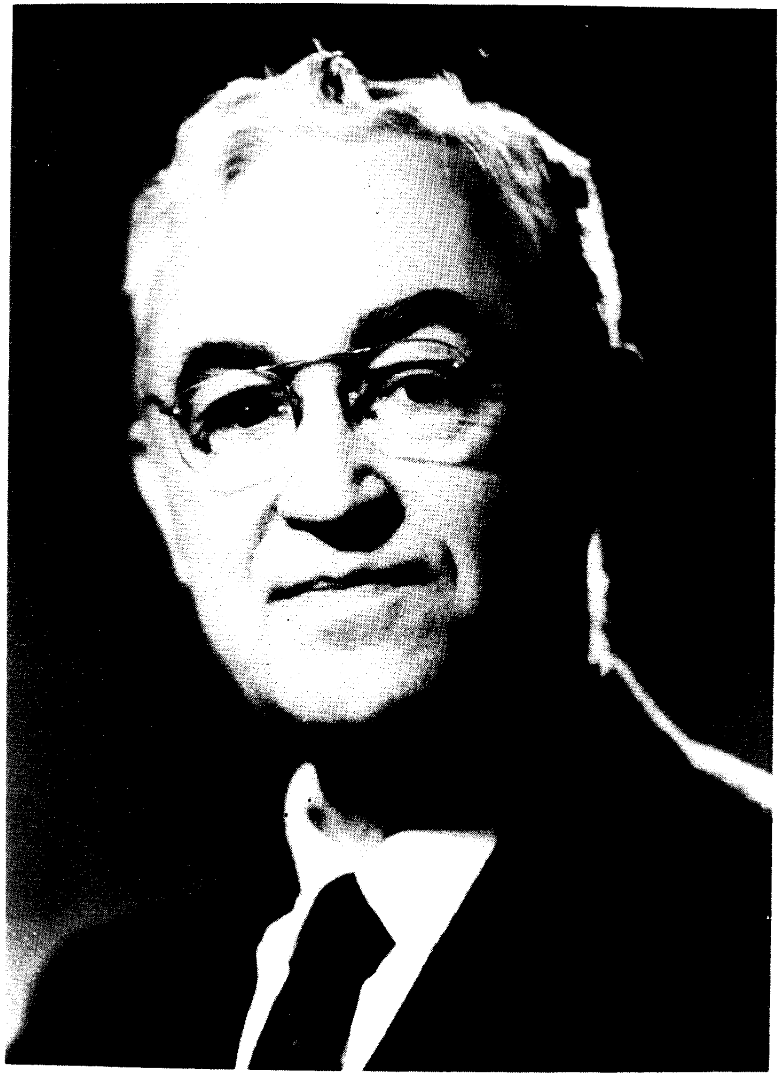

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BRUCE M. METZGER



# New Testament Textual Criticism

## ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR EXEGESIS

*Essays in Honour of*

**BRUCE M. METZGER**

***Edited by***

**ELDON JAY EPP**

***and***

**GORDON D. FEE**



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# FOREWORD

ANY word of introduction to Professor Bruce Manning Metzger will be superfluous for almost everyone who consults this volume. By his fruit we all have known him: scholar *extraordinaire*, devoted churchman, Christian gentleman. Yet, for the record and for those who may know him only through his name on a title page, we offer these few introductory words of appreciation.

Surely Bruce Metzger is best known as a scholar of the first rank, whose name is recognized everywhere in the world that has been reached by biblical scholarship. The combination of his theological training and his doctoral studies in Greek and Latin Classics, blended and refined by an exacting and orderly mind, issued in numerous original contributions across the fields of philology; palaeography and manuscript studies; Graeco-Roman religions; early church history; biblical literature generally; and biblical manuscript studies, textual criticism, and versions in particular. In addition, he has provided us with numerous New Testament tools and studies, not only indirectly through editing a series by that name, but directly through his participation in a project that produced the United *Bible Societies' Greek New Testament* and its *Textual Commentary* and another that will bring a revision of the *Revised Standard Version*, as well as through his standard handbooks on the New Testament text and versions and his numerous large-scale bibliographies that permit researchers no excuse for ignoring the scholarship of the past. In all of these endeavours over many years, Bruce Metzger has provided to his colleagues and to students everywhere a sterling model of meticulous attention to detail and of informed thoroughness. To be sure, he has not been one who casts radical hypotheses before his colleagues to draw them into sharp conflict or bitter dialogue, nor could he ever be characterized as one who let himself be drawn into the arena of personal polemic or of criticism destructive of the work of others. Rather, his has been a labour of solid, sensible, and lasting scholarship on his own part, appreciating and utilizing the similarly solid scholarship of others, and of quiet diligence behind-indeed, above—

the noisy turbulence and wearying pettiness sometimes witnessed on the academic battlefield. In recognition of his many contributions to scholarship, he was elected in the successive years 1971-2 as president of the Society of Biblical Literature and the international Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, and most recently, in 1978, as Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy.

Scholarship, however, has never been an end in itself for Bruce Metzger. Always his work has been the product of a genuine churchman, as his accompanying *vita* and bibliography attest. This concern of a scholar-servant is reflected in many of his writings, especially the bibliographies and handbooks, and is evident both in his service on biblical translation and revision committees and in his willingness to give regularly of his time and expertise to committees and conferences in his own communion, the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, and beyond.

In these activities and in every other aspect of his life, Bruce Mctzger is above all a Christian gentleman. Always he can find a kind word for any and all; indeed, who has heard him utter an unkind word about anyone? When in disagreement, he shows no irritation, no harshness, no rancour; when badgered by cranks, he evinces no ridicule or scorn. His consideration for others encompasses all-those who would be agreeable and supportive, as well as those who would disagree or even exploit him. One of the delights of sharing his company is to hear his anecdotes-often highly personal, little-known narratives about well-known scholars of the past-which are always enlightening, never denigrating, and invariably full of love for people. Bruce Metzger has not forgotten that scholars, too, are people and that as human beings they are far more important-and inevitably more interesting-than they are merely as scholars.

We have purposely set out to capture as much of Bruce Metzger himself as we possibly could in a *Festschrift.* First, we knew the volume had to be in the area of his-and our-scholarly expertise: New Testament textual criticism. In this respect we could have produced a volume of highly technical articles in which textual critics speak to one another. We chose rather to produce a volume that, as much as our individual capabilities might allow, would be characterized by scholarly expertise but



at the same time would be useful well beyond the world of scholarship *per* se. Thus this volume is designed in many ways to be a supplement to Bruce Metzger's own studies, by offering a score of models of textual criticism at work as its methods and insights are applied to specific New Testament texts. The second part of the book reflects his interests in the process of textual transmission and translation.

Secondly, we have tried to reflect Bruce Metzger's international and ecumenical interests by inviting a broad range of scholars to submit papers. Included, therefore, are the best-known scholars working in textual studies today. But also included are some lesser known, younger American scholars, persons who will help-we hope-to carry on the rich tradition of textual scholarship in America. Yet this is by no means simply an American production. Scholars from numerous nationalities and countries have sent contributions (Holland, England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, France, Italy, Israel, Japan, USSR, Canada, and the United States). The editors take this multinational response to be a tribute in itself to Bruce Metzger's achievements and influence, as well as an indication of deeply felt personal affection from many quarters.

Finally, it should be noted that of those who were initially invited to contribute to this volume, eight scholars, for a variety of reasons, were unable to submit papers. They, too, wish to join us in this word of appreciation: T. Baarda, Kenneth W. Clark (d. 27 July 1979), Bonifatius Fischer, OSB, J. Harold Greenlee, A. J. B. Higgins, Carlo M. Martini, SJ, Irving Alan Sparks, and M. Jack Suggs.

The editors have worked closely with Bruce Metzger in a variety of settings, especially as members of the American Committee of the International Greek New Testament Project and as the Steering Committee of the New Testament Textual Criticism Seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature. For us this present volume has been a labour of love and appreciation, and it carries sincere thanks and best wishes.

The *Editors*

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## PART II

## TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION AND TRANSLATION

# ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations and sigla for textual data follow ***The Greek New Testament*** (ed. K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, A. Wikgren; 3rd edn. ; New York/London: United Bible Societies, 1975), xiii-xli.

Abbreviations of the works of the Greek Church Fathers generally follow A Patristic ***Greek Lexicon*** (ed. G. W. Lampe; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), ix-xliii.

Abbreviations of ancient literature, journal titles, and other modern works follow the 'Instructions for Contributors', found in the ***Journal of Biblical Literature*** 95 (1976), ***335-46*** and the ***Catholic Biblical Quarterly 38*** (1976), ***437-54,*** with the following differences and additions:

| | |
|---|---|
| ACO | Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ed. E. Schwartz ; 4 vols. ; Berlin/Leipzig) |
| BNTC | Black's NT Commentaries (British edition of HNTC) |
| CChL (for CChr) | Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout) |
| CPG | Clavis Patrum Graecorum (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca ; Turnhout) |
| CSSN | Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi (Leiden) |
| GNO | Gregorii Nysseni Opera (ed. W. Jaeger et *al.*; Berlin) |
| MPG (for PG) | Migne, Patrologia Graeca (Paris) |
| MPL (for PL) | Migne, Patrologia Latina (Paris) |
| NCB | New Century Bible (London) |
| PS | Patrologia Syriaca (ed. R. Graffin; Paris) |
| PTA | Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen (Bonn) |
| SBBAW | Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse (Munich) |
| ST | Studi e Testi (Rome) |

# BRUCE MANNING METZGER: CURRICULUM VITAE

*Background and Education*

Birth: February g, 1914 at Middletown, Pennsylvania

AB, Lebanon Valley College, 1935 (awarded prize in the Bimillennium Horatianum)

Th.B, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1938 (awarded New Testament Fellowship)

Th.M., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1939

MA, Princeton University, 1940

Ph.D., Princeton University, 1942 (Greek and Latin Classics)

*Honorary Degrees*

DD, Lebanon Valley College, 1951

LHD, Findlay College, 1962

DD, University of St. Andrews, 1964

D.Theol., University of Münster/Westf., 1970

*Professional Activities*

Teaching Fellow in New Testament, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1938–40

Ordained to the Christian Ministry, Presbyterian Church, USA, 1939

Instructor in New Testament, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1940–2; Assistant Professor of New Testament, 1942–8; Associate Professor, 1948–54; Professor of New Testament, 1954–64; George L. Collord Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, 1964–

Chairman, American Committee on Versions, International Greek New Testament Project, 1950–

Visiting Lecturer, Seminário Theólogico Presbiteriano do Sul, Campinas, Brazil, 1952

Secretary, Panel of Translators of the Apocrypha, Revised Standard Version, 1952–7

Secretary, American Textual Criticism Seminar, 1954–6

Member, Managing Committee, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1958–

Member, Kuratorium, Vetus Latina Institut, Beuron/Hohenzollern, 1959–

Member, Wissenschaftlicher Beirat, Institut fur neutestamentliche Textforschung, Münster/Westf., 1961–

Delegate of the Society of Biblical Literature to the American Council of Learned Societies, 1963–7

Chairman, Committee on Translations, American Bible Society, 1964–70

Member, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 1964 and 1974

Scholar-in-Residence, Tyndale House, Cambridge, 1969

Distinguished Visiting Professor, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1970

Chairman, American Executive Committee, International Greek New Testament Project, 1970–

Chairman, New Testament Section, Revised Standard Version Bible Committee, 1971–

President, Society of Biblical Literature, 1971

President, Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, 1971–2

President, North American Patristic Society, 1972

Visiting Fellow, Clare Hall, Cambridge, 1974

Chairman, Revised Standard Version Bible Committee, 1976–

Visiting Professor, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 1978

Visiting Professor, New College for Advanced Christian Studies (Berkeley), 1978

Visiting Fellow, Wolfson College, Oxford, 1979

### *Awards and Honours*

Prizes for books in competitions sponsored by the Christian Research Foundation, 1955, 1962, and 1963

Honorary Fellow and Corresponding Member, Higher Institute of Coptic Studies, Cairo, 1955–

Recipient, Certificate of Distinguished Service in the Preparation of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible with the Apocrypha, National Council of Churches, 1957



Recipient, Distinguished Alumnus Award, Lebanon Valley College, Alumni Association, 1961

Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy, 1978–

### *Editorial Responsibilities*

Editorial Secretary, *Theology Today*, 1947–59

Member, Editorial Council, *New Testament Studies*, Cambridge, 1954–7

Member, Editorial Committee, Translators' Greek *New Testament*, United Bible Societies, 1956–

Member, Board of Managers, *Index to Religious Periodical Literature*, 1958–68

Member, Editorial Committee, *Theology Today*, 1962–

Member, Board of Editorial Advisors, Project on the Pseudepigrapha, Duke University, 1972–

Member, Advisory Committee, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, University of California (Irvine), 1972–

Member, Scientific Council, *La Concordance de la Bible*, Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, 1976–

Member, Advisory Committee, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, University of Toronto Press, 1977–

### *Academic Lectures*

Aberdeen University (twice); Albright College; Anderson College; Asbury Theological Seminary (twice); Ashland Theological Seminary; Belhaven College; Bethel College; Bethel Theological Seminary (Adolf Olson Memorial Lectures); Boston College (Humanities Lecture); Brigham Young University; Cambridge University; Central Baptist Theological Seminary; University of Chicago; Claremont School of Theology (Colwell Lecture); Concordia Senior College; Concordia Theological Seminary (Springfield); Concordia Theological Seminary (St. Louis); Dallas Theological Seminary; Detroit University; Durham University; Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary; Eastern Mennonite Theological Seminary; Evangelical Congregational Theological Seminary; Exeter University; Findlay College; Friends Bible College; Glasgow University; Haverford College; Houghton College (twice);

Institute for Advanced Study; Institute of Classical Studies, University of London; King College; Lebanon Valley College (twice); Leeds University; Lincoln Christian Seminary; Malone College; Miami University (twice); McMaster Divinity School; New Brunswick Theological Seminary; New College, Edinburgh; New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary; Oberlin College; Pacific Christian College; Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (three times, including the Day-Higgenbotham Lectures); St. Andrews University; Trinity College (Burlington); Trinity University (Willson Lectures); University of Münster/Westf.; University of Utah; Valparaiso University; Wellesley College; Western Theological Seminary; Westminster Theological Seminary; Wheaton College; Winebrenner Theological Seminary; Yale University.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Reviews published in two dozen journals of more than two hundred books written in English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Latin, and Russian.

# PART I

# TEXTUAL VARIATION IN SPECIFIC NEW TESTAMENT TEXTS

# 1. Matthew 11:25//Luke 10:21

A. F. J. KLIJN

***Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς.*** These nine words are the same in both Matthew and Luke. In both Gospels, however, they have come down to us with many variant readings in the MSS of the NT and quotations in ecclesiastical writings. Some of these readings are supported by Marcion and the Diatessaron, which poses the question of the mutual relationship between Marcion's Gospel and the Diatessaron on the one hand and the MSS of the NT on the other.

Apart from an interesting textual tradition, we also have to draw attention to the origin and background of these words. Since they occur only in Matthew and Luke, they are supposed to have been present in the source Q. This, however, does not say very much about their origin, because Q appears to have been made up of a number of traditions. It is generally agreed that the saying belongs to the older strata of Q. R. Bultmann supposed that it belonged to the Aramaic community, and he did not exclude the possibility that it was once spoken by Jesus himself.[1] J. Jeremias also accepted a Palestinian background.[2] Recently, however, S. Schulz opted for a Hellenistic–Jewish–Christian background.[3]

We shall see that the usage and content are typically Jewish. Such an investigation is necessary because this origin might have been a source of textual corruption. The Jewish character of a given passage in the NT might have been so offensive to Greek ears that adaptation was required. On the other hand, we notice that passages which show some similarity with the wording of the LXX were sometimes brought into agreement with the OT to an even greater extent. This seems sufficient

[1] R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (6th edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 171-2.

[2] J. Jeremias, *Neutestamentliche Theologie* I. Teil: Die *Verkündigung Jesu* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1971), 185.

[3] S. Schulz, Q: *Die Spruchquelle der Evangel&en* (Ziirich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), 217.

reason to say something about some exegetical problems related to these words.

The word ἐξομολογοῦμαι is, according to Schulz, 'eine ungriechische Wendung'.[4] This is true in places where the word means 'to thank' or 'to praise', which is the case here. Josephus does not use the word in this sense,[5] while Philo is known to use 'normalerweise εὐχαριστεῖν als Ausdruck für das Danken Gottes'.[6] Only in the LXX does ἐξομολογοῦμαι occur frequently in the sense of 'to thank' or 'to praise'. Here it renders the verb ידה in the hiphil followed by the preposition ל.[7] The word is usually found in the first person singular or plural future followed by a dative, specifically : (τῷ) κυρίῳ; σοι, κύριε; τῷ θεῷ; σοι, ὁ θεός. The word εὐχαριστῶ is found only in originally non-Hebrew parts of the LXX.

The word ἐξομολογοῦμαι does not occur often in the NT. Apart from the active form in Luke 22 : 6, we meet it followed by an accusative, either τὰς ἁμαρτίας or τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν, in Matt. 3 : G//Mark 1:5; Jas. 5 : 16 and Acts 1g : 18. In these places the word renders the idea 'to confess'. The word occurs four additional times followed by the dative : Matt. 11:25// Luke 10 : 21; Rom. 14 : 11 and 15 : g, the last two being quotations from Isa. 45 : 23 and Ps. 18 : 50. Here the word means 'to thank' or 'to praise'. Finally, the word is followed by ὅτι in Phil. 2 : 11, where it is generally agreed that it means 'to admit' or 'to acknowledge'.[8] Apart from the two quotations in Romans, only in Matt. 11 : 25//Luke 10 : 21 is the word ἐξομολογοῦμαι to be rendered 'to praise' or 'to thank'. The NT writers ordinarily use the verb εὐχαριστῶ to express this idea.

The early versions of the NT do not differ very much from the Greek usage. The Latin versions have chosen the word *confiteri*

[4] Schulz, Q, 217. Cf. A. Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien II. Paralleltexte zu Lucas* (TU 10/3; Leipzig; Hinrichs, 1895), 198.

[5] See *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (ed. K. H. Rengstorf; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1973–5), *124-5*.

[6] J. M. Robinson, 'Die Hodajot-Formel in Gebet und Hymnus des Frühchristenturns', *Apophoreta: Festschrift fiir Ernst Haenchen* (BZNW 30; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1964), 198.

[7] *A Concordance to the Septuagint* (eds. E. Hatch and H. Redpath; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1897), 1.499.

[8] See R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii.5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* (SNTSMS 4; London/New York: Cambridge University, 1967), 263-5; and J. Gnilka, *Der Philipperbrief* (HTKNT 10/3; Freiberg: Herder, 1968), 128-g.



to render ἐξομολογοῦμαι and *gratias agere* as a translation of εὐχαριστῶ. The word *confiteri* is followed by a dative in passages where ἐξομολογοῦμαι is to be understood as 'to thank' or 'to praise' (i.e. Matt. 11:25//Luke 10 : 21; Rom. 14 : 11; 15 : g) and by an accusative in the other passages where its meaning is 'to confess'. The Syriac translations use the word *yd'* in the hiphil followed by the preposition *l* to express 'to praise' or 'to thank', and *'al* or *b* to render the idea 'to confess'. However, the Syriac does not clearly distinguish between ἐξομολογοῦμαι and εὐχαριστῶ, since both can be translated by *yd'* in the hiphil followed by *l*.

The use of ἐξομολογοῦμαι to mean 'to thank' or 'to praise' in Matt. 11:25//Luke 10: 21 is therefore a Septuagintalism, and is an exceptional usage both in the NT and in contemporary writers like Phi10 and Josephus. The normal usage is εὐχαριστῶ. We may add that the same is true with regard to later Christian authors, as is evidenced by usage in the Apostolic Fathers.[9]

The expression κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς is also unique in the NT. The words 'Lord of heaven and earth' are well known from Jewish prayers.[10] This parallel may be of importance for the exegesis of this passage, but it is hardly acceptable that this usage influenced the transmission of the text. However, we must not overlook the fact that these and similar words are often met in the LXX. We give the following possibilities :

ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς Tobit 7 : 17 (BA)
(ὁ) κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Tobit 7 : 12 (S) ; 7 : 17 (S) ; 10 : 11 (S) ; 10: 13 (BA); Judith 5: 8; Dan. 2: 37
(ὁ) θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς 2 Esd. 5 : 11
(ὁ) θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 2 Esd. 5: 12; 6: g, 10; 7: 12, 21, 23; 11: 4, 5; 12: 4, 20; Tobit 7: 13 (S); 8: 15 (S); Judith 11 : 17 ; Dan. 2 : 44 and *passim*, but cf. ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Ps. 135 : 26 (LXX)
(ὁ) κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς γῆς Gen. 24 : 3, 7
(ὁ) κύριος (ὁ) θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 2 Esd. 1 : 2 ; Jonah 1 : g

[9] The word ἐξομολογοῦμαι with a dative is found in 1 *Clem.* 61: 3 and *Herm. Man.* 10.3.2 and in quotations from the OT in *Barn. 6: 16; 1 Clem. 26: 2; 48: 2; 52: 1-2.* In all other occurrences it is followed by an accusative in the sense of 'to confess'.

[10] See G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (2nd edn.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930), 1.298–9; Str-B, 1,607; Jeremias, *Theologie, 182-3;* Robinson, 'Hodajot-Formel', 205–6.

It appears from this survey that the LXX prefers to omit the words *καὶ τῆς γῆς*. It is also evident that the expression 'Lord' or 'God of heaven and earth' is usually met in the later writings of the OT.

From all this it appears that the words *ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς* are unique in the NT but that parallels are available in the LXX. We cannot afford to overlook this phenomenon if we are going to evaluate the variant readings properly.

Let us turn, then, to the transmission of the text. Starting from the accepted text, *ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς*, we find the following variant readings in the MSS :

Luke: ἐξομολογήσομαι Δ
om. πάτερ F
om. καὶ τῆς γῆς 𝔭45
Matthew: ∼κύριε πάτερ 440

Starting from the text of the Vulgate, *Confiteor tibi, Pater, Domine caeli et terrae, we* find the following variant readings in the MSS :

Luke : confitebor ff 2
confiter (confiteor is probably intended) d
∼ Domine Pater c e f ff2 i
*om.* Pater a( ?)
ac *l.* et i

Matthew : Deus Pater ff1
***add.*** Deus post Domine b
∼ Domine Pater c
*om.* Domine l

The words are quoted with some variations by the following early writers:

Marcion: Gratias ... ago et confiteor, domine coeli, ... (*apud* Tert. *adv. Marc.* 4.25.1 [CChL 1.610])

Gratias ago et confiteor *l.* confiteor
*om.* tibi Pater
*om.* et terrae



*εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* (*apud* Epiph. *haer. 42.* 11.6 [GCS 2.1 10])

εὐχαριστῶ *l.* ἐξομολογοῦμαι[11]
*om.* πάτερ
*om.* καὶ τῆς γῆς

Marcosians: *ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς* (*apud* Ir e*adv. haer.* 1.20.3 [Har 180])y ,

ἐξομολογήσομαι *l.* ἐξομολογοῦμαι
τῶν οὐρανῶν *l.* τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

*τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν* (according to NT codex 1424): *εὐχαριστῶ*

εὐχαριστῶ *l.* ἐξομολογοῦμαι

Clement of Alexandria: *ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς* (*paed.* 1.32.2 *[GCS* 1.109])

ὁ θεός *l.* κύριε

Origen: *ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς* (*or.* 14.5 [GCS *2.3331)*

*εὐχαριστεῖ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ, κυρίῳ δὲ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς* . . . (*fr. 239* in *Matt. 11: 25 [GCS* 12. 112])

εὐχαριστεῖ *l.* ἐξομολογοῦμαι
*om.* τοῦ et τῆς

Pater, gratias tibi ago, quoniam ... *(hom. 14.4 in Num.* [GCS 7.127])

Pseudo-Clement: *ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς (hom. 8.6* [GCS 1.124])

*om.* κύριε

*ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς (hom.* 18.15 [GCS 1.248])

*om.* πάτερ

Confiteor tibi, pater, domine caeli et terrae (rec. 4.3.5 [MPG 1.1317])

[11] In *haer.* ***21.6.2*** (GCS 1.245) Epiphanius gives a free rendering of the text in the following way: *πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς*. In the *scholion* in 42.11.15 (GCS 2.132), Epiphanius writes that Marcion omits the words *πάτερ* and *καὶ τῆς γῆς*. He does not say anything about the reading *εὐχαριστῶ* in Marcion. This seems to lend support that Epiphanius accepted this reading as part of the standard text; see also *infra.*

Epiphanius: *εὐχαριστῶ σοι, πάτερ, κύριε οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς* (*haer.* 40.7.9 [GCS 2.89])

*εὐχαριστῶ* 1. *ἐξομολογοῦμαι*
*om.* *τοῦ* et *τῆς*

Hesychius : *ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, κύριε, πάτερ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς* (*Ps. tit.* 21.4 [MPG 27.728c])

*ἐξομολογήσομαι* 1. *ἐξομολογοῦμαι*
∼ *κύριε πάτερ*

Augustine: Confiteor tibi, domine, pater caeli et terrae (*serm.* 24.4[CChL 41 ● 3291)

∼domine pater

Confiteor tibi, domine caeli et terrae (*enarr. in Ps.* 7.19 and 8.6 [CChL 38.48, 51])

*om.* pater

Confitebor tibi, pater, domine caeli et terrae (*enarr.* in *Ps.* 118.4 [CChL 40. 1675])

confitebor *l.* confiteor

Jerome: Confiteor tibi, domine, pater caeli et terrae (*qu. hebr. Gen.* 29:35 [CChL 72.351; *comm. Ps.* 135 [CChL 72.241])

∼domine pater

Confitebor tibi, domine, pater caeli et terrae (*comm.* Isa. 11[CChL 73.4491)

confitebor *l.* confiteor
∼domine pater

Diatessara:

Venetian :[12] Gratia referisco a ti Pare misser de cielo et de la terra

Gratia referisco 1. *ἐξομολογοῦμαι*

Liege :[13] ic danke di vader here van hemelrike en van ertrike

ic danke *l.* *ἐξομολογοῦμαι*

[12] *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano* (ed. V. Todesco, P. A. Vaccari, M. Vattasso; ST 81; Rome: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1938), 63.

[13] *The Liège Diatessaron* (ed. D. Plooij, C. A. Phillips, A. H. A. Bakker; Verhandlingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetcnschappen, afd. Letterkunde, N.R., Deel 31/6/2; Amsterdam, 1931).



Ephraem^syr :[14] *w-hî d-mawdê 'annâ lāk 'abbâ dba-šmayyâ yawnāyê 'emar mawdê 'annâ lāk 'allāhâ 'abbâ mārâ da-šmayyâ wad-ar'â.*

Ephraem: *om.* *κύριε*
*om.* *τῆς γῆς*

Greek, according to Ephraem: *ὁ θεὸς πάτερ κύριε* *l.* *πάτερ κύριε*

Zacharias Chrysopolitanus : Confiteor tibi, domine, pater coeli et terrae (*un. ex quat.* 1.5 [MPL 186.67a]). Later (c. 214a) he cites the text in the same form, but adds : Exsultans in spiritu sancto... loquebatur, gratias agit et exsultat in Patre ... Confessio non semper poenitentiam sed aliquando gratiarum actionem significat. In hoc quod ait, *Pater* ... *Domine*, Creatorem *coeli et terrae* ...

∼domine pater

With regard to this survey we may say a few words. The text of Marcion according to Tertullian and Epiphanius deviates. Tertullian adds the word *confiteor* after *gratias ago*. This addition is possibly from the hand of Tertullian, which means that Marcion's text probably read *εὐχαριστῶ*.[15]

In Codex 1424 with the text of the NT there are occasional marginal notes to Variant readings from *τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν*. Undoubtedly this was a Jewish Christian Gospel, but it is uncertain whether it was one of the Gospels known to us, viz. the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Ebionite Gospel, or the Gospel according to the Nazoraeans. If it really goes back to the Gospel of the Nazoraeans, we must conclude that *εὐχαριστῶ* is a translation of an originally Aramaic word. Since in Semitic languages both *ἐξομολογοῦμαι* and *εὐχαριστῶ* are rendered with the same word, as we have noted above, it is impossible to decide which word is supported by this witness.16

[14] L. Leloir, ***Saint Ephrem: Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque*** (***Manuscrit Chester Beatty*** 709), (Chester Beatty Monographs 8; Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1963), 48. The Armenian version renders the same text. See L. Leloir, ***Saint Ephrem: Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne*** (CSCO 137/Arm. 1; Louvain, 1953), 140; translation (CSCO 145/*Arm.* 2; Louvain, 1954), 101.

[15] Cf. D. Plooij, ***A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron*** (Leyden: Brill, 1925), 82: '. . . the addition "*et confiteor*" by Tertullian appears rather one of his frequent remarks in which he explains or corrects a reading divergent from the Greek Text he is acquainted with'.

[16] Cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apocryphen* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1959), 1.90.

The reading in the Latin translation of Origen's *horn. 14 in Numeros, gratias ago,* may be due to the translator.17 This indeed seems most probable since in the Greek text of de *oratione the* word ἐξομολογοῦμαι is used. However, Origen certainly preferred the word ϵ ὐχαριστῶ in free renderings of the text as appears from the catena fragment of his interpretation of Matthew. We shall go into this usage of Origen's later.

The text of the Pseudo-Clementines is not clear, since in one passage the word πάτϵρ is omitted and in another κύριϵ. This only proves that it was apparently easy to omit one or the other of these two words. The text of the *Recognitions* was clearly adapted to the accepted Latin text.

It is interesting that Ephraem quotes a Greek text known to him. It has been said that the words *mawdê 'annâ* betray an underlying Greek phrase containing ϵὐχαριστῶ.[18] This supposition, however, is absolutely unnecessary since *mawdê 'annâ* followed by *l* is a rendering of both ϵὐχαριστῶ and ἐξομολογοῦμαι.[19]

Augustine and Jerome usually conform to the standard text. The variant readings are obviously due to their free renderings of the text. For this reason they are interesting, since from these readings one can gather the influences to which the words were subjected. Authors who quoted these texts show a tendency to write *domine pater* instead of *pater domine,* and in passages where they also quoted from the OT one of the numerous texts with the verb *confitebor,* they sometimes conform the word *confiteor* to this tense of the verb.

Finally, we wonder which reading was known to Zacharias

[17] Cf. the free rendering in Jerome, tract. *Ps. 92: 5* (CChL 78.433): *Puter, gratias ago tibi, quia abscond&i . . . .*

[18] Plooij, *Further Study,* 83. Cf. the translation in Leloir, *Texte syriuque,* 49: *Grutius ago tibi, Puter caelestis,* Graecus dicit: *Grutius ago tibi, Deus Puter, Domine caeli et terrae. See* also G. Quispel, 'L'Évangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron', *VC* 13 (1959), 105 n. *26.*

[19] *Cf.* L. Leloir, *Le Témoignage d'Ephrem sur le Diatessaron (CSCO* 227/Subs. 19; Louvain, 1962), 145: 'La distinction que Mr Quispel Ctablit, à propos de ce passage, entre ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι et ϵὐχαριστῶ σοι ne peut s'appuyer sur le témoignage d'Ephrem, car, et dans le syriaque [*mawdê*], et dans l'armtnien *[gohunum],* le terme est exactement le même que dans les versions vulgates correspondantes, syp et Z [*scil.* syr$^{\text{peshitto}}$ and ed. Zohrab]'. See also L. Leloir, *L'Évangile d'Ephrem d'après les œuvres éditées (CSCO* 180/Subs. 12 ; Louvain, 1958), 24, with quotations in Ephraem which are in agreement with the text in syr$^{\text{p}}$. In L. Leloir, *Citations du Nouveau Testament dans l'ancienne tradition arménienne [Tom-e] I: L'évangile de Matthieu (CSCO* 283/Subs. 31 ; Louvain, 1967), 159, with reference to quotations in Armenian writers, we do not find any variations from the standard Armenian text,



Chrysopolitanus. According to some he is supposed to be a witness for the reading *gratias ago.20* However, this seems to be contrary to Zacharias' own text and comments. In column 67a he renders the text of the Vulgate. In 214a he speaks of *gratias agit et exsultat* in a free rendering of the passage, but he continues : *Confessio non semper poenitentiam sed aliquando gratiarum actionem signzjicat.* This clearly shows that he is explaining the word *confiteor* to his readers, who were obviously acquainted with this rendering.

The fact that *confiteor* is an equivalent of *gratias ago* was well known among Christian authors. Following the quotation in *de oratione,* Origen says : τὸ γὰρ "ἐξομολογοῦμαι" ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ "ϵὐχαριστῶ". We find the same in his *sel. in Ps. 135:* 2 :[21] ἡ ἐξομολόγησις τὴν ϵὐχαριστίαν καὶ δοξολογίαν σημαίνϵι. Finally, we read in Isidore of Seville, *etymol. 6.* 19.75 :[22] *Exomologesis Graeco vocabulo dicitur, quod Latine confessio interpretatur, cuius nominis duplex significatio est. Aut enim in laude intelligitur confessio sicut est-cit.* Matt. 11:25—: *aut dum quisque confitetur sua peccata ab eo indulgenda, cuius indeficiens est misericordia.*

We can summarize the variant readings in MSS of the NT and ecclesiastical authors in this way:

ἐξομολογήσομαι *l.* ἐξομολογοῦμαι $\Delta^{\text{Lk}}$ ff$^{\text{2(Lk)}}$ d$^{\text{Lk}}$ Marcosians Hesychius Augustine$^{\text{pt}}$ Jerome$^{\text{pt}}$

ϵὐχαριστῶ *l.* ἐξομολογοῦμαι Diatessaron$^{\text{VL}}$ Marcion$^{\text{TE}}$ Origen$^{\textit{hom. Num.}}$ Epiphanius

*om.* σοι Marcion$^{\text{T}}$

om. πάτϵρ F$^{\text{Lk}}$ a ( ?) $^{\text{Lk}}$ Marcion$^{\text{TE}}$ Ps-Clement""". Augustine$^{\text{pt}}$

*om.* κύριϵ l$^{\text{Mt}}$ Ps-Clement$^{\textit{hom.}}$ Ephraem$^{\text{syr}}$

∼ κύριϵ πάτϵρ 440$^{\text{Mt}}$ c$^{\text{Mt}}$ e$^{\text{Lk}}$ ff$^{\text{2Lk}}$ i$^{\text{Lk}}$ Jerome@ Augustine$^{\text{pt}}$ Hesychius Zacharias

ὁ θϵός *l.* κύριϵ ff$^{\text{1Mt}}$ Clement-Alex

ὁ θϵός *ante* πάτϵρ Ephraem$^{\text{Greek}}$

ὁ θϵός *post* κύριϵ b$^{\text{Mt}}$

τῶν οὐρανῶν *l.* τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Marcosians

om. τοῦ *et* τῆς Origen$^{\text{pt}}$ Epiphanius$^{\text{pt}}$

*om.* καὶ τῆς γῆς 𝔭$^{45}$ Marcion$^{\text{TE}}$ Ephracm

[20] Plooij, *Further Study, 83,* and Quispel, 'L'Évangile selon Thomas', 105 n. 26.

[21] MPG 12.1653d. Similar remarks are found in Eusebius, *e.th.* 3.2 (GCS 4.141) and Chrysostom, *horn. 38.2 in Mt.* (MPG 57.429).

[22] W. M. Lindsay, ed. (Oxford: University Press, 1911) vol. 1.

We may quickly dispense with some of these variants: e.g. the omission of *σοι* in Marcion, which is present only in Tertullian.[23] The same omission in Origen is simply due to his free rendering of the passage in this place. Furthermore, it is impossible to say whether Irenaeus is faithfully rendering the text of the Marcosians in reading *τῶν οὐρανῶν*. Finally, the omission of *τοῦ* and *τῆς* is probably also due to a free rendering of the text.

The other variant readings, however, carry more interest for us. The future *ἐξομολογήσομαι* is significant because here the influence of the LXX is clearly visible. It is possible of course to argue that the variant reading came about under the influence of the future in Rom. 14:11 and 15:9, both quotations from the Greek text of the OT. But whatever may be the actual source, it is clear that the variant originated from parallel texts.

The reading *εὐχαριστῶ* cannot be found in any of the MSS of the NT. From Origen and other early Christian authors we gather that the variant could have been easily introduced as an explanatory comment. Thus one cannot prove from the free rendering of the text in the catena fragment that Origen was acquainted with MSS with this reading. More striking is the presence of *εὐχαριστῶ* in Epiphanius. Is he quoting freely? This possibility is not to be excluded, since in the same quotation he omits *τοῦ* and *τῆς*, readings which are also not present in the MSS. We have already said that the presence of *εὐχαριστῶ* in a Jewish Christian Gospel of an Aramaic origin does not say very much, for in Aramaic *ἐξομολογοῦμαι* and *εὐχαριστῶ* are rendered by the same word. But the presence of *εὐχαριστῶ* in Marcion and some witnesses of the Diatessaron is important. It is impossible to say whether the reading was also available in the Eastern branch of the Diatessaron, since Ephraem cannot be used as a witness for this reading, as we already noted above. This seems to show that the reading might have been present in Rome only and that the relation between Marcion and the Diatessaron with regard to this reading was not a direct one, but was due to a common tradition situated in the Western, possibly Latin speaking, part of Christianity.

[23] A. von Harnack, *Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (TU 45; 2nd edn.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929), 206*: 'Das Fehlen von *σοί* sonst unbezeugt; vielleicht zufällig bei Tert.'



With regard to the names of God, witnesses are far from unanimous. First of all, it is impossible to explain all these variant readings as coming from Marcion, who omitted the word *πάτερ*. In the second place, we may repeat that the Clementine homilies, in which we find the omission both of *πάτερ* and of *κύριε*, show that a free rendering opened the possibilities for mistakes. This makes it necessary to look at each variant individually.

The omission of *πάτερ* is found in Marcion. We wonder whether it is an arbitrary omission or due to an already underlying text of the NT. It appears impossible to give a definite answer to this question. The presence of the omission in Codex F, Pseudo-Clement, and Augustine, and in addition to this the omission of the word in similar expressions in the LXX, make it clear that the omission could have been brought about in more than one way.[24]

The omission of *κύριε* cannot be explained from any dogmatic tendency. If the reading were not present in 1 (Matthew), it could have been explained as from a careless quoting of the text. We may expect that the omission originated spontaneously in the different witnesses and that no genealogical relationship exists.

The reading *κύριε πάτερ* can be explained from an original *κύριε* or *πάτερ* only, which was supplemented at the wrong place.[25] But it is doubtful whether this is the only explanation.

The presence of *ὁ θεός* can be explained from the phrase *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς* which we find in the LXX. This, however, only explains the reading *ὁ θεός l. κύριε* and *ὁ θεός post κύριε*. The reading of Ephraem^Greek demands another explanation, which is not easy to find.

Finally, we meet the omission of *καὶ τῆς γῆς*. It is usually seen as a tendentious Marcionite reading.[26] But does this explain the omission in Ephraem and $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$?[27] Agreement between

[24] E. C. Blackman (*Marcion and His Influence* [London: SPCK, 1948], 136, 146, 156) seems to accept Marcionite influence on the OL codex Vercellensis (a), which probably omits *πάτερ*.

[25] Ibid., 146: '*Domine pater* (> *pater Domine*) so *e f ff i* $r_2$. Is this alteration of the place of *pater* due to Marcion's omission of it?'

[26] See von Harnack, *Marcion*, 205*–6*; Blackman, *Marcion*, 46; M.-J. Lagrange, *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament: II. Critique textuelle, II, La critique rationnelle* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1935), 162; C. S. C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1951), 14.

[27] Cf. E. C. Colwell, 'Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption

Marcion and Ephraem can readily be explained from a common ‘Western’ background. Marcionite influence on early Greek papyri seems impossible. This means that here also variant readings originated spontaneously, possibly influenced by the usage of the LXX where in this phrase the words *καὶ τῆς γῆς* are often omitted, as we have seen above.

It goes without saying that it is impossible to draw general conclusions from nine words about the corruption of the text of the NT. A few concluding remarks, however, may be given.

The exchange of *εὐχαριστῶ* and *ἐξομολογοῦμαι* is usually explained from an underlying Semitic source. We noted that the influence of Greek usage is a sufficient explanation of this variant.

The omission of *κύριε* and *καὶ τῆς γῆς* can be explained from a particular Marcionite tendency, but incidental errors, free rendering in quotations, and the influence of the LXX are equally possible as sources of corruption.

It was seen that quotations in ecclesiastical writers with variant readings do not prove the existence of these variants in the MSS of the NT.

