse. I think this is the most likely explanation for this variant although I categorize it as a substitution because the

resulting word is a real word that is different from the word in the base text. The Latin facing text further supports this conclusion. VL76 reads *inuisibilia*. Had 0319A intended a doctrinal change here then perhaps they would have also made the same change on the Latin side of the page. I believe that this variant was scribally created even though 012 also has this reading.

At **Romans 1:24** 0319A writes  $\kappa\alpha\nu$  in place of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  as in 06. This is classified as a substitution because the resulting text is a real word. While I categorize this variant as a substitution, it may better be viewed as a graphical error. If it is indeed a substitution then 0319A intensifies the subject resulting in “Therefore *even* God...” This is one possibility. But if it is a graphical error then the substitution is of no significance.



This variant reading is a better example of a graphical confusion as a result of inserting an additional *hasta* similar to what we saw in **Romans 1:25** with  $\tau\upsilon\nu$ . It is possible that 0319A misread the *hastas* and thought that the first *hasta* of the *pi* of  $\text{παρεδωκεν}$  was actually the final *hasta* of a *nu*. There seems to be a slight smudge or trace of ink on the bottom left *hasta* of the *pi* that could lead one’s eye to read a *nu* here. This is not bleed-through since the reverse is blank here. The first *hasta* of the *pi* of  $\text{παρεδωκεν}$  is slightly elevated above the *iota* of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ . The result is that the alleged *nu* looks very much like 06’s other *nus*. So I think the most plausible cause of error in this instance is a graphical confusion due to the first *hasta* of the *pi* of  $\text{παρεδωκεν}$ . 0319A then reused the offending *hasta* when writing  $\text{παρεδωκεν}$ . On the Latin side of the page VL76 simply wrote *et* without any strengthening which supports my claim that this change is unintentional. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular substitution.

In the end, 0319A features two substitutions both of which have other possible explanations that would categorize them as insignificant variants. To restate, the only two

significant variants in 0319A are somewhat weak and may better be explained as insignificant variants.

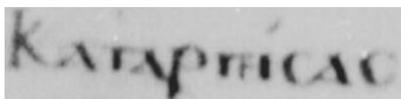
<b>Substitutions</b>	
Romans 1:20a	αορατα > ορατα
Romans 1:24	και > καν

## Scribal Habits of Codex Sangermanensis (Greek) Scribe B

### *Insignificant Variant Readings*

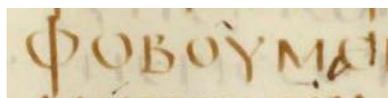
#### *Corrections*

There is only one correction in the test passages of 0319B. At **Ephesians 2:15** 0319B originally writes καταργισας (an orthographic singular reading) which a later scribe corrected to καταργησας (the standard reading). This confusion was influenced by 06's original reading καταρτισας (a singular reading) which is corrected by 06\*\*\* to καταργησας. This variant will feature below under errors due to corrections in 06.



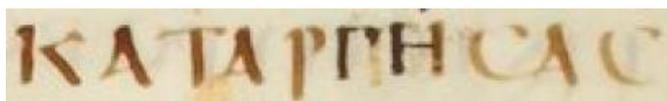
#### *Errors due to Corrections in 06*

0319B has three errors due to a correction in the *Vorlage* accounting for 37.5% of 0319B's total variants. The correction in 06 at **2 Corinthians 12:20** caused an error in 0319B which resulted in a singular reading which was scribally created. Here NA<sup>28</sup> and TR read φοβοῦμαι but 06\* wrote φοβουμε. 06\*\* corrected this reading to match the standard reading but the correction was made in an interesting and confusing way. Rather than cross out the letters to be corrected or writing the correct letters above, 06\*\* simply attached a small loop to the lunate stroke of the original *epsilon* and inserted an *iota* after the word. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular orthographic variant.

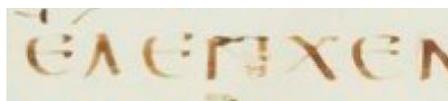


It is easy to see how this could be confusing to a scribe or to any person trying to make sense out of this word. 0319B was very confused by the correction and chose to write φοβουμει which is a singular reading. 0320, also confused, perhaps tried to ignore whatever corrections existed by following the first hand before any corrections and therefore wrote φοβουμε. Because 0319B created a singular reading which was not intended in 06 this reading counts as a variant reading contributing toward the error rate. 0320 followed a reading which was intended by 06 and this reading is therefore not counted as an error.

Another error caused by a correction in 06 is found at **Ephesians 2:15**. 06 originally wrote καταρτισας which was later corrected to καταργησας and matches the standard reading. 0319B copied καταργισας which is a scribally created singular reading. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular orthographic variant.



The correction in 06 at **Titus 2:15** caused an error in 0319B. Here NA<sup>28</sup> and the TR read ἔλεγχε but 06\* wrote ἐλεγχε. 06\*'s text exhibits a common scribal orthographic error by writing the word as it is pronounced instead of as it is spelled.<sup>322</sup> 06\*\*\* corrects this reading to ἐλεγγε to match the standard reading but does so in a confusing manner. 06\*\*\* attempted to erase the diagonal stroke and final *hasta* of 06\*'s v but did so only partially. 06\*\*\* then added a horizontal stroke to the first *hasta* of v turning the letter into a *gamma*.



One can easily see how anyone reading the correction would be confused as to the intended final reading. 0319B was thoroughly confused and wrote ἐλειχε—a singular reading which was scribally created. 0320 correctly interpreted 06\*\*\*'s intent and wrote the standard

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<sup>322</sup> See Gignac, *Grammar*, I.165–77; Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 377–80.

reading. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular orthographic variant.

**Errors due to Correction**

2 Cor 12:20	φοβουμει
Ephesians 2:15	καταργισας
Titus 2:15	ελεγε

*Errors due to Graphical Confusion*

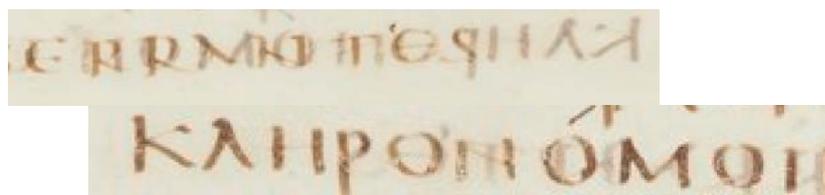
There are two errors due to graphical confusion in the test passages of 0319B accounting for 25% of 0319B's total variants. At **Titus 2:12** 0319B reads αιων in place of αιωνι as in NA<sup>28</sup> and TR. 06 reads αιωνι but this word is written at the end of the line. This means that the text on the other side of the page starts, and is therefore most dense, directly underneath on the other side of the page where this word is written. Because the vellum is so thin and there is so much writing at that place on the other side of the page, it is difficult to discern what text belongs on the facing page and what text belongs on the other side of the page. Such is the case in our example in **Titus 2:12**.



One can clearly see that there is a *iota* after αιων but one can also see how much the text from the other side of the page bleeds through. Combine the bleed through with fading ink and it is easy to see how 0319B would have difficulty accurately reading this word and creates a scribally created singular reading. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular orthographic variant. 0320 has no problem with this and reads the text correctly.

An even better example of graphical confusion, especially due to bleeding text, is found at **Titus 3:7**. 0319B has written the nonsensical reading κληρθνομοι (a scribally created singular reading) where NA<sup>28</sup> and TR read κληρονόμοι. Such a nonsense reading, however, is

much better understood after consulting 0319B's *Vorlage*. The text on the other side of the page has bled through to make the text here almost illegible.



The Latin text on the other side of the page from Titus 3:3 reads *errantes*. The medial horizontal stroke of the final e of *errantes* (shaped very similarly to a majuscule Greek lunate *epsilon*) crosses perfectly through the first omicron in κληρονομοι on the other side of the page (in the image above, I have aligned the Latin e with the Greek omicron that 0319B mistakes for *theta*). This bleed through leads 0319B to read *theta* in place of omicron. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular nonsense variant. 0320 does not make the same mistake but writes κλερονομοι. 0320 writes a singular reading but makes an error of a different sort and for a different reason.

**Errors due to Graphical Confusion**

Titus 2:12	αιων
Titus 3:7	κληρθνομοι

*Orthographic Variant Readings*

Only one orthographic variant is found in the test passages of 0319B accounting for 12.5% of 0319B's total variants. It is found in **2 Corinthians 12:13**. 06\*\* and the TR read ητηθητε while 0319 reads ητηθητε. NA<sup>28</sup> and 06\* read ησσωθητε. This same variant was made (probably independently) by 1646. This reading can be explained as a simple orthographic variant by simplifying a contiguous identical consonant.<sup>323</sup>

**Orthographic Variant Readings**

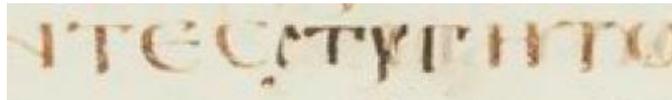
2 Cor 12:13	ητηθητε ττ→τ
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<sup>323</sup> See Gignac, *Grammar*, I.154–55, 161; Moulton, *Grammar*, II.101–02.

### *Nonsense Variant Reading*

0319B only made one nonsense variant in our test passages which is found at **Titus 3:3**. The standard reading here is διαγοντες στυγητοι. Below is the text as found in Claromontanus. 0319B copied τυγητοι. Perhaps 0319B sees a small dot beneath the sigma of στυγητοι and therefore omits it. Or 0319B could have accidentally dropped one of the sigmas that are side by side. Either way, the resulting text is nonsense. To be fair to 0319B this variant is very close to being classified as an error due to correction in the *Vorlage* but since 0319 does not usually interpret expunging dots correctly and because I think that is a stray dot and not a proper expunging dot, this variant is classified as a nonsense variant. Again, since both nonsense variants and errors due to correction in the *Vorlage* are classified as insignificant variants, the exact classification does not much matter. When viewed without the benefit of its *Vorlage* this variant is ruled as a singular nonsense variant.



#### **Nonsense Variant Readings**

Titus 3:3                      τυγητοι

### *Accuracy and Copying Technique*

#### *Addition*

There are no additions in our test passages.

#### *Omission*

0319B did not omit any text in our test passages.

#### *Transposition*

There are no transpositions in our test passages.

### *Substitution*

0319 made one substitution in our test passages. This substitution aligns the singular reading of 06 to the more common standard reading. At **2 Corinthians 12:15** 06 writes the nonsensical and singular reading εκδαπανησησομαι.<sup>324</sup> Both 0319B and 0320 correct this reading to match the standard text of εκδαπανηθησομαι.



#### **Substitutions**

2 Corinthians 12:15      εκδαπανησησομαι > εκδαπανηθησομαι

### Conclusions concerning the Greek Text

Much of what I have said about 0319A can be applied to 0319B. While 0319B has a *much* lower error rate than 0319A at about twelve variants per thousand words compared to 0319A's almost thirty variants per thousand words, 0319B makes the same type of mistakes as does 0319A just not as often. So I think 0319B was a Latin scribe whose first language was not Greek and who had a very basic understanding of the Greek language if any. 0319B likewise had a difficult time interpreting correction marks in the *Vorlage*. The main difference between 0319A and 0319B was 0319A's creation of orthographical variants. 0319A created seven orthographic variants compared to 0319B's one orthographic variant even though 0319A's test passage was half the amount of 0319B's test passages. This difference in orthographical variants suggests that 0319A can at least pronounce Greek (or, mispronounce it) whereas 0319B cannot even sound out Greek and is therefore a more accurate copyist. Aside from this striking difference in scribal practice the rest of their scribal habits were somewhat comparable proportionally.

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<sup>324</sup> Tischendorf erroneously reads εκδαπανησομαι here, dropping out a set of ησ. See Tischendorf, *Codex Claromontanus*, 249.

One of the most shocking and significant conclusions from the study of the test passages of 0319 is that neither scribe added nor omitted a single word. This is not to say that they were perfect scribes—far from it—but with respect to whether they added or omitted, the scribes of 0319 did neither. In fact, over 1,618 words or eight NA pages, they made only three significant variants all of which were substitutions and all of which could possibly be explained away. One of the substitutions was correcting 06’s singular nonsense reading and the other two could be graphical errors. In the end, the scribes of 0319 made hardly any *significant* variants at all. They did make plenty of insignificant variants—orthographic changes, misreading corrections in the text or even misreading the source text entirely—but they made very few significant variants. James R. Royse argued against *lectio brevior potior* in favor of *lectio longior potior* arguing that the scribes who he studied tended to omit more words than add words.<sup>325</sup> After our analysis of these test passages of 0319, we cannot make a conclusion either for or against *lectio brevior*.

Previous scholars who studied Codex Sangermanensis concluded that 0319 was a pretty poor copy of Claromontanus and useless for textual criticism. It is clear that the scribes of 0319 made obvious blunders that anyone who knows Greek would not have made. They created a good number of nonsense readings. But when viewed in light of 0319’s difficult *Vorlage* with nine correctors and parchment so thin that text bleeds through from the other side, perhaps we can be a little more kind to the scribes of 0319. They faithfully copied the text for the vast majority of the passages but when they made a mistake it was a glaring mistake—especially in the case of 0319A. But we should not let these glaring mistakes, however obvious, blind us from seeing how dutifully 0319 copied the majority of the text.

The conclusion is that the scribes of 0319 surely did not know Greek very well at all. 0319A knew Greek well enough to pronounce it but did not to actually know the language

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<sup>325</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 719–20, 734.

and 0319B could not even pronounce Greek. This ignorance of the Greek language is responsible for most of their blunders. Concerning the scribes of 0319's knowledge of Greek, Houghton comments: "Nonsense readings in the Greek confirm that the copyist's principal language was Latin."<sup>326</sup> As we will see below, their Latin knowledge is far superior to their Greek knowledge.

The fact that the scribes of 0319 did not know Greek very well brings up another set of questions concerning the copying skill of non-native Greek speakers versus native Greek speakers. A similar question is how well does a scribe who intimately knows the text copy compared to someone who is unfamiliar with the text? Again, the scribes of 0319 copied the *Vorlage* fantastically but when they made an error it was an egregious one. The opposite is likely true for Greek speaking scribes: they may be slightly more prone to make changes but the changes they make would be less egregious and without so many nonsense variants. More research concerning non-native scribes is needed in order to understand if this theory holds true.

David C. Parker, when speaking of a set of Latin duplicate manuscripts, commented that it seemed that the copyist of the duplicate manuscript made corrections to the *Vorlage*.<sup>327</sup> While I of course do not doubt that this is possible during a copying event, I do not think that either of the scribes of 0319 made any corrections to 06. Similarly, I do not think that 0319A or 0319B is the same person as 06\*\*\* or any other corrector of 06. One reason is because the

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<sup>326</sup> Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 80. Griesbach agrees that the scribe's primary language was Latin saying, "Graecarum litterarum ductus non rudiores quidem sunt, quam latinarum. At satis tamen certum est, scribam fuisse latinum hominem. Graeca enim, quae scripsit, plane non intellexit, atque hinc inaudita verborum portenta innumera confinxit, ac graecas adeo litteras cum latinis, v. c. Graecorum P cum Latinorum P, turpiter confudit, et alicubi, notante Wetstenio, loco ΩΠΑΙΟΙ scripsit ΩΠΑΙΟΙ, in quem errorem Graecus, quantumvis indoctus et negligens, incidere non potuisset" Griesbach, *Symbolae Criticae*, 77. See also Bernard de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris, 1708), 218–220 and Johann Jakob Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Amsterdam, 1751), II: 7–8.

<sup>327</sup> See Parker, *Introduction*, 135; see also David C. Parker, "A Copy of the Codex Mediolanensis," *JTS* 41 (1990): 537.

scribes of 0319 do not consistently follow any one of the correctors. They mostly follow 06\*\*\* but not all the time and sometimes they diverge from 06\*\*\* in very egregious ways; e.g. by leaving out a marginal insertion. Additionally, their hands do not match the hands of any of the correctors. Another reason why they probably did not make any corrections in the text is because they did not know Greek very well. The scribes of 0319 would be the last people who we would want correcting a manuscript. Even when 0319B is confident enough to correct an obviously nonsensical reading in 06 (see **2 Corinthians 12:15**) they do not make a mark in 06 itself.

We have seen here the benefit of having the *Vorlage* of a manuscript at our disposal. As can be seen in the tables, a study of 0319's scribal habits in light of the *Vorlage* greatly enhances our ability to understand a scribe's habits. If we were to study this manuscript as if we did not have access to its *Vorlage* then our results would look slightly different. Instead of three significant variants we would have four and instead of twenty-two total variants, we would only have nineteen. The reason for this is because even when it is clear according to the *Vorlage* that a reading is scribally created, it is possible that another scribe has independently made the same error and that this reading is therefore not a singular reading—even though we know that it is scribally created. To be fair, we do not have access to the *Vorlagen* of the vast majority of manuscripts and we are fortunate that we have it in the case of 0319 and 0320. Again, to be fair, Royse admits that his singular readings method will not capture all scribally created readings. He first asks, “Will all scribally created readings occur among the singular readings?”<sup>328</sup> His response: “The answer is most certainly negative.”<sup>329</sup> He admits that other scribes may independently create the same reading and that therefore a reading which was indeed scribally created would not be considered so because it is no longer

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<sup>328</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 42.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*

a singular reading. Such is the case in 0319 at **2 Corinthians 12:13** at ητηθητε. 0319B makes an orthographic blunder and omits a *tau* resulting in ητηθητε. Manuscript 1646 made this same blunder and therefore this reading in 0319 would not have been considered a singular reading even though we know that this reading is scribally created by 0319B. Royse admits that “a list of singulars will contain only some of the scribally created readings.”<sup>330</sup> We are fortunate that with access to the *Vorlage* we can be confident that we have all the scribally created readings.

It should also be remembered that not all variants between 06 and 0319 are scribally created. Royse comments: “Readings created by the scribe in order to ‘correct’ evident errors in his *Vorlage* may well be found in other documents or even be authentic.”<sup>331</sup> Such is the case at **2 Corinthians 12:15** where 06 has the nonsense reading εκδαπανησησομαι. Both 0319B and 0320 correct this blunder to match the standard text of εκδαπανηθήσομαι. Although their correcting their *Vorlage* counts against them as an error, they are in fact improving their text and such a reading could not be considered scribally created. I do not think that 0319B independently created the correct reading but rather that 0319B consulted another *Vorlage* at this point recognizing some type of error. It is possible that 0319B knew the proper text from memory but if we are correct that 0319B does not know Greek very well then such a scenario is unlikely. In its current state at **2 Corinthians 12:15** 06 is very difficult to read. If such were the case in the ninth century when 0319B copied it then perhaps they thought to consult another *Vorlage* here because of the difficulty of reading the text. It is this substitution at **2 Corinthians 12:15**, only one of three significant variants in our test passages, which I argue should not be counted against 0319B as an error because they were

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

correcting the text. In fact, it is clear that 0319B correctly copied whatever alternate *Vorlage* they were using in this verse.

Royse next asks: “Will all singular readings be scribally created?”<sup>332</sup> His answer is again negative explaining that since we may not have every reading which has ever existed it is possible that some unknown lost manuscript contains a reading which we currently believe to be singular. Such was the case with Codex Bezae until P<sup>127</sup> was discovered. Bezae contained many supposed singular readings which were no longer singular upon the discovery of P<sup>127</sup>. Such is also the case with 06 and 0319. There are four readings in our test passages of 06 which would be singular if we did not have access to 0319 (Romans 1:30: κακολογους; Romans 1:32: ουκ ενοησαν; 2 Corinthians 12:12: κατηργασθη; and 2 Corinthians 12:17: επενψα). These are readings which only exist in 06 and 0319. If 0319 were never to be found then we would assume that these are singular readings of 06.

To apply Royse’s questions to our study, we can ask: Will all scribally created readings occur among the variants from the *Vorlage*? The answer is yes. If there is a scribally created reading then it will be a variant from the *Vorlage*. But will all variants from the *Vorlage* be scribally created? The answer is most certainly no. Some of the variants from the *Vorlage* may be the result of contamination by consulting another manuscript at a certain place or by contamination by memory. My purpose in this study is to identify and analyze variants from the *Vorlage* and to understand the motivation for such variants. Whether these variants are scribally created is of secondary importance.

We can conclude that, when available (which is admittedly very rare) a study of the scribal habits in light of a manuscript’s *Vorlage* is superior to a study of scribal habits by means of singular readings or any other method.

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<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

## **Codex Claromontanus (VL75) and Codex Sangermanensis (VL76)**

### Codex Sangermanensis as a copy of Codex Claromontanus

Just as the vast majority of scholars agree that the Greek text of 0319 is a copy of codex Claromontanus, the majority opinion is that the Latin text of VL76 is also a copy of the same codex.<sup>333</sup> Because the Latin text of Claromontanus (VL75) does not contain nearly as many corrections (which are easily misinterpreted) and because the scribe of VL76 knew Latin well, there are few obvious indicators that VL76 copied VL75. The text of VL76 does match VL75 very closely. Where VL76 diverges from VL75 it is to Vulgate VL75's Old Latin text. If 0319 copied 06 then VL76 most likely copied VL75.

The scribes of the Greek side of Sangermanensis, I believe, are the same as the scribes of the Latin side of the codex, respectively. As mentioned above, the Greek hand is a ninth-century biblical uncial and the Latin hand is a ninth-century uncial. The contemporary hands share many of the same features. An analysis of ductus and paleography of similar letters in both Greek and Latin shows that the Greek letters are formed in a similar manner to the Latin letters. Since I believe that the scribe of the Greek text and the Latin text is the same person, to get the complete picture of the scribal habits of 0319A and 0319B it is necessary to also analyze the scribal habits of the Latin text. This analysis will be much more abbreviated than the analysis of the Greek text since our main interest is scribal habits of the Greek New Testament. The Latin text, however, can yield a more complete picture of these scribes. Of course this means that since there were two scribes on the Greek side of the page then there are also two scribes writing the Latin. They will be referred to as VL76A and VL76B.

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<sup>333</sup> See Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 244; Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 36–39.

## Notable Attributes of VL76

One correction in VL75 is found at the end of Ephesians. Frede explains that the end of Ephesians on the Latin side of Claromontanus originally read *ad ephesios ad philippenses* which was quickly corrected to *ad ephesios explicit missa a roma per tyticum. incipit ad colossenses filiciter*. When copying the Latin the scribe originally began to place Philippians after Ephesians but quickly corrected it to follow the order on the Greek side. One reason for this copying error may be that this is the most common order with which the scribe was familiar. Frede, however, posits that another *Vorlage* may have influenced the scribe of Claromontanus to originally write *ad philippenses* saying, “Der Schluß des Epheserbriefs mit seiner Subskription scheint jedoch nach einer anderen Vorlage ergänzt zu sein, wie es auch am Schluß des Römerbriefs der Fall ist.”<sup>334</sup> In addition to the end of Romans 1 and the end of Ephesians being possibly influenced by an alternate *Vorlage* the whole of Hebrews has been shown to come from another *Vorlage*.<sup>335</sup> That is to say that Claromontanus was copied from a manuscript that did not contain Hebrews and that 06 used another manuscript entirely for Hebrews both in Greek and in Latin. That another *Vorlage* indeed influences 06 is certain but concerning the end of Ephesians and 06 originally writing *ad philippenses* it is simpler to assume that the scribe is more familiar with Philippians following Ephesians and therefore wrote *ad philippenses* and quickly corrected it. Are we to assume that 06 had both *Vorlagen* open at all points of the text and consulted both manuscripts while copying? This seems

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<sup>334</sup> Frede, *Epistulae ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses*, 300.

<sup>335</sup> On the alternate *Vorlage* for Hebrews see Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 17; E. A. Lowe, “Some Facts about Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts,” *The Classical Quarterly* 19.3/4 (1925): 204; E. A. Lowe, “More Facts about Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts,” *The Classical Quarterly* 22.1 (1928): 61; R. F. Schlossnikel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer und das Corpus Paul in um. Eine linguistische “Bruchstelle” im Codex Claromontanus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Grec 107 + 107A + 107B) und ihre Bedeutung im Rahmen von Text- und Kanongeschichte* (VLBSup 20; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1991); David C. Parker, “The Majuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis: Second Edition* (NTTSD 42; ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 60.

unlikely. That 06 used another *Vorlage* for Hebrews is certain but I doubt that its influence was felt randomly here and there.

#### Scribal Habits of VL76A

The test passages for the Latin of Sangermanensis are the whole of Romans 1 (VL76A) and the extant Latin pages of codex Waldeccensis which contain 2 Corinthians 11:33 – 2 Corinthians 12:14; Ephesians 1:5–13; 2:3–11; and Titus 1:1–3:3 (VL76B). In total the test passages contain 1,547 words.<sup>336</sup> See Tables 4.6–4.9 to view the resulting statistics of the scribal habits of VL76A, VL76B, and VL83.

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<sup>336</sup> I have not used Royse's method of converting number of words into NA pages for the Latin text. Instead I provide statistics for variants per 1,000 words.

**Table 4.6—Variants in VL76A and VL76B against VL75 by Test Passage**

		Words	Add	Om	Sub	Nons	Orth	ErrCorr	GraphErr	Total
VL76A	Romans	519	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	5
VL76B	2 Cor	278	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
	Eph	266	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Titus	484	0	1	6	0	2	0	0	9
	Total	1,547	0	3	9	0	5	0	0	17

**Table 4.7—Significant Variant Readings in the Latin *Abschriften* of Codex Claromontanus**

	Significant Variants	Additions	Words in Additions	Average Words	Omissions	Words in Omissions	Average Words	Words in Omissions / Words in Additions	Substitutions	Net Words Gained / Lost in Substitutions	Net Words Gained / Lost	Net Words Gained / Lost Per Significant Variant	Transpositions
VL76A (Variants)	2	0	0	0	2 (100%)	4	2	4	0 (0%)	0	-4	-2	0 (0%)
VL76A (Singulars)	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	X	0 (0%)	0	0	0	0 (0%)
VL76B (Variants)	10	0 (0%)	0	0	1 (10%)	1	1	X	9 (90%)	0	-1	-1	0 (0%)
VL76B (Singulars)	1	0 (0%)	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	X	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0 (0%)
VL83 (Variants)	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	-1	-1	-.0357	0

**Table 4.8—Total Variants in the Latin *Abschriften* of Codex Claromontanus**

	Total Variants	Errors due to Corrections in the <i>Vorlage</i>	Other errors due to Graphical Confusion	Orthographic Variants	Percentage	Orth. Variants / 1,000 Words	Nonsense Variants	Percentage	Nons. Variants / 1,000 Words
VL76A (Variants)	5	0	0	3	60%	5.78	0	0	0
VL76A (Singulars)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VL76B (Variants)	12	0	0	2	16.67%	1.95	0	0	0
VL76B (Singulars)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VL83 (Variants)	38	0	0	9	23.68%	8.48	1	2.63%	2.12

**Table 4.9—Error Rates in the Latin *Abschriften* of Codex Claromontanus**

	Words	Adjustment Factor	Variants	Variants / 1,000 words
VL76A (Variants)	519	1.00	5	9.633
VL76A (Singulars)	519	1.00	0	0
VL76B (Variants)	1,028	1.00	12	11.67
VL76B (Singulars)	1,028	1.00	1	.973
VL83 (Variants)	944	1.00	38	41.67

## *Insignificant Variant Readings*

### *Corrections*

There are no corrections in the test passages of VL76A.

### *Errors due to Corrections in VL75*

There are no errors in VL76A or VL76B that can be conclusively attributed to corrections in VL75. It is interesting, however, that both of the omissions in VL76A and the only addition in VL76A occur where there is a correction in VL75.

### *Errors due to Graphical Confusion*

There are no errors due to graphical confusion in the test passages of VL76A.

### *Orthographic Variant Readings*

There are three orthographic variants accounting for 50% of the total variants in VL76A. Two of these represent a later stage in Latin orthography and match the Vulgate while the remaining orthographic variant (**Romans 1:24**) shares the reading with at least eleven other Latin manuscripts.

#### **Orthographic Variants**

Romans 1:23	<i>serpentum &gt; serpentium</i>
Romans 1:24	<i>adficiant &gt; afficiant</i>
Romans 1:30	<i>adfectione &gt; affectione</i>

### *Nonsense Variant Readings*

There are no nonsense readings in our test passages.

## *Accuracy and Copying Technique*

### *Addition*

VL76A created no additions.

### *Omissions*

VL76A includes two omissions of four words total accounting for 33.3% of the total variants. The first omission is at **Romans 1:7** where VL76A omits *in caritate Dei*. VL76 is the only Latin manuscript with this reading but 0319 here omits ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ so VL76 does not here have a singular reading.

#### **Omissions**

Romans 1:7	<i>in caritate Dei</i>
Romans 1:32	<i>et</i>

### *Transpositions*

There are no transpositions in our test passages.

### *Substitutions*

VL76A does not make any substitutions when copying VL75.

### Scribal Habits of VL76B

#### *Insignificant Variant Readings*

### *Corrections*

There is one correction in the test passages of VL76B found in Titus 1:9 made by a later hand. Since this correction is made by a later hand it has no relevance to our study of this scribe.

#### *Errors due to Corrections in VL75*

There are no errors due to corrections in the *Vorlage*.

#### *Errors due to Graphical Confusion*

There are no errors due to graphical confusion in the test passages of VL76B.

### *Orthographic Variant Readings*

There are two orthographic variants accounting for 16.67% of the total variants. Both of these represent a later form of Latin orthography and match the Vulgate.

#### **Orthographic Variants**

Titus 1:7a	<i>uinulentum &gt; uinolentum</i>
Titus 1:7b	<i>percossorem &gt; percussorem</i>

### *Nonsense Variant Readings*

There are no nonsense readings in our test passages.

### *Accuracy and Copying Technique*

#### *Addition*

There are no additions in our test passages of VL76B.

#### *Omission*

VL76B omitted one word in the test passages at Titus 3:3 accounting for 10% of the significant variants in VL76B.

#### **Omissions**

Titus 3:3	<i>a</i>
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#### *Transposition*

There are no transpositions in our test passages.

#### *Substitution*

VL76B creates nine substitutions for a total of nine words which account for 90% of significant variants and 75% of the total variants. Seven of these substitutions diverge from VL75 and match the Vulgate (**2 Cor 11:33; 2 Cor 12:11; Titus 1:5, 12a, 12b, 16; 3:1**). Four of the substitutions change a reading which is a singular reading in VL75 (**2 Cor 11:33; Ephesians 1:9; Titus 1:5, 12a**). One substitution is a singular reading (**Titus 1:13**).

<b>Substitutions</b>	
2 Cor 11:33	<i>ut &gt; et</i>
2 Cor 12:11	<i>commendare &gt; commendari</i>
Ephesians 1:9	<i>ostenderet &gt; ostenderent</i>
Titus 1:5	<i>grati &gt; gratia</i>
Titus 1:12a	<i>propetat &gt; propheta</i>
Titus 1:12b	<i>cretensis &gt; cretenses</i>
Titus 1:13	<i>quem &gt; qua</i>
Titus 1:16	<i>ab &gt; ad</i>
Titus 3:1	<i>ab &gt; ad</i>

## Conclusions concerning the Latin Text of Codex Sangermanensis

VL76B's overwhelming characteristic is a strong habit of Vulgating the text. The large majority of VL76B's variants represent a later stage in the development of the Latin language and happen to match the Vulgate. VL76A made no such substitutions. VL76A created proportionally more orthographic variants than did VL76B and they both made omissions and VL76A made an addition. While their overall error rate was almost identical VL76A made most of the orthographic changes and VL76B made all of the substitutions which happen to match the Vulgate. It is important, however, to remember Royse's comment that the difference between substitutions and orthographic variants is often very subjective and extremely subtle.<sup>337</sup>

In VL76 we see two scribes who are familiar with the language which is being copied which is unlike the situation in 0319A and 0319B. We therefore are provided an insight into the scribal habits of scribes when they are familiar with one language and unfamiliar with another.

VL76A and VL76B omit more than they add when collating the text on the *Vorlage*. This confirms Royse's theory about *lectio brevior* with respect to these scribes. Again, since the scribes of VL76 know Latin, their scribal habits with respect to *lectio brevior* are also what we would expect to see.

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<sup>337</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 79.

If we were, however, to analyze VL76 by singular readings then the scribal habits would look much different. According to the singular readings method VL76A adds one word thereby adding more than omitting and contradicting Royse's theory concerning *lectio brevior*. Here we see again that, when possible, determining scribal habits based on a known *Vorlage* is to be preferred and gives the clearest picture of scribally created readings.

### **Conclusions concerning the whole of Codex Sangermanensis**

Some final thoughts concerning the scribes of Codex Sangermanensis are in order. 0319A has an introductory understanding of Greek. They can probably sound out words. 0319A can even perhaps translate basic vocabulary and sentence structure. If one knows Latin well, is it difficult to identify that *in caritate Dei* aligns with ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ (**Romans 1:7**)? 0319A can pronounce Greek and has a basic understanding of vocabulary and syntax but lacks a deep vocabulary in Greek. 0319B somehow knows enough Greek to know that ἐκδαπανησομαι (**2 Corinthians 12:15**) is an incorrect reading and properly corrects it. As for 0319's nonsense readings, to a novice at Greek παρεδωκεν (**Romans 1:28**, Scribe A) and τυγητοι (**Titus 3:3**, Scribe B) may seem like just as good Greek words as παρεδωκεν and στυγητοι. Additionally, ὠραῖοι is a rare word being only used twice in the New Testament (Matthew 23:27; Romans 10:15; other reflexes of the same word can be found in Acts 3:2 and Acts 3:10) so it is understandable, when we remember that copying was actually dictating one's own aloud reading since scribes would read aloud as they copied and that this scribe reads Latin better than Greek, that an error due to faulty hearing due to a different pronunciation could result in ὠπαιοι (Romans 10:15) because the scribe pronounced ὠραῖοι mistaking the *rho* for a *p* sound.<sup>338</sup> We can be confident that 0319A is not fluent in Greek but

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<sup>338</sup> See Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.; Oxford: Oxford, 2005), 254–57 for this cause of error in transmission of the text.

most of what they lack is simply a deficiency of vocabulary. 0319B, on the other hand, has less understanding of Greek than 0319A and probably cannot pronounce Greek.

This codex gives great insight into the scribal habits of scribes who are familiar with the language which they are copying and the habits of scribes who are unfamiliar with the language they are copying. The scribes of 0319, who were unfamiliar with the language being copied, copied the text surprisingly well. They did not add or omit a single word! Such exactness is remarkable. They did, however, create numerous egregious nonsensical readings that would be an obvious error to anyone who knew Greek. So we see that scribes that are unfamiliar with a language will copy the text very well when the text is clear and easy to understand.

Greek students have often heard the anecdote that the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) employed data entry personnel who did not know Greek specifically because the idea was that people who do not know Greek would enter the data more correctly and accurately than those who know Greek. The origin of this anecdote is difficult to ascertain and I have not been able to find an explicit explanation of this in print.<sup>339</sup> A page on the TLG website called “Project History” says “TLG digitization has always done [*sic*] via double-keyboarding, in Korea, the Phillipines [*sic*] and more recently in China. Even today, the texts are shipped to China where typists, ignorant of Greek or English, enter the Greek characters in Beta Code which can be converted into Unicode or other types of Greek fonts.”<sup>340</sup> This statement, however, is still not an explicit explanation about the motivations for employing non-Greek

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<sup>339</sup> One publication in which I hoped to find evidence was written by Theodore F. Brunner the founding director of the TLG: Theodore F. Brunner, “Classics and the Computer: The History of a Relationship,” in *Accessing Antiquity: The Computerization of Classical Studies* (Jon Solomon ed., Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona, 1993) = Theodore F. Brunner, “The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Classics and the Computer,” *Library Hi Tech* 9.1 (1991): 61–67. I was unable to find any mention of employing non-Greek speakers to input data in these publications.

<sup>340</sup> See <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/about/history.php> .

speakers. Indeed, many might say that the *TLG* outsourced to developing countries in order to save money. In a video called “*TLG 37<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Video*” posted by *TLG*, Dr. Jay Shanor, one of the early producers of the *TLG*, says: “I can remember data entering the first few little items right here at UCI (University of California, Irvine). Then they came up with this crazy idea that this could be done more effectively and more economically some place else like Korea. And that, to me, just blew my mind. How can Koreans who have never seen Greek possibly take a Greek text and do a good job of data entry because they don’t know what they’re entering? Over the years, as the contracts moved from one country to another I began to see that that was a definite advantage. All they were doing was punching characters.”<sup>341</sup> Shanor states that they hoped to both save money and increase accuracy by having non-Greek speakers input the texts. Hence, my tentative conclusion that non-Greek speakers are more accurate scribes is reaffirmed in the *TLG*’s transcribing practices.

When judgments must be made, however, such as a difficult correction or an obscured text, a scribe who does not know the language will make egregious errors. On the other hand, scribes who know the language make a different set of errors. These errors will be less egregious and less obvious. Scribes who know the language are more prone to omit rather than to add and to take liberties with the text by, for example, aligning the text more closely with a version with which they are familiar, as did VL76B. Again, even though the scribes of VL76 copied in Latin, their scribal habits match those of Royse’s scribes whereas the scribes of 0319 provide fresh new insight into the scribal habits of those who do not know the language.

Due to the status which Codex Sangermanensis enjoys as the earliest duplicate manuscript and one of the relatively few bilingual manuscripts, I hope that it can receive a

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<sup>341</sup> Video may be accessed here: <https://vimeo.com/7564510> . Shanor’s statement begins at 4:55. My thanks to Ronald van der Bergh for bringing this video to my attention.

complete treatment in the near future that performs similar experiments to this study but for the whole of the manuscript instead of by test passages.

## Codex Claromontanus (06) and Codex Waldeccensis (0320)

The tenth-century Codex Waldeccensis has long been known as D<sup>abs2</sup> but has since been given a new GA number of 0320. The Latin text is referred to as VL83. This fragmentary manuscript now contains only 2 Corinthians 12:7–20; Ephesians 1:13–19; 2:11–18; and Titus 1:9–3:11 in Greek and 2 Corinthians 11:33–12:14; Ephesians 1:5–13; 2:3–11; and Titus 1:1–3:3 in Latin.<sup>342</sup> 0320 copies Greek on the verso and Latin on the recto just as does 06 (but unlike 0319). 0320, unlike 0319, preserves the line and page divisions as found in 06 in both Greek and Latin. Since 0320 has exactly twice as many lines as 06 (42 to 21), 0320 begins a new page at the same place as every other page of 06.<sup>343</sup> Frede mentions the fact that 0320 has twice as many lines as 06: “in 42 Langzeilen (2 x 21 des Claromontanus!).”<sup>344</sup> The Greek hand is a careful western Biblical majuscule and the Latin is a Carolingian minuscule.<sup>345</sup> Bredehorn explains that part of the reason that this tenth-century manuscript employs a Greek majuscule is because this script was more acceptable for the sanctity of the biblical text.<sup>346</sup> While this may be true it is more likely that the scribe copied in Greek majuscule because the *Vorlage*, 06, was also written in Greek majuscule. This is evidence that *Vorlage* of 0320 was written in Greek majuscule as was 06.

This codex has been held in two parts in two different locations: the Ephesians folia at Mengerlinghausen and the 2 Corinthians and Titus folia at Marburg. Unfortunately, both of

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<sup>342</sup> For a more complete description of the codex see Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 246.

<sup>343</sup> See Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste*, 19.

<sup>344</sup> Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.28. Frede uses the same words in Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 47. See also Frede, *Epistula ad Ephesios*, I.13\*. Schultze also noticed the 2x21 connection. See Schultze, *Codex Waldeccensis*, 18.

<sup>345</sup> See Bredehorn, “Codex Waldeccensis,” 463, 465. Frede calls the Latin hand the customary minuscule of the tenth century: Frede, *Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.28. See also Frede, *Ephesios*, I.13\*; Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 48.

<sup>346</sup> See Bredehorn, “Codex Waldeccensis,” 463–64.

these sets of folia have been lost. The Ephesians pages have been lost for at least 60 years and now the remaining pages have been lost sometime since 1999.<sup>347</sup> Bredehorn explains that the Ephesians folia were known to be held at Mengerlinghausen and can last be located there in 1938 but have not been seen since then. A request in 1949 went unanswered. It is possible that the Ephesians folia were lost during World War II. Hoffmann explains that the Municipal Archives of Mengerlinghausen states that in 1984 they are neither at the Parish church where they had been nor at the city archive.<sup>348</sup> These Mengerlinghausen folia (Ephesians) have been known to the scholarly world since Schultze's 1904 facsimile and transcription of the Latin pages.<sup>349</sup>

The remaining folia, containing 2 Corinthians and Titus, are supposed to be held at the Hessisches Staatsarchiv in Marburg but were lost sometime after Bredehorn's 1999 article. After inquiring for any possible high resolution photographs of Codex Waldeccensis at the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg (where the remaining part of 0320 is supposed to be held) I received an e-mail reply on September 28, 2015 stating: "I am very sorry to tell you that the original of Codex Waldeccensis went lost at an unknown point of time after 1999." I can only assume that they state that it went lost after 1999 since Bredehorn published her transcription and facsimile of 0320 in 1999.

While the origin and history of the Ephesians fragment concerning Schultze's 1902 discovery and 1904 publication is easy to locate, the history of the 2 Corinthians and Titus fragments is not as easy to locate. These Marburg folia (2 Corinthians and Titus) have only become appreciated more recently—so recently, in fact, that Kurt and Barbara Aland's 1989

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<sup>347</sup> See Bredehorn, "Codex Waldeccensis," 466–68 for the history of this codex.

<sup>348</sup> See Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1986), I.137.

<sup>349</sup> Schultze, *Codex Waldeccensis*. See Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I.137 for the history of the Ephesians folia. Hoffmann explains that Schultze discovered the folia in 1902.

*The Text of the New Testament* mentions only the Mengerlinghausen fragments of Ephesians and seems unaware of the Marburg fragments of 2 Corinthians and Titus.<sup>350</sup> The earliest mention of the Marburg fragments which I can find in print is in Frede's 1973 *Ein Neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*.<sup>351</sup> Frede's 1964 *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften* mentions only the Mengerlinghausen fragment but not the Marburg fragments.<sup>352</sup> So it seems that the Marburg fragments came to light sometime in between 1964 and 1973. Unlike the Mengerlinghausen fragment, I cannot find an origin story but Frede rather simply writes that these fragments have "now become known."<sup>353</sup> That the Aland's were unaware of the newfound Marburg fragments in their 1989 edition of *The Text of the New Testament* is an oversight.

The exact copying location of 0320 is quite difficult to ascertain. One may suppose that since it is a copy of Claromontanus, which was likely located in Corbie, France in the ninth century when Sangermanensis was copied, then Waldeccensis may also have been copied in Corbie. Additionally, one may assume that since they both copy from the same manuscript, Waldeccensis may have been copied in the same location as Sangermanensis which was copied near Corbie. Schultze, the first commentator on 0320, provided a story of how 0320 may have come to Mengerlinghausen but does not discuss where it may have been copied. Schultze describes that 0320 may have been brought to Mengerlinghausen by John von Deventor (d. 1556) coming from the Netherlands.<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>350</sup> See 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* (2d ed.; trans. Errol F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 110.

<sup>351</sup> Frede, *Paulustext*, I.76–77.

<sup>352</sup> Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 47–48.

<sup>353</sup> Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.28: "sind inzwischen ... bekannt geworden."

<sup>354</sup> See Schultze, *Codex Waldeccensis*, 22–23.

Nestle, reporting on Schultze's find of 0320, mentioned a catalogue from 1885 from Fulda that listed a Greco-Latin manuscript of the Pauline epistles suggesting that, instead of Schultze's story about Deventor, this manuscript may have come from Fulda.<sup>355</sup> Nestle mentions that Fulda is closer to Mengerlinghausen than the Netherlands.

Frede finds Schultze's argument unconvincing and instead claims that 0320 came from the Imperial Abbey of Corvey whose first abbot was Adalard of Corbie. Adalard settled New Corbie in modern Corvey in Höxter, Germany and built an abbey there in the early ninth century. This abbey in Corvey, Germany was a daughter abbey to the Corbie Abbey in France and the two abbeys maintained a close relationship.<sup>356</sup> It then traveled from Corvey to Mengerlinghausen (about 70 kilometers) where it remained until modern time. We now know that there is also another portion of 0320 that somehow made its way to Marburg (about 156 kilometers south of Corvey). Perhaps it also came directly from Corvey or, more likely I believe, the Marburg fragments came to Marburg from Mengerlinghausen. Gryson, following Frede, agrees that 0320 was written in Corvey.<sup>357</sup>

Nevertheless, while one group of commentators, all writing in the *Vetus Latina* series, argue for Corvey as 0320's place of origin, another group of commentators claim that 0320 came from Fulda. Hartmut Hoffmann is the first to connect 0320 to Fulda based on

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<sup>355</sup> See Eberhard Nestle, "Zwei griechisch-lateinische Handschriften des Neuen Testaments," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 8 (1907): 239.

<sup>356</sup> See Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.29: "Die Handschrift stammt vermutlich aus Korvey an der Weser, der unter Adalhard gegründeten Tochterabtei von Corbie; in deren Blütezeit unter den Ottonen mag sie aus Corbie oder dessen Umgebung dorthin gekommen sein." Concerning Codex Claromontanus, Frede also says "In der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts oder etwas später gelangte er nach Corbie, wo er mehrmals kopiert wurde," Frede, *Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.23. Two of those many manuscripts copied from 06 were 0319 and 0320. See also Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 47–48; Frede, *Paulustext*, 76. Houghton notes that it was copied "possibly in Corvey or Fulda," Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 246.

<sup>357</sup> Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, I.133.

paleography.<sup>358</sup> Klaus Gugel argues that 0320 was written in Fulda also based on paleography.<sup>359</sup> Bredehorn follows their lead and recounts evidence given by Gugel that 0320 originated in Fulda and mentions that the Fulda catalogues list a Pauline Greco-Latin manuscript.<sup>360</sup> The catalogue that Nestle refers to is Gustav Becker's from 1885. The entry in question reads: "*et epistolae Pauli Graeco-latinae.*"<sup>361</sup> Karl Christ edits another catalogue from Fulda made in 1561 which lists a manuscript described as "*Epistulae Pauli graece et latine conscriptae.*"<sup>362</sup> Karl Christ also provides the inventory from 1623 in Fulda which lists a manuscript described as "*Epistulae Pauli grece et latine*"<sup>363</sup> and gives the first line of the first page from this manuscript which is Romans 1:1 showing that, if this is 0320, it contained Romans and probably all of the Pauline epistles just as in 06 and 0319. If 0320 was copied in Fulda, then that would mean that Claromontanus traveled from Corbie, France to Fulda, Germany and was then returned back to France sometime before it was found by Beza in Clermont. Because those in the Fulda camp have provided much more evidence for their claim, I am inclined to accept Fulda as the place of origin for 0320. After being copied in Fulda, portions of 0320 made its way to Marburg (85 kilometers west) and Mengerlinghausen (140 kilometers north).

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<sup>358</sup> See Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I.137, I.164.