The same variant reading in different witnesses could have originated independently. To draw up genealogical relationships between witnesses, MSS, and authors, based upon the agreement of one or more variant readings is hazardous. Even if a great number of agreements undoubtedly proves the relation, it is still impossible to know whether all agreements have to be explained from this relationship.

He who wrote, ‘To teach another how to become a textual critic is like teaching another to become a poet’,[28] and to whom this contribution is gratefully dedicated, will, we hope, agree with our conclusions. It shows again that textual criticism is essentially not a science but an art.

of the Text’, *The Bible in Modern Scholarship* (ed. J. P. Hyatt; Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1965), 370–89: ‘He [*scil.* the scribe of $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$] omits adverbs, adjectives, nouns, participles, verbs, personal pronouns. ... In short, he favors brevity’ (p. 383). This habit fully explains this omission.

[28] B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (and edn.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 211.

# 2. Matthew 14: 22–33—Text and Composition

J. SMIT SIBINGA

In Matt. 14: 22-33, ‘The Walking on the Water’, the editions of the Greek NT show a certain amount of textual variation. We list seventeen variants between Nestle–Aland[25] (N-A) and the Textus Receptus (TR) :

| | Matt. | TR] N–A |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | 14: 22 | *εὐθέως] [εὐθέως]* |
| (2) | | *ἠνάγκασεν ὁ ᾽Ιησοῦς] ἠνάγκασεν* |
| (3) | | *μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ] μαθητάς* |
| (4) | 24 | *μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν] σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπεῖχεν* |
| (5) | 25 | *ἀπῆλθε] ἦλθεν* |
| (6) | | *πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ ᾽Ιησοῦς] πρὸς αὐτούς* |
| (7) | | *ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης] ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν* |
| (8) | 26 | *καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί] οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες αὐτόν* |
| (9) | | *ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν] ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης* |
| (10) | 27 | *εὐθέως] εὐθύς* |
| (11) | | *αὐτοῖς ὁ ᾽Ιησοῦς] [ὁ ᾽Ιησοῦς] αὐτοῖς* |
| (12) | 28 | *πρός σε ἐλθεῖν] ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ* |
| (13) | 29 | *ὁ Πέτρος] Πέτρος* |
| (14) | | *ἐλθεῖν] καὶ ἦλθεν* |
| (15) | 30 | *ἄνεμον ἰσχυρόν] ἄνεμον* |
| (16) | | *ἐμβάντων] ἀναβάντων* |
| (17) | | *ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἐλθόντες] ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ* |

How did N-A’s text come about? For the readings 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 (that is, 12 out of 17) H[ort], T[ischendorf], and W[eiss] were in full agreement. Only a few of these readings appear in the critical apparatus (5, 13, 14, 15). In the variants 3, 4, 8 the majority principle yielded a resultant text at once. For 1 and 11 N-A repeats WH’s notation: these are unsolved problems. Further, from the critical apparatus it is apparent that WH had their doubts about 4 and 14, and also were uncertain about v. 22 εἰς °τὸ πλοῖον—in other words, the reader can visualize Hort's margin.

For variant 1 the more recent editions that were consulted all return to the reading of the TR, for variant 11 most of them do, and in other cases this is true of at least some of them. For 13 and 15, however, there is no longer agreement, and in UBSGNT[3] both of these readings are presented, by the use of square brackets, as a challenge to the reader.

Table 1 shows the choice made by a number of more recent editors as to the variants 1-17. The variant εἰς °τὸ πλοῖον (v. 22) is neglected.

TABLE I

| v.l. | Souter (1910) | von Soden (1913) | Vogels (1920) | Merk (1933) | Bover (1943) | Aland-Synopsis (1964) | UBSGNT[1] (1966) | UBSGNT[3] (1975) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| (2) | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| (3) | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| (4) | x | x | x | — | — | — | — | — |
| (5) | — | x | [x] | — | — | — | — | — |
| (6) | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| (7) | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| (8) | x | x | x | — | — | — | — | — |
| (9) | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| (10) | x | x | x | — | — | — | — | — |
| (11) | x | x | x | — | x | 0 | — | |
| (12) | x | x | | — | -- | — | — | — |
| (13) | x | x | x | — | x | — | x | [x] |
| (14) | x | — | x | — | — | — | — | — |
| (15) | — | x | x | x | x | — | — | [x] |
| (16) | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| (17) | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

x = Textus Receptus — = Nestle 0 = ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς

'Den Kern fast jedes textkritischen Problems bildet eben ein *stilistisches* .. .'.[1] Therefore, in order to form an opinion on the text of Matt. 14 : 22–33, *we* shall to a certain extent analyse the full passage and try to determine its composition and internal organization as well as the style and literary method applied by the author.

First, does the passage, in a natural way, divide into smaller

[1] Paul Maas, *Textkritik* (4th edn. ; Leipzig: Teubner, 1960), *25.*



units? Most of the editions consulted present w. 22-33 as one continuous body of text. However, the beginning of v. *24* is marked by a capital in WH,[2] and the beginnings of w. 28 and 32 are set off in the same way by von Soden. It seems then that the narrative may be divided as follows :

§ 1 vv. 22-3 The parties separate : Jesus sends both the disciples and the crowd away. He remains by himself alone.

§ 2 w. 24-5 The disciples' boat in danger; Jesus is to rejoin them.

§ 3 w. 26–7 Their fear and, in answer to it, Jesus' self-revelation.

§ 4.1 w. 28–9a Peter's request granted in

§ 4.2 w. 29b–31 another miracle. His fear, rescue, lack of faith.

§ 5 w. 32-3 The danger ceases ; the disciples worship Jesus.

Clearly, the story has a centre in the self-identification of Jesus with the momentous words 'It is I' in § 3, and a climax in the disciples' confession of faith in v. 33 ( § 5), without losing any of its dramatic quality in between : § 4 is another highlight, an incident significant in its own right.

However, Peter's miraculous walk on the lake imitates the earlier miracle ( § 2) of Jesus crossing the lake by foot. A chiastic repetition of identical, similar, and synonymous words links the second miracle to the first :

v. 25 *(a)* ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτούς
*(b)* περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
*v.* 29 *(b)* περιεπάτησεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα
(a) καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν

In v. 29, the reading καὶ ἦλθεν, which all modern editors prefer, contributes to and fits into this pattern. The variant καὶ ἦλθεν] ἐλθεῖν is sufficiently explained as an echo from the more immediate context in v. 28 κέλευσόν με ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ.

As a result of the first miracle the disciples panic (v. 26). In the narrative, this implies a switch : the subject and the place of reference change when, in v. 26, the reader's attention focuses

[2] *So* is the beginning of v. 25. At this point Weymouth followed WH.

on the boat and those in it. In the second miracle, the subject remains the same ; but several elements of the earlier story are taken up when Peter loses heart in v. 30 :

26 . . . ἰδόντες αὐτόν . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔκραξαν. 27 εὐθὺς
30 βλέπων ... τὸν ἄνεμον ἐφοβήθη, καὶ ... ἔκραξεν ... 31 εὐθέως

δὲ ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς λέγων·
δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς . . . καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ·

In the second miracle, we try to account for the continuity by marking w. 28–9a and vv. 2gb31 as § 4. 1 and § 4.2. As, however, the reaction to the first miracle follows as a separate act, we make it a new paragraph.

The resemblance between w. 30–1 and vv. 26-7, i.e. between § 4.2 and § 3, is unmistakable. From the stylistic point of view, *variatio* is far more prominent than *repetitio*. Strictly speaking, for *repetitio we* have only the verb κράζω (v. 26 end, and v. 30) and the name Jesus. On the other hand, *varietas* is achieved by the use of synonyms (ἰδών and βλέπων, λαλῶ and λέγω), of words deriving from the same root (φόβος, ἐφοβήθη), and by using different forms of the same word (εὐθύς, εὐθέως). Besides, there is the syntactical difference between ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔκραξαν (v. 26) and ἐφοβήθη καὶ ἔκραξεν (v. 30) and the difference in tense of the verbal forms ἐλάλησεν (v. 2 7) and λέγει (v. 3 1). However, that first the disciples and later Peter are in the same way frightened by what they see is clear enough.

Two of the variants at the beginning of v. 27 (εὐθύς] εὐθέως C L Δ $f^1$ 565 *Byz pl* Eus ; and ὁ Ἰησοῦς] om. ℵ* D 084 *pc* d f ff $^1$ q) in one way or another affect the similarities between these corresponding moments in Matthew's narrative. εὐθέως and the name of Jesus tend to make the parallel more conspicuous ; εὐθύς and the omission of the name Jesus may somewhat obscure it.

Smoothly connecting the separate elements of a narrative is usually one of Matthew's primary concerns. For him, as for example for Lucian, the narrative should be λείως τε καὶ ὁμαλῶς προϊοῦσα: it should proceed smoothly and evenly, and the several parts should not merely follow one upon the other, but have something in common and overlap : ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνεῖν καὶ ἀνακεκρᾶσθαι κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα.[3] So he links § 3 to § 2 :

[3] Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 64 (55).



v. 25 (Jesus) ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
(*a*) *b c d*
*b a d c*
v. 26 οἱ . . . μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης περιπατοῦντα

In the same way, § 4 is attached to § 3 when Peter in his answer explicitly refers to Jesus' words :

v. 27 . . . ἐλάλησεν ... λέγων· . . . ἐγώ εἰμι . . .
v. 28 ἀποκριθεὶς ... εἶπεν· Κύριε, εἰ σὺ εἶ ...

If necessary, a look at the parallel passage in Mark 6 : 50–1 will convince us that Matthew in 14 : 28 indeed starts on a new and separate element in the story, which we may call a new paragraph. Yet this is joined so smoothly to the preceding part that there hardly is much difference with the internal coherence within the new paragraph. Here the words of Peter's request (v. 28 ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα), a verb, and two prepositional phrases *(a-b/c,* themselves reminiscent of v. 25 ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς . . . ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν) return in v. 29 where the miracle is related : (περιεπάτησεν) ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν *(c/a-b)* .[4]

All this, and more, may be described in terms of a literary technique. A pattern *c/a-b* over against *a-b/c* is of course chiastic ; we noted that parallelism, repetition of words and phrases, variation, and other conventional devices could be added.

So far, our purpose has been to outline and illustrate the basic structure of the episode. A number of the textual variants clearly relate to this structure.

We had occasion to pass judgement on one set of variants : in v. 29 καὶ ἦλθεν is to be preferred to ἐλθεῖν. The reading καὶ ἦλθεν fits into an aspect of Matthew's literary technique which is not so well known as e.g. chiasmus or assonance. It concerns his use of the different forms of the verb. In Table 2 we tabulate these for narrative and discourse separately.

In the *narrative* parts of Matt. 14: 22-33, there are 20 finite forms. Of these, the main group consists of 16 aorists; among the remaining 4, there are 3 imperfects and 1 present tense. There

[4] Cf. H. J. Held, 'Matthew as Interpreter of the Miracle Stories', in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 205.

TABLE 2. *Verbal forms in Matt. 14: 22–33*

| | Narrative | | | | | Discourse | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Infinite forms | | Finite forms | | | | | |
| | Infinitive | Participle | Aorist | Imperfect | Present | Infinitive | Indicative | Imperative |
| 22 | | | ἠνάγκασεν | | | | | |
| | ἐμβῆναι | | | | | | | |
| | προάγειν | | ἀπολύσῃ | | | | | |
| 23 | | ἀπολύσας | ἀνέβη | | | | | |
| | προσεύξασθαι | | | | | | | |
| | | γενομένης | | ἦν | | | | |
| 24 | | | | ἀπεῖχεν | | | | |
| | | βασανιζόμενον | | ἦν | | | | |
| 25 | | | ἦλθεν | | | | | |
| | | περιπατῶν | | | | | | |
| 26 | | ἰδόντες | | | | | | |
| | | περιπατοῦντα | ἐταράχθησαν | | | | | |
| | | λέγοντες | | | | | ἐστιν | |
| | | | ἔκραξαν | | | | | |
| 27 | | | ἐλάλησεν | | | | | |
| | | λέγων | | | | | | θαρσεῖτε |
| | | | | | | | εἰμί | φοβεῖσθε |
| 28 | | ἀποκριθείς | εἶπεν | | | | εἶ | κέλευσον |
| | | | | | | ἐλθεῖν | | |
| 29 | | | εἶπεν | | | | | ἐλθέ |
| | | καταβάς | περιεπάτησεν | | | | | |
| | | | ἦλθεν | | | | | |
| 30 | | βλέπων | ἐφοβήθη | | | | | |
| | | ἀρξάμενος | | | | | | |
| | καταποντίζεσθαι | | ἔκραξεν | | | | | |
| | | λέγων | | | | | | σῶσον |
| 31 | | ἐκτείνας | ἐπελάβετο | | λέγει | | ἐδίστασας | |
| 32 | | ἀναβάντων | ἐκόπασεν | | | | | |
| 33 | | | προσεκύνησαν | | | | | |
| | | λέγοντες | | | | | εἶ | |



are also 20 infinite forms, and here also the distribution is into 16 (for the participles) and 4 (for the infinitives).

In the *spoken* parts the author uses 10 finite forms of a verb, that is: 5 indicatives and 5 imperatives, and there is 1 infinitive. The sum total of the verbal forms is 51.[5] Most of these, i.e. 46, have a personal 'subject', and more often than not, this is a single person, either Jesus or Peter.

TABLE 3

| | Narrative | | Discourse | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Infinite | Finite forms | Infinite | Finite forms | |
| Jesus | 6 | 9 | — | 6 | 21 |
| Peter | 6 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 14 |

Let us assume, for a moment, that the author of the First Gospel used a rather complicated literary technique, in which—among other things—such distinctions as applied above played a role. Then it must be conceded that the result of his work, that is the text we have, shows a predilection for simple quantitative relations: 1 : 1 (for finite and infinite forms in N[arrative]; for indicatives and imperatives in D[iscourse]), 3 : 2 (Jesus and Peter as subjects), 1 : 4 (infinitives and participles in N), etc. To us, what we suspect about the rules of his *métier* may seem strange and complicated. But apparently Matthew applied these 'rules' with a thorough sense of order and simplicity.

We shall look at two other aspects of his literary technique later on: the number of words and the number of syllables used. This will bring us closer to a decision about some of the variants in the text. But first we shall discuss some of the doubtful readings.

Matt. 14: 22, 27, 31
v. 22 εὐθέως] *om.* ℵ* C* 892^txt
v. 27 εὐθύς] εὐθέως C L Δ f¹ 565 *Byz pl*; Eus
v. 31 εὐθέως] εὐθύς ℵ Θ 700

In ancient miracle stories a man in danger is saved 'at once'. A patient is healed 'promptly', once he has met the man who has

[5] For Matthew's sophisticated use of the factor 17, compare for instance Matt. 25: 14–30 (see J. Smit Sibinga, 'The Structure of the Apocalyptic Discourse, Matthew 24 and 25', *ST* 29 [1975], 71–9, esp. p. 73, and see below, n. 39).

the power to cure him.[6] Even more than in other parts of the NT, this motif is conspicuous in Matthew. For example, in 8: **13; g: 22;** 15: 28; 17: 18; and 21: 19–20 (the fig tree) the speed and effectiveness of divine action is made more apparent than in the parallels. So it is fully in Matthew's line, in the story of the walking on the water, that first the disciples are addressed (v. 27) and afterwards Peter is rescued (v. 3 I) 'immediately'.' The use of εὐθύς (v. 27) and ● 38& (v. 31) at analogous points of the narrative* is rather similar to the repetition of εὐθέως in Matt. 4 : 20, 22. The equally prompt obedience of the two pairs of brothers is marked by repeating six words: οἱ δὲ εὐθέως ἀφέντες . . . ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ (sc. Jesus) .[9] In 14 : 27 and 31, the difference between εὐθύς (v. 27) and εὐθέως (v. 3 I) fits the general picture: the similarity in the situation is not worked out by using identical phrases. The variant in v. 27 εὐθύς] εὐθέως is probably due to influence from v. 3 I, or to the fact that εὐθέως is the more common form in Matthew.10 Although this seems an adequate interpretation of the facts, one cannot rule out the possibility-on the supposition that the original r εὐθέως—that εὐθύς derives from Mark 6 ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐλάλησεν μετ' αὐτῶν.[11] Thus at this point there remains some uncertainty.

In Matt. **14: 22** the background of εὐθέως, if authentic, is of

[6] O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswundet* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909), 197–8: Anhang II, 'Die Plötzlichkeit des Wunders'; R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921), 138 (4th edn.; 1958, p. 240). Probably it is not so much the *Plötzlichkeit*, suddenness, that matters, as the immediate and prompt character of the divine intervention, cf. Ps. **32 (33):** g. For a good non-Christian parallel to Matt. **14: 31, see** BGU 423.8, 2nd century AD, in A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (4th edn.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1923), 147 [Eng. tr.: *Light from the Ancient East (New* York: Harper, 1922), 179–80].

[7] For Mark, Joh. Weiss observed, 'dass das εὐθύς am gesichertesten erscheint bei Heilungsvorgtingen. . . '. 'Gerade bei diesen Heilungsgeschichten . . . hat die Formel einen guten Sinn . . .' ('ΕΥΘΥΣ bei Markus', *ZNW* II [1910], 124-33, esp. p. 131; cf. p. 133).

[8] See above, p. 18.

[9] Here Matthew parallels the two parts of his narrative with 'peinlichster Genauigkeit und Deutlichkeit'; cf. W. Larfeld, *Die neutestamentlichen Evangelien* (Gtitersloh: Bertelsmann, 1925), 301.

[10] Moreover, according to a rule recorded by Ammonius, De *differentia*, 202, εὐθέως and not εὐθύς was the correct form for the adverb of time: τὸ δ' εὐθέως ἀντὶ τοῦ χρονικοῦ ἐπιρρήματος. Compare, however, Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 119 (Rutherford, pp. 222-3).

[11] So H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, I/ii (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911), 1391.



another nature. In v. 27 and v. 3 I 'immediately', an accepted feature of miracle stories, contributes a characteristic element to the style of Matthew's narrative. In v. 22, the immediate background is known: it is Mark's καὶ εὐθύς in Mark 6: 45.[12] Here we have a well-known and much debated characteristic of Mark's style, which to some extent also appears in Matthew, but is absent from Luke and John.13 Many scholars have taken the view that (καὶ) εὐθύς, as it is used by Mark at the beginning of a sentence, is a conjunction rather than an adverb of time, and consequently has a weakened meaning :'and so' (Burkitt), 'so then' (Howard), 'et alors' (Pernot), etc. In individual passages, however, the choice between 'directly' and the weaker meaning is often dubious. In Matt. 14: 22 several versions render εὐθέως by 'directly' or 'straightway', but 'then' is found in Moffatt's translation, as in RSV, NEB, TEV. Among the *uersiones antiquae* the OL may be relevant : *tunc* ff[1].[14]

The witnesses for the short reading in Matt. 14: 22 include ℵ* and C*. It appears that Tischendorf[15] and Hort were much impressed by this, but von Soden was not.[16] In UBSGNT this was styled a 'C' decision (= 'considerable degree of doubt').

How much doubt is justified ? As we saw, unlike 'immediately' in Matt. **14 :** *27* and 3 I, εὐθέως in v. 22 is not a motif that contributes to the style of this miracle story. Furthermore, καὶ

[12] K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (Berlin: Trowitzsch, 1919), 193 : 'Diese Lieblingszäsur des Mk'.

[13] For the literature, see L. Rydbeck, *Fachprosa*, *vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament* (Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 5 ; Uppsala, 1967), 167.

[14] I doubt whether UBSGNT is right in listing ff[1] among the witnesses for the short reading, cf. K. Aland (ed.), *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (2nd edn.; Stuttgart: Wtirttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1965), 209: om. ℵ*C* sy[s,c] sa[pt]. I would, however, hesitate to claim any support at all for the short reading from the earliest strata of the ancient versions. As Burkitt noted, Vetus Syra has no equivalent for Mark's καὶ εὐθύς in many places where Peshitta has. This indicates to me that the Greek exemplar of sy[p] contained these or very similar words. But it is no proof that they were absent from the exemplar of Vetus Syra in a particular instance. Cf. S. P. Brock, 'The Treatment of Greek Particles in the Old Syriac Gospels, with Special Reference to Luke', *Studies in New Testament Language and Text* (ed. J. K. Elliott; NovTSup 44; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 80–6, esp. pp. 83 and 85; and 'Limitations of Syriac in representing Greek', in B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 83–98, esp. 93–4.

[15] Cf. A. ( = L.) F. C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamenturn Graece ex Sinaitico Codice* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1865), LXXIII.

[16] See von Soden, *Die Schriften*, I/ii, p. 1018; 1449 : 'Die Bezeugung ist sehr schwach'.

*εὐθέως* is not one of Matthew's ordinary transitional formulae, connecting (part of) one episode with another. So it is not a priori surprising that *εὐθέως* in v. 22 appears to be less safe in the MS tradition than the instances in w. 27 and **31.**

Of course, Mark should be compared. Matthew, we know, often has no equivalent for Mark's frequent (*καὶ*) *εὐθύς*, but it is also clear that he is not consistent in omitting it. For Matt. **14 : 22,** Mark 6 : 45 is the parallel text,[17] and Mark 8 : 10 with its parallel Matt. 15 : 39 is closely related. Mark 8 : 9 . . . *καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς.* 10 *καὶ εὐθὺς ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον* . . . appears in Matthew without *καὶ εὐθύς* (Matt. **15** : 39 *καὶ ἀπολύσας τοὺς ὄχλους ἐνέβη εἰς τὸ πλοῖον*), and I find no variant recorded which adds an equivalent of Mark's *εὐθύς.*

Thus for Matt. 14: 22 we have two possibilities : (1) The original reading is *καὶ ἠνάγκασεν* : just as in 15 : 39, Matthew did not here reproduce Mark's *εὐθύς.* To this extent, Matthew is consistent. The large majority of MSS, however, add *εὐθέως*, presumably from or in accordance with Mark 6 : 45 TR and Mark 8 : 10 TR. (2) The true text is *καὶ εὐθέως ἠνάγκασεν* : Matthew retains most of Mark's introductory phrase, for some reason including *εὐθέως* for Mark's *εὐθύς*, though in Matt. 15 : 39 and elsewhere he has no use for it. The variant in 14 : 22, *om. εὐθέως*, is then to be explained from the fact that *καὶ εὐθέως* as the beginning of an episode is unusual in Matthew and has no apparent function here. Of course the omission of *εὐθέως* may also be just a slip, but this hypothesis amounts to a *sacrificium intellectus* and should be avoided.

On the whole, (2) seems to be the better solution, although it leaves us with the question why Matthew in this case retained what he rejected in another, only changing Mark's *εὐθύς* into *εὐθέως.*

Matt. 14: 27[18]

(a) *ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς* ℵ* D 084$^{vid}$ *pc*

(b) *ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς* ℵ$^{a}$ B 1365 *pc*

(c) *ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς* C K L P *pler*

[17] Cf. B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 36.

[18] Cf. the variants in John 8: 12 and Eb. Nestle in *ZWT* 42 (1899), 623, and *Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament* (3rd edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909), 263-4.



Among the editors, Tischendorf adopted reading (a) in his Octava: Lachmann already favoured (b) and was followed by such scholars as B. Weiss, Huck(-Lietzmann), Merk, Panin, and Aland. Reading (c) is found in the editions of Souter, von Soden, Bover, and in the Greek-English Diglot. WH, and after them N-A and the UBSGNT, left it with the reader to solve the puzzle, offering him the choice between the two readings found in ℵ, i.e. *(a)* and (6). These editors are explicit only in rejecting (c).

The editors of the UBSGNT suggest two ways of accounting for the textual data.[19] 'It was recognized that scribes would often insert *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* in order to identify the subject of a verb in the Gospels. .. '. This would mean : the short reading (a) is original, and the other readings are scribal corrections.[20] Yet, 'if the reading preserved in B were original, the shorter reading could be explained as the result of accidental omission of *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* through homoeoteleuton (*OIC AYTOIC*)'. In this way, one accepts (b) as the original text, explains (a) as the result of an accident and (c) as an attempt to restore the text. In other words, the three readings belong to three different stages, the third depending on the second, and the second on the first.

It seems to me that the case for (6) is even stronger than would appear so far. First, if one accepts *(a)* as the original text, (c) may be the result of dittography, or perhaps a clarification. But there is no good explanation for (b). That 'after having dropped out, *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* would most likely be reinserted after *αὐτοῖς*' is an understatement. The word order in reading (6) is highly unusual in Matthew.[21] I am aware of one other instance in Matthew of the subject intervening between a verb of saying and a personal pronoun: Matt. 14 : 4, with variants. There may be one or two more, but clearly in a sentence such as Matt. **14** : *27* the normal place for the personal pronoun is directly after the verb.[22] A scribe inserting the name Jesus for clarity would tend to respect this rule, and would not ordinarily create an anomaly, viz. reading (6). Further, if (a) is not original,

[19] See Metzger, *Textual Commentary, 37.*

[20] Cf. e.g. Matt. 22: 20; John 18: 5; [20: 21].

[21] Cf. N. Turner, *Syntax,* Vol. III of *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (ed. J. H. Moulton; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906–63), 347: 'The verb. .. occurs as near the beginning as possible, followed by pers[onal] pronoun, subject, . . .'.

[22] For example: Matt. 26: 19, 31, 34, 35, 50, 52.

this reading may derive just as well from (c) through **haplo**graphy (*AYTOIC* for *AYTOICOIC*); it may also depend on the parallel texts in Mark 6 : 50 and John 6 :20.[23]

*So* the choice is really between the readings (b) and (c), (*c*) conforming to Matthew's normal usage, (6) being ***lectio difficilior.*** One would like to know if and/or why Matthew would have departed from the normal word order. In any case, it is unlikely that in Matt. **14 :** 27 ***lectio brevior potior.***

Matt. **14:** 29
*Πέτρος* ℵ B D Eus
*ὁ Πέτρος* C L W *Byz rell*

In the passage under consideration, Peter is first mentioned in v. 28 as *ὁ Πέτρος,* with the article: apparently he is known already. In v. 29 he is spoken of again, and here ℵ B D omit the article before his name. One might have expected the contrary : anaphoric use of the article seems appropriate in the second instance and omission in the first. B. Weiss accepted the anarthrous reading in v. 29, although he considered it as one of the few exceptions24 to the rule that *Πέτρος,* **'only** the surname of Simon', usually has the article. In his opinion there is no material reason for the exception.[25] Von Soden looked for phonetic motives, accepted the article in Matt. **14 :** 29, and explained the omission from the similarity in sound after *πλοίου.*[26] In its first edition, the UBSGNT sided with the TR and von Soden in reading *ὁ Πέτρος*; the third edition shows that a return to the anarthrous reading (= N-A) was considered. The compromise [*ὁ*] *Πέτρος leaves* the decision with the reader.

In my view there is no good reason to depart from ℵ B D ; the insertion of the article is an obvious assimilation to v. 28. Whether the name Peter is considered a surname or not,[27] one finds many cases where the article before the name is

[23] **So** von Soden, **Die** *Schriften,* **II** (1913), 51.
[24] **B. Weiss, 'Der Gebrauch des Artikels** bei **den Eigennamen',** *TSK* **86** (1913), 349–89; **see p. 377: 'Die ganz vereinzelten Ausnahmen': Matt. 14: rg; Mark 13: 3; John 13: 8.**
[25] **Weiss continues:** '... haben sicher **keinen sachlichen Grund'. However, he points out that gradually** *Πέτρος* **became a normal proper name.**
[26] **But in the (only) other case he adduces, Acts 13: 25, von** Soden **himself adopted the anarthrous reading. See von** Soden, **Die** *Schriften,* **I/ii,** 1407–8.
[27] **Luke is well aware of its nature; see Acts** 10**: 5, 18;** 11**: 13.**



omitted after it has been previously mentioned with the article : Acts 1: 13/15; 2: 37/38; *5:* 3/8; 10: 26/34; 10: 45/46. The same usage is found with other names.28 The phenomenon was discussed by T. F. **Middleton,**[29] but the reader of Matthew is also familiar with it from the genealogy in Matt. 1: **2-16.** Here, strangely enough, the first mention of a name is always **articular,** the second anarthrous.30 For names without an article, though mentioned in the previous context, one may compare Matt. 1:24 *pm* (Joseph) ; 2 : 7, 12, 13, 16 (Herod) ; **14:** 10 ℵ **B** (John the Baptist) ; 19 : 8 (Moses) ; 22 : *45* (David) ; 27: 49 (Elijah). So the anarthrous reading *Πέτρος* in Matt. **14:** 29, though perhaps somewhat surprising, may very well be original.

Matt. **14: 30**
*βλέπων δὲ τὸν ἄνεμον* ℵ **B** 073 **33** sa bo
*βλέπων δὲ τὸν ἄνεμον ἰσχυρόν* C D Θ f 1 f 13 *Byz pl* lat sy
*βλέπων δὲ τὸν ἄνεμον ἰσχυρὸν σφόδρα* W

We shall see that the phrase at the beginning of Matt. 14 : *30* is **firmly** rooted in Matthew's narrative style, and this will enable us to decide on the variant readings.

In the reading of most MSS, *ἄνεμον* is followed by the adjective *ἰσχυρόν* as its predicate,[31] after which the participle *ὄντα* is to be supplied. This is a well-known feature in classical Greek.32 In the NT however the ellipse of the forms of *εἶναι* is much restricted,33 and the ellipse of the participle seems to be quite rare.[34] A good example in Matthew is 25 *: 38-g :*

[28] **Cf., for Paul, Acts 14:** 9/11; **15: 2; 17:** 16/22; **Saul: Acts g:** 1/8; **Barnabas: Acts 15: 2.**
[29] **T. F. Middleton,** ***The Doctrine of the Greek Article*** **(ed. H. J. Rose; Cambridge: Deighton; London: Rivington,** 1833**), 85-6.**
[30] **See ibid., 124.**
[31] **This is clear, for example, in the** Syriac **versions and from Origen's paraphrase, ...** *ἔτι διστάζων ὄψεται ἰσχυρὸν τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ φοβηθήσεται* **. . . (GCS** 10.44). **Cf. Job 2: 13 LXX.**
[32] **R. Kiihner and B. Gerth,** *Ausführliche* ***Grammatik der griechischen*** *Sprache, Satzlehre,* II/2 (Hannover/Leipzig: **Hahn,** 1904**), 66-7; cf. L. Bos,** ***Ellipses Graecae*** **(ed. G. H. Schaefer; Leipzig: Weidmann; London: Payne, Mackinlay, Dunn,** 1808**), 603: '***EINAI,* **Esse. Inter** verba **Graeca nullum invenies, quod frequentius per Ellipsin omittatur, quam hoc'.**
[33] **N. Turner,** *Syntax,* 294–310.
[34] **Cf. F.** Blass, *Grammatik des* ***neutestamentlichen*** *Griechisch* (9th **edn. ; ed. A. Debrunner;** Göttingen: **Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,** 1954), 259 **[Eng. tr. : BDF, §** 416**].**

**38** *πότε δέ σε εἴδομεν ξένον* **(&a)** . . . *ἢ γυμνὸν ⟨ὄντα⟩* . . .
39 *πότε δέ σε εἴδομεν ἀσθενοῦντα* (B D Θ; *ἀσθενῆ* ℵ *Byz*) *ἢ ἐν φυλακῇ* (&a) ... (Type A)

A case in Mark (6: **20)** is avoided in the Matthean parallel (14: 5).

In Matt. 25 : 3ga B D Θ have preserved the original text: a verb of perceiving is followed by a participle as the object's predicate. One may compare Matt. g : 23 ... *ἰδὼν* ... *τὸν ὄχλον θορυβούμενον* (Type B). To this second type belong also Matt. 14 : 26 *ἰδόντες αὐτὸν* . . . *περιπατοῦντα* (= Mark) and 15 : 31 *βλέποντες κωφοὺς λαλοῦντας.*

Much more common, however, is the simpler pattern in which the verb is followed by its object only: (C) Matt. g : **22** *ἰδὼν αὐτήν*; **g :** 23 *ἰδὼν τοὺς αὐλητάς*; **2 : IO** *ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν ἀστέρα*; 5 : **I** *ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους*; **2 I : 15** *ἰδόντες* . . . *τὰ θαυμάσια* . . . *καὶ τοὺς παῖδας* . . . ; **15: 12** *ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον*; 9 : 4 *εἰδὼς* . . . *τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν*; **14 : 30** ℵ B* *βλέπων* . . . *τὸν ἄνεμον.*

Comparison with the synoptic parallels shows that similar phrases-though not absent from Mark[35] or Luke[36]—are characteristic of the style of Matthew as a redactor of Mark's narrative.[37] He connects the successive parts of the story by making the acting subject perceive what has happened or is happening. This explains the function of most of the phrases of the second and third types. Even simpler is the use of the participle only (*ἀκούσας*, *e.g.* 17 : 6 ; *ἰδών* **12 : 2 ; 2 I : 20**, etc.), a fourth category (D).

For an evaluation of the variants in Matt. 14 : 30, it is relevant that the phrase shares this function of creating a certain coherence in the narrative with most of the texts of the second, third, and fourth categories which we distinguished on formal criteria. More specifically, the phrase in Matt. 14 : 30 is one of many that join the perception of what happens with an emotion, mostly fear: **2: 22; g:** 8; 14: 30; 17: 6; 27: 54 (fear); **21:** 15; 26: 8 (resentment); 2: 3; 14: 26; 15: **12;** 19: 25 (shock); 8: 10; **22 : 22** (wonder); 2: 10 (joy). I should think that if the function is so similar, the form is likely to be so too : Matt. 14 : 30 belongs to the pattern of Matt. g : **22** and the other examples of our

[35] Cf. Matt. g: 2 and Mark 2: 5; Matt. 14: 26 and Mark 6: 49.
[36] Cf. Luke 20: 14 and Matt. 21: 38.
[37] Cf. Held, 'Matthew as Interpreter', **226-32.**



third class, and Matthew's style favours the short reading of ℵ B*. From this point of view the longer text stands isolated in Matthew.

How did the longer reading come into being? What was its *raison d'être?* The statement that Peter was looking at or even seeing an invisible object such as the wind may have seemed odd. The longer variant implies that Peter saw certain things—the size of the waves, the speed of the clouds, for instance—which made him conclude that the wind was strong. So the addition of *ἰσχυρόν* did away with a difficulty and made for a more intelligible story. At the same time it introduced a classical idiom which is rare in Matthew.

We have now investigated the variants 1, 10, 11, 13, and 15 of our list and have also made up our mind about 14. Clearly, our investigation is to be very incomplete. However, the analysis would be seriously defective, and we would neglect a set of important criteria for the assessment of the text, if we passed over the author's numerical technique. He modelled this narrative and all its parts so as to conform to a regular pattern with obvious precision. Proportions within the narrative are simple and exactly measurable, and there is an over-all design based on the use of fixed and (apparently) appropriate quantities of syllables and words.

Matthew's syllable technique has been sketched earlier.[38] The use of the number of words as an instrument of literary art was discussed for Mark, but the Hebrew OT and the Corpus Hippocraticurn supply other examples.[39]

Obviously, if there is evidence of such a more or less rigorous

[38] 'Eine literarische Technik im Matthausevangelium', *L'Évangile selon Matthieu: rédaction et théologie* (ed. M. Didier; BETL 29; Gembloux: Duculot, 1972), 99–105; and 'Structure', see above, n. 5. In the Corpus Hermeticurn the study of similar features is marred by the poor quality of the transmitted text; cf. G. Zuntz, 'On the Hymns in Corpus Hermeticurn XIII', *Hermes* **83** (1955), 68–92, = *Opuscula selecta* (Manchester University; Totowa, NJ : Rowman & Littlefield, 1972), 150–77. The textual tradition of the Greek NT compares very favourably. For instance, in Matt. 14: 34-6 modern editions agree with N-A but for one exception: v. 34 *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν εἰς*] *εἰς τὴν γῆν* von Soden, Diglot. For the other editions the figures for vv. 34-6 are: 18 + 46 + 36 = 100 syllables.
[39] J. Smit Sibinga, 'Text and Literary Art in Mark 3: 1–6', *Studies in New Testament Language and Text* (ed. J. K. Elliott; NovTSup 44; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 357-65, see p. 365 n. 32. One may compare Matt. 14:1–12. For vv. 1–2, 3–8, 9–12 the figures are: 34 + 85 + 5 I = I **70** words in the N-A text.

formal pattern in a piece of prose (or rather : *Kunstprosa*), its relevance to textual problems is similar to that of metre in poetry. As a rule, among variants of unequal length, only one will fit, and among readings of equal size, either in syllables or in words, no decision is possible. To be sure, as with all other criteria, counting the words and syllables of a text can, by itself, never solve a textual problem, or provide an answer in a mechanical way. But it helps. In Matt. 14: 29b a threefold structure is well marked:

| | *words* | |
|---|---|---|
| *καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου* | 5 | 9 |
| *Πέτρος περιεπάτησεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα* | 5 | 14 |
| *καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν* | 5 | 7 |

On closer consideration, it 'measures' 3 x 5 = 15 words[40] or 30 syllables. Seeing this, we feel even less inclined to follow the hesitant suggestion in UBSGNT³: [ὁ] *Πέτρος*.

On the other hand, in Matt. 14: *27 the* short text (א* D) exhibits a similar form:

| | *words* | *syllables* |
|---|---|---|
| *εὐθὺς δὲ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς λέγων·* | 5 | 11 |
| *θαρσεῖτε, ἐγώ εἰμι· μὴ φοβεῖσθε.* | 5 | 11 |

However, the (longer) B-text *ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς* seemed to explain the origin of the other readings. As we shall see, it fits the over-all plan of the episode, as to the number both of words and of syllables, and so we accept that in the true text of v. 27 the balance is not as perfect as in the short reading of א* D.

The scheme in Table 4 conforms to the N-A text; however, we include v. 22 *εὐθέως* and v. 27 *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, dispensing with square brackets. Not only are the paragraphs 2 and 3 of equal size when measured according to the number of words, but also the narrative opens with a scene (§1.1) which equally takes 31 words.[41] Moreover, the story in vv. 22-33 divides into 155 words of narrative and 31 words spoken by the different parties (Table 5). *So, the* ratio of discourse to narrative is 1 to 5, and the common factor is 31 words. After the opening scene, there is the short statement of v. 23b: 'When it grew late, Jesus was there alone'—

[40] In v. 30 the pattern continues: 5+5+3 words.

[41] There is continuity in vv. *22* and 23a, and a lapse of time, or perhaps a shift of another kind, before v. 23b *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης* . . . .



TABLE 4. *Survey and proportions*

| Matt. 14: 22-33 | Words | Syllables |
|---|---|---|
| § 1.1 v. 22–3a | 31 | 62 |
| § 1.2 v. 23b | 6 | 13 |
| § 2 v. 24-5 | 31 | 65 (/140) |
| § 3 v. 26-7 | 31/99 | 70 /210 |
| § 4.1 v. 28–9a | 22 | 38 |
| § 4.2 v. 29b–31 | 44/66 | 99 |
| § 5 v. 32-3 | 21/21/186 | 43 /180 /390 |

TABLE 5. *Direct discourse*

| *v.* | Jesus | | | Peter | | | Disciples | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Words | (Syllables) | | Words | (Syllables) | | Words | (Syllables) |
| 26 | | | | | | | 2 | (5) |
| 27 | 5 | (11) | | | | | | |
| 28 | | | | 12 | (20) | | | |
| 29 | 1 | (2) | | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | 3 | (6) | | | |
| 31 | 4 | (11) | | | | | | |
| 33 | | | | | | | 4 | (8) |
| | 10 | (24) | + | 15 | (26) | + | 6 | (13) = 31 w. (63 s.) |

6 words in the Greek text. So Matthew's account of what happened after the Feeding of the Five Thousand opens in vv. 22-3 with 31+6 words; when completed it has used 186 = 6 x 31 words, and in the account several units of 31 words each are clearly discernible.[42] All this betrays a formal design, somehow based on the number 31.

Why 31? Sometimes, there is evidence of a correspondence of some sort between the numerals mentioned in a narrative and its literary form.[43] Perhaps then, the numbers of loaves, fish,

[42] In a comparable way, the account of the Transfiguration (Matt. 17: 1-8, 144 words) is concluded in 17: 7-8 by 12+12 words. Matt. 25: 14 = 34 s., v. 15 = 18+18 s.-being the opening sentences of the Parable of the Talents (25: 14-30) which takes 612 (= 34 × 18) s. Cf. 'Structure', 72-3, and 'Text and Literary Art', 365.