<sup>359</sup> See Klaus Gugel, *Welche erhaltenen mittelalterlichen Handschriften dürfen der Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda zugerechnet werden?* (Fuldaer Hochschulschriften 23A; Frankfurt: Knecht, 1995), I.11–12.

<sup>360</sup> See Bredehorn, "Codex Waldeccensis," 466–67.

<sup>361</sup> Gustav Heinrich Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, (Bonn: Cohen Brothers, 1885), 267 entry 26.

<sup>362</sup> Karl Christ, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im 16. Jahrhundert: Die Handschriften – Verzeichnisse* (Beiheft zum zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 64; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1933), 262 entry VII.2.

<sup>363</sup> Christ, *Bibliothek*, 135 entry 358. The comment from the catalogue that corresponds to this manuscript says that this manuscript was in the catalogue around 850 ("In dem Verzeichnis um 850," Christ, *Bibliothek*, 217.

## Codex Waldeccensis as a Copy of Codex Claromontanus

Textual critics have long accepted that 0320 is a copy of 06. Schultze himself in 1904 wrote, “Erscheint D in korrigierter Form als die eigentliche Vorlage von W [0320].”<sup>364</sup> Concerning the Ephesians fragment Frede writes “Die Hs ist nach Anlage (2x21 Zeilen!) und Text eine Abschrift des Claromontanus.”<sup>365</sup> Frede writes of the more recently found Titus fragments “Nach Anlage und Text entspricht 83 [0320] völlig dem Claromontanus.”<sup>366</sup> The scribe of Codex Sangermanensis left many indications which give no room for doubt that 0319 is a direct copy of Codex Claromontanus. The scribe of Codex Waldeccensis, however, did a much better job of covering the tracks between 0320 and its *Vorlage*. Although many scholars, as stated above, have previously stated that 0320 / VL83 is a copy of 06 / VL75, after transcribing and collating VL83 against VL75 and in comparison with VL76 I was not so sure. The Latin text of VL83 aligns itself much closer to VL76 than VL75. At one point I contemplated and allowed for the possibility that VL83 actually copied VL76 rather than VL75. I even reconsidered if it was possible that the Greek side of 0320 copied 0319 instead of 06. Houghton leaves the Latin *Vorlage* unanswered saying, “[VL83] incorporates the corrections of VL75 and may have been copied directly from this or VL76.”<sup>367</sup> Although the Latin text of VL83 more closely matches VL76 than VL75, it is my conclusion that VL83 was indeed copied directly from VL75. The smoking gun for this conclusion is, as stated above, that 0320 / VL83 maintain the page divisions from their *Vorlage* consistently. 0320 / VL83 has exactly twice as many lines as 06 / VL75 and therefore 0320 / VL83 begins the page at the same point as 06 / VL75 begins every other page. Since 0319 / VL76 has 31 lines,

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<sup>364</sup> Schultze, *Codex Waldeccensis*, 20.

<sup>365</sup> Frede, *Epistula ad Ephesios*, I.13\*. See also Frede, *Ein Neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*, I.76–77.

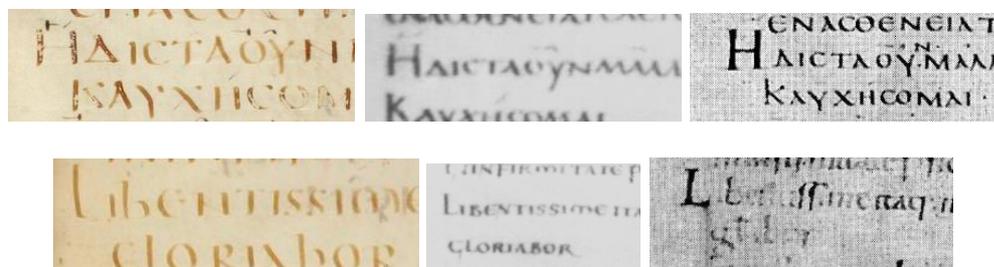
<sup>366</sup> Frede, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.28. See also Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 47.

<sup>367</sup> Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 246. See also page 80: “VL 83 ... copied in the tenth century from VL 75 or VL 76 ...”

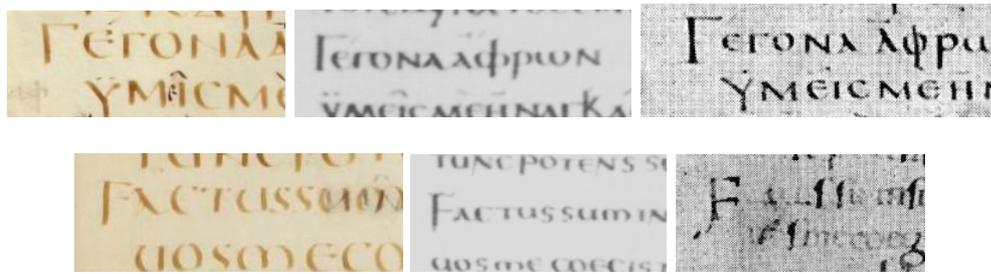
it is almost impossible that 0320 / VL83 copied 0319 / VL76 and somehow rearranged the lines to perfectly match 06 / VL75. The explanation for the fact that VL83 more closely matches the readings of VL76 is that both manuscripts tend to Vulgate their readings.

Claromontanus contains the Old Latin form of the text. Waldeccensis follows Claromontanus closely but when it does diverge it provides a reading from the Vulgate. VL76 acts similarly and therefore VL76 and VL83 often agree together against VL75 but always in agreement with the Vulgate. VL76 and VL83 never agree together against VL75 and against the Vulgate. Their common source is always either VL75 or the Vulgate. Therefore, while their text is more closely related to each other than to VL75, VL75 remains their common direct *Vorlage*. Such a situation underscores the necessity to examine codicological evidence in tandem with textual evidence. Relying solely upon the textual evidence would have forced us to conclude that VL83 is actually a copy of VL76 but the full scope of the evidence shows that VL75 is the *Vorlage*.

Another piece of evidence that Codex Waldeccensis copies directly from Claromontanus is their use of ektheses. Waldeccensis consistently writes an ekthesis at the same locations as Claromontanus in both Greek and Latin whereas 0319 / VL76 writes these same letters as capitals that do not protrude into the margin as in 06 / VL75 and 0320 / VL83. This first example is 06 / VL75, 0319 / VL76, and 0320 / VL83, respectively, at 2 Corinthians 12:9 in both Greek and Latin.



The next example comes from 2 Corinthians 12:11.



There are many times in the Greek text that 0320 agrees with 06 against 0319, especially where 0319 makes nonsensical errors, which is further evidence that 0320 copies from 06 and not 0319. Just a few examples, among others, include 0320 following 06 at ενδεικνυμενους where 0319 reads ενδικνυμενους at Titus 2:10. Similarly, at Titus 2:12 0320 has αιωνι where 0319 created the nonsense αιων. The list continues but it is sufficient to say that 0320 agrees against 0319 and with 06 many times.

Another evidence that Codex Waldeccensis copies from Claromontanus is that they both format their codices similarly with Greek on the verso, or “the place of honour,”<sup>368</sup> and Latin on the recto, whereas Sangermanensis writes both Greek and Latin on the same page in two columns.

#### Notable Attributes of Codex Waldeccensis

Above, concerning Codex Sangermanensis, we discussed whether or not the scribe of 0319 and VL76 (the Greek and Latin side of the codex) was the same person and, based on an examination of letterforms shared between the Greek and Latin hand, we concluded that it was. This issue is not as straightforward in Codex Waldeccensis. The Greek and Latin scripts of Codex Sangermanensis were very similar and provided ample source material with which to compare letterforms. The Greek and Latin scripts of Codex Waldeccensis, however, are very different. The Greek hand is a western biblical majuscule and the Latin hand is a Carolingian minuscule. That the scripts look different by no means demands that the scripts

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<sup>368</sup> Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 52.

were written by different people. The problem, however, is that the two scripts share very few common letterforms and therefore it is difficult to compare similar letterforms between the two hands. One source of comparison could be the capitals from the Latin hand compared to the majuscule letters of the Greek hand. There are, however, few such capitals in the Latin hand with which to compare with the Greek text. The capitals that do remain lead me to believe that the Greek text was written by one scribe and that the Latin text was written by an entirely different person. I do not believe that both the Greek and Latin texts were written by the same scribe.<sup>369</sup> Bredehorn, however, disagrees and affirms: “Der lateinische Text ist von derselben Hand geschrieben wie der griechische.”<sup>370</sup> But the evidence Bredehorn provides is weak. She finds the word *karissimo* which is in the middle of a line and the k is not written as a capital but rather as a minuscule like the rest of the text. She focuses on the letter k saying that it is identical to the Greek *kappa* on the Greek side of the text. This k is the only k in the whole of the manuscript on the Latin side which means that she is only able to compare a single letter to the Greek *kappa* in order to determine if this is the same scribe.



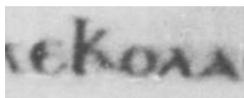
To be fair, the k found in VL83 at Titus 1:4 does indeed look similar to a Greek *kappa* on the other side of the page. In both hands the k is a bit bigger than the rest of the letters, has the same ductus, and is shaped similarly. It looks like the Latin k has a bit more of a serif than the Greek though. Regardless of how similar these letters are, I would not hang a conclusion on a

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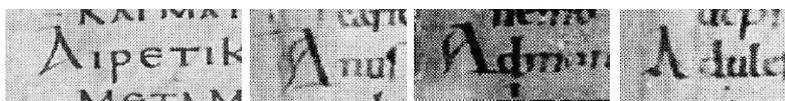
<sup>369</sup> Schultze agrees that the Greek and Latin texts may have been written by two different scribes: “Für einen genauen zeitlichen Ansatz bietet der griechische Text allerdings keinen Anhaltspunkt; dafür tritt jedoch ohne Abzug die lateinische Parallele ein, auch dann, wenn der Schreiber des einen und des andern Teils nicht dieselbe Person sein sollte, wie ich anzunehmen geneigt bin,” Schultze, *Codex Waldeccensis*, 21–22.

<sup>370</sup> Bredehorn, “Codex Waldeccensis,” 465.

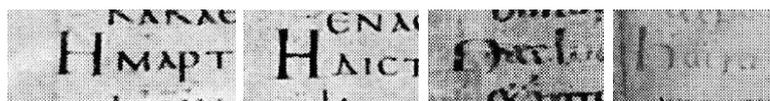
single letter. If we were to do so, then perhaps we could conclude that the scribe of 0319B is the scribe of VL83 since the *kappa* of 0319B, below, is similar.



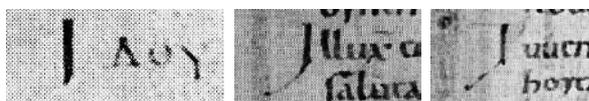
A more complete investigation would analyze all common letterforms in the manuscript which, as I said above, are few. An examination of the Latin letterforms reveals that the Latin hand is highly irregular forming the same letter many different ways. The Latin *a* is formed in three different ways with the Greek *alpha* not matching any of them.



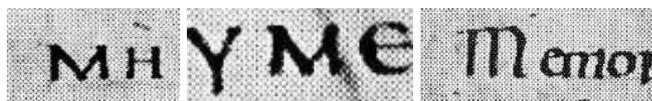
The Latin *h* does not match the Greek *eta*.



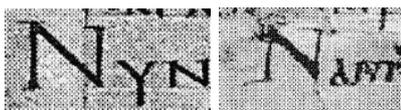
Even the Latin *i* does not match the Greek *iota*.



The Latin *m* does not match the Greek *mu*. The Greek *mus* provided are not capitals but are rather from the main text because there are no capital *mus* in 0320.



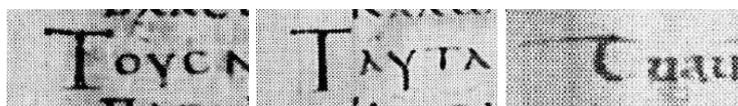
The Latin *n* looks strikingly similar to the Greek *nu* but it is not exactly the same. The Latin *n* is not formed as carefully as the Greek *nu*.



Surprisingly, even the Latin *o* does not match the Greek *omicron*.



Lastly, the Latin t does not match the Greek *tau*.



It may very well be that the scribe writes the Latin capitals different than the Greek capitals because the scribe has a Greek capital script and a different Latin capital script. In the end, an analysis of letterforms suggests that the scribe of the Greek text and the scribe of the Latin text are two different scribes. Because I do not think that the scribe of the Greek text is the same as the scribe of the Latin text, and because this study is interested in scribal habits of scribes of the Greek New Testament, my treatment of VL83 will be extremely abbreviated. I have, however, provided variant readings and statistics for VL83 just as I have done all the manuscripts in this study.

#### Scribal Habits of Codex Waldeccensis (Greek)

##### *Insignificant Variant Readings*

##### *Corrections*

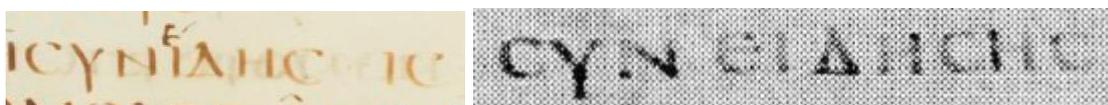
There are seven corrections in 0320 at 2 Corinthians 12:9, 10, 20; Titus 1:11, 14, 2:10, 3:3. All of these corrections are by the original hand and align with the *Vorlage*. The final readings are therefore considered correct.

##### *Errors due to Corrections in 06*

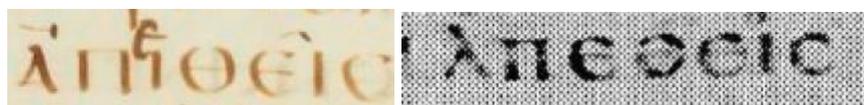
0320 included four errors that can be attributed to difficulty interpreting the corrections in 06 which account for 12.5% of all variants in 0320. The first of such errors, and the most interesting and egregious in the whole manuscript, is found at **2 Corinthians 12:15a** (see images above in the Errors due to Corrections in 06 section concerning 0319). Here 06

originally wrote ησσον but 06\*\*\* corrected this word to ηττον. The manner in which the correction was made, however, was extremely confusing. 06\*\*\* inserted small *taus* inside the *sigmas* of ησσον in order to correct it to ηττον. Both 0319 and 0320 were dumbfounded by the correction. 0319 chose to copy these glyphs as closely as possible so wrote *sigmas* with tiny *taus* inside of them. 0320 took a different approach by interpreting the correction as ητστον. This is utterly nonsense and suggests that the scribe of 0320 knew very little Greek. The variant can be blamed, however, on the difficulty in 06 and therefore this variant is classed as an error due to a correction in the *Vorlage*. Without the benefit of the *Vorlage* this dumbfounding error would have been classed as a singular nonsense variant.

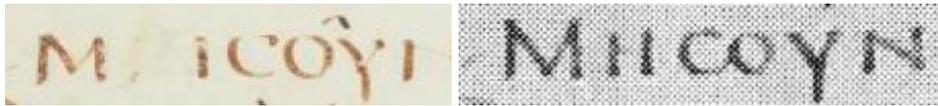
Another error that may be attributed to a correction in *Vorlage* is found at **Titus 1:15**. 06 originally wrote συνιδησεις which was corrected to συνειδησις by 06\*\*. 0320 copied συνειδησης which is a singular reading. Without the benefit of the *Vorlage* this variant would have been classed as an orthographic variant.



At **Titus 1:16** 06 originally wrote απιθεις which was corrected to απειθεις by 06\*\*\*. 0320 had difficulty interpreting the correction and incorrectly copied it as απεθεις which resulted in a singular reading. Without the benefit of the *Vorlage* this variant would have been classed as an orthographic variant.



The final error possibly caused by a correction is found at **Titus 3:3c**. 06 originally wrote μεισουντες which was corrected to μισουντες by erasing the first *epsilon*. This is exactly the same situation 0320 faced at **Titus 1:15** and reacted in the same manner. 0320 wrote μησουντες. Without the benefit of the *Vorlage* this variant would have been classed as an orthographic variant.



#### Errors due to Corrections in 06

2 Cor 12:15	ησιστον
Titus 1:15	συνειδησις > συνειδησης
Titus 1:16	απειθεις > απεθεις
Titus 3:3	μισουντες > μησουντες

#### *Orthographic Variant Readings*

0320 created twenty orthographic variant readings in the test passages which account for 62.5% of the total variants. The first orthographic variant is at **2 Corinthians 12:9** where 0320 writes *δυναμοις* in place of *δυναμις*.<sup>371</sup> There is no confusion or difficulty in 06 in this verse that would confuse 0320. This variant is a singular reading.

The next orthographic variant is at **2 Corinthians 12:10** where 0320 writes *στενωχοριας* in place of *στενοχωριας*. Here 0320 transposes the *omicron* and the *omega*. There is no difficulty or confusion here in 06. Such an orthographic change is extremely common. Gignac notes that “this [interchange] occurs very frequently in all phonetic conditions throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods.”<sup>372</sup> This variant is a singular reading.

The next orthographic variant is found at **2 Corinthians 12:12a** where 0320 writes *κατεργασθην* in place of *κατηργασθην*. There is no difficulty in the *Vorlage* that would influence such a change. This is a simple η to ε interchange which is also extremely common especially when the interchange comes before a liquid consonant. Gignac explains: “The interchange of η and ε (and its occasional interchange with αι) takes place mainly in the same phonetic conditions in which ε interchanges with ι, namely, before a back vowel (especially in the early Roman period), before or after a nasal, before a liquid, and in final position, with

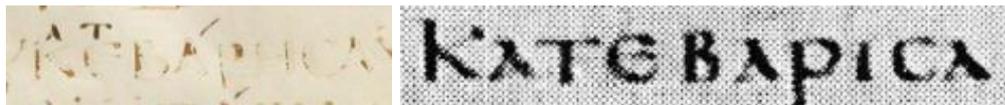
<sup>371</sup> See Gignac, *Grammar*, I.271–72.

<sup>372</sup> Gignac, *Grammar*, I.275–77.

little difference between unaccented and accented syllables.”<sup>373</sup> This variant is a singular reading.

The next orthographic variant is at **2 Corinthians 12:12b** where 0320 writes υπομονοι in place of υπομονη.<sup>374</sup> The text is clear in the *Vorlage*. This variant is a singular reading.

Another orthographic variant can be found at **2 Corinthians 12:16** where 0320 wrote κατεβαρισα in place of κατεβαρησα. The text as it currently appears in 06 is faded and worn but enough remains even today to make out the proper letters. It is likely that 0320 committed an orthographic error independently of the state of the *Vorlage*. Above we have noted that this interchange occurs very frequently.<sup>375</sup> This orthographic variant in 0320 is not a singular reading, being shared with 1646 and 1877, perhaps because such an orthographic change was so common.



The next orthographic variant is at **Ephesians 1:13** where 06 reads εσφραγισθητε and 0320 copies εσφραγησθητε interchanging ι for η which is just the opposite as the previous example. The text in 06 is clear. The variant in 0320 is a singular reading.

Another orthographic variant is at Ephesians 1:19 where 06 writes υπερβαλλον but 0320 copies υπερβαλλων. The text in 06 is clear. The variant is not a singular reading being found also in 1877 due to the frequency of the interchange of ω and ο.<sup>376</sup>

Another orthographic variant is found at the end of **Ephesians 2:12b**. 06 unmistakably reads κοσμω while 0320 copies κοσμο. This is another example of a ω to ο interchange and results in a singular reading.

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<sup>373</sup> Gignac, *Grammar*, I.248. See also Gignac, *Grammar*, I.242–49.

<sup>374</sup> See Gignac, *Grammar*, I.265–67.

<sup>375</sup> See Gignac, *Grammar*, I.235.

<sup>376</sup> See Gignac, *Grammar*, I.275–77.

Another orthographic reading is found in the very next verse at **Ephesians 2:13**. 06 clearly reads οντες but 0320 copies ουντες. Gignac does provide precedence for an interchange of ο and ου: “This interchange occurs only occasionally in final position, but frequently initially and medially, with accented ου tending to be represented by ο and unaccented ο by ου.”<sup>377</sup> 0320’s reading is a singular reading.

The next orthographic variant is found at **Ephesians 2:15** where 06 writes κτιση but 0320 copies κτηση. There is no opportunity for confusing 06’s text. Although this reading is a variant from 06, it is not a singular reading because the interchange of ι and η occurs “very frequently.”<sup>378</sup> 33 and 1243 also have this reading. Here we see another example of 0320’s penchant for interchanging ι and η. This same orthographic habit is also seen at **Ephesians 2:17b**, **Titus 2:3**, **Titus 2:5**, and **Titus 3:3c** which all resulted in singular readings.

We once again see 0320’s habit of interchanging ο and ω in the next orthographic variant at **Ephesians 2:17a**. Here 06 unmistakably writes ελθων but 0320 copies ελθον resulting in a singular reading. 0320 makes the same orthographic interchange at **Titus 1:14** which is a singular reading.

0320 makes an orthographic change of a different kind at **Titus 2:8**. Here 0320 interchanges η and ει by writing εντραπει at εντραπη.<sup>379</sup> The *Vorlage* is unmistakable here.

At **Titus 2:12** 0320 dropped a single *iota* from παιδευουσα. The *Vorlage* is clear at this place. 0320’s variant is a singular reading. At **Titus 3:1b** 06 clearly wrote πειθαρχειν which 0320 copied as παιθαρχειν which is a singular reading. At **Titus 3:3b** 06 wrote στυγητοι which 0320 copied as στυγητη which is a singular reading. While there is a correction at this word in 06 it concerns the beginning of the word. The ending of the word is clear.

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<sup>377</sup> Gignac, *Grammar*, I.211

<sup>378</sup> Gignac, *Grammar*, I.235.

<sup>379</sup> See Gignac, *Grammar*, I.235–42.

At **Titus 3:7** 06 clearly wrote κληρονομοι which 0320 copied as κλερονομοι which is a singular reading.

#### Orthographic Variant Readings

2 Cor 12:9	δυναμις > δυναμοις
2 Cor 12:10	στενοχωριας > στενωχωριας
2 Cor 12:12a	κατηργασθην > κατεργασθην
2 Cor 12:12b	υπομονη > υπομονοι
2 Cor 12:16	κατεβαρησα > κατεβαρισα
Ephesians 1:13	εσφραγισθητε > εσφραγησθητε
Ephesians 1:19	υπερβαλλον > υπερβαλλων
Ephesians 2:12b	κοσμο > κοσμο
Ephesians 2:13	οντες > ουντες
Ephesians 2:15	κτιση > κτηση
Ephesians 2:17a	ελθων > ελθον
Ephesians 2:17b	ευηγγελισατο > ευιγγελισατο
Titus 1:14	αποστρεφομενων > αποστρεφομενον
Titus 2:3	καταστηματι > καταστηματη
Titus 2:5	βλασφημηται > βλασφιμηται
Titus 2:8	εντραπη > εντραπει
Titus 2:12	παιδευουσα > παδευουσα
Titus 3:1b	πειθαρχειν > παιθαρχειν
Titus 3:3b	στυγητοι > στυγητη
Titus 3:7	κληρονομοι > κλερονομοι

#### Nonsense Variant Readings

0320 created five nonsense variant readings in the test passages which account for 15.63% of the total variants.

The first nonsense reading is found at **Ephesians 2:12a** where 06 reads επαγγελιας but 0320 copies επαιγγελιας. The way that 06 wrote the double *gamma* could cause confusion but it would require the result to be different that what 0320 copied. If 0320 understands the first *gamma* to be *iota* then the second *gamma* would have to be *tau*. Such is not the case. 0320's resulting reading is a singular nonsense reading.



The first nonsense reading in Titus is found in **Titus 1:9**. 06 reads διδασκαλια in the dative singular but 0320 copies διδασκαλιας in the genitive singular. This is categorized as a nonsense reading because it does not match the preceding article in 0320 of τη. There is a

correction in 06 at this word but it should not have any effect on whether or not to include a final *sigma* at the end of this word. 0320's variant is a singular reading.

0320 creates a nonsense reading at **Titus 2:15**. 06 reads *μετα* but 0320 writes *ματα*. This results in a singular reading. 06 is written clearly here.

At **Titus 3:1a** 06 clearly wrote *εξουσιας* which 0320 copied as *εξουσιας*. This is a singular reading.

At **Titus 3:3a** 06 clearly wrote *επιθυμιας* which 0320 copied as *επιθυμιας* which is a singular reading.

#### **Nonsense Variant Readings**

Ephesians 2:12	<i>επαιγελιας</i>
Titus 1:9	<i>διδασκαλιας</i>
Titus 2:15	<i>ματα</i>
Titus 3:1a	<i>εξουσιας</i>
Titus 3:3a	<i>επιθυμιας</i>

#### *Accuracy and Copying Technique*

##### *Addition*

0320 did not add any text.

##### *Omission*

0320 did not omit any text.

##### *Transposition*

0320 did not transpose any text.

##### *Substitution*

0320 made three substitutions for a total of 6.25% of all variants. The first is identical to the substitution made by 0319 at **2 Corinthians 12:15a**. Here 06 writes a nonsense reading *εκδαπανησησομαι* which both 0319 and 0320 independently correct to *εκδαπανηθησομαι* which aligns with the TR and NA28. This is one of the few places where 0319 and 0320 agree

together against 06 but the cause is surely independent correction of 06's nonsense reading. While 0319 and 0320 do not copy their exemplar correctly, they are actually improving the text by making it match the standard text. This is still, however, counted as a variant because they did not copy their exemplar exactly.

An intriguing substitution is found in **2 Corinthians 12:17**. Here 06 writes επενψα which is an orthographically incorrect form which should read επεμψα. 0319 copied this word exactly as found in 06. The text is clear and not easily misunderstood. 0320, however, improved the text by writing the correct form of επεμψα. This reading is a singular reading because only the 06 family has the πέμπω root here and 0320's reading differs from 06 and 0319. All other forms of the text have a form of ἀποστέλλω here. If we are to believe that 0320, like 0319A and 0319B, has a poor grasp of the Greek language then how do we account for this improvement? Perhaps, like 0319A, 0320 has an introductory level of proficiency in Greek. Because πέμπω is a very common Greek word, perhaps 0320 only needs to know a bit of Greek in order to know the correct spelling of this word.



The last substitution made by 0320 is found at **Ephesians 1:18**. In 06 this verse is written so that the word τις of τις εστιν η ελπις is stacked directly above της of the next line reading της κλησεως αυτου so that τις is stacked on top of της. 0320 copied the first line as της εστιν substituting τις with της. This error resulted in a scribally created singular reading.

<b>Substitutions</b>	
2 Corinthians 12:15a	εκδαπανησησομαι > εκδαπανηθησομαι
2 Corinthians 12:17	επενψα > επεμψα
Ephesians 1:18	τις > της

### Conclusions concerning the Greek

In many ways 0320 performed very similarly to 0319A but the scribes also have striking differences. The scribes of 0319 extremely struggled to interpret the intended

corrections in 06, whereas 0320 for the most part had no problem interpreting the corrections. The majority of 0320's variants were orthographic. These orthographic choices likely reflect the common spelling of the tenth century in which 0320 worked. In the West, Greek was not well known and it is possible that most scribes of the time, including 0320, had poor orthographic skills. Bredehorn explains that in the West after the seventh and eighth centuries most students wishing to learn Greek lacked a textbook and were self-taught.<sup>380</sup> Such a situation would explain the Greek skills we see in 0319 and 0320. 0320's Greek skills are very similar to 0319A's skills: 0320 has a basic understanding of Greek but lacks a deep vocabulary. Where 0320 excels past the scribes of 0319 is the ability to interpret correction signs and marginal notes.

Two defining characteristics of 0320 orthographically are the frequent interchange of  $\eta$  and  $\iota$  and of  $o$  and  $\omega$ .

As with the scribes of 0319, it is striking that 0320 neither added nor omitted any text. 0320 made three substitutions but two of those substitutions actually corrected the text. That 0320 has such few significant variants is further evidence that 0320 does not know Greek. 0320 made many nonsensical errors that would be obviously incorrect to anyone who knew Greek. We are also unable to comment on *lectio brevior* since 0320 neither added nor omitted any text. We can, however, conclude that when a scribe does not know the language, the error rate with respect to significant variants plummets.

Had we studied 0320 by singular readings then our understanding of 0320 would be slightly different but the statistics and error rates were very similar between the two methods.

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<sup>380</sup> See Bredehorn, "Codex Waldeccensis," 473.

## Codex Claromontanus (VL75) and Codex Waldeccensis (VL83)

### Scribal Habits of Codex Waldeccensis (Latin)

As mentioned above, because I do not think the scribe of 0320 is the same person as VL83 and because I am mostly interested in scribal habits of Greek New Testament scribes, my treatment of the Latin side of VL83 will be extremely brief. Another reason to truncate an analysis of the Latin text is because the Latin text is extremely difficult to read and the original has been lost so no autopsy can be performed. Statistics may be gathered from the tables but I have not provided apparatus for the variants of VL83 (many of VL83's variants are cited in the apparatus of VL76). Because I have not compiled apparatus for the variants I am not able to comment on singular readings. My brief analysis here collates only against VL75 and VL76. For more information on the Latin text see Schultze,<sup>381</sup> Bredehorn,<sup>382</sup> Frede<sup>383</sup> and Houghton.<sup>384</sup> Frede provides a non-exhaustive list of where VL83 aligns the text to match the Vulgate text.<sup>385</sup>

One of the most immediate differences between the scribes of VL76 and VL83 is VL83's use of *e* caudata. VL83 uses this letter in place of almost all occurrences of *-ae*. Of *e* caudata, Bischoff explains: "The *e* caudata (Ϸ), which is very frequent even in pre-carolingian times for the diphthong *ae*, replaces the latter more and more in the tenth and eleventh centuries."<sup>386</sup> Houghton echoes: "Sound changes are also reflected in spelling conventions, with the use of the digraphs *æ* and *œ* and the *e-caudata* ('e with a tail,' Ϸ). The latter is found

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<sup>381</sup> Schultze, *Codex Waldeccensis*.

<sup>382</sup> Bredehorn, "Codex Waldeccensis."

<sup>383</sup> See Frede, *Paulus-Handschriften*, 47–48; Frede, *Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.28–29; Frede, *Ephesios*, I.13\*

<sup>384</sup> See Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 246.

<sup>385</sup> See Frede, *Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, I.28.

<sup>386</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (tr. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz; Cambridge: Cambridge, 1990), 122.

in place of *ae* in the eighth century, becoming very common in the tenth and eleventh centuries before being replaced by *e* alone in the twelfth century.”<sup>387</sup>

### *Insignificant Variant Readings*

#### *Orthographic Variant Readings*

There are nine orthographic variants in VL83 at 2 Corinthians 12:4 with *paradysum*; Titus 1:4 with *karissimo*; Titus 1:6 with *luxirie*; Titus 1:7 in *percussorem*; Titus 1:9 in *appetentem*; Titus 1:12 with *uentris*; Titus 2:10 with *bonum*; Titus 2:11 with *illuxit*; and Titus 2:15 with *contempnat*.

#### *Nonsense Variant Readings*

There is one nonsense variant in VL83 at Titus 1:5 in *constuas*.

### *Accuracy and Copying Technique*

#### *Addition*

VL83 added no additional words.

#### *Omission*

VL83 did not omit any words.

#### *Transposition*

VL83 did not create a transposition.

#### *Substitution*

VL83 created twenty-eight substitutions with a loss of one word which account for 73.68% of the total variants. Since VL83 did not add or omit and lost one word in

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<sup>387</sup> Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 192.

substitutions, on the whole VL83 omitted more than added. As in VL76B, the vast majority of VL83's substitutions align the text to the Vulgate or even correct a singular or nonsense reading in VL75. That is to say, VL83 has very few scribally created readings because most of VL83's variants simply align the text to the Vulgate. The following list below shows the VL75 reading on the left and then the substitution by VL83 on the right.

<b>Substitutions</b>	
2 Cor 11:33	<i>ut &gt; et</i>
2 Cor 12:1	<i>ei &gt; et</i>
2 Cor 12:2	<i>corpore &gt; corpus</i>
2 Cor 12:4	<i>ne dicenda &gt; edicenda</i>
2 Cor 12:11	<i>commendare &gt; commendari</i>
Ephesians 1:9	<i>ut &gt; et</i>
Ephesians 1:9	<i>ostenderent &gt; ostenderet</i>
Ephesians 2:7	<i>superabundante &gt; superabundantes</i>
Ephesians 2:7	<i>diuitiae &gt; diuitias</i>
Titus 1:4	<i>Christum &gt; Christo</i>
Titus 1:4	<i>Iesum &gt; Iesu</i>
Titus 1:4	<i>salutare &gt; saluatore</i>
Titus 1:5	<i>grati &gt; gratia</i>
Titus 1:5	<i>praesbyterium &gt; praesbiteros</i>
Titus 1:6	<i>accusationem &gt; accusatione</i>
Titus 1:9	<i>doctrinam &gt; doctrina</i>
Titus 1:9	<i>sanam &gt; sana</i>
Titus 1:12	<i>propetat &gt; propheta</i>
Titus 1:12	<i>Cretensis &gt; Cretenses</i>
Titus 1:13	<i>quem &gt; quam</i>
Titus 1:16	<i>ab &gt; ad</i>
Titus 2:7	<i>doctrinam &gt; doctrina</i>
Titus 2:7	<i>integritatem &gt; integritate</i>
Titus 2:7	<i>grauitatem &gt; grauitate</i>
Titus 2:14	<i>mundet &gt; mundaret</i>
Titus 2:15	<i>hortare &gt; exhortare</i>
Titus 3:1	<i>ab &gt; ad</i>
Titus 3:2	<i>litigeos &gt; litigiosos</i>

### Conclusions concerning VL83

Any conclusions must be tentative since I have not subjected this text to as thorough an analysis as I have other texts. A few conclusions, however, are in order. A glance at the statistics for this manuscript may present a skewed picture of this scribe's habits. A variant rate of over forty variants per thousand words is quite high. But it must be remembered that 73% of the variants were substitutions and that almost all of those 73% aligned the text to the Vulgate. Many of these realignments match VL76 but VL83 contains many more. Perhaps

because VL83 was copied later than VL76, the Vulgate had more time to become the standard text and to be at the front of scribes' minds while copying. In the end we must conclude that VL83 was a very careful scribe who made very few errors and who exhibits very few scribally created readings.

We have seen in VL83 an example where a manuscript shares the most agreement with another manuscript, VL76, but is actually the *Abschrift* of another manuscript, VL75. Although VL83's text shares the most affinity with VL76 it is still a copy of VL75. This is because both VL76 and VL83 Vulgate their *Vorlage* independently of one another. This highlights the need for paleographical and codicological analysis in order to determine *Abschriften* and not textual analysis alone.

### **Final Conclusions**

In this study we have browsed the folia of three codices. All had their peculiarities and quirks. In Codex Sangermanensis and Codex Waldeccensis we have introduced ourselves to two codices written by four different scribes. Codex Sangermanensis on the Greek side was characterized by a strict attention to detail, near perfect accuracy when the *Vorlage* was clear, but also egregious and obvious errors when the *Vorlage* was difficult to read or interpret. The Latin side of Codex Sangermanensis exhibited habits which were much more in keeping with a scribe who knows the language. The scribes of VL76 made the types of errors which are consistent with someone who knows the language they are copying. Codex Waldeccensis was similar to Sangermanensis in many ways. Both codices contained a Greek text that neither added nor omitted and which was carefully copied.

In the end, our analysis of these codices was greatly enhanced by access to their common *Vorlage* Codex Claromontanus. Had we not had access to the *Vorlage* but rather analyzed these codices based on singular readings alone, then our picture of these codices would look slightly different. While the singular readings method approaches a correct picture

of these scribes it does not do so exactly. On the other hand, the singular readings method does exactly what Royse claims it would do. Royse is open that his method will not capture all the data but that it will come close. This study confirms Royse's method that it comes close to a perfect understanding of the scribes but falls just short of exactness.

## Chapter Five: The Scribal Habits of Minuscule 205

Minuscule 205 (Venice, Marc., Gr. Z. 5 [420]) is a fifteenth-century New Testament manuscript that also contains the Septuagint held at the Marciana library in Venice, Italy. It is very closely related to minuscule 2886 (Venice, Marc., Gr. Z. 6 [336]) (formerly referred to as 205<sup>abs</sup>) which is held at the same library. I have visited this library and viewed these manuscripts personally. Although scholars have historically accepted 2886 as a copy of 205, Alison Welsby's recent work on Family 1 has argued that the direction of dependence should be reversed and that 205 is actually a copy of 2886.<sup>388</sup>

Both 205 and 2886 were commissioned by Cardinal Bessarion<sup>389</sup> who then gifted them, along with minuscule 209, to the Marciana library in Venice. The inscriptions on the manuscripts and the title used by Bessarion are a key factor in determining the dating of these codices and therefore their direction of dependence.

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<sup>388</sup> See Alison Welsby, *A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John* (ANTF 45; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 80–84, 49–54; Alison Sarah Welsby, “A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John,” PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2011, 120–126, 72–80. Welsby's thesis can be freely accessed here:

<http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.550634> and here: <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/3338/>.

<sup>389</sup> See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 51–52, 54; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 75–76, 79–80; G. F. Rinck, *Lucubratio Critica in Acta-Apostolorum Epistolas Catholicas et Paulinas* (Basileae, 1830), 20; F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (London: Bell and Sons, 1883), I.219; Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900), 167; Robert Devreese, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1954), 142, n. 4; David C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2008), 138; Amy Sue Anderson, “Codex 1582 and Family 1 of the Gospels: The Gospel of Matthew,” (PhD. Diss., University of Birmingham, 1999), 118; Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew* (NTTS 32; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 115. For more information on Cardinal Bessarion see John Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés* (London: Ashgate, 1995); Hans Lamers, *Greece Reinvented: Transformations of Byzantine Hellenism in Renaissance Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 92–132; and Elpidio Mioni, “Vita del Cardinale Bessarione,” *Miscellanea Marciana* 6 (1991): 11–219.

2886, formerly 205abs, is a fifteenth-century New Testament manuscript and also contains the Septuagint.<sup>390</sup> 2886 measures 37.5 x 26.5 cm and 205 measures 39.5 x 27.5 cm.<sup>391</sup> Our test passages for these manuscripts are Matthew 1, 18, 28; Luke 3, 22; John 6, 19, 20, 21; Acts 16; and Romans 1. A better description of these codices cannot be found than those written by Mioni<sup>392</sup> and Welsby.<sup>393</sup> Welsby describes 2886 as “large and heavy, bound in thick leather” containing 438 folios<sup>394</sup> and that 2886 interestingly has an unfinished appearance due to the fact that “many of the finishing touches to 205abs were never made, giving it a somewhat incomplete appearance: hardly any rubricated letters were added, though space was left for them.”<sup>395</sup> Additionally, 2886 “does not contain any illuminations; there is space, however, at various points in the codex, where large decorated letters and headpieces were intended.”<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>390</sup> This study is concerned only with the New Testament text and the scribal habits of the New Testament section of the manuscript. A different scribe copied the Septuagint portion of 205. We are not concerned with this portion of the codex.

<sup>391</sup> See Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 59. Welsby provides slightly different measurements. She measures 2886 at 38 x 26 cm and 205 at 39.1 x 27.4 cm. See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 50, 52; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 72, 77.

<sup>392</sup> Elpidio Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum: Codices Graeci Manuscripti Thesaurus Antiquus Codices I–299* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1985), I.9–11.

<sup>393</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 49–54; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 72–80. See also Alfred Rahlfs’ description of these manuscripts in Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta-Unternehmen* (Göttingen, 1914), 306–07.

<sup>394</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 50 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 72.

<sup>395</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 50 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 73.

<sup>396</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 51 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 75.

Our test passages in 2886 were copied by Cosmas Trapezuntius<sup>397</sup> who is described as a Priest Monk,<sup>398</sup> a colleague and friend of the Cardinals,<sup>399</sup> and that he was a colleague of the copyists of the circle of Bessarion.<sup>400</sup>

205, on the other hand, has a much more finished appearance with gilt edges,<sup>401</sup> complete rubrication, and illumination. Concerning the illumination in 205, Welsby comments: “Codex 205 contains a number of brightly coloured initial letters painted in a mixture of blues, gold, purples, reds, greens and pinks. . . . Letters beginning new sections in books are rubricated, using the same ink as used for decorative borders, book titles, and κεφάλαια. In the left margin on the opening page of Genesis there are seven small miniatures, painted inside medallions, depicting the seven days of creation.”<sup>402</sup> It is clear that 205 was copied with more care and was more valuable than 2886 as is evident in the gilt edges, finished rubrication, and illumination which were left unfinished in 2886. 205 simply looks better on the page than 2886. The writing is clearer. Welsby notes of 2886 that “around 50 percent of letters are abbreviated or written above the line.”<sup>403</sup> This is not the case in 205. The scribe of 205 uses very few abbreviations and prefers instead to write words out in *plene*

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<sup>397</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 50 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 74; Dieter Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance: Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Nikolaus Mielke, 1974), I.27; Mioni, *Thesaurus Antiquus*, I.10. Mioni initially designated another scribe, named Demetrio Sguropulos, as the copyist of this portion (see Elpidio Mioni, “Bessarione scriba ed alcuni suoi collaboratori,” in *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei* [Medioevo e Umanesimo 24; Padua: Antenore, 1976], 306) but later changed his designation to Cosmas Trapezuntius. Another scribe, named Demetrius Xanthopulos, copied other portions of this manuscript but Trapezuntius copied all of the New Testament. For Xanthopulos see Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, “Transmissione di testi greci esametrici nella Roma di Niccolò V. Quattro codici di Demetrio Xantopulo e una lettera di Bessarione a Teodoro Gaza,” *Segno e Testo* 13 (2015): 332.

<sup>398</sup> See Harlfinger, *Specimina*, I.27.

<sup>399</sup> Paul Moraux, *Aristoteles Graecus: die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles* (Peripatoi 8; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976), 138.

<sup>400</sup> Ernst Gamillscheg and Dieter Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of the Sciences, 1981), 1A:122; hereafter *RGK*.

<sup>401</sup> See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 52; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 77.

<sup>402</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 53–54 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 79.

<sup>403</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 51 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 74.

except for *nomina sacra*. 205 rarely writes letters above the line as 2886 does. 2886 often uses a *paragraphos* to mark a unit break in the text but 205 does not. The only punctuation to set off groups of text used by 205 is a high stop.

205 and 2886 are notable because they contain the complete bible (both Septuagint and New Testament) which is rare. Parker comments: “The correct number of Greek manuscripts containing the entire New Testament appears to be sixty-one. Of these, between six and eight contain (or contained) the entire Bible.”<sup>404</sup> Therefore, 205 and 2886 are two of perhaps eight Greek manuscripts which contain the entire bible. Georgi Parpulov explains that complete bibles were “exceptional in the medieval Christian East. Much more expensive than smaller books, they were made solely upon the special order of rich patrons.”<sup>405</sup> While Parpulov’s comments refer to a time before our manuscripts were created, his conclusion remains in force that these complete bibles were indeed exceptional and were the special order of a rich patron, Bessarion.

### **Cardinal Bessarion**

Cardinal Bessarion was a famous collector of books who was born in Trebizond in 1403.<sup>406</sup> He became a monk at the age of twenty and was ordained metropolitan of Nicaea in 1437 at the age of 34. Two years later he became a cardinal at the hands of Pope Eugenius IV and thereafter settled in Italy permanently. On two occasions he was nearly elected pope (the

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<sup>404</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 70. J. K. Elliott, in 1987, citing Aland and Aland, states that there are sixty manuscripts which contain the whole of the New Testament. See J. K. Elliott, *A Survey of Manuscripts Used in Editions of the Greek New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), xiii; 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* (2d ed.; trans. Errol F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 78.

<sup>405</sup> Georgi R. Parpulov, “The Bibles of the Christian East,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 2: From 600–1450* (Richard Marsen and E. Ann Matter eds.; Cambridge: Cambridge, 2012), 321.

<sup>406</sup> See M. Manoussacas and K. Staikos, *The Publishing Activity of the Greeks During the Italian Renaissance (1469–1523)*, (Athens, 1987), 32–37 who provide a succinct biography of Bessarion.

papal conclaves of 1455 and 1471 in which he served as dean on the latter occasion). That he was non-Italian was a main hindrance to him becoming pope.<sup>407</sup> Bessarion is also well known for being a key player in uniting the Latin Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches at the Council of Ferrara-Florence of 1439.<sup>408</sup> Manoussacas claims that Bessarion's two main goals throughout his life were to unite the churches and to crusade against the Turks after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.<sup>409</sup> In 1468, Bessarion donated his entire library, consisting of 482 Greek manuscripts and 264 Latin manuscripts to the Marciana library in Venice.<sup>410</sup> The Greek collection alone was valued at 30,000 florins.<sup>411</sup> His donation has been called the "largest and best collection of Greek books in all of Europe"<sup>412</sup> at the time. Bessarion died in

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<sup>407</sup> Of the 1455 conclave Trollope writes: "The purpose of the majority of the cardinals was to elect the learned Bessarion, who had come from Constantinople at the time Eugenius IV. was endeavouring to effect the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. He was unquestionably the man whom attainments and character marked as the fittest man in the Sacred College for the papacy. And had the cardinals held firmly to their first purpose, they would have spared the Church the indelible shame of having for ever on her list of Pontiffs Alexander VI., the second Borgia Pope! But the Cardinal of Avignon, who hoped that he himself would be elected, succeeded in arousing the jealousy and the bigotry of his colleagues by a violent speech, in which he dwelt upon the disgrace which it would be to the Latin Church to confess, by putting a Greek on the Papal throne, that there was no man among themselves fitted for the Papacy; and, further, threw doubts upon the genuineness of Bessarion's 'conversion,' and on the orthodoxy, in any case, of a 'Greek neophyte.' The cardinals, however, would not have his Eminence of Avignon, and elected Borgia as a compromise" Thomas Adolphus Trollope, *The Papal Conclaves, as they were and as they are* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), 144–45.

<sup>408</sup> See Manoussacas and Staikos, *Publishing Activity*, 32.

<sup>409</sup> See Manoussacas and Staikos, *Publishing Activity*, 32.

<sup>410</sup> See Lotte Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories*, (Sussidi Eruditi 31; Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1979), 34. See also Nicolas Barker, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), 24; and Manoussacas and Staikos, *Publishing Activity*, 36. Bessarion wrote a letter to the Doge of Venice dated 31 May 1468 donating the manuscripts (see Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library*, 30). The manuscripts were actually moved in the spring of 1469 (see Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library*, 34).

<sup>411</sup> See Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance: Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1973), 94. Converted to modern figures this works out to about just over four million US dollars.

<sup>412</sup> See Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, 94.

Ravenna on November 18, 1472 at the age of 69.<sup>413</sup> Bessarion influenced the transmission of the works which he commissioned to be copied. In 205 and 2886, as we will see below, Bessarion changed the order of books to be more congenial to the Latin tradition. Since Bessarion was a Uniate who supported the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches he did all he could to maintain that union.