[43] 1 Kgs. 19:1–18 and 2 Kgs. 2: 23-5; see 'Text and Literary Art', 365 n. 32. In Exod. 24 the sum total of the cardinal numbers equals the total number of words: 70+1+12+12+½+½+70+6+40+40 = 252.

baskets, and people mentioned in the story of the Feeding of the Five Thousand provide an explanation. The numbers are: 5, 2 (Matt. 14: 17), 5, 2 (v. 19), 12 (v. 20), 5,000 (v. 21). The thousands in v. 21 are, of course, of no use for any practical literary purpose. But 5 + 2 + 5 + 2 + 12 + 5 make 31. This remains uncertain, however, also because Matthew employs the number 31 in other passages as well, where no such explanation is available.[44]

To return to Matt. 14: 22-33 : the factor 31 is evident in the syllable count for §1. 1, 62 s., and the opening sentence, v. 22, measures 39 s., that is one-tenth of the figure for w. 22–33 : 390 s. Only at this point the readings of N-A in v. 22 (τοὺς μαθητάς and εἰς τὸ πλοῖον) become preferable to those of B (τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ and εἰς πλοῖον): the number of words is the same, but B's syllables do not fit the pattern.

In § 1-2, that is, w. 22-5, the narrative develops in 140 s. A climax, in § 3 (w. 26–7), of 70 s. is good measure from the point of this literary technique. So is, of course, a sequel of 100 s. (in w. 34–6), which rounds off an episode of 390 s. : vv. 22-36 = 490 s.

The factor 13, in evidence in § 1.2 (13 s.) and § 2 (65 s.),[45] comes up again in the spoken parts of the story : Peter speaks 20 (v. 28) +6 (v. 30) = 26 s., the (other) disciples 5 (v. 26) +8 (v. 33) = 13 s. Together, they pronounce 39 s. out of a total of 390 for vv. 22-33.

We return, finally, to the textual problem of v. 27. It is now evident that the longer text, either with ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς or with αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, meets the requirements of the author's scheme of syllables (w. 26-7 = 70 s.) and of his pattern of words (w. 26-7 = w.). It
out most clearly that v. 27, the moment when Jesus calls to the disciples 'Take courage, it is I', is the heart of the story. A concentric structure may be indicated roughly in this way :[46]

[44] See notably Matt. 8 and g.

4 5§2 is followed by 26 s. in v. 26: οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης περιπατοῦντα ἐταράχθησαν.

[46] Cf. e.g. C. H. Giblin, 'Structure and Thematic Correlations in the Matthean Burial-Resurrection Narrative', *NTS* 21 (1974–5), 406–20; H. J. de Jonge, 'Sonship, Wisdom, Infancy: Luke II.41–51a', *NTS* 24 (1977–8), 317–54, esp. pp. 338-g; cf. n. 39 above, on Matt. 14: 1–12.



| | |
|---|---|
| v. 22-3 | separation |
| v. 24 | situation of danger |
| v. 25-6 | first miracle |
| v. 27 | Jesus speaks |
| v. 28-g | second miracle |
| v. 30 | danger again |
| v. 31-3 | reunion |

The pattern of words marks the central position of v. *27* to perfection :[47]

| | *words* | *syllables* |
|---|---|---|
| *v.* 22-6 | 87 | 185 |
| v. 27 | 12 | 25 |
| v. 28-33 | 87 | 180 |

On the other hand, the syllable system may provide a clue to the textual problem concerning the position of the name ὁ Ἰησοῦς in v. *27.* The words ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς or αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς occupy a position close to the central point. If we focus on the dividing line between the first and second half of the story, each comprising 195 syllables, this line presents itself either after Ἰησοῦς:

193 195 | 196
(1) . . . ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς
194 | 197

or after the article :.

194 | 197
(2) . . . αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς
193 195 | 196

In the first case the closing words of the first half correspond to the confession of faith at the end of the second : v. 33 . . . θεοῦ vi& εἰ. Maybe this explains why the unusual word order in ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς for once appealed to the evangelist.

We still have much to learn about his style and literary technique, and I hope textual studies will continue to profit from this.

[47] In Mark 6: 45–52 the words of v. 48, ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ἤθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς, stand out in the same way. The figures are: 64+11+64 words, or rather, if the correspondence between vv. 45-6 and vv. 51-2 is acknowledged: 30+34+11+34+30 = 139 words. The difference between Mark's and Matthew's pattern marks a shift in their interpretation of the incident. Cf. A.-M. Denis, 'La Marche de Jésus sur les Eaux', De *Jésus aux Évangiles* (ed. I. de la Potterie; BETL 25; Gembloux: Duculot; Paris: Lethielleux, 1967), 233–47, esp. pp. 243-4 ( = 'Jesus' Walking on the Waters', *Louvain Studies* 1[1967], 284–97, see pp. 293–5).

# 3. Matthew 16: 2b–3

TOSHIO HIRUNUMA

I

THE genuineness of the saying about weather-signs in Matt. 16:2b–3[1] has often been discussed. According to one recent decision, found in *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* by Professor Bruce M. Metzger,[2] whose contributions to the study of the NT text and especially of its early versions are many and to whom the present paper is dedicated, the passage is 'enclosed within square brackets' in UBSGNT[3] 'in view of the balance' of both opinions. The same judgement had previously been made by Tischendorf[8] and von Soden.[3] Westcott-Hort (WH) adopted double brackets for the passage as one of five Western interpolations 'omitted on authority other than Western';[4] that is, they virtually rejected it. Their reason:

Both documentary evidence and the impossibility of accounting for omission prove these words to be no part of the text of Mt. They can hardly have been an altered repetition of the || Lc xii 54, 55, but were apparently derived from an extraneous source, written or oral, and inserted in the Western text at a very early time.[5]

The documentary evidence of the passage is the following:

(1) include ὀψίας γενομένης λέγετε, εὐδία, πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός.

[1] The present writer has, since 1966, dealt with textual problems in over 270 passages, mainly of the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, under the heading 'Praxis' in his monthly periodical, *Studia Textus Novi Testamenti*. One hundred and fifty passages of Mark from among these were collected into one volume: *The Praxis of New Testament Textual Studies: Mark* (Osaka, 1976; pp. 235+4 pls). When I was preparing for this article as a tribute to a venerable friend and erudite scholar, I happened upon this passage in the course of treating, in turn, the passages of Matthew; thus I decided to treat it as the present theme.

[2] p. 41.

[3] Tischendorf[8], 92; von Soden, *Die Schriften*, 2.57; likewise, N–A[25], 42; Souter[2]; Merk[9], 53; and Bover[5], 50, adopt reading (1) [see below], while G. D. Kilpatrick, *A Greek-English Diglot for the Use of Translators: Matthew* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1961), 36, and R. V. G. Tasker, *The Greek New Testament* (Oxford University/Cambridge University, 1964), 29, choose reading (3).

[4] Westcott-Hort, *NT*, 1.38; 2.296.

[5] Ibid., 'Appendix', 13.

*καὶ πρωΐ, σήμερον χειμών, πυρράζει y & p στυγνάζων ὁ οὐρανός. τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γινώσκετε διακρίνειν, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν οὐ δύνασθε.* C D K L (N) W A Θ II f$^{1}$ 33 565 700 892 1071 1241 *et al. Byz Lect* it vg syr$^{p,h}$ cop$^{bo^{mss}}$ eth geo Diatessaron E usebian Canons Apostolic Canons Juvencus Hilary Chrysostom Euthalius
(2) include *ὀψίας γενομένης . . . στυγνάζων ὁ οὐρανός* with obeli *l*$^{184}$
(3) omit *ὀψίας . . . δύνασθε* ℵ B V X Γ f$^{13}$ 157 267 472 1216 1573 2430 syr$^{c,s}$ cop$^{sa,bo^{mss}}$ arm Origen mss$^{acc. to Jerome}$

The witnesses according to text-type for reading (I) are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Alexandrian | C L A 33 892 1241 |
| Caesarean | N Θ f$^{1}$ 565 *700* 1071 geo Eusebius |
| Western | D it Diatessaron Hilary Juvencus |
| Byzantine | K W Π et al. Chrysostom |

The lectionary text contains Matt. 16 : 1-6 with Rom. 11: 29-36 or 1 Cor. g : 13-18 as a lection of the synaxarion for the 2nd day of the 8th week.6

The witnesses according to text-type for reading (3) are :

| | |
|---|---|
| Alexandrian | ℵ B sa bo$^{pt}$ Origen |
| Caesarean | f$^{13}$ 157 267 1216 2430 arm |
| Western | syr$^{c,s}$ |
| Byzantine | V X Γ |

The external evidence for readings (I) and (3) is almost equal. The 'omission' (reading 3) was known early, and apparently predominated, in Egypt, as is evidenced by the MS tradition, as well as the Coptic versions and Origen.[7] It was also known early in Syria (Old Syriac), and MSS with this text served as the basis for the Armenian version. If Jerome can be trusted,* this reading was still widespread in the East through the fourth century. On the other hand, there is no evidence in the West, from any period, for this reading.

Reading (I) was known early, and apparently predominated, in the West. It had emerged in the East at least by the fourth

[6] F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students* (ed. E. Miller; 4th edn.; London: Bell, 1894), 82; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1goo), 1.350.

[7] For Origen, see GCS 10 (ed. Klostermann, 1935), 72. The 'omission' is clear from the following comment: *ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπιδείξῃ τοῖς ἐπερωτήσασι Φαρισαίοις καὶ Σαδδουκαίοις, ἀποκρίνεται καὶ λέγει· γενεὰ πονηρὰ κτλ.*

[8] *See comm. Mt. 3. 16* (MPL 26. 117a) : *Hoc in plerisque codicibus non habetur*: 'This is not contained in most manuscripts'.



century (the Eusebian Canons, Jerome, Chrysostom). Whether it was known earlier in the East cannot presently be known. (The Diatessaron is not a sure guide here.) The UBSGNT apparatus, following Tischendorf, includes Theophilus of Antioch (d. AD 180) as supporting this reading, but this is surely in error.9

Among defenders of reading (I), Scrivener is the most positive. Apart from his own view of the external evidence, the only reason he gives for adopting this reading is the suggestion that thk passage was omitted by copyists because the changes of weather in their climate were quite different from the description in the passage. He has certainly gone too far when he affirms that anybody doubtful of the passage is lacking in critical capacity.[10] Lagrange also adopts the passage, and for the same reason.11

The arguments to the contrary, e.g. those of Allen,[12] McNeile,[13] and Klostermann,[14] as is the case for the most part, assert that the passage is an interpolation, or a gloss, formed after the model of Luke 12 : 54-6.

[9] The only Matthean citations found in his work are 5: 28, 32, 44-6, and 6: 3. See *ad Autolycum* (ed. R. M. Grant; Oxford Early Christian Texts; Oxford: Clarendon, 1970).

[10] *Plain Introduction, 2.326-7*: 'It might seem impossible for any one possessed of the slightest tincture of critical instinct to read them thoughtfully without feeling assured that they were actually spoken by the Lord on the occasion related in the Received text, and were omitted by copyists whose climate the natural phenomena described did not very well suit, the rather as they do not occur in the parallel text, ch. xii. 38, 39. Under these circumstances, the internal evidence in favour of the passage being thus clear and irresistible, the witnesses against it are more likely to damage their own authority than to impair our confidence in its genuineness'.

[11] 'Si l'on pense comme nous que *syrsin.* et *cur.* sont sous l'influence de l'Égypte et sptcialement d'Origène, leur témoignage ne change pas le caractère purement Cgyptien de l'omission. En Égypte cette conjecture tirée de l'aspect du ciel serait constamment démentie, car le rouge du matin n'y annonce pas la pluie. C'est sans doute pour cela que le passage a été supprimt' (M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Mutthieu* [EBib; 3rd edn.; Paris: Gabalda, 1927], 315); cf. C. C. Torrey, *The Four Gospels* (2nd edn. ; New York: Harper, 1947), 294.

[12] 'The clause can hardly be genuine here. It seems to be a gloss modelled on Lk 12$^{54-56}$' (W. C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew* [ICC; 3rd edn. ; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912], 173).

[13] 'The MS. authority is decisive against the genuineness of the passage. It appears to be an imitation of Lk' (A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* [London: Macmillan, 1915], 235).

[14] 'Eine anscheinend nach Lc 12$_{54-56}$ frei gestaltete alte Glosse' (E. Klostermann, *Das Matthdusevangelium* [HNT; 2nd edn. ; Tübingen: Mohr, 1927], 137) ; cf. *Das Lukasevangelium* [HNT; 2nd edn., 1929], 141.

Some scholars, e.g. Hort,[15] Plummer,[16] and Streeter,[17] presume the passage to come from a source independent of Luke, because of disagreement between the texts of Matthew and Luke (except for *λέγετε, τὸ . . . πρόσωπον, τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* and *τῶν καιρῶν/τὸν καιρόν*).

Zahn's suggestion that the passage, together with Mark 16 : 9–20 and John 8 : 1-11, was derived from Papias[18] is doubtful.

II

Luke 12: 54-6 reads as follows :

**54** *ἔλεγεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις, ὅταν ἴδητε [τὴν] νεφέλην ἀνατέλλουσαν*
*ἐπὶ δυσμῶν, εὐθέως λέγετε ὅτι ὄμβρος ἔρχεται, καὶ γίνεται οὕτως.*
55 *καὶ ὅταν νότον πνέοντα, λέγετε ὅτι καύσων ἔσται, καὶ γίνεται.*
56 *ὑποκριταί, τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν,*
*τὸν καιρὸν δὲ τοῦτον πῶς οὐκ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν;*

This text is stable and seems to be suited to the weather of Palestine. The weather-signs here are concerned with cloud (*νεφέλη*), rain (*ὄμβρος*, 'shower'), and wind (*νότος*, 'south wind'), not with the appearance of the sky in the evening and morning as in Matthew.

Several Rabbinical sayings about weather-predictions are also concerned with cloud and wind.[19]

[15] *See* above, n. 5.

[16] 'The parallel passage Mt. xvi. 2, 3 is of very doubtful authority. It can hardly be derived from Lk., from which it differs almost entirely in wording, but perhaps comes from some independent tradition' (A. Plummer, *The* Gospel *according to S. Luke* [ICC; 5th edn.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1922], 335).

[17] This passage is not a harmonistic insertion 'derived from the text of Luke. For if a later scribe, who had Luke before him, had desired to insert equivalent sayings in Matthew, he would have adhered far more closely to Luke's version. ... One has only to read [Matthew and Luke] through side by side to see that the verbal agreements between the two versions are almost nil, and can only be accounted for on the hypothesis that the interpolations are drawn from a tradition independent of Luke' (B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* [London: Macmillan, 1924], 241–2).

[18] 'Stammen die apokryphen Stücke Mk 16, 9–20 (oder richtiger 16, 14–18) und Jo 8, 1-11 wahrscheinlich aus Papias, so liegt die gleiche Annahme für Mt 16, 2.3 nahe genug' (T. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus* [4th edn.; Leipzig: Deichert, 1922], 530 n. 45).

[19] Str-B, 1.727-8. See e.g. *b.Ta'an.* gb (Soncino, 40): *Pôrĕḥôt* [light clouds] are a sign of (coming) rain. What are *pôrĕḥôt?*—R. Papa said: A thin cloud under a thick cloud. Rab Judah said: Should fine rain come down before the heavy rain then the rain will continue for some time; should it follow a heavy downpour of rain then the rain will soon cease. If before the rain, the rain will



III

The Lucan passage shows nothing peculiar in its wording, but in the text of Matthew there are some striking lexical and grammatical features.

(1) *εὐδία* means 'fair weather' and appears in classical authors such as Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, and Epictetus, as well as in the papyri. But it occurs only here in the NT and is used in contrast with *χειμών* ('storm') here, as usual elsewhere.[20]

(2) *πυρράζει* ('is fiery red'), which occurs twice here, is also a NT *hapax legomenon*. It derives from an adjective *πυρρός* ('fiery red' [Rev. 6 : 4; 12 : 3] < *πῦρ* 'fire').[21] The word does not appear in Josephus or in Philo. The LXX[22] and Philo both use the form *πυρρίζω*. The form *πυρράζω* seems to occur elsewhere only in Byzantine writers.[23] The *-αζω* form here may be assumed to be an assimilation to the succeeding verb *στυγνάζω*,[24] or it is a Hellenistic formation like *ἁγιάζω* for the classical *ἁγίζω*.[25]

(3) *στυγνάζω* comes from an adjective *στυγνός* ('gloomy') and

continue, of this the sieve serves as a reminder; if after a heavy rain, the rain will cease, of this goats' excrement serves as a reminder.

'Ulla chanced to be in Babylon and observing light clouds [*pôrĕḥôt*] he exclaimed, 'Remove the vessels for rain is now coming'. No rain however fell and he exclaimed, 'As the Babylonians are false, so too is their rain'. Cf. *b.Yoma* 21b: On the night following the last day of the [Sukkoth] Festival all were gazing upon the smoke arising from the pile of wood. If it inclined northward, the poor rejoiced and the people of means were sad, because the rains of the coming year would be abundant and their fruits would rot. If it inclined southward, the poor were depressed and the men of means rejoiced, for there would be little rain that year and the fruit could be preserved. If it inclined eastwards, all rejoiced; if westwards all were depressed.

We have similar sayings about weather-signs in Japan as elsewhere, e.g., *Yūyake koyake ashita tenki ni nare*, 'Evening glow! It be fair tomorrow!' (*yū* 'evening', *yake* 'glow', *ko* 'small', *ko-yake* = just wordplay, repetition of the previous, *ashita* 'tomorrow', *tenki* 'fair weather', *ni* 'to, for', *nare* 'let it be', [optative of be]).

[20] e.g. Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.8.19–20: *ἐν εὐδίᾳ γὰρ ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς. ὅταν δὲ χειμὼν ᾖ . . .* ('for the reason that I see you are in calm waters. But when it is stormy weather. ..' Loeb, 3.431); cf. Epictetus 2.18.29–30 (Loeb, 1.356-7).

[21] F. Blass-A. Debrunner-F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (14th edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), §108 (7).

[22] *πυρρίζουσα*: Lev. 13: 19, 42, 43, 49; 14: 37.

[23] Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, 738; S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen, 1913), 332 ; J. H. Moulton-W. F. Howard, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. II: *Accidence and Word-Formation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), 405; J. H. Moulton-G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930), 560.

[24] Moulton-Howard, *Grammar*, 2.405.

[25] Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik*, §108(6).

thus is used of human emotion. Such a case is found in Mark 10 : 22 ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθεν λυπούμενος ('and he, feeling gloomy at that saying, went away sorrowful'), the only other example of the verb in the NT.[26] As a reflection on the weather or sky ('to be gloomy, lowering'), this is the only occurrence in the NT. The noun στυγνότης is used of 'cloudy sky' in Polybius,[27] and στυγνός of 'gloomy' night in Wisdom (LXX).[28]

(4) That the usage of γι(γ)νώσκω with the infinitive in the sense of 'to know how to' is unique here in the NT is often mentioned.[29] According to Abel, this usage is not classical, since it has the sense of 'to judge, decide' in the classics;[30] indeed, this sense is very common in the classics.[31] However, the former, alleged non-classical usage is found in the LXX;[32] and in spite of Abel's remarks to the contrary, the usage in the sense of 'to

[26] This usage is seen also in the LXX: πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰς νήσους ἐστύγνασαν ἐπὶ σέ (Ezek. 27: 35); cf. Ezek. 28: 19; 32: 10.

[27] *Hist.* 4.21.1: . . . διὰ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ψυχρότητα καὶ στυγνότητα τὴν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὑπάρχουσαν ('. . . resulting from the surrounding coldness and gloominess usually prevailing in these parts').

[28] Wisd. 17: 5: οὔτε ἄστρων ἔκλαμπροι φλόγες καταυγάζειν ὑπέμενον τὴν στυγνὴν ἐκείνην νύκτα ('Neither could the brightest flames of the stars illumine that gloomy night', Charles, 563).

[29] Zahn, *Matthäus*, 528; McNeile, *Matthew*, 235; Klostermann, *Matthäusevangelium*, 137. Cf. similar usage in Latin, *scire* with inf.; e.g. *Qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse* (Livy 22.29.8: 'He who does not know how to counsel or to obey another has the lowest ability'); cf. Horace, *Ep.*1.17.14–15; Livy 22.51.4; Quintilian, *Inst.*10.5.19. Similarly in German, *wissen ... zu* with inf.; in French, *savoir* with inf.

[30] F.-M. Abel, *Grammaire de grec biblique* (Paris: Gabalda, 1927), 307 (§ 69, 10); W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (London: Macmillan, 1929), 364 (§ 915, 3). The only other example of γινώσκω with inf. is Heb. 10: 34, γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἑαυτοὺς κρείσσονα ὕπαρξιν καὶ μένουσαν. However, the meaning here is not 'to know how to', but rather 'to understand by judging that' (γινώσκω ὅτι), in which the classical meaning could be assumed (BDR, § 397,1[3]). In the NT 'to know how to' is always expressed by εἰδέναι (οἶδα) with inf. (e.g. Matt. 7: 11, εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν; cf. Luke 11: 13; 12: 56; Phil. 4: 12; 1 Thess. 4: 4; 1 Tim. 3: 5; Jas. 4: 17; 2 Pet. 2: 9); the usage is also classical (Zahn, *Matthäus*, 528–9). μανθάνειν with inf., 'to learn how to', is another usage similar to the above (μανθανέτωσαν πρῶτον τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον εὐσεβεῖν, 1 Tim. 5: 4).

[31] e.g. Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύηνιν Ἀστυάγεϊ τῷ Κυαξάρεω παιδί, 'they judged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares' (Herodotus, I.74); Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες ἔγνωσαν περιυβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω 'Then the Lacedaemonians, assembling a court, judged that the Aeginetans had been treated very ill by Leutychides' (Herodotus, 6.85).

[32] e.g. βούτυρον καὶ μέλι φάγεται πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι αὐτὸν ἢ προελέσθαι πονηρά, ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν (Isa. 7: 15); cf. Isa. 8: 4; 44: 18.



know how to' can be noticed, though only occasionally, in the classics.[33]

The above-mentioned features are relatively rare or otherwise non-existent in the NT. Thus, although they are not necessarily inadmissible in the text and context in which they are contained, they might be considered as negative evidence for the genuineness of the passage.

## IV

Variant readings within the passage are as follows:

Verse 2:

(1) Most of the versions are uncomfortable with the elliptical nominative[34] εὐδία and add *erit* (it$^{pler}$) or *est* (it$^{e}$). The OL codex ff$^{1}$ and the Vulgate codices E L R also add *cras* ('tomorrow').

(2) πυρράζει D K U Δ Π Φ 892 1241 *pler*
πυράζει C E F G H L M 0 Θ Σ 2 1 33 71 349 399 476 477 517 713 1279 1295 1396 1424 1473 1516 1579 $l^{184}$
[also v. 3; C M have πυρράζει]

Simplification of gemination in Classical Greek occurred owing to the syllabic division before the gemination instead of within. This process was set up in Attic in the 4th century BC and in the papyri from the 3rd century on made more progress.[35] The double -ρρ- form is preserved in LXX, NT, and the papyri.[36] The single form, dropping a ρ, is found in C and later uncials and minuscules. The single ρ form πυρός can be found as a variant reading in Rev. 6 : 4 (A P Q 046 1678) and 12 : 3 (C Q 046 1130).[37]

(3) omit γάρ M 471 1293
(4) ὁ οὐρανός + *cum nubibus* it$^{a\ (b)\ c\ ff^{2}[m.1]\ g^{1}}$

[33] e.g. ἵνα . . . γνῷ τρέφειν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡσυχεστέραν 'that he may learn to keep his tongue more quiet' (Sophocles, *Antigone*, 1089); γίγνωσκε τῆς ὀργῆς κρατεῖν, 'learn to control thy temper' (Menander, *Sent.*, 20); Goodwin, *Syntax*, § 915(3c); H. W. Smyth, *A Greek Grammar for Colleges* (New York: American Book Co., 1920), § 2129(3).

[34] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (4th edn.; New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923), 460.

[35] E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1906–34), 1.211.

[36] καμήλου ἄρρενος πυρροῦ, 'of a red male camel' (BGU II. 468, 8; AD 156).

[37] Moulton-Howard, *Grammar*, 2.101; Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, 560; BDR § 34(2); Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.221.

This interesting addition probably reflects weather conditions in the West, rather than conformation to Luke.

**(5)** *ὁ οὐρανός+καὶ γίνεται οὕτως* K

This is due to the Lucan parallel.

**(6)** omit *ὁ οὐρανός . . . γάρ* (v. **3**) W

This omission is due to homoeoteleuton (*γάρ . . . γάρ*).

Verse 3:

(7) omit *καὶ πρωΐ . . . ὁ οὐρανός* F

This is also due to homoeoteleuton (*οὐρανός . . . οὐρανός*)

(8) om. *καί* it$^{e}$
(9) *καὶ πάλιν* K
(10) *καὶ πρωΐ*] *mane autem* ('in the morning, however') it$^{ff1}$
(11) *πρωΐ*] *πρωΐας* E M$^{mg}$ 33 71 213 235 473 477 485 655 1207 1223 1365 1396 1574 (cf. Matt. 27: 1; John 21: 4)
(12) *πρωΐ+dicitis* it$^{b\ ff2}$ vg$^{1MS}$ cop$^{bo}$ syr$^{p}$ **geo**

This is an assimilation to v. 2b.

(13) *πυρράζει γὰρ στυγνάζων* *rell*
*στυγνάζει γὰρ πυράζων* 1293
*πυράζων γὰρ στυγνάζει* 2145

A. Pallis wants to read *χαράζει* ('dawns') for the second *πυρράζει*, because the sky cannot be fiery and gloomy at the same time, and presumes that what the context requires was: 'The day breaks gloomily, we shall have foul weather', thus coinciding with the rhyme 'A red morning shepherd's warning, a red night shepherd's delight'. With regard to the word *χαράζει*, Pallis noted that it was preserved in Modern Greek as an impersonal verb. Indeed, several Modern Greek dictionaries refer to the verb.[38] He also referred to Sophocles, who 'in his Lexicon quotes an instance of this verb in the form *χαράσσεται* from as early a date as AD 582 *τοῦ ὄρθου χαρασσομένου*, dawning'.[39] However, *χαράζει*

[38] H. Pernot, *Lexique grec moderne français* (Paris: Garnier, 1933), 'le jour point', 485; I. Kykkotis, ***English-Greek and Greek-English Dictionary*** (London: Lund Humphries, 1947), 'it dawns', 726; H. F. Wendt, ***Taschenwörterbuch der neugriechischen und deutschen Sprachen: I. Neugriechisch-Deutsch*** (Berlin and Munich: Langenscheidt, 1969), 'der Tag bricht an', 507.

[39] Agathias (AD 582), 180; E. A. Sophocles, ***Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (New*** York: Scribners, 1887), 2. 1161; A. Pallis, ***Notes on St. Mark and St. Matthew*** (Oxford: Clarendon, 1932), 88-9.



is not attested before this date. This is an ingenious conjecture, but is not supported by any contemporary evidence.

On the other hand P.-L. Couchoud thinks that it is strange that the same verb *πυράζει* is used as a sign of fine weather and of rain, and that the gloomy sky of rain is said to be fiery at the same time. The Lucan parallel **12**:*54* speaks of nothing but a cloud rising. Therefore, it is probable that the word *πυράζει* was repeated inadvertently and that the second *πυράζει* thus took the place of another verb ending in *-αζει*. The variations in the text suggest that *στυγνάζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός* ('for the sky is lowering') was the Matthean original. A copyist would have inadvertently written *πυράζει* instead of *στυγνάζει* under the influence of the preceding *πυράζει*. A corrector would have restored the word *στυγνάζει* above *πυράζει*. Thence three readings were brought out: *(a)* the common reading *πυράζει στυγνάζων*; (*b*) *στυγνάζει πυράζων*, the reading of 1293 (11th century); (*c*) *πυράζων στυγνάζει*, the reading of 2145 (12th century). Couchoud explains the growth of these readings in this way and the omission of the entire passage by ℵ B *et al.* as perhaps due to the difficulty of reconciling *πυράζει* and *στυγνάζει*.[40] This is another ingenious conjecture, but one which fails to take seriously the genealogical relationships among the MSS. (Can it be that these two medieval MSS *independently go* back to the hypothetical early 2nd century MS with the 'corrected' reading?)

(14) *οὐρανός*] *ἀήρ* D

*ἀήρ* was always 'mist, haze' in Homer and Hesiod, not 'lower air' surrounding the earth, which was wrongly opposed by Aristarchus, a grammarian of the 3rd century BC, to *αἰθήρ* 'upper air', and later, 'air', generally.[41] Codex Bezae's reading here might be a vernacular use with a general meaning, as is illustrated from an illiterate document of the 6th century **AD**.[42]

(15) *τὸ μέν*] *καὶ τὸ μέν* C D L W Γ (*om. μέν*) A Θ 1 33 892 1424 1604 it$^{a\ aur\ c\ w\ l\ q}$ syr$^{h}$ **eth**
**(IS)** *ὑποκριταί, τὸ μέν* **0** Σ 11 Φ 565 700 it$^{b\ e\ f\ ff1\ ff2\ g1}$ syr$^{p}$ geo Chrysostom

[40] P.-L. Couchoud, 'Notes de critique verbale sur St Marc et St Matthieu', *JTS* 34 (1933), 136.

[41] LSJ, 31, *37*.

[42] *ἀπὸ ἐδάφους μέχρι ἀέρος* (PLond 991, 10) 'from the ground to the air'; cf. Moulton-Milligan, ***Vocabulary***, 11; Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, 39.

This insertion is due to Luke 12 : 56, in which, however, the sayings are addressed to the multitudes.

(17) *τὰ δὲ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν] καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ καιροῦ τούτου* cop$^{bo}$
Cf. Matt. 10: 34//Luke 12: 51.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (18) | *οὐ δύνασθε* | C D K A Θ Π Φ $f^1$ $f^{13}$ 22 565 892 *pler* it$^{d\ f\ g^1\ q}$ vg$^{pl}$ syr$^{h}$ |
| | *οὐ δύνασθε δοκιμάζειν* | G M U 33 sy$^{p}$ |
| | *οὐ δύνασθε δοκιμάσαι* | W |
| | *οὐ δύνασθε γνῶναι* | 245 1012 $l^{49}$ |
| | [*scire*] | it$^{aur\ c\ e\ ff^1\ gig}$ vg$^{H\ O^c\ Z\ Ma\ K\ V\ W}$ |
| | [*nosse*] | it$^{a}$ |
| | [*cognoscere*] | it$^{b\ ff^2\ 1}$ vg$^{2MSS}$ geo |
| | *οὐ δοκιμάζετε* | L |
| | *οὐ συνίετε* | S Ω 118 209 700 |
| | *πῶς οὐ δύνασθε δοκιμάζειν;* | 0 Σ |

*δύνασθε* is supplemented by an infinitive, as is the case with Luke 12: 56 ($\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ ℵ B L *pc.*) or supplanted by the verb of knowing or interpreting (cf. Luke 12 : 56 $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ A D TR).

(19) The punctuation at the end of v. 3 is divided among modern editors between a full stop (supported by Chrysostom) and a question mark (made clear in codices 0 Σ).

full stop : WH Souter$^{2}$ Diglot$^{mg}$ UBSGNT
question : Tisch$^{8}$ von Soden N–A$^{25}$ Bover Merk-Martini$^{9}$

It is a question in Luke 12 : 56 ; here a statement might be preferable.

In several other passages that are judged to be later interpolations (e.g. John 5 : 3b–4 ; 7 : 53-8 : 11), there is so much variation in the MS tradition that one suspects the 'interpolations' also existed in more than one recension.[43] Such is not the case here, however; the variant readings within this passage show nothing in particular which suggests the genuineness or interpolation of the passage. What is seen are some efforts toward explaining the meaning of the passage or harmonizing it with the Lucan parallel.

## V

With regard to external evidence, readings (1) and (3) almost neutralize each other. Therefore, it is no surprise that UBSGNT enclosed the passage within square brackets.

[43] See e.g. item (4) under John 5: 4 in Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, 209.



Internal evidence, especially some features in diction, does not necessarily suggest the entire rejection of the passage, but at the same time, it offers no positive support.

Everything considered, the original text probably did not contain 16 : 2b–3, but this probable marginal gloss, which accurately responded to the question and perhaps was added from popular sayings to expound 16 : 4 by the aid of analogy, might very soon have entered into the text.

The Pharisees and Sadducees asked Jesus for a sign from heaven. His answer (16 : 3), however, did not mention a sign, but 'the face of heaven', and the signs were not of the heavens, but of the times. The best assumption, therefore, is that 16 : 2b–3 was probably an interpolation and therefore should be omitted from the text of Matthew.

# 4. An Eclectic Textual Commentary on the Greek Text of Mark's Gospel

J. K. ELLIOTT

SINCE it first appeared in 1966, the text of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* (UBSGNT) of which Professor Metzger is one of the editors, has proclaimed itself the standard text of the NT.[1] Originally it was said that UBSGNT would merely be a text for students and translators.[2] Since then UBSGNT has undergone two revisions, the later of which (the third edition of 1975) agrees substantially with the text of Nestle–Aland[26] and forms the basis of the Vollstandige Konkordanz,[3] the new computer concordance,[4] and the Aland *Synopsis*.

The text of UBSGNT[3], like its predecessors, has only a limited apparatus of 1,400 variation units, all of which have been discussed together with about 600 other variants in a companion volume, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*.[5] It fell to Professor Metzger to write this commentary on behalf of and in co-operation with the editorial committee of the UBSGNT to show how the committee reached its decision on these 2,000 variants. Metzger, with an enviably lucid style, encapsulated the editorial discussions and has thereby enabled us to understand how many of the textual problems encountered by the committee were resolved.

Those of us who criticized features of the *Commentary* when it was first published[6] nevertheless expressed gratitude to the

[1] See K. Aland (ed.), *Synopsis Quattuor Euangeliorum* (10th edn.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1978), xi.

[2] R. P. Markham and E. A. Nida, *An Introduction to the Bible Societies' Greek New Testament* (New York: American Bible Society, 1966), 1.

[3] K. Aland (ed.), *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1975– ).

[4] H. Bachmann and W. A. Slaby, *Computer-Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1980).

[5] B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971).

[6] J. Ross, 'The United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament', *JBL* 95 (1976), 112–21; J. K. Elliott, 'The United Bible Societies' Textual Commentary

committee in general and to Professor Metzger in particular for allowing us to share in the editorial process through this companion volume. The UBSGNT³ text, however, must not be thought of as *the* definitive text. Many of its readings have been printed with a high degree of doubt by the editors. This is evident by the increased number of readings accorded the rating letter 'C' (= 'considerable degree of doubt') and 'D' (= 'very high degree of doubt') since the second edition. It is also evident from the *Commentary* that the committee responded in different ways to the pull of conflicting arguments and decided on many such occasions to print 'the least unsatisfactory reading'.

Metzger's *Commentary* is a valuable and stimulating starting place for discussing variants. Its failings merely-and inevitably -reflect the failings of the UBSGNT text as a whole. These are primarily its excessive respect for the readings of the so-called great uncials (especially ℵ B) and a cavalier attitude towards principles based on internal evidence. The *Commentary* (like the introductory volume before it)[7] lists the principles on pp. xxvi-xxviii. Even when these principles are reliable guides—and sometimes they are nots-they are often ignored or bypassed in the discussions as reported in the *Commentary*.

Those of us who favour an eclectic Greek NT based primarily on principles of internal evidence inevitably disagree with the text of UBSGNT³ on many occasions. This article is offered as an example of how eclectic principles thoroughly applied could have produced a different text. It is to be hoped that as such it is not thought impolite as an offering to honour a scholar from whom the present author has received nothing but kindness, great help, and frequent encouragement. The article is intended not merely to demonstrate how the discussions in the *Commentary* can be expanded or supplemented, but also to show how the *Commentary* is itself a stimulus and a valuable *vade mecum* in initiating such further discussion on variants.

For the sake of space all the examples below are taken from

Evaluated', *NovT* 17 (1975), 130–50, and 'A Second Look at the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament', *BT* 26 (1975), 325–32; G. D. Kilpatrick, *TLZ* 104 (1979), cols. 260–70.

[7] Markham and Nida, Introduction.

[8] e.g., II A 4 (c): 'Scribes would sometimes ... add pronouns, conjunctions, and expletives to make a smoother text'; and II A 2: 'In general the shorter reading is to be preferred'.



Mark's Gospel. I have tried to select variants which demonstrate differing eclectic principles.

**1 : 4** ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

Although the *Commentary* says that 'it is easier to account for the addition than the deletion of the definite article before βαπτίζων', the text prints the article, albeit bracketed, presumably because it is found in ℵ. But what the text should print is ὁ *without* brackets. If Marcan usage had been a criterion in determining the text of Mark (as promised in principle II B 1 [a] of the *Commentary*), then it would have been recognized that ὁ βαπτίζων is Mark's normal way of describing John the Baptist.

The *Commentary*, however, refers us to Mark 6 : 25 and 8 : 28 where UBSGNT³ prints forms of βαπτιστής—and not to 6 : 14 or 6 : 24 where forms of βαπτίζων are printed. In fact there are textual variants at all four of these verses :

**6 : 14** βαπτίζων **K A B** C f¹ *Byz*
βαπτιστής D S W Θ f¹³
**6 : 24** βαπτίζοντος ℵ B L A Θ **565** 1596
βαπτιστοῦ *ceteri*
**6 : 25** βαπτίζοντος L 700 892
βαπτιστοῦ *ceteri*
**8 : 28** βαπτίζοντα **28 565**
βαπτιστήν *ceteri*

In view of the prevailing tendency to call John βαπτιστής in Matthew, Luke, and later Christian writings, it is likely that the direction of change in the text of Mark is away from an original βαπτίζων.[9] Βαπτιστής was introduced into the text by later scribes possibly because of assimilation to parallels at Matt. 14 : 2, 8 ; 16 : 14, and Luke 9 : 19. Mark is likely to have written βαπτίζων throughout as the designation for John. This represents the form of John's name before Christians coined the noun βαπτιστής to describe him. The new noun then became dominant in Christian tradition. In contrast to the argument used by the UBSGNT committee here, at Mark 10 : 47 (Ναζαρηνός/Ναζωραῖος) the *Commentary* says that the editors printed Ναζαρηνός because it is characteristic of Marcan style and that scribes were responsible for introducing the more usual Ναζωραῖος

[9] See further my article, 'Ho baptizōn and Mark i.4', *TZ* 31 (1975), 14–15.

for Mark's less familiar term. This is indeed likely, and the same reasoning should have been applied for the variants *βαπτίζων/βαπτιστής*.

If we accept *ὁ βαπτίζων* as a title for John at Mark 1: 4, this helps solve our textual problems in this verse. Some scribes, not recognizing this as a title, have adjusted the verse to make *βαπτίζων* a verbal participle only. These are the main variants :

(a) *βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καί* A K P W II *pler.* This is the reading accepted in UBSGNT[1,2].

(6) *ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καί* ℵ L A cop$^{bo}$. If *ὁ* is present, *καί* is difficult to accept as characteristic of Marcan style.

(c) *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ βαπτίζων καί* D Θ 28 *pc.* Not only has the article been removed, thus preventing *βαπτίζων* being understood as a substantive, but the two linked participles have been placed closer together to emphasize their dependence on *ἐγένετο*.

(d) *ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* B 33 892. In accepting this variant as the original, we have a text that conforms to Marcan usage in which John is referred to as *ὁ βαπτίζων*. *'Εγένετο* can be taken as a verb with a force of its own: 'John the Baptist appeared in the desert preaching'. In view of the significance in the context of John's actual appearing, this is likely, although it would also agree with Mark's style to take *ἐγένετο κηρύσσων* as periphrastic ('John the Baptist was preaching in the desert. ..'; cf. Mark g : 3).

1: 27 *Τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; τίς ἡ διδαχὴ ἡ καινὴ αὕτη; ὅτι κατ' ἐξουσίαν·* Kai

In evaluating the variants in this verse, the UBSGNT editors seem not only to have ignored their principle of taking the author's style into account but also the fact that the Semitic usage natural to the author could have been responsible for scribal alterations. The editors seem to have been unduly influenced by ℵ B.[10]

[10] Other places in Mark where the text in ℵ B seems to have been an important reason for printing its reading are (among others) 2: 1; 6: 33 (virtually alone), 47; 7: 6, 37; 8: 13; 13: 2; 14: 10 and 52 (ℵ B C only). There are, of course, many other places where the text of ℵ B is printed in preference to variants in other MSS but where there is neither apparatus in the text nor discussion in the *Commentary.* At 4: 8 and 20 (*ἕν*), 16; 7: 4 (*βαπτίσωνται*), g, 24, 28; 10: 26, the *Commentary* shows that the united text of ℵ B has been ignored. Sometimes acknowledgement of a shorter text in ℵ B has resulted in a bracketed text, as in 3: 32; 6: 23 (*πολλά*); 6: 41 (see below); 7: 4 (*καὶ κλινῶν*), 35 (*καὶ εὐθέως*), 37; 10: 7; 12: 23; 15: 12 (*θέλετε*).



The *Commentary* does not discuss the variant in C K A *et* al., giving the distinctively Semitic word order *ἡ διδαχὴ ἡ καινὴ αὕτη*. G. Kilpatrick[11]
:
43 *ἡ χήρα ἡ πτωχὴ αὕτη* in Θ D 5 $f^{13}$ *pc.* (cf. the same variant in the parallel at Luke 21 : 3 in A W Δ *pler.*) and Acts 6: 13; 21: where some MSS *τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου*. This unGreek word order (article and noun plus plus demonstrative) is also to be found in the LXX. We should therefore consider this word order original to Mark. It is the order stylistically-conscious scribes would have avoided.

The MSS which give us this word order in Mark 1: *27* are for the most part those which also have *τίς* before *ἡ διδαχή*, *thus* creating a second question in the verse. The juxtaposition of two questions is also typical of Mark, e.g. 1: 24; 2 : 7, 8-g; 4: 13, 21, 40; 6: 2; 7: 18–19. Scribes also tended to object to this in Mark. This Gospel is characterized by many such redundancies and repetitions. Matthew in using Mark tended to eliminate many such expressions.12 In this verse D W et al. omit the first question *τί ἐστιν τοῦτο*. Others such as ℵ B Θ etc. omit the second question.

The reading of C K A 565$^{c}$ also commends itself as original in another way. As Kilpatrick points out, Mark sometimes follows double questions with a *ὅτι* clause, e.g. 6 : 2 (variant 2) ; 7: 18–1 g. Elsewhere in the NT, *ὅτι* in the sense of *γάρ* is found, e.g. at Mark 8 : *24;* John 1: 16 ; Rom. g : 7. This also was a feature to which scribes often objected (see variant readings at Mark 6: 2; 8: 3; 11: 18).

That there were so many features characteristic of Marcan style, to which stylistically-aware scribes would have objected, explains the many variants within this verse.

If *ὅτι* is original to Mark here, the punctuation problems referred to by Metzger disappear. *Κατ' ἐξουσίαν* has to go with what follows. Verse 22 is more likely to have been a reason for the change by scribes than to have been the pattern for Mark in this respect. As we have seen, stronger and more

[11] 'Some Problems in New Testament Text and Language', *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black* (ed. E. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), 198–208.

[12] See W. C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907), xxiv-xxv.

numerous examples of Marcan style and usage tell in favour of the reading of C K A *et al.*

Other places where UBSGNT ignores the reading characteristic of the author's style are frequent. Among those found in Mark are 1:39 and 2:1. At 1:39 ἦν should be read, not ἦλθεν.[13] At 2:1 a minority of the committee would have preferred to accept the variant reading, the characteristically Marcan εἰς οἶκον with A C Γ Δ, but the majority overruled them (him ?) by insisting on printing the reading of ℵ B. Similarly at 2:4 the majority of the committee ignored the text in accord with Marcan style and printed διὰ τὸν ὄχλον.

Mark 8 : 13 should read πάλιν ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. This is a redundant expression characteristic of Mark. (Cf. also 12:23 where the longer text should be printed without brackets for the same reason.) At 11:31 τί εἴπωμεν is also likely to be original. (At 8: 35 the *Commentary* reports that the committee accepted Marcan style as an argument overruling any possibility that the longer text in Mark was the result of assimilation to the parallels.)

1 : 41 ὀργισθείς

An examination of this famous variant along thoroughgoing eclectic lines would not, I think, have resulted in σπλαγχνισθείς being printed in all three editions of the UBSGNT text with a 'D' rating. That ℵ A B C and the bulk of MSS read it, whereas only D and a few OL MSS and Ephraem read ὀργισθείς, has been the deciding factor, even though many perfectly convincing arguments are capable of being produced-some of them are in the *Commentary*---*for* accepting the originality of ὀργισθείς. The *Commentary* is not so convincing in suggesting that ὀργισθείς could have come into the text because of a scribe's confusing Aramaic words.

There are several instances where Matthew in particular omits Mark's characteristic references to Jesus' humanity. The Matthean parallels to Mark 1: *43* ; *3* : *5,* 20–1 ; *6* : *5-6* ; *8* : 12 ; 10 : 14, 21; 14 : *33* provide ample illustration of this. Scribes of Mark were similarly motivated. But we must not expect scribes to have been scrupulous in weeding out every such expression

[13] See C. H. Turner, 'Marcan Usage: Notes, Critical and Exegetical, on the Second Gospel', *JTS* 28 (1926–7), 349; 26 (1924–5), 15-16.



from their exemplars. As Metzger points out, at Mark 3 : 5 and 10 : 14 Jesus' anger and indignation are recorded by Mark and there are no variants in the MSS. In fact, these comparisons with Mark 10: 14 and 3 : 5 should be used to show that ὀργισθείς at 1 : 41 would be entirely characteristic of Mark's picture of Jesus. This, however, should not deflect us from realizing that such changes did occur, and one such example seems to have been here. Admittedly not every human emotion of Jesus has been expunged by scribes, but neither is it likely that human emotions such as anger would have been added by scribes to a text which, had it read σπλαγχνισθείς, would have seemed to them to be perfectly appropriate and innocuous.

The allegedly slender support for ὀργισθείς should not be relevant. At other places in UBSGNT³ the editors print readings with comparable support, e.g. at John 9 : 36 ἀπεκρίθη ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἶπεν, Καὶ τίς ἐστιν, κύριε against the readings of ℵ B; at Col. 2 : 2 τοῦ θεοῦ, χριστοῦ with 𝔭⁴⁶ B Hilary Pelagius and Pseudo-Jerome only ; at Acts 16 : 12 πρώτης μερίδος τῆς with the Provençal and Old German only ; or at John 3 : 27 οὐδὲ ἕν with 𝔭⁶⁶ 𝔭⁷⁵ B 472 only. Despite the fact that the *Commentary* reports that the committee often allowed itself to be overwhelmed by the sheer number of MSS, these and other examples show that it was not always overwhelmed. Mark 1: 41 is one such place where the minority reading, ὀργισθείς, ought to have been printed as the original text.

Matthew is likely to have read ὀργισθείς in his copy of Mark. Matthew used σπλαγχνισθείς four times of Jesus (Matt. 9 : 36 ; 14: 14; 15 : 32 ; 20 : *34)* and thus had he found σπλαγχνισθείς at Mark 1: 41 it is likely he would have retained it. In fact, what Matthew seems to have omitted from his copy of Mark was ὀργισθείς.

5 : 22 omit ὀνόματι Ἰάϊρος

Without wishing to open up again the question of 'Western non-interpolations', it is perhaps worth reconsidering this text and the reasons for printing it as given in the *Commentary.*

At 10: *46* Mark names Bartimaeus son of Timaeus, whereas the parallels are silent, and at 15 : 21 Mark names the sons of Simon of Cyrene. But this is not the normal tendency in the gospels. Assuming Marcan priority, we can see how on so many occasions Mark's impersonal plural verbs have been given subjects by either Matthew or Luke or both. Similarly, names are given to the nameless as the tradition develops.[14] John 11:2 and 12:3 name the woman who anointed Jesus at Bethany. Similarly, John tells us in 18:10 the name of the high priest's servant and the name of the disciple who cut his ear off.

At 10:46 and 15:21 Mark's names stand firm in the MS tradition (though W omits *Βαρτιμαῖος* at 10:46). It is significant here that both Matthew and Luke ignore the names. At 5:22, however, Jairus' name does not stand firm in the MSS, and even more significantly the Lucan parallel includes the name Jairus without variation.

The words *ὀνόματι Ἰάϊρος*, therefore, could have entered MSS of Mark from the Lucan parallel, particularly in the wording found in the text of W Θ 565 700 at Mark 5:22.

The absence of the name in Matthew is explicable if he did not find the name in his copy of Mark. This is more likely than Glasson's explanation that Matthew's copy of Mark was equivalent to the Western text of Mark,[15] or to say with Metzger in the Quasten *Festschrift* that the shorter text was the result of scribal harmonization to Matthew.[16] Usually harmonizing one account with another resulted in a scribe's adding to his MS from the parallel, not omitting.

The UBSGNT text has again been decided on the basis of external evidence supporting the longer text. The shorter text omitting *ὀνόματι Ἰάϊρος* deserves to be taken seriously as original.

6:3 *τοῦ τέκτονος vi& καί*

This is one of the minority of readings discussed in the *Commentary* where an 'A' rating is given to the reading printed in the text (*τέκτων, ὁ υἱός*), a reading, that is to say, regarded as 'virtually certain'. Such confidence does not seem justified.

There are many variants, particularly in the Lucan nativity stories, which avoid describing Jesus as the son of Joseph. For

[14] See the many examples of this development in an article by Metzger himself, 'Names for the Nameless in the New Testament: A Study in the Growth of Christian Tradition', *Kyriakon: Festschrift* ***Johannes Quasten*** (ed. P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann; 2 vols.; Münster/Westf.: Aschendorff, 1970), 1.79–99.

[15] T. F. Glasson, 'Did Matthew and Luke Use a "Western" Text of Mark?' *ExpTim* 55 (1943–4), 180–4.

[16] 'Names', gg n. **107.**



instance, at Luke 2:33, 41, 43 various MSS do not describe Joseph and Mary as 'Jesus' parents'. Instead they say either 'Joseph and Mary' or 'Joseph and his mother'. Once the virgin birth traditions began to influence and then dominate Christian thinking about Jesus' birth, and once devotion to Mary developed, then passages referring without qualification to Joseph as Jesus' father were frequently altered by scribes.

The variants at Mark 6:3 as a whole seem to fit into this pattern. The UBSGNT text following ℵ A B *pler.* prints the secondary reading. The alternative *τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός (καί)*, far from being due to assimilation to the parallel in Matt. 13:55, is likely to be original. In fact Matthew does not provide an exact parallel to Mark 6:3.

A man in Jewish literature was more naturally described as the son of his father. This is likely here with Jesus described as son of the carpenter.[17] A change in the opposite direction would be less probable, especially in view of the tendency elsewhere to remove references to Jesus' father. Despite the comment of Celsus referred to by Metzger in a footnote to this discussion, it was better for Christian apologists to describe Jesus as a carpenter (just as Paul is described as an artisan) than to have doubts cast on the virgin birth tradition.

6:22 *θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρῳδιάδος*

The three main readings here are either 'his daughter Herodias' as in UBSGNT, or 'her daughter Herodias', or 'the daughter of Herodias'. The UBSGNT committee, although following ℵ B, were obviously not confident in so doing, as the *Commentary* makes abundantly clear.

We need to decide more positively which reading is the most likely to have given rise to the alternatives. I would wish to argue for the originality of the reading *θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρῳδιάδος* in A C K Θ *pler.* This could mean 'the daughter of Herodias herself', but it is more likely that *τῆς Ἡρῳδιάδος* is in parenthesis. Metzger acknowledges in the *Commentary* that *αὐτῆς* could be a redundant pronoun anticipating a noun and as such is an Aramaism. This seems a likely reason for its removal by scribes. The meaning would be 'her (i.e. Herodias')

[17] See **R. E.** Brown, ***The Birth of the Messiah*** (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), 537–41; H. K. McArthur, ' "Son of Mary" ', *NovT* **15** (1973), *38-58.*

daughter'. Such parentheses are characteristic of Mark, e.g. 1: 2-3; 2: 10, 16, 21; 6: 14-15; 7: 2, 3-4, 19, 26; 8: 14; 12: 12a; 13: 14; 14: 36. Attempts by scribes to remove the parenthesis in 6: 22, and to avoid the redundant pronoun, probably created the alternative readings. These alternatives, particularly the one printed as the text of UBSGNT, have their own problems, particularly in suggesting the girl herself is called Herodias and is Herod's daughter-a detail which goes against v. 24.

6: 41 *μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ*

Metzger's *Commentary* shows that the committee agreed that *μαθηταῖς* defined by *αὐτοῦ* is more likely to have been original. This is surely correct. But the brackets in UBSGNT[3] are unnecessary. They have only been added to the text because the committee wished to acknowledge the reading of the Alexandrian MSS, which by and large have the shorter text, i.e. without the possessive.

Again, both Marcan and NT usage should have been decisive. Hellenistic Greek made greater use of pronouns than the classical language. Hence, stylistically-conscious scribes tended to remove redundant pronouns (cf. *αὐτῆς* at 6: 22). The principle given by Metzger in the Introduction to the *Commentary* (II A 4[c]) is that scribes would sometimes add pronouns to make a smoother text. But this is not common, particularly in respect of post-positional possessives, which are a feature of Semitic style.

C. H. Turner's drew our attention several years ago to the use of the possessive with *μαθητής*, although he did not discuss the variant at Mark 6: 41. He stated that originally Jesus' disciples would be known as *his* disciples not *the* disciples. Once *μαθητής* came always to signify Jesus' disciples, scribes felt free to omit the possessive. It is significant that so many of the allegedly great uncials are divided in this matter; hence the UBSGNT apparatus includes many such variants. These can be seen at Matt. 8: 21; 15: *36;* 16: 5; 17: 10; 19: 10; 20: 17; 26: 20; Luke 12 : 22 ; 20 : 45 ; John 20 : 30, and all are discussed in the *Commentary*. At all these *αὐτοῦ* should be read, and in the case of Matt. 8 : 21; Luke 12 : 22 ; 20: 45 ; and John 20: 30 the brackets should be removed as here at Mark 6 : 41. At Matt. 20 :17

[18] 'Marcan Usage', *JTS* 26 (1924–5), 235–7.



not only should *αὐτοῦ* be included in the text but the brackets should be removed from *μαθητάς*. The expression 'his twelve disciples' is found at Matt. 10 :1; 11: 1; 'the twelve' only at Matt. 10: 5; 26 : 14, 47, where the number alone is appropriate in the context.

*αὐτοῦ*nts adding

8*; g : 14*; 10: 10*, 13*, 24; 14: 16*. The verses marked with an asterisk are not discussed by Turner. We can in fact adjust Turner's figures. He says that Mark writes the possessive with *μαθητής* at *32* out of *40* occurrences in the gospel. The true figure is 39 times out of 40. The only real exception is Mark 4 : 34 (*τοῖς ἰδίοις μαθηταῖς*), where obviously the possessive would not be expected.

All too often the MS evidence has caused the committee to reject its own arguments concerning the originality of *αὐτοῦ* in the above places.

At other places in Mark-not discussed in the *Commentary*— variants that include the pronoun should be accepted as giving the original text, e.g. Mark 1 : 40 (+*αὐτόν*); *3 : 33* (+*μου*); 7: 12 (+*αὐτοῦ* [*bis*]); *8: 25* (+*αὐτοῦ*). This stylistic feature seems to have been acknowledged in UBSGNT[3], where the brackets around pronouns have been removed at 6 : 35 and 14 : 10.

The excessive use of brackets in the UBSGNT text is one of the most disturbing features of the edition. Since the appearance of Metzger's *Commentary*, it has been made clear that all too often this device has been used to indicate division in the committee between printing a text on intrinsic grounds and omitting it because of its MS support (e.g. Mark 5 : 42 ; 6 : 23 ; 10 : 1).

Here at Mark 6: 41 the committee should have been consistent by printing *μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ* without brackets.[19]

g : 38 *ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν*

The *Commentary* again shows us that the UBSGNT text (*καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει ἡμῖν*) has been printed because of its external support. The longer text of A K Π *pler.* is condemned as a conflate reading.

The text printed in UBSGNT seems to be the result of assimilation to the text of the parallel in Luke g : 49. This is especially

[19] See futher my article, 'Mathētēs with a Possessive in the New Testament', *TZ* 35 (1979), 300–4.

true of uncial L, which has μεθ' ἡμῶν as in Luke. The reading of D W X $f^{13}$ 565 et al. (ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκωλύσαμεν αὐτόν with minor variations) has the effect of transposing the second clause to bring it nearer its subject. This too looks like a secondary text.

The UBSGNT text is secondary. Had it been original to Mark, there is no reason why scribes would have altered it. It makes the two verbs εἴδομεν and ἐκωλύομεν closely parallel, and, as such, would not demand alteration. If, however, the longer text were original, one can understand that the other major variants are attempts to omit redundant words and to remove the awkwardly placed relative clause. Luke often prunes Mark's redundant expressions. Here is an example of scribes doing the same.

The so-called conflate text is characteristic of Mark and should be the deciding factor in the following places as well. At 8:26 the text of A C *et al.*, reading μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθῃς μηδὲ εἴπῃς τινὶ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ, is likely to be original. And at 9:49 *we* should accept the text of A K Π *et al.*, πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται. The *Commentary* dismisses what appear to them to be conflate readings.

Mark's repetitive style should also be taken into account when discussing the variant καὶ ἐπιτιμήσας by W Θ $f^1$ $f^{13}$ *et al.* at 10:14 (cf. 9:*34* where the *Commentary* explains that ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ is printed precisely because the superfluous text is characteristic of Marcan style).

**10:2** omit προσελθόντες (οἱ) Φαρισαῖοι

The issue here is whether to include the subject Φαρισαῖοι or not. Professor Metzger independently of the majority on the committee in a signed appendix to the discussion in the *Commentary* argues (correctly) for the absence of the subject. The impersonal plural verb is characteristic of Marcan style. Unfortunately his view did not prevail and, as so often, 'widespread and impressive support' of certain MSS encouraged the printing of the longer text.

C. H. Turner[20] lists many examples of the impersonal plural verb in Mark. These include 1: 21-2, 29–30, 32, 45; 2: *2-3,*

[20] *JTS* 25 (1923–4), *378-86.*



18; *3:* 1-2, *31-2; 5:* 14, *35;* 6:14, *33, 42-3, 53-4;* 7:31–2; *8*:22; 10: *13,* 49; *14* : *12.* The later gospels have often added subjects when following Mark at these places. Similarly scribes often added a subject to the text of Mark. This feature of Marcan style and of scribal activity ought to have been dominant here.[21] 'The Pharisees' seems to have been added by scribes from the parallel in Matt. 19: 3, even though the wording in the parallel is not exact. The *Commentary* does not explain how or why the words προσελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι were omitted by many scribes if they were original to Mark.

Another instance in Mark of variant readings concerning the impersonal plural of verbs is at 15:10-11. The *Commentary* here explains that οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς is likely to be original and that its omission was probably due to stylistically-conscious scribes who objected to the proximity of οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς at the beginning of the next verse. But οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς at the beginning of v. 11 is secondary, having been added by scribes influenced by the parallel in Matt. *27*: **20** in order to provide the impersonal verb ἀνέσεισαν with a subject. The apparatus to Mark 15:10-11 gives the variants for and against the noun in v. 10 but ignores the variants in v. 11. At 15:11, Θ 565 700 read οἵτινες καί instead of οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς. Ὅστις is not uncharacteristic of Mark when referring to a subject just named (e.g. 4:**20**; 9:1; 12:18; 15:7), and thus οἵτινες καί is likely to be original at v. 11.

11: *24* λαμβάνετε

The aorist is printed with confidence by UBSGNT because the committee argue that this tense represents the Semitic prophetic perfect. The variant λήμψεσθε is rightly dismissed as coming into Mark from the parallel in Matt. **21:22**, but the reading λαμβάνετε deserves consideration as the original text.

Mark, as is well known, is fond of the present tense. In this verse alone four present tenses precede λαμβάνετε. Hawkins[22] reckons that there are over 150 historic presents in Mark of which Matthew retains only twenty-one. Some of these twenty-one are doubtless due to assimilation of the text of Matthew to Mark,

[21] **That scribes altered Mark's indefinite subjects is recognized in the discussion in the** *Commentary* **of the variants at Mark 14: 4.**

[22] **J. C. Hawkins,** *Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem* **(2nd edn.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1909),** 143–9.

and a more accurate text of Matthew than Hawkins used would reduce this number. Just as Matthew altered many of Mark's presents to aorists,[23] so many scribes of Mark did the same. The reverse is less likely to have happened.

Another example of the double standards applying to this text occurs at 6:2 where *ἀκούοντες* is printed with an 'A' rating in the UBSGNT text as typical of Mark's vividness. The aorist *ἀκούσαντες* in D A Θ 565 is dismissed as 'pedantic'. Again, the rules and principles on which this text is built vary depending on the MS support. What is true at 6:2 should apply at 11:24 also.

[23] See Allen, *Matthew*, xx-xxi.

# 5. 'One Thing is Needful'?, Luke 10:42

GORDON D. FEE

In my review of Professor Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, I concluded by noting that 'even where ... the individual scholar feels the committee to have erred, [the *Commentary*] will serve as a useful point of departure for further discussion'.[1] I take the occasion of this *Festschrift* in honour of Professor Metzger to follow up that suggestion by discussing one such text: Luke 10: 41-2.

## I

This passage is a well-known exegetical crux, the final resolution of which is inextricably bound to textual criticism. The exegetical question is: Did Jesus intend no comparison between the two sisters at all, but merely say, 'Martha, Martha, Mary has chosen the good portion', or did he rebuke Martha for her anxiety over many things, while commending Mary for her choice of the good portion? And if the latter, did he say to Martha: (1) few things are needed, (2) one thing is needed, or (3) few things are needed, indeed only one?

These differences are a reflection of the textual evidence, which comes down to us in four basic forms, with some minor variations within each:[2]

(1) *Μάρθα Μάρθα·* 42 *Μαρία* . . .

D [+ *θορυβάζῃ*]

a b e $\mathrm{ff}^2$ i 1 $\mathrm{r}^1$ (c) [c+ *conturbaris erga plurima*]

Ambrose, *exp. Lc.* 1.g (CChL 14. 11) [cites vv. 40–2]

Possidius, *vit. Aug.* (MPL 32.34)

[Clement (*Q.d.s.* 10.6 [GCS 3.166]) is sometimes cited as supporting the OL Codex Colbertinus (c). His text reads: *σὺ περὶ πολλὰ ταράσσῃ· Μαρία τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο.* But

[1] *Bib* 55 (1974), 455.

[2] The supporting data are given in this order: line 1, the Greek evidence, with a notation of minor variation in brackets (*θορυβάζῃ/τυρβάζῃ* and *Μαριάμ/Μαρία* are omitted); line 2, the versional evidence: line 3 (and following), the patristic evidence, which is given in full when it has some bearing on the discussion in this paper.

the loose nature of this adaptation, plus the context, clearly show that Clement is *not* intending to cite all of vv. 41–2.]

(2) *Μάρθα Μάρθα, μεριμνᾷς καὶ τυρβάζῃ περὶ πολλά,* [42] *ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία· Μαρία δέ . . .*

38
syr$^{pal}$ arm geo bo (2 MSS)
[Origen, *fr. 78 in Jo.* (GCS 4.545), is often cited in support of this variant. But as we shall note later, this is extremely dubious. His text reads: *καὶ οὐκ ἀπιθάνως διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Μωϋσέως νόμῳ πολιτείαν φησὶν εἰρῆσθαι τῇ Μάρθᾳ· "Μάρθα Μάρθα, περὶ πολλὰ θορυβῇ καὶ περισπᾶσαι, ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία·" εἰς σωτηρίαν γὰρ οὐ τῶν πολλῶν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ νόμου ἐντολῶν χρεία, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων, ἐν οἷς κρέμαται ὅλος ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται, τῶν περὶ ἀγάπης νενομοθετημένων.*]

(3) *Μάρθα Μάρθα, μεριμνᾷς καὶ (θορυβάζῃ) περὶ πολλά,* [42] *ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία· Μαριὰ(μ) δέ . . .*

$\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ A C* W Θ Ξ Ψ unc$^{rell}$ 22 118–209 892 1241 f$^{13}$ *pler*
[$\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ Λ Ψ 69 892 1241 *pc* *γάρ l. δέ* (2°)]
it$^{aur\ f\ q}$ vg sa syr$^{c,\ p,\ h}$
[aur vg *porro unum est necessarium*
f *unum est autem opus*
q *unius autem est opus*]
Chrysostom, *hom. 44 in Jo.* (MPG 59.249a)
Evagrius, *rer. mon.* (MPG 40.1253c)
Nilus, *de mon. praest.* (MPG 79.1079b)
Ps-Basil, *const. asc.* 1.1 (MPG 31.1325c)
[This is incorrectly cited as by Basil both by F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (1894), 2.350, and the UBSGNT. That the tract is not by Basil is almost certain; it appears to have been written under Messalian influence. See J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3.213.]

Ps-Macarius, *ep. mag.* 32 (W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature* [1954], 288)
John-Damascus, *de fid. orth.* 2.11 (MPG 94.916a) [*γάρ l. δέ*]
Augustine, *serm.* 103.2 (MPL 38.614) *unum autem opus est*
*serm.* 104.1 (MPL 38.616) *quando unum est necessarium*
*serm.* 104.2 (MPL 38.617) *quando unum est necessarium*
*serm.* 170.14 (MPL 38.925) *porro unum est necessarium*
*serm.* 179.3 (MPL 38.967) *porro unum est necessarium*
*serm.* 256.6 (MPL 38.1189) *porro unum est necessarium*
[Later Latin Fathers (except Cassian, noted below under reading 4), e.g. Gregory the Great, Bede, Antiochus (St. Saba), all cite the Vulgate.]



(4) ***Μάρθα Μάρθα,*** *μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά,* [42] *ὀλίγων δέ* ***ἐστιν χρεία*** *ἢ ἑνός· Μαριὰ(μ) γάρ . . .*

$\mathfrak{p}^{3}$ ℵ B C$^{2}$ L 1 33 579 2193
[B *~χρεία ἐστίν*; ℵ* *om.* *χρεία*; 579 *δέ l. γάρ*]
syr$^{hmg}$ bo$^{rell}$ eth it$^{\mu}$
[OL Codex Mulling reads: *paucis vero opus est vel etiam uno*]
Origen, *fr. 39 in Lc.* (GCS 9.298): *δύναται δὲ Μάρθα μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἡ ἐκ περιτομῆς συναγωγὴ εἰς τὰ ἴδια ὅρια δεξαμένη τὸν Ἰησοῦν, περισπωμένη περὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος τοῦ νόμου πολλὴν λατρείαν, Μαρία δὲ ἡ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησία τὴν ἀγαθὴν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ νόμου μερίδα ἐκλεξαμένη ἀναφαίρετον καὶ μὴ καταργουμένην ὡς ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου Μωϋσέως δόξα, ὀλίγα τὰ χρήσιμα ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἐπιλέξασα ἢ πάντα ἀναφέρουσα εἰς ἓν τὸ ἀγαπήσεις. καὶ εἰς μὲν τό· "ἑνός ἐστι χρεία" χρήσῃ τό· "ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν", εἰς δὲ τό· "ὀλίγων ἐστὶν" "τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας· οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ φονεύσεις" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.*
Basil, *moral.* 38.1 (MPG 31.760) [in a citation of vv. 38–42]
*reg. fus.* 20.3 (MPG 31.973) [with an exegesis of the two parts]
Cyril-Alexandria, *Lc.* 7.33 (MPG 72.621) [Greek fragments of the commentary]; also in Syriac, *serm.* 39 (CSCO 70.77); *serm.* 69 (CSCO 70.188)
Olympiodorus, *comm. Ezek.* 1.14 (MPG 93.489)
Jerome, *ep.* 22 (*ad Eustoch.*).24 (Labourt [1949], 1.136) *pauca autem necessaria sunt aut unum* [written at Rome, AD 384]
Cassian, *conlatio* 1.8 (CSEL 13.15) *paucis vero opus est aut etiam uno*

Each of these text-forms has had its recent advocates. In his commentary in the Pelican series G. B. Caird has argued for reading 1.[3] In this he was following a tradition that goes back to F. Blass,[4] who in turn was followed *inter al.* by J. Wellhausen,[5] J. Moffatt,[6] W. Bousset,[7] E. Klostermann,[8] and W. Manson.[9]

[3] G. B. Caird, *Saint Luke* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1963), 149–50; repr. Westminster (SCM) Pelican Commentaries series (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977).
[4] F. Blass, *Evangelium secundum Lucam* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897). In his *Philology of the Gospels* (London: Macmillan, 1898), 148–9, he considered the textual evidence of this passage as one of the strong arguments in favour of two editions of Luke.
[5] J. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Lucae* (Berlin: Reimer, 1904), 54.
[6] J. Moffatt, *The New Testament, A New Translation* (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913).
[7] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments neu übersetzt* (Göttingen, 1917).
[8] E. Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen: Mohr, 1919), 485.
[9] W. Manson, *The Gospel of Luke* (MNTC; New York: Harper, 1930), 132–3.

Here, not only is the shorter reading preferred, but the other three are to be 'regarded as variants of an early gloss'.[10]

Reading 2 has recently been defended by Monika Augsten.[11] As far as I can tell, von Soden has been its only other advocate.[12] None the less this variant has played a crucial role in the discussions, for it is repeatedly argued that reading 4 is a conflation of readings 2 and 3.[13] Most of those who so argue favour reading 3 as the original. Augsten prefers reading 2—as the *lectio difficilior.*

Reading 3 is the traditional reading, both in Christian antiquity East and West and in the majority of commentaries[14] and English translations.[15] It has enjoyed the support of the critical editions of Tischendorf, Vogels, Bover, Nestle,[16] and now the UBSGNT. It was recently defended in an extensive discussion by A. Baker as the reading which best explains the others and is most in keeping with Lucan style.[17] The presentation of the arguments in favour of this reading has been suc-

[10] J. M. Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London: Macmillan, 1930), 154; cf. Caird, *Saint Luke, 150.*

[11] M. Augsten, 'Lukanische Miszelle', *NTS* 14 (1967–8), 581-3.

[12] Augsten also claims Scrivener to be in support, but she has apparently misread him. Scrivener is a strong advocate of reading 3 ; and he is so opposed to reading 4 that he says: 'We confess that we had rather see this grand passage expunged altogether from the pages of the Gospel than diluted after the wretched fashion adopted by ℵ and B'. He finds reading 2 to be 'less incredible than that of ℵBL' *(A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* [4th edn. ; 2 vols. ; London: Bell, 1894], 2.350). It may be that the adoption of this reading is also the intent of the notes in A. Pallis, *Notes on St Luke and the Acts* (Oxford: University Press, 1928), 22, and W. R. F. Browning in the Torch commentary (London: SCM, 1960), 112.

[13] It is difficult to trace the origin of this idea. It appears as early as H. Alford, *The Greek Testament* (3rd edn. ; 4 vols. ; London: Rivingtons, 1861), 542. It has been repeated frequently since, both in articles (e.g. G. D. Kilpatrick, 'The Greek New Testament Text of Today and the *Textus Receptus*', *The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary Perspective* [ed. H. Anderson and W. Barclay; Oxford: Blackwell, 1965], 192; A Baker, 'One Thing Necessary', *CBQ 27* [1965], *136;* Augsten, 'Lukanische Miszelle', 581) and in commentaries (e.g. Ragg [1922], Creed [1930], Gilmour [1952], Ellis [1966], Stuhlmueller [1968]).

[14] *Inter al.,* Alford (1863), Godet (1875), Farrar (1889), Sadler (1889), Zahn (4th edn., 1920), Ragg (1922), Boles (1941), Lenski (1946), Geldenhuys (1951), Gilmour (1952), Thompson (1972).

[15] *Inter al., KJV* (1611), *RV* (1881), *ASV* (1901), Weymouth (1903), Montgomery (1924), Knox (1944), Verkuyl (1945), *RSV* (1946), Rieu (1952), C. K. Williams (1952), Confraternity (1953), Kleist (1954), *NEB* (1961), Beck (1963), *TEV* (1966), Barclay (1968), *NAB* (1970), *NIV* (1973), Translators (1973), Estes (1973).

[16] The longer reading is printed in the text; from the 20th edition (1950) the siglum (!) has indicated preference for reading 3.

[17] 'One Thing', 127-37.



cinctly set forth by Professor Metzger in the *Textual Commentary.* Since I will have occasion to debate some of these conclusions, his comments are here given in full :

> [The] variations seem to have arisen from understanding ἑνός to refer merely to the provisions which Martha was then preparing for the meal; the absoluteness of ἑνός was softened by replacing it with ὀλίγων . . . ; and finally in some witness ... the two were combined though with disastrous results as to sense. The omission of both clauses (as well as γάρ after Μαριάμ) from it$^{a,b,e,ff^2,i,l,r^1}$ syr$^{s}$ (D retains only θορυβάζῃ) probably represents a deliberate excision of an incomprehensible passage, if it is not a sheer accident, perhaps occasioned by homoeoarcton (Μάρθα ... Μαριάμ).[18]

Reading *4* has enjoyed the support of the critical editions of Westcott–Hort, B. Weiss, Lagrange, and Merk, as well as of many commentaries[19] and a few English translations.[20] However, it has never had a full-scale defence.

The purpose of this present essay is to fill that lacuna, by showing the weaknesses in the argument presented in the *Textual Commentary* and by arguing that reading 4 is the only variant that adequately explains all the data.

## II

Despite the frequency with which it has been asserted, the suggestion that ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός is a conflation must be laid to rest. The possibility of conflation here has several strikes against it, all having to do with the weak support for reading *2,* ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία.

In order for conflation to have occurred one would have to establish the very early existence (especially in Egypt) of reading 2. Indeed, one would think from the word order of the longer reading, ὀλίγων ... ἑνός, that for simple conflation to have

[18] *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London: UBS, 1971), 153-4. This appears to be dependent upon Alford, *Greek Testament,* 1.543 : 'The variations have arisen from understanding ενος to refer merely to the provisions then being prepared,-then softening it by ολιγων, and finally combining both readings'.

[19] *Inter al.,* Plumptre (1881), B. Weiss (9th edn., 1901), Plummer (1902), A. B. Bruce (n.d.), Lagrange (1919), Easton (1926), Rengstorf (1936), Grundmann (1939), Leaney (1958), Ellis (1966), Danker (1972), Karris (1977).

[20] *Inter al.,* Twentieth Century (1898), Ballantine (1923), Greber (1937), C. B. Williams (1937), Phillips (1947), *New* World (1950), Wuest (1956), *NASB* (1963), *JB* (1966), Klingensmith (1972).

occurred (the mere *adding* of ἢ ἑνός) the reading **ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία** should have been predominant in Egypt. But the evidence for an early existence of this variant is so slight as to be nearly worthless.

To be sure, it has been recently argued by Augsten that the fragment from Origen's commentary on John is the evidence we were needing-and now have.[21] A. Baker, on the basis of the fragment from Origen's commentary on Luke, had already suggested that Origen was 'probably the source of the conflate'.[22] However, both of these suggestions seem to be an inadequate handling of Origen's evidence.

First, the comment in the Luke fragment can scarcely be the source of the conflation-for two reasons: (1) There are many instances in Origen's commentaries and homilies of precisely the kind of 'exegesis' found in the Luke fragment, and in no other instance is he conflating texts. Origen's comment here is standard for him and indicates, as we should expect, that he was working with the same text as one finds in ℵ B et al. For him, Martha represented Judaism, who, though they had received Jesus into their borders, were none the less still distracted with much (πολλήν) service based on the letter of the law. Mary, on the other hand, is like the Gentile church, which has chosen the 'good portion' of the 'spiritual law'. Thus, Origen says, just a few things (ὀλίγα) set forth in the law are beneficial (χρήσιμα); indeed (ἤ) all things in the law are brought forward into the one (ἕν) commandment, 'you shall love'. He then illustrates from two sayings of Jesus how this is so. The 'one thing necessary' refers to the saying 'you shall love your neighbour as yourself'; the 'few things necessary' to the saying 'you know the commandments; you shall not commit adultery, nor murder, etc.'. The ease with which Origen moves from πολλά to ὀλίγα to ἕν makes it clear that he *presupposes* this text and is therefore not the creator of it.

(2) Furthermore, there is ample evidence available in Origen of places where he *does* know of two or more variants.[23] In such cases, he always gives a clear statement of the existence of the

[21] 'Lukanische Miszelle', 582. [22] 'One Thing', 136.

[23] See B. M. Metzger, 'Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts', ***Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*** (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963), 78–95.



various readings, and frequently he comments on them. Therefore, we may conclude quite positively that in writing the commentary on Luke Origen knew only a text with the longer reading, and that he is in no way responsible for creating it.

Second, it is equally clear that it is basically *this same comment* that Origen had previously made in the commentary on John 11:2.[24] There he had already seen Mary as a **σύμβολον τῶν ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν**, and Martha as **τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς**. In this case, however, he is commenting on John 11, *not* Luke 10; and his interest now is solely in 'Martha', who, as the Jews, was distracted about **πολλά** when only **ὀλίγα** were necessary for salvation. Thus he 'cites' the text somewhat loosely-and only partially. But his final comment in which he ties the 'few things' to the law of love in Matt. 22: 40 makes it clear that he presupposes the same kind of comment he will make in full on the Luke passage; and therefore even here he presupposes the longer text, even though he cites it partially.

Furthermore, even if we did not have such clear contextual evidence as Origen affords in these two fragments, this kind of 'short text' in a patristic citation is of dubious value. As I have shown elsewhere, one can scarcely make any case at all of a Father's citation when the debated words are missing at the beginning or end of his citation.[25] This is especially true when in other citations the same Father cites the text in full and *includes* the debated words! For example, I have noted this about Origen's alleged support of $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ et al. in the 'omission' of καὶ ἡ ζωή in John 11: 25.[26] The full evidence from Origen makes it plain in that instance that he knew *only* the longer text. The same is true here. This catena fragment, therefore, simply will not bear the weight that many would give it as evidence of Origen's knowledge of a text without ἢ ἑνός.[27]

[24] This section of the commentary on John would have been written at Caesarea, *c.*232. The homilies on Luke were probably among those taken down in shorthand during his later years. See Eusebius, ***h.e.*** 6.36.

[25] G. D. Fee, 'The Text of John in ***The Jerusalem Bible:*** A Critique of the Use of Patristic Evidence in New Testament Textual Criticism', *JBL* go (1971), 163-73.

[26] In my review of Metzger, ***Bib*** 55 (1974), 454.

[27] All of this only confirms the point made by R. M. Grant many years ago that 'patristic citations are not citations unless they have been adequately analyzed'. See 'The Citation of Patristic Evidence in an Apparatus Criticus', ***New Testament Manuscript Studies*** (ed. M. M. Parvis and A. Wikgren; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1950), 124.

Thus the *only* evidence for the variant ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία is from codex 38 (thirteenth century) ; from three versions: the Palestinian Syriac (tr. after AD 400),[28] the Armenian (*c.*410), and the Georgian (*c.*450); and from two MSS of the Bohairic (ℵ [ninth century], $J_1$ [13th c.]). But to argue from these diverse witnesses for a common denominator that goes back to the second century is to lose historical perspective, or at least is to fail to grapple with the a *priori* logic of genealogy.

First of all it should be noted that these witnesses represent three quite unrelated traditions. Codex 38 is a Byzantine MS, which von Soden listed as $I^k$; the Armenian and Georgian have well-known textual affinities, while there is a recognized, but unclear, relationship between the Armenian and Syriac ; the Bohairic version is a witness to the Egyptian text. One might propose that three such strands of evidence, all independent of each other, argue well for a common archetype that must go back as early as the second century. But that is precisely what is difficult to believe in this case. Given the nature of these particular witnesses, it is much more likely that this is simply a 'sub-singular' reading, i.e. 'a non-genetic, *accidental agreement in variation* between two MSS which are not otherwise closely related'.[29]

Let us begin with the two Bohairic MSS. According to Horner, both of these MSS are subject to omissions of various kinds.[30] This means that what we have here are not two related Bohairic MSS that somehow represent an independent expression of this version, and therefore represent a Greek text that read ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία. Rather, these two MSS are independent corruptions (omitting ἢ ἑνός) of the *only* text of Luke 10 : 42 known in Bohairic, namely the longer text.

The same is probably also true for the other versions. That is, since there is no early Greek evidence of any kind for ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία, it is far more likely that they represent mistranslations, or simple corruptions of the *longer* reading, than that they represent the softening of ἑνός δέ ἐστιν χρεία.

[28] For the dating of the various versions, see B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977).

[29] This definition was offered in an unpublished paper read before the Textual Criticism Seminar of the SBL, 5 October 1974, entitled, 'Toward the Clarification of Textual Variation: Colwell and Tune Revisited', p. 10.

[30] G. W. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, otherwise called Memphitic and Bohairic* (4 vols. ; Oxford: Clarendon, 1898), I.xxxviii, cv.