### **John Rhosus (1430s–1498): Cretan, Priest, and Scribe**

John Rhosus has long been identified as the scribe of 205. Rhosus was a prolific scribe and priest who was born in Candia, Crete in the 1400s and moved to and lived in Italy for most of his life. Rhosus' first main employer was Cardinal Bessarion for whom he copied his first five extant manuscripts after arriving in Italy and an additional eleven extant manuscripts. Parpulov notes that "the one common characteristic of scribes was that they were usually associated with the state bureaucracy or the church."<sup>414</sup> This holds true for John Rhosus and for the next scribe we will discuss, John Plusiadenos. Over 175 manuscripts have been identified as being written by Rhosus. Although some of these manuscripts are misattributed to him, it is clear that Rhosus left a monumental legacy through his manuscripts. Rhosus' copying activity was wide ranging. He copied biblical manuscripts (GA 448; Rahlfs 1552, 1662) but he was by no means a scribe who copied mainly religious material. Rhosus copied much more Homer, Galen, and Aristotle than religious works. In fact, it is surprising how few religious works he copied which underscores the prominent role that Greek classical texts played during the Italian Renaissance.

The world in which John Rhosus found himself was a world where east and west were in constant contact, where there was a short-lived reunion between the Greek and Latin churches, and where a main goal was to crusade against the Turks. Additionally, he was

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<sup>413</sup> See Manoussacas and Staikos, *Publishing Activity*, 35.

<sup>414</sup> Parpulov, "The Bibles of the Christian East," 313.

employed by a Greek Cardinal of the Roman Catholic church with strong Uniate views and who imposed those views on the transmission of his manuscripts.

### **The Identity of 205's Copyist**

Jacob Morelli in 1802 was the first to claim that Rhosus was the scribe of the manuscript but he provided no evidence.<sup>415</sup> Morelli simply states that 205 was written by Rhosus who, he adds, was a scribe or private secretary (*librario*) of Bessarion. Problematically, however, 205 was actually copied by two different scribes—one wrote the first half and the other copied the second half. So if Morelli states that John Rhosus was the scribe of 205, which scribe was he? The first or the second? Subsequent commentators overlook that there were two scribes and pass on Morelli's incomplete, if not erroneous, ascription. In 1830, Rinck cites Morelli that Rhosus was the scribe.<sup>416</sup> Similarly in 1894 Scrivener writes that 205 "was written for Cardinal Bessarion (apparently by John Rhosen his librarian)."<sup>417</sup> Vogel and Gardthausen (*VG*) in 1909 list 205 as one of Rhosus' manuscripts.<sup>418</sup> More recently, Amy Anderson cites Gregory saying "205 appears to have been written by Johannes Rhosus by order of the Cardinal."<sup>419</sup> Parker summarized previous scholarship writing: "205 was written for Cardinal Bessarion (he wrote his name in it) by a scribe called

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<sup>415</sup> Jacob Morelli, *Bibliothecae Regiae Divi Marci Venetiarum* (Venice: Bassani, 1802), I:8.

<sup>416</sup> See Rinck, *Lucubratio*, 20 (referred to as *Johannis Rhosi*).

<sup>417</sup> Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, I.219.

<sup>418</sup> See Marie Vogel and Victor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1909), 193. K. A. de Meyier, surprised by *VG*'s ascription of Vat. Urb. gr. 6 to John Rhosus, doubted Rhosus' entire list given in *VG* saying "This instance raises doubts as to the reliability of the list of MSS. ascribed by [*VG*] to Rhosus" K. A. de Meyier, "Two Greek Scribes Identified as One," *Scriptorium* 11.1 (1957): 101.

<sup>419</sup> Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, 115. See also Anderson, "Codex 1582," 118. Anderson states that Gregory provides "numerous additional details." Lest one think that she means that Gregory provides evidence that Rhosus is the scribe or some rationale for why he thinks Rhosus is the scribe he does not. The "numerous additional details" (four short lines of text in the Gregory volume) lists previous commentators on the manuscript (Birch, Rinck, Burgon) and that some think 205 is a copy of 209 (which it is not).

Johannes Rhosus, over a hundred and thirty of whose productions are listed by Vogel and Gardthausen. The precise date of this copy is unknown, but his first dated manuscript was made in 1447 and Bessarion died in 1472. It contains the entire Bible.”<sup>420</sup> Welsby states that John Rhosus was a prolific scribe who “produced Greek manuscripts in Italy for over 50 years.”<sup>421</sup> Welsby writes that one scribe “completed the New Testament and the other the Old Testament.”<sup>422</sup> This claim is not perfectly accurate since the scribes changed in the middle of Ecclesiastes 2:17 after ζωήν on page 295r whereas the New Testament does not start until page 362r with 440 folia in total. She states “Gregory and other catalogues identify Johannes Rhosus as the scribe of 205 ... but none mention the second scribe.”<sup>423</sup>

The earliest catalogues do not state that Rhosus was the scribe. 205 appears in an inventory of the Marciana library for the first time in the library’s inventory of 1474. In this inventory 205 is described as “Biblia nova, in pergameno.”<sup>424</sup> In the next inventory of 1524 it is described as “Biblia tota graeca, in pergameno.”<sup>425</sup> In 1543 it is described as “Biblia tota, in pergameno, graeca.”<sup>426</sup> In 1740 Zanetti and Bongiovanni say of it: “Biblia sacra (vetus & novum Testamentum).”<sup>427</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 138. Vogel and Gardthausen give the date of Marc. Z. gr. 200 as July 15, 1447 (VG, 187). Monfasani says of VG: “the date of Zan. 200 in (*sic*) mistakenly given as 1447 (Mercati was misled on this point)” Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy*, I.231. Monfasani dates Marc. Z. gr. 200 to July 15, 1457 making Zakynthos, Demosia Biblioteka, KΘ’ Rhosus’ first known manuscript in 1449. Barker, *Aldus Manutius*, 18 also makes the mistake of claiming that Rhosus’ first known manuscript is from 1447.

<sup>421</sup> See Welsby, “Textual Study,” 78 = Welsby, *Textual Study*, 53. See also Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy*, I.231.

<sup>422</sup> Welsby, “Textual Study,” 78; Welsby, *Textual Study*, 53.

<sup>423</sup> Welsby, “Textual Study,” 78; Welsby, *Textual Study*, 53.

<sup>424</sup> As found in Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library*, 216. All catalogue entries are as found in Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library*.

<sup>425</sup> As found in Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library*, 262.

<sup>426</sup> As found in Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library*, 318.

<sup>427</sup> Antonio Maria Zanetti and Antonio Bongiovanni, *Graeca D. Marci bibliotheca codicum manu scriptorium* (Venice, 1740), 14.

Dieter Harlfinger debates against Morelli who assigned Rhosus as the scribe of apparently all of 205.<sup>428</sup> Harlfinger points out that there are indeed two scribes in 205 and that Rhosus could only be considered as the scribe for 205LXX but that Rhosus was *not*, in fact, the scribe of 205LXX. Harlfinger identifies George Tzangaropulos as the scribe of 205LXX but notes that Tzangaropulos and Rhosus are easily confused. Elpidio Mioni, the most recent exhaustive cataloguer of the Marciana library, notes that Morelli ascribed 205 to Rhosus but agrees with Harlfinger that Tzangaropulos is the scribe of 205LXX and declares that the scribe of 205NT is John Plusiadenos.<sup>429</sup> He dates 205 from 1469–1472. I will discuss below whether I agree with Mioni that Plusiadenos is the scribe of 205NT.<sup>430</sup>

While the text in the New Testament portion of 205 is written better than 2886 it would not be considered calligraphic especially when compared to a manuscript which was certainly written by John Rhosus such as GA 448 (London Harley MS 5790).<sup>431</sup> If John Rhosus is the scribe of 205 then we might expect the text of 205 to be calligraphic. GA 448, containing the Gospels, is known to be a John Rhosus manuscript because 448 has a colophon in which Rhosus signed and dated the manuscript (folio 299r). Rhosus finished copying and signed 448 on April 25, 1478. 448 is an ornate manuscript with illumination, rubrication, and carefully written text. The first page of Matthew (folio 4r) contains a beautifully illuminated historiated headpiece depicting a deified Jesus standing on a book making a blessing gesture

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<sup>428</sup> See Harlfinger, *Specimina*, I.29.

<sup>429</sup> Mioni, *Thesaurus Antiquus*, I.9; Mioni, “Cardinale Bessarione,” 157. Mioni writes that Rhosus shares many paleographical traits with both Plusiadenos and Tzangaropulos, that it is easy to confuse their hands, and that 205 specifically was certainly not written by Rhosus. He also writes that 205 has been erroneously assigned to Rhosus and instead ascribes it to Plusiadenos. See Mioni, “Bessarione scriba ed alcuni suoi collaboratori,” 302.

<sup>430</sup> See Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 306.

<sup>431</sup> Concerning 448 as a product of John Rhosus see *VG*, 188; *RGK*, 1A:104. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/39685/> and [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley\\_MS\\_5790](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5790) (images also found here).

flanked by Mary on Jesus' right and Peter on Jesus' left. To either side of the main image appear archangels each holding a book and a staff.

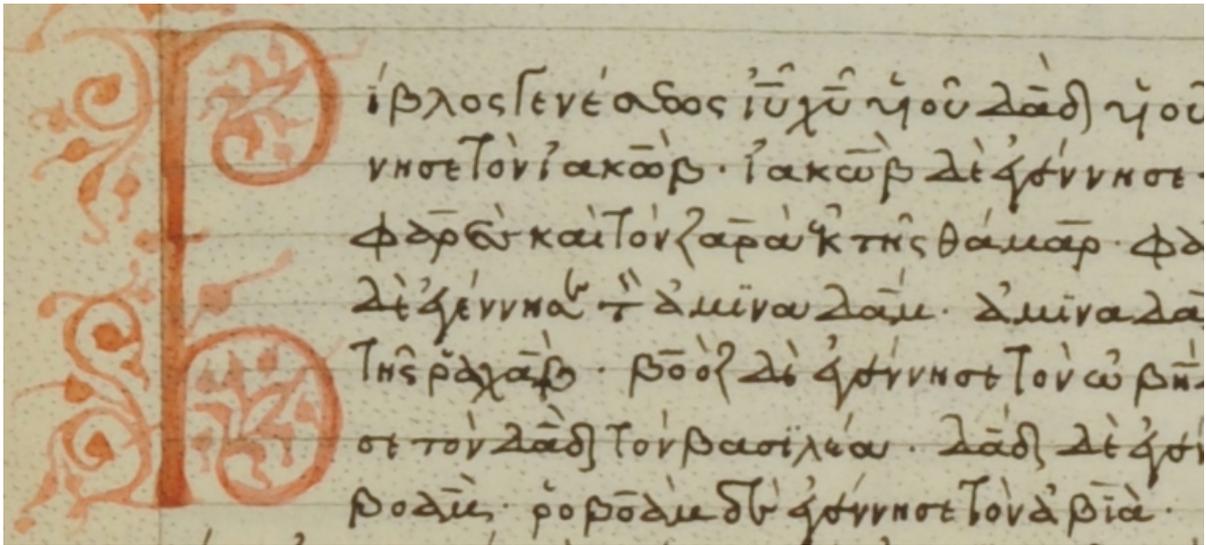


Detail of Harley MS 5790, 4r. Used with permission from the British Library.

The first letter of Matthew 1:1 is an illuminated capital. The first image below shows the first few verses of Matthew 1 in 448. The second image below is the first few verses of Matthew in 205. We can compare these two images in order to discern if the scribe of 448 (John Rhosus) is the same person as the scribe of 205.



Detail of Harley MS 5790, 4r, lines 1-7. Used with permission from the British Library.



Detail of Marc. Gr. Z. 5 (420) (GA 205) 1r, lines 1–7. Used with permission from the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (rif. ns prot. 1988 - 28.34.11.01/12).

Nothing about these two hands is similar and I will therefore suspend further discussion that these two hands are different which is easily seen in the above images by noting the difference between the *taus*, *gammas* and just about every other letter. In conclusion, John Rhosus was not the scribe of any part of 205 (hereafter 205NT).

K. A. de Meyier argued that *VG* ascribed to Rhosus a manuscript which was actually written by George Tribizius.<sup>429</sup> *RGK* notes that Tolos. 802 was previously erroneously ascribed to John Rhosus and the Tribizius is the actual scribe.<sup>430</sup> Additionally, *RGK* note that Paris 861 was also previously erroneously ascribed to John Rhosus.<sup>431</sup> Donald F. Jackson writes it was probably written by Nicolas Choniate.<sup>432</sup> Paul Canart discusses how John Rhosus' hand is also difficult to distinguish from a scribe named Caesar Strategos who was

<sup>429</sup> K. A. de Meyier, speaking specifically of Vat. Urb. 006, which *VG* ascribed to Rhosus, is critical of *VG* ascribing this manuscript to Rhosus saying: "Did they see the MS. in question? If not, it was rather rash of them to ascribe it to Rhosus, when a more competent judge as Stornalajo was doubtful and, as our conclusions prove. This instance raises doubts as to the reliability of the list of MSS. ascribed by them to Rhosus" (de Meyier, "Two Greek Scribes Identified as One," 101). See also K. A. de Meyier, "More Manuscripts Copied by George Tribizius," *Scriptorium* 13.1 (1959): 88 where de Meyier emphasizes once again that Vat. Urb. 006 was written by George Tribizius.

<sup>430</sup> See *RGK*, 2A:102.

<sup>431</sup> See *RGK*, 2A:102.

<sup>432</sup> See Donald F. Jackson, "Colbert Greek Manuscript Binding 1679–1683," *Codices Manuscripti* 76/77 (2011): 58.

trained at the same school as Rhosus.<sup>436</sup> It seems that due to Rhosus' popularity and similarity with other hands he has had ascribed to him many manuscripts which he did not actually write. 205 is one of these misattributed manuscripts.

### **John Plusiadenos (1429–1500): Cretan, Priest, and Scribe**

The true identity of 205NT has been difficult to discover. Harlfinger writes only that 205NT comes from an anonymous copyist who he calls "Anonymous Δ T" because of the different ways that 205NT writes *delta* and *tau*.<sup>437</sup> Harlfinger notes that 205NT is easily confused with a scribe named Demetrius Damilas.<sup>438</sup> Mioni, however, declares that the scribe of 205NT is a scribe named John Plusiadenos.<sup>439</sup> We will discuss whether Plusiadenos is the scribe of 205NT.

John Plusiadenos was remarkably similar to and had many intersections with John Rhosus.<sup>440</sup> Both Plusiadenos and Rhosus were priests born in Candia, Crete the capital of the island. Both copied a good amount of manuscripts in Italy. Both Plusiadenos and Rhosus copied manuscripts for Bessarion. In fact, in one or two instances Plusiadenos and Rhosus copied portions of the same manuscript (Oxford, Canon. gr. 7 and Vat. gr. 1882). Rhosus and Plusiadenos knew each other intimately and worked together extensively.

In order to determine if Plusiadenos is indeed the scribe of 205NT we will analyze his hand in his extant attributed manuscripts. I have not been able to find any images of any of Plusiadenos' four extant dated manuscripts. I have, however, found an image or images from

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<sup>436</sup> See Paul Canart, "Scribes grecs de la Renaissance: Additions et corrections aux répertoires de Vogel-Gardthausen et de Patrinélis," *Scriptorium* 17.1 (1963): 79–80.

<sup>437</sup> See Harlfinger, *Specimina*, I.29.

<sup>438</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>439</sup> Mioni, *Thesaurus Antiquus*, I.9; Mioni, "Cardinale Bessarione," 157; Mioni, "Bessarione scriba ed alcuni suoi collaboratori," 302.

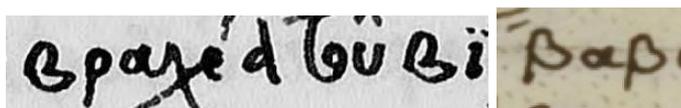
<sup>440</sup> A succinct biographical sketch of Plusiadenos is provided in *RGK* 1A:103. A much more complete and lively biography was written by M. Manoussacas, "Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadénos (Joseph de Méthone) (1429?–1500)," *Revue de études byzantines* 17 (1959): 28–51.

thirteen of Plusiadenos' thirty-six attributed manuscripts. Only one of these manuscripts is explicitly signed by Plusiadenos with a colophon (Paris gr. 1732).<sup>441</sup> This manuscript has been dated to about 1470 which is the same window of time in which 205NT was written. I will therefore focus on the hand in Paris gr. 1732 in order to develop a profile of Plusiadenos' hand which I can thereafter compare to 205NT. I will, however, also consult and reference other manuscripts which have been ascribed to Plusiadenos but do not have a colophon.

Paris gr. 1732 is a copy of Pseudo-Herodotus' *Life of Homer* followed by four works of Emperor Julian.<sup>442</sup> Plusiadenos copied this manuscript and signed it on folio 107r. Plusiadenos forms his *alpha* in two ways in this manuscript as seen below (left). 205NT also forms *alpha* in two different ways (below right). The *alphas* are formed similarly but not identically in the two manuscripts.



*Beta* is not formed similarly between the two manuscripts. Plusiadenos (below left) does not break lower bilinearity with *beta* as does 205NT (below right). 205NT consistently uses only this form of *beta* throughout.



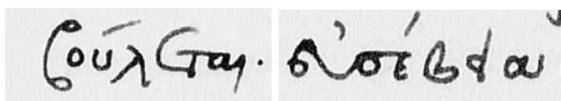
Plusiadenos allegedly also wrote Paris gr. 828.<sup>443</sup> In Paris gr. 828 the *betas* are formed in two different ways. The first example given below, which I will call the *lunate beta*, seems to be

<sup>441</sup> *RGK* 2A:100 places an asterisk next to Paris gr. 828 denoting that there is a colophon but I have been unable to locate the colophon in the manuscript after consulting the images.

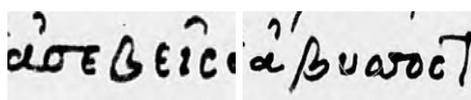
<sup>442</sup> *RGK* 2A:100; *VG* 186. See also Manoussacas, "Jean Plousiadénos," 28; <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/51357/>. For images see *RGK* 1C:176 and <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723630r>. *VG* list this manuscript as 1723 but also note that it is a copy of Julian. Surely they mean 1732. 1723 is a copy of a work of George Pachymeres.

<sup>443</sup> See *RGK* 2A:100; *VG* 186. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/50414/>. For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723954h>.

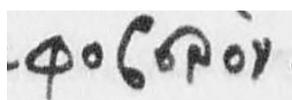
used at the beginning of a word or line whereas the second example (which matches the *beta* in Paris gr. 1732 above but not the *beta* of 205NT) is used in the middle of the word. As seen above, 205NT writes *beta* in the same form regardless of where it appears in the word or line (Βαβυλῶνος).



In Paris gr. 136,<sup>444</sup> however, which *RGK* ascribe to Plusiadenos, *beta* is written both with a lower descender and without but never uses the lunate *beta* (see images below). This could mean that Paris gr. 136 was not written by Plusiadenos or that Plusiadenos' hand changed slightly among his manuscripts. Yet even in Paris gr. 136 when *beta* is written with a descender it is slanted downward and to the left whereas the lower descender in 205NT is most often fairly vertical.



The hand in Paris gr. 423 (below),<sup>445</sup> allegedly written by Plusiadenos, uses only the lunate *beta* regardless of the position in the word.



Paris gr. 2828<sup>446</sup> and Paris gr. 2992<sup>447</sup> also solely use the lunate form.

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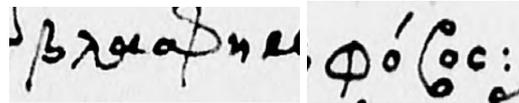
<sup>444</sup> See *RGK* 2A:100. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/49703/> . For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721535x> . Plusiadenos copied folia 1–32v. This manuscript is Rahlfs 557.

<sup>445</sup> See *RGK* 2A:100. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/49997/> . For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722076g> .

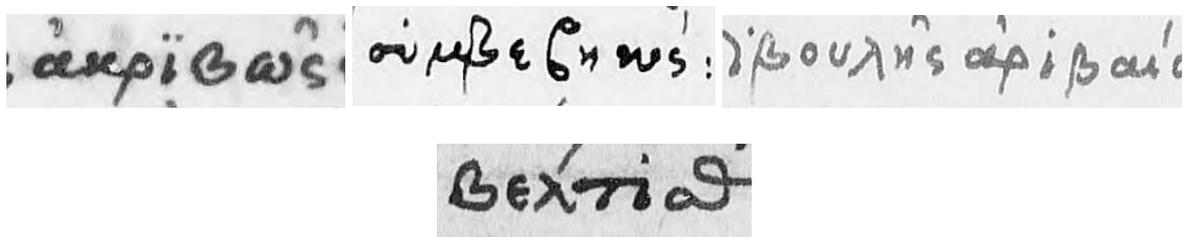
<sup>446</sup> See *RGK* 2A:100. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/52466/> . For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107229651> .

<sup>447</sup> See *RGK* 2A:101. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/52635/> . For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723019p> .

Paris gr. 1235,<sup>448</sup> allegedly written by Plusiadenos, manifests yet another not yet seen combination of *betas*. This hand uses the lunate *beta* in any position and the descending *beta* but not the undescending *beta*. When this hand uses the descending *beta* the slope of the descender is much more slanted than that of 205NT.



Other manuscripts allegedly written by Plusiadenos write *beta* as seen below (Paris gr. 714;<sup>449</sup> Paris gr. 1848;<sup>450</sup> Paris gr. 2808;<sup>451</sup> and Paris gr. 2822;<sup>452</sup> respectively).



We have seen that manuscripts written by or allegedly written by Plusiadenos employ three different forms of *beta*. One of these forms, the descending *beta*, somewhat resembles the *beta* of 205NT but is much more slanted than the *betas* in 205NT. Additionally, this type of *beta* is not found in the only certain manuscript written by Plusiadenos (Paris gr. 1732). It is possible that Plusiadenos' hand changed throughout time or that Plusiadenos did not write 205NT. If we were to conclude based on a single letter then I would conclude that Plusiadenos is not the scribe of 205NT while being willing to be convinced otherwise.

<sup>448</sup> See *RGK* 2A:100. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/50842/> . For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10724100z> .

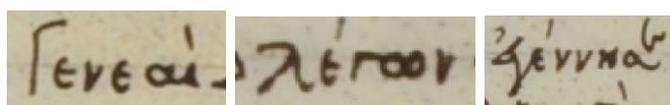
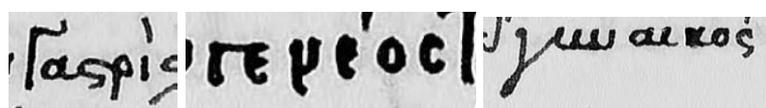
<sup>449</sup> See *RGK* 2A:100. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/50295/> . For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107220912> .

<sup>450</sup> See *RGK* 2A:100. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/51474/> . For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723051r/f55.image.r=grec%201848> . Plusiadenos copied folia 50–51. This manuscript is not listed as being written by John Plusiadenos on Pinakes probably because he only copied two folia.

<sup>451</sup> See *RGK* 2A:100. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/52445/> . For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722502p> .

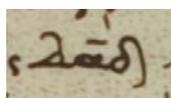
<sup>452</sup> See *RGK* 2A:100. See also <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/52460/> . For images see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107229204> .

The *gammas* of 205NT and Plusiadenos are also formed differently. All of the manuscripts allegedly written by Plusiadenos use three forms of *gamma*. One breaks upper bilinearity, is formed with approximately a right angle, and a flourish at the end of the second stroke. This is the most preferred form. A less popular form does not break upper bilinearity and is a simple small right-angled *gamma* with no flourish. Additionally, the common cursive *gamma* as used today as a lowercase *gamma* is sometimes used. The larger form is preferred when the *gamma* is not ligated to the following letter whereas the other forms are used in ligatures. The first three images below are from Paris gr. 1732 and the last three images are from 205NT.



205NT also uses three different forms of *gamma* but heavily favors the large form. 205NT's large form of *gamma* does not use a right angle and displays no flourish at the end of the second stroke. 205NT's most preferred *gamma* differs strikingly than that of Plusiadenos.

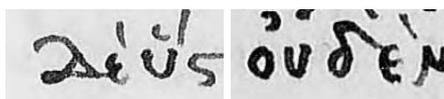
Harlfinger called 205NT "Anonymous Δ T" because 205NT made both *delta* and *tau* in two different ways.<sup>453</sup> One way is the majuscule form of *delta* and the other is the minuscule form, both seen below.



All of Plusiadenos' manuscripts likewise form *delta* in two different ways in the same way as 205NT with one important difference. When Plusiadenos writes the majuscule *delta* he consistently makes much more of a loop when changing direction in the first stroke. 205NT

<sup>453</sup> See Harlfinger, *Specimina*, I.29.

consistently makes his first stroke more like a wedge with no loop. Pictured below are *deltas* from Paris gr. 1732.



Plusiadenos forms *epsilon* in two different ways. The first is a two-stroke *epsilon* and the second, less popular form is a reclined *epsilon* (see image below from Paris gr. 1732). 205NT also forms *epsilon* in two different ways. The main form is an upright two-stroke *epsilon* with a shortened roof. The less popular form is a reclined *epsilon*.



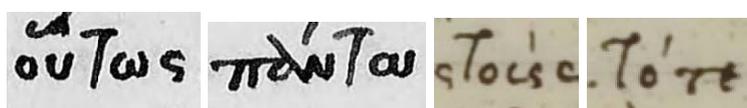
These images show that 205NT consistently omits the roof of the *epsilon* in the first stroke. Plusiadenos does a much better job of turning the corner on his first stroke and forming a complete *epsilon*. His *epsilons* consistently look like this and 205NT's *epsilons* consistently look unfinished.

One of the most striking differences in letter-forms between 205NT and Plusiadenos is found in the letter *nu*. Plusiadenos forms *nu* two different ways throughout his alleged manuscripts: the *mu* style of *nu* and the “v” style. In Paris gr. 1732 he uses both forms as seen below (left). As mentioned above with respect to John Rhosus, 205NT makes only the “v” type of *nu* (below middle). Additionally, 205NT's *nu* is very sharp and wedge shaped whereas Plusiadenos' *nu* is consistently curved as also seen in Paris gr. 828 (below right).



Concerning *sigma*, Plusiadenos' most often employs a terminal lunate sigma but in Paris gr. 1732 he uses the final sigma (ς) but less often than the lunate. 205NT never uses lunate sigma at any location in the word and always uses the final sigma as a terminal sigma.

As previously mentioned, 205NT forms *tau* in two different ways. These two different ways are very similar to how 205NT formed *gamma* as seen above. Most often 205NT preferred a large *tau* that broke upper bilinearity. This *tau* was formed of a single stroke starting at the top moving right and then cutting back on itself before writing the final *hasta*. 205NT often shows a loop or blob when changing direction from the top right to move back toward the left as seen in the images below (right). 205NT also uses a smaller *tau* that does not break upper bilinearity. Plusiadenos' *taus* are not as elegant. They do not feature a loop at the turning point but rather simply two lines. Plusiadenos also uses the smaller *tau*. Below on the left are images from Paris gr. 1732.



205NT's letter-forms are much more uniform than Plusiadenos'. 205NT never has letter-forms that are substantially larger than others. The most irregular letter I could find is the *epsilon* seen below (right) but it is not nearly as enlarged as Plusiadenos' enlarged letters.



It is clear that many of Plusiadenos' letter-forms do not match 205NT's. It is also clear, however, that Plusiadenos' hand in his alleged manuscripts changed significantly which could possibly include the forms found in 205NT. Many of Plusiadenos' letter-forms, however, while inconsistent, never exactly match the letter-forms found in 205NT.

Plusiadenos' inconsistent hand could be attributed to the fact that he was not a professional scribe. He was an ecclesiastical leader who wrote theological works and music and who often copied manuscripts but he was not a professional scribe. Even if he had formal training in copying, his main occupation from which he earned his main income was not from copying manuscripts. Such occasional copying could lead to the lack of uniformity that we see in Plusiadenos' hand. While many of the major issues are very similar between the two hands,

like they both use two different forms of *delta* and *tau*, I do not believe that they are the same scribe. After this paleographical analysis I conclude that Plusiadenos is not the scribe of 205NT.

Additionally, Manoussacas shows that Plusiadenos was in Crete from 1468–1472<sup>454</sup> when 205 would have been copied. Since 205 was copied for Bessarion I find it unlikely that 205 would have been copied in Crete. Most of Bessarion’s manuscripts were copied where Bessarion was: in Rome. 2886 also was probably in Rome. 205 was most likely copied in Rome. It is possible that 205 was copied in Venice and that 2886 had already been moved to Venice but it is highly unlikely that 205 would have been copied in Crete. Since Plusiadenos was likely in Crete when 205 was copied it is unlikely that Plusiadenos was the scribe of 205.

Of the two scribes suggested by previous scholars, John Rhosus and John Plusiadenos, Plusiadenos has the greatest affinity with 205NT although I do not think they are the same person. Although I do not believe that John Rhosus or John Plusiadenos copied 205NT, the actual scribe, whoever they were, was indeed commissioned by Bessarion. One common theme among these suggested copyists is that they are both from Crete. Perhaps the real scribe of 205NT is also from Crete. Our scribe lived just after the fall of Constantinople in a world where east and west were in constant contact and conflict and worked for a Greek-born Roman Catholic Cardinal whose main goals were to unite the two churches and exact revenge upon the Turks.

### **The Historical View of 2886 as a copy of 205**

The earliest researchers on these manuscripts reached various conclusions concerning this family’s stemma. In 1830 G. F. Rinck argued that 205 was actually a copy of 209.<sup>455</sup> In 1883 Scrivener rehearsed Rinck’s argument but also mentioned that Burgon disagreed with

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<sup>454</sup> See Manoussacas, “Jean Plousiadénos,” 40–41.

<sup>455</sup> See Rinck, *Lucubratio*, 20–28. Rinck refers to 205 as codex 106 and 209 as codex 108.

Rinck thinking instead that 205 and 209 descended from the same archetype.<sup>456</sup> Gregory in 1900 repeated Scrivener’s comments but is the first, as far as I can tell, to mention 2886 (which he called 205a).<sup>457</sup> Gregory does nothing more than mention the existence of 2886 except to name it 205a which suggests that it is a copy of 205. Therefore, Gregory is the first to assert that 2886 is a copy of 205 (but does not provide any evidence that 2886 is a copy of 205). In 1902 Kirsopp Lake agreed with Rinck that 205 is a copy of 209<sup>458</sup> (Lake also thought that 118 was a copy of 209<sup>459</sup>). Lake therefore ignored 205 since he thought it was a copy and never mentions 2886. Josef Schmid disagreed with Rinck and Lake agreeing with Burgon that 205 and 2886 descend from a lost relative of 209.<sup>460</sup> Wisse argues that 2886 is a copy of 205 but does not think that 205 is a copy of 209 saying, “205 is closely related to 209, though not a copy of it as Lake thought.”<sup>461</sup> Amy Anderson concludes that the evidence concerning whether 205 is a copy of 209 or whether they both derive from a common exemplar is inconclusive but ignores 2886 assuming that it is a copy of 205.<sup>462</sup> She does, however, place 209 on a different branch than 205 in her stemma suggesting that 205 is not a copy of 209.<sup>463</sup> Parker provides a succinct summary and synthesis of the discussion concluding that our decisions must be made based on evidence.<sup>464</sup> Parker asserts that some of the previous studies have not been based on evidence but rather on assumptions alone.

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<sup>456</sup> See Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, I.219.

<sup>457</sup> See Gregory, *Textkritik*, 167. Gregory quoted Burgon and cited his source as a newspaper article: *Guardian*, London 24. Sept. 1873 n. 1. Apr. 1874, S. 384. I have not been able to locate this issue of this newspaper.

<sup>458</sup> See Kirsopp Lake, *Codex I of the Gospels and Its Allies* (TS 7; Cambridge: Cambridge, 1902), xx–xxii.

<sup>459</sup> See Lake, *Codex I*, xx–xxii. See Welsby, “Textual Study,” 118–20; Welsby, *Textual Study*, 79–80 for her argument that 118 is independent and not a copy of 209.

<sup>460</sup> See Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, vol. I: *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia. Einleitung* (Munich, 1956), 288.

<sup>461</sup> See Frederick Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* (SD 44; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 106.

<sup>462</sup> See Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, 116; Anderson, “Codex 1582,” 118–19.

<sup>463</sup> See Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, 101; Anderson, “Codex 1582,” 150.

<sup>464</sup> See Parker, *Introduction*, 140.

## 205 as a copy of 2886 according to Welsby

Welsby is not the first to argue that the direction of borrowing should be reversed and that 205 actually copies 2886. Parker relates that Josef Schmid in 1956 “argues that 205abs cannot be a copy of 205, because 205 has a considerable number (he lists sixteen) of distinctive errors and small corrections which do not feature in 205abs.”<sup>465</sup> Schmid, however, believes that 205 and 2886 are sibling manuscripts which go back to a common, now lost *Vorlage* which was a sibling of 209. Maurice A. Robinson asserts, based on a reading of the *Pericope Adulterae*: “Note that the supposed copy 205abs in 8:10 reads γυναι while 205 omits, and in 8:11, 205abs retains εἶπε δε αὐτῇ ὁ ἰησοῦς while 205 omits; this seems to make it more likely that 205abs is the original and 205 the copy, or that both MSS have a common exemplar.”<sup>466</sup>

Welsby attacks the issue of dependence from many angles using multiple evidences as proof that 205 is a copy of 2886. One of Welsby’s main methods for dating the direction of dependence is a fresh analysis of the inscriptions written by Bessarion in both 205 and 2886. Welsby explains how the title that Bessarion writes in the inscription in 2886 betrays an earlier dating than 205. Bessarion writes “Cardinalis Episcopus Tusculanus.” Using this title places 2886’s copying *terminus ante quem* at 1468 when Bessarion gained a higher title.<sup>467</sup> In 205, Bessarion writes his title as “Cardinalis Nicenus Episcopus Sabinensis.” According to Welsby, “This was a title he held from 1468, which indicates that the manuscript was completed sometime after 1468.”<sup>468</sup> Labowsky informs:

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<sup>465</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 139. See Schmid, *Apokalypse*, 287–88.

<sup>466</sup> Electronic mail correspondence with Maurice A. Robinson dated June 3, 2016. Robinson was careful to note that his conclusion is based upon an examination of John 7:51b–8:13a only. His research is part of a forthcoming project: Maurice A. Robinson, “The Greek Manuscript Witnesses to the *Pericope Adulterae*,” (Wake Forest: Southeastern Baptist Seminary, 1997–2016), forthcoming.

<sup>467</sup> See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 51; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 74–75.

<sup>468</sup> See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 53 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 78–79.

there was the considerable number of books acquired by the Cardinal between 1468–1472 (circa 265) which obviously came to Venice by later consignments. Among them were many manuscripts written, and incunables printed, during this period. By and large these late acquisitions among the *libri Nicaeni* can be distinguished by their ex-libris, in which Bessarion is styled ‘Episcopus Sabinensis,’ a dignity conferred on him in October 1468, i.e. after the inventory had been completed, though before the actual transport of the books to Venice took place.<sup>469</sup>

Labowsky shows that the books which Bessarion signed with “Sabinensis” were created or acquired after 1468 but before his death in 1472. 205 was one of these books.

It seems that for some reason 205 was known to modern scholars before 2886 as is evident by Gregory listing 205 as 205 and 2886 as 205a. For this reason, earlier researchers such as Lake, Gregory, and Scrivener assumed that 2886 was the copy of 205. When one manuscript became known that closely matched a previously known manuscript the default position was that the one that was known about first was the earlier manuscript. I do not think this was a conscious mistake but rather a result of the order in which the manuscripts became known. Had 2886 been known about before 205 then I believe they would have accepted 2886 as the *Vorlage* of 205.

But 205 was not always listed before 2886. In the earliest catalogues 2886 is listed before 205. In fact, the first inventory of the Marciana library in 1468 listed 2886 (Gr. Z. 6) as manuscript number 1 of all of the manuscripts in the library.<sup>470</sup> Where was 205 in this inventory? 205 was not listed in the inventory of 1468 because, as mentioned above, 205 was not created yet or was still in preparation. Either way, 2886 was inventoried at the Marciana before 205 was. At the inventory of 1474, 2886 was listed as manuscript 467 while 205 was assigned 468.<sup>471</sup> At the inventory of 1524, 2886 was listed as manuscript 344 while 205 was

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<sup>469</sup> Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library*, 35.

<sup>470</sup> See Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library*, 157. See the concordance on Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library*, 433 for help locating the various inventory numbers assigned to 205 and 2886.

<sup>471</sup> See Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library*, 216.

assigned 345.<sup>472</sup> At the inventory of 1543, 2886 was listed as manuscript 801 while 205 was assigned 808.<sup>473</sup> In all of the earliest inventories 2886 was listed before 205 and in the earliest was not even listed because it had not yet been completed.

It was not until Zanetti's catalogue of 1740 that 205, for some reason, was listed before 2886.<sup>474</sup> 205 was given the number 5 which it retains to this day (Gr. Z. 5) (the "Z." prefix comes from the fact that Zanetti gave it this number) while 2886 was given the number 6 (Gr. Z. 6). Only after Zanetti's catalogue did Gregory assign 205 the number 205 and 2886 the number 205a.<sup>475</sup> I believe that the order in which Zanetti placed the manuscripts, with 205 preceding 2886, informed the direction of dependence assumed by Gregory. So we see that in the earliest catalogues 2886 was listed before 205 until Zanetti changed their order in 1740 which influenced Gregory.

In addition to evidence based on the dating of Bessarion's titles, Welsby, like Schmid, offers extensive textual evidence that suggests that 205 copied 2886. She demonstrates that 2886 is closer to the roots of the tree than is 205. For example, "Codex 205abs [2886] contains 5 A-1 readings while 205 is either Majority, or in 2 cases, has a Non-Majority Text singular reading."<sup>476</sup> Similarly, "[2886] contains 2 Non-Majority Text readings supported by one *core group* manuscript and the rest of the subgroup, while 205 is Majority. ... [2886] contains a further 2 readings supported by 209 and 2713 while 205 is Majority. These 2 readings were probably inherited from Manuscript E, as no family manuscript outside of the subgroup supports them."<sup>477</sup> She concludes that

The existence of these Non-Majority Text readings in [2886], inherited from A-1 or Manuscript E, while 205 is Majority or has a singular reading, provides sufficient

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<sup>472</sup> See Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library*, 262.

<sup>473</sup> See Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library*, 318.

<sup>474</sup> Antoni M. Zanetti and Antoni Bongiovanni, *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca codicum manu scriptorium* (Venice, 1740), 14.

<sup>475</sup> See Gregory, *Textkritik*, 167.

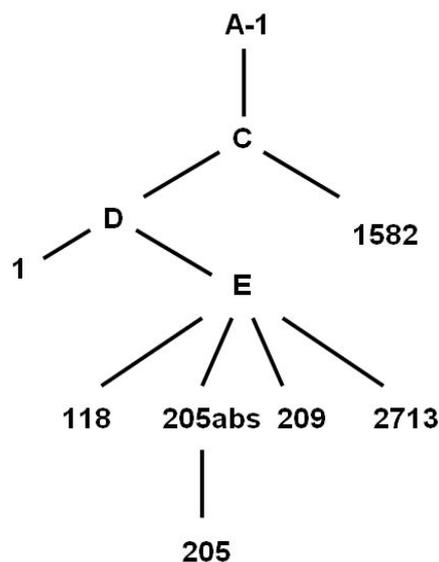
<sup>476</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 80–81 = Welsby, "Textual Study," 120–21.

<sup>477</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 81 = Welsby, "Textual Study," 121.

evidence to demonstrate that [2886] is not a copy of 205. This evidence is strengthened by the fact that 205 contains a high number of singular readings – 26. If [2886] were a copy of 205, it would be expected that 205 would contain very few singular readings, because any reading that originated in 205 would have a high chance of being passed on to [2886] and hence would no longer be a singular reading.<sup>478</sup>

Welsby also notes that “While [2886] contains links to E without 205, Codex 205 ... does not show links to E without [2886]. On the basis of this evidence it will be concluded that in John 205 is a copy of [2886].”<sup>479</sup> Welsby is careful to note that her study only concerns John and her conclusions therefore can also only concern John. She keeps in mind Parker’s advice that “one cannot assume that because one part of a manuscript is copied from another, the whole must be.”<sup>480</sup> My study concerns test passages from Matthew, Luke, John, Acts and Romans.

*Welsby’s Stemma for the Venice Group*<sup>481</sup>



Welsby discusses the possibility that 205 and 2886 are sibling manuscripts saying that if they were sibling manuscripts

We would expect that both manuscripts would show independent links to Manuscript E, but this is not the case. While 205abs contains links to E

<sup>478</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 81 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 122.

<sup>479</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 83 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 124.

<sup>480</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 140.

<sup>481</sup> This stemma is taken from Welsby, *Textual Study*, 85; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 127. The Venice group contains 118, 2886, 205, 209, and 2713. See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 47ff.; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 68ff.

without 205, Codex 205, with the exception of the 2 very slight and insignificant readings already discussed, does not show links to E without 205abs. On the basis of this evidence it will be concluded that in John 205 is a copy of 205abs.<sup>482</sup>

Although it is possible that 2886 and 205 are sister manuscripts because it is extremely difficult to distinguish between a sibling relationship and a parent-child relationship I proceed with the hypothesis that 205 is a copy of 2886 and look to either strengthen or question this hypothesis throughout. Further investigation into their relationship is warranted and would be best achieved by a full collation of the entire manuscripts in comparison with the other manuscripts of the Venice group, Family 1 and the larger New Testament tradition. What is clear is that 2886 is not a copy of 205 at any part of the text since 2886 was made before 205. If the dating of these two manuscripts according to their inscriptions is correct, then we have only two available possibilities: 1) 205 is a copy of 2886, or 2) 205 and 2886 are simply closely related and may be sister manuscripts which descended from a now lost exemplar which was a sister manuscript to 209.

In Chapter Two, I outlined six questions to ask of manuscripts which may be *Abschriften*. The first interrogation was “does the proposed *Abschrift* share a high percentage of textual agreement with another manuscript?” TT Clusters does not give a percentage of agreement between 205 and 2886 because, since 2886 has long been considered a copy of 205, TT Clusters ignored 2886 from their calculations. Bruce Morrill’s analysis of percentage of agreement in John 18 shows that 205 and 2886 agree overall in John 18 99% of the time or in 388 of 393 examples and 100% of the time in non-majority text readings.<sup>483</sup> Therefore, these two manuscripts do share a high percentage of agreement as we would expect since many scholars have already claimed dependence in one direction or another.

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<sup>482</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 83 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 124.

<sup>483</sup> M. Bruce Morrill, “A Complete Collation and Analysis of all Greek Manuscripts of John 18,” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England, 2012), 156, 375.

The second question to ask of proposed *Abschriften* was whether the manuscripts share a good number of peculiar dual agreements. Peculiar dual agreements are readings which are shared between two manuscripts only. There I stated that such peculiar dual agreements do not prove direct dependence but do suggest an extremely close relationship between the two manuscripts. 205 and 2886 share seven peculiar dual agreements (see List of Peculiar Dual Agreements between 205 and 2886 in the Appendix). In Matthew 28:5 205 and 2886 read φοβεσθαι where most other manuscripts read φοβεσθε. Here 205 and 2886 agree with each other against all other manuscripts.

In Luke 3:1 205 and 2886 read ιουδαιας in place of γαλιλαιας. 205 and 2886 are the only extant manuscripts in the world with this reading. This is most likely a harmonization to context in which the manuscripts are influenced by this same word a few words before.

In Luke 3:11 205 and 2886 read αποδοτω where all other manuscripts read μεταδοτω (μεταδω 019). 205 and 2886 change the prefix of the verb and are the only manuscripts to do so.

In Luke 22:27 205 and 2886 read αντικειμενος where all other manuscripts read ανακειμενος.

In John 6:4 205 and 2886 both omit δε where all other manuscripts have it.

In John 6:53 205 and 2886 read ποιητε in place of πιητε. This is an orthographic reading.<sup>484</sup>

In John 20:11 205 and 2886 read προεκυψεν in place of παρεκυψεν. These seven peculiar dual agreements suggest an extremely close relationship between 205 and 2886. In our test passages neither 205 nor 2886 share any peculiar dual agreements with 209—their next closest relative which many have claimed is their exemplar.

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<sup>484</sup> See Gignac, *Grammar*, I:271–72.

The third question to ask of proposed *Abschriften* is one of historical considerations and whether one manuscript obviously predates the other. In the case of 2886 and 205 it is not perfectly clear which manuscript was created first. We can say that we do not have a case of one manuscript copying another that is hundreds of years older. But above we discussed Welsby's arguments for why 2886 likely predates 205 based on the inscriptions in both volumes.

The fourth question is whether there are paleographical indications that one manuscript copied from another. It is often with respect to paleographical concerns that we can find a "smoking gun" which all but proves dependence. Below I give one example which may suggest 205's dependence on 2886 in Matthew 1:12 due to the way that 205 uncharacteristically abbreviated  $\tau\eta\nu$  just as 2886 did. But such abbreviation was common in hands of this era and, if such abbreviation was influenced by the *Vorlage*, such influence may have come from a different *Vorlage*. In short, there is no paleographical "smoking gun" which proves dependence between these manuscripts.

The fifth question to ask proposed *Abschriften* was whether difficult corrections in the *Vorlage* lead the *Abschrift* to stumble while copying. In our study of codex Claromontanus we saw that the frequent corrections in 06 made identifying its copies much easier because 0319 and 0320 occasionally copied a strange reading that is only attributable to the difficult correction in their exemplar. We will be disappointed, however, when we turn to 2886 and 205 if we hope that errors due to corrections in the *Vorlage* will inform our judgment of these codices. Concerning the exemplar, 2886, Welsby notes: "Minimal corrections have been made to [2886] and almost all of these are very tiny interlinear corrections, presumably made by the scribe as he copied and noticed errors. In John all the corrections are first hand with the exception of the addition of  $\tau\alpha$  in 3:2, which is written in a darker ink than the rest of the

text.”<sup>485</sup> Because there are so few corrections in 2886 and 205 it is difficult to definitively conclude that one is a copy of the other. Paleographical and codicological evidence were key in reinforcing 0320 as a copy of 06 but there is no such evidence in 2886 and 205. Textual and historical evidence is our only key to determining dependence between these manuscripts.

The first correction in our test passages of 2886 is at Luke 3:15 where 2886 originally wrote  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \bar{\iota}\omega$  but then inserted  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  as a correction between the two words. As Welsby noted of the corrections in John, this correction is a very tiny interlinear correction. 205 copied this as  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \bar{\iota}\omega$  leaving out the correction in 2886. It is possible that the correction in 2886 was made after 205 copied or that 205 simply did not copy the correction.<sup>486</sup> Either way, 205 copied the *Vorlage* correctly since they correctly copied one of the readings in the *Vorlage*. That 205 copied this reading is not very telling of whether 205 is a copy of 2886 since the reading  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \bar{\iota}\omega$  is somewhat common being found in 05, 1, 1582 and many others.

Welsby mentions that the correction in John 3:2 is notable because, in her opinion, it is the only correction in John made by a scribe other than the original scribe. The original scribe omitted  $\tau\alpha$  which was corrected by a later hand. Such a correction would be helpful in determining direction of borrowing if the correction was made after 205 copied. If this were the case then if 205 also omitted  $\tau\alpha$  then this would be strong evidence that 205 copied from 2886. Unfortunately, it seems that the correction was made before 205 copied since 205 includes  $\tau\alpha$  clearly in the text. Another possibility is that the correction was made to 2886 after 205 copied but 205NT had some kind of contamination in their text either by consulting another manuscript at this point or by mental contamination of knowing the text by memory.

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<sup>485</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 51 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 75.

<sup>486</sup> See James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 75–76 for examples of scribes not copying corrections found in their exemplar.

It is more likely that 2886 was corrected before 205 copied. In the end, this correction is of no help to us in determining the direction of borrowing.

Another correction in 2886 is in John 6:40. Here 2886 originally omits *εν* before *τη εσχατη* but the original scribe (as judged by Welsby<sup>487</sup>) inserts *εν* as an interlinear correction. 205NT copies the correction reading *εν τη εσχατη*. Again, this correction is not helpful because dependence could be argued in both directions. Which is more likely, 1) that 2886 copied 205 and omitted the word *εν* although it stands clearly in 205? or, 2) that 205 copied 2886 and included the correction made by the original scribe of 2886? This particular correction is not helpful in determining direction of dependence. An appeal to which manuscripts contain which reading is not helpful since the manuscript tradition is split with many manuscripts reading *εν* and many manuscripts omitting it. NA<sup>28</sup> places *εν* in square brackets to show the difficulty with determining its status due to the split manuscript history.

Another correction in 2886 is just a few verses later at John 6:44. 2886 originally omits *προς με* and then the original scribe corrects it interlinearly. 205 incorporates the correction without difficulty. Once again this correction is not helpful in determining direction of dependence. An identical scenario occurs at John 19:31 where 2886 originally omitted *σταυρου* but the original scribe corrected it. 205NT copied the correction without difficulty.

Lastly, we should ask proposed *Abschriften* if they share similar formatting such as line breaks, page breaks, column size, order of books, etc. Such codicological indications were helpful with Claromontanus where 0320 maintained strict adherence to line break

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<sup>487</sup> Welsby provided an online transcription of the seventeen manuscripts she studied. These transcriptions can be accessed at <http://www.iohannes.com/XML/start.xml>. In the online transcription of 2886 at John 6:40 she notes that the correction is by the original scribe. For her explanation of the online materials see Welsby, *Textual Study*, 4–5; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 4–5. The link I have provided is an updated link since the links provided in Welsby are dated.

division and even page division. Once again, such concerns will not be helpful in our discussion of 2886 and 205 because, although they are similar in size, they do not have similar line division or page division. The two manuscripts do, however, share an identical order of books.

### **Order of Books**

The rare order of books in 2886 and 205 proves that they are inseparably related. While an examination of the order of books suggests an intimate relationship, it cannot, however, help determine the direction of borrowing. Nevertheless, the extremely rare order which 205 and 2886 share, almost singularly, suggests an extremely close relationship between these two manuscripts.

New Testament manuscripts contain an assortment of orders of books of the New Testament. Interestingly, our earliest New Testament manuscripts and some of the latest manuscripts (such as 205 and 2886) vary the order of books. One may think that early manuscripts would tend to have many different orders of books and that as time passed the order of books in New Testament manuscripts would become uniform. This is not the case. The order of books is just as varied in late manuscripts as in early manuscripts. The fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, for example, which served as the *Vorlage* for 2886 in portions of the Septuagint, contains a similar order of books as 2886 and 205 in that it starts with the gospels, then Acts, and then, instead of the Pauline epistles like in the modern Protestant New Testament, the Catholic epistles. It then copies the Pauline epistles, including Hebrews. The codex then breaks off so there is no way to know what Vaticanus contained after Hebrews. Vaticanus contains *eacp* (but not all of *p*).

The fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus has a very similar order as Vaticanus but is more complete and includes the Pastorals (including Philemon) after Hebrews and the

Apocalypse. Alexandrinus ends with 1–2 Clement. Alexandrinus contains *eacpr* (plus Clement).

The fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus has a slightly different order still. Sinaiticus begins with the gospels but places the Pauline epistles before Acts. Sinaiticus then copies the Catholic epistles and the Apocalypse and adds Barnabas and Hermas at the end. So it contains *epacr* (plus Barnabas and Hermas).

Moving from these early manuscripts to the late manuscripts of the Venice group, 1, and 1582 we again see different orders of books even though these manuscripts are all in the same family and descend from a similar archetype. Both 2886 and 205 contain the gospels, Acts, the Catholic epistles, then the Apocalypse, and conclude with all of the Pauline epistles (*eacrp*). The striking element of this order is that the Apocalypse is placed somewhere other than the end of the manuscript. Based solely upon personal experience working with New Testament manuscripts, it seems that in most manuscripts, if the manuscript contains the Apocalypse, then the Apocalypse is placed at the very end of the manuscript (but before any so-called “extra-canonical” texts such as Hermas, Barnabas, Clement, etc.). There are exceptions, of course, but in most manuscripts the Apocalypse is placed at the end of the manuscript.<sup>488</sup> 2886 and 205 instead place the Apocalypse after the Catholic epistles and

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<sup>488</sup> This personal experience in working with manuscripts is difficult to verify since the *Liste* lists the books contained in a given manuscript in the same order regardless of actual order in the manuscript. The *Liste* always lists the contents as *eapr* (flattening *c* in with *p*) regardless of order in the manuscript. At 205, for example, the *Liste* gives the contents as *eapr* even though 205 is in the order of *eacrp*. It is therefore extremely difficult to compare the order of books between manuscripts. I know of no work that examines the order of manuscripts in depth. A few of Reuben Swanson’s *New Testament Greek Manuscripts* have a few appendix pages at the end of the volume listing the order of books for the consistently cited witnesses in the given volume (see Reuben J. Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Acts* [Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998]; Reuben Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Galatians* [Pasadena: William Carey International, 1999]; Reuben Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Romans* [Pasadena: William Carey International, 2001]; Reuben Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: 1 Corinthians* [Pasadena: William Carey International, 2003]; Reuben Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: 2 Corinthians* [Pasadena: William

before the Pauline epistles. I have only been able to find one other New Testament manuscript out of all New Testament manuscripts which has the exact same order as 2886 and 205. Minuscule 1424 is a ninth- or tenth-century Byzantine manuscript and is the head of Family 1424. It contains the same order of books as 2886 and 205. Such a coincidence may lead one to wonder about the genealogical relationship between 1424, 2886, and 205. A more extensive study concerning these relationships may prove fruitful but will not be a part of this project. A brief search on the TT clusters website reveals no relationship between 1424 and 205 and 2886 in any of the four gospels.

This odd order of books leads one to wonder why 205 and 2886 contain such an order. The solution may lie in what we know about the character of Cardinal Bessarion. David Parker relates that Bessarion desired “to bring about a reconciliation between the Greek and Latin communions.”<sup>489</sup> Bessarion therefore produced bibles which are “Greek manuscripts following the western custom of including the entire Bible, or at least the entire New Testament.”<sup>490</sup> So Bessarion is trying to bridge the gap between Greek and Latin concerns in his community. 209 does not share this order because although Bessarion owned 209 he was not the patron of 209—it was produced in the fourteenth century by someone else with different concerns. And there are indeed Latin bibles with this same order of books that is peculiar to 205 and 2886. This order is more common in Latin bibles being found in at least five extant Latin New Testament manuscripts.<sup>491</sup> The ninth-century Codex Sangermanensis

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Carey International, 2005]). Aside from scrolling through the NTVMR of each and every manuscript, Swanson’s short lists are the best source that I know of for the order of books in Greek New Testament manuscripts. A better understanding of order of books in Greek New Testament manuscripts is a *desideratum* in the field and would assist in exploring issues of canon formation and the relationship between manuscripts.

<sup>489</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 80.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>491</sup> See H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford, 2016), 195.

(primus),<sup>492</sup> the ninth-century Vg<sup>S</sup> Φ<sup>T</sup>,<sup>493</sup> the ninth-century Vg<sup>Se</sup> s,<sup>494</sup> the twelfth-century Codex Colbertinus,<sup>495</sup> and the famous thirteenth-century Codex Gigas<sup>496</sup> all share the same order of books as 205 and 2886. So it seems that Cardinal Bessarion imitated the order of books in Latin bibles when producing 205 and 2886. Perhaps the ninth- or tenth-century minuscule 1424 also imitated the Latin order of books when copying its text.

Some other manuscripts in Family 1 have an order that is similar to 205 and 2886. Minuscule 1 also places the Catholic epistles immediately after Acts as do 205 and 2886 but moves the gospels to the end and omits the Apocalypse (*acpe*). 209 has the exact same order as 1 but includes the Apocalypse at the end (*acper*). This may suggest that the hypothetical manuscript E<sup>497</sup> (the exemplar for the Venice group) was a complete New Testament, probably majuscule, and probably had the same order as 209. E was copied from the hypothetical manuscript D<sup>498</sup> which was the exemplar of 1, and 209 copied E. 209 and 1 share a very similar order of books. The only difference is that 1 does not include the Apocalypse. E is a common link between 209 and 1. In this same reasoning, the hypothetical manuscript D, the exemplar of 1, was probably also a complete majuscule New Testament with the same order as 209. But if E has the same order as 209 and is the exemplar for 2886, then why does 2886 have a different order? Because Cardinal Bessarion changed the order of books for 2886 and 205 to be similar to other Latin bibles in order to bridge the gap between the Latin and Greek communities.

After interrogating these two manuscripts according to our six questions to ask proposed *Abschriften* we have not found conclusive evidence that either is a copy of the other.

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<sup>492</sup> See Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 213–14.

<sup>493</sup> See Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 263.

<sup>494</sup> See Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 265.

<sup>495</sup> See Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 213.

<sup>496</sup> See Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 233.

<sup>497</sup> See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 74ff.; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 110ff.

<sup>498</sup> See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 78; Welsby, “Textual Study,” 116.

This chapter operates on the assumption that 205 is a copy of 2886 following Welsby's model but, due to the unconvincing results of our interrogation, all results of this experiment must be taken lightly while always remembering that it is possible that these manuscripts are not copies of another but rather that they are simply closely related and perhaps sister manuscripts.

**Table 5.1—Order of Books in Manuscripts from the Venice Group, 1, and 1582**

<b>2886</b> <i>(eacrp)</i>	<b>205</b> <i>(eacrp)</i>	<b>1</b> <i>(acpe)</i>	<b>118</b> <i>(e)</i>	<b>209</b> <i>(acper)</i>	<b>1582</b> <i>(e)</i>	<b>2713</b> <i>(e)</i>
Matthew	Matthew	Acts	Matthew	Acts	Matthew	Matthew
Mark	Mark	James	Mark	James	Mark	Mark
Luke	Luke	1 Peter	Luke	1 Peter	Luke	Luke
John	John	2 Peter	John	2 Peter	John	John
Acts	Acts	1 John		1 John		
James	James	2 John		2 John		
1 Peter	1 Peter	3 John		3 John		
2 Peter	2 Peter	Jude		Jude		
1 John	1 John	Romans		Romans		
2 John	2 John	1 Cor		1 Cor		
3 John	3 John	2 Cor		2 Cor		
Jude	Jude	Galatians		Galatians		
Apocalypse	Apocalypse	Ephesians		Ephesians		
Romans	Romans	Philippians		Philippians		
1 Cor	1 Cor	Colossians		Colossians		
2 Cor	2 Cor	1 Thess		1 Thess		
Galatians	Galatians	2 Thess		2 Thess		
Ephesians	Ephesians	1 Tim		1 Tim		
Philippians	Philippians	2 Tim		2 Tim		
Colossians	Colossians	Titus		Titus		
1 Thess	1 Thess	Philemon		Philemon		
2 Thess	2 Thess	Hebrews		Hebrews		
1 Tim	1 Tim	Matthew		Matthew		
2 Tim	2 Tim	Mark		Mark		
Titus	Titus	Luke		Luke		
Philemon	Philemon	John		John		
Hebrews	Hebrews			Apocalypse		

### **Scribal Habits of Minuscule 205**

The scribe of 205 created a total of thirty variants with two total words added over nine hundred and twelve NA lines in our test passages of Matthew 1, 18, 28; Luke 3, 22; John 6, 19–21; Acts 16; and Romans 1.

**Table 5.2—Variants in 205 against 2886 by Test Passage**

	Words	Om	Add	Sub	Orth	Nons	Total
Matt	1,479	0	2	2	1	0	5
Luke	1,708	2	2	1	0	1	6
John	3,285	6	2	5	2	2	17
Acts	723	0	0	0	0	0	0
Romans	731	1	0	0	0	1	2
Total	7,926	9	6	8	3	4	30

**Table 5.3—Significant Variant Readings in Minuscule 205**

	Significant Variants	Additions	Words in Additions	Average Words	Omissions	Words in Omissions	Average Words	Words in Omissions / Words in Additions	Substitutions	Net Words Gained / Lost in Substitutions	Net Words Gained / Lost	Net Words Gained / Lost Per Significant Variant	Transpositions
205 (Variants)	23	6 (26.1%)	12	2	9 (39.1%)	10	1.111	.833	8 (34.8%)	0	+2	+0.0833	0 (0%)
205 (Singulars)	5	2 (40%)	8	4	2 (33%)	2	1	.333	1 (20%)	0	+6	1	0 (0%)

**Table 5.4—Total Variants in Minuscule 205**

	Total Variants	Orthographic Variants	Percentage	Orth. Variants / NA Page	Orth. Variants / 1,000 Words	Nonsense Variants	Percentage	Nons. Variants / NA Page	Nons. Variants / 1,000 Words
205 (Variants)	30	3	10%	.082	.379	4	13.3%	.11	.505
205 (Singulars)	12	3	25%	.082	.379	4	33.3%	.11	.505

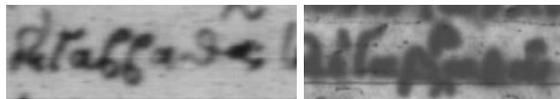
**Table 5.5—Error Rates in Minuscule 205**

	NA Lines	Words	Variants	Significant Variants / NA Page	Total Variants / NA Page	Significant Variants / 1,000 Words	Total Variants / 1,000 Words
205 (Variants)	912	7,926	30	.631	.822	2.902	3.785
205 (Singulars)	912	7,926	12	.137	.329	.631	1.514

## *Insignificant Variant Readings*

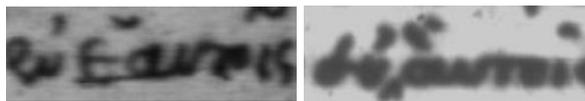
### *Corrections*

There are very few corrections in 205. Concerning the corrections in John, Welsby notes: “There is very little in the margins of 205. The few corrections in the manuscript are usually interlinear. The only corrections in John are by the first hand.”<sup>499</sup> One such correction in John is found at John 19:13. When writing Γαββαθα 205NT originally wrote the word with only one *beta*. They quickly corrected the mistake. Below are images of **John 19:13** in 2886 and 205 respectively.



This error cannot be attributed to a problem in the *Vorlage* 2886. This correction is not helpful in arguing dependence in either direction. Since 205NT corrected their own mistake, this reading is not counted as a variant.

The next correction in our test passages in 205 is found at Romans 1:27. Below are images of Romans 1:27 in 2886 and 205 respectively.



The text in the *Vorlage* 2886 seems pretty clear. The only possible way that 2886 caused the error in 205 would be because the *epsilon* in εαυτοις looks somewhat detached from the rest of the word which may have caused a problem for 205. This scenario, however, is weak. More likely, 205NT created the error on their own without a need to blame the *Vorlage*. More importantly, 205NT caught the mistake and corrected it themselves. Because 205NT corrected it themselves it is not counted as a variant.

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<sup>499</sup> See Welsby, *Textual Study*, 54 = Welsby, “Textual Study,” 79.

### Orthographic Variant Readings

There are three orthographic variants in our test passages representing 9.7% of total variants.

#### Orthographic Variant Reading

Matt 18:4 <sup>500</sup>	ταπεινωση > ταπενωσει
John 20:25	των ηλων > τον υλων
John 20:25 <sup>501</sup>	των ηλων > τον υλων

### Nonsense Variant Readings

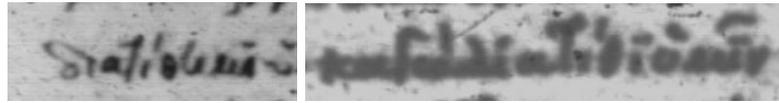
There are a total of four nonsense variant readings which constitute 12.9% of all total variant readings. The first nonsense reading is at **Luke 22:29**. Here 2886 reads διατιημι but 205 copies διατιθι which is a singular reading. 205 here makes a nonsense reading by

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<sup>500</sup> Concerning orthographical shifts of this nature through time: “EI interchanges with I since the VI-Vth century B.C., indicating both that it was sounded monophthongally, i.e. as one sound, and that it was sounded as ‘I’, or something very similar to it. The interchange becomes very frequent from the Vth and IVth centuries B.C. as is witnessed by the various collections of Egyptian papyri. The confusion between I and EI is represented also in Euboeia and Boiotia” Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament* (WUNT 167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 365–67; James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906), II.70, 77–78; “There is also an occasional interchange of the symbols representing /ε/ and /i/. These interchanges occur mainly in specific phonetic conditions, namely before back vowels, nasals, liquids, or /s/. They occur in both accented and unaccented syllables without apparent distinction” Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino – La Goliardica; 1975), I.249; see especially I.257–59. “EI interchanges also with H already from the Vth and IVth centuries B.C. Since EI has already in VI-Vth century B.C. assumed or tended towards the sound of ‘I’, it is obvious that the H was tending in the same direction. This interchange becomes frequent around 200 B.C.” Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 367; Moulton, *Grammar*, II.71–72; “There is a very frequent interchange of η with ι and ει, indicating that η also represented /i/ at least in the speech of many writers” and “[η x ει] interchange likewise occurs very frequently in all phonetic conditions throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods” Gignac, *Grammar*, I.235, 239.

<sup>501</sup> This entry is repeated to emphasize that there are two orthographic changes which will count in the statistics as two separate orthographic variants. Gignac, *Grammar*, 235. Caragounis restricts the definition of itacism to the “η being pronounced in the same way as the ι” Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 500. This particular variant, then, would not be characterized as itacism, as does Gignac, but rather a result of the historical Greek pronunciation. See also Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 500–01. Gignac, *Grammar*, 264–65. He also notes that “[υ x η] interchange occurs frequently in all phonetic conditions throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods” Gignac, *Grammar*, 262.

haplography. They were most likely following 2886's διατιθημι and omitted two medial letters.



The next nonsense reading is at John **20:2** where 205 writes αλον in place of 2886's αλλον.

In **John 20:16** 205NT writes στραφεισαι for στραφεισα. 205's reading is singular.

The last nonsense reading is at **Romans 1:27** where 205 nonsensically copied 2886's φυσικην as φυκην which is a singular reading.

#### **Nonsense Variant Readings**

Luke 22:29	διατιθημι > διατιθι
John 20:2	αλλον > αλον
John 20:16	στραφεισα > στραφεισαι
Romans 1:27	φυσικην > φυκην

### *Accuracy and Copying Technique*

#### *Omission*

There are nine omissions for a total of ten words in our test passages which represent 29% of all total variants and 39.1% of significant variants. The first is at **Luke 3:19**. 2886 and all other Greek New Testament manuscripts read του αδελφου but 205NT copies only αδελφου. This is an accidental omission that results in a singular reading. This omission may have been facilitated by graphical confusion in the exemplar 2886. 2886, along with many other manuscripts such as 02, 04, 017, 032, 205, and 1424 supply the name of Herod's brother Φιλιππου. 2886 abbreviated the ending of the name by writing –ου above the final *pi*. 2886 then writes του as *tau* with the same abbreviated –ου above the *tau* with the result that the ending of Φιλιππου and του are right next to each other and look identical. It is therefore easy for 205NT to commit an eye skip from one –ου to the next. If this scenario is what happened, then here we have good evidence that 2886 is the *Vorlage* of 205. It is possible, however, that

205NT omitted του because they thought it was grammatically redundant. I find this scenario unlikely because 205NT does not usually correct the text for grammatical concerns. Below is an image of 2886 and 205 respectively.

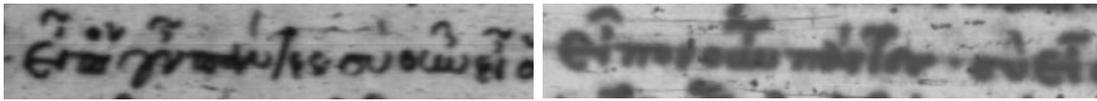


The next omission is at **Luke 22:70**. 2886 reads ειπον ουν παντες συ ουν ει but 205 reads only ειπον ουν παντες συ ει omitting the second ουν. From what we know about 205NT is it likely that this omission is the result of a simple eye-skip. Another possibility is that 205NT omitted ουν here believing it to be redundant due to the previous ουν in the sentence. Although 017, 69, and 124 also have this reading, I believe this reading to be sub-singular<sup>502</sup> and is therefore the invention of 205NT themselves. Although this reading is sub-singular, it would not qualify as an asterisked reading<sup>503</sup> under Royse’s method since Tischendorf cites 017, 69, and 124 under this reading. Below is an image of 2886 and 205 respectively.

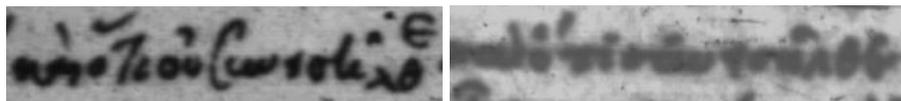
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<sup>502</sup> That is to say that I see a “non-genetic accidental agreement in variation between [these] MSS which are not otherwise closely related” Gordon D. Fee, “On the Types, Classification, and Presentation of Textual Variation,” in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 67. 69 and 124 are closely related. Of test passages in Luke they agree 86.8% of the time (in this dataset 124 is the closest witness to 69) according to “*Text und Textwert* Manuscript Clusters,” found here: [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/index.html](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/index.html). 69 and 205 are not at all closely related and their percentage of agreement is so low that it does not gain inclusion in the statistics on the Clusters website which means that their percentage of agreement must be less than 71.8%. 69 and 124 agree 96% of the time in John 18 (see M. Bruce Morrill, “A Complete Collation and Analysis of all Greek Manuscripts of John 18,” [PhD diss., University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England, 2012], 140). 017 similarly does not have a high enough percentage of agreement with 205 to be included in the statistics meaning that their percentage of agreement must be lower than 90.9%. It is clear that 205 is “not otherwise closely related” to 017, 69 and 124 with the result that this reading can be considered sub-singular and therefore the invention of 205NT themselves.

<sup>503</sup> Royse explains that asterisked readings are those which are singular after consulting Tischendorf but are proven not to be singular after consulting more updated editions such as Swanson, IGNTP and others. He includes the asterisked readings even though they are not truly singular readings because agreement between manuscripts of asterisked reading usually turn out to be coincidental. See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 67 and 94. I have chosen not to follow his method of asterisked readings but I have analyzed readings to determine if they are sub-singular.



The next omission is at **John 6:22**. 2886 reads  $\sigma\tau\iota\ \sigma\upsilon$  but 205 copies only  $\sigma\tau\iota$  omitting  $\sigma\upsilon$ . This is obviously an unintentional error since the omission of the negative particle greatly changes the meaning of the verse. 205NT's change would imply that Jesus did in fact get into the boat with the disciples. 205NT, however, includes the next phrase that the disciples went away alone. Therefore, 205NT's change was unintentional. This is a sub-singular reading because there is not a close relationship between 205 and 039. Morrill's "Greek Manuscripts of John 18"<sup>504</sup> does not show a relationship between 205 and 039 and 039 fails to appear in the "Clusters" relationship meaning they agree less than 77.9%. We can conclude that 205's omission here is likely independent of 039. This qualifies as an asterisked reading. Below are images of 2886 and 205 respectively.



The next omission is found at **John 19:35**. 2886 creates a singular reading with  $\eta$   $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\iota\eta$ . 205 omits the erroneous and singular  $\eta$  from 2886 and matches the reading with the TR, 118<sup>sup</sup>, 209, 1582, 2713, NA<sup>28</sup> and most if not all other manuscripts. While this is counted as an omission by 205 it is by no means an error but actually aligns the text to the accepted reading.

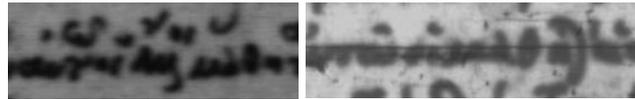
The next omission at **John 20:21** where 205NT omits two words:  $\text{ὁ Ἰησοῦς}$ . This is a very common omission; so common, in fact, that NA<sup>28</sup> has these words in brackets. 2886, along with the TR, 02, 03, 118<sup>sup</sup>, 209, 2713, and many others, reads  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \text{ὁ ἰησοῦς}\ \mu\alpha\lambda\iota\nu$  but 205, along with 01 05 019 033 044 050 0141 743 and some versional witnesses, only reads  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\lambda\iota\nu$ .

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<sup>504</sup> Morrill, "Greek Manuscripts of John 18," 127.



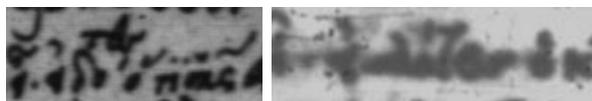
Another omission is at **John 20:25** where 205NT omits *αλλοι*. This omission is most likely a result of homoeoteleuton between the endings of *οι* and *αλλοι*. I have listed this as a sub-singular reading. 205 agrees with 01 at an agreement rate of 38.7% and with 994 at a rate of 87.9%. 205 could easily make this change independent of any other manuscript.



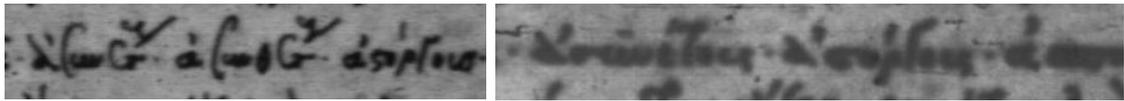
The next omission is at **John 21:8** where 205NT omits *γης* which is a singular omission. Nothing in 2886 could have prompted this error. 205NT's omission is most likely a result of homoeoteleuton between the endings of *της* and *γης*. Below is an image of the line as it stands in 2886 first and how 205 copied it. The homoeoteleuton may have been facilitated by the similar method of how 2886 writes *tau* and *gamma* with each using long vertical *hastas* and then a horizontal in different directions.



The next omission is at **John 21:12** where 205NT omits *οτι*. 2886 reads *ειδοτες οτι ο κς̄* but 205NT omits *οτι*. This is a singular omission. It is possible that this mistake was made because of the messiness of the exemplar 2886.



The last omission in our test passages is found at **Romans 1:31**. 2886 reads *ασυνθετους ασυνθετους αστοργους ανελεημονας* but 205 omits *ασυνθετους*. It is simple see how a scribe could drop out this word because the previous word is almost identical especially in light of how 2886 wrote it. While 2147 has also made this omission it is simple to see how 205 could independently omit this word. I have listed this reading as sub-singular.



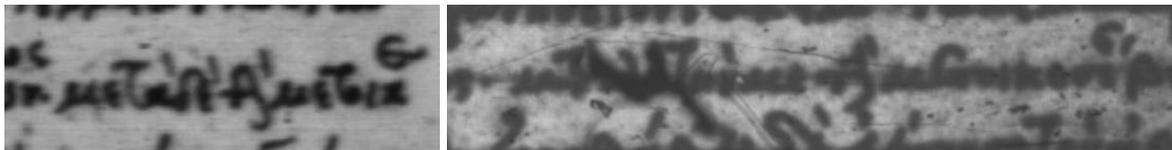
#### Omissions

Luke 3:19	του
Luke 22:70	ουν
John 6:22	ου
John 19:35	η
John 20:21	ο Ιησους
John 20:25	αλλοι
John 21:8	γης
John 21:12	οτι
Romans 1:31	ασυνθετους

#### Additions

There are six additions for a total of twelve words in our test passages which represent 19.4% of all total variants and 25% of significant variants. The first addition in 205 is just twelve verses into the New Testament text at **Matthew 1:12**. 2886, along with NA<sup>28</sup> and the TR, reads *μετα δε την μετοικεσιαν* but 205 copies *μετα δε την με την μετοικεσιαν*. 205NT here commits a simple eye skip resulting in dittography. After copying *με* of *μετοικεσιαν* they look back at 2886 looking to find a *tau*. 205NT finds a *tau* but it is the wrong one and they had already copied it. They found the *tau* of *την*, copied the word, and continued copying the rest of the line resulting in *μετα δε την με την μετοικεσιαν*. This is a type of dittography with *με* and *την* being written twice. This is obviously nonsense and is the result of an eye skip. The surprising thing is that they did not catch the mistake and made a singular reading. The intriguing aspect of this mistake is that it might suggest that 2886 is the *Vorlage* for 205.

Below are images of **Matthew 1:12** in 2886 and 205 respectively.



When writing *την* 2886 chose to write *tau* and then a flourishing abbreviation for the end of the word. This is very common. When 205NT first copied this word they understood that it was an abbreviation for *την* and wrote the word out in full without the abbreviation.

They then copied the first two letters of the next word, με-, before looking back at 2886. When finding their spot in the *Vorlage* 205NT's eye catches the same την once again which has an abbreviated flourish. This time 205NT copies the flourished version of την before continuing to write μετοικεσιν. This is notable because 205NT rarely abbreviates articles in this way preferring instead to write them out in full. A notable aspect of 205 is that it contains less abbreviations than 2886 and less letters crammed above the line. That 205NT writes the article with the flourish here might suggest a dependence on 2886 or at least on a manuscript that employed the same type of abbreviation in this word. It is possible that 205NT is using a different source which similarly has this same abbreviated flourish here since this way of writing την was very common.

The next addition is at **Matthew 18:14**. 205 adds the article τοις before οἰνοῖς. At least five other Greek New Testament manuscripts have this reading (05, 33, 157, 579, 1424). This is probably an independent insertion which eases the flow of the text. There are thirteen occurrences of εν ουραν- in the gospel of Matthew and twenty-three in the New Testament as a whole. There are twelve occurrences of εν + [article] ουραν- in the gospel of Matthew and thirty-two in the New Testament as a whole. There are also two occurrences in NA<sup>28</sup> of Matthew where the article has been placed in brackets due to its questionable status and another in Luke. With respect to when ουρανος is in plural form there are seven occurrences of εν ουρανοῖς in the gospel of Matthew and twelve in the New Testament as a whole. There are nine occurrences of εν τοις ουρανοῖς in the gospel of Matthew and twenty-one in the whole of the New Testament with two instances of τοις in Matthew being placed in brackets. Therefore, both in the gospel of Matthew and in the New Testament as a whole, we more often see this phrase with the article. It is highly possible, therefore, that this insertion is an independent insertion making this a sub-singular reading.

The next addition is at **Luke 22:11**. 2886 here reads *πασχα μετα των μαθητων*. 205NT here commits simple dittography by writing *μετα* twice one after another. This is a singular addition.

The next addition is at **Luke 22:27**. NA28, TR, and 2713 here read *ανακειμενος η ο διακονων ουχι ο ανακειμενος εγω*. 1, 118, 209 and 1582 read the same except change *ουχι* to *ουχ*. 2886 here reads only *αντικειμενος εγω*. The curious substitution at the first *ανακειμενος* to *αντικειμενος* was first singular by 2886. 205 followed this substitution making it a peculiar dual agreement in the form of a substitution. This is an interesting substitution because *αντίκειμαι* has such a drastically different meaning than *ἀνάκειμαι*; the former meaning “to be opposed to” and the latter meaning “to recline at a meal.” 2886’s resulting singular text of **Luke 22:27** translates as “For who is greater? He who is opposed? But I am among you as the one who serves.” This change does not seem to make much sense especially because the opening line “Who is greater” assumes that two people will be juxtaposed and the hearer will judge which is greater. But 2886 gives only one option: “he who is opposed.” For this reason I do not think that the substitution to *αντικειμενος* was intentional. This word is used eight times in the New Testament, twice in Luke (Luke 13:17, 21:15), and this exact same form in Second Thessalonians 2:4. It is likely that 2886 was influenced by the occurrence of this word in Luke 21:15 which is just a chapter before where this variant was created. Additionally, the omission of six words is easy to explain as a haplography as a result of the repeated *ανακειμενος*. 205NT then notices 2886’s haplography caused by the repetition of *ανακειμενος* and finds another source to copy for these missing words. When 205 copies their alternate source they follow that source at the second *ανακειμενος* and rather than writing *αντικειμενος* in the spirit of consistency, they write *ανακειμενος* following their alternate source. While this variant by 205NT is technically considered an addition of six words, 205NT is actually

correcting their *Vorlage* by making the reading align more closely with the accepted reading. 205NT's reading is a singular reading.

The next addition is at **John 19:20**. 2886 and NA28 read ρωμαιστι ελληνιστι. 205NT inserts και resulting in ρωμαιστι και ελληνιστι. 743 shares this reading but the two are probably unrelated so 205NT's reading can be considered sub-singular.

The last addition is at **John 19:31**. 2886 has the word ημερα but 205 copies η ημερα. 205's reading matches NA<sup>28</sup>, TR, 1, 118<sup>sup</sup>, and 1582. So, while this is counted as an addition, 205 is aligning their text with another very common reading. This type of addition could even have been made without thinking based on 205NT's knowledge of the text.

#### **Additions**

Matthew 1:12	με την
Matthew 18:14	τοις
Luke 22:11	μετα
Luke 22:27	η ο διακονων ουχ ο ανακειμενος
John 19:20	και
John 19:31	η

#### *Transposition*

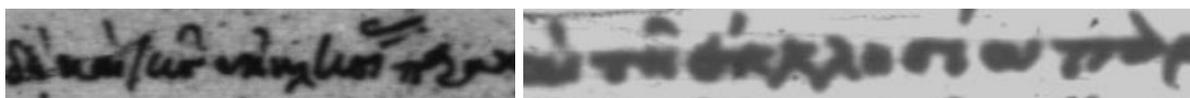
There are no transpositions in our test passages.

#### *Substitution*

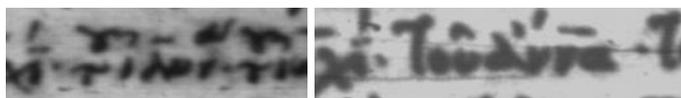
There are eight substitutions which neither add nor omit words in our test passages. These eight substitutions represent 34.8% of total significant variants and 26.67% of all variants. The first substitution is at **Matthew 18:5**. 2886 has a singular reading παιδιος which 205 did not perpetuate but instead substituted παιδιον matching NA<sup>28</sup> and all other manuscripts in the Venice group.

At **Matthew 18:17** 205 changes the case of 2886's της εκκλησιας. The resulting case is ambiguous since it could either be nominative or dative (with an unwritten ιοτα subscript). 565 also writes this word as τη εκκλησια. Swanson edits 565 as being in the dative case even though 565 does not use ιοτα subscript or adscript. That the case is dative is likely since the

confusion and influence may arise from the same words in the dative case just a few words prior. 205 and 565 independently confused the second occurrence of εκκλησια and the first and used the same case in both instances. Another possibility is that the scribes changed the case from genitive to dative due to confusion over which case follows παρακούω. This verb in this sense takes a genitive although the dative may make more sense here. The last possibility is that the scribes were confused about the subject of the sentence. Most manuscripts have an unspecified subject (the sinning member) of παρακούω. But if τη εκκλησια is taken as the nominative (without ιοτα subscript) then it becomes the subject of the sentence. The sense would then become that if the church refuses to listen then the member should be ostracized. The most likely scenario seems to be the simple solution that the scribe assimilated the second occurrence of εκκλησια to match the first. This would simply be an error with no intention. Whatever the solution, all three possibilities are well within the range of being independent changes. While 205 agrees with 565 94% in John 18<sup>505</sup> and 90.2% in John,<sup>506</sup> “Clusters” provides no data for the relationship between 205 and 565 in Matthew, suggesting that they agree less than 73.7% in Matthew. This is a sub-singular reading which is also asterisked.



The next substitution comes at **Luke 3:24** where 205NT writes αυνα in place of 2886’s ιαυνα in the Lucan genealogy. Although 044\* also has this reading, I have listed this substitution as sub-singular.



The next substitution is at **John 19:13** where 205 writes τουτον in place of 2886’s τουτων. While 205’s reading τουτον has broad support, 205 is the only witness to write the

<sup>505</sup> Morrill, “Greek Manuscripts of John 18,” 196.

<sup>506</sup> According to TT Clusters.

nonsensical τουτον των λογων. Other witnesses which employ τουτον here, such as 017, 022, 030, 118<sup>sup</sup>, and 1424, write τουτον τον λογον.



At **John 19:23** 205NT corrects 2886's singular εκατω in favor of the majority  
εκαστω.

The next substitution is at **John 20:13** where 2886 reads οιδαμεν but 205 copies οιδα. Both readings have some support but 205's reading has the majority by far. It is interesting that the Venice group and the C branch of Family 1 are split at this variant with 2886, 1\*, 209, and 1582 reading οιδαμεν and 205, 1<sup>c</sup>, 118<sup>sup</sup>, and 2713 (and all other manuscripts) reading οιδα. This variant could either be interpreted as an omission or as a substitution. It could be an omission if 205 were to view μεν as an individual word, rather than the first person plural ending of οιδα. If 205 viewed μεν as the first person plural ending then it would be a substitution. I have chosen to count it as a substitution since οιδαμεν it is often written as one word by the editors of editions with variants at this word.<sup>507</sup> I recognize that 205 could view it as two words but it seems that most editors have interpreted this variant as one word.



The next example again is a circumstance where 205NT does not perpetuate a singular reading in their *Vorlage*. At **John 20:29** 2886 reads εωρας which is a singular reading. 205 writes εωρακας which agrees with NA<sup>28</sup>, TR, 1, 118<sup>sup</sup>, 209, 1582, and 2713.

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<sup>507</sup> See U. B. Schmid, W. J. Elliott, and D. C. Parker, eds., *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel According to St. John: Volume Two: The Majuscules* (NTTSD 37; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 533; Hermann Freiherr von Soden, ed., *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913), 485; this variant is absent in Tischendorf<sup>8</sup>; iohannes.com; the CNTTS apparatus on BibleWorks. I was unable to find any edition that interpreted the variant οιδαμεν as οιδα μεν but it is of course possible that 205 did interpret it in that way.

The last substitution in our test passages is at **John 21:3**. Where 2886 writes *ενεβησαν*, 205 writes *ανεβησαν*. 2886's reading has broad support in NA<sup>28</sup>, 1, 118<sup>sup</sup>, 209, 1582, and 2713 while 205 follows the reading found in the TR, 037, 039 and others.

#### Substitutions

Matthew 18:5	παιδιος > παιδιον
Matthew 18:17	της εκκλησιας > τη εκκλησια
Luke 3:24	ιαννα > αννα
John 19:13	τουτων > τουτον
John 19:23	εκατω > εκαστω
John 20:13	οιδαμεν > οιδα
John 20:29	εωρας > εωρακας
John 21:3	ενεβησαν > ανεβησαν

#### Conclusions

In summary, if 2886 was 205's *Vorlage*, then 205 copied the *Vorlage* very well. They added twelve words and omitted ten words for a total of two words added. The addition at **Luke 22:27** was a pivotal change which greatly affected the overall outcome of the statistics. At **Luke 22:27** 205 added six words to 2886's text but these words were actually to correct 2886's singular reading. While this addition counts against 205 as a variant it actually aligns the text more closely to the accepted reading. If this six-word addition were to be excluded as a statistical outlier then 205 would have had five occurrences of addition with six words added. When compared to the nine omissions of ten words, we would be able to conclude that they omitted more than added. But such is not the case and as it stands in our test passages 205 finished with two words added to their *Vorlage*. 205 is the only *Abschrift* in this study which gained words on the whole gaining .087 words per significant variant.

205's error rate was very low. When counting all variants including insignificant variants such as orthographic changes and nonsense changes one can expect .822 variants on a typical page of NA<sup>28</sup> or 2.902 variants per 1,000 words.

If we were to analyze our test passages solely based on singular readings then our conclusions would be different. According to the singular reading method 205 adds eight words. But 205 only makes two singular omissions totaling two omitted words. 205 in sum

therefore, according to the singular readings method, ends with a total of six words added. Focusing only on singular readings would make it look like they significantly added more than omitted.

A focus on singular readings would make 205 look like an even better scribe than they really were with an error rate of .329 variants per NA page or 1.514 variants per thousand words. While 205 is a very accurate scribe, these figures are simply an inaccurate portrayal of their copying habits.

In the end, 205 is prone to small one-word omissions which are neither intentional nor doctrinally motivated. They add text at times when they know an alternate version of the text or when 2886 has a singular reading. 205's substitutions make no change to the meaning of the text and usually correct 2886 or follow a different previously known reading. 205 makes a small number of nonsense readings by accident as well as a couple of orthographic changes. In total, 205 was a highly skilled copyist who did not alter the text for dogmatic reasons or intentionally alter it for any reason.

### **205 a copy of 2886?**

This entire chapter has operated on the hypothesis and has gathered statistics based on the hypothesis that 205 is a copy of 2886 as argued by Welsby. But now that we have concluded our investigation is our position that 205 is a copy of 2886 stronger or weaker? Can we conclude that 205 is indeed a copy of 2886 or can we definitively conclude that it is not? As discussed above, the distinction between a parent-child relationship and a sister manuscript relationship is very fine. For this reason, I hesitate to definitively conclude anything concerning these manuscripts at this point. I do, however, have my strong doubts that 205 is a copy of 2886. Here is what we think we know for sure: 2886 is not a copy of 205. As discussed above, based on Bessarion's inscriptions in the manuscripts 2886 should predate 205 and could therefore not be a copy of 205. If this is true, then, given the intimate

relationship between 205 and 2886, it seems to me that we have only two available possibilities: 1) 205 is a copy of 2886, or 2) 205 and 2886 are sister manuscripts which descended from a now lost exemplar which was a sister manuscript to 209. I am inclined to agree with Josef Schmid who argued, with respect to the book of Revelation, that 205 and 2886 are sister manuscripts which descended from a common, now lost exemplar which was a sister of 209.<sup>508</sup> One small example can highlight the usefulness of this claim.

Above we noticed the oddity at **Luke 22:27** where 205, if it were a copy of 2886, appeared to add six words. This six-word addition greatly affected the statistics and resulting total words gained or lost to such a degree that I considered throwing out the variant as a statistical outlier. On the basis that 205 is a copy of 2886, instead of 205 losing a total of six words in our test passages, which would confirm Royse's theory about *lectio brevior*, now we have a scribe who breaks even and neither adds nor omits any words on the whole. But this six-word addition is so rare, so uncommon that it gives pause. No other scribe in the current project (0319A, 0319B, 0320, VL76A, VL76B, VL83, and 821) added multiple words at a time. The longest addition in all of these *Abschriften* has been one single word. But now here we have 205 adding six words in a single instance! Of course such an addition is possible but its rarity gives us pause. When I discussed the variant above I posited that 2886 was influenced by Luke 21:15 to make the first change from ἀνακειμενος to αντικειμενος and that 2886 then committed haplography by moving from the first ἀνακειμενος in his *Vorlage* to the second and thus omitted the intervening six words. I then said that when 205NT came upon this reading they noticed the error and consulted an alternate *Vorlage* in order to correct the reading. This is possible. But this would require 205NT to notice the error in order to correct

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<sup>508</sup> I am grateful to Jessica Shao of the University of Minnesota who shared with me her not yet published research concerning Family 1 in Mark where she concludes that 2886 and 205 are sibling manuscripts. Her research on Mark caused me to reconsider the relationship between 205 and 2886 and to reexamine my evidence.

it. This is also possible since 2886's reading is somewhat nonsensical. But it is equally likely that a longer reading stood in 205's and 2886's exemplar which Schmid calls "y."<sup>509</sup> The reading would have read as it stands in 205: ἀντικειμενος η ο διακονων ουχ ο ανακειμενος εγω. Note that y creates a singular reading (now a peculiar triple agreement since it was copied by 205 and 2886) by substituting ἀντικειμενος for ανακειμενος. This was possibly influenced by Luke 21:15. 2886 copied this reading as ἀντικειμενος εγω and 205 copied it exactly. I believe this scenario is much more likely than the one based on 205 as a copy of 2886. In this scenario 2886 omits six words by haplography moving from the first ἀντικειμενος to ανακειμενος and 205 copies the text as it stands. This is much more likely than 205 noticing a problem in the text and adding six words to correct it from some unknown alternate *Vorlage*.

There are additional textual examples where 205 shows links to the Venice group, especially 209, against 2886. For example, at Matthew 18:5 2886 reads the nonsensical παιδιος but 205 agrees with the standard text and 209 reading παιδιον. It is of course possible that 205 noticed that 2886's reading was nonsensical and either corrected it by memory or by consulting an alternate *Vorlage*. But it seems that I keep positing that 205 repeatedly consulted an alternate *Vorlage*. It seems that instead of 205 repeatedly consulting an alternate *Vorlage*, 205 simply had a different *Vorlage*. Instead of using 2886 as a *Vorlage* it seems that 205 copied directly from y. So I tentatively disagree with Welsby's assertion that 205 only rarely shows links to E against 2886.<sup>510</sup> 2886 and 205 both independently show links to E (see **John 19:13; John 19:23; John 19:31; John 19:35; John 20:13; and John 20:29**). Their peculiar dual readings are readings inherited from y.

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<sup>509</sup> Schmid, *Apokalypse*, 293.

<sup>510</sup> Welsby, *Textual Study*, 83 = Welsby, "Textual Study," 124.

Additionally, unlike the *Abschriften* of 06 and 0141, I have been unable to find any smoking guns that 205 is a copy of 2886. There is one orthographical issue at Matthew 1:12 where 205 seems to abbreviate τῆν in the same manner as did 2886. Since 205 rarely abbreviated in this manner I mentioned that this may suggest dependence. But such abbreviation is extremely common during this period and could have come from a different *Vorlage* or 205 could simply have written the word in this manner of their own volition. 205 and 2886 do share an identical order of books. This could be because they share a common exemplar or because, since Bessarion commissioned them both, Bessarion ordered both 205 and 2886 to have the same order of books. But there are no paleographical indications that demand that 205 is a copy of 2886. I therefore tentatively conclude that 205 and 2886 are sister manuscripts descended from a now lost common exemplar which may have been a sister manuscript of 209 called *y*. This manuscript may have had a similar order of book as 209 which necessitated someone, perhaps Bessarion, to alter the order of books as found in 205 and 2886. Whether it was Bessarion or another person, it was surely a decision made by a patron and not a scribe. In light of the possibility that 205 and 2886 are actually sister manuscripts rather than a direct copy of one another, we should be careful when using the scribal habits of 205 that were gained under the hypothesis that it was a copy of 2886.