The text of codex 38 is equally suspect. Surely no one will seriously argue that this thirteenth century MS alone among all its close and distant relatives preserved this reading from the second century. On the contrary, ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία is simply a singular reading in codex 38. One cannot tell whether it is a corruption of ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία or of ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός (probably the former). In either case, the only available Greek evidence for ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία belongs to the thirteenth century, and cannot easily be traced back to the second.

Altogether, the evidence for ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία is so weak that neither can it be the original text itself nor can it serve as an early source for the alleged 'conflation' in reading 4.

## III

A similar judgement must be made about reading 1. Although it is sometimes true that *lectio brevior potior*, this is most highly imprubable in Luke 10: 41-2. To be sure, the omission is difficult to explain. If it is accidental, then the suggestion first made by G. D. Kilpatrick[31] and repeated in a slightly different form in the *Textual Commentary* may well be right-homoeoteleuton or homoeoarcton.

A deliberate omission would be more difficult to explain. If, as Metzger suggests, it is a 'deliberate excision of an incomprehensible passage', it must be admitted that the resultant text is even more incomprehensible (Moffatt's translation notwithstanding). One might have expected what happened in Codex Colbertinus (c), but not this. But if in fact it is deliberate, then this Western text is further evidence of the early widespread existence of ὀλίγων SC ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός. For by everyone's admission, this is the only reading of the remaining two (3 and 4) that might have been thought to be incomprehensible.

But as difficult as the omission is to explain, it is even more difficult to explain all the data if the short text were original. It falls among several such omissions in the Western text (Hort's 'Western non-interpolations'), few of which have commended

[31] G. D. Kilpatrick, 'Western Text and Original Text in the Gospels and Acts', *JTS* 44 (1943), 27.

themselves to recent scholars as the original text.[32] Besides its poor external attestation, the short reading here faces two other difficulties.

(1) The doubling of the vocative *Μάρθα*, followed immediately by a word about Mary, is difficult under any circumstances. But in this case it also runs counter to a clear feature of Lucan style. The doubling of personal name vocatives is a Lucan peculiarity in the NT (Luke 10: 42; 22: 31; Acts 9: 4; 22: 7; 26 : 14). In the other instances, the vocative is followed, as one would expect, by a word spoken in the second person to the one addressed. The words *μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά* fit this stylistic feature exactly, and therefore surely belong to Luke, not to some glossator.

(2) The saying, *μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά· ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός*, with the following *γάρ*, is very difficult to explain as a gloss. In the first place, 'glosses' usually have the nature of explanatory comment (John 5 :4), or catechetical/theological comment (Acts 8 : 37 ; 1 John 5 : 7b). But what does this 'gloss' explain? And why does it take the form of a Jesus word (unless it came from an existing tradition of the story)? Furthermore, it is obvious from the textual variation that the 'glossed' explanation created as many difficulties as it hoped to solve. And why did the one who finally introduced it into the text insert a *γάρ* rather than a *δέ* following *Μαριάμ*? To suggest that this saying is a gloss is simply to put too much confidence in a reading (the omission) that is already suspect by the company it keeps.

## IV

What all of this means, therefore, is that the textual variation in Luke 10: 42 boils down to a choice between two readings, *not* four. Either Luke wrote *ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία* or *ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός*. Both existed as far back as the second century; and in either case, there is no accident involved. One is clearly the deliberate revision of the other. The real question then is, which variant came second? That is, which one can best be explained as the revision of the other?

Those who have opted for the traditional reading have

[32] For a recent survey and evaluation see K. Snodgrass, '"Western Non-interpolations"', *JBL* 91 (1972), 369–79.



usually taken one of three stances toward reading 4 : (1) ignore it altogether,[33] (2) dismiss it with contempt,[34] or (3) dismiss it as a conflation that yields an intolerable sense.[35] We have already seen the improbability of conflation. If, however, it is the revision of reading 3, then one must be prepared to argue also that it did yield a tolerable sense to the reviser. F. Godet saw this many years ago. He himself argued for the originality of *ἑνός*, which he believed had a purposeful double reference for Jesus himself: one kind of nourishment is sufficient for the body, as only one is necessary for the soul. Of the longer reading Godet goes on to say: 'This is probably the meaning of the Alex. reading: "*There needs but little* (for the body), *or even but one thing* (for the soul)"'. He adds: 'There is subtilty in this reading; too much perhaps'.[36]

Godet is surely right on two counts: this is the probable meaning of reading 4; and it is subtle. But it is *not* an intolerable sense. The only question is whether it is *too* subtle. There is a long and worthy tradition that thinks otherwise, which argues both that this is the original text and that this meaning is more than tolerable—it makes good sense! As to its being too subtle, this would, however, be very likely true as the work of a second-century scribe—especially so, if the original text were *ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία*. For this text never seems to have given anyone trouble in antiquity, at least not among those who comment on the text. Since *both* variants lead eventually to the same result, it is difficult to imagine why an early scribe would have felt impelled to this kind of subtlety in order to achieve that result.

On the other hand, if *ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός* were original, one can well imagine an early scribe being perplexed by the text (as apparently many later commentaries have been). Thus, taking his clue from the *ἑνός*, plus the following comment about Mary's choice of *τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα*, he rewrote what was

[33] As, for example, does N. Geldenhuys, *Commentary on Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951), 315–17.

[34] See, for example, M. F. Sadler, *The Gospel According to St. Luke, with Notes Critical and Practical* (3rd edn.; London: Bell, 1889), 288: 'In this case the so-called neutral text substitutes an unintelligible sentence for one of the Lord's most important words. And this against the authority of all Christendom'.

[35] See, for example, Creed, *Gospel of Luke*, 154; Baker, 'One Thing', 135; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 153-4.

[36] F. Godet, *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke* (tr. E. W. Shalders and M. D. Cush; 3rd edn.; 2 vols.; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1890), 2.45.

for him a perplexing text into something much more manageable. Reading 4, therefore, surely is a case of *lectio difficilior potior.*

Although it has never been included in the discussion, there is one further piece of evidence that seems to confirm this choice, and that is the interchange of γάρ and δέ following Μαριάμ. Several things are significant in this regard: (1) No matter which textual choice is made between readings 3 and 4, all critical texts have Μαριὰ(μ) γάρ. (2) This is surely correct, for it is inconceivable that a scribe under any circumstances would have expunged a δέ for a γάρ here. (3) However, elsewhere Luke's use of γάρ in direct discourse very clearly expresses cause or reason. For example, there are thirty-five such instances in the Gospel up to 10:42, and the *RSV* translates every one of them 'for'. (4) On the other hand, in this passage the English translations (including the *RSV*) that are made from a text reading ἑνὸς δέ . . . Μαριὰμ γάρ invariably treat γάρ as an untranslatable particle, rather than as a conjunction. (5) Rightly so, because γάρ scarcely follows ἑνὸς SC ἐστιν χρεία meaningfully. Later scribes, who had only ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία in their texts, were quite right to substitute for γάρ a consecutive δέ: 'One thing *is* needful, *and* Mary has chosen ...'.

How then does one account for the original γάρ, especially in light of Luke's rather careful usage elsewhere? The answer of course is that it goes with an original text that read ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός. It functions as an explanation of ἢ ἑνός, thus suggesting that the ἤ has normal disjunctive force here. Thus the original text reads: 'Martha, Martha, you are worried and upset about *many* things. However (SE') *few* things are really needed, or, if you will (ἤ), only *one*; for that is indeed what Mary has chosen, the good portion ...'.

It may be of interest finally to note that the other Egyptian witnesses $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ Ψ 892 1241) all reflect their true origins in this regard by reading γάρ, even though they have picked up the secondary ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία.

## V

One final argument against the longer reading must be noted. It is sometimes suggested that this reading is 'very much confined to Alexandria' and is therefore a local, transient revision.[37]

[37] Baker, 'One Thing', 131.



Indeed, the evidence of $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ and especially $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ seemed to make this all the more true. So much was this so, in fact, that one can trace the pendulum of scholarship oscillating from Westcott–Hort back to the traditional text with the discovery of these two papyri. Since the influences behind the UBSGNT text are very clear, it is most probable that $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ as much as anything else led to the choice of ἑνὸς SC ἐστιν χρεία with a (C) rating.[38]

This is one of those rare places, however, where the text of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ is probably secondary both to the original text and to its own textual tradition. I have shown elsewhere[39] that the relationship between $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ and B is such that they must have common ancestry anterior to $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$. Occasionally, one finds a bifurcation in this text-type, where two clearly early readings exist among the witnesses, one of which is often destined to become the Byzantine reading. On rare occasions $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ and B also reflect this bifurcation, where now one and then the other picks up the variant that is secondary both to the mainstream of the text-type and to the original text. Ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία appears to be one of those readings.[40]

Thus, even though $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ shows that both readings existed very early in Egypt, the reading ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός seems to have predominated there. This is evidenced not only by the Greek MS tradition, but also by the facts that both the Bohairic (although not the Sahidic) and the Ethiopic versions translate this text and that this is the only text cited in any extant evidence from the Egyptian Fathers (Origen, Cyril, Olympiodorus, plus John Cassian).

But is this text which predominated in Egypt to be found only in Egypt as a local aberration? The evidence from West and East (outside of Egypt) suggests otherwise.

(1) There is no evidence from extant sources that either reading 3 or 4 had early existence in the West. As noted above, the early OL omits the clause altogether. Ambrose and Possidius,

[38] On the influence of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ on the UBSGNT text, see the reviews by I. A. Sparks, *Int* 22 (1968), 92–6, and I. Moir, *NTS* 14 (1967–8), 136-43. Sparks notes that $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ 'has clearly usurped the place of honor previously given to the great uncials' (p. 95).

[39] G. D. Fee, '$\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria', *New Dimensions in New Testament Studies* (ed. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), 31-44.

[40] For the graphs that present all these data see '$\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$, and Origen', 34-9.

the biographer of Augustine, reflect the continuing predominance of the omission into the fifth century. Earlier Latin Fathers unfortunately are silent.

The earliest appearance of either of the other readings in the West is in Jerome's letter to Eustochium, written at Rome in 384, at about the same time he was creating the Vulgate of the gospels. However, one cannot tell whether this reading already existed in Rome, or whether Jerome brought it from the East. In either case, it is clearly a text that he knew well and one that existed outside Egypt.[41]

Interestingly enough, the earliest evidence for *ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία* in the West is also from Jerome. Again, it is not possible to know whether it already existed or whether he introduced it. The earliest appearance of this text-form is in Augustine, and his citations clearly reflect the Vulgate's *porro unum est necessarium*.[42] The *only* evidence for a non-vulgatized rendering of this variant is to be found in the 'revised' OL codices *f* and *q* and in one citation from Augustine. This latter evidence may indicate that the variant had some existence in the West independently of the Vulgate. However, the likelihood is that this reading appeared in the West only after Jerome introduced it.

(2) The evidence from other parts of the East, on the other hand, suggests a situation much like that in Egypt, where both variants existed side by side from early on. However, in this case, the shorter reading came to predominate. The longer reading is known in the Syriac traditions (in the marginalia of the Harclean, and in the corrupted, shortened form [omit ἢ ἑνός] in the Palestinian). It is also cited and commented on by Basil of Caesarea and is clearly the only text he knew. This reading probably also lies behind the Armenian (and thus the Georgian) version.

This is not abundant evidence, but it is substantial. When

[41] The later existence in Latin of the longer reading, *paucis* vero opus *est vel etiam uno*, in John Cassian and the Irish Book of Mulling is attributable first of all to the lengthy stay of Cassian in Egypt, and then to his residency at Lérins, which in turn influenced Irish monasticism (and the text of Mulling). See G. G. Willis, 'Some Interesting Readings of the Book of Mulling', *Studia Evangelica* I (ed. K. Aland *et al.;* TU 73; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), 811–13.

[42] F. C. Burkitt believed that this reading, among others, is evidence that Augustine accepted Jerome's version, even though he also continued to use the OL throughout his life. See 'Saint Augustine's Bible and the Itala', *JTS* 11 (1910), 263.



joined with the evidence from Jerome, it seems clear that this reading had a widespread history in the East. However, *ἑνὸς* SC *ἐστιν χρεία* eventually came to predominate. It was known early in Syriac. By the end of the fourth century and thereafter it is the only text known outside of Egypt.

What must be concluded from all of this, therefore, is that the external evidence is simply indecisive. Both variants existed early in Egypt; both existed frequently outside of Egypt in the fourth and fifth centuries. The question finally is whether the Egyptian text-type, as in so many other cases, also preserves the Lucan original. In this case transcriptional probability argues strongly in the affirmative.

## VI

All of this evidence converges to suggest that Luke 10: 42 should read: *ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ Ms.* If so, then the text is not so much a 'put down' of Martha, as it is a gentle rebuke for her anxiety. For a meal, Jesus says, there is no cause to fret over *πολλά*, when only *ὀλίγα* are necessary. Then, having spoken of 'necessity', he moves on to affirm Mary's 'outrageous' action. 'Indeed', he says, 'in another sense only one thing is necessary. For this is indeed what Mary has chosen'.

# 6. La préhistoire du texte en Luc 22: 43-44

JEAN DUPLACY

1. Les versets 43-44 faisaient-ils ou non partie du texte original de Luc 22? En témoignage de ma grande estime pour le Professeur B. M. Metzger comme homme et comme savant, j'aurais volontiers consacré un expose d'ensemble à ce vieux problème textuel. Mais les dimensions d'un tel expose auraient été excessives et je me bornerai donc à rappeler quelques données et à proposer quelques réflexions sur une question quelque peu negligee jusqu'ici: quelle est la meilleure 'variante-source' de ce lieu variant? Autrement dit, je parlerai de ce que j'appellerais volontiers la 'préhistoire du texte'.

2. Je veux désigner ainsi la période qui s'est écoulée entre la redaction du texte et les premiers témoignages Ccrits, directs ou indirects, relatifs aux états les plus anciens de ce texte. On rattache généralement cette recherche de la variante-source à la critique interne. Mais ce n'est que partiellement exact. Cette recherche prend certes en consideration le contenu des variantes d'un passage, mais elle ne peut et ne doit le faire que dans le cadre et à la lumière de l'histoire. Sous peine d'anachronismes éventuels, elle doit en effet être centrée, pour l'essentiel, sur la période antérieure à la plus ancienne attestation des diverses variantes. Et, d'autre part, elle n'a de valeur que dans la mesure où elle fait appel à nos diverses connaissances relatives à l'histoire, au passé qui a entouré et a donc pu faire varier le texte.

3. Un examen attentif de toutes les variantes de notre passage[1] confirme que deux d'entre elles ont des titres sérieux à pouvoir représenter le texte original : la presence ou l'absence des w. 43-44. Leur présence est assurée dès 150 environ par une allusion de Justin et, très probablement, par le Diatessaron que

[1] Variantes mineures des w. Luc 22: 43-44; prbence de ces versets après Matt. 26: 39; diverses présences partielles, généralement négligées, des mêmes versets.

suivent bientôt Irénée, la vieille latine, Hippolyte, etc. ... Quant à leur absence, je montrerai ailleurs que les témoignages de Marcion et de Tertullien restent très problématiques et que celui de Clément d'Alexandrie est littéralement inutilisable. Le plus ancien témoin certain est ici $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, généralement daté du debut du III^e^ siecle, un témoignage que confirme probablement Origène (*Commentaire* de *Matthieu,* en ou vers 249). A la lumière de l'histoire du texte, la question qui se pose à nous est donc très précisément: nos versets ont-ils été ajoutés au texte avant 150 au plus tard ou en ont-ils été éliminés avant 200–250 au plus tard ? La préhistoire de notre lieu variant comme de beaucoup d'autres se situe donc au II^e^ siecle, une époque qu'à tant de points de vue nous connaissons bien mal.

4. La premiere hypothbe à envisager est celle de quelque accident de copie. De ce point de vue, une addition purement accidentelle est impensable. Par contre l'hypothèse d'une disparition n'est pas inconcevable en soi,[2] mais cette disparition d'un element textuel très long, sans saut possible 'du même au même', serait vraiment Ctonnante: il aurait fallu un hasard complaisant pour qu'une telle omission laisse subsister un récit acceptable. Mieux vaut donc assurément envisager l'hypothèse d'une modification délibérée du texte.

5. Ou peut-être pour commencer, d'une modification à la fois délibérée et inconsciente. Si le texte original de Luc 22 ne comportait pas nos versets, on peut imaginer en effet que quelque lecteur, les empruntant à un texte ou à une tradition 'évangélique',[3] les aurait notes en marge de son manuscrit et qu'ensuite un copiste, les prenant pour une correction, les aurait introduits dans le texte. Inversement, quelque lecteur aurait pu indiquer graphiquement sur son exemplaire ses doutes relatifs à ces versets qu'un copiste, en toute bonne foi, aurait ensuite éliminés du texte. La premiere hypothèse serait peut-être un peu moins vraisemblable, si l'on admet qu'une note de vingt-six mots environ aurait été un peu longue pour une marge de manuscrit. Mais, au fond, peu importe. Une modification

[2] Albert C. Clark semble bien l'avoir envisagée (*The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1914], 60, 65).

[3] Cf. B. F. Westcott et F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek:* [II] *Introduction, Appendix* (Cambridge/London: Macmillan, 1882), 67; B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 177.



du type que nous venons d'envisager reste très conjecturale et elle laisse intactes les questions fondamentales : pourquoi aurait-on noté nos versets en marge de Luc 22 et d'où viendraient-ils? ou bien pour quelles raisons aurait-on douté de leur authenticité ?

6. Un des aspects de l'histoire du texte au II^e^ siecle permet une premiere réponse à la seconde des questions que nous venons de poser. C'est un fait très généralement admis qu'à cette Cpoque la tradition textuelle a été fortement harmonisante, comme l'atteste en particulier 'le texte occidental'. Les harmonisations par suppression ne semblent certes pas très fréquentes et l'omission serait ici d'une longueur exceptionnelle. Mais nos versets pouvaient sembler vraiment &ranges si l'on comparait le récit de Luc avec ceux de Matthieu et de Marc et l'hypothèse de leur disparition par harmonisation n'est certes pas invraisemblable, surtout s'il a existé d'autres raisons de les éliminer.

7. Une longue enquête sur les citations et les 'non-citations' de Luc 22 : 43-44 dans les premiers siècles m'avait montré l'importance de ces versets dans les controverses christologiques jusqu'à celles du monothélisme et du monoénergisme. 11 m'a semblé dès lors qu'on ne pouvait répondre pertinemment à la question 'addition avant 150 *ou* suppression avant 200–250?' qu'au terme d'une etude sur la ou les lectures 'christologiques' de l'épisode de Gethsémani jusque vers 200–250.[4] Lorsque j'ai pu disposer des résultats d'un premier travail dans ce sens,[5] ils ont de fait aide sur plus d'un point les recherches et les réflexions dont je vais exposer l'essentiel.

8. Dans l'hypothèse oh le texte original de Luc aurait comporté nos versets, ceux-ci pouvaient paraitre inquiétants et contestables à plus d'un point de vue. Tout d'abord, l'épisode de l'ange venant 'fortifier' Jésus ne s'accordait guère avec la

[4] La critique textuelle s'était bornée, dans cette voie, à quelques allusions: A. von Harnack, *Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche:* I, *Zur neutestamentlichen Textkritik* (Berlin/Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1931), 89–90 (= SPAW [1901], 254–55); Walter Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1909), 171–73; etc.

[5] Edith Wild, 'Histoire de l'exégèse de la péricope de Gethsémani ... Les trois premiers siècles' (these inédite, Faculté de Théologie Protestante, Université de Strasbourg, 1975). Je remercie mes collègues de Strasbourg, André Benoit et Pierre Prigent, d'avoir bien voulu patronner ce travail que j'avais suggéré à P. Prigent.

supériorité de Jésus par rapport aux anges. Proclamée souvent dès le NT,[6] cette supériorité restait un point essentiel de la foi chretienne au IIe siecle, même lorsqu'on présentait le Christ comme un *angelos* de Dieu.[7] Luc 22 : 43 pouvait paraitre ici d'autant plus dangereux que certaines speculations risquaient de dissoudre plus ou moins le mystère du Christ dans les mystères du monde angélique : c'était probablement deja le cas à Colosses (*Col.* 2 : 18).[8] Les *epourania* restent un sujet épineux pour Ignace d'Antioche (*Trall.* 5), qui pensait peut-être à certains aspects du judéo-christianisme ou du gnosticisme antiochien,[9] preludes de ces Ctonnants systèmes gnostiques d'éons oh se mêlaient volontiers les debris d'un J&us-Christ désagrégé et de hierarchies angéliques. Ce peril venu des perspectives orthodoxes pour Luc 22 : 43 est possible et vraisemblable, mais il reste hypothétique ; sauf erreur la littérature chretienne ne parle pas de ce verset sous cet angle avant le IVe siecle.

g. Par contre, ce sont des textes chrétiens anciens qui mettent en relation la vie chretienne et, en particulier, la prière et le martyre avec les récits de Gethsémani.[10] Ces references s'inscrivent sur un horizon qui est celui de l'imitation de Jesus. Ce theme a des racines profondes dans le NT,[11] oh cette imitation va deja jusqu'aux souffrances et à la mort : la passion d'Étienne (Act. 6 : 8-15 ; 7 : 54–60) reflète celle de Jesus ; le combat du chrétien, comme celui de Jesus, doit aller 'jusqu'au sang' (Heb. 12 : 4). Ces perspectives fondamentales s'affirment au IIe siècle.[12] Ce sont elles qui expliquent l'enthousiasme d'un Ignace

[6] Phil. 2:10; *Col.* 1: 16-17; 2: 10, 15; Eph. 1: 20–22; Heb. 1: 5-13; 2: r-g; 1 Pier. 3: 22. Si l'on admet que Jean 12: 29 se réfère à Luc 22: 43 ou à quelque tradition analogue, on peut se demander si l'intention de Jean n'est pas de 'dtsamorcer' le danger prtsentt par l'épisode de l'ange: tonnerre ou ange (12: 29), l'essentiel est que 'la voix' représente une intervention 'du ciel', destinte d'ailleurs non à Jesus, mais à des hommes (12: 28, 30).

[7] Sur les anges et le Christ au IIe siecle, voir par exemple Jean Danitlou, *Théologie du Judéo-christianisme* (Paris : Desclée, 1958), 167–98; Georges Tavard, *Les anges* (Paris: du Cerf, 1971), 53–89; Alois Grillmeier, ***Christ in Christian Tradition*** (2d ed.; 3 vols.; London: Mowbrays, 1975–), 1.46-53.

[8] Sur Col. 2: 18, voir E. Cothenet, 'Puissances célestes', *DBSup* (fasc. 49–50A [1975]), 369–71.

[9] Cf. Daniélou *Théologie*, 84–89.

[10] Wild, 'Histoire', *passim.*

[11] E. Cothenet, 'Imitation du Christ: I. Dans l'Écriture', ***Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*** (Paris, 1970), 1536–62.

[12] Marcel Viller, ***La spiritual& des premiers** siècles chrétiens* (Paris, 1930), 15-24; Louis Bouyer, ***La spiritualité du Nouveau Testament et des Pères*** (Paris, 1960), 238-61; Etienne Ledeur, ***Dictionnaire de Spiritualité,*** 1563-67 (bibliographie).



d'Antioche, la joie d'un Carpus ou la sérénité d'un Polycarpe de Smyrne en face de leur martyre et qui sous-tendent les exhortations au martyre d'un Cyprien ou d'un Origène. Or cette imitation impliquait une certaine image de Jesus, marchant librement et en paix vers une mort voulue par son Père. On trouvait cette image partout dans les évangiles, sauf en Matt 27 : 46 et dans l'épisode de Gethsémani.[13] Les païens qui connaissaient ce dernier ne devaient pas manquer de le tourner en derision, comme Celse[14] en attendant Julien l'Apostat, ce qui ne pouvait qu'accroitre la gene des chrétiens devant certains aspects de l'épisode. L'attitude de Jesus finalement soumis à la volonté de son Père (Matt. 26 : 39 et par.) pouvait assez facilement rester un exemple de prière et d'obéissance.[15] Mais il n'en allait pas de même du Jesus décrit par Luc 22 : 44. Quel qu'ait été son sens originel exact,[16] ce verset était certes loin d'évoquer pour ses lecteurs l'enthousiasme, la joie ou la sérénité d'un martyr modèle et il Ctait encore moins acceptable pour l'idéal stoïcien de l'*apatheia* qui impregnait alors bien des milieux chrétiens.[17]

10. Cette importance morale de l'*apatheia* vient de ce qu'elle Ctablit le chrétien dans la ressemblance avec Dieu. L'*apatheia* est en effet un attribut majeur de celui-ci pour les théologiens du IIe siecle et pour Clement d'Alexandrie en particulier[18] et cette *apatheia* ne peut donc que caracteriser également le Logos divin. 'Le Sauveur' étant 'impassible' comme l'affirment Clement d'Alexandrie (*Strom.* 1.8.71.2) et la gnose valentinienne,[19] il ne pouvait pas vraiment Cprouver les passions du corps et encore moins celles de l'âme, comme la tristesse (λύπη) et la crainte

[13] Et dans la variante finale de Luc 22: 68 (ἢ ἀπολύσητε) dont l'ambiguïté permettait de comprendre que Jesus désirait ou, au moins, envisageait d'être relâché: J. Duplacy, 'Une variante méconnue du texte reçu: "... Η ΑΠΟΛΥΣΗΤΕ" (Lc 22,68)', *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift für **Prof. Josef** Schmid zum* 70. ***Geburtstag*** (ed. J. Blinzler, 0. Kuss, F. **Mussner** ; Regensburg: Pustet, 1963), 42-52.

[14] Origène, *Cels.* 5.52; 2.24; 1.54.

[15] Ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard que Matt. 26: 39, 42 et par. soient, semble-t-il, les versets les plus souvent allégués de la péricope (Wild, 'Histoire', index biblique, p. 248).

[16] Mario Galizzi, ***Gesù nel Getsemani*** (Biblioteca di Scienza Religiose, 4; Zurich / Rome: PAS-Verlag, 1972), 166-83.

[17] Michel Spanneut, Le *stoïcisme **des Pères de** l'Église **de** Clément **de Rome** à Clément d'Alexandrie* (Patristica Sorbonensia, 1; Paris: de Seuil, 1957), 241–51.

[18] Ibid., 291–93.

[19] Irénée, ***adv. haer.*** 1.7.2: François-M.-M. Sagnard, ***La** gnose **valentinienne et le** témoignage **de saint** Irénée* (Etudes de philosophie médiévale, 36; Paris: Vrin, 1947), 46 (ligne 13).

($\phi\acute{o}\beta o\varsigma$). C'est ainsi que Clément d'Alexandrie est conduit au moins aux confins du docétisme[20] et qu'Origène est quelque peu gêné par les 'passions' (λυπεῖσθαι, ἀδημονεῖν, περίλυπος) attribuées à Jésus par Matt. 26 : 37.[21] Une telle christologie ne pouvait être que plus heurtée encore, Cventuellement, par Luc 22 : 44 oh la sueur manifeste corporellement l'intensité des 'passions' de l'âme de Jésus. La gnose valentinienne, pour sa part, Cvitait radicalement la difficulté : les 'passions' de Jésus à GethsCmani n'y sont plus, au moins directement, des passions du Sauveur, mais d'un éon 'Achamoth-Sagesse',[22] ce qui est bien une sorte de docétisme.

11. Pour la deuxième fois, je viens de nommer le docétisme. Quelles qu'en soient les sources, philosophiques ou non, cette tendance à réduire ou à rejeter la réalité de la 'chair', de l'humanité de Jésus — attestée déjà aux environs de 100 — fut très répandue au IIe siècle.[23] Fondamentalement, elle pouvait n'être qu' 'une expression naïve de la foi en la transcendance du Christ, une idéalisation de son humanité',[24] plus ou moins compatible, dans les cas bénins, avec une foi orthodoxe. Mais ce n'était pas le cas pour les variétés extremes de docétisme, telles qu'on les trouve surtout, sous des formes assez diverses, dans le gnosticisme — bien représenté dès le IIe siècle à Alexandrie.25 Cette tendance docète ne pouvait qu'être choquée par le réalisme agressif de Luc 22 : 44 qui permettait par contre aux adversaires du docétisme, comme Justin, Irénée et Hippolyte,[26] de souligner la réalité de la 'chair' de. Jésus.

[20] Grillmeier, Christ *in Christian Tradition*, I. 136-38.

[21] *Comm. in Mutt. go.* Origtne souligne que Jésus n'a éprouvé qu'un début de tristesse (ἤρξατο, Matt. 26: 37), sa qualité divine &ant très éloignée de ce genre de 'passions'; cf. Wild, 'Histoire', 139–42.

[22] Irénée, *adv. haer. 1.8.2* (cf. 4.1); cf. G. C. Stead, 'The Valentinian Myth of Sophia', *JTS* ns 20 (1969), 75–104 *passim*.

[23] Ignatius, *Trall. 10*; *Smym.* 2 et 5.2; cf. Cérinthe (selon Irénée, *adv. haer.* 1.26.1) et déjà peut-être: 1 Jean 4: 2; 5: 6; 2 Jean 7. Cf. G. Bareille, 'Docttisme', *DTC* 4.1484–1501; Antonio Orbe, *Cristologia gnóstica* (BAC 384-85 ; Madrid: La Editorial católica, 1976), 2. 174–224 (GethsCmani et la Passion dans le gnosticisme). Un texte de Nag Hammadi, récemment publié, déclare Jésus '&ranger' à sa Passion, qu'il 'a accomplie en apparencc': Jacques E. Mtnard, *La lettre de Pierre à Philippe* (Québec: Université Laval, 1977), 27.

[24] J. Liébaert, *L'incarnation: I, Des origines au concile de Chalcédoine* (Paris, 1966), 53.

[25] Valcntin était né à Alcxandrie, où 'enseignèrent' Basilide et son fils et disciple Isidore.

[26] Pour souligner cette réalité, Tertullien ne renvoie, pour Gethsémani, qu'à Matt. 26: 38, comme le fera encore Origène (qui pose par ailleurs, à ce propos, le problème de la divinité de Jésus).



12. En somme, bien des aspects anciens de la dogmatique et de la 'sensibilité' christologiques pouvaient rendre suspects l'un ou l'autre de nos versets ou les deux. Et cela particulièrement à Alexandrie et en Egypte où la théologie montre trés tôt et conservera un sens aigu, parfois même excessif, de 'l'impassibilité' du Verbe fait chair. Or il suffit de consulter un apparat pour constater que c'est vers cette region que nous orientent, de diverses manières, les plus anciens et les plus notables témoins de l'absence de nos versets. Cette absence pourrait donc parfaitement être le résultat d'une disparition.

13. Mais ces considérations n'autorisent encore aucune conclusion critique. Si la disparition de nos versets avant 200 est une bonne hypothèse, il se pourrait, *a priori*, que celle de leur interpolation avant 150 soit aussi bonne et même meilleure : telle est la question qui nous reste à envisager.

14. Nous examinerons d'abord deux témoignages relatifs, au moins apparemment, à la période très ancienne qui nous intéresse. Le premier est un passage en grec attribué à un certain Jean l'Arménien que Tischendorf allègue, dans son apparat (8a major), d'après Wettstein. Ce texte affirme que les w. 22 : 43-44 auraient été ajoutés au texte de Luc par Satornil. Cette information, pourtant *stimulating* car Satornil (Saturninus) est un gnostique antiochien du début du IIe siècle, a été jusqu'ici négligée par la critique. Peut-être tout simplement parce qu'on n'avait pas identifié ce texte. Je n'ai pu le faire moi-m&me que le jour oh j'ai fini par frapper à la bonne porte, celle du Prof. G. Garitte (Louvain) qui avait édité et longuement commenté l'œuvre où se trouve ce curieux passage. 11 s'agit d'une parole qu'aurait prononcée, vers 63 1-642, l'arménien antichalcédonien Jean Mayragomec'i, au dire de l'auteur anonyme de la *Narratio de rebus Armeniae*,[27] une œuvre arménienne, &rite vers 700 et conservée uniquement en grec. L'information doit être exacte selon G. Garitte qui a fort bien montré par ailleurs, me semble-t-il, que ce n'était pas à Satornil, mais aux 'nestoriens', c'est-à-dire aux chalcédoniens que Jean attribuait la présence de nos versets dans les manuscrits armtniens de Luc.[28] Nous n'avons donc même pas à nous demander ce que vaudrait une information du VIIe siècle relative à la plus ancienne histoire de notre texte.

[27] Gérard Garitte, *La* Narratio de rebus Armeniae: *Édition critique et commentaire* (*CSCO* 132, subs. 4; Louvain, 1952), 45 (§§ 132-35).

[28] Ibid., 324-34.

15. Quant au second temoignage, il est connu depuis peu. Le voici: '. . . Qualiter autem angelus Christum in agonia sue oracionis confortaverit dicitur in Evangelio Nazareorum'. *L'Évangile des Nazaréens* a été tcrit, peut-être en Syrie, avant 180, sinon avant 150.[29] Cette allusion indubitable à Luc 22: *43*, negligee jusqu'à present en critique textuelle, si je ne m'abuse, mérite examen. Elle se trouve, avec cinq autres renvois au même apocryphe, dans une *Historia passionis Domini* qui pourrait dater de la premiere moitié du XIVe siècle.[30] Ce temoignage, en dépit de sa date très tardive, n'est peut-être pas absolument sans valeur. L'un des six renvois rejoint en effet un temoignage du IVe siècle.[31] On peut noter aussi qu'avant 383, le *syrien* Theodore de Mopsueste, dans son *De incarnatione*, sait lui aussi comment l'ange a encourage Jésus (MPG. 66, 995B, 996C). Néanmoins on doit Cvidemment se demander ce que peut valoir cette information médiévale et il reste bien difficile de répondre avec assurance dans un sens ou un autre.

16. Quoiqu'il en soit, ce texte nous oriente vers une possibilité qui n'est certes pas impensable à cette très haute époque: l'harmonisation d'un texte évangélique qui deviendra canonique avec un parallèle qui ne le deviendra pas. Un exemple bien connu illustre en tout cas cette possibilité:[32] la lumière qui brille lors du baptême de Jesus chez Justin (où elle est un feu), dans deux témoins du Diatessaron[33] et dans deux manuscrits vieux-latins en Matt. 3:15 — une attestation qui rappelle partiellement celle de Luc 22: *43-44*. Personne ne pense que cette variante est originale et tout le monde admet au moins qu'elle pourrait provenir de l'évangile des Ebionites, cite par Epiphane de Salamine.

17. Nous sommes ainsi orient& vers les milieux judéo-chrétiens oh Ctait utilisé Cgalement l'évangile des Nazaréens que nous

[29] E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (ed. W. Schneemelcher; 3. Aufl.; 2 Bde; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1959–64), 1.94 (= Ph. Vielhauer).

[30] Ibid., 89. Texte latin des six passages dans K. Aland (ed.), *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (9e td.; Stuttgart: Wtirttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1976), 585; traduction allemande dans Hennecke, 99–100.

[31] Jerome, *ep.* 120; cf. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 1.100 (n° 36); 97 (n° 21).

[32] On pourrait penser à un processus analogue pour l'épisode attesté en Luc 5: 5 par le seul D (05) et sans doute pour d'autres variantes.

[33] Justin, *dial.* 88; Ephrem, *comm. Diat.* 4.5; cf. Daniélou, *Théologie*, 250–54.

[34] Epiphane, *panar.* 30. 13.



venons d'évoquer et qui pouvait n'être pas très different de celui des Ebionites.[35] Le réalisme de Luc 22: *44* s'accorderait parfaitement avec la conception judéo-chrétienne qui ne voyait ou tendait à ne voir en Jesus qu'un homme né de Joseph.36 Quant à l'ange, son intervention pourrait certainement s'expliquer de quelque manière dans des courants de pensée où les frontières entre la christologie et l'angélologie Ctaient au moins quelque peu floues.[37] On peut noter Cgalement que cette apparition d'un être céleste lors d'un martyre était assez normale en milieu juif.[38] Le *Sitz im Leben* de notre episode, qui n'allait pas tarder à entrer dans le texte de Luc, pourrait donc être les milieux judéo-chrétiens de Palestine et de Syrie. Sa predominance textuelle dans cette dernière region, à commencer par le *Diatessaron*, ne serait donc pas étonnante, d'autant qu'elle ne risquait pas d'être mise ensuite en question par la théologie syrienne qui restera très à l'aise avec ces versets jusqu'à l'arrivée du monophysisme. Quant à l'Occident, la variante l'aurait gagné aussi tôt et par les mêmes voies, inconnues de nous, que la lumière de Matt. 3: 15.

18. Que l'addition ou la suppression se soit faite immédiatement ou avec l'ttape intermédiaire que nous avons évoquée (§ 5) ne modifie pas sensiblement la question à laquelle il nous faut maintenant répondre: la meilleure variante-source hypothétique de notre passage est-elle l'absence ou la presence originelle de nos deux versets? Tout bien pesé, l'hypothèse de l'absence avec interpolation parait moins satisfaisante que l'hypothèse inverse. Le parallèle que nous avons Ctabli avec le cas

[35] Daniélou, *Théologie*, 33.

[36] Epiphane, *panar.* 30.3, 16; cf. J. Duplacy, 'La revelation de la Trinitt dans une impasse: le judéo-christianisme', *Lumière et Vie* 29 (1956), 133–35. A l'intensitt de l'ἀγωνία de Jesus, on pourrait opposer trois passages d'une *Expositio de prophetis*, attribute à 'Ebion', qui soulignent l'unité de volonté entre Jésus et Dieu (et citent Luc 22: 42): Franz Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi* (Münster/W., 1907), 302–3. Mais qui soutiendrait l'authenticité de ces textes?

[37] Cf. Daniélou, *Théologie*, 167–98. Parmi les textes allégués par Daniélou, deux retiennent l'attention. L'un se trouve dans La *Pasteur* d'Hermas (*sim.* 5.4.4): 'Toi donc qui as été revêtu de force (ἐνδυναμωμένος) par le saint ange et qui as reçu de lui le don de la prière (τοιαύτην ἔντευξιν) . . .' (p. 169): s'agirait-il, en dépit de la difference de vocabulaire. d'une allusion à Luc 22: 43? Le second texte (2 Hénoch 3: 15-16) permet de 'se demander si 'la mention de l'Ange de l'Eglise chrttienne' ne serait pas 'liée à un premier episode distinct de l'ouverture du tombeau de Jesus' (pp. 177-78): s'agirait-il par hasard de l'Agonie?

[38] Galizzi, *Gesù nel Getsemani*, 185-87, qui renvoie à Dan. (LXX) 3: 49, 92; Deut. (LXX) 32: 43; 3 Macc. 6: 18.

de Matt. 3 : 15 n'est pas sans intérêt, mais il comporte des limites. Contrairement à la variante de 'la lumiere', nos versets se trouvent en Luc et non pas en Matthieu, auquel s'apparentaient, semble-t-il, les Cvangiles propres au judéo-christianisme. D'autre part, en dépit de son importance mineure, cette variante de 'la lumiere' est très peu attestée dans la tradition manuscrite : il serait donc &range que notre interpolation ait eu un succès aussi précoce et Ctendu que le montre l'histoire du texte, en dépit de sa longueur, de la tendance harmonisante de la tradition et du fait qu'elle pouvait heurter ou inquieter, très tôt et sous plus d'un aspect, une sensibilité et une foi plus répandues dans le christianisme que certaines vues judéo-chrétiennes. A la limite, on serait tenté de dire que, dans ces conditions, si interpolation il y eut, cette interpolation devrait être aussi ancienne ou à peu près que la redaction de Luc: n'est-ce pas une complication inutile ?

19. Par contre, l'hypothèse de la presence originelle de nos versets et de leur disparition avant 200 se présente mieux. Cette disparition serait conforme à la tendance harmonisante de la tradition et aux divers aspects bien attest& et répandus de la pensée chrétienne que nous avons rappelés. D'autre part, les délais pour la disparition (avant 200–250) étant plus longs que pour l'interpolation (avant 150), cette disparition a pu se produire assez tard pour trouver le terrain déjà bien occupé par la presence des versets : on s'expliquerait d&s lors la diffusion un peu plus tardive et nettement plus limitée de l'absence de nos versets — *melior est conditio possidentis.* En fin de compte, la presence de nos versets serait donc la meilleure variante-source et la préhistoire du texte serait leur disparition, peut-être en Égypte. 11 va de soi — faut-il le rappeler ? — que cette conclusion, partielle et provisoire, aurait à être confrontée aux résultats de l'étude d'ensemble que nous Cvoquions au debut de ces pages et qui prendrait en compte l'histoire du texte de notre passage et les relations de celui-ci avec ses contextes lucanien et néotestamentaire. J'espère pouvoir le faire prochainement.