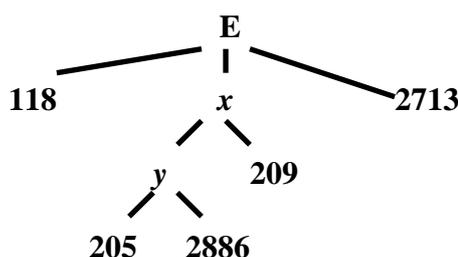
It could be that both 205 and 2886 were commissioned specifically in order to be donated to the Marciana library in 1468. They might have begun copying at the same time but 205 for some reason took longer to finish than 2886. Perhaps Bessarion desperately wanted to include a biblical pandect in his first full donation to the library in 1468 and therefore sent 2886 even though the illuminations and ornamentations were not yet completed. Because 205's hand was much more elegant than 2886's, perhaps 205 was chosen over 2886 to be ornamented and decorated and to be donated to the library when it was fully completed. Time

was even taken to gild the edges of 205. 2886 was Bessarion’s first biblical pandect donated to the library but 205 was the most beautiful.

Additionally, a Septuagint editor claims that 205 copied portions of the LXX from 2886 which copied from Codex Vaticanus.<sup>511</sup> Editors of other LXX books, however, claim that 205LXX was copied from Rahlfs 731.<sup>512</sup> If both are true then this underscores the importance to remember Parker’s admonition that “one cannot assume that because one part of a manuscript is copied from another, the whole must be.”<sup>513</sup> While I accept that 205 probably copied 2886 in some LXX books, I question whether 205 copied 2886 in the NT.

What follows is the reconstructed stemma that borrows from Welsby but incorporates Schmid’s argument that 205 and 2886 are sister manuscripts.

*Reconstructed Stemma of the Venice Group*



<sup>511</sup> Joseph Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* XII.1; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 11. Janko Šagi confirms that 2886 copied Vaticanus in the *Sapientia Salomonis* declaring that it is certain that 2886 copied Vaticanus (Janko Šagi, “Problema historiae codicis B,” *Divus Thomas* 75 [1972]: 9–13, 28). Additionally, he adds that 205 seems to copy 2886 in the same section (Šagi, “Codicis B,” 10).

<sup>512</sup> Robert Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* VIII.1; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 14; Robert Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* VIII.2; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 11; Robert Hanhart, *Esther*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* VIII.3; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 14; Robert Hanhart, *Iudith*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* VIII.4; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 12; Robert Hanhart, *Tobit*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* VIII.5; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 10; Werner Kappler, *Maccabaeorum liber I* (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* IX.1; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936), 11; Robert Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber II*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* IX.2; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 8; Robert Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber III*, (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* IX.3; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 8.

<sup>513</sup> Parker, *Introduction*, 140.

## Chapter Six: The Scribal Habits of Camillus Venetus in Minuscule 821

Minuscule 821 (Bibl. Nac., 4673) is a sixteenth-century catena manuscript containing Genesis and John with commentary copied by a scribe named Camillus Venetus in Rome ca. 1553–56.<sup>514</sup> The manuscript is written on paper in a single column and is housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid. Both the lemmata and the commentary text are written in a minuscule script. The Genesis portion of 821 was copied from Rahlfs 17.<sup>515</sup>

Bruce Morrill's 2012 PhD dissertation collated 1,619 Greek minuscule manuscripts of John 18 and provided a helpful table comparing the percentage of agreement among the manuscripts in his study.<sup>516</sup> Morrill shows that 0141 and 821 differ only twice in the whole of John 18.<sup>517</sup> The *Text und Textwert* "Clusters" website finds a 94.7% agreement between 0141 and 821 in their test passages and that 821 is more closely related to 0141 than any other extant manuscript.<sup>518</sup> This chapter, then, will investigate the relationship between 0141 and 821 in order to determine if 821 is a direct copy of 0141 and, if so, will analyze the scribal habits of 821 as a copy of 0141. 821 has never been called an *Abschrift* in the *Liste*.

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<sup>514</sup> See Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 95. 821 is also described in Hermann Freiherr von Soden, ed., *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913), I.259; Caspar René Gregory, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testament* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908), 76; Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900), 224. These mentions are all brief catalogue listings with no additional details. For the dating of the manuscript see Mark. L. Sosower, "Some Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional Correctly and Incorrectly Attributed to Camillus Venetus," *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting: Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography* (Madrid – Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008) (Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, eds; Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), I.218, 225.

<sup>515</sup> See Gregorio de Andres, *Catalogo de los Codices Griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1987), 216.

<sup>516</sup> M. Bruce Morrill, "A Complete Collation and Analysis of all Greek Manuscripts of John 18," (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England, 2012).

<sup>517</sup> See Morrill, "Greek Manuscripts of John 18," 128.

<sup>518</sup> See "Text und Textwert Manuscript Clusters," found here: [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/index.html](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/index.html)

Morrill's dissertation also found that another minuscule, a catena manuscript minuscule 1370 dated to 1542 and housed in Berlin, shares a high percentage of agreement with both 0141 and 821.<sup>519</sup> According to Morrill there are only six differences between 0141 and 1370 in John 18 and the same number of differences between 821 and 1370 in John 18. As mentioned above, there are only two differences between 0141 and 821 in John 18. Sadly, no images of 1370 are available so I have been unable to include this manuscript in my analysis. I will discuss below that 821 was copied sometime between 1553–1556. 1370, therefore, was copied before 821 and could not be a copy of 821. The possibilities, then, are that: 0141 is the *Vorlage* for both 1370 and 821, making 821 and 1370 sibling manuscripts; that 0141 is the *Vorlage* for 1370 and that 1370 is the *Vorlage* for 821; or that 1370 has a different *Vorlage* altogether. Of the disagreements in John 18 among these manuscripts 821 agrees with 0141 against 1370 five times while 0141 agrees with 1370 against 821 only once. 1370 and 821 agree together against 0141 once where 0141 has a dittography. Future research is necessary to determine exactly how 1370 is related to these manuscripts. My preliminary conclusion based on the differences among these three manuscripts in John 18 as found by Morrill is that 0141 is the *Vorlage* for both 1370 and 821 and that 1370 and 821 are sibling manuscripts. Additionally, 821 is a better copy of 0141 than 1370 in John 18. I will argue more extensively below that 821 is a direct copy of 0141.

The test passages used in this chapter are John 1, 6, and 19–21. These passages total approximately 4,049 words which is approximately 470 Nestle-Aland lines or approximately 18.8 Nestle-Aland pages. I have relied extensively on transcriptions provided by the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing at the University of Birmingham (UK) at [iohannes.com](http://iohannes.com). At each point of variation I have checked the accuracy of the transcription by

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<sup>519</sup> Morrill, "Greek Manuscripts of John 18," 279. For more information on 1370 see Aland, *Liste*, 127. My thanks to Andrew Edmondson for bringing 1370 to my attention.

appealing directly to images of the manuscripts from the Bibliothèque nationale de France for 0141<sup>520</sup> and the NTVMR for 821.

### **Camillus Venetus**

Camillus Venetus (b. first half of 1500s – d. after 1587) was a prolific scribe from Venice who worked in Venice, Florence, Rome, Padua, Madrid, Toledo and other locations.<sup>521</sup> His father, Bartholomeus Zanetti (1486/7–1547) was also a scribe and also a printer, and overseer of scribes in Florence, Venice and Rome.<sup>522</sup> One of Venetus' brothers, Franciscus, was an accomplished printer in Rome whose eponymous publishing house printed “an edition of the Greek Old Testament, prepared by the prefect of the Vatican Library, Cardinal Antonio Carafa (1538–91)” in 1587.<sup>523</sup> Franciscus is described as descending from a “Venetian dynasty with long experience as both scribes and printers of books in Greek.”<sup>524</sup> Obviously, Camillus shared this familial heritage. Mandelbrote also writes that Franciscus was “well known to the papal authorities.”<sup>525</sup> Cristoforo, Camillus' other brother, was also a printer but in Venice.<sup>526</sup> Gamillscheg and Harlfinger describe Camillus as one of the most

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<sup>520</sup> <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721841p>.

<sup>521</sup> For biographical information on Camillus Venetus see Sosower, “Some Manuscripts,” I.217–32; Anna Gaspari, “Camillo Zanetti *alias* Camillus Venetus e le sue Sottoscrizioni,” *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting: Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid – Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008)* (Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, eds; Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), I.233–41; E. Martini, “Chi era il copista Camillo Veneto?” *Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti (Napoli)*, 2 (1910): 269–77; G. Derenzini, “Camillo Zanetti copista: tra vivere e scrivere,” *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell' Università di Siena* 9 (1988): 19–37. For listings of his manuscripts see Sosower, “Some Manuscripts,” I.217–32; *RGK* 1A:119–21; 2A:119; 3A:134–35; Marie Vogel and Victor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1909), 227–30, (hereafter *VG*).

<sup>522</sup> See *RGK* 1A:44; 2A:41; 3A:43

<sup>523</sup> Scott Mandelbrote, “When Manuscripts Meet: Editing the Bible in Greek during and after the Council of Trent,” in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton* (Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2016), I.255.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>525</sup> See Mandelbrote, “Editing the Bible,” I.256.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*

productive (*fruchtbarsten*) calligraphers of the sixteenth century and that he worked for his father in Venice and Rome.<sup>527</sup> Venetus worked most often for Gian Vincenzo Pinelli but also for others like Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza who produced and owned 821.<sup>528</sup>

Sosower describes that Venetus' hand changed abruptly in 1567 which allows easy identification of his manuscripts as either before or after 1567.<sup>529</sup> 821 was written before 1567 sometime between 1553–56.<sup>530</sup> Venetus often has manuscripts assigned to him which he did not actually write.<sup>531</sup> In fact, the hands of Camillus, his brother Franciscus, and their father Bartholomeus are often confused. One of the problems assigning manuscripts to Venetus is that he rarely signed his manuscripts with a colophon giving his name, date, and copying location as we saw with John Rhosus.<sup>532</sup> Precisely because Venetus' hand is so often confused and either attributed to another scribe or wrongly attributed to him, Sosower set out to determine which manuscripts housed at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid were actually written by Venetus. Gregorio de Andres identified 821 as written by Camillus Venetus based on the ductus and the reddish tint of the ink with the writing slanting to the right in his

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<sup>527</sup> See *RGK* 1A:119.

<sup>528</sup> See Charles Henry Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escurial* (Paris: Vieweg, 1880), 73, 420 (where 821 is referred to by the siglum O-10); Sosower, "Some Manuscripts," I.218, 225; Gregorio de Andres, *Catalogo*, 217; Gregorio de Andres, "Historio de un Fondo Griego de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 77 (1974): 19; Gregorio de Andres, "Los Copistas de los Códices Griegos del Cardenal de Burgos Francisco de Mendoza († 1564), en la Biblioteca Nacional," *Apophoreta Philologica* 102 (1984): 44.

<sup>529</sup> See Sosower, "Some Manuscripts," I.222.

<sup>530</sup> See Sosower, "Some Manuscripts," I.226.

<sup>531</sup> See Sosower, "Some Manuscripts," I.218; *RGK* 1A:119: "Seine Biographie und Kopistentätigkeit gilt es noch zu untersuchen, ebenso die Frage der Authentizität der für ihn bezeugten Schreibstile."

<sup>532</sup> See Sosower, "Some Manuscripts," I.219: "Among the hundreds of manuscripts that Camillus Venetus wrote, only a handful contain a colophon with his signature, location or date." See also Andres, "Los Copistas," 44 which states that Venetus was: "Uno de los copistas más fecundos de esta época, quien casi nunca firmó sus copias." Sosower uses the few colophons available to us to date Venetus' undated manuscripts. Derenzini and Gaspari have analyzed the few colophons which have survived. See Derenzini, "Camillo Zanetti," 19–37 and Gaspari, "Camillo Zanetti," I.233–41.

catalogue of the library.<sup>533</sup> Sosower agreed that 821 was written by Venetus, clarified that it was written in Rome ca. 1553–56, and that Venetus wrote the entire codex.<sup>534</sup> Sosower used evidence from the watermark on the paper upon which the text of 821 is written and other paleographical evidence to establish Venetus as the scribe.

Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza (25 Sep 1508 – 1 Dec 1566), the patron of 821,<sup>535</sup> was installed as bishop of Coria, Spain at the young age of 24 and required a special dispensation to be ordained Bishop at such a young age. He was elevated to Cardinal in 1544 by Pope Paul III and lived in Rome from 1545 to 1557.<sup>536</sup> He participated in his first papal conclave after the death of this same Pope in 1549. Pope Julius III promoted him as the bishop of Burgos in 1550 where he served until his death in 1566.

Gregorio de Andres describes two methods of building a library: first, one can buy codices; second, one can employ scribes to copy books.<sup>537</sup> Mendoza employed both means to build his collection. During his time in Rome, he was devoted to building his collection of books and employed seventeen scribes, of whom Camillus Venetus was one, in the copying of manuscripts. Altogether Mendoza acquired 968 manuscripts of various languages with 121 being in Greek.<sup>538</sup> Although 821 has no colophon or inscription denoting possession, it was kept as part of a collection with hundreds of other manuscripts which were commissioned by Mendoza. Of the extremely small amount of manuscripts commissioned by Mendoza which contain an inscription identifying the scribe, none of these inscriptions explicitly declare that Mendoza was the patron.<sup>539</sup> Instead, we must rely on catalogues and collections which

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<sup>533</sup> Andres, *Catalogo*, 216.

<sup>534</sup> See Sosower, “Some Manuscripts,” I.226.

<sup>535</sup> See Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec*, 73, 420; Sosower, “Some Manuscripts,” I.218, 225; de Andres, *Catalogo*, 217; de Andres, “Historio de un Fondo Griego,” 19; de Andres, “Los Copistas,” 44.

<sup>536</sup> See Sosower, “Some Manuscripts,” I.225.

<sup>537</sup> See de Andres, “Los Copistas,” 39.

<sup>538</sup> See de Andres, “Los Copistas,” 40.

<sup>539</sup> See de Andres, “Los Copistas,” 43.

attribute the manuscripts to have been commissioned by Mendoza. Since these manuscripts were copied in the 1500s, reliable catalogues exist.<sup>540</sup>

Venetus was probably born in the 1520s.<sup>541</sup> If this is so, then he was born around the time of the sack of Rome in 1527. Columbus' first expedition was in 1492. Venetus' father's birthday and death date align very closely with Martin Luther's (1483–1546) and Venetus was born shortly after the publication of Luther's ninety-five theses in 1517 ushering in the Protestant Reformation. In 1534 the Church of England broke away from the Roman Catholic Church. In 1537 William Tyndale's English translation of the bible was published. Copernicus published his view that the planets moved around the sun in 1543. In 1545 the council of Trent first met to begin the Counter-Reformation. Venetus lived during a time when the Renaissance was in decline, explorers were finding new worlds, and the Catholic church found its most formidable Christian and secular opponents. Venetus and his patron Mendoza were surely situated within the Catholic Counter-Reformation. What would Venetus or Mendoza do to combat the strong resistance to the Catholic church of the day? Would they be tempted to alter the text being copied?

Based on this biographical evidence about Venetus, his family, his upbringing, and the hundreds of known Greek manuscripts copied by him, Venetus was proficient, if not fluent, in Greek, even though he was not Greek himself. That is to say, I do not think we have a case of a non-Greek speaking scribe as we had in 0319A, 0319B, and 0320. Greek may not have been Venetus' first language but, based only upon this biographical information, I believe he would

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<sup>540</sup> In addition to Graux's 1880 catalogue see also E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la bibliotheque de L'Escurial* (Paris, 1848). An inventory was created when Mendoza died with the title *Catálogo de los libros del Cardenal de Burgos*. This inventory is housed in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid box 125, shipment 89, number 3; also cited in de Andres, "Los Copistas," 40, n. 4.

<sup>541</sup> See I. C. McManus, "Life Expectation of Italian Renaissance Artists," *The Lancet* 305.7901 (1 February 1975): 267 who shows that the average life expectancy of artists during the Italian renaissance born after 1450 was 62 years.

have known Greek fluently. Below we will continue the discussion concerning his language skills as we discuss his scribal habits.

### **Notable Attributes of 0141**

0141 (Bibl. Nat., Grec 209) is a tenth-century catena manuscript of the gospel of John with commentary. The manuscript is written on parchment in a single column and is housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.<sup>542</sup> The lemmata are written in majuscule while the commentary text is written in minuscule in an alternating catena format.<sup>543</sup> In addition to writing the lemma in majuscule, 0141 also uses eisthesis for the whole of the lemma section. 0141 begins each new commentary section with ekthesis and ends each section—whether commentary or lemma—with a dicolon followed by a horizontal line (:—).<sup>544</sup> 0141 does not employ diplai to differentiate the lemma text when 0141 writes the lemma in majuscule which is the vast majority of the time. There are a few instances where the scribe of 0141 seemingly forgot to write the lemma in a majuscule script and so placed diplai or a coronis next to the

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<sup>542</sup> Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste*, 32. See also Richard L. Mullen, Simon Crisp, and D. C. Parker, eds., *The Gospel According to John in the Byzantine Tradition* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), xlvi; 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* (2d ed.; trans. Errol F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 122; Gregory, *Textkritik*, 178; Paulin Martin, *Description technique des Manuscrits grecs relatifs au Nouveau Testament conservés dans les Bibliothèques de Paris* (Paris: Leclerc, 1884), 83–84; F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (London: Bell and Sons, 1883), I.229. The older catalogues (Gregory, Martin, Scrivener) refer to 0141 by its old number 314.

<sup>543</sup> For more information on catena formats see H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, “An Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries with a Preliminary Checklist of New Testament Catena Manuscripts,” in *Commentaries, Catenaes and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, in association with the COMPAUL project* (ed. H. A. G. Houghton; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 8–13.

<sup>544</sup> “The biblical text in alternating catenae is normally distinguished by the same means as the lemmata in single-author commentaries, described above. The end of comments is often indicated by blank space or punctuation. One of the most common marks is a double-dot (dicolon) followed by a horizontal line (:—),” Houghton and Parker, “Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries,” 10–11.

lemma in order to differentiate the lemma from the commentary (see John 3:3, 3:4, and 3:5 in 0141).<sup>545</sup>

Reuss identifies 0141 as a type F catena<sup>546</sup> meaning that the commentary mainly extracts from Ammonius, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Didymus the Blind, and Theodore of Heraclea.<sup>547</sup> Reuss also writes that Type F catenae are of the utmost importance (*größter Wichtigkeit*) because they are a very reliable witness of the authors they contain. 0141 omits the *Pericope Adulterae*. Kurt and Barbara Aland place 0141 in their third category which signifies that 0141 is “of a distinctive character with an independent text, usually important for establishing the history of the original text, but particularly important for the history of the text.”<sup>548</sup> If 0141 is distinctive and important, 821, then, if it is a direct and faithful copy, is also distinctive and important. Although 0141 is listed as a majuscule manuscript (as denoted by the 0 prefix), the International Greek New Testament Project chose to exclude it from their majuscule edition “since it is a minuscule commentary manuscript whose lemmata are written in majuscule.”<sup>549</sup>

There are a total of thirteen corrections in our test passages of 0141 none of which give rise to obvious evidence of copying by 821 except perhaps the correction at John 6:49. The thirteen corrections can be found at John 1:5, 6, 14, 22, 33; 6:11, 43, 49, 62; 19:16, 29; 20:4, and 25.

At John 6:49, 0141 originally writes εφραγεν but then corrects the reading to εφραγον which matches NA<sup>28</sup> and every other known manuscript. 0141 makes this correction by

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<sup>545</sup> For more information on methods to differentiate lemma from commentary see Houghton and Parker, “Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries,” 5–6.

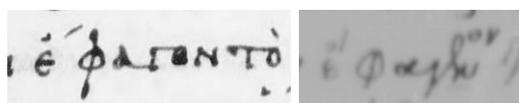
<sup>546</sup> See Joseph Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der Griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt* (TU 89; Berlin: Akademie, 1966), xxxiv.

<sup>547</sup> See Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare*, xiii–xiv.

<sup>548</sup> Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 106.

<sup>549</sup> U. B. Schmid, W. J. Elliott, and D. C. Parker, eds., *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel According to St. John: Volume Two The Majuscules* (NTTSD 37; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 23.

writing the *omicron* over the offending *epsilon* resulting in a blobbed circle. 821 also first writes this word as εφαγεν but then corrects it to εφαγον by means of an interlinear insertion. I was not able to find any manuscript with any reading here other than εφαγον. That 0141 and 821 both originally read εφαγεν and then are corrected to εφαγον shows a dependence by 821 on 0141. To restate, 0141 and 821 share a peculiar dual agreement in the original reading εφαγεν. This is strong evidence that 821 copied 0141. Venetus was originally confused at how the reading should be copied due to the confusing correction in 0141. He then made a guess which, after consulting another manuscript, turned out to be wrong. The reading in 821 was then corrected to match the majority reading.



#### *Peculiar Dual Agreements between 0141 and 821*

If we can show that 0141 and 821 share peculiar dual agreements<sup>550</sup> then such readings will suggest that 821 is a copy of 0141. Indeed, 0141 and 821 share eighteen peculiar dual agreements in our test passages (see Appendix). The fact that 0141 and 821 share such a high number of peculiar dual agreements is strong evidence that 821 copied 0141. If we were to follow Royse’s method we would conclude that all of these eighteen peculiar dual agreements were scribally created by 0141.<sup>551</sup> I am not so confident that these readings could

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<sup>550</sup> “Peculiar dual agreements” are readings which can only be found in 0141 and 821. The term comes from Eldon Jay Epp, “Toward the Clarification of the Term ‘Textual Variant,’” in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (edited by Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 53.

<sup>551</sup> See James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 39. Royse inherits his method from Colwell who states: “this study is restricted to singular readings (readings without other manuscript support) on the assumption that these readings are the creation of the scribe” Ernest C. Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of ϳ<sup>45</sup>, ϳ<sup>66</sup>, ϳ<sup>75</sup>,” *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1969), 108.

not have been in 0141's lost *Vorlage* but it is possible that most of them are "most probably"<sup>552</sup> the invention of 0141.

We have already discussed above a peculiar dual agreement in John 6:49 and below we will discuss others at John 1:34 and 19:28. Another significant peculiar dual agreement is found in John 6:68–71. 0141 and 821 initially copy John 6:68–71 and when quoting 6:69 they write it as *πεπιστευκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου*. This is a peculiar dual agreement because it omits *και εγνωκαμεν* and *του ζωντος*. Then, after John 6:71, there is a large section of commentary followed by a rewriting of John 6:69 but in a different form followed by more commentary. The second time they write John 6:69 as *και ημεις πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου του ζωντος* (matching the majority text, 017 021 022 030 038 039 041 044 <sup>f</sup>3 2 28 157 579 and 1424). This time they include *και εγνωκαμεν* and *του ζωντος*. The outline of this section looks like this:

John 6:68–71 with 6:69 as *πεπιστευκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου*

Commentary from John Chrysostom

John 6:69 as *πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου του ζωντος*

Commentary from Cyril of Alexandria

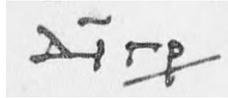
Commentary from Ammonius

In the margin next to the repetition of John 6:69 0141 writes ΔΙΓΡ (821 does not copy these letters). I believe this to be an abbreviation for *διγράφεται* or "written a second time" in order to let the reader know that this text has been repeated. Bruce E. Nielsen, in his study of duplicate documentary papyri, often finds *δισσὸν γραφέν* or a similar phrase in the papyri to indicate that a certain papyrus has been copied twice.<sup>553</sup> BGU.II.465 reads in part *τοῦτο ιδιόγραφόν μοι ὄν δισσὸν ὑμειν ἐξεδόμην*. BGU.II.638 reads *δισσὸν γραφεν*. 0141 does not repeat text or write ΔΙΓΡ at any other place in the whole of the manuscript.

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<sup>552</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 55.

<sup>553</sup> See Bruce E. Nielsen, "A Catalog of Duplicate Papyri," *ZPE* 129 (2000): 188.



Why 0141<sup>554</sup> would repeat John 6:69 is a puzzle: a) perhaps 0141 forgot to add a section of commentary on John 6:69 so appended it to the end of the chapter; b) perhaps the commentary texts comments on knowing two different forms of the text; c) perhaps the first section of commentary focuses on the pericope John 6:68–71 as a whole while the second commentary section focuses specifically on John 6:69; d) perhaps the commentary section was rather large so 0141 rewrote John 6:69 to remind the reader of the lemma; e) perhaps 0141's *Vorlage* either wrote this verse in this manner or something in the *Vorlage* caused 0141 to write it in this manner.

Concerning a), I do not think that this is a compelling solution because if 0141 forgot to add the commentaries from Cyril and Ammonius after quoting Chrysostom then 0141 could have simply added Cyril and Ammonius after Chrysostom without the need to repeat John 6:69.

Concerning b), after having read the commentary text by Chrysostom, Cyril and Ammonius, none of the commentary mentions that this text is known in two forms. So we do not have a case of an author stating that some people have the verse in one form and others have it in another.

Concerning c), it does seem that the commentary text from Chrysostom focuses on the whole of the pericope of John 6:68–71. First, Chrysostom mentions the section about coming to believe (vs. 69) and then moves on to discuss Judas being a devil (vs. 70–71). So Chrysostom discusses the lemma as a whole. Interestingly, the portion of Chrysostom's commentary on this verse does not include *καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν*. Chrysostom writes: "Because

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<sup>554</sup> In discussing 0141's motives and desires in copying the catena manuscript I allow either that a) the scribe of 0141 creates the catena and contributes to editorial decisions or that b) the text in 0141 stands very similar to its *Vorlage*. So, while I speak of what is important to 0141 I allow that 0141 inherited these traits from the *Vorlage* or manuscript tradition.

Peter had said: ‘We have come to believe,’ Christ excluded Judas from the group.”<sup>555</sup>

Chrysostom repeats the line “we have come to believe” a few lines later but never includes “and know.” From this short section we may conclude that Chrysostom does not have “and know” in his text. It is clear, however, that Chrysostom does know of these words because just a few lines above the section quoted by 0141 Chrysostom writes “For he did not say: ‘I know’ but ‘We know.’” So Chrysostom knows of *καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν* but 0141 omits these words in the lemma before the Chrysostom commentary. Perhaps the simplest solution for why *καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν* was omitted in the first instance is due to homeoteleuton because of the similar endings of *πιστευκαμεν* and *ἐγνώκαμεν*.

It is also true that Cyril of Alexandria’s commentary focuses specifically on John 6:69 only, saying

For they say they *believe* and *know*, joining both together. For one must both believe and understand: nor, because the more Divine things are to be received in faith, ought we therefore completely to depart from all investigation respecting them, but rather we should try to attain even so unto a moderate knowledge, as *in a glass* and a *riddle*, as Paul saith. Well again do they not say first that they *know*, then *believe*, but putting faith first, they bring in knowledge, and not before faith, as it is written, *If ye will not believe, neither shall ye understand.*<sup>556</sup>

So Cyril of Alexandria does seem to focus solely on John 6:69. But if our theory is that 0141 copies John 6:68–71 because Chrysostom discusses the whole of the pericope and repeats just 6:69 because Cyril focuses only on 6:69, then we will be disappointed when we reach the commentary by Ammonius because Ammonius focuses more on Judas as a devil from 6:70–71 than on 6:69. Our conclusion may have been true if the Ammonius section were immediately after the Chrysostom section but its current location disproves our theory.

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<sup>555</sup> Translation from Sister Thomas Aquinas Goggin S. C. H., *Saint John Chrysostom: Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist: Homilies 1–47* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1957), 481.

<sup>556</sup> Translation from H. P. Liddon, *Commentary on the Gospel according to S. John by S. Cyril Archbishop of Alexandria* (Library of the Fathers of the Church 43; Oxford: James Parker, 1874), 455, emphasis in original.

Perhaps the best explanation for why 0141 writes John 6:69 twice is a mixture of d) and e). Houghton and Parker state that “when the sections of commentary in frame catenae are particularly extensive, a single verse may be repeated several times in the space for the biblical text on each page rather than strict continuity being maintained”<sup>557</sup> as is seen repeatedly in the catena manuscript 050. Had 0141 not repeated John 6:69 and included all of the commentary under the large lemma of John 6:68–71 then the commentary on this lemma would span 64 lines. The longest section of commentary in the whole of 0141 is 58 lines (commentary on John 14:13) and having a commentary section of 58 lines is very rare. Most of 0141’s commentary sections are twenty to thirty lines so a commentary section of 64 lines would have been extremely long. Perhaps this is why 0141 repeated John 6:69: to remind the reader of the lemma due to the length of the commentary. Such repetition is very common in frame catenae as mentioned above. This may suggest that 0141’s *Vorlage* was a frame catena. In the end, it is most likely that the text stood in this manner in 0141’s *Vorlage* and that the lemma was repeated due to the length of the commentary text as was common in frame catenae.

More important for our interests is the fact that 821 copied the text exactly as it stood in 0141: first with the peculiar dual agreement reading and then with a different form of the verse. Even though the verse was repeated, 821 still copied it exactly as it stood in 0141. This is extremely strong evidence that 821 is a direct copy of 0141.

This discussion of repetition in 0141 brings up the question of the purpose of this manuscript or of 0141’s *Vorlage*. 0141 is a catena manuscript of the gospel of John. Catena manuscripts are often included in critical editions because they contain a continuous text interspersed with commentary.<sup>558</sup> But our text-critical interests in continuous text manuscripts

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<sup>557</sup> Houghton and Parker, “Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries,” 8.

<sup>558</sup> See David C. Parker, Klaus Wachtel, Bruce Morrill, and Ulrich Schmid, “The Selection of Greek Manuscripts to be Included in the International Greek New Testament

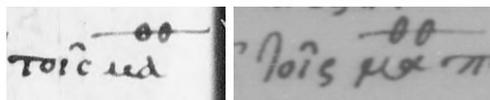
are modern and not shared by ancient scribes. So, to the scribe of 0141, what is the purpose of the catena manuscript? While 0141 does indeed maintain continuous text for the most part, it seems that 0141 is not strictly concerned with maintaining the continuous text. 0141 is free to repeat a verse as needed or even to omit entire verses that are unnecessary or to leave off the beginning or end of a verse that is unnecessary. Aside from the *Pericope Adulterae*, 0141 omits three verses in their entirety at John 10:19; 14:14; and 16:18. None of these verses are contested verses that are omitted by a large number of manuscripts. Of course, there is always more than one explanation for why a verse may have been omitted such as some type of eye skip but it is notable that, of these three verses, John Chrysostom is silent on two of them. So 0141 may have omitted John 14:14 and 16:18 because there was not sufficient commentary on the verses so they did not need to be included. Catena manuscript 865 also omits these same two verses perhaps for the same reason. This would suggest that the commentary was the driving force of the manuscript rather than an aim to include the continuous scriptural text. Additionally, when 0141 varies from the standard text it is often by omitting the beginning or end of a modern verse. At John 1:3 0141 omits ο γεγονεν, at 19:5 0141 omits και λεγει αυτοις ιδε ο ανθρωπος, at John 20:16 0141 omits ο λεγετε διδασκαλε, and at John 21:17 0141 omits λεγει αυτω ο ιησους βοσκει τα προβατα μου. It seems that 0141 is free to pick and choose which sections of verses suits the commentary and to omit any unnecessary words. This again suggests that the commentary is the driving force behind the catena rather than a desire to include the continuous text.

At John 21:1 we find another peculiar dual agreement. Most manuscripts contain παλιν somewhere in this verse but 0141 and 821 are the only manuscripts to place παλιν after μαθηταις. More importantly, *how* they write μαθηταις is clear evidence that 821 copies

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Project's Edition of John in the *Editio Critica Maior*," in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Michael W. Holmes* (eds. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster; NTTSD 50; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 322–26.

directly from 0141. 0141 wrote μαθηταις close to the end of the line and so chose to abbreviate the word by writing μαθθ. When 821 reaches this point of 0141, 821 also wrote μαθθ even though 821 was not near the end of the line. I could not find another manuscript that abbreviated μαθηταις to μαθθ in John 21:1. 0141 writes a form of μαθητης ten times in John 21 but this occurrence is the only time where 0141 writes it as μαθθ instead of writing the word out in full. 821 likewise never abbreviates this word except for in this verse. That 821 chose to abbreviate this word in this way at this verse is clear evidence that 821 is a direct copy of 0141. There can be no doubt that 821 is a direct copy of 0141. Here again we see the necessity to examine the manuscript itself rather than simply consulting transcriptions especially because in this verse the transcription has expanded the abbreviation.



#### Peculiar Dual Agreements

John 1:3	ο γεγονεν {Om}
John 1:33	αγιο πνευματι {Tr}
John 1:34	μεμαρτυρηκα και {Add}
John 1:34	οτι > ουτι {Sub}
John 1:39	που μενει {Om}
John 1:42	αυτω {Om}
John 6:17	και ουπω > ουπω δε {Sub}
John 6:49	εφαγον > εφαγεν {Sub}
John 6:52	οι {Om}
John 6:69	πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο αγιος του θεου > πεπιστευκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου
John 6:71	και ημεις πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου του ζοντος {Add}
John 19:4	αγω υμιν > υμιν αγω {Tr}
John 19:12	οι δε ιουδαιοι εκραζον > εκραυγασαν ουν οι ιουδαιοι {Tr}
John 19:28	μετα τουτο > μεταυτα {Sub}
John 19:31	παρασκευη ην > ην παρασκευη {Tr}
John 20:16	ο λεγετε διδασκαλε {Om}
John 20:30	και αλλα {Om}
John 21:1	μαθηταις αυτου εγερθεις εκ νεκρων επι > μαθηταις παλιν επι {Tr}
John 21:20	ον ηγαπα ο ιησους ακολουθουντα > ακολουθουντα ον ηγαπα ο ιησους {Tr}

#### Notable Attributes of 821

Minuscule 821 is a fifteenth-century catena manuscript of the gospel of John with commentary. Like 0141, 821 is a Type F catena. 821 copies not only the lemma from 0141 but also the commentary text. 821 does not, however, maintain page and line division as

found in 0141. Both the lemmata and commentary are written in minuscule in an alternating catena format. In order to differentiate the lemma from the commentary, 821 places a space after the preceding commentary with a dicolon followed by a horizontal line. The same dicolon followed by a horizontal line symbol follows the lemma as well. Additionally, although having only examined the manuscript through microfilm images, it appears that the lemma is rubricated because the ink of the lemmata appears lighter in the scan than the commentary text. Occasionally 821 forgot to switch ink color for the lemma and so wrote a diplo next to the lemma (see John 3:18 of 821). Like 0141, 821 omits the *Pericope Adulterae*. 0141 employs *iota* adscript but 821 converts this to *iota* subscript.

### **Scribal Habits of 821**

Venetus created nine total variants from 0141 of an addition of one word and four omissions of seven words total. In all, 821 lost six words when copying 0141 with an error rate of .479 variants per NA page or 2.2 variants per 1,000 words. In total, 821 omitted more than added.

**Table 6.1—Variants in 821 against 0141 by Test Passage**

	Words	Add	Om	Sub	Nons	Orth	Total
John 1	764	0	4	0	1	1	6
John 6	1,284	0	0	0	1	0	1
John 19	822	1	0	0	0	0	1
John 20	627	0	0	0	0	0	0
John 21	552	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	4,049	1	4	0	3	1	9

**Table 6.2—Significant Variant Readings in Minuscle 821**

	Significant Variants	Additions	Words in Additions	Average Words	Omissions	Words in Omissions	Average Words	Words in Omissions / Words in Additions	Substitutions	Net Words Gained / Lost in Substitutions	Net Words Lost	Net Words Lost Per Significant Variant	Transpositions
821 (Variants)	5	1 (20%)	1	1	4 (80%)	7	1.75	7	0 (0%)	0	6	1.2	0 (0%)
821 (Singulars)	2	1 (50%)	1	1	1 (50%)	1	1	1	0 (0%)	0	0	0	0 (0%)

**Table 6.3—Total Variants in Minuscule 821**

	Total Variants	Orthographic Variants	Percentage	Orth. Variants / NA Page	Orth. Variants / 1,000 Words	Nonsense Variants	Percentage	Nons. Variants / NA Page	Nons. Variants / 1,000 Words
821 (Variants)	9	1	11%	.0532	.247	3	33%	.16	.741
821 (Singulars)	5	0	0%	0	0	3	60%	.16	.741

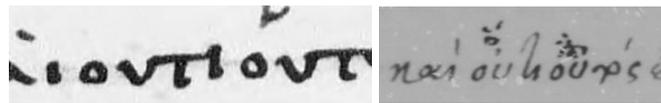
**Table 6.4—Error Rates in Minuscule 821**

	NA Lines	Words	Variants	Significant Variants / NA Page	Total Variants / NA Page	Significant Variants / 1,000 Words	Total Variants / 1,000 Words
821 (Variants)	470	4,049	9	.2661	.479	1.233	2.22
821 (Singulars)	470	4,049	5	.108	.27	.492	1.23

## *Insignificant Variant Readings*

### *Corrections*

There are eight corrections in 821. Four of these eight corrections provide strong evidence that Venetus copied directly from 0141. The eight corrections can be found at John 1:33, 34; 6:21, 49; 19:19, 28, 40; and 20:20. The first significant correction is found at John 1:34 where 0141 reads οὐτι in place of οτι in the standard text. 0141's reading is singular. 821, when copying 0141, originally also wrote οὐτι but then corrected the reading to οτι. 0141 is a singular reading because after 821 corrected the matching reading the reading in 0141 stands alone. This is strong evidence that 821 copies directly from 0141 since no other extant manuscript contains this reading.

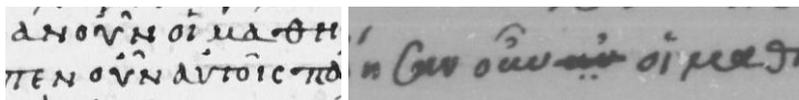


We have already discussed the correction at 6:49 at εφαγον which is strong evidence that 821 copied from 0141.

The next salient correction is found at John 19:28 where 0141 writes μεταυτα. This singular error is a simple haplography by dropping out one of the consecutive τας in μεταυτα. Since in 0141's *Vorlage* the τα occurred twice in a row, μετα ταυτα or METATAYTA, it was easy for 0141 to drop out one of the τας. 0141's reading is singular in the omission of the syllable τα. 821 copies 0141's singular reading as μεταυτα, making a peculiar dual agreement, but then corrects the erroneous reading by means of an interlinear insertion to read μετα ταυτα. 821 left, however, the reading as ταυτα instead of the more popular τουτο. That Venetus dropped the medial τα and that 821 wrote ταυτα instead of τουτο is strong evidence that he copied directly from 0141.



An interesting reading that provides strong evidence that 821 is a direct copy of 0141 is found at John 20:20–21. Here Venetus originally commits an error due to a word stack confusion in 0141. Here 0141 reads οὐν οἱ μαθηταί on the first line and then directly below reads οὐν αυτοῖς πάλιν on the next line with the two occurrences of οὐν stacked one on top of the other. Venetus has an eye skip from one οὐν to the other and begins to copy the next line starting with αυτοῖς. He immediately catches his mistake only two letters into copying the erroneous text and crosses out the error. An error of this sort is most likely to occur in manuscripts of this verse where the two occurrences of οὐν are stacked as in 0141. This is strong evidence that 821 is a direct copy of 0141. Such an example underscores the need for paleographical analysis when determining *Abschriften* rather than only textual analysis.



#### *Orthographic Variant Readings*

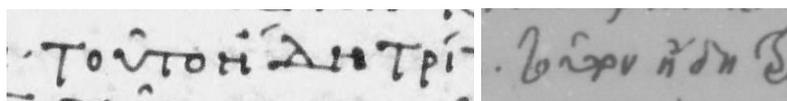
Venetus only makes one orthographic variant in our test passages. At **John 1:21** 0141 has a singular reading in απεκριθη. Venetus corrects the singular reading to απεκριθη to match all other known manuscripts. While he technically makes an η > ι orthographic change here, Venetus is actually avoiding passing on an erroneous reading.

#### *Nonsense Variant Readings*

Venetus makes three nonsense variants in our test passages. At **John 1:22**, 821 inexplicably writes ειταν in place of ειπαν. This nonsense reading is, as usually is the case with nonsense variants, a singular reading. The reading in 0141 is clear and could not have given rise to this oddity.

The next nonsense variant is at **John 6:55**. Here 0141 reads το αιμα μου but Venetus copies του αιμα μου. This is a singular nonsense variant.

The last nonsense variant is at **John 21:14**. At **John 21:14** 0141 reads τουτο ηδη but 821 writes τουτον ηδη. This substitution is very close to being categorized as a “variant due to graphical confusion in the *Vorlage*” because the *eta* in 0141 could easily be mistaken for a *nu*. 0141 writes τουτο ηδη (ΤΟΥΤΟΗΔΗ) but ηδη is written very closely to τουτο and the majuscule *eta* (Η) could be confused for a majuscule *nu* (Ν). When Venetus copies these words the scribe first takes the confusing *eta* as a *nu* and then reuses the same *eta* when writing ηδη. This is very strong evidence that 821 copies 0141. This is a singular reading.



### *Accuracy and Copying Technique*

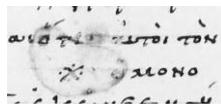
#### *Addition*

There is one addition in our test passages for a total of one word added. At **John 19:14** the standard text begins the verse with ην δε. 821, however, reads ουν ην δε. This addition is singular and has no effect on the text. It is most likely an unintentional insertion that smooths the text.

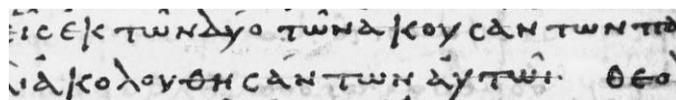
#### *Omission*

There are four omissions in our test passages for a total of seven words lost. These four omissions account for 57% of significant variants and 44% of total variants in our test passages of 821. The first omission is found at **John 1:18** where 0141 reads ο μονογενης θεος but 821 copies only μονογενης θεος omitting ο. Both readings, both with and without ο, have good support. 0141 matches P<sup>75</sup>, Codex Sinaiticus’ corrected reading, Alexandrinus, families 1 and 13, and many other manuscripts. 821 matches P<sup>66</sup>, 03 and a few others. It is possible that 821 made this change because 821 knew of another reading here and chose to omit ο in order to align his text with the tradition that omits ο. Another possibility, which I think is

more probable because it does not require contamination, is that Venetus had difficulty reading 0141 due to 0141 being damaged at this place in the text. As seen in the image below, it looks as though water or wax or something similar dropped onto the parchment obscuring the text. If this were the case then it would be solid evidence that 821 copied directly from 0141. As seen in the image below the commentary text on the line above ο is also obscured in the same way. This text is an allusion to Matthew 5:8 reading τῆι καρδίαι ὅτι αὐτοὶ. Venetus had no trouble copying this text in spite of the supposed damage but it is possible that he knew the text of Matthew 5:8 from memory since it is a memorable line from the beatitudes.



The next omission is at **John 1:40**. Here 0141 reads δυο των ακουσαντων παρα Ιωαννου και ακολουθησαντων αυτωι but Venetus writes only δυο των ακουσαντων αυτω. I will give two possible reasons for this change of which I believe the second is more likely. It could be that Venetus tries to downplay John's role in order to emphasize Jesus above all else and does so by excising mention of John. This is unlikely especially because he had no problem with the discussion concerning John earlier in the chapter. It is more likely that haplography occurred here. As seen in the image below of this verse in 0141 the line on which this reading sits and the line below both contain –σαντων. It is easy for Venetus' eye to skip from –σαντων on the first line to –σαντων on the second line and therefore skip these four words. The omission in 1247 seems to have been made in the same way.



The next omission in 821 is found at **John 1:42** where 0141 reads Σιμων υιος Ιωνα. Venetus copies Σιμων Ιωνα omitting υιος. There is no indication in 0141 that the text is difficult to copy. The omission could be a simple mistake. Venetus' omission of υιος is singular which is surprising since 821's reading harmonizes to the three occurrences of

Peter's title in John 21:15, 21:16, and 21:17. In John 21, NA<sup>28</sup> reads Σιμων Ιωαννου but 0141 and 821 consistently read Σιμων Ιωνα. So it seems that at **John 1:42** Venetus harmonizes the reading to match the titular form in 21:15–17.

The last omission in our test passages is at **John 1:51** where 0141 and the standard text read αμην αμην. 821 copies only one αμην. This could be because 821 thought it was redundant or it could be an error.

#### *Transposition*

There are no transpositions in our test passages.

#### *Substitution*

There are no substitutions in our test passages.

### **Conclusions**

There can be no doubt that 821 is a direct copy of 0141 and should be recognized as an *Abschrift*. Camillus Venetus is a very faithful copyist with a very small amount of variants in relation to 0141. In fact, of all manuscripts studied in this project, 821 has the lowest error rate at 2.22 variants per thousand words. 821 helps to confirm Royse's *lectio longior potior* by omitting more than adding.

It seems that Venetus may have taken some time to get used to his new *Vorlage* when he began writing the John portion of 821 as seen in Table 6.1. He committed six errors in John 1 but then only one error each in John 6, 19, and 21 with no variants in John 20. As noted above, in addition to the commentary on John, 821 also contains commentary on Genesis which Venetus also copied.<sup>559</sup> 821's *Vorlage* for the Genesis section was Rahlfs 17.

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<sup>559</sup> Because I am only working with the microfilm scans from the NTVMR for 821, and because the NTVMR only has the John folia and not the Genesis folia, I do not have access to the Genesis folia.

This means that when starting the John commentary 821 began with a new source text which required getting used to.

After an analysis of Venetus' scribal habits, I maintain my earlier assertion based on Venetus' biographical information that Venetus knew Greek very well. He made only three nonsense variants. While such variants are curious they are nowhere near the amount of nonsense variants produced by scribes who do not speak Greek who we have previously studied. Venetus understood and correctly interpreted all thirteen of the corrections in the *Vorlage*. Additionally, Venetus acted similarly to other scribes copying their known language. He omitted more than added. My hypothesis concerning Greek speaking scribes against non-Greek speaking scribes is that Greek speaking scribes will omit more than add but will make few nonsense variants while non-Greek speaking scribes will copy the text almost perfectly but will make many nonsense variants. Put another way, Greek speaking scribes will make more significant variants while non-Greek speaking scribes will make more insignificant variants. Of Venetus' nine total variants, five are significant and four are insignificant. This suggests that Venetus knew the Greek language well. While I am analyzing Venetus' variants I must be sure not to overemphasize his mistakes. Venetus copied the text extremely well with the lowest error rate I have ever seen.

It has been fascinating to study the life and works of Camillus Venetus, a Venetian, since our previous chapter mentioned John Rhosus who worked in Venice. I have enjoyed seeing how their two lives have intertwined and seeing many of the same names related to these two different scribes. Venetus lived around one hundred years after Rhosus but shared much of the same culture and environment. In fact, Venetus copied one of Bessarion's works called *Ad Dicta Plethonis in Aristotelem*.<sup>560</sup> Surely the manuscripts used by Venetus in Venice were donated by Bessarion.

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<sup>560</sup> See *VG*, 229; <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/42653/>.

Both 821 and 205 were copied in Rome at a time when the Catholic church faced extreme challenges. 205 was copied when there was intense friction between the churches of the east and west. 821 was copied when there was intense friction within the Christian tradition once more with the Church of England forming and the Protestant Reformation gaining strength. And yet, in spite of the intense struggle to regain power and legitimacy which the Catholic church was undertaking when this manuscript was copied, I have not found a single instance of intentional changes to the text for dogmatic purposes.

As mentioned above, 821's *Vorlage*, 0141, has been called an important and distinctive manuscript in establishing the history of the original text, but particularly important for the history of the text. Because 821 is such a careful copyist and transmits 0141 so well, we can then, by extension, conclude that 821 is both important and distinctive for establishing the history of the original text and for the history of the text. At the same time, since we have conclusively decided that the lemma text of 821 is a copy of 0141, 821 can be removed from critical editions as a redundant copy of 0141.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusions

You must neither add anything to what I command you nor take away anything from it, but keep the commandments of the LORD your God with which I am charging you (Deuteronomy 4:2).<sup>561</sup>

I warn everyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book: if anyone adds to them, God will add to that person the plagues described in this book; if anyone takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away that person's share in the tree of life and in the holy city, which are described in this book (Revelation 22:18–19).

A concern for strict accuracy of the biblical text can be traced down through the millennia. We find injunctions against altering the text in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and later works. Scribes were mindful to do their very best to not make errors when transmitting a text. Eusebius preserves Irenaeus' adjuration to scribes who copied *On the Ogdoad*:

I adjure you who shall copy out this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by his glorious advent when he comes to judge the living and the dead, that you compare what you transcribe, and correct it carefully against this manuscript from which you copy; and also that you transcribe this adjuration and insert it in the copy.<sup>562</sup>

This shows that Irenaeus was aware that scribes made mistakes so he pleaded with them to do their very best. A tenth-century scribe named Ephraem detailed his method for ensuring the accuracy of his work:

In those passages where [Origen] differs from the current epistles, we added the sign > in the margin, so that it would not be thought that the epistles are wrong with respect to adding or omitting something.<sup>563</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> All biblical quotations are from the NRSV. See also Deuteronomy 12:32: "You must diligently observe everything that I command you; do not add to it or take anything from it."

<sup>562</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* V.xx.2 as found in Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.; Oxford: Oxford, 2005), 33.

<sup>563</sup> Inscription written by the scribe Ephraem in GA 1739 (tenth century). Translation as found in Georgi R. Parpulov, "The Bibles of the Christian East," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 2: From 600–1450* (Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter eds.; Cambridge: Cambridge, 2012), 310.

Theodore the Studite was a monk and abbot of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople in the late eighth and early ninth century. He wrote a work called *Epitimia* which outlined punishments for wrongdoing for the cook, tailor, cobbler, librarian, and scribe in his monastery. For the scribe, Theodore forbids offenses like breaking a pen in anger, taking another's book, and disobeying the chief scribe. Theodore writes: "If anyone does not take good care of the quire (in which he is writing), as well as the book out of which he is copying, putting both away at the proper time, and does not retain the spelling (read ἀντίστοιχα), accentuation and punctuation (of the original), one hundred and thirty genuflections."<sup>564</sup> Theodore requires a penance for inaccurate copying concerning orthography, accentuation, and punctuation of one hundred and thirty genuflections.

The next *Epitimia* reads "If anyone recites by heart (anything) from the book out of which he is copying, let him not attend Church for three days."<sup>565</sup> Featherstone and Holland interpret this injunction saying "Reading for one's own edification on the job was expressly forbidden (*Epp.* 55 & 56)"<sup>566</sup> and

The learning by heart of anything in a book from which one was copying was punished even more severely: by three days' ἀφορισμός (*Ep.* 55). The severity of this last penalty could not have been for the waste of time involved (it takes longer to make a new pen), but rather, for the inherent wrongness of taking an intellectual interest in what was being copied. Here again, in the *Epitimia* for the scriptorium, as in so many other places, we find the Studite insisting on the absolute subordination of a monk's will to his superior and exhibiting monastic anti-intellectualism: anything that bore traces of insubordination, or the desire of learning for learning's sake, called down the maximum penalties on the offender's head.<sup>567</sup>

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<sup>564</sup> Translation found in Jeffrey Featherstone and Meridel Holland, "A Note on Penances Prescribed for Negligent Scribes and Librarians in the Monastery of Studios," *Scriptorium* 36.2 (1982): 259. Greek text found in Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca* (Paris: Garnier, 1903), 99:1740ABC, 54 (vδ). Featherstone and Holland note that the *epitimia* discussed here are thought to be genuine: Featherstone and Holland, "Penances," 258 n. 1. See also Daniele Arnesano, "La Penitenza dei Monaci a S. Maria del Patir e a S. Nicola di Casole," *Revue des études byzantines* 72 (2014): 249–73; Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 30–31.

<sup>565</sup> Featherstone and Holland, "Penances," 259; Migne, *PG*, 99:1740, 55 (vε).

<sup>566</sup> Featherstone and Holland, "Penances," 259.

<sup>567</sup> Featherstone and Holland, "Penances," 260.

Featherstone and Holland argue that the context for this rule and others was a desire to subordinate the monk's will to the task at hand. While I do not disagree that the Studite monks were obligated to subordinate their will to their task I do disagree with Featherstone's and Holland's interpretation of *Epitimia* 55. Based on their translation I would interpret this to mean that a scribe is not to attempt to copy the text by heart. A scribe would probably know much of the text by heart but Theodore advises not to copy the text by memory even in places that the scribe surely knows correctly but rather to consult the *Vorlage* directly in each instance. But I do not only disagree with Featherstone's and Holland's interpretation but also in their translation. Migne *Epitimia* 55 reads Ἐάν τις ἐκστηθήσει ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων τοῦ ἐξ οὗ γράφει βιβλίου, ἀφοριζέσθω ἡμέρας γ'. Featherstone and Holland translate ἐκστηθήσει as "recite by heart" and then make an enormous amount out of this translation. Their translation may be based on Migne's Latin translation of Theodore's Greek text which translates ἐκστηθήσει as "memoriter recitaverit."<sup>568</sup> ἐκστηθήσει comes from ἐξίστημι. LSJ provides many definitions for this word including "displace: hence, change, alter utterly" "drive one out of his senses," "cease from, abandon," "depart from," and lastly "stand out, project."<sup>569</sup> BDAG defines it in the primary sense as to "change, displace," and then "to cause to be in a state in which things seem to make little or no sense, confuse, amaze, astound."<sup>570</sup> Lastly, Lampe states to "remove, drive away," "change utterly," "abandon," "be amazed at."<sup>571</sup> So we are left with a few possible meanings of this word: to change, to be ecstatic or amazed, and to abandon. The only lexicon which I consulted which could even remotely suggest reading out loud was LSJ's very last definition with the slightest support which reads "stand out, project." Perhaps this could be interpreted as "to project" as in "to project one's voice." But the only

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<sup>568</sup> Migne, *PG*, 99:1739, 55.

<sup>569</sup> LSJ, ἐξίστημι.

<sup>570</sup> BDAG, ἐξίστημι.

<sup>571</sup> Lampe, ἐξίστημι.

example of ἐξίστημι being used in this way given in LSJ refers to Aristotle's *The History of Animals* 1.14 which discusses how a man's penis projects as opposed to how a woman's crotch recedes. Perhaps Featherstone and Holland have found a technical definition for ἐξίστημι that is common to medieval monasticism but I find their translation to be a stretch. A simpler translation would read "If anyone alters [anything] from the book out of which he is copying, let him not attend church for three days." In this way ἐξίστημι could mean "alter," "change," or even "displace" as in to transpose. The simplest interpretation of this verse is that Theodore the Studite places a punishment on any scribe who changes the text in any way. In this way, Theodore's injunction is strikingly similar to the ones found in Deuteronomy and Revelation. Featherstone and Holland rightly note that the punishment for this offense, intentionally altering the text, earns the strictest penalty of all the penalties listed by Theodore: three days absence from church.

I also question Featherstone's and Holland's translation of ἀφοριζέσθω. I acknowledge that they may be aware of a technical definition of this word that applies to medieval monasticism of which I am not aware but on face value based on the lexica their translation once again seems to be a stretch. LSJ defines the word to mean "separate, distinguish, exclude, banish, set apart for rejection, cast out, excommunicate." BDAG reads: "to remove one party from other parties so as to discourage or eliminate contact, separate, take away." Lampe reads "cast out, banish, cut off, put away in monastery prison." Migne's Latin translation reads simply "separetur triduo."<sup>572</sup> It seems that a simpler definition that requires less words to be supplied would be that the offending scribes were separated or even placed in a monastery prison, according to Lampe, for three days.<sup>573</sup> The *Epitimion* would

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<sup>572</sup> Migne, *PG*, 99:1739, 55.

<sup>573</sup> Daniele Arnesano confirms that this references a monastery prison. See Daniele Arnesano, "Gli *Epitimia* di Teodoro Studita: Due Fogli Ritrovati del *Dossier* di Casole," *Byzantion* 80 (2010): 21.

then read “If anyone alters [anything] from the book out of which he is copying, let him be banished for three days.” This seems like a much more appropriate translation and the punishment of three days in prison or solitary confinement is much harsher than three days of missing church. Such a strict penalty for altering the text shows Theodore’s expectation for the text to be copied with exactness and for no changes to be made. Theodore held that intentional alteration of the scriptural text was the most egregious offense and deserved the strictest punishment. This punishment was more than the punishment for disobedience to the chief scribe, mishandling a book, or breaking a pen out of anger. There has been a concern for scribal accuracy throughout the entire history of textual transmission because it was known that scribes were human and prone to error. This does not mean that it was known that scribes maliciously changed the text but rather these injunctions adjure the scribe to do their very best.

### **The Puzzling Paradox of the Growing Text**

Having the ability to “virtually look over the scribe’s shoulder”<sup>574</sup> during a copying event provides many new and valuable insights. One question that has plagued me during my research is if, as Royse argues, scribes on the whole omit more than they add, which my research in our limited test passages of a small amount of later scribes does not reject, then how does the Greek New Testament tradition grow as a whole? The fact that the New Testament tradition has grown over time was one of the main objections raised by Parker in his review of Royse’s book.<sup>575</sup> This problem is one of the main stumbling blocks to accepting Royse’s new canon of *lectio longior potior*. One possible explanation is that scribes are more likely to add multiple words as an addition whereas they omit single words at a time. These

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<sup>574</sup> James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 36.

<sup>575</sup> David C. Parker, review of *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, by James R. Royse, *BASP* 46 (2009): 257.

multiple word additions are somewhat rare but they are persistent and get carried on by the next copyist whereas the omissions are often caught and corrected. Because these multiple word additions are somewhat rare even though they have multiple words they are outnumbered by the more plentiful accidental omissions with the result that, on the whole, the scribe appears to omit more than add even though the omissions were accidental and the additions were intentional. So the text would grow over time by having these multiple word additions added here and there whereas omissions are usually of single words, accidental, and are easily corrected. It is possible that a scribe would be more likely to include a long addition found in the *Vorlage*. Once this singular addition in the *Vorlage* is copied then it is no longer a singular addition and we would therefore not be able to tell that there was a singular reading in the *Vorlage*. A scribe could then make enough small accidental errors of omission to counter-balance the large additions in order to make it look like the scribe still indeed omits more than adds. Additionally, perhaps small singular omissions are easier for a scribe to recognize since the omission may cause confusion in the sentence or may not match the text which the scribe knows by heart. But does the evidence bear this out? Is this scenario accurate?

If it were correct that scribes copy singular additions more than singular omissions in their *Vorlage* then this would suggest that Royse's method is biased in the direction of shortness. Because, under this hypothesis, additions are more likely to be recopied than are omissions and they will therefore no longer be singular, his method is bound to find that scribes omit more than add. If a scribe carries on all the additions in the *Vorlage* but corrects the omissions while at the same time accidentally omitting a word occasionally then it is possible that the textual tradition would grow because the additions keep getting copied while the scribe, on the whole, omits more words than adds. This would mean that perhaps scribes treat different types of singular readings in their *Vorlage* differently. Perhaps scribes treat

singular omissions and singular additions in the *Vorlage* differently. While theoretically this might make sense is this true across the board? In short, how do the scribes of *Abschriften* copy singular readings when they come upon them? And how would they know a singular reading when they come upon it?

#### *How Do Scribes Treat Singular Readings in their Vorlage?*

One problem with dealing with singular readings in Codex Claromontanus is that the codex was so thoroughly corrected that most readings which were originally singular to 06 were corrected before 0319 copied 06. The singular readings of 06\* still remain but 0319 had access to 06\*\*\* while copying. Nonetheless, our examination of how 0319 copied 06's singular readings will begin. 06 (or 06\*) has six singular readings which remain singular readings. That is to say, 06\* has six singular readings which 0319 nor any other extant manuscript also contain. 06\* also has four singular readings which are no longer singular readings since 0319A or 0319B copied them. They are now considered peculiar dual agreements. In the portion that 0319A copied there are three singular readings in 06: 0319A copied two of them and changed one of them. The first singular reading in our test passages of 06 is at Romans 1:30. Here 06 reads *κακολογους* in place of *καταλάλους* as in NA<sup>28</sup>. 0319A copied this substitution making this variant a peculiar dual agreement. Since this current discussion is focused mainly on whether the *Abschrift* copies additions or omissions of the *Vorlage* differently, this variant does not provide much insight. It is notable, however, that when arriving at this singular reading, 0319A copied the text as it stood as if not recognizing that it was a singular reading.

The next singular reading in 06 is the very next word in **Romans 1:30**: *θεοστυγεις*. 06\* writes *θεοστυγις* which is an orthographic singular. 06\*\*\* corrects this to *θεοστυγεις* matching NA<sup>28</sup>. 0319 writes the nonsensical *θεοστυπις*. This variant concerns an orthographic substitution it is not of use to us for the question of whether scribes carry on additions more

than omissions. But we do catch a glimpse of how a scribe copies a singular reading with a difficult correction.

Classifying the next singular reading in 06 is difficult without access to 06's *Vorlage*. On the one hand 06\*'s variant in Romans 1:32 ουκ ενοησαν could be considered an addition with respect to the standard text. But with respect to all known Greek New Testament manuscripts, on the other hand, it is more properly considered a substitution since 012, 330, 1243, and 1506 all read ουκ εγνωσαν. Nonetheless, for the purposes of whether scribes of *Abschriften* treat singular additions or omissions in their *Vorlage* differently I will treat this variant as a singular addition especially since 06 predates by far the other manuscripts with this reading. Additionally, 06<sup>c</sup> struck out these two words by means of an expunging dot above the first and last letters to be omitted. 0319A, however, because the text stood in the main section of the page, copied the text exactly. Therefore, in this case of a rare addition in the *Vorlage*, 0319A recopied the peculiar reading with no sign of a problem with the text. This example supports our hypothesis that scribes are likely to recopy additions in the *Vorlage* but such a small sample size is inconclusive.

Therefore we see that between 0319A and 06 we might have one instance of a singular addition in the *Vorlage* which the *Abschrift*'s scribe recopied. The scribe did not seem to notice that this singular addition did not match the standard text. Based on what we know about 0319A it is not surprising that they would not recognize a peculiar reading. Without recourse to another manuscript even if 0319A were a competent scribe how would they recognize a singular reading from any other reading? In sum, 0319 was presented with three singular readings in 06. 0319 copied two of them (one was an addition of two words). 0319A did not copy one of the singular readings from 06 and thus it remains a singular reading. We therefore find that 0319A recopied singular readings from their *Vorlage* 66% of the time and without much respect to whether the reading was an addition or an omission. But this is a very

small sample size. Our conclusion with regards to how 0319A copied the singular readings in their *Vorlage* is therefore inconclusive.

All of the remaining singular readings and peculiar dual agreements from 06 in the 0319B section are some form of substitution and can therefore not inform our discussion concerning additions against omissions. But we can see how 0319B treated singular readings in their *Vorlage*. There are six singular readings in 06 in the 0319B section. At 2 Corinthians 12:12, 06 has the singular reading of *κατηργασθην*. 0319B copies this exactly making it a peculiar dual agreement. At **2 Corinthians 12:15** 06 has a singular nonsense reading of *εκδαπανησησομαι*. Somehow both 0319B and 0320 knew to change this nonsense reading independently of one another and changed it to *εκδαπανηθησομαι* which matches NA<sup>28</sup>. The double independent correction at this word was likely caused by the text being difficult to read during 0319's and 0320's copying event which forced the scribes to consult alternate *Vorlagen* at this place. At 2 Corinthians 12:17, 06 has a singular reading of *επενψα* which 0319B copies making it a peculiar dual agreement. The next singular reading in 06 is at **Ephesians 2:15** where 06\* wrote *καταρτισας* which was later corrected by 06\*\*\* to *καταργησας*. 0319B copied *καταργισας* but this was a result of a confusing correction in the *Vorlage*. At **Titus 2:15** 06\* wrote *ελενχε* which was corrected by 06\*\*\* to *ελεγχε*. 0319B copied *ελειχε* but this was once again due to graphical confusion due to a correction in the *Vorlage*. Lastly, at **Titus 3:3** 06\* has the singular *μσητοι* which was corrected to *στυγητοι* by 06\*\*. 0319 copied *τυγητοι* thus not carrying on the singular reading.

Therefore we see that of the six singular readings in 06 in the 0319B section, 0319B changed four of them and copied two of them but many of the changes were due to graphical confusion and should probably be discarded. They nevertheless recopied singular readings in their *Vorlage* 33% of the time. This contrasts 0319A's rate of 66%. Neither 0319A nor 0319B seemed to recognize a singular reading and treated both singular readings and standard

readings equally. The only reading which they seemed to understand to be peculiar was 06's nonsense reading of εκδαπανηθησομαι at **2 Corinthians 12:15** but this could also be attributed to a damaged *Vorlage*.

In the portions of text extant in 0320 there are only four singular readings in 06 all of which were substitutions. 0320 changed all of these singular readings. That is to say, 0320 shares no peculiar dual readings with 06. This may suggest that 0320 was able to identify singular readings in their *Vorlage*. One of the changes, however, at **2 Corinthians 12:12a** changed 06's and 0319B's peculiar dual reading of κατηγορασθην to a singular reading of κατεργασθην. So, if 0320 were able to identify a singular reading in their *Vorlage* then they were not able to identify one in their own text. It is more likely that 0320 made an orthographic variant that had nothing to do with the fact that they were copying a word that happened to be a singular reading in 06. At **2 Corinthians 12:15** we again have the confusing case of how both 0319B and 0320 independently knew to correct 06's nonsense reading. At 2 Corinthians 12:17, 06 and 0319 read επενψα. 0320 did change this reading but again to another singular reading: επεμψα. The last change to a singular reading is at **Titus 3:3** where 06\* reads μισητοι which was corrected to στυγητοι by 06\*\*. 0320 reads στυγητη which is a singular reading. Therefore, if 0320 somehow identified and changed all four of the singular readings in 06, 0320 created three new singular readings in the process. Only in the curious case at **2 Corinthians 12:15** do we have a clear example of 0320 identifying and correcting a singular reading in the *Vorlage*. So we are still, at this point, left to believe that scribes copy singular readings in their exemplar the same way they copy any other reading and are probably not able to tell the difference between singular readings and other readings.

We must remember that I have tentatively concluded that 205 is not a direct copy of 2886 but rather is a sibling manuscript. This next discussion concerning 205 should therefore be read with the understanding that these figures assume that 205 is a copy of 2886. In 205

there are nine omissions for a total of ten words and five additions for a total of ten words. 205 therefore breaks even concerning additions and omissions. Our hypothesis that scribes retain singular additions but not singular omissions is further strengthened when it is seen that the average length of addition in 205 is 2 words per addition whereas the average length of omission is 1.11 words per omission. So this seems to strengthen, in this instance, the argument that additions are usually longer and omissions are usually shorter. But when the long addition in 205 at **Luke 22:27** is analyzed this theory falls apart. 205's addition was not an attempt to add something new to the text but rather to restore the verse to its proper form. As we saw in the chapter concerning the scribal habits of 205, 2886 actually has a singular omission of six words here. 205, therefore, simply attempts to align the text with the standard text by adding the six words. This six word "addition" in 205 is the longest addition in all of the *Abschriften* studied in this project. All other additions are one word only. The hypothesis that additions are usually longer, while appearing true based on the statistics from 205, is disproven upon closer examination. We must find another answer to the question of how the textual tradition grows over time if scribes omit more than they add.

Turning our attention to how 205 copied the singular readings of 2886 we will find that 2886 has four singular readings and seven peculiar dual agreements. One of the singular readings is an addition while the other three are some form of substitution. Of the peculiar dual agreements one is an omission while the other six are some form of substitution. That is to say that 205 recopied one singular reading from 2886 that was an omission and 205 did not recopy one singular addition. At John 6:4 the standard text reads ἦν δὲ but 2886 writes only ην. 205 copies this omission. At John 19:35 NA<sup>28</sup> reads καὶ ἀληθινῇ but 2886 writes καὶ ἡ ἀληθινῇ adding ἡ to match the article preceding μαρτυρία later in the verse. 205 did not copy this singular addition. This directly contradicts our hypothesis that a scribe might recopy

additions more often than omissions and we find, in this case, that 205 recopied an omission but corrected an addition.

Turning our attention to 821 we find that Camillus Venetus did not treat singular additions any differently than singular omissions. He carried on all singular readings except one orthographic singular reading which he corrected.

In conclusion, and with a very limited sample size we find that, with respect to the manuscripts studied in this project, we found one instance of a scribe (0319A) recopying a singular addition, one instance of a scribe (205) recopying a singular omission, and one instance of a scribe (205) correcting a singular omission. Such a small sample size and such conflicting results force us to accept that the results are inconclusive concerning whether scribes are more likely to recopy singular additions or singular omissions. It is likely that scribes will treat both singular additions and singular omissions equally since it is unlikely that the scribe will be able to recognize that a singular reading is a singular reading. We therefore cannot conclude that Royse's method is biased in the direction of shortness. While his method may not be able to find all scribally created readings and his method will therefore omit some scribally created readings, his method will do so indiscriminately without respect to whether a scribally created reading is an addition or an omission. We therefore have not yet found our answer to the puzzling paradox of why scribes omit on the whole but the text continues to grow.

### **The Stability of Textual Transmission throughout the Centuries**

Royse wondered if scribes became more careful copyists after Constantine because the church progressively gained increasing control over the New Testament text.<sup>576</sup> Royse studied six scribes who he dated before the year 300.<sup>577</sup> P<sup>127</sup> is a fifth-century manuscript. 0319 dates

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<sup>576</sup> See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 20, 732–34.

<sup>577</sup> Royse dates all of these manuscripts to pre-300. I am aware that recent commentators have questioned the early dating of some of these manuscripts. See Pasquale

to the ninth century, 0320 to the tenth, 205 to the fifteenth, and 821 to the sixteenth. After combining my data with Royse's we have the scribal habits of a few scribes from the third century to the sixteenth (see Table 7.1).

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Orsini and Willy Clarysse, "Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Palaeography," *ETL* 88.4 (2012): 443–74; Brent Nongbri, "The Limits of Palaeographic Dating of Literary Papyri: Some Observations on the Date and Provenance of P.Bodmer II (P66)," *Museum Helveticum* 71.1 (2014): 1–35; and Brent Nongbri, "Reconsidering the Place of Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV (P75) in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *JBL* 135.2 (2016): 405–37.

**Table 7.1—Error Rates and Net Words Lost Per Significant Variant in All Scribes of This Study**

	<b>Significant Variants / NA Page</b>	<b>Total Variants / NA Page</b>	<b>Significant Variants / 1,000 Words</b>	<b>Total Variants / 1,000 Words</b>	<b>Net Words Gained or Lost Per Significant Variant</b>
<b>P<sup>45</sup> (3<sup>rd</sup>)</b>	4.9025	5.3			-.43
<b>P<sup>46</sup> (3<sup>rd</sup>)</b>	3.4643	4.9			-.54
<b>P<sup>47</sup> (3<sup>rd</sup>)</b>	3.3456	4.8			-.565
<b>P<sup>66</sup> (3<sup>rd</sup>)</b>	1.9596	2.3			-.16
<b>P<sup>72</sup> (3<sup>rd</sup>)</b>	3.8947	7.9			-.35
<b>P<sup>75</sup> (3<sup>rd</sup>)</b>	1.15	1.8			-.3
<b>P<sup>127</sup> (5<sup>th</sup>)</b>	32.64	33.93	176.84	183.82	-.249
<b>0319A (9<sup>th</sup>)</b>	.862	6.03	4.274	29.915	0
<b>0319B (9<sup>th</sup>)</b>	.179	1.429	.87	12.174	0
<b>VL76A (9<sup>th</sup>)</b>			3.85	9.633	-2
<b>VL76B (9<sup>th</sup>)</b>			9.725	11.67	-.1
<b>0320 (10<sup>th</sup>)</b>	.61	6.5	3.024	32.258	0
<b>VL83 (10<sup>th</sup>)</b>			29.661	41.67	-.0357
<b>205 (15<sup>th</sup>)</b>	.631	.822	2.902	3.785	+0.0833
<b>821 (16<sup>th</sup>)</b>	.2661	.479	1.233	2.22	-1.2

As mentioned above in the Conclusion to Chapter 3, at first glance, P<sup>127</sup>, from the fifth century, appears to behave strikingly similar to the scribes studied by Royse. Upon closer examination, however, we learned, that while the scribe of P<sup>127</sup> added and omitted in the same proportion as Royse's scribes, the scribe of P<sup>127</sup> did so to an extreme degree with the result that P<sup>127</sup>'s error rate was more than six times higher than most of Royse's scribes. We concluded that, based on P<sup>127</sup> alone, P<sup>127</sup> does not show that textual transmission became more stable post-300 but rather shows the extreme opposite. P<sup>127</sup> exhibits a free text in the extreme. But it is notable that P<sup>127</sup>'s text did not win out. It is notable that the free expansions as found in P<sup>127</sup> and 05 are not carried on. These manuscripts have such a high number of singular readings *because* no other manuscript copied them. They did not win. These texts are losers. The fact that one scribe, patron, or reader created such an aberrant text means nothing for the overall transmission of the New Testament. That these readings were not carried on is actually further evidence of the strict transmission of the New Testament. P<sup>127</sup>'s text was identified, shackled, and left no offspring. This is a witness of strict and accurate transmission history.

When we arrive at 0319 we witness first-hand a copying event from the ninth century with two different scribes. In this manuscript we find scribes who diligently do their best to faithfully reproduce the text in a language foreign to them. This *Abschrift*, however, might not be the best comparandum for scribal habits more broadly due to the fact that it seems that the scribes of 0319 were non-native speakers of Greek. Their scribal habits seem to show a much better comprehension of Latin than of Greek. Their scribal habits are very pertinent to understanding the habits of non-native scribes. An area for further research is to attempt to identify non-native Greek scribes and attempt to understand how their scribal habits differ from Greek speaking scribes. Identifying non-native and native speakers, however, may prove difficult since we can only know that a scribe is non-native when they are particularly poor in

copying the text and understanding the Greek language. There may very well be many non-native Greek scribes who do such a good job of copying the text that they never leave indications that they are non-native. But I believe it is worthwhile to attempt to understand better how non-native scribes' habits differ from native scribes. The analysis contained in this project will greatly help in that area of research but will be less applicable to understanding the habits of native Greek speaking scribes which constitute, I presume, the majority of our Greek New Testament manuscripts.

We will, nonetheless, examine the scribal habits of 0319 against the rest of the scribes in our study and Royse's scribes. As discussed above, 0319A and 0319B are extremely notable scribes because they neither added nor omitted any words. To reemphasize, I am not saying that on the whole they broke even after adding a certain number of words and omitting a certain number of words. I am saying that, in our test passages, 0319A and 0319B did not make a single addition or a single omission. Such exactness is extremely rare and could possibly be attributed to their non-native level of Greek skills. Being non-native speakers of Greek they would have copied word by word or even letter by letter rather than by larger phrases or groups of words. One similarity that 0319A and 0319B share with Royse's scribes is that the majority of their significant variants were substitutions. 0319A made two substitutions and 0319B made one—both constituting 100% of their significant variants. But, as discussed above, 0319A's and 0319B's lack of additions and omissions does not mean that 0319A and 0319B were perfect scribes—far from it. Both 0319A and 0319B greatly struggled to interpret the correction sigla in the *Vorlage*. Another explanation, however, might be that, rather than not understanding the meaning of the sigla, they may have been instructed to copy the text identically as it stood in the *Vorlage*. Perhaps their goal from the outset as determined by their patron was to copy the text exactly as it stood in 06 without attempting to interpret sigla. Interpretations still must have been made, however, due to the countless corrections in

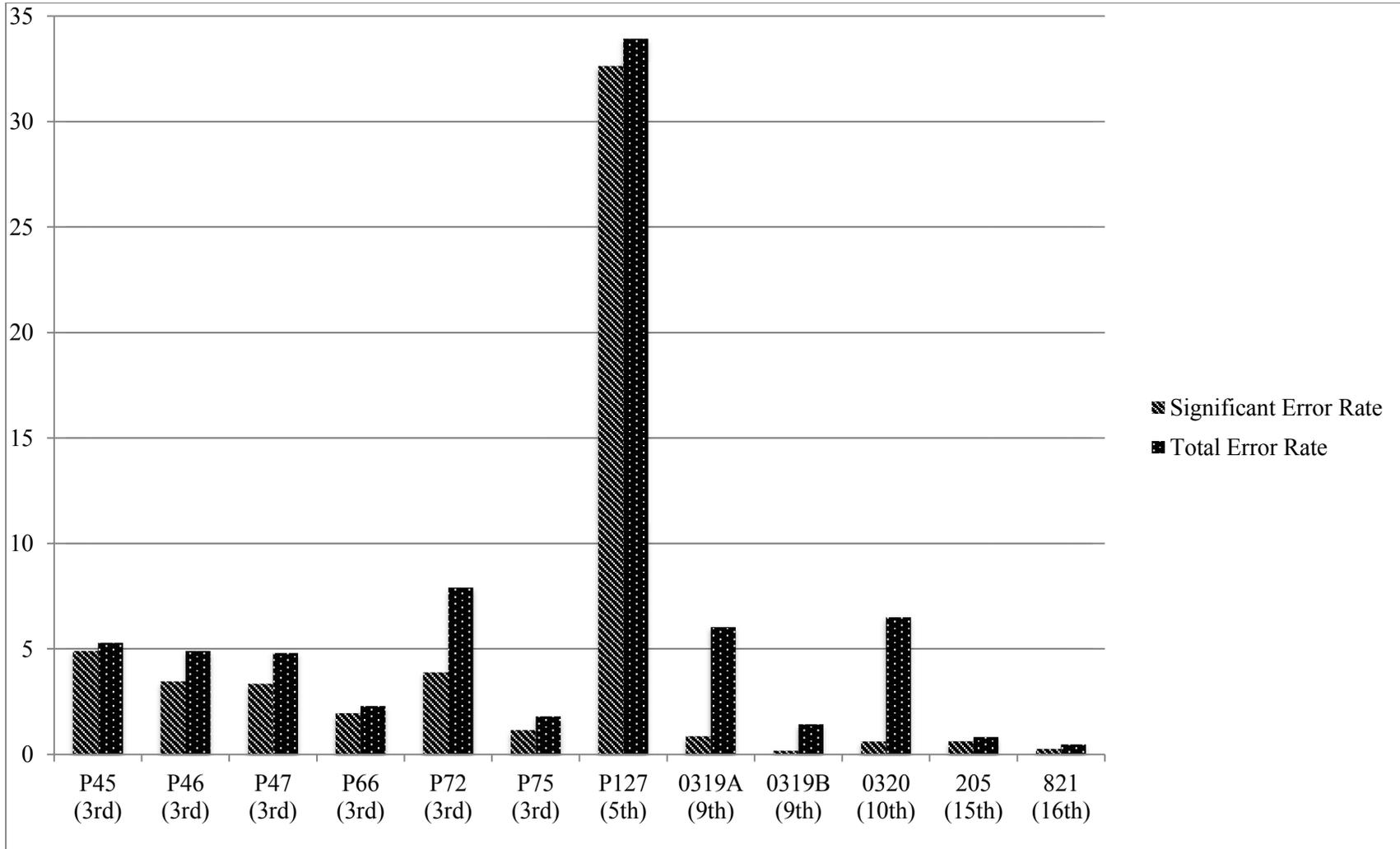
06. When arriving at a correction they were therefore instructed to follow the final corrected text in the main body of the text and to ignore marginalia. This meant that most of the time they copied the text as corrected by 06\*\*\*.

0319A, in contrast to 0319B, was prone to orthographic variants—creating seven orthographic variants which account for 50% of 0319A’s total variants. This may be evidence that 0319A at least was able to sound out Greek words whereas 0319B could not even do that. If this is true then these orthographic errors in 0319A came about because 0319A attempted to pronounce them but pronounced them differently than they were spelled and therefore copied them with different orthography.<sup>578</sup>

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<sup>578</sup> See Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.; Oxford: Oxford, 2005), 254–57 for this cause of error in transmission of the text.

**Table 7.2—Graph of Error Rates of All Scribes in this Study and Royse’s Scribe’s by NA Page**



**Table 7.3—Singular Reading Error Rates Contrasted with Actual Error Rates<sup>579</sup>**

	<b>Significant Singulars / NA Page</b>	<b>Total Singulars / NA Page</b>	<b>Significant Variants / NA Page</b>	<b>Total Variants / NA Page</b>	<b>Percentage of Accuracy of Significant Error Rate</b>	<b>Percentage of Accuracy of Total Error Rate</b>
<b>0319A (9<sup>th</sup>)</b>	.862	5.604	.862	6.03	100%	92.94%
<b>0319B (9<sup>th</sup>)</b>	0	1.071	.179	1.429	0%	74.95%
<b>0320 (10<sup>th</sup>)</b>	.407	5.29	.61	6.5	66.72%	81.39%
<b>205 (15<sup>th</sup>)</b>	.137	.329	.631	.822	21.7%	40%
<b>821 (16<sup>th</sup>)</b>	.108	.27	.2661	.479	40.59%	56.37%

<sup>579</sup> In this table I have used error rates in terms of only the amount of variants per NA page and have omitted the amount of variants per thousand words in order to make the table easier to read and to uncomplicate the data. The error rates according to per thousand words can be found in the error rate table in each manuscript's respective section.

The total error rate of 0319A was 6.03 total variants per NA page or 29.9 variants per thousand words (see Tables 7.1 and 7.2). This total error rate includes insignificant variants such as orthographic variants, nonsense variants, and errors due to a confusing correction in the *Vorlage*. It may be more useful to compare significant error rates instead of total error rates since insignificant variants have no effect on meaning. On Table 7.2 it would be better to focus on the column on the left at each manuscript that shows the significant error rate. 0319A's error rate when restricted to only significant variants (additions, omissions, substitutions, and transpositions) was a paltry .862 variants per NA page or 4.27 per thousand words. Royse does not provide the error rate when restricted only to significant singular readings in his papyri but we can calculate those figures ourselves. The lowest error rate in Royse's scribes was P<sup>75</sup> with an astoundingly accurate error rate of 1.8 singular readings per NA page (Royse does not provide statistics per thousand words). In P<sup>75</sup>, insignificant singular readings constituted 36.2% of the total variants. We can therefore calculate that P<sup>75</sup>'s error rate with respect only to significant singulars was 1.15 singular readings per NA page. 0319A's significant error rate was yet lower still. Therefore, 0319A exhibited a lower significant error rate—the variants that could possibly change meaning as opposed to misspellings and other variants that do not change meaning—than all of the scribes studied by Royse. Surprisingly, however, 0319A had the highest significant error rate of all of the *Abschriften* scribes. Stated another way, all the scribes in this study (except for P<sup>127</sup> which is not an *Abschrift*) had a lower significant error rate than any of Royse's scribes.

The total error rate of 0319B was 1.429 total variants per NA page or 12.174 total variants per 1,000 words and .179 significant variants per NA page or .87 significant variants per 1,000 words. This is an extremely low error rate and, again, could have been caused by 0319B's lack of knowledge of the Greek language.

The total error rate of 0320 was 6.5 total variants per NA page or 32.258 total variants per thousand words and .61 significant variants per NA page or 3.024 significant variants per thousand words. We can see the great disparity between significant and insignificant variants in 0320. 90.625% of 0320's total variants were insignificant variants which had no effect on meaning. Like 0319A and 0319B, 0320 neither added nor omitted a single word. Such exactness is remarkable. It is likely that 0320 also was a non-native scribe.

Based on the assumption that 205 is a copy of 2886, the total error rate of 205 was .8498 total variants per NA page or 3.91 total variants per thousand words and .63 significant variants per NA page or 2.9 significant variants per thousand words. When comparing the ratio of types of variants in 205 we find that 205NT created variants in similar ratios to Royse's scribes: they made a small amount of additions, more omissions than additions, and more substitutions than omissions. 205NT acted similarly by creating five additions, nine omissions, and nine substitutions.

821 may provide our best opportunity to examine the scribal habits of *Abschriften* since 0319 and 0320 seem to have a very different goal in copying their text and because they are non-native speakers. Additionally, I do not think 205 is actually a copy of 2886. So we are left with 821. Unfortunately, this *Abschrift* is from the sixteenth century and is therefore much later than we would hope. Nonetheless, 821 probably provides the best evidence of the scribal habits of *Abschriften* of all the scribes in our study.

The scribe of 821, Camillus Venetus, had a total error rate of .479 variants per NA page or 2.22 total variants per thousand words and a significant error rate of .2661 significant variants per NA page or 1.233 significant variants per thousand words. Venetus' total error rate was the lowest of all scribes studied in this project.

After an analysis of the types of variants created by our *Abschrift* scribes we can conclude that Royse's summarizing statements that "one should rather say that some scribes

tend to do one thing, and other scribes tend to do something else”<sup>580</sup> and that “any generalization at all might be problematic, since it could well appear that the patterns found in specific witnesses vary a good deal”<sup>581</sup> hold true. 0319A, 0319B, and 0320 made no additions or omissions but only a few substitutions and a large amount of insignificant variants. 205 made a few additions with more omissions and an equal amount of substitutions to omissions. 821 broke with the habit of having many substitutions by creating zero substitutions, one addition, and four omissions. We therefore cannot conclude that our scribes tended to create more variants by addition or by substitution or by any specific way (we will discuss below what we can or cannot conclude about total word loss among the *Abschriften*).

Concerning the total error rate we can conclude that a general trend among our limited sample size, if we ignore the anomalous P<sup>127</sup>, does indeed show that significant error rates decreased over time (see Table 7.2). We must still keep in mind, however, that final conclusions must not be made with such small sample sizes. Nonetheless, based on our five Greek New Testament scribes, the significant error rate decreased over time. This may suggest that the text became more stable as time went on. Identifying the cause of the textual stability, however, is much more difficult. The church probably gained increasing control over the text but the primary reason for the stability was most likely that the canonized books became more and more ossified as time went on. It would have been difficult for a scribe to make a substantive change without it being noticed. In the later centuries, attempts to manipulate the meaning of the text would have taken place outside of the text. Rather than

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<sup>580</sup> James R. Royse, “Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis, Second Edition*,” (NTTSD 42; ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 469–70 = James R. Royse, “Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (SD 46; ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 245–46.

<sup>581</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 13–14.

changing what the texts read, those attempting to manipulate the text would instead attempt to change what the text meant. They would use paratextual manipulation instead.<sup>582</sup>

### **The Singular Readings Method against the *Abschrift* Method**

In each of the error rate tables I list the error rates of our scribes as determined by their variants against their *Vorlage*. Additionally, I have analyzed each of our manuscripts according to singular readings—ignoring their *Vorlage* (see Table 7.3). To restate, I analyze each of our manuscripts using Royse’s method as if their *Vorlage* was unknown. Doing so allows us to compare the accuracy of Royse’s method with the actual scribal habits of our manuscripts.

If we could find some correlation between the singular reading error rates and the actual error rates then we could estimate the percentage of accuracy of Royse’s method as a whole. Unfortunately, as seen in Table 7.3, there is no such correlation between the error rates as found by using Royse’s singular reading method and the actual error rates as found by the *Abschrift* method. The accuracy of the singular readings method ranges from 42% accurate to 92% accurate with respect to total variants. It is obvious and goes without saying that the *Abschriften* method is preferred to the singular readings method when a manuscript has a known exemplar as Royse himself has stated. Royse’s method approaches an accurate understanding of scribal habits and most of the time maintains the same ratios of additions, omissions, and substitutions. Because Royse’s method cannot find all variants, as Royse

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<sup>582</sup> See here Eric W. Scherbenske, *Canonizing Paul: Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum* (Oxford: Oxford, 2013), 236: “In the later manuscripts investigated in this study—that is, Codex Coislinianus and Codex Fuldensis—there is a marked move away from textual manipulation as a means of controlling the text; conversely, paratextual manipulation increasingly gains prominence. This finding accords well with the argument that the greatest instability in a textual tradition occurs within the first century of transmission. The ossification of the text and decreasing freedom to manipulate it by the fourth century and afterward necessitated different modes of constraining interpretation, when simply rewriting or “correcting” the text was no longer a viable option—though the conservative nature of the textual tradition has fortunately preserved through the centuries these early attempts to assert interpretive control over the text.”

himself admits, the singular readings error rate is always lower than the actual error rate. This inaccuracy results in the scribe appearing to copy slightly better than they actually do.

### ***Lectio Brevior Potior***

Table 7.1 shows the error rates of the scribes in this study and the scribes in Royse's study along with the amount of words lost per significant variant. Notice that three of the rows refer to the scribal habits of Latin scribes which we will ignore at the moment (they have been shaded in Table 7.1 for easy identification). Having set aside the Latin scribes we find that 0319A, 0319B, 0320, and 205 (as a copy of 2886) did not omit any words in our test passages. 0319A, 0319B, and 0320 completed this feat by not adding or omitting any words where 205 added ten words and omitted ten words for a net loss of zero words. The only manuscript in our study which lost words was 821 who was, interestingly, the scribe with the lowest total error rate and the second lowest significant error rate. 821 lost six words in the test passages of 4,049 words with a loss per significant variant rate of 1.2 words lost per significant variant. We therefore cannot conclude that our scribes tended to omit more than they added. One of our five scribes did omit more than add but three of our five scribes never omitted or added and another omitted and added equally. We therefore conclude that some scribes acted one way and other scribes acted another way. It is notable, however, that none of our five scribes added words on the whole. None of our manuscripts gained words. While not confirming Royse's *lectio longior potior*, this study can at least disprove, with respect to our five Greek New Testament scribes from the ninth, tenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, Griesbach's canon *lectio brevior potior* or at least the common understanding of it that scribes add more than they omit. The scribes in our study definitely did not add more than omit. In our study the shorter reading should not be preferred. This does not mean that the longer reading should be preferred but we can definitively conclude, with respect to our manuscripts, that the shorter reading is not to be preferred. This conclusion demands that textual critics

cease using length in either direction as a metric for determining transcriptional probability. In Chapter One I quoted Stephen Carlson’s agnosticism toward the use of length in determining transcriptional probability: “Due to this conflict over the status of the criterion of the shorter (or longer) reading, this study is agnostic about the value of mere length as diagnostic of scribal error. As a result, decisions about which variant to prefer had to rely on criteria other than the length of the reading.”<sup>583</sup> I add my voice to his that my findings in this project suggest that length should not play a role in determining transcriptional probability. Again, Peter Malik concludes: “Perhaps, then, the language of length ought to be dropped from our terminology altogether; rather, different types of variation need to be treated on their own terms. For instance, omissions of words and clauses often involve different factors compared to harmonisations, let alone major expansions or editorial interventions.”<sup>584</sup>

We must remember that in this study we have only studied five Greek New Testament scribes sampled from many different centuries and have only analyzed them by test passages. We must accept that these scribes are not representative of all scribes and we must always remember that “one should rather say that some scribes tend to do one thing, and other scribes tend to do something else”<sup>585</sup> and that “any generalization at all might be problematic, since it could well appear that the patterns found in specific witnesses vary a good deal.”<sup>586</sup> We can agree with Royse that the patterns found in our scribes do indeed vary a good deal. This study confirms his statement that we cannot extend our findings to scribes in general but must carefully contain our conclusions to the scribes we have studied. We must only very carefully extend our conclusions to other scribes while keeping in mind that the further we move away

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<sup>583</sup> Stephen C. Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History* (WUNT 2:385; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 90.

<sup>584</sup> Peter Malik, *P. Beatty III (P<sup>47</sup>): The Codex, Its Scribe, and Its Text* (NTTSD 52; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 114–15.

<sup>585</sup> Royse, “Scribal Tendencies,” NTTSD 42, 469–70; Royse, “Scribal Tendencies,” SD 46, 245–46.

<sup>586</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 13–14.

in time and space from each scribe the less the conclusions may apply. We must remember that we have only studied two Greek scribes from the ninth century, one from the tenth, one from the fifteenth, and one from the sixteenth. Attempting to conclude something about all ninth century scribes based on our findings from 0319 would be dangerous and methodologically unsound.

### **Broader Applications of this Study**

I have repeatedly stressed that my findings concerning the scribal habits of these *Abschriften* relate only to these manuscripts and must only very carefully be extended to our understanding of Greek New Testament scribal habits more generally. I hope that my findings will not be taken out of context and abused as we have seen with Griesbach's canon and Royse's conclusions. An additional hurdle to comparing and applying my findings to Royse's or to textual criticism in general is that our *Abschriften* are all late; ranging from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries. But how can my findings be extended to textual criticism more broadly? What can be gleaned from this study that is useful to manuscripts outside this study?

Parker addresses this question specifically in relation to his discussion of 205 and 2886. He writes

How useful might the parallel of the ninth- and tenth-century and late-medieval manuscript copyings be in understanding the manuscript production of the second, fourth, or sixth centuries? Do we have any grounds for gauging the fidelity of scribes to their exemplars, when we are unlikely to have a manuscript even approximately similar to that exemplar? This is evidently a highly important question in the study of the New Testament text. If we could argue that the kind of fidelity shown by the scribes of manuscripts 1 and 1582 was true even of the majority of ancient scribes, we might have grounds for believing that the tradition had been copied very faithfully.<sup>587</sup>

Parker argues that 1 and 1582 had been copied extremely carefully and if we were able to extend their copying habits to other manuscripts then we may be able to conclude that the

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<sup>587</sup> David C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2008), 140–41.

entire tradition has been copied very faithfully. After an analysis of 205 and 2886 we can conclude that 205 was indeed copied very carefully. Yet, we still must be careful extending the habits of late scribes to the habits of scribes of any other time period.