# 7. Origen and the Text of John 1:15

J. RAMSEY MICHAELS

THE prologue of John's Gospel contains several well-known and controversial textual variations : e.g. the punctuation problem in 1 : 3–4, the singular 'was born' in some ancient witnesses to 1 : 13, and the question of whether *υἱός* or *θεός* is original in 1 : 18. A considerable body of literature exists on each of these passages, but almost nothing has been written on the equally perplexing questions posed by the text of 1 : 15. A glance at the bibliographies of Metzger and Malatesta uncovers not one article dealing with the textual problems of this verse,[1] and a survey of more recent periodical literature does not change the picture. What little has been done has come mostly from textual editors themselves, and from a few of the commentaries.

The three main variants can be set forth as follows :

I. John testifies about him and has cried out, saying, 'This was he of whom I said (*οὗτος ἦν ὃν εἶπον*), "The one coming after me has taken precedence over me, because he existed before me" '. ($\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ $\aleph^{b}$ A $B^{3}$ $D^{*}$ K L Θ *pler.*)

II. John testifies about him and has cried out, saying-this was he who said (*οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών*) 'The one coming after me has taken precedence over me, because he existed before me'. ($B^{*}$ $C^{*}$ Origen Cyril-Alexandria, and probably $\aleph^{a}$)[2]

III. John testifies about him and has cried out, 'This was the one coming after me, who has taken precedence over me, because he existed before me'. ($\aleph^{*}$ Eusebius)[3]

[1] B. M. Metzger, Index *to Periodical Literature on Christ and the Gospels* (NTTS 6; Leiden: Brill, 1966); E. Malatesta, *St. John's Gospel: 1920–1965* (AnBib 32; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967).

[2] For Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) see *Arcad.* 183 (ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* I. 1.5, p. 109. 18). The lemma of his *Commentary on John* (Pusey 3, 145.6) reads *ὃν εἶπον*; unfortunately the phrase is not cited in the text of the commentary itself. For this reference (here and in n. 21), for the reference to Eusebius in n. 3, and for the references to Epiphanius in n. 34, I am indebted to my colleague, Gordon D. Fee.

[3] For Eusebius, see *e.th.* 1.20 (GCS 4, 82.33).

The UBSGNT[3] adopts text form I with an 'A' rating. In discussing the variants, the Textual *Commentary* concludes: 'The awkwardness of the reading οὗτος ἦν ὃν εἶπον . . . as well as the absence of a previous mention of John's testimony, prompted more than one copyist to make adjustments in the text'. It is easily shown how this is the case with text form III: 'ℵ* rewrote the passage, omitting the relative clause and adding ὅς after ἐρχόμενος' to produce a smoother reading. But in the case of text form II, it is tacitly admitted that the awkwardness has not been entirely removed: 'Several other witnesses . . ., less successful in their adjustment of the text, changed ὃν εἶπον to ὁ εἰπών'.[4] The *Textual Commentary's* effort to translate text form II ('. . . and cried, saying-this was he who said [it]—"He who comes after me ranks before me . . ."')[5] amply demonstrates that this is anything but a smooth or easy reading. Both ὃν εἶπον and ὁ εἰπών are difficult readings, each in its own way. The brief remarks in the Textual *Commentary* are therefore not conclusive in justifying the 'A' rating given to text form I.

Although virtually all translations and critical editions of the Greek NT agree with the Bible Societies' text in accepting ὃν εἶπον as the correct reading, there is one notable exception. The WH text favoured ὁ εἰπών, with ὃν εἶπον noted as an alternative in the margin.[6] Not even WH's closest followers (e.g. *ERV, ASV*) followed them at this point, and the editors unfortunately did not discuss the variant in their 'Notes on Select Readings' (the Appendix to their second volume). It is strange, not that their decision was set aside, but that it was set aside so confidently and unanimously and with so little discussion in subsequent literature. The matter deserves a second look.

Text form III can safely be eliminated from consideration, both on the basis of external evidence and because the arguments in the *Textual Commentary* for its secondary character are convincing. As for text forms I and II, the most obvious difference between them is that text form I makes John 1: 15 a self-citation of John the Baptist, while text form II makes it an identification formula supplied parenthetically by the evangelist.

[4] B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 197–8.

[5] Ibid., 198.

[6] *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), 187.



If ὃν εἶπον is the correct reading, the Baptist is represented as quoting something he has said earlier, essentially the same statement which he cites again in 1:*30*. The earlier occasion, however, on which John had uttered the words, 'The one coming after me has taken precedence over me, because he existed before me', is never described directly in the Fourth Gospel. This is the difficulty which, according to the *Textual Commentary*, text form II is attempting to remove.[7]

It is not at once clear how text form II should be translated. What is clear is that the clause in question (οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών) is not part of John the Baptist's testimony, but serves instead to identify him as the speaker: 'this was he who said [it]'. WH chose to set these words off by dashes, so as to make John 1: 15 a direct, straightforward statement by the Baptist that 'the one coming after me has taken precedence over me, because he existed before me', only with a parenthetical (and redundant) assurance to the reader that John actually was the speaker.[8] The *Textual Commentary, as we* have seen, reads the text in the same way. The few commentators who discuss the variant offer little help in the translation of it.[9] For the time being, the translation assumed by WH and by the *Textual Commentary* will be assumed here as well, but it is a question to which we will have to return. In any event, the point at issue in the two variants is whether we have in John 1: 15 a self-citation or a parenthetical identification formula. Whether, or to what extent, this difference affects the interpretation of the last part of the Johannine prologue (i.e. vv. 14–18) has not been adequately assessed by the commentators because (in spite of WH) they have not regarded text form II as a real option.

The great antiquity of text form II is shown by its occurrence

[7] *Textual Commentary*, 197; cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 75.

[8] B. F. Westcott in his own commentary (even though he departed from the WH text at this point!) gave clear expression to this way of reading text form II: '. . . this reading gives an intelligible sense by emphasising the reference to the Baptist's testimony: "this John, and no other, was he who spake the memorable words"'. *The Gospel According to St. John* (2 vols.; London: John Murray, 1908), I.66.

[9] In spite of regarding it as a correction to remove a difficulty, Bultmann (*John*, 75) calls it 'meaningless', while J. H. Bernard (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John* [ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928], I.27) speaks of it as an 'impossible' reading.

twice in Origen's Commentary *on the Gospel of John.* Unfortunately, Origen's formal exposition of John 1:15 in its normal sequence is not extant, except in fragments (presumably it came in Book V). But he deals with the text in Book II, in connection with his exposition of 1:7, and in Book VI, in connection with his exposition of 1:19. In all, there are three passages in Origen's commentary that are immediately relevant: II.35; VI.3; and VI.6.[10] The second and third of these contain the reading *οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών.* In all three instances, Origen is involved in an argument as to where in John 1:15-18 the quotation of John the Baptist ends, and the comment of the evangelist begins. In II.35 and VI.6, the dispute is with an indefinite group, designated only as 'some' (*τινές*) or by the expression 'they jump to the conclusion' (*τάχα γὰρ φήσουσι*). These opponents end the Baptist's statement at v. 15 and assign w. 16-18 to the evangelist. In VI.3 the dispute is with Heracleon in particular, who assigns w. 15-17 to the Baptist and only v. 18 to the evangelist.[11] Against both of these, Origen argues that John 1:15-18 in its entirety is to be understood as a testimony of John the Baptist. This is a dead issue for the majority of modern commentators, who with few exceptions agree with Origen's *τινές* in limiting the Baptist's testimony to v. 15, and reading w. 16-18 as the evangelist's theological reflection.[12] What is important for the moment, however, is not the merits of the respective cases, but Origen's method of argumentation and the extent to which he makes exegetical use of his distinctive textual reading *οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών.* The three passages in Origen's *Commentary* must be examined one by one.

(1) II.35. In discussing John 1:7, Origen links the statement that John the Baptist came to bear testimony about the light with w. 15-18, which he quotes in full as the first of six specific testimonies of the Baptist to Jesus (the other five being w. 19-23, 26-7, 29-31, 32-4, and 36). He dismisses briefly the argument of

[10] The references throughout are to E. Preuschen, GCS 4 (1903).

[11] C. Blanc (*Origène: Commentaire sur Saint Jean. Tome II* [SC 157; Paris: Cerf, 1970], 154) incorrectly states that the dispute is with Heracleon in VI.6 as well.

[12] Among recent commentators, only C. K. Barrett (*The Gospel according to St. John* [2nd edn.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978], 168) holds open a serious possibility that the Baptist's testimony may extend beyond v. 15 (in which case the 'we' of v. 16 refers to the prophets), but he regards the other alternative as more likely. Z. C. Hodges, however ('Grace after Grace-John 1:16', *BSac* 135 [1978], 34-45), not only ascribes vv. 16-18 to John the Baptist, but accepts them as historically authentic.



'some that only v. 15 comes from the Baptist himself, and proceeds to the second testimony in his sequence (i.e. w. 19-23): 'In addition to the previously-mentioned testimony of the Baptist (beginning with "The one coming after me has taken precedence over me" and reading as far as "he has declared him,'), this (after that one) is the second testimony of John when he confessed to those who sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem'? Both in quoting w. 15-18 in full and here where he quotes only the beginning and end of it, Origen omits entirely the textually disputed phrase and begins the Baptist's first testimony with the words *ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος.* His full quotation of 1:15-18, in fact, begins rather loosely with an abbreviated paraphrase of v. 15a (*ὃς μαρτυρῶν κέκραγε λέγων, ὁ ὀπίσω μου . . .*) linking 1:7 to 1: 15-18.

This passage therefore has no *direct* bearing on the textual problem of John 1:15. It does suggest that Origen considered the phrase in question not as words of John the Baptist, but apparently as part of the introduction to the testimony, and therefore as something dispensable. Origen does not represent the Baptist as quoting something he had said earlier (as in text form I), but as testifying directly and immediately to Jesus. This is consistent with text form II, even though the passage cannot be adduced in explicit support of that reading.

(a) VI.3. As he comes to speak in more detail about the 'second recorded testimony of John the Baptist about Christ', Origen finds occasion to look back at 'the first' (*ἡ προτέρα*), which begins, he says, with *οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπὼν* 'Ὁ *ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος* and continues as far as the words *μονογενὴς θεὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.*[14] Here Origen's support for text form II becomes explicit. The nature of his argument is somewhat the same as in II.35. Against Heracleon he maintains that not only w. 16-17 but v. 18 as well are to be attributed to John the Baptist. He accomplishes this by affirming a logical continuity of thought: a person who has 'received of the fullness of Christ and a second grace in addition to the first, and who acknowledges that the law was given through Moses, but that grace and truth came through Jesus Christ' would be able clearly to recognize (from this 'fullness' which he had received) the truth expressed in 1:18.[15]

[13] GCS 4, 94. [14] Ibid., 108. [15] Ibid., 109.

The passage differs from II.35 chiefly in that Origen develops the argument in more detail, and that he directs his logic against Heracleon in particular. He is therefore able to build his case on what Heracleon himself is willing to concede (i.e. that w. 16–17 at least *are* from John the Baptist).

(3) *VI.6.* Here Origen turns his attention once more to the relation between John 1: 15 and w. 16-18, apparently with the same group of disputants in mind as in II.35. He takes up in more detail the objection that 'John's earlier (ἡ προτέρα) testimony about Christ is found in the words "The one coming after me has taken precedence over me because he existed before me", but the words "For of his fullness we have all received and grace for grace", and so on, were spoken by the mouth of the disciple'.[16] Origen considers this a very forced interpretation. He insists that the speech of the Baptist would not have been so suddenly and awkwardly interrupted by that of John the disciple. Rather, it continues on after the words *οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπὼν* 'Ο ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν.

The statement that immediately follows, 'For of his fullness we have all received, and grace for grace', supplies the basis on which John is able to say 'He has taken precedence over me because he existed before me'. John the Baptist is able to recognize Jesus as 'being before me and having greatest honour with the Father', because both he and the prophets before him had received from Christ's fullness 'a more divine and greater and prophetic grace in place of the grace we had received from him by our own choice'. In receiving from this fullness, they understand that grace and truth came to man uniquely in Jesus Christ? A key to Origen's exegesis here is the conjunction ὅτι in v. 16a which he understands as meaning 'because'. Three times his use of διὰ τοῦτο drives home the point that w. 16–17 supply the reason why John is able to make the assertion found in v. 15.

If the thrust of the argument in VI.3 was to show the logical continuity of vv. 16–17 with v. 18, the thrust in VI.6 is to show the continuity of these same two verses with v. 15. The statement, 'of his fullness we have all received, and grace for grace',

[16] GCS 4, 113.

[17] **Ibid., 113–14; cf. the argument in Origen's discussion of 1: 15 in fragment 10 (ibid., 492–3).**



becomes for Origen the cement that holds together w. 15-18 in their entirety as a continuous speech of John the Baptist.

Where then are we left with regard to the textual question? In II.35, as we have seen, the disputed reading does not appear at all. The testimony of the Baptist begins with the words ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος and is introduced by the formula ὃς μαρτυρῶν κέκραγε λέγων (cf. John 1:15a: Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κέκραγεν λέγων). In VI.3 the words οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών are included, and in fact designated as the beginning of the Baptist's first testimony. But there is no other introductory formula ; the one using μαρτυρεῖν with κέκραγεν λέγων has disappeared. The same is true in VI.6, where Origen quotes the Baptist's testimony twice : the first time beginning with the words ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, and the second time beginning with οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπὼν 'Ο ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος. For the sake of the argument, it makes no difference to Origen whether οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών belongs to the testimony or not. His dispute with the opponents is over the exact place where the quotation *ends*, not over the words with which it begins. This suggests that for him οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών is not part of the actual words of John the Baptist, but rather an introductory formula serving much the same function as the μαρτυρῶν κέκραγε λέγων of II.35.

The two formulas, in fact, never appear *together* in Origen's exposition of John 1. In VI. 18, when he comes to v. 23 and the reference to the Baptist as 'a voice of one crying in the desert', Origen echoes once more the language of 1:15a: 'But he cries and shouts it (βοᾷ δὲ καὶ κέκραγεν) so that even those who are far away from the speaker may hear'. Adding that 'this is why Jesus stood and cried out' (cf. 7:37), Origen finally quotes 1:15a verbatim : 'This is also why John testifies about him and has cried out, saying . . .' (διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κέκραγεν λέγων). He goes on to speak of Isaiah (Isa. 40:6), Moses (Exod. 14: 15), and David (Ps. 76[77]:2) crying to the Lord.[18] Only here, in his exposition of John 1: 23, does Origen actually quote the first introductory formula of John 1: 15 word for word, and in doing so he breaks off abruptly after λέγων, without repeating the content of John's testimony or reintroducing the difficult and awkward οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών. His concern here is to collect some significant uses of βοᾶν and κράζειν

[18] **Ibid., 127.**

that shed light on 1: 23. There is such a use of *κράζειν* very close at hand, in 1: 15, but Origen knows that it would only confuse his readers to keep reminding them that in 1: 15 he has one more introductory formula than he needs. So he quotes only as much of the verse as is necessary to make his point, even though it means breaking off a quotation with *λέγων*. Thus in VI. 18 Origen stops just short of introducing (in all likelihood) yet a third witness to his distinctive reading *οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών* in John 1: 15.

Our survey of passages in Origen's *Commentary on the Gospel of John* indicates that text form II is indeed the reading with which Origen is familiar. He assumes it to be original, and gives no evidence of knowing any other.[19] Yet it is not a reading which particularly helps him in his exegetical argument against those who want to end the Baptist's words after v. 15 or v. 17. On the contrary, it is a given, something Origen has to work around. His chief concern in VI.3 and VI.6 is to demonstrate continuity, and the reading *οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών* violates continuity. It implies an interruption in the train of thought. Origen appears to have understood it in much the same way as WH, as if it were set off by dashes: 'John testifies about him and has cried out, saying—this was the one who said [it]—"The one coming after me has taken precedence over me, because he existed before me"'. As we have seen, Origen regards it as an extra introductory formula to the quotation, one which he really does not need. At least he does not need *both* it and the words which precede it. Therefore, in each of the relevant passages he makes a choice. In II.35 he uses *only μαρτυρῶν κέκραγε λέγων* as an introduction, while in VI.3 and VI.6 he uses *only οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών*. In VI.18 he cites the first introductory formula verbatim, but then omits both the *οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών* and the quotation which follows it as well. Thus he effectively conceals the fact that there is an anacoluthon in his text, His opponents, after all, are the ones who

[19] Cf. Blanc (SC 157), 154. The UBSGNT[3] apparatus includes Origen as also supporting text form I. But this is surely in error. Probably the editors were following Tischendorf, who antedates the recognition of Codex Monacensis 191 as the prototype of all other MSS (see n. 21 below). In *engast.* 7 (GCS 3, 291.4) Origen says: '... *Ἰωάννης ὁ εἰπών. οὗτός ἐστι περὶ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον· ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν*'. But this is a conflation of 1: 15 and 1: go-and a corrupt one at that, since Origen's text of 1: 30 is clearly *ὑπὲρ* 03. Moreover, the use of *ὁ εἰπών* in this passage may actually be an echo of text form II!



are arguing for a break or interruption in the text. Origen wants to give the impression of coherence and continuity from the beginning of v. 15 all the way to the end of v. 18. His intention is not to mislead or wilfully to suppress relevant evidence. His concern is to show that the speech of John the Baptist is a logical unity through v. 18, and since the introductory formulas are not part of the speech proper, they are of little consequence. But for Origen to expose the fact that his text had in it a parenthetical break would only confuse the issue. To put it bluntly, Origen adopts the reading *οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών* (and in fact appears to have known no, other), yet in developing his exegetical argument manages quietly to 'sweep it under the rug'. There is every reason to assume that it was also the reading known to Origen's opponents, including Heracleon. At least if they followed a different text, they seem not to have made an issue of it. The reading was no help to them either because it involved a break within v. 15 rather than between w. 15 and 16.

Text form II in John 1: 15 is thus a very ancient reading, older than Origen.[20] Exactly how much older is difficult to say. Not only was *ὁ εἰπών* a troublesome reading to Origen himself, but the fact that it was changed to *ὃν εἶπον* in later MSS of Origen's *Commentary on John*,[21] as well as in those few NT MSS which preserved it (e.g. B and C), indicates the degree to which it continued to be perceived as a difficult reading.[22] Unless we

[20] Its antiquity is admitted even by commentators who reject it: e.g. Barrett, *St. John*, 167; R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John* (3 vols.; New York: Seabury, 1980–), 1.274. Bernard (*St. John*, 1.27) prefers text form I 'despite the inferiority of its attestation'.

[21] Many of the early editions of Origen's *Commentary on John* were based on MSS in which this had taken place (e.g. Migne PG 14, esp. 201, 209; cf. ANF 10: 297–408, esp. 350, 352). The modern critical editions of Brooke (1896), E. Preuschen (GCS; 1903), and Blanc (SC; 1966), based on M (the thirteenth century Codex Monacensis 191), agree on *ὁ εἰπών* as the original reading in the two relevant passages of the *Commentary*. See Blanc's note (*Origène* [SC 157], 154), and the evidence assembled by Brooke (*The Commentary of Origen on S. John's Gospel* [2 vols.; Cambridge University Press, 1896], 1.ix–xxi) and Preuschen (GCS 4, xxxiv–xl), that M is the prototype of all other known MSS. E. A. Abbott, still following the older editions as late as 1906, argued that Origen's 'context, protesting against the view that the Baptist's words are "broken" by the evangelist's, favours *εἶπον*' (*Johannine Grammar* [London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906], 367)!

What is true of Origen is true of Cyril as well. In *Arcad.* 183 (see n. 2 above), the earlier and better MSS of Cyril (VSA) read *ὁ εἰπών*, while *ὃν εἶπον* is read by D and followed by Migne (PG 76. 13 13).

[22] Even in the process of translation, text form I intrudes without apparent reason. As we have seen, Blanc reads *ὁ εἰπών* both in VI.3 and VI.6. In VI.6

arbitrarily assume a very early copyist's mistake, we must give careful consideration to the possibility that text form II may represent the original text of John.

Before assessing the respective cases for text forms I and II, it is worth while inquiring whether there are any alternatives to the *interpretation* of text form II presupposed by both Origen and WH: i.e. simply as a redundant introductory formula reiterating the obvious fact that John the Baptist is the speaker. Once we take seriously the idea that there is a break or anacoluthon in the text (as we must if we attempt to do anything at all with text form II), *we* are compelled to ask at what point the main thought of the sentence is resumed. The answer is not obvious. Instead of thinking only of οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών as being 'set off by dashes, it is possible to think of the dashes as enclosing these words *together with the* quotation which they introduce, i.e.. the remainder of v. 15. This would yield the following construction of vv. 15-16 (since it is an alternative proposal for translating text form II, we may call it IIa):

> John testifies about him and has cried out, saying-he it was who said 'The one coming after me has taken precedence over me because he existed before me'-that 'Of his fullness we have all received, and grace for grace'.

This possibility must be advanced with caution in view of the apparent agreement among Origen, WH, and the *Textual Commentary* that only οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών should be set off by dashes. But translation IIa does have certain advantages. For example, the interruption in v. 15b serves to reinforce the identification of John the Baptist made already in v. 6 by referring back to a traditional testimony of the Baptist, the same one which the Baptist himself is made to cite in 1:30, but one which never occurs in the Fourth Gospel in a historical context of its own. This saying is part of the pre-Johannine material known to the evangelist and perhaps to his readers as well. It becomes here the reference point for the introduction of a new and present testimony of the Baptist in v. 16: John who once *said,* The one coming after me has taken precedence over me because he existed before me', now says, 'Of his fullness we have all received,

she translates the clause correctly: 'C'est lui qui a dit' (*Origène* [SC 157], 155). But in VI.3 she unaccountably reverts to 'C'est de lui que j'ai dit' (ibid., 139)!



and grace for grace'. Many commentators have argued that the verbs μαρτυρεῖ (present) and κέκραγεν (perfect, used as a present) introduce not a past historical testimony of the Baptist, but his present word to the Church, understood as a living and continuing witness.[23] An analogy for such an interpretation may be found in John 3: 27-36, where it is by no means clear at what point the Baptist's historical words to his questioners leave off and his present testimony to the readers of the Fourth Gospel begins. (The same is true, as has often been noted, of Jesus' words to Nicodemus in 3: 10-21.)

Translation IIa also has the effect of joining the λέγων of v. 15 with the ὅτι that begins v. 16. All that comes between is taken as parenthetical, and the ὅτι is understood as 'that' rather than 'because'. It must be noted that the ὅτι itself presents a textual problem. When it is rendered 'because', its connection with what precedes is not immediately apparent, despite Origen's ingenious efforts in his *Commentary VI.6* to demonstrate continuity. Not surprisingly, therefore, a simple καί has been substituted for ὅτι in a great number of MSS (e.g. A W Θ it$^{aur\ c\ f}$ vg syr$^{c,p}$ Byz). But by far the stronger body of evidence favours ὅτι as the original reading (e.g. $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ ℵ B C D it$^{rell}$ cop Origen). The ὅτι is well explained on the hypothesis that it continues from μαρτυρεῖ . . . καὶ κέκραγεν λέγων of v. 15a, after the interruption of v. 15b, and is to be translated as 'that'. The MSS that support text form II in v. 15b (e.g. the first hand of B and C, as well as Origen) also support ὅτι in v. 16a. The two readings may very well be related. Once text form II is rejected, ὅτι becomes problematic. Though Origen retains text form II, he gives it (as we have seen) a very low profile; the ὅτι of v. 16, on the other hand, he tries boldly to turn to his exegetical advantage, but few subsequent commentators have found his efforts convincing. If text form II is accepted as original, a substantial case can be made for reading it according to translation IIa, i.e. as assigning a parenthetical character to the *whole* of the traditional logion found in John 1:15b and not just to the words οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών.

[23] E.g. Schnackenburg, St. John, 1.274; Bernard, *St. John*, 1.27; Barrett, St. John, 167; Bultmann, John, 75; E. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), 151; B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1972), 96.

Given this alternative way of making sense of text form II, the question remains whether the reading itself is the original one, or whether the majority has been right all along in preferring text form I. The decision is far from easy. It must always be kept in mind that we are dealing with only two words, and differences involving only a long or short *-o* sound and the presence or absence of a final *Nu*. Such details could easily have become accidentally confused in reading or in hearing very early in the Fourth Gospel's textual history.[24]

In working toward a solution of the textual problem, it is necessary to take account of external evidence, Johannine style, and transcriptional probabilities.

1. *External Evidence*

Text form II has been shown to be a very ancient Alexandrian reading. The combined witness of Origen and Cyril makes it unlikely that *ὁ εἰπών* in the first hand of B and C is merely accidental. On the other hand, text form I has far more diversified strength, including equally early Alexandrian support (𝔓[66] and 𝔓[75]). If the two papyri (or even one of them) had agreed with Origen and B, the question would doubtless have been reopened some time ago. But as it is, Bernard's remark about the 'inferior attestation' of text form I[25] can no longer be sustained (if it ever could). Though text form II deserves serious consideration on the basis of Origen's *Commentary*, the external evidence still favours text form I.

2. *Johannine Style*

Text form I, as we have seen, places John 1:15b among the self-citations of the Fourth Gospel. The self-citation is a characteristically Johannine literary device. Fifteen times Jesus cites statements he has made earlier in the narrative. Seven of these are citations of statements in the immediate context (1:50; 3:7; 4:10; 8:24; 16:15; 16:19; 18:8); four are taken from a larger context (6:65; 13:33; 14:28; 15:20), and in four other cases it is not clear where they come from, or whether they

[24] J. Finegan (*Encountering New Testament Manuscripts* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974], 129) assumes that this is what happened in Codex B. A glance at his photocopy of John 1:14-41 according to B, line 7 (ibid., 130) shows how difficult it is to be sure.

[25] See n. 20.



are intended as exact citations or general summaries (6:36; 10:36; 11:40; 14:2).[26]

The only other person who cites himself in this way is John the Baptist, and (leaving aside 1:15) he does so twice (1:30; 3:28). In 3:28, the earlier statement is identifiable only in part (cf. 1:20).[27] In 1:30 the statement is essentially (though not verbally) the same as in 1:15. Yet the citation is not of 1:15b itself but of the logion that lies behind it. Strictly speaking, John 1:30 (like four of Jesus' self-citations) refers back to a statement that is never recorded directly in the Gospel itself. At most it could be argued that (as in 3:28) *part* of the quotation is found in the preceding narrative, i.e. in the phrase *ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος* in 1:27. A more plausible theory, however, is that the latter phrase too is an echo of the same pre-Johannine logion that is cited (whether by the Baptist or the evangelist) in 1:15 and by the Baptist in 1:30. In any event it is clear that the understanding implicit in text form I (i.e. that John 1:15b is a self-citation of John the Baptist) is thoroughly in accord with the literary style of the Fourth Gospel.

If text form II (with translation IIa particularly in mind) is adopted in John 1:15b, then this clause is not a self-citation by the Baptist, but a parenthetical remark by the evangelist identifying John the Baptist as the one about to testify. If self-citations are characteristic of the fourth evangelist's usage, parenthetical remarks of this kind are no less so. Again and again, this Gospel breaks the flow of its narrative to introduce brief explanations such as, 'And they were sent from the Pharisees' (1:24); 'These things happened in Bethany beyond the Jordan, where John was baptizing' (1:28); 'It was about the tenth hour' (1:39); 'although Jesus himself was not baptizing, only his disciples' (4:2); 'For Jews avoid contact with Samaritans' (4:9); 'But boats from Tiberias had come near to the place where they had eaten the bread after the Lord gave thanks' (6:23). The list could be extended almost indefinitely through John's Gospel.[28]

[26] These are conveniently collected and discussed by G. Fischer (*Die himmlischen Wohnungen: Untersuchungen zu Joh 14, 2f* [European University Papers, ser. 23: Theology, 38; Bern: H. Lang; Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1975]), 43-53.

[27] Cf. C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1963), 271-2.

[28] Cf. M. C. Tenney, 'The Footnotes of John's Gospel', *BSac* 117 (1960), 350-64

The Johannine parenthetical remarks vary greatly in purpose and in their similarity to translation **IIa** of John 1: 15. Some of them serve as identifications ; e.g. in 11: 2, Mary (like John the Baptist in 1: 15) is identified with reference to something not mentioned before in John's Gospel (i.e. her anointing of Jesus, finally narrated in 12 : 3). An even closer parallel is 21:20, where the beloved disciple is introduced in the context of final predictions about Peter and himself. Though he has been mentioned four times before in the Gospel and is presumably well known to the readers, the evangelist identifies him once more in terms of the setting in which he was first introduced, the last supper. He is identified not only by what he did on that occasion (i.e. leaned close to Jesus' breast) but by what he 'said' (καὶ εἶπεν): 'Lord, who is the one betraying you ?' In similar fashion, 'John', so abruptly introduced in 1:15a, is at once identified (according to translation **IIa**) by something he is known to have said (ὁ εἰπών), even though the readers need no such identification. The identifying comment is made more for emphasis and rhetorical effect than for the readers' information. It provides in passing a supporting testimony for Jesus' pre-existence, but in essence it is preliminary to what the Baptist says *now* (i.e. v. 16) just as 21: 20 is preliminary to information about the beloved disciple's future (vv. 21-3), and 11: 2 is preliminary to the role that Mary will play in the story of Lazarus (vv. 28-32). It may of course be objected that 21: 20 is not an original part of the Fourth Gospel, but was added at a late stage of its composition. But the same has been said of the prologue itself.[29] Since both passages are an integral part of the Gospel as it now stands, and since parenthetical remarks for purposes of explanation or identification are characteristic of the Gospel as a whole, the functional similarity between the two statements deserves notice.[30]

On the basis of Johannine characteristics, there is thus little to

[29] R. E. Brown, for example, assigns both the prologue and chap. 21 to his redactional fifth and final stage of the Gospel's composition (*The Gospel* according *to* John *(i-xii)* [AB 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966]), xxviii.

[30] For what it is worth, one NT parallel to translation IIa outside of John's Gospel is also to be noted. In Acts 1: 15, Luke makes a sharp break between the verb εἶπεν and the quotation it introduces in order to remark parenthetically, 'There was a crowd of about a hundred and twenty persons gathered'. This is very similar to the proposed break in John 1:15-16 between λέγων and the ὅτι clause which it introduces.



choose between text forms I and II. Both are in keeping with the evangelist's style and method, particularly when text form II is construed along the lines of translation **IIa.**

### 3. *Transcriptional Probabilities*

One possible reconstruction of the textual history of John 1:15 is that text form I was original, and was changed to II because in the Johannine account the Baptist had not in fact previously uttered the words, 'The one coming after me has taken precedence over me, because he existed before me'.[31] But the same problem exists in 1: 30, where the MS tradition shows no sign of attempting to remove the difficulty, and in four of Jesus' self-citations as well (6: 36; 10: 36; 11: 40; 14: 2). There is no evidence that copyists sensed these as difficulties that had to be corrected.[32] Moreover, if text form II is understood in terms of translation **IIa,** then it too refers back to a statement not previously recorded in the Gospel. In that case, the supposed alteration of ὃν εἶπον to ὁ εἰπών accomplished nothing. Still, the possibility of such a development cannot be ruled out.

The priority of text form II can also be argued on transcriptional grounds. Because of its awkwardness, text form II could have been changed to I' because of the known technique of self-citation, and because of 1: 30 in particular. The easiest and most natural way to conform 1:15 to 1: 30 would have been to change ὁ εἰπών to ὃν εἶπον.[33] In fact, the reason why 1: 15, according to text form I, is not a more exact parallel to v. 30 (οὗτός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον) could be that it came into being as a result of just such a minimum alteration in an original text form II. This would help to explain the troublesome ἦν in 1: 15, rather than the more natural ἐστίν, which is used in v. 30.[34] The ἦν is perfectly at home in the setting of text form II

[31] See above, n. 7.

[32] The only possible exception is 14: 2, where the absence of ὅτι in some MSS may be attributable to the desire to make the words 'I go to prepare a place for you' the beginning of a new sentence rather than a self-citation.

[33] This is precisely what happened in all five of the witnesses to this text form: B, C, $\aleph^a$, Origen, and Cyril. See above, n. 21. I know of no MS of the NT or of a Church Father which exhibits a change in the opposite direction.

[34] This difficulty is noted, e.g. by Barrett (St. John, 167–8), Schnackenburg (*St. John*, 1.274), and L. Morris (*The Gospel* according *to John* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971], 108). Interestingly enough, Epiphanius, whose citing habits are notoriously loose (see G. D. Fee, *JBL* 90 [1971], 368–70; review of L. A. Eldridge,

because the statement looks back on John the Baptist's historical career and his traditional testimony to Jesus from the later perspective of the evangelist.[35] It is less appropriate (though not impossible) in text form I, where it implies that the Baptist now looks back on the historical career of Jesus from *his* later perspective-whatever that might be! But if John the Baptist is in some sense a living and present figure to the evangelist, surely Jesus is no less so. Therefore **ἐστίν** might have been expected here, just as in 1:30. But **ἦν** is a key verb form in the Johannine prologue (with eleven occurrences, as against none for **ἐστίν**),[36] and (along with **ἐγένετο**) a characteristic mark of the narrator's style.

Although neither of these reconstructions of the textual history of John 1: **15** is wholly convincing, it is somewhat easier to understand how text form II might have been changed to I than the other way around. The external evidence thus points in one direction and the transcriptional probabilities in the other, while both readings display the characteristic of Johannine style.

The most significant conclusion to be drawn from this study is that the choice between **ὃν εἶπον** and **ὁ εἰπών** in John 1: 15 is a far more difficult one than has commonly been assumed. Whichever reading is adopted should be assigned a 'C' or a 'D', not an 'A' rating. Less significant is my own tentative (and subjective) conclusion that the internal evidence, combined with Origen's witness to the great antiquity of text form II, tends to vindicate the judgement of WH at this point. Realistically, it is improbable that the weight of critical opinion will shift in their favour unless new external evidence comes to light. All that can be reasonably expected is that text form II will be given serious consideration and its implications carefully explored. Translation IIa in particular opens up some options in such an undertaking.

Some brief comments about these wider implications. If we were to take the bold step of accepting text form II and the bolder one of adopting translation IIa, what then?

The **Gospel** *Text of Epiphanius of Salamis),* **'cites' John 1: 14-15 twice using** *ἐστίν (ah. haer. 51.4.7 [GCS* **2, 252]; 65.5.6 [GCS 3, 7]). However, in 51.12.8 (GCS 2, 265) he uses the standard** *ἦν.*

[35] **Cf. the** *ἦν* **in John 1: 8, and (on the lips of Jesus) in 5: 35.**

[36] **i.e. none except for a textual variant in 1: 4 (see** *Textual Commentary,* 196). **Cf. Morris,** *John, 108.*



**If v. 16** is indeed a quotation dramatically attributed to John the Baptist and introduced by **λέγων** . . . **ὅτι,** where does the quotation end ? We are left with the same problem that concerned Origen. Do we, with Origen, extend the words of the Baptist through v. 18, or, with Heracleon, end them after v. 17 and assign v. 18 to the evangelist ? Or is the dramatic quotation limited to v. 16 ? The **ὅτι** of v. 17 (this time meaning 'because') introduces a comment explaining the phrase 'grace for grace' in v. 16b : the grace of the law given through Moses gives way to the 'grace and truth' that comes in Jesus Christ. An explanatory remark of this kind is more plausibly attributed to the evangelist than to John the Baptist. Verse **18** can then be understood as the evangelist's summary of the prologue, focusing on its central theme of revelation.

This line of argument suggests that Origen and Heracleon were both wrong : the dramatic citation of what John the Baptist now 'says' ends with v. 16, and from there on the evangelist speaks for himself. It may be that v. **16** represents a prophetic utterance known to the evangelist and given in the name of John the Baptist. In v. 15 the evangelist provides a setting or a reference point for this utterance by linking it with a traditional saying of the Baptist widely known among his readers: 'The one coming after me has taken precedence over me, because he existed before me'. The Baptist who once said A now says B. The new testimony reinforces the testimony of the evangelist's own community in v. 14 ('dwelt among us ... *we* beheld his glory'). Then v. 17 explains the concluding phrase of the new testimony in terms of the 'grace and truth' previously mentioned in v. 14.

By now the evangelist has merged his own words so thoroughly with the words attributed to John the Baptist that it is neither possible nor necessary to distinguish between them with certainty. The **ἡμεῖς πάντες** of v. 16 corresponds closely to the **ἐν ἡμῖν** of v. 14, while the **ἐλάβομεν** of v. **16** serves as the confessional counterpart to the **ἔλαβον** of v. **12.** There is no reason to interpret these terms differently depending on whether the Baptist or the evangelist is the speaker. John the Baptist, in fact, has become the spokesman for the evangelist and his readers, not (as Origen thought) for the OT prophets,[37] and yet not as standing over

[37] *Commentary VI.6 (GCS 4,* 114). **Cf. Barrett,** *St. John,* **168.**

against them either. He simply becomes the vehicle for the testimony of all who have received the 'fullness' of what Jesus **Christ** came to bring, It is no coincidence that Christians in many generations have made his words their own, both here and in his last dramatic testimony to Christ in 3 :29–30: 'therefore this joy of mine is now full. He must increase, but I must decrease'. In all likelihood, the characteristically Johannine depiction of John the Baptist as a confessing Christian[38] lies at the root of the textual problem of John 1: 15 and of the ancient disputes over the identity of the speaker in w. 16-18.

[38] See W. Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (SNTSMS 7; London/New York: Cambridge University, 1968), 105–6.

# 8. John 1:18 in Textual Variation and Translation

PAUL R. McREYNOLDS

THE merits of the variant *υἱός* or *θεός* in John 1: 18 have been variously argued by text critics from Ezra Abbot[1] in 1861 and F. J. A. Hort[2] in 1876 to B. A. Mastin[3] in 1975. The evidence accumulated since Abbot and Hort has presented an increasingly strong case for the *θεός* reading. More and more critical texts have adopted *θεός*; however, commentators and translators have been generally reluctant to accept that reading as the original or as the better of the two available readings. This article will give a brief review of the text-critical evidence from the classical approach of the external evidence of documents and the internal evidence of the text. Then a review will be made of modern translations with some observations concerning their use of the text-critical evidence.

## I

A. Greek critical texts are in agreement about the Greek MS evidence for the various readings.

| | |
|---|---|
| *μονογενὴς θεός* | $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ ℵ* B C* L |
| *ὁ μονογενὴς θεός* | $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ $ℵ^{c}$ 33 |
| *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός* | A $C^{c}$ K $W^{supp}$ X A Θ II Y 063 $f^{1}$ $f^{13}$ *Byz* |

It will be noted that *θεός* has the support of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ and $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, both dated at the beginning of the third century and both fairly good

[1] E. Abbot, 'On the Reading "Only-Begotten *God*", in John 1.18. With Particular Reference to the Statements of Dr. Tregelles', *BSac* 18 (1861), 840–72; see also 'On the Reading "*An* Only-Begotten *God*", or "*God* Only-Begotten", John I.18', *Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine* 3 (1875), 560–71. Both articles reprinted in *Critical Essays* (Boston: Ellis, 1888), 24x-7 and 272-85. All further references in this paper are to the original *BSac* article.

[2] F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations* (Cambridge/London: Macmillan, 1876), 1-72.

[3] B. A. Mastin, 'A Neglected Feature of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel', *NTS* 22 (1975/76), 32–51, esp. 37–41.

representatives of the Alexandrian text. When the evidence of ℵ B C L is added, it becomes evident that this is indeed an Alexandrian reading. On the other hand, the Greek evidence for ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός comes from the Caesarean and Byzantine text-types.

The reading of the article before μονογενής is not well attested as original, since only 𝔭[75] of the early Alexandrians has it by the original scribe. The critical issue for this paper revolves around the reading θεός or υἱός; however, the ὁ added before μονογενὴς θεός seems to add difficulty to that reading, since with the article the translation would seem to be, 'the only begotten God who is in the bosom of the Father (God)'. That kind of understanding, however, would probably not have been as difficult for scribes as μονογενής and θεός in apposition. Westcott also claims that the substitution of God for Son would not explain the omission of the article in the reading μονογενὴς θεός, while, on the contrary, the substitution of *Son* for God would naturally carry with it the addition of the article.[4]

Many commentators agree that the MS evidence strongly supports μονογενὴς Ms, even though for other reasons they select ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός as the authentic reading.[5]

Though the geographical spread is not wide, both the early date of the MSS and their text (Alexandrian), which is generally accepted as more accurate, favour μονογενὴς θεός as the original reading.

B. Versional MS evidence:

| | |
|---|---|
| μονογενὴς θεός | $cop^{bo}$ $syr^{p,hmg}$ $eth^{ro}$ |
| ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός | $it^{pl}$ vg $syr^{c,h,pal}$ arm $eth^{pp}$ geo |
| ὁ μονογενής | $vg^{X\ gat}$ [unigenitus] Diatessaron |
| μονογενὴς υἱὸς θεοῦ | $it^{q}$ [unigenitus filius dei] $cop^{sa}$ [pnoute psēre ᵉnouōt] |

In evaluating this evidence, the most striking witness for μονογενὴς θεός is the Peshitta. Its significance lies in the fact that it generally supports the Byzantine text, not the Alexandrian. The Harclean margin also reads μονογενὴς θεός. In the normally

4 B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel According to St. John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967), 33 (reprinted from *The Speaker's Commentary*, 1881); cf. Jack Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 175.

5 See e.g. the commentaries by E. Hoskyns (1947), R. H. Lightfoot (1956), and C. K. Barrett (1956).



Alexandrian versional evidence of the Bohairic, there is support for μονογενὴς θεός, but the Sahidic along with the OL Codex Monacensis (q) read a text which is either a conflation of the other two readings or has been influenced by the language of John 3 : 18 (cf. the OL *a* on John 1 : 14). The only other versional evidence for μονογενὴς θεός is the Ethiopic (Rome edition of Tasfā-Ṣeyōn, 1548–9), a version which has been influenced, according to Metzger, by the Coptic, Arabic, and Syriac versions.[6]

The versional evidence supplies us with yet another variant: two Vulgate MSS read *unigenitus* ('only-begotten') without either Son or God. This may have been a rather clever way of deciding between two variations, with some aid from John 1 : 14 where the term stands by itself, although it is much more likely that these two MSS have simply suffered the omission of *filius*. There is also some evidence that this was the reading of the Diatessaron.[7] Although this reading has had recent scholarly support,[8] the evidence in its favour seems too scanty to receive serious consideration as the original.

This versional evidence shows that θεός and υἱός are both early readings and both have some geographical spread, although υἱός clearly dominated in the West, while the evidence is more evenly distributed in the East.

C. Greek patristic evidence :[9]

μονογενὴς θεός Valentinians (*c.*170 : 1),[10] Irenaeus$^{lat}$ (d.

6 B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 233.

7 This is the reading of Ephraem, both Syriac and Armenian. For the Syriac evidence, see Tj. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage:* I. *Aphrahat's Text of the Fourth Gospel* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 1975), 70–2.

8 See e.g. M.-E. Boismard, *St. John's Prologue* (London: Aquin, 1957), 65-6; id., 'Dans le sein du Père (*Jo.* 1, 18)', *RB* 59 (1952), 23–39; cf. J. N. Sanders, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St John* (ed. B. A. Mastin; HNTC; New York: Harper, 1968), 85. See also R. V. G. Tasker, *The Greek New Testament* (Oxford/Cambridge: University Presses, 1964), 425.

9 Some of the current testimony of the Fathers varies from Abbot and Hort (who anticipated that this would happen: see *Two Dissertations*, 5: 'Much of the uncertainty, though not all, will doubtless disappear when the Fathers have been carefully edited'). For this paper I have had access to the files of the International Greek New Testament Project, which had the complete attestation in the best critical editions of all the Greek Fathers through the fifth century. This material has been laboriously accumulated by Gordon D. Fee and is a part of the project anticipating further work on John.

[*Notes nos. 9 and 10 continued on p. 108*

**202 : 1),[11] Clement (d. 215 : 2),[12] Origen (d. 254: 4),[13] Eusebius (d. 339 : 4+1),[14] Serapion (d. 362 : 1),[15] Basil (d. 379 : 2),[16] Didymus (d. 398 : 4+1),[17] Gregory-Nyssa (d. 394 : 7+6),[18] Epiphanius (d. 403 : 4),[19] Cyril-Alexandria (d. 444: 9+2)[20]**

About the lists: the number in parentheses after the Father's date gives the number of citations or adaptations in the Father's extant writings; the second number gives allusions to the phrase *μονογενὴς θεός*; the bracketed items listed under *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός* are Fathers whose text of John 1: 18 almost certainly read *θεός*, but whose text has suffered corruption in the transmission process; Eusebius, Serapion, and Basil are listed in both places without brackets because they very likely (in Eusebius' case, certainly) knew both readings.

[10] For the discussion of this evidence, see Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 31-3, and Abbot, *BSac*, 853. Hort (pp. 30–1) incorrectly adduces Irenaeus as also supporting this as a Valentinian reading; but what he reads as *υἱὸν καὶ μονογενῆ θεόν* actually reads *υἱὸν καὶ μονογενῆ καὶ θεόν*. The UBSGNT[3] also lists Theodotus, Ptolemy, and Heracleon in support of *θεός*; but this also seems to be in error.

[11] Irenaeus cites the passage three times in *adv. haer.* (3.11.6; 4.20.6; 4.20.11). For the discussion, see Hort (pp. 33-4). Abbot (pp. 257-8) thinks the evidence favours *υἱός*, but Hort has correctly observed that the two *υἱός* readings have clearly been conformed to the OL, and that 'the *Deus* of the third quotation is unknown to Latin texts of St John, and therefore doubtless represents the Greek'.

[12] *str.* 5.81.3 (GCS 2, 380.10); *q.d.s.* 37.1 (GCS 3, 183.32). The UBSGNT[3] incorrectly has 'Clement[3/5]'. One of the three is in fact the Valentinian reference noted above (note 10); the two 'citations' with *υἱός* are in fact loose adaptations, one reflecting back on the Valentinian reference (*exc. Thdot.* 7.3 [GCS 3, 108.7]); the other reads: *ὁ τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξηγούμενος υἱὸς μονογενής* (*str.* 1.26.169 [GCS 2, 105.141).

[13] Jo. 2.35 (GCS 4, 93.30); *Jo.* 6.3 (GCS 4, 108.27); *Jo.* 32.20 (GCS 4, 461.29); Cels. 2.71 (GCS 1, 193.14). This last reference reads: *καὶ μονογενής γε ὢν θεὸς κτλ.*, a clear early witness as to how one should understand the reading *μονογενὴς θεός*. The citation preserved in Rufinus' translation of Origen's commentary on Song of Songs (GCS 8, 235.6), which reads *unigenitus filius*, is worthless as evidence of Origen's text.

[14] *e.th.* 1.9 (GCS 4, 68.3): *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ἢ μονογενὴς θεός*; *Ps.* 71: *16–17* (MPG 23.8200); Is. 41 (GCS 9, 36.8); Is. 2.51 (GCS 9, 378.39). Eusebius clearly knew both forms and cited now one, and then the other. See n. 31 below.

[15] *Man.* 48 (HTS 15, 67.18). This evidence is incorrectly listed by Abbot and the UBSGNT[3] as by Titus of Bostra. See R. P. Casey, *HTR* 21 (1928), 97–111.

[16] *S'iy.* 15 (SC 17, 130); *Spir.* 27 (SC 17, 155). For this last citation Pruche has inexplicably followed the MSS that read *υἱός*; *cf.* Johnston's edition (Oxford, 1892), 62.

[17] *Trin.* 1.26 (MPG 39.393a); *Trin.* 2.5 (MPG 39.496a); *Zach.* 5.33 (SC 85, 984.16); *Eccl.* *12: 5* (PTA 9, 356. 1).

[18] *Eun.* 3.1.48 (GNO 2, 20.14); ref. *Eun.* 8 (GNO 2, 315.27); *ref. Eun.* 61 (GNO 2, 337.1); ref. *Eun.* 162 (GNO 2, 380.26); *v.Mos.* 2 (GNO 7/1, 42.1); *hom.* *13* in *Cant.* (GNO 6, 381.6); *hom.* *15* in *Cant.* (GNO 6, 448.10).

[19] *anc.* 2.5 (GCS 1, 8.2); *anc.* 3.9 (GCS 1, 9.11); *haer.* 65.5.10 (GCS 3, 8.19); *haer.* 70.7.2 (GCS 3, 238.29).

[20] *Chr. un.* (SC 97, 768.39); *fr.Lc.* (MPG 72.488); *thes.* 13 (MPG 75.229); 30. 1.10 [6°] (Pusey 3, 154.4; 155.20; 156.15; 156.21; 159.20,22).



**Allusions = using the combination *μονογενὴς θεός*, but not in the context of a citation of John 1:18: Anthimus-Nicomed. (d. 302 : 1),[21] Asterius (d. 341 : 2),[22] Eunomius-Cyzicenus (d. 393 : 3),[23] Severian (d. 408 : 1),[24] Theodoret (d. 466 : 1)[25]**

***ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός* [Irenaeus], Hippolytus (d. 235: 1),[26] [Clement], [Origen[lat]], Hymenaeus (*c.* 270 : 1),[27] Alexander-Alex. (d. 328: 1),[28] Eustathius (d. 337: 1),[29] Ps-Dion. Alex. (3rd c. ? : 1),[30] Eusebius (d. 339 : 9),[31] Serapion (d. 362 : 1),[32] Julian (d. 363 : 2),[33] Athanasius (d. 373 : 3),[34] Basil (d. 379: 1),[35] Pseudo-Basil (4th c. ? : 1),[36] Gregory-Naz. (d. 390 : 1),[37] [Gregory-Nyssa],[38] Pseudo-Athanasius (4th c. : 3),[39] Chrysostom (d. 407 : 7),[40] Theodore-Mops. (d. 428 : 2),[41] Hadrian (5th c. : 1),[42] [Cyril-Alex.],43 Proclus (d. 446 : 1),[44] Nestorius (d. 451: 1),[45] Theodoret (d. 466 : 5)[46]**

**About this evidence the following observations need to be made :**

**1. There are eleven writers, with thirty-nine citations, who support *μονογενὴς θεός*. Most of these Fathers have more than**

[21] †*eccl.fr.* (ST 5, 97.58). The text reads: *ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ μονογενὴς θεὸς παρὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἰωάννην λέγοντα υἱὸν μονογενῆ προσερρύη.*

[22] *hom. 5 in Ps. 5* (Richard, 74.13) ; *fr.* 1 (Bardy, 342.5).

[23] *exp. fid.* 2 [3°] (Fabricius, 255.2; 256.24).

[24] *Abr.* 3 (MPG 56.557).

[25] *h.e.* 1.26.3 (GCS 19, 81.6). Theodoret, however, so clearly uses *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός* in his citations of John 1: 18 that the 'allusion' is much more likely the reflection of a well-known phrase than of his text of John 1: 18.

[26] *Noët.* 5 (Nautin, 245.3)

[27] *ep.* 7 (TU 44/5, 328.22).

[28] *ep. Alex.* 4 (Opitz, *Athanasiuswerke 3, 22.5*).

[29] *engast.* 18 (KIT 83, 46.2).

[30] *ep. Paul. Samos.* (SBBAW, 1927, 45).

[31] *e.th.* 1.9; 1.20 [4°]; 2.23 (GCS 4, 68.3; 83.20, 23, 30; 89.22; 134.23); *Ps. 73: 10–11* (MPG 23.860c); Is. 6: z (MPG 24.121d).

[32] *Man. 40* (HTS 15, 58.44).

[33] According to Cyril-Alexandria, *Juln.* 10 (MPG 76.1013) *bis*.

[34] *AY. 2.62* (MPG 26.280b); *decr.* 13.5 (Opitz 2, 11.38) ; *decr.* 21.4 (Opitz 2, 18.18).

[35] *ep.* 234.3 (Courtonne 3, 43.1).

[36] *hom. in Ps. 28 3* (MPG 30.77a).

[37] Or. 29.17 (Barbel, 156).

[38] *ep.* 1.16 (GNO 8/2, 8.3); *Eun.* 2.390 (*GNO* 1, 340.12).

39 This includes two different fourth-century authors: *Sabell.* 2 (MPG. 28.100b) and the 4th book against Arius, *AY. 4.20, 26* (Stegmann, 67.10, 74.17).

[40] Is. *interp.* 6.1 (MPG 56.68) ; *hom. in Jo. 5: zg 6* (MPG 56.256) ; *incomprehens. 4.3* (MPG 48.731) *bis; incomprehens.* 5.1 (MPG 48, 736); *scand. 3.6 (SC* 79, *76.10); [lemma] horn. 15 in Jo.* (MPG 59.97).

[41] *Ps. 34: 13* (ST 93, 184.22); *Jo.* 13 (ST 141, 316.7).

[42] *intyod.* 67 (Goessling, 94.4).

43 *Nest. 3.5* (ACO 1.1.6, 72.17); *thes. 35* (MPG 75.620).

[44] *horn.* 15.2 (MPG 65.801a).

[45] †*hom. fest.* 2 (*Traditio 9, 108).*

[46] *haey. 5.1; 5.2* (MPG 83.444c, 448c); *Is.* 6: z (Möhle, 30.31); *Ps. zog: z* (MPG 80. 1768c) ; *Trin. 6* (MPG 75. 1153b).

one citation. Some of them also support *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*, but only Eusebius (certainly), and Serapion and Basil (perhaps), give evidence to the actual knowledge of both readings.

In addition to these Fathers who have clear citations or adaptations of John 1: 18, there are five others who use the phrase *μονογενὴς θεός*. These allusions must be handled carefully and not pushed beyond what they actually bear witness to. But since there is no other NT passage with this expression, and since we know that John 1: 18 circulated widely in the second to the fourth century with this phrase, it is valid to assume (except for Theodoret) that the title was derived from John 1: 18 and that those Fathers are further evidence of this reading.

2. There are 20+ Fathers, with 40+ citations, who support the *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός* reading. Seventeen of these Fathers, with 31 citations, support no other reading. There are no allusions to support this reading since any reference to *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*, unless it denotes John 1: 18 content, could be an allusion to any of the other three passages in John's writings which contained *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*.

3. There are other Greek patristic references which appear in various combinations or shortened forms that do not support either reading. Most of these are by Fathers whose text is clearly demonstrated from other citations. Eusebius, for example, in his commentary on Ps. 67 : 2-4 (MPG 23.681d) reads *ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ*; Cyril in one place reads *ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος* (*apol. orient.* 84 ; ACO 1. 1.7, 55. 15) ; and Irenaeus, in one of his three citations, reads *unigenitus filius Dei* (*adv. haer.* 3. 11.6). This latter reading is often brought forward as supporting it$^{q}$,[47] but it scarcely does so. If this is the genuine text of Irenaeus, it is most likely a simple conformation to the language of John 3 : 18. None of these kinds of secondary readings within the Father's own citations can be given serious consideration as supporting an actual Greek text with such a reading.

4. The patristic evidence for *ὁ μονογενής* is also very slight, again certainly insufficient to regard it as supporting a viable variant. The UBSGNT³, for example, lists ten Fathers as supporting this text.[48] I have not been able to check all of these, but those

[47] The UBSGNT³ also includes Origen as supporting this reading, but this is a pre-critical edition carry-over.

[48] Origen, Jacob-Nisibis, Victorinus-Rome, Ephraem, Cyril-Jerusalem, Ambrose, Epiphanius, Nonnus, Nestorius, Ps-Ignatius.



that were analysed make one suspicious of the whole. On the Greek side, for example, Epiphanius has no such citation;[49] to list Origen here is simply an abuse of patristic evidence. His text, *ὁ μονογενὴς θεός*, is as certain as any evidence we have. It is true that in two passages in his commentary on John 1: 19 he does refer back to v. 18 and speak of *τὸν μονογενῆ εἰς τὸν κόλπον*,[50] but that scarcely suggests he is here citing a Greek text that had only *ὁ μονογενής*—especially so, since eleven lines earlier, where he is actually *citing* the text, he reads *μονογενὴς θεός* ! Cyril of Jerusalem? His text reads : ... *ὃν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν, ὁ μονογενὴς δὲ μόνος ἐξηγήσατο* (*catech.* 7. 11). Abbot argued that this 'silence' favours the reading *υἱός*, on the ground that 'if he had read *θεός* in this passage, it is improbable that he would have neglected so important a word'.[51] One could as easily argue that Cyril really favours *θεός*, and that this reading further supports the view that *ὁ μονογενής* and *θεός* were understood in apposition. In such an allusion he chose to use only one of the titles. But in any case, Cyril can hardly be called on to support the reading of *ὁ μονογενής* ; and the same is true of the 'citation' in Pseudo-Ignatius.

In fact the *only* citations among Greek Fathers that support this reading are not even listed in the UBSGNT³ : Pseudo-Athanasius, *qu.Ant.* 38 (MPG 28. 613d) and an unidentified citation in the catenae on the Psalms, edited by Corder.[52]

The Latin side fares no better. Ambrose and Victorinus-Rome are simply incorrectly listed ; both cite the text several times and always read *unigenitus filius*. The two Fathers (Eusebius-Vercellensis and Vigilius) who do have a citation with *unigenitus* alone also cite the text elsewhere with *filius*.[53]

Thus the only patristic support for this variant is in some Syriac Fathers (Aphrahat, Ephraem),[54] who are in fact witnesses to the Diatessaron rather than to a Greek text with this reading.

[49] This was based on an error in an older edition.

[50] *Jo.* 6.3 (GCS 4, 109.12); Jo. 6.13 (GCS 4, 122.4).

[51] *BSac*, 860.

[52] *cat. Ps.* 109: 1 (Corderius [ 16433, 3.244).

[53] Eus. Verc. *de Trin.* 3.69 (CChL 9, 49.631); Vigil. *Trin.* 3 (MPL 62.260a). For their citations with *filius*, see notes 61 and 70.

[54] See *supra*, note 7. The UBSGNT³ has Jacob-Nisibis for Aphrahat, but this has been clearly demonstrated to be in error. See e.g. Baarda, *Gospel Quotations*, 2–10.

The works of the Fathers are full of loose quotations, paraphrases, and abbreviated citations ; and since there is no Greek MS and only two rather insignificant Vg MSS plus the Diatessaron that support this reading, it seems strange that anyone would regard this variant to have any text critical value at all.

D. Latin patristic evidence :[55]

*unigenitus deus* [Hilary][56]

*unigenitus filius* Tertullian (d. 220 : 1),[57] Ambrosiaster (4th c. : 3),[58] Victorinus-Rome (d. 362 : 7),[59] Hilary (d. 367 : 7),[60] Eusebius-Vercellensis (d. 371: 1),[61] Faustinus (d. *c.*380: 3),[62] Gregory-Elvira (d. 392: 1),[63] Phoebadius (d. post 392: 1),[64] Ambrose (d. 397: 7),[65] Jerome (d. 420: 2),[66] Maximus-Turin (d. 423 : 1),[67] Augustine (d. 430 : 3),[68] Ps-Idacius Clarus (*c.*445–80: 3) ,[69] Vigilius-Tapsa (d. 484: 1)[70]

With regard to this evidence, the judgement of Hort still holds true : 'The Latin patristic evidence is properly speaking only a branch of the evidence of Latin versions'.[71] Thus, although this evidence supports *υἱός* exclusively, it does not add further weight to the existence of ***Greek*** MSS with this reading; for one can trace the same modifications in these Fathers that one finds, for example, between Codex Vercellensis (a) and the Vulgate.

55 This evidence does not purport to be as complete as on the Greek side. For much of these data I am indebted to Professor Fee.

56 *Trin.* 12.24 (MPL 10.448a). For the doubtful value of this evidence see Abbot, *BSac*, 864, n. 1.

57 *adv. Prax.* 15.6 (CChL 2, 1179.40).

58 *qu. V. et N. lest.* 71, 91.3, suppl. 30–1 (CSEL 50, 123.8, 153.21, 438.26). The second of these reads *unigenitusjlius dei.*

59 *ad Cand.* 16, 20 (SC 68, 152.16, 158.8); *adu. Ar.* 1.2, 1.4, 1.15, 4.8, 4.33 (SC 68, 192.21, 198.23, 222.45, 524.53, 598.13).

60 *tract. P.s. 138: 35* (CSEL 22, 768.27); *Trin. 2.23, 4.8, 4.42, 5.33, 5.34,* 6.39 (MPL 10.65c, 102a, 127a, 152b, 152c, 189b).

61 *de Trin.* 4.16 (CChL g, 60.134).

62 *Trin. 2.5* [3°] (MPL 13.54a–b).

63 *Tract. Orig.* 16.25 (CChL 69, 122.197).

64 *contra Ar. 12* (MPL 20.21d).

65 *Exp. Lc 1.25,* 2.12 (CChL 14, 19.387; 36.179); *Fid. 3.24* (MPL 16.594c); *Spir.* 1.26 (MPL 16.710c); *patr.* 11.51 (CSEL 32, 153.10); *Jos.* 14.84 (CSEL *32,* 122.9); *int. Job* 9.31 (CSEL 32, 232.1 1).

66 *in Ezech.* 13.44.1/3 (CChL 75, 646.1199); *in Zach.* 3.14.3/4 (CChL 76a, 873.73).

67 *serm. 100.2* (CChL *23,* 399.34).

68 *Tract. in Jo. 31.3, 35.5, 47.3* (CChL 36, 295.20, 320.9, 405.5).

69 *contra Varim.* 1.18, 1.63, 1.66 (CChL go, 32.1 1, 73.15, 75.20).

70 *Trin. 4* (MPL 62.265d).

71 Two *Dissertation, 43.*



All of these Fathers (including Jerome !) regularly cite the text, ***nisi unigenitus filius.*** **The** later Latin Fathers tend to conform to the Vulgate, ***unigenitus filius*** without ***nisi.***

The interpretation of patristic evidence has been problematic in general, and this is well illustrated through past studies of John 1: 18. For example, the occasion of Abbot's article was his running debate with Wetstein and Tregelles concerning the patristic citations for *θεός* and *vi&.* Abbot maintained that, unless a Father directly cites the author and passage, an expression like *μονογενὴς θεός* cannot be evidence of that reading for John 1: 18. Most of the references in Wetstein 'merely contain the ***expression*** *μονογενὴς θεός* or ***unigenitus dew,*** with no trace of an allusion to the text'.[72] Tregelles, on the other hand, argued that the peculiar expression *μονογενὴς θεός* was popular, and was so because it was biblical, i.e. from John 1: 18, so that where there are references to *μονογενὴς θεός,* it is evidence that this reading was authentic in John 1: 18. Somewhere between these two extremes there is a mean whereby patristic evidence can be sifted, weighed, and utilized.

Abbot, like many patristic scholars since, maintained the 'importance of carefully distinguishing express citations of a passage from mere allusions or references to it'. He also held in reference to patristic evidence that 'all critical editions of the Greek Testament hitherto published are very incomplete, and often untrustworthy'.[73] He further argued that where a Father had both ***θεός*** and ***υἱός,*** with ***υἱός*** predominating, ***υἱός*** has all the support of that Father, the assumption being that a Father would not knowingly perpetuate variations.74 But this conclusion may need to be challenged, since the publication of critical editions has shown that a Father's text often suffered corruption toward *ὁ μονογενὴς vi&,* but ***never*** in the other direction. Perhaps the model for the use of patristic evidence is still to be found in Hort's note A in his article 'On the Words *μονογενης θεος*'. Here he presents and discusses in context all the ante-Nicene patristic evidence for John 1: 18. It is this type of presentation which, though tedious, is an absolute necessity before one lists the Father in a critical apparatus or dares to create new variants on the basis of patristic support.

72 *BSac,* 842, 855–6, 868.

73 Ibid., 849.

74 Ibid., 866-7.

The use and abuse of patristic and versional material is further illustrated by the creation of a new reading of John 1:18 by M.-E. Boismard:[75] 'No one has ever seen God except the only begotten one that leads into the bosom of the Father'. This reading is created first by accepting the omission of ὁ ὤν with ℵ* and one OL MS (a), then accepting ὁ μονογενής without υἱός or θεός on dubious patristic evidence, and finally by inserting εἰ μή on the basis of W it^pl and the Latin Fathers. Even though Boismard's exegesis of this 'new' passage is excellent in the context of John 1:18, he himself realized the improbability of its authenticity when he concluded his article: 'Cette solution que nous proposons, ... présente des difficult& ... aucun Père n'ayant jamais compris le verset en ce sens. D'autre part, nous reconnaissons volontiers que beaucoup admettront difficilement comme originale la presence de εἰ μή dans le texte primitif de Jo., I, 18'.[76]

## II

In turning from the documents to the internal evidence of the readings themselves, the discussion will centre on the two really viable readings, ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός or μονογενὴς θεός, the other possibilities (ὁ μονογενής or ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς θεοῦ) having been virtually eliminated because of insufficient Greek documentary evidence for their existence.

It is rather clear that μονογενὴς θεός is the more difficult reading. The phrase ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός has two later parallels in John's Gospel, plus 1 John 4: 9. The variant ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός in John 1:18, therefore, may be a scribal attempt to assimilate a difficult text to a more traditional reading.

The more critical canon for scribal tendencies prefers the reading which best explains the rise of all other readings. A scribe is likely to have changed μονογενὴς θεός to ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός with just a few strokes of the pen. That any scribe would have changed υἱός to θεός defies imagination. Some scholars, however, maintain that it could have happened by accident,[77] by confusion of the abbreviations ΥC/ΘC, or as an unconscious

[75] 'Dans le sein', 23–39.

[76] Ibid., 39.

[77] Allen Wikgren uses transcriptional error as his reason for filing a minority opinion on this text in B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 198.



substitution under the influence of the preceding θεόν. However, this 'accident' would have had to have occurred very early for both variants to have survived, and one such occurrence seems unlikely to have caused so much support so early. Boismard contends that the θεός reading was introduced as a weapon against those who questioned the divinity of Jesus.[78] However, its widespread use in the second century by both Gnostics and their opponents seems to rule against this. Bultmann holds that the context demands υἱός and that the alteration was probably an error in dictation. However, an error in dictation is more likely to have worked the other way, since υἱός is the more common term, as Bultmann himself admits.[79] Furthermore, the presence of the article, which is necessary to make a more sensible reading for υἱός, can hardly be explained in either case as the result of an accident.

In terms of intrinsic probabilities, i.e. what the original writer was most likely to have written, we find many contrary views among the commentators.

Boismard states that the major difficulty in terms of context is that it would be strange for John to adopt this title of 'God' to describe the only begotten one, who is to reveal God, immediately after he says, 'no one has ever seen God'.[80] However, that difficulty disappears when one understands the entire phrase as a series of appositions, i.e. 'No one has ever seen God; the only begotten, God, the one in the Bosom of the Father, that one has explained him'. This latter interpretation has been suggested by Bernard,[81] Schnackenburg,[82] and Reim.[83] Not only does this erase a difficulty, but it also excellently summarizes the content of the prologue by taking the term 'God' from v. 1 and 'only begotten' from v. 14 and combining them with the assurance of the Revealer's closeness to the Father, and then stating, again summarily, 'that one has explained him'. Westcott summarized this argument well: 'An examination of the whole

[78] Boismard, *Prologue*, 65.

[79] R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 82.

[80] Boismard, *Prologue*, 65.

[81] J. H. Bernard, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to John* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), 1.31.

[82] R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Freiburg: Herder, 1965), 1.255.

[83] G. Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (SNTSMS 22; London/New York: Cambridge University, 1974), 259.

structure of the prologue leads to the same conclusion. The phrase, which has grown foreign to our ears, though it was familiar to early Christian writers, gathers up the two thoughts of sonship and deity, which have been separately affirmed of the Word (w. 14, 1)'.[84]

Sanders revives the suggestion of Blass and Resch that the original text had only ὁ μονογενής and that the relative OC (= ὅς) was inserted and then misread as ΘC. There is actual MS evidence for this confusion at 1 Tim. 3 : 16. The problem with this suggestion, as pointed out by Lindars, is that it is difficult to understand how OC came into the text in the first place. There is also no MS support for OC.[85]

The basic argument of those who choose υἱός is that it is more in accordance with John's usage in the context, and they cite John 3 :16 and 18 and 1 John 4 : 9.[86] Brown objects to μονογενὴς θεός as being too highly developed theologically.87

The commentators who accept υἱός as original generally acknowledge that the weight of the documentary evidence is on the side of θεός, but they select vi& as the better reading on the basis of their understanding of John's context in the prologue. This highlights the trend toward eclecticism in textual criticism that sometimes ignores the preponderance of objective evidence for subjective reasoning. My own bias is a result of a Colwellian revival of Hort,[88] who wrote : 'No rule of precedence has been adopted; but documentary attestation has been, in most cases, allowed to confer the place of honour as against internal evidence'.@

### III

Not only the commentators, but in general translators of the NT have also preferred this internal evidence approach.

[84] **Westcott,** *John, 33;* **cf. also W. Milligan and W. F. Moulton,** ***The Gospel*** *According to John (New* **York: Scribner's, 1883), 19.**

[85] **B. Lindars, *The* Gospel *of John* (London: Oliphants, 1972), 98–9.**

[86] **See e.g. R. H. Lightfoot, go; C. K. Barrett, 141; R. Bultmann,** 82; **and Hoskyns, 154.**

[87] **R. E. Brown, *The* Gospel** *according to John (i-xii)* **(AB 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday,** 1966), 17.

[88] *E. C.* **Colwell 'Hort Redivivus: A Plea, and a Program',** *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* **(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans,** 1969), 148, 171.

[89] B.F. **Westcott and F. J. A. Hort,** *The New Testament in the Original Greek* [I I] *Introduction, Appendix (New* **York: Harper, 1882), 17.**



In the nineteenth century, text critics were rather evenly divided as to their choice. Alford, Scrivener, and Tischendorf read υἱός while Tregelles, WH and Weiss read θεός.

Of the text critical editions of the NT produced in the twentieth century, only Souter (1910), von Soden (1913), and Bover (1943), have υἱός in their texts. Nestle's first edition (1898) had υἱός, but by the 4th edition (1904) the text read θεός and still does today. All three editions of the UBSGNT read θεός in the text, as do Merk, Vogels, and Kilpatrick. Tasker's critical text was really produced by the translators, who preferred vi& as intrinsically more probable.90

Translators, on the other hand, have repeatedly rejected the θεός reading, though its external evidence has been strengthened through papyrus evidence. The 1881 revisers apparently rejected WH's reading as did the American Revisers in 1901 and 1946.

In a survey of over fifty translations of the NT, the fact emerged that many of the newer versions created by single translators follow the current critical Greek text and read some form of μονογενὴς θεός.[91] The only recent translation intended for church worship which follows UBSGNT or Nestle is the *NASB* (1963). Another recent version, the *TEV* (1966), also follows the UBSGNT, but with punctuation that indicates μονογενής and θεός as two appositional nouns. This form of translation was also followed by the Centenary version (1924), Panin (1954), Barclay (1968), and the Translators NT (1973).

Several recent translations have what appears to be a conflation of 'only begotten son' and 'only begotten God'.

'God's only Son' Mercier (1970), *NEB* (1961)
'God the only Son' *NAB* (1970), 20th Century NT (1900), Riverside NT (1923)
'divine and only Son' Phillips (1958)
'God the only Son' *NIV* (1974)
'the only Son who is God' Beck (1963)
'The divine One, the only Son' Moffatt (1935)
'the divine Only Son' Goodspeed (1935)
'the only Son, Deity Himself' Williams (1937)

[90] **Tasker,** *Greek NT,* **425.**

[91] *Concordant* (1926); **Swann** (1947); **Spencer** (1951); Schonfield (1955); *Kingdom* ***Inter-Linear*** (1969); **Byington** (1972); **Klingensmith** (1972); **Beck** (1976); **Marrow** ('977) .

In checking these translations in other passages where μονογενής is used without a noun following, we find that the translators consistently add the term son or child.92 In most cases then, we would understand them to have a Greek text with μονογενὴς θεός. Moffatt says, 'Although θεός ('the divine one') is probably more original than thevariant reading&, μονογενής (see v. 14) requires some such periphrasis to bring out its full meaning here'.93

Tasker does supply us with the *NEB*'s rationale, but even it does not make sense. He says, referring to the μονογενὴς θεός reading, '... the translators considered that it does not yield good sense. They regarded the variant ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός ... as intrinsically more probable'.[94] Since that is their reasoning, how did they arrive at 'God's only Son' as a translation of ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός? Tasker mistakenly cites Coptic Sahidic for the support of ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, when in actual fact it rather supports the NEB translation 'God's only Son' and is the only versional evidence for that conflation.

Two versions with a Syriac background by Murdock and Lamsa[95] follow the Peshitta and also read 'only begotten God'.

Many translations read 'only begotten Son', including *KJV* (1611), *ASV* (1901), *RSV* (1946), Douay (1914), Ferrar-Fenton (1946), Berkeley (1960), Jerusalem (1966), and numerous others. Several of these have a footnote acknowledging the possibility of an alternative reading.

The Cotton-Patch version (1973), by Clarence Jordan, seems to follow the patristic-produced μονογενής reading.

The research behind this study indicates (1) that patristic evidence for various readings needs to be used much more carefully, and with a full view of the context of the Father being quoted; (2) that both text critics and exegetes need to pay more attention to the emphasis in their cognate fields, i.e. text critics to the internal evidence of the text and the exegetes to the external evidence of the documents; (3) that we should not attempt to produce more variant readings either by a misuse of the Fathers or by poor translation.

[92] Luke 9: 38; John 1: 14; Heb. 11: 17.
[93] J. Moffatt, *The New Testament* (New York: Harper, 1922), 222.
[94] Tasker, *Greek NT*, 424–5.
[95] *The Holy Bible from Ancient Eastern Manuscripts* (Lamsa), 1933; *The New Testament: A Literal Translation from the Syriac Peshitto Version* (Murdock), 1951.

# 9. Realer oder irrealer Kondizionalsatz in Joh 8: 39?

MICHAEL MEES

DIE Perikope Joh 8:12–59 schließt sich locker an die große Rede Jesu auf dem Laubhtittenfest (Kap. 7) an. Das große Fest ist voriiber. Aber Jesus bleibt noch in der Stadt, urn zu lehren und seine Botschaft zu verdeutlichen. Dabei zeichnen sich bei seinen Hörern zwei Gruppen ab. Eine Minderheit aus den Juden scheint geneigt zu sein, ihm Glauben zu schenken. Dies ruft aber den Widerstand der ungläubigen Masse hervor. Die Diskussion verschärft sich daher zu prophetischer Mahnrede, zu Scheltworten und Streitgesprachen. Dabei spitzt sich der Streit immer mehr auf die Punkte wahre Abrahamskindschaft (w. 31–40) und die Stellung Jesu zum Vater Abraham zu (vv. 41–59).

Von hier aus betrachtet könnte man mit R. E. Brown und R. Schnackenburg[1] Joh 8:12–59 als Einheit betrachten. M.-E. Boismard allerdings glaubt dies verneinen zu müssen. In seinem neuen Werk betrachtet er im Gefolge von Wellhausen und Bultmann die w. 38–39 als Doubletten, da sie eigentlich nichts Neues aussagen. Sie wiederholen nur, was schon in w. 31-36 gesagt worden war, nur da8 sie das dortige Thema von der Gotteskindschaft unter dem Einfluß paulinischer Lehrtatigkeit in das von der Abrahamskindschaft umändern. Dies sei durch den Redaktor Joh II B verursacht worden, dessen Arbeitsweise nach Kleinasien weise.[2]

Diese Oberlegungen werden sicher manche neue Einblicke in die schwierige Perikope geben und Denkanstöße für das Verständnis des sicher nicht aus einem Guß entstandenen Abschnittes liefern. Dennoch diese Verse stehen nun einmal im

[1] R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John (i-xii)* (AB 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 361; R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium* (HThKNT 4/2; 3 Bde; Freiburg: Herder, 1965–75), 2.237.
[2] M.-E. Boismard und A. Lamouille, *Synopse des quatres Évangiles en français*. Tome III: *L'Évangile &Jean* (Paris: Cerf, 1977), 233-36.

Text und werfen nicht nur eine Reihe literarkritischer Probleme auf, sondern sind auch textkritisch nicht sicher, sondern weisen zahlreiche Varianten auf.

Dies gilt vor allem für 8 : 39. Dieser Vers nimmt in der heutigen Fassung von 8 : 31–40 eine wichtige Stellung ein, als Bindeglied zwischen dem Vorausgehenden und dem Folgenden. Abgesehen sei von kleineren Varianten, wie etwa klassische Aoristendung für die der Koine oder umgekehrt, Partikelfreudigkeit von 𝔭$^{66}$ D oder das Auslassen des Artikels vor 'Jesus' in B. Sie ändern den Sinn nicht. Sie beweisen nur, wie der antike Leser seinen Text genau studierte und wie ihm die Akolouthie, das Streben nach fließender Textabfolge und dem möglichst besten Zusammenhang, am Herzen lag. Die Frage bleibt vielmehr: Wie mu8 man 8 : 3gb übersetzen und was hat der Evangelist nach dem heutigen Text Jesus auf die Einwände der Juden wirklich antworten lassen? Man könnte an einen Realis im Kondizionalsatz denken: 'Wenn ihr Kinder Abrahams seid, so tut ihr ja seine Werke'. Die Antwort Jesu hätte dann einen indifferenten Sinn, der sich gleichsam des Urteils enthält, urn das Gespräch in Gang zu halten. Die prophetische Schelte kommt dann erst im Folgenden. Möglich bleibt auch die Auffassung mehrerer Vatertexte, die den Imperativ statt des Indikatives herauslesen : 'Wenn ihr Abrahams Kinder seid, tut seine Werke!' Die Mehrzahl der Textzeugen betrachtet den Vers im Gesamtgefiige des Abschnittes 8 : 31–59, liest in ihm einen Irrealis: 'Wenn ihr Abrahams Kinder wäret, wiirdet ihr seine Werke tun'. Die Textüberlieferung ist also geteilt. Es lassen sich mindestens drei Hauptformen unterscheiden, wozu noch mehrere Textvermischungen kommen. Sucht man sich Rat bei den Handausgaben und Kommentatoren, so findet man das gleiche Bild. Dabei ist allerdings ein Abgehen von der realen und eine Bevorzugung der irrealen Form des Kondizionalsatzes zu beobachten.3 Dagegen hat erst neuerdings Martini in einem Artikel über Didymus dessen mit 𝔭$^{66}$ B* tibereinstimmende Lesart als den Urtext vorgeschlagen, aus dem sich die übrigen Varianten erklären lassen.[4]

[3] **Vgl. die UBSGNT$^3$; K. Aland,** *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* **(9. Aufl.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1976); und angektindigt: Nestle-Aland$^{26}$.**

[4] **C. M. Martini, 'Is There a Late Alexandrian Text of the Gospels?'** *NTS* **24 (1977–78), 285–96, bes. 295.**



Die Textiiberlieferung weist folgende Formen auf für 8 :39b:

(1) ἐστέ . . . ποιεῖτε
(2) ἐστέ . . . ἐποιεῖτε
(3) ἔχετε . . . ἐποιεῖτε
(4) ἐστέ . . . ποιεῖτε ἄν
(5) ἐστέ . . . ἐποιεῖτε ἄν
(6) ἦτε . . . ποιεῖτε
(7) ἦτε . . . ἐποιεῖτε
(8) ἦτε . . . ἐποιεῖτε ἄν

Nr. 1 ist die Lesart von 𝔭$^{66}$ B* ff$^2$ gat vg syr$^s$. Ihre quantitative Bezeugung ist nicht groß. Aber schon 𝔭$^{66}$ bezeugt ihr hohes Alter. Aus inneren Gründen empfiehlt sie sich. Sie benutzt die reale Form des Kondizionalsatzes, die sich dem Zusammenhang gut einfügt. Die Juden pochen auf ihre Abstammung von Abraham. Er hatte ihnen schon vorher gesagt, da8 er urn dieselbe wisse. Auch jetzt streitet er ihre physische Abstammung von Abraham nicht ab. Aber seine Antwort klingt verhalten und sein Urteil bleibt gleichsam in der Schwebe: 'Wenn ihr Abrahams Kinder seid, so müßt ihr auch seine Werke tun'. Der Realis im Kondizionalsatz wird zum Indifferentialis.5 Eine allgemeine Wahrheit, eine logische Schlußfolgerung aus der von den Juden behaupteten Abrahamskindschaft wird aufgestellt. Ob sie stimmt, wird offen gelassen. Erst das Folgende wird dariiber Aufschluß geben. Dies aber ist negativ.