As already discussed above, the scribal habits of 0319 are extremely useful when compared to the scribal habits of the same scribe on the Latin side of the page. In this instance we can compare the accuracy of the same individual when copying Greek and when copying Latin. We found that, amazingly, 0319A and 0319B were more accurate when copying Greek—the language that was foreign to them. When they copied the Latin text they made many substitutions and other significant variants in order to align their text with the Vulgate. This study has concluded that scribes copying a language which is foreign to them will make fewer significant variants than scribes who know the language. On the other hand, such non-native scribes will make more insignificant variants through orthographic and nonsense errors. This study can serve as a starting point for those wishing to understand better the scribal habits of non-native scribes.

We can also view how scribes treat corrections in their *Vorlage*. We saw in 0319 and 0320 that the scribes generally followed the latest correction usually by 06\*\*\*. Additionally, 0319A and 0319B included corrections in the main body of the text but ignored marginal corrections while 0320 incorporated corrections wherever they were. There were not enough corrections in 2886 in order to make a conclusion on how 205 copied corrections in the *Vorlage* if 2886 was indeed 205's *Vorlage*. 821 simply copied the few corrections in his *Vorlage* without any apparent struggle to interpret the meaning of the correction.

These manuscripts provide examples of five scribes copying the Greek New Testament and we can determine their scribal habits. Based on these five scribes alone we find that these scribes were tremendously accurate and careful copyists of their texts. At no point have we found evidence of scribal corruption for theological purposes. We did not find

intentional scribal changes for any reason aside from the Latin manuscripts VL83 and VL76 which Vulgated their text. Based on these five scribes we find that our scribes were extremely careful to copy the text accurately. We can confirm the CBGM's operating principle that scribes do indeed want "to copy the *Vorlage* with fidelity."<sup>588</sup> We can confirm Barbara Aland's statement that scribes want to copy accurately.<sup>589</sup>

Those who belong to the camp that believes that scribes altered the text in order to get it to say what they want it to say, especially those who hold to Ehrman's conclusions from *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*,<sup>590</sup> might retort that the proto-orthodox scribes already completed their work in the second century and made all of the necessary changes with the result that no more changes to the text were needed. This may be true and, since we have very few, if any, manuscripts from the second century, we may never definitively know what happened in the textual transmission of the New Testament during the second century. But this possible retort assumes that a struggle for control over the meaning of the text only occurred in the second century. It assumes that at no other time in the history of the transmission of the text were there theological disputes concerning the meaning of the text that could be clarified with a few small textual changes. We discussed the historical backgrounds and contexts of 205 and 821 in their respective chapters noting the intense

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<sup>588</sup> Gerd Mink, "Contamination, Coherence, and Coincidence in Textual Transmission: The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) as a Complement and Corrective to Existing Approaches," in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views and Contemporary Research* (Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes eds.; TCSt 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 151–52.

<sup>589</sup> Barbara Aland, "Sind Schreiber früher neutestamentlicher Handschriften Interpreten des Textes?" in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-critical and Exegetical Studies* (Jeff W. Childers and D. C. Parker, eds; TS 3.4; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 114.

<sup>590</sup> "Proto-orthodox scribes of the second and third centuries occasionally modified their texts of Scripture in order to make them coincide more closely with the christological views embraced by the party that would seal its victory at Nicea and Chalcedon," Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford, 1993), 321.

theological disputes at the time. During the fifteenth century, when 205 was copied, the Roman Catholic church and the Greek Orthodox church became unified for a time. Constantinople fell less than twenty years before ushering in a fervent desire for more crusades against the Turks. Surely in such a historical climate a few small changes to the text could be made in order to make the text say something about the need for uniting the two churches or justifications for warring against the Turks. But in our test passages we found no such changes. Regardless of the true identity of the *Vorlage* of 205, the scribe of 205 made no such intentional changes to the text. Similarly, as discussed above, 821 was copied in a comparable moment of theological dispute. The Church of England had just been formed and the Protestant Reformation was underway. Yet in this moment of great theological dispute no intentional changes to the text were made. Above we discussed that the ossification of the text over the centuries made it difficult to change the actual words of the text so this may have contributed to the lack of changes in 205 and 821. But we also do not see any substantive theological corruptions in 0319 or 0320 which were copied during the ninth and tenth centuries. Surely theological disputes existed in their time as well. These scribes, however, had a weak grasp of Greek and would have had a difficult time making substantial theological changes in Greek. They did indeed make intentional changes in the Latin text to align their text with the Vulgate. Nonetheless, the fact remains that in our five Greek New Testament scribes we find no examples of intentional theological corruption.

What we can conclude is that Greek New Testament scribes—from the ninth to the sixteenth century, regardless of whether they are fluent in Greek or not—*can* copy the text very carefully. They are capable of reproducing a text which is faithful to their exemplar. This implies, therefore, that when a scribe is found to be copying a text carelessly they may be doing so purposefully. For example, the scribe of P<sup>127</sup> (using Royse's theory that singular readings are scribal creations) could have copied their *Vorlage* faithfully but chose not to. The

scribe of P<sup>127</sup> intentionally altered the text, not for theological purposes, but to ease the reading of the text. Our study concluded that P<sup>127</sup> is anomalous and that the scribes studied in this project did their best to faithfully reproduce the text. Greek New Testament scribes are able to faithfully reproduce their text and in most cases do so.

### **Rate of Transcriptional Error in Each Copying Event**

If we could locate a consistent ratio of variation common to all scribes then we could use this figure to determine the distance or number of copying events between related manuscripts. That is to say, if we could determine that most scribes on average add x amount of words per 1,000 words and omit x amount of words per thousand words then we could determine how many changes we should find in each copying event. Unfortunately, as expected, there is no such trend or percentage of variation common to all of our scribes that could help us determine an average rate of change at each copying event. As I have frequently repeated, this is because, following Royse's statement, some scribes behave in one way and other scribes behave in another way. One common thread among our scribes is that none of them added words on the whole. But that seems to be the only conclusion common to all of our scribes. The significant error rates ranged from less than one significant variant per thousand words (0319B), to around three significant variants per thousand words (0320 and 205), to over four significant variants per thousand words (0319A). Averaging these figures in an attempt to find some common rate of change would uncritically flatten these scribes into one and would ignore their individual scribal habits.

### **On Patrons and Their Influence**

We have discussed at length the role that I believe Cardinal Bessarion played in the transmission of 205 and 2886. I believe he instructed his scribes to change the order of books within the New Testament in order to appeal to a Latin audience. I have therefore concluded that, at each point of variation we must first ask if the variant could be attributed to the patron,

then to a reader, and lastly to the scribe themselves. The scribe is the last person in the editorial process who we should consider to have a role in changing the text. Only the patron would have the authority to make substantive changes and therefore, we should, if possible, attribute substantive changes to the patron rather than to the scribe unless it can be shown that the variant was certainly scribally created.

In addition to recognizing Cardinal Bessarion's role in the formation and transmission of 205 and 2886, we can also see hints of the hidden hand of the patron in 0319. The two scribes who copied 0319 were very different individuals with different scribal habits. 0319A seems to have had at least enough Greek knowledge to pronounce (or mispronounce) words which led to many orthographic variants. 0319B, however, made only one orthographic variant. Neither 0319A and 0319B added or omitted any text. 0319A created two substitutions and 0319B created only one substitution. 0319A has a high total error rate of 29.915 variants per thousand words compared to 0319B's 12.174 variants per thousand words. That 0319B was a better copyist with respect to significant variants and total variants further suggests that 0319B knew less Greek than 0319A. So 0319A and 0319B were very different people with different scribal habits. What is striking, however, are their shared scribal attributes. Both 0319A and 0319B usually followed the same corrector (06\*\*\*). Additionally, they both ignored marginal corrections preferring instead only corrections in the main body of the text. These shared scribal attributes, in spite of these scribes' distinct individuality, suggest that a patron was behind the production of this manuscript. The patron instructed both of these scribes on how to copy the text and what changes, if any, to make.

We therefore see that patrons play a substantive role in textual transmission—a larger role than previously thought. We should therefore at each point of variation endeavor to determine who in the editorial process created each variant: the patron, a reader, or, lastly, the scribe.

## **P<sup>127</sup> in light of the *Abschrift* Method**

In Chapter Three I included an analysis of the scribal habits of P<sup>127</sup> even though it is not an *Abschrift* manuscript. I said then that the reason for its inclusion was twofold: first, to give me an opportunity to become acquainted with Roysse's method so I could converse with it in my study; and second, so that I could revisit P<sup>127</sup> in light of the *Abschrift* method to see how we can, if at all, reconsider P<sup>127</sup>'s habits with the knowledge gained from this study.

P<sup>127</sup> features a free text which extremely diverges from most other known manuscripts but shares the closest affinity with 05. P<sup>127</sup>, according to singular readings, has an error rate of 183.82 total variants per thousand words. This is more than one significant variant per line of NA text. And this is only with respect to *singular* readings. We have found that the singular readings method yields a consistently lower error rate than actual error rates. P<sup>127</sup>'s actual error rate, therefore, is undoubtedly higher than 183.82 total variants per thousand words. The error rate based on singular readings could be anywhere from around fifty-five percent to around ninety percent of the real figure for P<sup>127</sup>'s actual total error rate.

But, as we have learned, the blame for a text with such an extreme degree of variation should not be placed upon the scribe of P<sup>127</sup> alone. We have no clue what text stood in P<sup>127</sup>'s *Vorlage*. It is possible that P<sup>127</sup> copied the text with close fidelity. We must also recognize that a patron may have instructed the scribe to create an explanatory text. Additionally, it is highly likely that the explanatory variants found in P<sup>127</sup> were actually explanatory glosses in the margin of the *Vorlage* of P<sup>127</sup> made by a reader of the *Vorlage*. These glosses obscured the text to the point where it was difficult to read the text in the manuscript and the intended explanation (see **Acts 12:3b**). In light of this study we must accept that it is possible that one hundred percent of P<sup>127</sup>'s substantive variants were the result of a patron who desired an explanatory text. Likewise, it may be more likely that one hundred percent of P<sup>127</sup>'s substantive variants were the result of explanatory glosses in the *Vorlage* made by a reader.

## **Future Research Possibilities**

Any project of this type is bound to provoke as many questions as it answers. This project is no different. I have as many unanswered questions as I do conclusions. There are years of work yet to be done on *Abschriften* and their impact on textual criticism. If time permitted we would transcribe, collate, and analyze all twenty-three supposed *Abschriften* entirely rather than by test passages alone. This would identify how often each scribe changed exemplars and give a more complete idea of the scribal habits of the *Abschrift*.

### **On Catena *Abschriften***

One question to which I have not yet found an answer is why ten of the twenty-three proposed *Abschriften* are catena manuscripts. The *Liste* currently lists 5,947 Greek New Testament manuscripts (excluding lectionaries) of which 585 are catena manuscripts. So, according to the *Liste*, about 10% of our Greek New Testament manuscripts are catena. But our list of proposed *Abschriften* has ten catenae out of twenty-three manuscripts. Why is there a disproportionately higher amount of catenae that are supposed *Abschriften*? This could be a result of who has proposed the *Abschrift*. Theodora Panella identified three of the twenty-three supposed *Abschriften* during the course of her work on catenae. Additionally, Joseph Sickenberger identified one of the proposed *Abschriften* during his study of Titus of Bostra who is known to us mainly through catenae. Michael Clark identified an *Abschrift* while studying Nicetas' commentary which is known to us through catenae. Five of the ten catena *Abschriften* were identified by researchers studying solely catenae. Therefore, if they would find *Abschriften*, they would be catena.

Additionally, it is likely that catenae would be found in later manuscripts from the tenth century to the sixteenth. The time period during which we expect to find *Abschriften* is the same time period during which catenae thrived.

Catenaes are also more easily identified as *Abschriften* for at least two reasons. First, because they contain not only biblical text but also commentary text, there is additional text with which to determine whether the manuscript is an *Abschrift*. The commentary text is an additional data set which is used to find relationships between manuscripts. Second, and related to the first, the close catena types restrict the possible candidates to a much smaller number. If one is working with Type F catenae there is a limited and small number of manuscripts which can be categorized as Type F catenae. Therefore, the candidate pool of possible manuscript pairs is much smaller.

That we have a disproportionate number of catenae identified as *Abschriften* does not mean that catenae somehow better survive as pairs than do other manuscripts. This disproportionality is a result of chance findings and is not representative of the whole. This disproportionality suggests that there are many more *Abschriften* to be found. Until we find more *Abschriften* that bring the ratio of non-catenae *Abschriften* to catenaes *Abschriften* to about 10% then we can be confident that more *Abschriften* are out there waiting to be found. Perhaps someday all Greek New Testament manuscripts will be transcribed *in toto* and we will then be better equipped to identify *Abschriften* and determine other relationships.

In the end, it is obvious that the *Abschrift* method is the best method for determining scribal habits but *Abschriften* are rare and difficult to find. More effort should be expended to identify possible manuscript pairs in order that more *Abschriften* can be analyzed.

## **APPENDIX**

## List of Singular Readings of P<sup>127</sup>

10:33a	cu τε NA <sup>28</sup>   [και] cu P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   cu δε 05 044 323
10:33b	παραγενομενος NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
10:33c	νυν NA <sup>28</sup>   ν ΝΑνομενοP <sup>127</sup> {Add}
10:34a	ανοιζας NA <sup>28</sup>   απ[ο]κριθ[εις] P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
10:34b	το στομα NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
10:40	εδωκεν NA <sup>28</sup>   [εποι]ησεν P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
10:41a	λαω NA <sup>28</sup>   [κοσμ]ω P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
10:41b	μαρτυειν NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
10:41c	συνεπιομεν αυτω NA <sup>28</sup>   συνεπιομεν α[υτ]ω και συν[ανε]στρα[φημεν α]υτω P <sup>127</sup> {Add}   συνεπιομεν αυτω και συνεστραφημεν 05*   και συνανεστραφημεν 05 <sup>c</sup>
10:41d	νεκρων NA <sup>28</sup>   [νε]κρων μ[ημερα]ς P <sup>127</sup> {Tr}   νεκρων ημερας μ̄ 05
10:42a	τω λαω και διαμαρτυρασθαι NA <sup>28</sup>   και δια[μαρτυ]ρασθαι τ[ω λαω] P <sup>127</sup> {Tr}
10:42b	υπο NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
10:42c	του NA <sup>28</sup>   [τη βουλη και] π[ρο]γνωσει του P <sup>127</sup> {Add[+4]}
10:43	τουτω παντες NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
10:44a	επεπεσεν το πνευμα το αγιον NA <sup>28</sup>   [το] π[να] το αγιον επεπ[ε]σεν P <sup>127</sup> {Tr}
10:44b	τους ακουοντας τον λογον NA <sup>28</sup>   αυ[τους] P <sup>127</sup> {Sub[-3]}
11:2	περιτομης NA <sup>28</sup>   [περιτ]ο[μης] οντες P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
11:3a	εισηλθεσ NA <sup>28</sup>   [εισε]λθων P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
11:3b	και NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
11:3c	αυτοις NA <sup>28</sup>   με[τα αυτων] P <sup>127</sup> {Sub[+1]}   συν αυτοις 05*   αυτοις 05 <sup>c</sup>
11:4a	αρξαμενος NA <sup>28</sup>   [α]πο[κριθεις] P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
11:4b	λεγων NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
11:5	πολει NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
12:2	μαχαιρη NA <sup>28</sup>   [εν] μα[χαιρα] P <sup>127</sup> {Add}   μαχαιρα 03 <sup>c</sup> (man 2) 05* 08 020 044 18 323 424 614 945 1241 1505 1739
12:3a	προσεθετο NA <sup>28</sup>   ηθε[λησ]εν P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
12:3b	συλλαβειν και πετρον NA <sup>28</sup>   και τον [πε]τρον προς[λ]αβεσθαι P <sup>127*</sup> {Sub, Add}   και τον [πε]τρον c[υλ]αβεσθαι P <sup>127c</sup> (man 1)
12:5	υπο της εκκλησιας προς τον θεον περι αυτου NA <sup>28</sup>   [προς] το[ν θ̄ν περι αυτου] ὑπ[ο της εκκλησιας] P <sup>127</sup> {Tr}
12:7a	φωσ NA <sup>28</sup>   το [φωσ] P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
12:7b	του Πετρου NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
12:7c	ηγειρεν αυτον NA <sup>28</sup>   [ιρενου] ηγειρεν P <sup>127</sup> {Sub, Tr}
12:7d	ταχει και NA <sup>28</sup>   χει και ΝΑγειρεν P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
12:7e	εξεπεσαν αυτου αι αλυσεις εκ των χειρων NA <sup>28</sup>   αι α[λυσεις ε]κ των [χειρων αυ]του [εξεπεσα]ν P <sup>127</sup> {Tr}
12:8a	προς αυτον NA <sup>28</sup>   [c αυτον] ΝΑP <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
12:8b	σανδαλια NA <sup>28</sup>   υπο[δηματα] P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
12:8c	εποιησεν δε ουτως NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-3]}
12:8d	λεγει αυτω NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
12:8e	και ακολουθει NA <sup>28</sup>   [και λαβο]μενος [τον Πετρον] προ[ηγαγεν εξ]ω ειπων [ακ]ολουθει P <sup>127</sup> {Add[+6]}
12:8f	περιβαλου NA <sup>28</sup>   κ(αι) [περιβαλ]ου P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
12:9a	και εξελθων NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
12:9b	ηκολουθει NA <sup>28</sup>   [ο] δε Πετρος η[κο]λουθει P <sup>127</sup> {Add[+3]}
12:9c	και ουκ ηδει οτι NA <sup>28</sup>   μη [ει]δωσ ει P <sup>127</sup> {Sub[-1]}
15:29	ερρωσθε NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
15:30a	οι μεν NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
15:30b	ουν απολυθεντες κατηλθον NA <sup>28</sup>   [εν ο]λιγαις [δε ημε]ραις P <sup>127</sup> {Tr, Add}   ουν απολυθεντες εν ημεραις ολιγαις κατηλθον 05*   ουν απολυθεντες κατηλθον 05 <sup>c1</sup>
15:30c	την επιστολην NA <sup>28</sup>   [τα γραμ]ματα P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
15:36	μετα δε τινας ημερας ειπεν NA <sup>28</sup>   ειπεν δε P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-3], Tr}
15:38a	ηξιου NA <sup>28</sup>   ουκ ηβο[υλε]το λεγων P <sup>127</sup> {Orth}   ουκ εβουλετο λεγων 05
15:38b	εργον NA <sup>28</sup>   εργον εφ ο επεμφθησαν P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   εργον εις ο επεμφθησαν 05
15:38c	τουτον NA <sup>28</sup>   τουτον μη [συν]ειναι P <sup>127</sup> {Sub[-1]}   τουτον μη ειναι συν 05

15:39 δε NA<sup>28</sup> | εκ τουτου P<sup>127</sup> {Sub[+1]} | ουν 04 08 020 044 18 323 424 614 945 1241 1505 1739  
 15:41a την Κυριαν NA<sup>28</sup> | Κυρο[φοινικη]ν P<sup>127</sup> {Om, Sub}  
 15:41b και NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om}  
 15:41c Κιλικιαν NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om}  
 15:41d εκκλησιας NA<sup>28</sup> | [εκκλη]σιας πα[ρα]διδο[υ]ς τας [εντολ]ας φυλας[σειν] των απο[στολων] και των [πρεσβ]υτερων P<sup>127</sup> {Add[+4]} | εκκλησιας παραδιδους τας εντολας των πρεσβυτερων 05  
 16:1 γυναικος NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om}  
 16:2a υπο NA<sup>28</sup> | περι P<sup>127</sup> {Sub}  
 16:2b Λυστροις NA<sup>28</sup> | [Λυ]στ[ρ]η P<sup>127</sup> {Sub, PropName} | Λυστροω 33  
 16:2c αδελφων NA<sup>28</sup> | μ[αθητων] P<sup>127</sup> {Sub}  
 16:3a ο Παυλος NA<sup>28</sup> | Παυλος P<sup>127</sup> {Om}  
 16:3b συν αυτο εξελθειν NA<sup>28</sup> | [συν]εξελθ[ειν] αυτω P<sup>127</sup> {Tr, Sub[-1]}  
 16:3c εκεινοις ηδεισαν γαρ απαντες οτι ελλην ο πατηρ αυτου υπηρχεν NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om[-8]} | εκεινοις γαρ απαντες τον π[α]ρα αυτου εστι ελλην υπηρχεν 2774 | εκεινοις ηδεισαν γαρ απαντες τον π[α]ρα αυτου οτι ελλην ην 1127 | εκεινοις ηδεισαν γαρ απαντες οτι Ελλην ο πατηρ αυτου υπηρχεν 01 | εκεινοις ηδησαν γαρ απαντες οτι Ελλην ο π[α]ρ αυτου υπηρχεν 33 | εκεινοις ιδησαν γαρ απαντες οτι Ελλην ο π[α]ρ αυτου υπηρχεν 2344 | εκεινοις ηδεισαν γαρ παντες οτι Ελλην ο πατηρ αυτου υπηρχεν P<sup>74</sup> | εκεινοις ηδεισαν γαρ παντες οτι Ελλην ο π[α]ρ αυτου υπηρχεν 69 1175 | εκεινοις ηδεισαν γαρ παντες τον πατερα αυτου οτι Ελλην υπηρχεν 05 | εκεινοις ηδεισαν γαρ παντες τον π[α]ρα αυτου οτι Ελλην υπηρχεν 1646 | εκεινοις ηδεισαν γαρ τον π[α]ρα αυτου απαντες οτι Ελλην υπηρχεν 614 1505 1611 2147 2412 2495 | εκεινοις ειδησαν γαρ απαντες τον π[α]ρα αυτου οτι Ελλην υπηρχεν 020 | εκεινοις ηδεσαν γαρ απαντες τον π[α]ρα αυτου οτι Ελλην υπηρχεν 226\* | εκεινοις ηδησαν γαρ απαντες τον π[α]ρα αυτου οτι Ελλην υπηρχεν 330 618 1243 | εκεινοις ηδεισαν γαρ απαντες τον π[α]ρα αυτου οτι Ελλην υπηρχεν 08 014 025 049 056 1 88 104 226<sup>c</sup> 323 440 547 927 1241 1245 1270 1854 2492  
 16:4 παρεδιδουσαν αυτοις NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}  
 16:13a και NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127\*</sup> {Om} | κ(αι) P<sup>127c</sup>  
 16:13b ελελουμεν NA<sup>28</sup> | συν[ε]λαλο[υ]ν P<sup>127</sup> {Sub} | ωμιλουμεν 547  
 16:14a τις NA<sup>28</sup> | ην τις P<sup>127</sup> {Add}  
 16:14b ηκουεν NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om}  
 16:14c ονοματι λυδια πορφυροπωλις πολεως θυατειρων εβφομενη τον θεον NA<sup>28</sup> | [εβφομ]ενη τον [θ]ν ονο[μα]τ[ι] λυ[δ]ια πο[ρ]φυρο[πω]λις θυγατηρ[ων] P<sup>127</sup> {Tr, Om, Sub}  
 16:14d προσεχειν NA<sup>28</sup> | [ινα] πιτ[ε]υση P<sup>127</sup> {Sub[+1]}  
 16:14e λαλουμενοις NA<sup>28</sup> | [λεγ]ομε[νοις] P<sup>127</sup> {Sub}  
 16:15a ως δε NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}  
 16:15b εβαπτισθη NA<sup>28</sup> | ητις [εβαπτισ]θη P<sup>127</sup> {Add}  
 16:15c τω κυριω NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]} | τω θεω 05  
 16:16a εγενετο NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om}  
 16:16b δε πορευομενων NA<sup>28</sup> | [π]ορευομενων [δ]ε P<sup>127</sup> {Tr}  
 16:16c εις την προσευχην NA<sup>28</sup> | εν τη προσευχη P<sup>127</sup> {Sub}  
 16:16d παιδικην NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127\*</sup> {Om} | παιδικη P<sup>127c</sup> 81  
 16:16e πυθωνα NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127\*</sup> {Om} | πυ[θ]ωνος P<sup>127c</sup>  
 16:16f τινα NA<sup>28</sup> | ητις P<sup>127\*</sup> {Sub} | τις P<sup>127c</sup>  
 16:16g υπαντησαι ημιν NA<sup>28</sup> P<sup>74</sup> 01<sup>c</sup> 03\* 04 08 044 33 81 1175 | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]} | απαντησαι ημιν 02 03<sup>c</sup> 020 025 020 049 056 1 18 69 88 104 226 323 330 424 440 547 614 618 927 945 1241 1243 1245 1270 1505 1611 1646 1739 1828 1837 1854 1891 2147 2412 2492 2495 | απαντησαι ημειν 05 | υπαντησαι υμιν 01\* | υπαντισαι ημιν 2344  
 16:16h ητις εργασιαν πολλην NA<sup>28</sup> | ητις πολ[λ]ην εργασιαν P<sup>127</sup> {Tr}  
 16:17a Παυλω και ημιν NA<sup>28</sup> | πολ[λ]α ημων P<sup>127</sup> {Sub[-1]}  
 16:17b αυτη κατακολουθουσα NA<sup>28</sup> | κατακολουθο[υ]σα α[υ]τ[η] P<sup>127</sup> {Tr}  
 16:18a τουτο δε NA<sup>28</sup> | υτο δε NA<sup>λ</sup> P<sup>127</sup> {Tr, Sub}  
 16:18b επι πολλας ημερας NA<sup>28</sup> | ημεραις ικαναις P<sup>127</sup> {Tr, Sub[-1]} | om. 2492  
 16:18c και εξηλθεν NA<sup>28</sup> | om. P<sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}  
 16:19a ιδοντες δε NA<sup>28</sup> | [δε] ει[δο]ν P<sup>127</sup> {Orth} | δε ειδαν 05  
 16:19b ειλικυαν NA<sup>28</sup> P<sup>74</sup> 01 02 03 05 014 020 025 044 049 056 1 69 81 88 104 226 323 330 440 547 614 618 927 945 1175 1241 1245 1270 1505 1611 1739 1828 1837 1854 1891 2147 2344 2412 2492 2495 | ηγα[γο]ν P<sup>127</sup> {Sub} | ηλικυαν 04 1243 1646 | εσυραν 08

16:19c	επι τους αρχοντας NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-3]}
16:20a	προσαγαγοντες NA <sup>28</sup>   ενεφαν[ic]αν P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:20b	ειπαν NA <sup>28</sup>   λεγο[ν]τες P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:20c	ουτοι οι ανθρωποι NA <sup>28</sup>   οτι οι αν[οι] ουτοι P <sup>127</sup> {Add, Tr}
16:20d	εκταρασσουσιν NA <sup>28</sup>   ταρα[cc]ουσι[ν] P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:21	εξεστιν ημιν NA <sup>28</sup>   [η]μιν [εξε]στιν P <sup>127</sup> {Tr}
16:22a	κατ αυτων NA <sup>28</sup>   κ[ατ αυτ]ων [επικραζο]ντες P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   κατ αυτων κραζοντες 05
16:22b	περιρηξαντες αυτων τα ματια NA <sup>28</sup>   [τα ματ]ι[α περιρηξαντες] P <sup>127</sup> {Om, Tr}
16:23a	πολλας τε NA <sup>28</sup>   κα[ι π]ολλας P <sup>127</sup> {Tr, Sub}   πολλας Tr, S 81 1175
16:23b	αυτοις NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
16:23c	αυτους NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
16:24a	ος NA <sup>28</sup>   ο δε δεσμοφυ[λα]ξ P <sup>127</sup> {Add}   ο δε 05
16:24b	παραγγελιαν τοιαυτην NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
16:24c	λαβων NA <sup>28</sup>   παρ[α]λαβ[ων] P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:24d	εβαλεν αυτους NA <sup>28</sup>   [α]υτους εβαλεν P <sup>127</sup> {Tr}
16:24e	την εσωτεραν φυλακην NA <sup>28</sup>   την φυλακην την εσωτερω P <sup>127</sup> {Add, Tr, Sub, Nons}
16:24f	το NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
16:25a	μεσονυκτιον NA <sup>28</sup> 05 <sup>c</sup>   μεσην νυκτα P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   μεσον της νυκτος 05*
16:25b	κυλας NA <sup>28</sup>   κυλας P <sup>127</sup> {Orth, PropName}   κυλας 03
16:25c	δεσμοι NA <sup>28</sup> 05 <sup>c</sup>   δεσμοτα[ι] P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   δεσμοι 05*
16:26a	αφνω δε NA <sup>28</sup>   [κ]α[ι] εξαπ[ι]νης P <sup>127</sup> {Tr, Sub}
16:26b	σεισμος εγενετο NA <sup>28</sup>   [εγ]γενετο σεισμ[ο]ς P <sup>127</sup> {Tr}   σεισμος εγενετο 01 02 08 614 1175 1243
16:26c	καλυθησεται NA <sup>28</sup>   κα[ι] εκ[α]λυθησ[ε]ται P <sup>127</sup> {Add, Sub}
16:26d	του δεσμοτηριου NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
16:26e	ηνεωθησαν NA <sup>28</sup>   π[αντα κ]αι ηνε[ωχ]θησ[αν] P <sup>127</sup> {Add[+2]}
16:26f	δε NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om}   τε 04 014 020 P 044 049 056 226* 323 330 440 547 618 1241 1243 1245 1270 1646 1828 1854 2492
16:27a	σπασαμενος NA <sup>28</sup>   πασας [c]πασαμενος P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
16:27b	ημελλεν NA <sup>28</sup>   ηθελησεν P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   εμελλεν 05 014 049 056 1 33 69 88 945 104 226 323 330 440 614 618 927 1241 1243 1245 1270 1505 1611 1646 1739 1828 1837 1854 1891 2147 2412 2492 2495
16:27c	αναρειν NA <sup>28</sup> 81 <sup>c</sup>   κατακ[ ][ ]και P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   ανερειν 04*   ανερειν 04 <sup>c</sup> 81* 1243 1646   ανερειν 08
16:28a	μεγαλη φωνη NA <sup>28</sup>   αυτον P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:28b	μηδεν πραξης NA <sup>28</sup>   μη ταρασσου P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:28c	σεαυτω κακον NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
16:29a	προσεπεσεν NA <sup>28</sup>   επιπεσων P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:29b	κυλα NA <sup>28</sup>   κυλα P <sup>127</sup> {Orth, PropName}   κυλα 03
16:30a	και NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
16:30b	εξω NA <sup>28</sup>   εξω τους λοιπους ασφαλιας P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   εξω τους λοιπους ασφαλιαμενος 05
16:30c	εφη NA <sup>28</sup>   προελθων εφη P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
16:31	πιστευσον NA <sup>28</sup>   [αυ]τω πιστευσ[ο]ν {Add}
16:32a	αυτω NA <sup>28</sup>   αυτοις P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:32b	συν πασιν NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
16:32c	τη οικια NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
16:33a	παραλαβον αυτους εν εκεινη τη ωρα NA <sup>28</sup>   εκεινη τη [ω]ρα παραλαβοντες αυτους P <sup>127</sup> {Sub, Tr}
16:33b	οι αυτου παντες παραρημα NA <sup>28</sup>   παντες οι παρ αυτου P <sup>127</sup> {Sub, Tr}
16:35a	ημερας δε γενομενης NA <sup>28</sup>   γενομενης δε ημερας P <sup>127</sup> {Tr}
16:35b	ραβδουχους NA <sup>28</sup>   αποτελ[λο]υσι τους ραβδουχους P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   απεστειλαν τους ραβδουχους 05
16:35c	στρατηγοι NA <sup>28</sup>   στρατηγοι επι[ι] το εις την αγορα[ν] και [αν]αμνησθεντες το[υ] γενομενου σεισμου P <sup>127</sup> {Tr, Sub[-1]}   στρατηγοι επι αυτο εις την αγοραν και αναμνησθεντες τον σεισμον τον γεγονοτα 05
16:35d	λεγοντες NA <sup>28</sup>   λεγοντες τω δεσμοφυλακι P <sup>127</sup> {Add[+2]}
16:36a	τους λογους NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
16:36b	τον Παυλον NA <sup>28</sup>   <i>om.</i> P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}   τω Παυλω 044
16:36c	οτι NA <sup>28</sup>   αυτοις οτι P <sup>127</sup> {Add}

16:36d	στρατηγοι ινα απολυθητε NA <sup>28</sup>   στρατηγοι απολυθηγαι υμας απολυθητε P <sup>127</sup> {Sub[+1]}
16:36e	νυν NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
16:36f	εξελθοντες πορευεσθε NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
16:37a	εφη προς αυτους NA <sup>28</sup>   προς αυτους ειπεν P <sup>127</sup> {Tr, Sub}
16:37b	δειραντες NA <sup>28</sup>   ακαταιτιαςτους δειραν[τ]εσ P <sup>127</sup> {Sub, Nons}   ανατιειους δειραντες 05
16:37c	φυλακην NA <sup>28</sup>   την φυλακην P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
16:37d	αυτοι NA <sup>28</sup>   ουν αυτοι P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
16:37e	ημας εξαγαγετωσαν NA <sup>28</sup>   επαγαγετωσαν ημας P <sup>127</sup> {Sub, Tr}
16:38a	ρηματα NA <sup>28</sup>   ρηθεντα P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:38b	τοις στρατηγοις NA <sup>28</sup>   υπο του Παυλου τρις στρατηγοις P <sup>127</sup> {Add[+3]}
16:38c	Ρωμαιοι NA <sup>28</sup>   Ρωμαιοσ P <sup>127*</sup> {Sub}   Ρωμαιοουσ P <sup>127c</sup>
16:38d	εισιν NA <sup>28</sup>   αυτους απεκαλον P <sup>127</sup> {Sub[+1]}
16:39a	και ελθοντες παρεκαλεσαν NA <sup>28</sup>   παραγενομενοι τε μετα ικανον φιλων επι την φυλακην παρεκαλε[ε]σαν P <sup>127</sup> {Tr, Sub}   και παραγενομενοι μετα φιλων πολλων εις την φυλακην παρεκαλεσαν 05
16:39b	της πολεωσ NA <sup>28</sup>   ταυτης δε πολεωσ P <sup>127</sup> {Add, Tr}   της πολεωσ ταυτης 05
16:40a	εξελθοντες NA <sup>28</sup>   απολυθεντες P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
16:40b	απο της φυλακης NA <sup>28</sup> 01 03 945 1739 1891   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-3]}   εκ της φυλακης P <sup>74</sup> A02 05 08 014 020 025 044 049 056 1 33 69 81 88 104 226 323 330 440 547 614 618 927 1175 1241 1243 1245 1270 1505 1611 1646 1828 1854 2147 2412 2492 2495   εκ της πολεωσ 1837
16:40c	εξηλθαν NA <sup>28</sup> 01 05   εξησαν P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   εξηλθον P <sup>74</sup> 02 03 08 014 020 025 044 049 056 1 33 69 81 88 104 226 323 330 440 547 618 927 1175 1245 1270 1505 1611 1646 1828 1854 2412 2492 2495
17:1a	διοδευσαντες δε NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
17:1b	την Αμφιπολιν NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-2]}
17:1c	εισ NA <sup>28</sup>   εκειθεν δε εις P <sup>127</sup> {Add, Sub}   κακειθεν εις 05
17:1d	οπου ην συναγωγή NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om[-3]}
17:1e	Ιουδαιων NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
17:2a	τω Παυλω NA <sup>28</sup>   Παυλοσ P <sup>127</sup> {Om}   ο Παυλοσ 05
17:2b	προς αυτους και NA <sup>28</sup>   ειρηλθεν εις την συναγωγην των Ιουδαιων {Sub[+3]}   προς αυτους 05
17:2c	διελεξατο NA <sup>28</sup> 01 02 03 33 81 88 945 1739 1891   δια[λεγο]μενοσ P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   διελεγξατο 1175   διελεχθη 05 08 044 1505 1611 2495   διελεγετο 014 020 025 049 056 1 69 104 226 323 330 440 547 618 927 1241 1243 1245 1270 1646 1828 1837 1854 2492   διηλεγχθη 2147   διηλεχθη 614 2412
17:3a	διανοιγων NA <sup>28</sup>   και διανοιγων {Add}
17:3b	εκ νεκρων NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127vid</sup> {Om[-2]}
17:4a	εξ NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127vid</sup> {Om}
17:4b	τω Παυλω και NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127vid</sup> {Om[-3]}
17:4c	Σιλα NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127vid</sup> {Om}   Σειλα 03
17:4d	ολιγα NA <sup>28</sup>   ολιγα P <sup>127*</sup> {Nons}   ολιγα P <sup>127c</sup>
17:5	πονηρουσ NA <sup>28</sup>   [πολ]λοουσ P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
17:6	αναστατωσαντες NA <sup>28</sup>   [αν]αστατουντες P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
17:7a	υποδεδεκται NA <sup>28</sup> P <sup>74</sup> 01 02 03 05 014 020 025 044 056 1 69 81 88 104 226 323 330 440 547 614 945 1175 1241 1245 1270 1505 1611 1739 1828 1837 1854 1891 2147 2344 2412 2492 2495   υποδε[δ]εκ[α]τοσ P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}   υποδεδετε 1646*   υποδεδεκτη 08 1646 <sup>c</sup>   αποδεδεκται 618
17:7b	Ιαων NA <sup>28</sup>   ο Ιαων P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
17:7c	πρασσοουσιν NA <sup>28</sup>   πρασσο P <sup>127*</sup> {Nons}   πρασσοουσιν P <sup>127c</sup>
17:7d	βασιλεα NA <sup>28</sup>   [ω]ε βασιλεα P <sup>127</sup> {Add}
17:7e	ετερον NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
17:7f	ειναι NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
17:7g	Ιησουν NA <sup>28</sup>   τινα ποτε Ιν P <sup>127</sup> {Add[+2]}
17:8	εταραξαν δε NA <sup>28</sup>   ενεπλησαν τε θυμου P <sup>127</sup> {Sub[+1]}
17:9a	και λαβοντες το ικανον NA <sup>28</sup>   οι μεν ουν π[ολι]ταρχαι ικανον λαβοντες {Add[+4], Om[-2], Tr}
17:9b	αυτους NA <sup>28</sup>   om. P <sup>127</sup> {Om}
17:10a	ευθεωσ NA <sup>28</sup>   απελρον P <sup>127</sup> {Sub}
17:10b	και τον Σιλαν NA <sup>28</sup>   συ[ν] τω Σειλα P <sup>127</sup> {Sub, PropName}   και τον Σειλαν P <sup>45</sup> 03 05

## List of Variant Readings between 0319A and 06

Romans 1:8	τω κοσμω NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319<sup>c</sup></b> <i>rell</i>   των κοσμω <b>0319*</b> {Nons}
Romans 1:9	μαρτυς NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06***</b> <i>rell</i>   μαρτις <b>0319</b> {Orth}   μαρτυρ <b>06*</b> 1646*
Romans 1:13	εκωλυθην NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> 01 02 03 04 018 020 025 044 1 614 999 1734 1881   εκωλιθην <b>0319</b> {Orth}   εκωλυθη 330   εκολυθην 012 460 1243 1319 1735   εκολληθην 056   εκολυθειν 1646 2464
Romans 1:19a	ο γαρ θεος TR <b>06***</b> 018 020 025 049 056 1 6 88 104 131 205 209 226 323 330 365 999 1175 1242 1243 1245 1315 1352 1424 1448 1505 1611 1646 1734 1738 1739 1827 1836 1854 1891 2125 2147 2412 2495 2815   θεος ο γαρ <b>0319</b> {ErrCorr}   ο θεος γαρ NA <sup>28</sup> <b>06*</b> 01 02 03 04 012 044 33 69 1241 1270 1319 1506 1573 1735 1837 1881 2344 2400 2464   ο γαρ ο θεος 1874
Romans 1:19b	αυτοις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   αυτους <b>0319</b> {Orth}
Romans 1:20a	αορατα NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   ορατα <b>0319</b> 012 {Sub}
Romans 1:20b	καθοραται NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> 02 03 04 012 018 020 025 044 049 056 1 6 69 88 104 131 205 209 226 323 326 330 365 424 440 460 489 517 614 618 796 910 927 945 999 1175 1241 1242 1243 1245 1270 1315 1319 1352 1424 1448 1505 1506 1573 1611 1734 1735 1738 1739 1827 1836 1837 1854 1874 1881 1891 2125 <sup>c</sup> 2147 2344 2400 2412 2495 2815   καθοραται <b>0319</b> {Orth}   καθορατε 01 33 2125*   καθωρατε 2464   καθωραται 1646
Romans 1:20c	δυναμις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06<sup>c</sup></b> 01 02 03 04 012 018 020 025 044 056 1 6 33 69 88 104 131 205 209 226 323 326 330 365 424 440 460 489 517 547 614 618 796 910 927 945 999 1175 1241 1242 1270 1243 1315 1319 1352 1424 1448 1505 1506 1573 1611 1734 1735 1738 1739 1827 1836 1837 1854 1874 1881 1891 2125 2147 2344 2400 2412 2495 2815   δυναμις <b>0319</b> {Orth}   δυναμεις <b>06*</b> 049 1646 2464
Romans 1:21	διαλογισμοις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   διαλογισμους <b>0319</b> {Orth}   διαλογεισμοις 012
Romans 1:24	και TR <b>06</b> 012 018 020 025 044 049 056 1 6 69 88 131 205 209 226 323 326 330 365 424 440 460 489 517 547 614 618 796 910 927 945 999 1175 1241 1242 1243 1245 1270 1315 1352 1424 1448 1505 1506 1611 1646 1734 1735 1738 1827 1836 1837 1854 1874 1891 2125 2147 2400 2412 2464 2495 2815   καν <b>0319</b> {Sub}   <i>om.</i> NA <sup>28</sup> 01 02 03 04 33 104 1319 1573 1739 1881 2344
Romans 1:25	την NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   την <b>0319</b> {Orth}
Romans 1:27	κατεργαζομενοι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   κατεργαζομενεν <b>0319</b> {GraphicalConf}   κατεργαζωμενοι 2464
Romans 1:28	παρεδωκεν NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   τιαρεδωκεν <b>0319</b> {Nons}   παρεδοκεν 1424 1646 2464
Romans 1:30	θεοστυγεις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <i>rell</i>   θεοστυπις <b>0319</b> {ErrCorr}   θεοστυγις <b>06*</b>   θεοτυγις 1424*   θεοστυγις 1243

## List of Variant Readings between 0319B and 06

2 Cor 12:13	ητηθητε TR <b>06** 0320</b> 01 <sup>c</sup> 02 044 049 1 35 69 76 209 218 424 489 927 945 999 1243 1244 1249 1315 1448 1505 1563 1573 1628 1720 1735 1739 1768 1876 1877 1881 1900 1962 2374 2400 2495   ητηθητε <b>0319</b> 1646 {Orth}   ησσωθητε NA <sup>28</sup> P <sup>46</sup> 01* 03 <b>06*</b>   ελαττωθητε 010 012   ισωθηται 33   ητηθηται 131   ετηθητε 1245   ητηθητε 1874
2 Cor 12:15	εκδαπανησομαι <b>06</b>   εκδαπανηθησομαι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>0319 0320</b> <i>rell</i> {Sub}   εκδαπανηθησομαι 1735 1836 2464   εκδαπανηθησομαι 1874*   δαπανηθησομαι 69 629 1505 2495
2 Cor 12:20	φοβουμαι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <i>rell</i>   φοβουμει <b>0319</b> {ErrCorr}   φοβουμε <b>06* 0320</b> 049*
Eph 2:15	καταργησας NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06*** 0320</b>   καταργισας <b>0319</b> {ErrCorr}   καταρτισας <b>06*</b>
Titus 2:12	αιωνι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0320</b> <i>rell</i>   αιων <b>0319</b> {GraphicalConf}   αιωνει 010 012 <sup>c</sup>   αυωνει 012*
Titus 2:15	ελεγγε NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06*** 0320</b> <i>rell</i>   ελειγγε <b>0319</b> {ErrCorr}   ελεγγε <b>06*</b>   ελεγγαι 010 012   ελεγγε 1874
Titus 3:3	στυγητοι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <i>rell</i>   τυγητοι <b>0319</b> {Nons}   στυγητη <b>0320</b>   μισητοι <b>06*</b>   στυγηται 01   στυγιτοι 1573   στοιπητοι 010 012
Titus 3:7	κληρονομοι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   κληρθνομοι <b>0319</b> {GraphicalConf}   κλερονομοι <b>0320</b>   κληρονομαι 010

## List of Singular Readings of 0319A

Romans 1:8	τω κοσμω NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   των κοσμω <b>0319</b> {Nons}
Romans 1:9	μαρτυς NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06***</b> <i>rell</i>   μαρτις <b>0319</b> {Orth}   μαρτυρ <b>06*</b> 1646*
Romans 1:13	εκωλυθην NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> 01 02 03 04 018 020 025 044 1 614 999 1734 1881   εκωλιθην <b>0319</b> {Orth}   εκωλυθη 330   εκολυθην 012 460 1243 1319 1735   εκολληθην 056   εκολυθειν 1646 2464
Romans 1:19a	ο γαρ θεος TR <b>06***</b> 018 020 025 049 056 1 6 88 104 131 205 209 226 323 330 365 999 1175 1242 1243 1245 1315 1352 1424 1448 1505 1611 1646 1734 1738 1739 1827 1836 1854 1891 2125 2147 2412 2495 2815   θεος ο γαρ <b>0319</b> {Tr}   ο θεος γαρ NA <sup>28</sup> <b>06*</b> 01 02 03 04 012 044 33 69 1241 1270 1319 1506 1573 1735 1837 1881 2344 2400 2464   ο γαρ ο θεος 1874
Romans 1:19b	αυτοις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   αυτους <b>0319</b> {Orth}
Romans 1:20a	καθοραται NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> 02 03 04 012 018 020 025 044 049 056 1 6 69 88 104 131 205 209 226 323 326 330 365 424 440 460 489 517 614 618 796 910 927 945 999 1175 1241 1242 1243 1245 1270 1315 1319 1352 1424 1448 1505 1506 1573 1611 1734 1735 1738 1739 1827 1836 1837 1854 1874 1881 1891 2125 <sup>c</sup> 2147 2344 2400 2412 2495 2815   καθοραται <b>0319</b> {Orth}   καθορατε 01 33 2125*   καθωρατε 2464   καθωραται 1646
Romans 1:20b	δυναμις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06<sup>c</sup></b> 01 02 03 04 012 018 020 025 044 056 1 6 33 69 88 104 131 205 209 226 323 326 330 365 424 440 460 489 517 547 614 618 796 910 927 945 999 1175 1241 1242 1270 1243 1315 1319 1352 1424 1448 1505 1506 1573 1611 1734 1735 1738 1739 1827 1836 1837 1854 1874 1881 1891 2125 2147 2344 2400 2412 2495 2815   δυναμις <b>0319</b> {Orth}   δυναμεις <b>06*</b> 049 1646 2464
Romans 1:21	διαλογισμοις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   διαλογισμους <b>0319</b> {Orth}   διαλογεισμοις 012
Romans 1:24	και TR <b>06</b> 012 018 020 025 044 049 056 1 6 69 88 131 205 209 226 323 326 330 365 424 440 460 489 517 547 614 618 796 910 927 945 999 1175 1241 1242 1243 1245 1270 1315 1352 1424 1448 1505 1506 1611 1646 1734 1735 1738 1827 1836 1837 1854 1874 1891 2125 2147 2400 2412 2464 2495 2815   καν <b>0319</b> {Sub}   <i>om.</i> NA <sup>28</sup> 01 02 03 04 33 104 1319 1573 1739 1881 2344
Romans 1:25	την NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   την <b>0319</b> {Orth}
Romans 1:27	κατεργαζομενοι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   κατεργαζομενεν <b>0319</b> {Nons}   κατεργαζομενοι 2464
Romans 1:28	παρεδωκεν NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   τιαρεδωκεν <b>0319</b> {Nons}   παρεδοκεν 1424 1646 2464
Romans 1:30	θεοστυγεις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <i>rell</i>   θεοστυπις <b>0319</b> {Nons}   θεοστυγις <b>06*</b>   θεοστυγις 1424*   θεοστυγις 1243

## List of Singular Readings of 0319B

2 Cor 12:20	φοβουμαι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <i>rell</i>   φοβουμει <b>0319</b> {Orth}   φοβουμε <b>06*</b> <b>0320</b> 049*
Ephesians 2:15	καταργησας NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06***</b> <b>0320</b>   καταργισας <b>0319</b> {Orth}   καταρτισας <b>06*</b>
Titus 2:12	αιωνι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <b>0320</b> <i>rell</i>   αιων <b>0319</b> {Sub}   αιωνει 010 012 <sup>c</sup>   αυωνει 012*
Titus 2:15	ελεγγε NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06***</b> <b>0320</b> <i>rell</i>   ελειγε <b>0319</b> {Orth}   ελενγε <b>06*</b>   ελεγγαι 010 012   ελεγγε 1874
Titus 3:3	στυγητοι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <i>rell</i>   τυγητοι <b>0319</b> {Nons}   στυγητη <b>0320</b>   μισητοι <b>06*</b>   στυγηται 01   στυγιτοι 1573   στοιπητοι 010 012
Titus 3:7	κληρονομοι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   κληρθνομοι <b>0319</b> {Nons}   κλερονομοι <b>0320</b>   κληρονομαι 010

## List of Peculiar Dual Agreements between 06 and 0319A

Romans 1:30	καταλαλους NA <sup>28</sup> <i>rell</i>   κακολαλους <b>06</b> <b>0319</b>
Romans 1:32	<i>om.</i> NA <sup>28</sup> <b>06***</b> <i>rell</i>   ουκ ενοησαν <b>06*</b> <b>0319</b>   ουκ εγνωσαν 012 330 1243 1506

### List of Peculiar Dual Agreements between 06 and 0319B

2 Cor 12:12	κατειρασθη NA <sup>28</sup> TR 01 02 03 <sup>c</sup> 018 020 025 044 049 1 33 35 69 76 88 131 205 209 218 226 323 424 440 489 547 618 629 630 796 910 927 945 999 1241 1242 1244 1249 1270 1315 1319 1424 1448 1505 1563 1573 1611 1628 1720 1734 1735 1738 1739 1768 1854 1876 1881 1891 1900 1962 1982 2125 2147 2374 2400 2495 2815   κατειρασθη <b>06 0319</b>   κατειρασθη <b>0320</b>   κατειρασθη P <sup>46</sup> 03* 010 012 075 6 104 326 330 424 517 614 1175 1243 1245 1646 1827 1837 2412 2464   κατειρασθη 1874 1877   κατειρασθη 460 1836 1874
2 Cor 12:17	απεσταλκα NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>46</sup> 01 02 03 010 012 044 049 1 33 35 131 209 218 424 927 945 999 1243 1244 1245 1249 1315 1448 1505 1563 1628 1646 1720 1739 1768 1874 1876 1877 1900 2374 2495   επενσα <b>06 0319</b>   επεμψα <b>0320</b>   απεστελα 69 76 1319 1573 1735 1881 1962 2400

### List of Variant Readings between VL76A and VL75

Romans 1:7	in caritate Dei <b>VL75</b> VgF* Vg <sup>OpL</sup>   <i>om.</i> <b>VL76 0319</b> [αγαπητοις θεου] {Om}   dilectis Dei <i>vg</i>   in dilectione dei VgA VL61   in caritate uel delictione dei VL77
Romans 1:23	serpentum <b>VL75</b> VgF   serpentium <b>VL76</b> <i>vg</i> {Orth}   sepeptium VgC*
Romans 1:24	afficiant <b>VL75</b> <i>vg</i> VgA VL61 VgF VL7 Vg <sup>OH</sup> Vg <sup>OΘ</sup> Vg <sup>OaU*</sup> VL65*   afficiant <b>VL76</b> Vg <sup>SΦB</sup> VgC Vg <sup>SΦG</sup> Vg <sup>OpL</sup> Vg <sup>OpM</sup> Vg <sup>OpO</sup> Vg <sup>SpR</sup> Vg <sup>OT</sup> Vg <sup>OaUc</sup> Vg <sup>OW</sup> VL65 <sup>c</sup> {Orth}   afficiantur Vg <sup>SΦV</sup>
Romans 1:30	adfectione <b>VL75</b> VgA VgC VL61 VgF* Vg <sup>OpL</sup> Vg <sup>OT</sup>   affectione <b>VL76</b> <i>vg</i> Vg <sup>SΦB</sup> VgF <sup>c</sup> VL7 Vg <sup>OH</sup> Vg <sup>OΘ</sup> Vg <sup>SΦG</sup> Vg <sup>OpM</sup> Vg <sup>OpO</sup> Vg <sup>SpR</sup> Vg <sup>OaU</sup> Vg <sup>SΦV</sup> Vg <sup>OW</sup> VL65 {Orth}
Romans 1:32	etiam <b>VL75*</b> Vg <sup>SΦB</sup> Vg <sup>SΦG</sup> Vg <sup>OpL</sup> Vg <sup>OpM</sup> Vg <sup>SΦV</sup> VL65   et <b>VL75***</b> <i>vg</i>   <i>om.</i> <b>VL76</b> VL61 {Om}

### List of Variant Readings between VL76B and VL75

2 Cor 11:33	ut <b>VL75</b>   et <b>VL76 VL83</b> <i>vg</i> {Sub}
2 Cor 12:11	commendare <b>VL75</b> Vg <sup>OW</sup>   commendari <b>VL76 VL83</b> <i>vg</i> {Sub}
Ephesians 1:9	ostenderent <b>VL75</b>   ostenderet <b>VL76 VL83</b> VL64 {Sub}   notum faceret <i>vg</i> VL77 VL78 VL61
Titus 1:5	grati <b>VL75</b>   gratia <b>VL76</b> <i>vg</i> <b>VL83</b> {Sub}
Titus 1:7a	uinulentum <b>VL75 VL83</b>   uinolentum <b>VL76</b> <i>vg</i> VL77 VL78 VL89 VL61 {Orth}
Titus 1:7b	percussorem <b>VL75</b>   percussorem <b>VL76 VL83</b> <i>vg</i> {Orth}
Titus 1:12a	propetat <b>VL75</b>   propheta <b>VL76</b> <i>vg</i> <b>VL83</b> {Sub}   profeta VL61
Titus 1:12b	cretensis <b>VL75</b> VL89   cretenses <b>VL76</b> <i>vg</i> <b>VL83</b> {Sub}
Titus 1:13	quem <b>VL75</b>   qua <b>VL76</b> {Sub}   quam <i>vg</i> VL61 VL77 VL78 <b>VL83</b> VL89
Titus 1:16	ab <b>VL75</b>   ad <b>VL76</b> <i>vg</i> <b>VL83</b> {Sub}
Titus 3:1	ab <b>VL75</b>   ad <b>VL76</b> <i>vg</i> <b>VL83</b> {Sub}
Titus 3:3	a <b>VL75</b>   <i>om.</i> <b>VL76</b> <i>vg</i> {Om}

### List of Singular Readings of VL76A

None

### List of Singular Readings of VL76B

Titus 1:13 quem **VL75** | qua **VL76** {Sub} | quam *vg* VL61 VL77 VL78 **VL83** VL89

## List of Variant Readings between 0320 and 06

2 Cor 12:9	δυναμς NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   δυναμοις <b>0320</b> {Orth}   δυναμεις 02 010 012 1243 1646 2147 2464
2 Cor 12:10	στενωχωριας <b>06 0319</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell</i>   στενωχωριας <b>0320</b> {Orth}   στενωχωριες 489   στενωχωριας 1424   στενοχοριας 1319 2464
2 Cor 12:12a	κατηργασθην <b>06 0319</b>   κατεργασθην <b>0320</b> {Orth}   κατειργασθη NA <sup>28</sup> TR 01 02 B <sup>c</sup> 018 020 025 044 049 1 33 35 69 76 88 131 205 209 218 226 323 424 440 489 547 618 629 630 796 910 927 945 999 1241 1242 1244 1249 1270 1315 1319 1424 1448 1505 1563 1573 1611 1628 1720 1734 1735 1738 1739 1768 1854 1876 1881 1891 1900 1962 1982 2125 2147 2374 2400 2495 2815   κατηργασθη P <sup>46</sup> 03* 010 012 075 6 104 326 330 424 517 614 1175 1243 1245 1646 1827 1837 2412 2464   κατεργασθη 1874 1877   κατηργασθη 460 1836 1874
2 Cor 12:12b	υπομονη NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   υπομονοι <b>0320</b> {Nons}
2 Cor 12:15a	εκδαπανησησομαι 06   εκδαπανηθησομαι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>0319 0320</b> <i>rell</i> {Sub}   εκδαπανηθησωμαι 1735 1836 2464   εκδαπανιθησομαι 1874*   δαπανηθησομαι 69 629 1505 2495
2 Cor 12:15b	ησσον NA <sup>28</sup> <b>06*</b> P <sup>46</sup> 01* 02 03 025 104* 630 1175 1573 1881 1962 2464   ησστον <b>0320</b> {ErrCorr}   ηττον TR <b>06***</b> 01 <sup>c</sup> 020 044 049 075 1 6 69 88 104 <sup>c</sup> 131 205 209 226 323 330 424 440 460 489 547 614 618 629 796 927 945 999 1241 1242 1245 1270 1315 1448 1611 1646 1734 1738 1739 1827 1836 1854 1982 2125 2400 2412 2495 2815   ηGGov <b>0319</b>   λασσον 010*   ελασσον 010 <sup>c</sup> 012   ηττων 1505   ισον 33   ησον 1319   ητγων 326 1837 2147   ητγον 018 517 910 1243 1424 1735 1891
2 Cor 12:16	κατεβαρησα NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06*** 0319</b> 02 03 044 049 1 33 35 69 76 131 209 424 489 927 945 999 1243 1244 1245 1249 1315 1319 1448 1505 1563 1573 1628 1720 1739 1768 1874 1876 1900 1962 2374 2400 2495   κατεβαρισα <b>0320</b> 1646 1877 {Orth}   εβαρησα <b>06*</b> P <sup>46</sup>   κατεναρκησα 01 010 012 218 1735 1881
2 Cor 12:17	επενψα <b>06 0319</b>   επεμψα <b>0320</b> {Sub}   απεσταλκα NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>46</sup> 01 02 03 010 012 044 049 1 33 35 131 209 218 424 927 945 999 1243 1244 1245 1249 1315 1448 1505 1563 1628 1646 1720 1739 1768 1874 1876 1877 1900 2374 2495   απεστειλα 69 76 1319 1573 1735 1881 1962 2400
Eph 1:13	εσφραγισθητε NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b>   εσφραγησθητε <b>0320</b> {Orth}
Eph 1:18	τις εστιν NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   της εστιν <b>0320</b> {Sub}   τι εστιν 010 012 1573
Eph 1:19	υπερβαλλον NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b>   υπερβαλλων <b>0320</b> 1877 {Orth}
Eph 2:12a	επαγγελιας <b>06 0319</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell</i>   επαγγελιας <b>0320</b> {Nons}
Eph 2:12b	κοσμω NA <sup>28</sup> TR 06 <b>0319</b> <i>rell</i>   κοσμο <b>0320</b> {Orth}
Eph 2:13	οντες NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   ουντες <b>0320</b> {Orth}   om. 945 1243
Eph 2:15	κτιση NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   κτηση <b>0320</b> 33 1243 {Orth}
Eph 2:17a	ελθων NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   ελθον <b>0320</b> {Orth}
Eph 2:17b	ευηγγελισατο NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   ευηγγελισατο <b>0320</b> {Orth}   ευαγγελισατο 010   ευηγγελισατο 999 1243
Titus 1:9	διδασκαλια NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06*** 0319</b>   διδασκαλιας <b>0320</b> {Nons}   διδασκαλεια <b>06*</b>
Titus 1:14	αποστρεφομενων NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   αποστρεφομενον <b>0320</b> {Orth}
Titus 1:15	συνειδησις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06*** 0319</b> 01 04 044 1 3 33 35 69 76 131 209 424 489 927 945 999 1244 1245 1249 1315 1319 1448 1505 1524 1548 1573 1628 1646 1724 1739 1768 1854 1855 1876 1877 1879 1880 1881 2085 2086 2374 2495   συνειδησις <b>0320</b> {ErrCorr}   συνιδησεις <b>06*</b> 010 012   συνειδησεις 02   συνηδεις 1243   συνηδησεις 1735   συνηδης 1874
Titus 1:16	απειθεις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06*** 0319</b> 044 1 3 33 35 69 76 131 209 424 489 927 945 999 1244 1245 1249 1315 1319 1448 1505 1524 1548 1573 1628 1646 1724 1739 1768 1854 1855 1874 1876 1877 1879 1880 1881 2085 2086 2374 2495   απεθεις <b>0320</b> {ErrCorr}   απιθεις <b>06*</b> 01 02 04 010 012 1243   απηθεις 1735
Titus 2:3	καταστηματι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   καταστηματη <b>0320</b> {Orth}   κατασχηματι 010   om. 1881
Titus 2:5	βλασφημηται NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06** 0319</b> P <sup>32</sup> 01 02 04 010 012 044 33 35 69 76 131 209 424 489 927 945 999 1243 1244 1249 1315 1448 1505 1524 1548 1573 1628 1735 1739 1768 1854 1855 1876 1879 1880 2086 2374 2495   βλασφημηται <b>0320</b> {Orth}   βλασφημητε <b>06*</b>   βλασφημειται 1 3 1245 1319 1724 1877 1881 2085   βλασφημοται 1874   βαλασφημηται 1646
Titus 2:8	εντραπη NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   εντραπει <b>0320</b> 1877 {Orth}
Titus 2:12	παιδευουσα NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   παδευουσα <b>0320</b> {Orth}   πεδευουσα 01
Titus 2:15	μετα NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   ματα <b>0320</b> {Nons}
Titus 3:1a	εξουσιας NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   εξουσιας <b>0320</b> {Nons}

Titus 3:1b	πειθαρχειν NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b>   παιθαρχειν <b>0320</b> {Orth}   πιθαρχιν 01
Titus 3:3a	επιθυμιας NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b>   επιθυμιας <b>0320</b> {Nons}   επιθυμειας 010 012
Titus 3:3b	στυγητοι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <i>rell</i>   στυγητη <b>0320</b> {Orth}   μισητοι <b>06*</b>   τυγητοι <b>0319</b>   στυγηται 01   στυγιτοι 1573   στουπητοι 010 012
Titus 3:3c	μισουντες NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06<sup>c</sup> 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   μησουντες <b>0320</b> 1243 1319 1735 {ErrCorr}   μεισουντες <b>06*</b> 01 02
Titus 3:7	κληρονομοι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06</b> <i>rell</i>   κληρονομοι <b>0320</b> {Orth}   κληρθνομοι <b>0319</b>   κληρονομαι 010

### List of Singular Readings of 0320

2 Cor 12:9	δυναμς NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   δυναμοις <b>0320</b> {Orth}   δυναμεις 02 010 012 1243 1646 2147 2464
2 Cor 12:10	στενωχωριας <b>06 0319</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell</i>   στενωχωριας <b>0320</b> {Orth}   στενοχωριες 489   στενωχωριας 1424   στενοχοριας 1319 2464
2 Cor 12:12a	κατηργασθην <b>06 0319</b>   κατεργασθην <b>0320</b> {Orth}   κατειργασθη NA <sup>28</sup> TR 01 02 03 <sup>c</sup> 018 020 025 044 049 1 33 35 69 76 88 131 205 209 218 226 323 424 440 489 547 618 629 630 796 910 927 945 999 1241 1242 1244 1249 1270 1315 1319 1424 1448 1505 1563 1573 1611 1628 1720 1734 1735 1738 1739 1768 1854 1876 1881 1891 1900 1962 1982 2125 2147 2374 2400 2495 2815   κατηργασθη P <sup>46</sup> 03* 010 012 075 6 104 326 330 424 517 614 1175 1243 1245 1646 1827 1837 2412 2464   κατεργασθη 1874 1877   κατηργασθη 460 1836 1874
2 Cor 12:12b	υπομονη NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   υπομονοι <b>0320</b> {Nons}
2 Cor 12:15	ησσον NA <sup>28</sup> <b>06*</b> P <sup>46</sup> 01* 02 03 025 104* 630 1175 1573 1881 1962 2464   ησστον <b>0320</b> {Nons}   ηττον TR <b>06***</b> 01 <sup>c</sup> 020 044 049 075 1 6 69 88 104 <sup>c</sup> 131 205 209 226 323 330 424 440 460 489 547 614 618 629 796 927 945 999 1241 1242 1245 1270 1315 1448 1611 1646 1734 1738 1739 1827 1836 1854 1982 2125 2400 2412 2495 2815   ηGGon <b>0319</b>   λασσον 010*   ελασσον 010 <sup>c</sup> 012   ηττων 1505   ισον 33   ησον 1319   ηττων 326 1837 2147   ηττων 018 517 910 1243 1424 1735 1891
2 Cor 12:17	επενγα <b>06 0319</b>   επεμγα <b>0320</b> {Sub}   απεσταλκα NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>46</sup> 01 02 03 010 012 044 049 1 33 35 131 209 218 424 927 945 999 1243 1244 1245 1249 1315 1448 1505 1563 1628 1646 1720 1739 1768 1874 1876 1877 1900 2374 2495   απεστειλα 69 76 1319 1573 1735 1881 1962 2400
Eph 1:13	εσφραγισθητε NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b>   εσφραγησθητε <b>0320</b> {Orth}
Eph 1:18	τις εστιν NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   της <b>0320</b> {Sub}   τι 010 012 1573
Eph 2:12a	επαγγελιας <b>06 0319</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell</i>   επαγγελιας <b>0320</b> {Nons}
Eph 2:12b	κοσμων NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   κοσμο <b>0320</b> {Orth}
Eph 2:13	οντες NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   ουντες <b>0320</b> {Orth}   om. 945 1243
Eph 2:17a	ελθων NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   ελθον <b>0320</b> {Orth}
Eph 2:17b	ευηγγελισατο NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   ευιγγελισατο <b>0320</b> {Orth}   ευαγγελισατο 010   ευηγγελισατο 999 1243
Titus 1:9	διδασκαλια NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <b>0319</b>   διδασκαλιας <b>0320</b> {Nons}
Titus 1:14	αποστρεφομενων NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   αποστρεφομενον <b>0320</b> {Orth}
Titus 1:15	συνειδησις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <b>0319</b> 01 04 044 1 3 33 35 69 76 131 209 424 489 927 945 999 1244 1245 1249 1315 1319 1448 1505 1524 1548 1573 1628 1646 1724 1739 1768 1854 1855 1876 1877 1879 1880 1881 2085 2086 2374 2495   συνειδησης <b>0320</b> {Orth}   συνιδησεις <b>06* 010</b> 012   συνειδησεις 02   συνηδεις 1243   συνηδεις 1735   συνηδεις 1874
Titus 1:16	απειθεις NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06***</b> <b>0319</b> 044 1 3 33 35 69 76 131 209 424 489 927 945 999 1244 1245 1249 1315 1319 1448 1505 1524 1548 1573 1628 1646 1724 1739 1768 1854 1855 1874 1876 1877 1879 1880 1881 2085 2086 2374 2495   απεθεις <b>0320</b> {Orth}   απιθεις <b>06*</b> 01 02 04 010 012 1243   απηθεις 1735
Titus 2:3	καταστηματι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   καταστηματη <b>0320</b> {Orth}   κατασηματι 010   om. 1881
Titus 2:5	βλασφημηται NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06**</b> <b>0319</b> P <sup>32</sup> 01 02 04 010 012 044 33 35 69 76 131 209 424 489 927 945 999 1243 1244 1249 1315 1448 1505 1524 1548 1573 1628 1735 1739 1768 1854 1855 1876 1879 1880 2086 2374 2495   βλασφημηται <b>0320</b> {Orth}   βλασφημητε <b>06*</b>   βλασφημειται 1 3 1245 1319 1724 1877 1881 2085   βλασφημοται 1874   βαλασφημηται 1646
Titus 2:12	παιδευουσα NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   παιδευουσα <b>0320</b> {Orth}   πεδευουσα 01
Titus 2:15	μετα NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>06 0319</b> <i>rell</i>   ματα <b>0320</b> {Nons}

Titus 3:1a εξουσιας NA<sup>28</sup> TR **06 0319** *rell* | εξουσιας **0320** {Nons}  
Titus 3:1b πειθαρχειν NA<sup>28</sup> TR 06 0319 | παιθαρχειν 0320 {Orth} | πιθαρχιν 01  
Titus 3:3a επιθυμιας NA<sup>28</sup> TR 06 0319 | επιθυμιας 0320 {Nons} | επιθυμειας 010 012  
Titus 3:3b στυγητοι NA<sup>28</sup> TR 06\*\* 0319 *rell* | στυγητη 0320 {Orth} | μισητοι 06\* | στυγηται 01 | στυγιτοι  
1573 | στοιπητοι 010 012  
Titus 3:7 κληρονομοι NA<sup>28</sup> TR 06 *rell* | κλερονομοι 0320 {Orth} | κληρθνομοι 0319 | κληρονομαι 010

## List of Variant Readings between 205 and 2886

Italics denote other members of the *f*<sup>1</sup> E Venice group (118, 209, 2713) aside from the manuscripts focused on in this study (205, 2886). See Welsby, PhD Diss, 127; Welsby, *Textual Study*, 85.

- Matthew 1:12 την μετοικεσιαν TR NA<sup>28</sup> **2886** 1 *118<sup>sup</sup>* 209 1582 2713 *rell* | μετα δε την με την μετοικεσιαν **205** {Add}
- Matthew 18:4 ταπεινωση TR **2886** 2\* | ταπεινωσει **205** {Orth} | ταπινωσει 01 019 032 038 | ταπεινωσει NA<sup>28</sup> 03 012 032 037 1 2<sup>c</sup> *118* 209 700 1582 2713 *rell*
- Matthew 18:5 παιδιος **2886** | παιδιον **205** TR NA<sup>28</sup> 1 *118* 209 1582 2713 *rell* {Sub}
- Matthew 18:14 εν ουνοις NA<sup>28</sup> TR  $\mathfrak{M}$  *f*<sup>1.13</sup> **2886** 01 03 010 017 019 021 022 032 041 038 1 2 28 *118* 209 565 700 788 1346 1582 2713 | εν τοις ουνοις **205** 05 33 157 579 1424 {Add}
- Matthew 18:17 της εκκλησιας **2886** TR NA<sup>28</sup> 1 *118* 209 1582 2713 *rell* | τη εκκλησια **205** 565 {Sub}
- Luke 3:19 του αδελφου **2886** NA<sup>28</sup> TR P<sup>75</sup>vid 1 *118* 209 1582 2713 *rell* | αδελφου **205** {Om}
- Luke 3:24 ιαννα **2886** TR 02 012 017 021 030 034 041 044<sup>c</sup> 045 *118* 157 209 700 1424 2713 | ιαννα **205** X 044\* 213 {Sub} | ιανναι NA<sup>28</sup> *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 01 03 019 037 038 33 565 | ιωαννα 1 1582
- Luke 22:11 πασχα μετα των μαθητων P<sup>75</sup> 01 03 04 1 69 *118* 124 209 1582 2713 **2886** *rell* | πασχα μετα των μαθητων **205** {Add}
- Luke 22:27 αντικειμενος εγω **2886** | αντικειμενος η ο διακονων ουχ ο ανακειμενος εγω **205** {Add (+6)} | ανακειμενος η ο διακονων ουχι ο ανακειμενος εγω  $\mathfrak{M}$  TR NA<sup>28</sup> 01 02 010 019 021<sup>c</sup> 029 030 036 037 039 044 *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 2 69 157 565 700 1071 1424 2713 | ανακειμενος η ο διακονων ουχει ο ανακειμενος εγω 03 022 032 | ανακειμενος η ο διακονων ουχ ο ανακειμενος εγω 017 021\* 038 041 *f*<sup>1</sup> 1 *118* 124 209 1582
- Luke 22:29 διατιθημι **2886** 02 038 *f*<sup>1</sup> 1 *118* 209 579 1582 | διατιθι **205** {Nons} | διατιθεμαι TR NA<sup>28</sup>  $\mathfrak{M}$  P<sup>75</sup> 01 03 05 017 019 021 022 029 030 026 032 036 037 039 041 044 *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 2 69 157 565 700 1071 1424 2713
- Luke 22:70 ειπον ουν παντες συ ουν ει ο υιος **2886** 02 021 032 041 *f*<sup>1</sup> 1 *118* 209 1582 | ειπον ουν παντες συ ει ο υιος **205** 017 69 124 {Om} | ειπαν δε παντες συ ουν ει ο υιος NA<sup>28</sup> P<sup>75</sup> 01 03 019 029 | ειπον δε παντες συ ουν ει ο υιος TR  $\mathfrak{M}$  022 030 036 037 038 044 *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 2 28 157 565 579 700 788 1346 1424 2713 | ειπον δε παντες συ ει ο υιος 05 Λ
- John 6:22 οτι ου **2886** NA<sup>28</sup> TR  $\mathfrak{M}$  01 02 03 05 017 019 021 022 030 032 034 036 037 038 044 *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 1 2 28 33 *118* 157 209 565 579 700 1071 1424 1582 2713 | οτι **205** 039 {Om}
- John 19:13 τουτων **2886** NA<sup>28</sup>  $\mathfrak{M}$  01 02 03 05<sup>sup</sup> 019 021 032 037 038 044 *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 1 28<sup>sup</sup> 33 157 209 579 1582\* | τουτον **205** TR 017 022 030 039 041 045 2 69 *118<sup>sup</sup>* 565 700 788 1071 1424 1582<sup>c</sup> 2713 {Sub}
- John 19:20 ρωμιστι ελληνιστι **2886** NA<sup>28</sup> 01<sup>c</sup> 03 019 022 044 33 209 2713 | ρωμιστι και ελληνιστι **205** 743 {Add} | ελληνιστι και ρωμιστι 1241 | ρωμιστι εβραεισι 032 | ρωμιστη ελληνιστη 579 | ελληνιστι ρωμιστι TR  $\mathfrak{M}$  02 07 017 021 030 038 039 041 *f*<sup>1</sup> 1 2 28<sup>sup</sup> *118<sup>sup</sup>* 157 565 700 1582 | ελληνισται ρωμισται 05<sup>sup</sup> | ελληνιστη ρωμιστι 1071 | ελληνιστη ρωμιστη 1424
- John 19:23 εκατω **2886** | εκαστω **205** NA<sup>28</sup> TR *rell* 1 *118<sup>sup</sup>* 209 1582 2713 {Sub}
- John 19:31 ημερα **2886**  $\mathfrak{M}$  01 02 07 012 028 032 034 2 8 209 475<sup>sup</sup> 579 700 754 1073 1210 1216 1346 1519 2713 | η ημερα **205** NA<sup>28</sup> TR 03 05<sup>sup</sup> 017 019 022 030 038 039 041 044 045 *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 1 22 33 69 *118<sup>sup</sup>* 131 157 565 884 1071 1192 1210 1278 1424 1582 2193 {Add}
- John 19:35 η αληθινη **2886** | αληθινη **205** NA<sup>28</sup> TR *118<sup>sup</sup>* 209 1582 2713 *rell* {Om} | αληληθινη 1
- John 20:2 αλλον **2886** NA<sup>28</sup> TR 013<sup>c</sup> 1 *118<sup>sup</sup>* 209 1582 2713 *rell* | αλον **205** 013\* 1071 {Nons}
- John 20:13 οιδαμεν **2886** 038 1\* 209 565 1582 | οιδα **205** NA<sup>28</sup> TR  $\mathfrak{M}$  P<sup>66</sup> 01 02 03 05 017 019 021 022 028 030 032 037 039 041 044 045 1<sup>c</sup> 2 22 33 *118<sup>sup</sup>* 131 157 579 700 884 1071 1192 1210 1278 2193 2713 {Sub}
- John 20:16 στραφεισα **2886** NA<sup>28</sup> TR  $\mathfrak{M}$  01 02 03 05 012 017 019 021 022 030 032 037 039 041 044 *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 1 2 28<sup>sup</sup> 33 69 *118<sup>sup</sup>* 157 209 565 700 1071 1424 1582 | στραφεισαι **205** {Nons} | στραφησα 036 038
- John 20:21 αυτοις ο ιησους παλιν **2886** TR  $\mathfrak{M}$  02 03 017 021 022 036 037 038 039 041 078 *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 33 *118<sup>sup</sup>* 157 209 700 892<sup>sup</sup> 1241 1424 2713 | αυτοις παλιν **205** 01 05 019 033 044 050 0141 743 {Om} | αυτοις παλιν ο ιησους 1 27<sup>sup</sup> 565 994 1071 1582 | παλιν αυτοις W | αυτοις [ο ιησους] παλιν NA<sup>28</sup>

John 20:25a	οι αλλοι <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR 01 <sup>c</sup> 02 03 05 07 012 017 019 021 022 028 030 032 034 037 038 039 041 044 045 <sup>f</sup> 13 1 2 22 33 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 131 157 209 565 700 884 1071 1192 1210 1278 1424 1582 2193 2713   οι <b>205</b> 01* 994 {Om}   αλοι 0211
John 20:25b	των ηλων <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR $\aleph$ 02 03 013 017 019 021 022 030 032 037 038 041 044 <sup>f</sup> 13 1 2 33 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 157 209 565 700 1071 1424 1582 <sup>c</sup> 2713   τον υλων <b>205</b> {Orth}   των ποδων 22 1582*
John 20:25c <sup>591</sup>	των ηλων <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR $\aleph$ 02 03 013 017 019 021 022 030 032 037 038 041 044 <sup>f</sup> 13 1 2 33 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 157 209 565 700 1071 1424 1582 <sup>c</sup> 2713   τον υλων <b>205</b> {Orth}   των ποδων 22 1582*
John 20:29	εωρας <b>2886</b>   εωρακας <b>205</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR 01 02 03 04 05 021 022 028 030 039 041* 044 045 <sup>f</sup> 1.13 1 2 22 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 131 157 209 700 884 1071 1192 1210 1278 1424 1582 2193 2713 {Sub}   εωρακας $\aleph$ 07 012 013 017 019 032 036 037 038 $\Pi^c$ 565
John 21:3	ενεβησαν <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> $\aleph$ 01 02 03 04 05 012 017 019 021 022 024 032 038 041 044 <sup>f</sup> 1 2 33 69 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 124 209 565 788 1071 1582 2713   ανεβησαν <b>205</b> TR 037 039 9 131 157 1346 1519 {Sub}   ενεβισαν 030
John 21:8	της γης <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR 1 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 209 1582 2713 <i>rell</i>   της <b>205</b> {Om}
John 21:12	ειδοτες οτι <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR 1 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 209 1582 2713 <i>rell</i>   ειδοτες <b>205</b> {Om}   ειδοντες οτι 039   ιδοντες οτι 019 0211
Romans 1:27	φυσικην <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR 1 209 <i>rell</i>   φυικην <b>205</b> {Nons}
Romans 1:31	ασυνετους ασυνθετους <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR 1 209 <i>rell</i>   ασυνετους <b>205</b> 2147 {Om}   ασυνετους ασυνθεντους 1242   ασυνετους ασυνθετας 1319 1573

### List of Singular Readings of 205

Matthew 1:12	την μετοικεσιαν TR NA <sup>28</sup> <b>2886</b> 1 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 209 1582 2713 <i>rell</i>   μετα δε την με την μετοικεσιαν <b>205</b> {Add}
Matthew 18:4	ταπεινωση TR <b>2886</b> 2*   ταπεινωσει <b>205</b> {Orth}   ταπεινωσει 01 019 032 038   ταπεινωσει NA <sup>28</sup> 03 012 032 037 1 2 <sup>c</sup> <i>118</i> 209 700 1582 2713 <i>rell</i>
Luke 3:19	του αδελφου <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>75vid</sup> 1 <i>118</i> 209 1582 2713 <i>rell</i>   αδελφου <b>205</b> {Om}
Luke 22:11	πασχα μετα των μαθητων P <sup>75</sup> 01 03 04 1 69 <i>118</i> 124 209 1582 2713 <b>2886</b> <i>rell</i>   πασχα μετα μετα των μαθητων <b>205</b> {Nons}
Luke 22:27	αντικειμενος εγω <b>2886</b>   αντικειμενος η ο διακωνων ουχ ο ανακειμενος εγω <b>205</b> {Add (+6)}   ανακειμενος η ο διακωνων ουχι ο ανακειμενος εγω $\aleph$ TR NA <sup>28</sup> 01 02 010 019 021 <sup>c</sup> 029 030 036 037 039 044 <sup>f</sup> 13 2 69 157 565 700 1071 1424 2713   ανακειμενος η ο διακωνων ουχει ο ανακειμενος εγω 03 022 032   ανακειμενος η ο διακωνων ουχ ο ανακειμενος εγω 017 021* 038 041 <sup>f</sup> 1 118 124 209 1582
Luke 22:29	διατιθημι <b>2886</b> 02 038 <sup>f</sup> 1 118 209 579 1582   διατιθι <b>205</b> {Nons}   διατιθεμαι TR NA <sup>28</sup> $\aleph$ P <sup>75</sup> 01 03 05 017 019 021 022 029 030 026 032 036 037 039 041 044 <sup>f</sup> 13 2 69 157 565 700 1071 1424 2713
John 20:16	στραφεισα <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR $\aleph$ 01 02 03 05 012 017 019 021 022 030 032 037 039 041 044 <sup>f</sup> 1.13 1 2 28 <sup>sup</sup> 33 69 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 157 209 565 700 1071 1424 1582   στραφεισαι <b>205</b> {Sub}   στραφησα 036 038
John 20:25b	των ηλων <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR $\aleph$ 02 03 013 017 019 021 022 030 032 037 038 041 044 <sup>f</sup> 13 1 2 33 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 157 209 565 700 1071 1424 1582 <sup>c</sup> 2713   τον υλων <b>205</b> {Orth}   των ποδων 22 1582*
John 20:25c	των ηλων <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR $\aleph$ 02 03 013 017 019 021 022 030 032 037 038 041 044 <sup>f</sup> 13 1 2 33 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 157 209 565 700 1071 1424 1582 <sup>c</sup> 2713   τον υλων <b>205</b> {Orth}   των ποδων 22 1582*
John 21:8	της γης <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR 1 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 209 1582 2713 <i>rell</i>   της <b>205</b> {Nons}
John 21:12	ειδοτες οτι <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR 1 <i>118<sup>sup</sup></i> 209 1582 2713 <i>rell</i>   ειδοτες <b>205</b> {Om}   ειδοντες οτι 039   ιδοντες οτι 019 0211
Romans 1:27	φυσικην <b>2886</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR 1 209 <i>rell</i>   φυικην <b>205</b> {Nons}

### List of Peculiar Dual Agreements between 205 and 2886

Matthew 28:5	φοβεσθε TR NA <sup>28</sup> 03 1 <i>118</i> 209 1582 2713 <i>rell</i>   φοβεσθαι <b>205 2886</b> {Sub}   φοβηθηται $\kappa^*$
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<sup>591</sup> This entry is repeated to emphasize that there are two orthographic changes which will count in the statistics as two separate orthographic variants.

Luke 3:1 γαλιλαιας TR NA<sup>28</sup>  $\mathfrak{M}$  *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 1 118 209 1582 2713 *rell* | ιουδαιας **205 2886** {Sub} | om. 05 788  
 Luke 3:11 μεταδοτω TR NA<sup>28</sup> B D K 1 118 124 209 788 1582 2713 *rell* | αποδοτω **205 2886** {Sub} |  
 μεταδω 019  
 Luke 22:27 ανακειμενος  $\mathfrak{M}$  TR NA<sup>28</sup>  $\kappa$  02 03 09 017 019 021 022 029 030 032 036 037 038 039 041 044  
*f*<sup>1.13</sup> 1 2 69 118 124 157 209 565 700 1071 1424 1582 2713 | αντικειμενος **205 2886** {Sub}  
 John 6:4 ην δε NA<sup>28</sup> TR 1 118 209 1582 2713 *rell* | ην **2886 205** {Om} | εγγυς δε ην 05  
 John 6:53 πιητε NA<sup>28</sup> TR 1 118 209 1582 2713 *rell* | ποιητε **2886 205** {Nons}  
 John 20:11 παρεκυψεν NA<sup>28</sup> TR 1 118<sup>sup</sup> 209 1582 2713 *rell* | προεκυψεν **2886 205** {Sub} | παρεκυμψεν  
 022

## List of Variant Readings between 821 and 0141

John 1:18	ο <b>0141</b> TR P <sup>75</sup> 01 <sup>c</sup> 02 C <sup>c</sup> 017 021 034 028 030 032 037 038 039 041 044 045 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 28 157 565 579 700 1071 1424   <i>om.</i> <b>821</b> NA <sup>28</sup> P <sup>66</sup> 01* 03 C* 019 {Om}
John 1:21	απεκρηθη <b>0141</b>   απεκριθη <b>821</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell.</i> {Orth}
John 1:22	ειπαν <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> P <sup>66</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 03 C* 032 037   ειταν <b>821</b> {Nons}   ειπον TR 01 02 C <sup>c</sup> 017 019 021 022 038 039 041 044 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 28 33 69 118 157 565 579 700 1071 1424
John 1:40	παρα ιωαννου και ακολουθησαντων <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>66</sup> 01 02 012 017 019 021 024 030 032 037 038 039 041 044 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 28 33 118 124 157 565 579 700 1071 1424   <i>om.</i> <b>821</b> 1247 {Om}   παρα ιωαννου και ακολουθησαντων 03   παρα ιωαννου και ηκολουθησαντων P <sup>75</sup>
John 1:42	Σιμων υιος <b>0141</b> TR 038 1 28 69 788 1071 1424 1582*   Σιμων <b>821</b> {Om}   Σιμων ο υιος NA <sup>28</sup> P <sup>66</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 01 02 03 017 019 021 030 028 032 037 039 041 044 2 33 118 157 565 579 700 1582*
John 1:51	αμην αμην <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>66</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 01 02 03 017 019 021 030 032 034 037 038 039 041 044 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 33 69 157 565 700 1071 1346 1424   αμην <b>821</b> 28 210 {Om}
John 6:55	το αιμα <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>66</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 01 <sup>c</sup> 03 04 017 019 021 030 032 036 037 038 039 041 044 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 28 157 565 579 700   του αιμα <b>821</b> {Nons}   <i>om.</i> 01* 05
John 19:14	ην δε <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>66</sup> <i>rell.</i>   ουν ην δε <b>821</b> {Add}
John 21:14	τουτο <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell.</i>   τουτον <b>821</b> {Nons}

## List of Singular Readings of 821

John 1:22	ειπαν <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> P <sup>66</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 03 04* 032 037   ειταν <b>821</b> {Nons}   ειπον TR 01 02 04 <sup>c</sup> 017 019 021 022 038 039 041 044 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 28 33 69 118 157 565 579 700 1071 1424
John 1:42	Σιμων υιος <b>0141</b> TR 038 1 28 69 788 1071 1424 1582*   Σιμων <b>821</b> {Om}   Σιμων ο υιος NA <sup>28</sup> P <sup>66</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 01 02 03 017 019 021 030 028 032 037 039 041 044 2 33 118 157 565 579 700 1582*
John 6:55	το αιμα <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>66</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 01 <sup>c</sup> 03 04 017 019 021 030 032 036 037 038 039 041 044 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 28 157 565 579 700   του αιμα <b>821</b> {Nons}   <i>om.</i> 01* 05
John 19:14	ην δε <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>66</sup> <i>rell.</i>   ουν ην δε <b>821</b> {Add}
John 21:14	τουτο <b>0141</b> NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell.</i>   τουτον <b>821</b> {Nons}

## List of Peculiar Dual Agreements between 0141 and 821

John 1:3	ο γεγονεν NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell.</i>   <i>om.</i> <b>0141 821</b> {Om}
John 1:33	εν πνευματι αγιω NA <sup>28</sup> TR P <sup>66</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 02 03 1424   εν τω αγιω πνευματι <b>0141 821</b> {Tr}   εν τω πνευματι αγιω 019 022   εν τω πνευματι τω αγιω 33 579   εν πνευματι αγιω και πυρι 04*
John 1:34	και μεμαρτυρηκα NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell.</i>   και μεμαρτυρηκα και <b>0141 821</b> {Add}
John 1:34	οτι NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>821<sup>c</sup></b> <i>rell.</i>   ουτι <b>0141 821*</b> {Sub}
John 1:39	που μενει NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell.</i>   <i>om.</i> <b>0141 821</b> {Om}
John 1:42	αυτω NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell.</i>   <i>om.</i> <b>0141 821</b> {Om}
John 6:17	και ουπω NA <sup>28</sup> P <sup>75c</sup> 01 03 05 019 022 032 036 044 33 124 579 788 1071 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup>   ουπω δε <b>0141 821</b> {Sub, Tr}   και ηδη ουπω P <sup>75*</sup>   και ουκ 02 017 021 030 037 038 039 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 28 157 565 700 1424
John 6:49	εφαγον NA <sup>28</sup> TR <b>0141<sup>c</sup> 821<sup>c</sup></b> <i>rell.</i>   εφαγεν <b>0141* 821*</b> {Sub}
John 6:69	πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο αγιος του θεου P <sup>66</sup>   πεπιστευκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου <b>0141 821</b>   πεπιστευκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου ο ζωντος 036   πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο αγιος του θεου NA <sup>28</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 01 03 04* 019 032   πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου του ζωντος TR 017 021 022 030 038 039 041 044 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 28 157 579 1424   πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου 04 <sup>c</sup> <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 33 565   πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν σε οτι συ ει ο αγιος του θεου 05   πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου ζωντος 037   εγνωκαμεν και επιστευσαμεν οτι ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου του ζωντος 700   πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου του ζωντος 1071
John 6:71	δωδεκα NA <sup>28</sup> TR <i>rell.</i>   δωδεκα και ημεις πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωκαμεν οτι συ ει ο Χριστος ο υιος του θεου του ζωντος <b>0141 821</b> {Add}
John 19:4	αγω υμιν αυτον NA <sup>28</sup> TR 01 02 03 07 012 013 017 019 021 022 028 030 032 034 037 036 038 039 041 044 045 <sup>f<sup>1.13</sup></sup> 2 33 69 118 157 565 700 1071 1346   υμιν αγω αυτον <b>0141 821</b> {Tr}   αγω αυτον υμιν 28 1424   αγω υμιν εντευθεν 579   αγω υμιν εξω 788

John 19:12 οι δε Ιουδαιοι εκραυγασαν λεγοντες NA<sup>28</sup> 03 044 33 157 700 1071 | εκραυγασαν ουν οι ιουδαιοι λεγοντες **0141 821** {Tr, Sub} | οι δε οι Ιουδαιοι εκραυγαζον 579 | οι δε οι Οιουδαιοι εκραυγαζον λεγοντες 1346 | οι δε Ιουδαιοι εκραζον λεγοντες TR 01<sup>c</sup> 017 030 037 039 2 118 1424 <sup>f</sup>13 | οι δε Ιουδαιοι ελεγον 01\* | οι δε Ιουδαιοι εκραυγαζον λεγοντες 02 019 021 022 032 038 041 <sup>f</sup>69 124 565 788

John 19:28 μετα τουτο NA<sup>28</sup> TR *rell* | μεταυτα **0141 821**\* {Sub} | μετα ταυτα **821**<sup>c</sup> 030

John 19:31 ινα μη μεινη επι του σταυρου τα σωματα εν τω σαββατω επει παρασκευη ην TR 017 021 030 039 041 2 118 157 700 1424 | ινα μη μεινη επι του σταυρου τα σωματα εν τω σαββατω επει ην παρασκευη **0141 821** {Tr} | ινα μη μεινη επι του σταυρου τα σωματα εν τω σαββατω επει παρασκευη ην 02 022 038 | επει παρασκευη ην ινα μη μεινη επι του σταυρου τα σωματα εν τω σαββατω NA<sup>28</sup> 01 03<sup>c</sup> 019 044 <sup>f</sup>1.13 33 565 1071 | επι παρασκευη ην ινα μη μεινη επι του σταυρου τα σωματα εν τω σαββατω 03\* 032 579

John 20:16 ο λεγεται διδασκαλε NA<sup>28</sup> TR *rell* | *om.* **0141 821** {Om} | ο λεγεται κυριε διδασκαλε 05 | ο λεγεται κυριε P<sup>5vid</sup>

John 20:30 και αλλα NA<sup>28</sup> TR *rell* | *om.* **0141 821** {Om}

John 21:1 εφανερωσεν εαυτον παλιν ο Ιησους τοις μαθηταις NA<sup>28</sup> TR 02 013 017 019 022 030 037 038 039 041 <sup>f</sup>1.13 2 33 157 565 700 1071 | εφανερωσεν εαυτον ο Ιησους τοις μαθηταις παλιν **0141 821** {Tr} | εφανερωσεν εαυτον παλιν Ιησους τοις μαθηταις 03 04 | εφανερωσεν παλιν εαυτον ο Ιησους τοις μαθηταις 01 | παλιν εφανερωσεν εαυτον τοις μαθηταις 05 | εφανερωσεν εαυτον ο Ιησους τοις μαθηταις 012 | εφανερωσεν εαυτον παλιν τοις μαθηταις 021 | εφανερωσεν εαυτον ο Ιησους παλιν τοις μαθηταις 032 044 69 | εφανερωσεν εαυτον ο Ιησους τοις μαθηταις 1424

John 21:20 ον ηγαπα ο Ιησους ακολουθουντα NA<sup>28</sup> TR 01<sup>c</sup> 02 03 04 017 021 022 030 037 038 039 041 044 1 2 33 69 118 124 157 565 700 788 1071 1346 1424 1582 | ακολουθουντα ον ηγαπα ο Ιησους **0141 821** {Tr} | ον ηγαπα ο Ιησους 01\* 032 | ον ηγαπα Ιησους ακολουθουντα 05

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