Sicher kann der Text von Nr. 1 in diesem Sinne verstanden werden. Auffallend ist jedoch, daß die Väterzeugnisse, die diese Lesart stützen, anders interpretieren. Sie fassen das für Indikativ und Imperativ gleichlautende griechische Verbum des Nachsatzes als Imperativform auf: 'Wenn ihr Abrahams Kinder seid, tut seine Werke !' Der Kondizionalsatz mit indifferentem Sinn klingt hier in eine Aufforderung aus, womit das Unbestimmte der Antwort noch verstärkt wird. Man hält des öfteren diese Interpretation fiir unmöglich. Vers 40, in dem Jesus den Juden vorhält, ihn töten zu wollen wie auch die folgenden Verse, in denen er ihnen die wahre, geistige Abrahamskindschaft abspricht, scheinen ihr zu widersprechen. Aber faßt

[5] **F. Blass und A. Debrunner,** *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* **(hrsg. F. Rehkopf; 14. Aufl.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 290 (§ 360), 301 (§** *371)* **; Eng. tr. by R. W. Funk (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961), 182 (§ 360), 188 (6 371).**

man Vers 39 mehr als eine Antwort zum vorausgehenden Versteifen der Juden auf ihre Abstammung von Abraham auf, die das Urteil darüber noch nicht direkt ausdrückt, was dann erst im Folgenden enthalten ist, so ist auch die Imperativform in einer lebhaften Diskussion, wie sie der Evangelist aufzeichnet, gut denkbar.

Die Imperativform findet sich in der Diatessarontiberlieferung, allerdings nur in der westlichen. Da8 sie im lateinischen Diatessaron, dem Codex Fuldensis,[6] enthalten ist, wird weiter nicht verwundern, da man dessen Abhangigkeit von der Vulgata kennt. Anders verhält es sich wohl mit den niederländischen Diatessaronformen. Enthalten sie doch zahlreiche Nicht-Vulgata-Lesarten, wie auch außerkanonisches Gut. War dies etwa die Lesart Tatians? Dies bleibt sehr fraglich. Die östliche Diatessarontiberlieferung (Diat$^{\text{arab.pers.}}$) verwendet den Irrealis und Ephraem, der uns näher zu Tatian führen könnte, verwendet sowohl in dem neu gefundenen syrischen Kommentar wie auch in der schon vorher bekannten armenischen Übersetzung sowohl die Imperativform wie auch den Irrealis. Jedesmal paßt sich der Imperativ wie auch der Irrealis ausgezeichnet der Erklärung an, soda8 es zweifelhaft bleibt, was Ephraem nun in seinem Diatessaron gelesen hat und noch mehr, was Tatian ursprünglich geschrieben hat.7 Ein indirekter Einfluß der Vulgata auf die niederländischen Diatessaronformen kann daher nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Dies dürfte mindestens ebenso für die italienischen Ausgaben des Diatessarons (Diat$^{\text{ven.tosc.}}$) gelten.* Dieselbe Form findet sich sodann bei Pseudo-Cyprian, *de pascha computus*.[9] Sie ist auch die Form, die Augustin verwendet, so wenigstens im *Tractatus in Johannis Evangelium.* Die Verwendung des Irrealis in *contra Faustinum* ist durch die Syntax der Darlegung bedingt.[10] Man könnte versucht sein, auch Hieronymus hier einzureihen. Der aber bevorzugt aber in seinen Kommentaren den Irrealis, während die Imperativform nur im

[6] E. Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis* (Marburg/Leipzig: Elwert, 1868), 115.

[7] Diat$^{\text{Liege}}$ 177 (CSSN 1. 1. 184); Diat$^{\text{Theodisc}}$ 172 (CSSN 1.4.111); Diat$^{\text{Haar}}$ 172 (CSSN 1.2.78); Eph$^{\text{syr}}$ 16.26 (Chester Beatty Monograph Series 8, 184.13); Eph$^{\text{arm}}$ 16.26 (CSCO 137/arm. 1, 238 [*lect.* var.]). Dagegen *Irrealis*: Eph$^{\text{syr}}$ 16.26 (Chester Beatty Monograph Series 8, 186); Eph$^{\text{arm}}$ 16.26 (CSCO 137/arm. 1, 238 [*lect. princ.*]).

[8] Diat$^{\text{ven}}$ 132 (ST 81, 112.9); Diat$^{\text{tosc}}$ 132 (ST 81, 305.19).

[9] Ps-Cyprian, *de pascha computus* 10 (CSEL 3/3, 257).

[10] August., *Tract. Joh.* 42.4 (CChL 36, 367); *c. Faust.* 33.5 (CSEL 25, 790).



*Kommentar zu Amos*[11] *zu* finden ist. Hier aber dient sie des Darlegung, soda8 der von Hieronymus benutzte Text wohl den Irrealis las.

Die Imperativform ist aber auch die bevorzugte Lesart des Origenes. Besonders im Buch 20 seines Johanneskommentars verwendet er sie mindestens 11mal.[12] Der Zusammenhang läßt auch nicht den mindesten Zweifel, da8 es sich hier um eine Aufforderung zum Tun handelt. Diesen Imperativ findet er im Text der Bibel. Er findet diese Form richtig für die Diskussion Jesu mit den Juden und für die seine mit den Gegnern. Ebenso dient sie ihm für seinen pastoralen Dienst der Ermahnung am Leser.

Aber was las Origenes nun wirklich in seiner Bibel? Denn die angegebene Form ist nur die am meisten zitierte und die bevorzugte. Es gibt neben ihr noch andere. So bringt Origenes die Stelle 8: 39 im gleichen Johanneskommentar, wenn auch nur ein einziges Mal (6.4), mit dem Irrealis. Preuschen hat geglaubt, in seiner Ausgabe des Kommentares (GCS 4) eine Anderung vorschlagen zu müssen. Da es sich auch hier um die für den Leser so wichtige echte Abrahamskindschaft handelt, möchte er auch hier den sonst im Kommentar gebrauchten Imperativ setzen (Anmerkung z. Stellte). Dennoch scheint mir die Korrektur nicht nötig und durch den Zusammenhang nicht erforderlich. Gewiß, man mu8 sich davor hüten, den Vätern Textüberlieferungen zuzuschreiben, die nichts anderes sind als die bei den antiken Gebildeten so beliebte und stets geiibte Ausdrucksweise mit Hilfe von Zitaten. Dennoch Origenes selbst weist an einigen Stellen seiner Kommentare darauf hin, da8 er für verschiedene Stellen mehrere umlaufende Textformen kennt, ohne sich besonders kritisch über sie zu äußern. Hier diirfte eine solche Stelle sein, und Origenes wäre ein früher Zeuge, da8 die in späteren Zeugen vornehmlich zu findende Form des Irrealis zu seiner Zeit schon bestanden hat.13

Auch E. Hautsch stimmt in seiner kritischen Analyse der Joh.-Zitate des Origenes dem Vorschlag Preuschens nur zögernd zu. Er verweist dafür auf eine andere Stelle in den Origenes-

[11] Hieronymus, *comm. Amos* 2.5.14-15 (CChL 76, 287).

[12] Orig., *Jo.* 20.2 (GCS 4, 327); 20.4 (332); 20.5 (332); 20.7 (335); 20.9 (336); 20.10 [5°] (337 *bis*, 338 *bis*, 339); 20.15 (346); 20.16 (347).

[13] Orig., *30.* 6.4 (GCS 4, 109, und Preuschens Hinweis 110, Anm.).

Werken, da der Irrealis unbedingt in den Imperativ geändert werden müsse, *Exhortatio ad martyrium 38*. Origenes gibt zur Stelle selbst folgende Erklarung : 'Wenn ihr euch z.B. Kinder des Ambrosius nennt, so handelt auch wie dieser!' Dennoch scheint mir die Konjektur für den Zusammenhang nicht nötig. Die Imperativform der Erklarung will den Irrealis des Zitates unterstreichen. Die Juden tun eben nicht, was für jeden anständigen Sohn eine Selbstverstandlichkeit ist.[14]

Die Form des Irrealis scheint dann noch in den griechisch erhaltenen *Homilien zu Jeremias* auf (4.5), stilistisch verfeinert mit vorangesetztem ἄν. Der Vers wird hier ohne Paraphrase als reines Hilfszitat eingeführt und benutzt, soda8 der Irrealis hier ursprünglich sein dürfte.[15]

Schließlich sind noch aus den lateinisch auf uns gekommenen Homilien, *horn. 8.7 in Gen., horn. 4.4 in Ezech.,* und sel. *in Ps. (= horn. 4 in Ps. 36) zu* erwähnen, die alle mit 'essetis ... faceretis' die Form des Irrealis verwenden. Fraglich bleibt allerdings, ob dies dem Origenestext entspricht oder eher dem Bibelverstandnis der Übersetzer.[16] Auf alle Fälle zeigen die angegebenen Stellen, da8 Origenes beide Textformen gekannt haben mu8 und sie zuweilen seiner Erklarung dienstbar machte. Die bevorzugte Form ist allerdings die mit dem Imperativ in der Apodosis.

Ein weiterer Zeuge für die Imperativform ist Didymus der Blinde, vor allem nach dem Ausweis der neuerdings veröffentlichten Toura-Papyri. Joh 8: 39 findet sich im *Kommentar zu Job 5:* 25 und *zu Zacharias 3.287*. Beide Male ist 8: 39 nur ein Hilfszitat, das der Bekräftigung der eigenen Darlegung des alttestamentlichen Bibeltextes dient, jedoch immer in der Form der Aufforderung. Dabei hat Didymus die ganze Perikope im Gedächtnis und weiß, das Jesus den Juden schließlich die wahre Abrahamskindschaft abspricht. Er kritisiert die Juden und ihren Anspruch, Abrahams Kinder zu sein. Dennoch vermeidet er den Irrealis, da er erkennt, da8 die Diskussion in 8 : 39 noch nicht bis zu diesem Punkte gediehen ist. Er bewahrt den Sinn des realen Kondizionalsatzes auch, wenn er wie hier das Einzelzitat für seine Abhandlung verwendet.

[14] **Orig.,** *mart.* **38 (GCS** 1, **36); E. Hautsch,** *Die Evangelienzitate des Origenes* **(TU** 34/2a; **Leipzig: Hinrichs,** 1909), 139.

[15] **Orig.,** *horn.* **4.5** *in Jer. (GCS* **3,** *27).*

[16] *horn. 8.7 in Gen. (GCS* 6, 82); *horn. 4.4 in Ezech. (GCS 8, 365); hom. 4 in Ps. 36* (MPG 12.1357).



Der gleiche Sinn findet sich auch in *contra Manichaeos* **16.** Nur hat Mignes Text an dieser Stelle den Irrealis mit ἄν, wobei es allerdings fraglich bleibt, wieweit die zugrunde liegende Überlieferung Glauben verdient. Die von Zöpfl gesammelten Fragmente zu den katholischen Briefen benutzen 8: 39 ein einziges Mal. Jedoch handelt sich dabei in I. Petrus um ein reines Anwendungszitat in Partizipalform, das keine Schlüsse auf den benutzen Text zuläßt.[17]

Nr. **2** ist die Lesart von 𝔭75 ℵ* B^c D T 070 **1321. Auch sie ist wie die vorausgehende Lesart nur** durch **eine kleine Anzahl von Handschriften vertreten und scheint kaum in Vaterschriften auf, 𝔭75 bezeugt jedoch ihr hohes Alter. Dennoch kann sie mit Nr. I urn die Gunst konkurrieren,** als **der Urtext betrachtet zu werden. Der gemischte** Kondizionalsatz,[18] **mit dem** sich **8** : 39 **in diesen Zeugen darstellt,** paßt bestens **in den Zusammenhang. Einerseits gibt Jesus eine indifferente Antwort: 'Wenn ihr Abrahams Kinder seid', was einmal dahingestellt sein mag. Der Nachsatz des Kondizionalsatzes im irrealen Sinne verneint dies und** kündet schon **die folgenden Verse des Streitgesprache an: '. . .** so würdet **ihr Abrahams Werke tun'. Diese Form findet daher in den neuesten Textausgaben den Vorzug. Sie ist zudem die** *Zectio difficilior.* Einige Überlegungen seien später noch hinzugeftigt.

Nr. 3 ist die Textform in den Homilien zum Johannesevangelium in Chrysostomus.[19] Sie entspricht in Syntax, Konstruktion und Sinngehalt genau der in Nr. 2 **angegebenen Lesart. Nur unterscheidet sie** sich **durch eine kleine rhetorische Raffinesse, indem sie in der Protasis das Verbum** ἔχετε **verwendet, das dann in Vers 41,** da sich **die Juden auf ihre Gotteskindschaft versteifen, wieder aufscheint.**

**Nr. 4, die Lesart von Minuskel** 700, **wird** gewöhnlich **in den textkritischen Apparaten Nr. I zugeteilt. Jedoch scheint hier ein** Mißverständnis **oder ein Fehler unterlaufen zu sein. Oder** auch **man wollte den** realen **Kondizionalsatz** als **einen irrealen** aufgefaßt **wissen. Die grammatische Form mit** ἄν, faßt **man das Verbum im Nachsatz als Indikativ oder** als **Imperativ auf, ist** unmöglich.

[17] Didymus, *Job* 5: 25 **(PTA** 2, **108);** *Zach. 3.287 (SC 84, 766); Man. 16* **(MPG** 39.1105c); *fr.* **in** *I Petr.* (NTAbh 4/1, *28).*

[18] **B. M. Metzger,** *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* **(London/ New York: United Bible Societies,** 1971), **225.**

[19] *horn. 54.2 in Jo.* **(MPG** 59.299).

Nr. 5 findet sich in Majuskel L (or 9) aus dem 8. Jahrhundert. Form und Sinn entspricht genau der unter Nr. 2 angegebenen Textform. Nur macht sich, wie auch bei anderen Varianten bemerkbar, eine Uberwindung von Koine-Lesarten und eine Rückkehr zu klassischem Ausdruck vernehmlich, wie hier durch die Zufügung von ἄν.

Nr. 6 findet sich im Psalmenkommentar des Eusebius.[20] Entgegen den vorausgehenden Nummern erscheint hier der gemischte Kondizionalsatz in umgekehrter Reihenfolge, Irrealis im Vordersatz und Aufruf im Nachsatz : 'Wenn ihr Abrahams Kinder wäret, so tut seine Werke', sprachlich sicherlich schwer und unbeholfen. Euseb hat diesen Vers auch nicht so in seiner Bibel gefunden, sondern ihn selbst geformt. Er dient ihm zur Erläuterung der zu interpretierenden Psalmverse, hilft also das AT durch das NT erklären. Nur vom Sinn der Psalmverse aus erklärt sich auch der Sinn dieser Form von 8 : 39.

Nr. 7 ist mit der folgenden Nr. die Lesart der großen Majorität der Textzeugen und wird im 4. Jahrhundert auch die vorherrschende Form in den Vaterschriften. Der Irrealis: 'Wenn ihr Abrahams Kinder wäret, so würdet ihr seine Werke tun'. Gegenüber der schwerfälligen und mehrdeutigen Form des gemischten Kondizionalsatzes ist dies sicherlich die grammatisch eindeutigere und vor allem elegantere Form, die *lectio facilior* und daher doch wohl eine Korrektur. Inhaltlich interpretiert sie zwar richtig. Jesus spricht im Laufe des Streitgesprilches den Juden die wahre Abrahamskindschaft ab. Der Leser kennt schon das Ergebnis und interpretiert das Streitgespräch vom Ende her. Dabei überspringt er aber ein Stadium der Diskussion, in dem noch manches in der Schwebe lag. Dennoch diese Lesart bestrickte durch ihre sprachliche Eleganz und ihre innere Geschlossenheit. Sie findet sich bei: W Θ 0250 f$^{13}$ f$^{1424}$ 28 652 1195 13 13 1780. Sie beherrscht die Versionen. Sie ist von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, in der Vetus Latina herrschend. Bei den Syrern steht sie in der Peshitta und in der Harclensis. Die sahidische und die bohairische Version lesen sie. Sie findet sich bei den Armeniern und Georgiern und auch in der gotischen Ubersetzung.

Für die östlische Diatessarontradition ist sie maßgebend und

[20] *Ps. 104:* 67 (MPG 23.1304c).



auch Ephraem bekannt.[21] Origenes scheint sie einige Male zu benutzen. Aber besonders im 4. Jahrhundert wird sie die maßgebende Lesart und findet sich auch bei Kirchenvätern, deren Text man auf den ersten Blick nicht immer einheitlich bestimmen kann, wie bei Cyrill von Jerusalem und bei Epiphanius.[22]

Von den Lateinern ist der Ambrosiaster zu erwähnen[23] und schließlich Hieronymus, der durchweg den Irrealis verwendet.[24]

Nr. 8 weist den gleichen Irrealis auf wie die vorausgehende Lesart. Nur glaubt man zu klassischen Ausdrucksformen zurückkehren zu müssen. Daher fiigt man das in der Koine nicht notwendige ἄν hinzu. Dies wird vom 4. Jahrhundert ab Mode und findet sich daher in den späteren Handschriften sämtlicher Textgruppen. Man vergleiche etwa : ℵ$^{c}$ *C* K X A Π Ψ Ω f$^{1}$ 33 124 246 565579828892 1009 1010 1079 1216 1230 1242 1253 1342 1344 1546 1646 1689 2174 $l^{211}$ $l^{1127}$. Diese Lesart findet sich zudem bei Cyrill von Alexandrien[25] und in der *Regulae brevius* bei Basilius.[26] Auch Origenes *(horn* 4.5 *in Jer.*), Eusebius (*Isa.* 2.42), und Didymus (c. *Man.* 16) verwenden sie je einmal, wobei diese Form wohl mehr auf ihr Stilempfinden und den Zusammenhang zurückzuführen sind und nicht auf ihren Bibeltext.

Wendet man sich von hier aus den Textausgaben und den Kommentaren zu, so zeichnet sich ein ähnliches Bild ab. Die Hochschätzung Horts für den Codex Vaticanus, in dem er gleichsam den nächsten Weg zum Urtext sieht, ist bekannt. Hier aber findet sich der reale Kondizionalsatz. Daher kann das Verbum im Irrealis des Nachsatzes nur als erwägenswerte Variante am Rande stehen.[27] Nach B. Weiß faßt Jesus den

[21] Diat$^{arab}$ 35 (Mamardji, 339); Diat$^{pers}$ 2.37 (*BibelOrient* 14, 178); Eph$^{syr}$ und Eph$^{arm}$; siehe Anm. 7.

[22] J. H. Greenlee, *The Gospel Text* of Cyril of *Jerusalem* (SD 17; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1955), 92; Cyr-Jerus. *catech.* 7.14 (Reischl-Rupp 1, 222); Epiphanius, *haer.* 66.63.5 (GCS 3, 102); *Liber Graduum 30.28* (PS 3/3, 925); Eusebius, *Is.* 97 (GCS 9, 193); *Is.* 2.20 (260); *Is.* 2.45 (352, mit ἄν).

[23] *ad Tit.* 1.16 (CSEL 81, 328).

[24] Hieronymus, *Is.* 12.41.8/16 (CChL 73a, 471); *Is.* 18.65.9/10 [+ *utique*] (CChL 73a, 752); Is. 18.65.23/25 (CChL 73a, 766); *Jer.* 6.11.2 (CChL 74, 298; *Zach.* 2.10.8/10 (CChL 76a, 843); *ep.* 65.21 (CSEL 54.645).

[25] *Jo.* 5.5 (Pusey 4, 78); *Jo. 6* (Pusey 4, 131); *ep.* 40 (ACO 1.1.4, 27); *glaph. Cen.* 1.3 (MPG 69.40); Is. 4.3 (MPG 70.1016); *Is.* 5.3 (MPG 70.1241); *Amos g: 7* (Pusey 1, 536); *Lc.* (MPG 72.516); inc. *unigen.* (SC 97, 246); *Thds.* 27 (ACO 1.1.1, 59).

[26] *reg. br. 268* (MPG 31.1268).

[27] B. F. Westcott und F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (2 vols.; Cambridge/London: Macmillan, 1881–82), 1.178.

Kindschaftsbegriff metaphorisch auf von der sittlichen Persönlichkeit. Er fordert die Juden auf, ihre ständige Behauptung, Abrahams Kinder zu sein, durch Taten im Sinne Abrahams zu beweisen. Tischendorf dagegen hatte im Sinn die gemischte Form vorgefunden und bevorzugt diese. Kein Wunder, da8 nach dem Kalkül Nestles, Hort, Weiß, Tischendorf bezw. deren Ubereinstimmungen in den Text oder wenigstens die Mehrheit unter ihnen, also hier 2 gegen 1, die reale Form des Kondizionalsatzes, d.h. hier der Text des Codex Vaticanus und von Hort, in den Ausgaben 1 bis 25 einschließlich des Nestle und den ersten Ausgaben von Alands Synopse zu finden ist.[28]

Aber auch M.-J. Lagrange verteidigt diese Lesart. Gewiß Jesu Antwort sei nach der Art eines 'Topos' gegeben, als Erwiderung mit einer allgemein gültigen Wahrheit und Feststellung, ganz gleich welcher Variante man nun den Vorzug gebe. Dennoch sei die obige Lesart vorzuziehen. Denn die Abrahamskindschaft werde in diesem Vers als eine physische, reale betrachtet. Jesus fordere nun die Juden auf, dieselbe im moralischen Sinne zu bejahen : 'Wenn ihr Abrahams Kinder seid, ahmt seine Werke nach!' Auch F. Tillmann verteidigt mit ungefähr den gleichen Argumenten den realen Kondizionalsatz mit Imperativ im Nachsatz.29

Fiir die gemischte Form hatte schon P. Schanz in seinem Kommentar plädiert. Sie wurde von W. Bauer verteidigt und wird bei Brown zugrunde gelegt. Sie scheint den Textkritikern auch immer mehr die einzig zu empfehlende und dem Urtext an nächsten stehende Lesart zu sein. Nestle-Aland[26] wird zu ihren Gunsten abändern. Die Synopse von Aland (9. ed.) führt sie bereits im Text wie auch das UBSGNT[3]. Vor ihnen aber hatte sie Bover immer im Text und natürlich jetzt Bover-O'Callaghan.30

[28] B. Weiß, *Das Neue Testament* (3 Bde.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894–1900), 1.526; C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (8. Aufl. ; 2 Bde. ; Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869), 1.842; E. Nestle-K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (25. Aufl.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1963), 257; K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (1. Aufl.; Stuttgart: Wtirttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1964), 328.

[29] M.-J. Lagrange, *L'Évangile selon S. Jean* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1927), 240; F. Tillmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Bonn: Hauptmann, 1931), 183.

[30] P. Schanz, *Dus Evangelium des heiligen Johannes* (Tiibingen: Fues, 1885), 351; W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium* (HNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1933), 126; Brown, *John*, 356; Aland, *Synopsis* (9. Aufl., 1976), 328; UBSGNT[3], 361; J. M. Bover, *Novi Testamenti Bibliu Graeca et Latina* (4. ed.; Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1959), 303; J. M. Bover und J. O'Callaghan, *Nuevo Testamento Trilingüe* (BAC 400; Madrid, 1977), 533.



H. von Soden, gefolgt von Merk, verwendet die gemischte Form, nur fügen sie dem Irrealis des Nachsatzes ein ἄν an, urn so zum klassischen Gebrauch des Irrealis zurückzukehren. Dies wäre die unter Nr. 5 aufgeführte Lesart, für die nur L (01 g) angegeben werden konnte. Von Soden und Merk können aber eine große Anzahl von Handschriften für ihre Lesart anführen und diese Quantität dürfte sie bewogen haben, das ἄν einzuführen. An sich sind es sämtliche Handschriften, die unter Nr. 8 aufgeführt wurden. Das kommt daher, da8 ihre textkritischen Apparate, wie gewöhnlich sämtliche textkritischen Anmerkungen, auch bei anderen, punktuell erarbeitet wurden. Jede Variante wird für sich betrachtet. Es schien jedoch notwendig, Abhangigkeit und Kongruenz der Verben innerhalb des Kondizionalsatzes zu beachten.

Th. Zahn wählt fiir seine Erklärung der Stelle 8: 39 den Irrealis: 'Wenn ihr Kinder Abrahams wäret...'. In seinem Anmerkungen zur Stelle nähert er sich jedoch der gemischten Form in dem Sinne : 'Wenn ihr wirklich Abrahams Kinder seid (was ich bestreite), so würdet ihr Abrahams Werke tun'. Aber auch so wird dem Vordersatz sofort ein negativer Sinn beigegeben, der nicht unbedingt notwendig ist.[32]

Nach Schnackenburgs großem Kommentar zum Johannesevangelium hält Jesus den Juden vor, da8 sie sich nur auf Abrahams Abstammung berufen können, wenn ihre Werke den seinen entsprechen. Im Zusammenhang von 37–47 erhält der Vers einen irrealen Sinn, der indirekt auch auf den Vordersatz der gemischten Form einwirkt.[33]

Eindeutig den Irrealis für Text und Erklärung wählt Tasker aus. Dies gilt für den Text der *New English Bible*. Bei der Erläuterung dieser Lesart gibt er nicht nur ihre gute Bezeugung an, sondern verweist besonders darauf, da8 diese Form nach seiner Ansicht den besten Sinn ergebe. Denn Jesus verneint den Juden die Abrahamskindschaft, da sie die Qualitäten ihres Ahnherrn nicht widerspiegeln.34

[31] H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Teil II, *Text und Apparat* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), 43 1; A. Merk, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (9. ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964), 341.

[32] T. Zahn, *Dus Evangelium des Johannes* (Leipzig: Deichcrt, 1921), 42 1.

[33] R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 2.283.

[34] R. V. G. Tasker, The *Greek New Testament, Being the Text Translated in the New English Bible 1961* (Oxford University/Cambridge University, 1964), 155, 426.

Der Mehrzahl der Textzeugen schließt sich Vogels an, indem er für Vordersatz und Nachsatz den Irrealis bevorzugt und in seine Ausgabe auch das ἄν im Nachsatz einfiigt.[35]

Daraus sind nun einige Schlußfolgerungen zu ziehen:

(*a*) Der Majorität zu folgen und dem Prinzip der Quantität zu huldigen, ist hier nicht möglich. Denn der Irrealis, nach klassischen Vorbild mit, oder nach Koine-Art ohne ἄν, ist als vorherrschende Lesart jüngeren Datums. Sie ist sprachlich die elegantere Form und behebt für das Verständnis alle Schwierigkeiten. Aber gerade deswegen dürfte sie als *lectio facilior* nicht ursprünglich sein, sondern Arbeit der Korrektoren.

(b) Das Gleiche dürfte für die verschiedenen angegebenen Mischformen gelten. Sie erweisen sich als stilistische Verfeinerungen mancher Autoren, dienen der Verdeutlichung und müssen zur Beweisführung *ad hoc* bei anderen Bibelstellen herhalten. Sie können deshalb keinerlei Anspruch auf Ursprünglichkeit erheben.

(c) Übrig bleiben Nr. 1 und Nr. 2, der reale Kondizionalsatz mit Indikativ oder Imperativ im Nachsatz und die gemischte Form. Beide sind Lesarten von Minderheiten. Jedoch $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ für die eine und $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ für die andere Gruppe erweisen das hohe Alter derselben. Aus jeder der beiden lassen sich die übrigen Varianten als grammatische, stilistische und interpretierende Abänderungen erklären.

Dabei ist Jesu Antwort in der Form des realen Kondizionalsatzes eine Entgegnung, die noch vieles offen läßt, gleichsam der erste Schritt der Auseinandersetzung, die dann in Verdikt und Aberkennung der Abrahamskindschaft endet. Die gemischte Form geht einen halben Schritt weiter, indem sie das Verdikt indirekt anklingen läßt. Man fragt sich, ob das notwendig ist, da dasselbe in den folgenden Versen mit aller Schärfe dargelegt wird. Jedoch kann die für den antiken Autor so wichtige logische Textabfolge von Anfang an mitgewirkt haben.

*(d)* Ein Urteil zu geben, welche der beiden Lesarten nun den Urtext enthält, scheint nach diesen Gegebenheiten unmöglich. Man wird beide nebeneinander stehen lassen müssen. Aus Interpretationsgriinden mag man mehr der gemischten Form zuneigen. Das aber ist eigentlich schon Exegese und geht über die Arbeit der Textkritik hinaus.

[35] H. J. Vogels, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Dusseldorf: Schwann, 1920), 269.

# 10. The Ascension in the Textual Tradition of Luke-Acts

ELDON JAY EPP

## I. INTRODUCTION: THE ASCENSION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

NEW Testament passages that offer a narrative description of the ascension of the risen Christ as 'an observable incident',[1] that is, as a physical, visible transfer from earth to heaven, are extremely few; those passages that refer to the ascension as a theological event, without specifying its temporal or physical aspects, are slightly more numerous; and those that assume the 'heavenly abode' of the risen Christ without reference to an ascension at all are the most numerous. These data are well known[2] and hardly require documentation, though a brief summary will provide the necessary introduction for this study.

*The exalted Christ.* In the last category listed above are a number of passages that mention Christ's resurrection and then affirm his heavenly, exalted position at God's right hand, but with no reference to an ascension: Acts 2: *33-4*; cf. v. *25*; *5*: *3* 1;[3] Rom. 8: 34; 10: *6;* Eph. 1: 20–1; 2: *6;* Col. *3:* 1; 1 Thess. 1: 10; *4*: 14-16; cf. 2 Cor. 4: 14; a similar set of passages refers to the exalted Christ, with his death-but not the resurrection or ascension-mentioned in the context: Phil. 2: 8-g; Heb. 1: 3 and 13; *7: 26;* 10: 12; 12: 2. Finally, though still in this same category, are passages that refer merely to Christ's present

[1] This is C. K. Barrett's apt phrase in *The Gospel according to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (London: SPCK, 1955), 471.

[2] The full range of NT references can be found in such treatments as those by P. Benoit, 'The Ascension', in his *Jesus and the Gospel* (2 vols.; New York: Herder and Herder, 1973–4), 1.209–53, originally in *RB 56* (1949), *161-203;* or by B. M. Metzger, 'The Ascension of Jesus Christ', in his *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian (NTTS* 8; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 77–87.

[3] The 'Western' text at Acts 5: *31* reads τῇ δόξῃ ('for his glory') rather than τῇ δεξιᾷ ('to his right hand'); see Metzger *et al.*, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 332.

heavenly abode: Acts 7: 55–6; Eph. 6: 9; Phil. 3: 20; 2 Thess. 1: 7; Heb. 8: 1; and Rev. 3: 21. None of these passages contains the language of ascension or describes the mode of ascension, nor does any one of them otherwise indicate how Christ attained his heavenly position at God's right hand (since the use of the word 'exalted' [ὑψόω/ὑπερυψόω] at Acts 2: 33; 5: 31; and Phil. 2: 9 does not specify the mode of exaltation, and an ascension by 'going up' (ἀναβαίνω) is only implied by the use of that term in Rom. 10: 6 and by the use of the opposite term, 'going down' (καταβαίνω), in 1 Thess. 4: 16.

*The language of ascension without a narrative of ascension.* The second category of NT passages consists of those that employ direct language describing Jesus as 'going up', 'ascending', or being 'taken up', but which still fall short of describing the ascension of Christ as an objectified historical and physical event, or which in some other way involve an ambiguity about the ascension in spite of the direct language of ascension. The few passages of this type are in the Fourth Gospel, the deutero-Pauline letters, and the Catholic Epistles. The Fourth Gospel contains three passages in which Jesus predicts that he will be 'lifted up/exalted' (ὑψόω) from the earth: 3: 14; 8: 28; and 12: 32–4; but in the third passage the author of the gospel explains that the term 'lifted up' signifies Jesus' death. Thus, whereas in the previous category ὑψόω is used in Acts only of Christ's exaltation to God's right hand (2: 33; 5: 31), that is not its meaning in John—though the Fourth Gospel, as often with other terms, may very well have intended a double reference to death and exaltation. In any event, a reference to the ascension of Christ is ambiguous at best here in the Fourth Gospel, and certainly nothing of its mode is discernible from these passages. Two statements more specific in nature occur on the lips of Jesus as John portrays him. One is a question to his disciples, 'What if you were to see the Son of Man ascending (ἀναβαίνω) where he was before?' (6: 62; cf. 3: 13), and the other is a post-resurrection saying in John 20: 17, 'I have not yet ascended (ἀναβαίνω) to the Father; but go to my brethren and say to them, "I am ascending (ἀναβαίνω) to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God"'. Clearly the reference in both is to an ascension, and in the latter passage to an ascension subsequent both to his resurrection and to the post-resurrection



appearances, yet neither is a narrative of a specific, observable event.

Other passages in the Fourth Gospel might be adduced, such as those in which Jesus announces that he is 'going (ὑπάγω) to the one who sent me' (7: 33; 16: 5–7), or 'going (πορεύομαι, ὑπάγω, or ἔρχομαι) to the Father' (14: 12, 28; 16: 10, 17, 28; 17: 11, 13; cf. 13: 1; 14: 2; 15: 26), or 'going (ὑπάγω) to God' (13: 3), but—again—neither these passages nor any others in the Fourth Gospel narrate the ascension as a specific observable event in time and place.

Also in the second category are several passages from the epistles. First, Eph. 4: 8–10 quotes Ps. 68: 18 ('he ascended on high [ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος] . . . and gave gifts to men') and applies it to the exalted Christ as the one 'who also ascended far above all the heavens' (ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν). The ascension portion of this discussion, however, is entirely parenthetical to the writer's main point, which is spiritual gifts, and the ascension of Christ is only peripherally in the author's purview. Moreover, an ascension 'far above all the heavens' would seem to have in view a suprahistorical event and not one with terrestrial ties. Secondly, 1 Tim. 3: 16 recites an early Christian hymn that refers to Christ as 'manifested in the flesh . . . , preached among the nations, believed on in the world, taken up (ἀνελήμφθη) in glory'. The inclusion of the ascension in this recital of a series of historical occurrences could suggest that a datable ascension is in view, though this is an implication at best, and the passage provides, of course, no specific historical description. Finally, Heb. 9: 24 says that Christ 'entered (εἰσέρχομαι) . . . into heaven itself' (cf. 9: 12; 6: 20; and 4: 14: Jesus 'passed through [διέρχομαι] the heavens'), and 1 Pet. 3: 21–2 refers to the 'resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is at the right hand of God, having gone (πορευθείς) into heaven', passages which—again—contain the language of a literal ascension but no narrative description. Incidentally, Luke 9: 51 might be included here: 'When the days drew near for him to be received up (ἀνάλημψις), he set his face to go to Jerusalem' (*RSV*), but the term quite clearly means 'death', as in *Pss. Sol.* 4: 18, Ps-Clem. *Hom.* 3.47, and elsewhere.[4]

*The ascension narrated as an observable incident.* The final category

[4] On this question, see P. A. van Stempvoort, 'The Interpretation of the Ascension in Luke and Acts', *NTS* 5 (1958–9), 32–3.

of NT references includes those that portray the ascension more concretely and explicitly in objectifying terms as a local and temporal occurrence with attendant witnesses. Such references are limited to a single NT author and to a few passages in Luke–Acts. If these Lucan texts are read in the so-called 'Neutral' textual tradition, they convey a very specific literal and observable ascension to heaven of the resuscitated physical body of Jesus. The first passage comes at the conclusion of Luke's gospel, where he provides only a minimal description of the event: 'As he was blessing them, he departed (διέστη) from them and was taken up (ἀνεφέρετο) into heaven' (Luke 24 : 51, *TEV*). Then, as Luke recapitulates the closing events of Jesus' career at the beginning of Acts (1 : 2), he refers to '... the day when he was taken up (ἀνελήμφθη) . . . ', and proceeds to a full narrative in 1 : 9–11:

And when he had said this, as they were looking on, he was lifted up (ἐπήρθη), and a cloud took (ὑπέλαβεν) him out of their sight. And while they were gazing into heaven as he went (πορευομένου), behold, two men stood by them in white robes, and said, 'Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven? This Jesus, who was taken up (ἀναλημφθείς) from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go (πορευόμενον) into heaven'. (*RSV*)

Finally, Luke refers again (in 1 : 22) to '... the day when he was taken up (ἀνελήμφθη) from us ...'.

Nowhere else in the NT is such a portrayal of the ascension to be found, though it should be noted, parenthetically for the moment, that the 'longer ending' of Mark (16 : 9–20) has a statement of the ascension that, in the context, is similar to though less specific than Luke's : 'So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up (ἀνελήμφθη) into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God' (16 : 19, *RSV*). If, however, we ignore for the moment this pseudo-Marcan account, the ascension described in objectifying terms is restricted, in reality, to four NT passages : Luke 24 : 51, Acts 1 : 2 and 1 : 22, and Acts 1 : 9-11, a rather meagre harvest.

## II. THE ASCENSION IN THE 'WESTERN' TEXTUAL CONFIGURATION

The narrowing of the data supporting an objectified ascension to four Lucan passages provides a convenient focus for a thorough



text-critical examination of the treatment of the ascension in the so-called 'Western' textual tradition. Such an investigation will show that the 'Western' variants present a most interesting—if not absolutely consistent-textual configuration. Some of the basic points were proffered 90 years ago by F. Graefe[5] and again 50 years ago by Daniel Plooij in a less than easily accessible publication on 'The Ascension in the "Western" Textual Tradition',[6] but the issue is worth reviving and presenting here, along with some additional points and considerable refinement.

*Luke 24: 51.* The first observation to be made is that the 'Western' text of Luke 24 : 51 lacks the clause, '... and was taken up into heaven' :

Luke 24: 51

| Codex Vaticanus | Codex Bezae |
|---|---|
| καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς |
| διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν | ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν. |
| Kat ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. | |

διέστη (= recessit) ℵ* B *cett*] ἀπέστη (= discessit) D d a b c e 1 Augustine.
καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν 𝔭$^{75}$ ℵ$^{c}$ B *cett* aur c f q (r$^{1}$) vg sy$^{p,h,pal}$ cop$^{sa,bo}$ arm geo$^{2}$ Diatessaron Augustine$^{2/3}$ Cyril Cosmas] *om* ℵ* D d a b e ff $^{2}$ j l* geo$^{1}$ Augustine$^{1/3}$ (Note : sy$^{s}$ = 'lifted up from them').

The result, in the 'Western' text, is that the risen Christ, as he was blessing his followers, 'parted' or 'went away from them', leaving now a highly unclear picture of what the author of the gospel intended to portray in the final paragraph of his first volume. Is it an ascension? One fact to be noted is that neither the διΐστημι of B nor the ἀφίστημι of D appears in any other NT reference to the ascension.[7] Is the lack of the more concrete

[5] F. Graefe, 'Der Schluss des Lukasevangeliums und der Anfang der Apostelgeschichte: Eine textkritische Studie, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Italaforschung', *TSK* 61 (1888), 522-41. He treats Luke 24: 51 and Acts 1: 2.

[6] *Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling letterkunde, 67:* A.2 (Amsterdam, 1929), 39-58.

[7] There is no significant difference between the two Greek terms-at least for our purposes. D also uses ἀφίστημι (instead of ἀπέρχομαι) in Luke 1: 38 of the angel 'departing' from Mary. Actually, the term might be viewed as one favoured by D for it occurs four times as a variant in D (Mark 7: 6; Luke 1: *38;* 22: *41;* and

ascension-clause in the 'Western' text a casual slip or does it have greater significance? The answer surely lies in the treatment of the ascension in Acts by the same 'Western' textual tradition.

Acts *1:* 2, *9–11*, 22. Turning to Acts, it should be observed first that the 'Western' text (though not Codex Bezae) lacks the word ἀνελήμφθη in Acts 1 : 2 :

Acts 1 : 2

| Codex Vaticanus | 'Western' Text |
|---|---|
| *ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας* | *ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ* |
| *ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις* | *τοὺς ἀποστόλους* |
| *διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου οὓς ἐξελέξατο* | *ἐξελέξατο διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου* |
| *ἀνελήμφθη.* | |
| | *καὶ ἐκέλευσε κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.* |
| | Augustine: In die quo apostolos elegit per spiritum sanctum et praecepit praedicare evangelium, ... |
| | Codex Gigas (*gig*) and Liber comicus (t) : In die, qua praecepit apostolis per spiritum sanctum praedicare evangelium quos elegerat, ... |

ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας **D** sy$^{hmg}$ *cett*] ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ Augustine$^{2/3}$ Vigilius$^{2/2}$.
ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις . . . οὓς ἐξελέξατο **B D** *cett*] τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐξελέξατο διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου Augustine$^{3/3}$ Vigilius$^{2/2}$.
ἀνελήμφθη] *ante* ἐντειλάμενος **D d** sy$^{p,hmg}$ cop$^{sa}$ | *om* **gig t*** Augustine$^{3/3}$ **Vigilius$^{2/2}$ Ephraem.**
καὶ ἐκέλευσε **D d** sy$^{hmg}$ Augustine$^{3/3}$ Vigilius$^{1/2}$ **Ephraem.**
κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον **D d ar gig t** lux vg$^{codd}$ sy$^{hmg}$ cop$^{sa,G67}$ Tertullian$^{apol\ 21\ [vid]}$ Augustine$^{3/3}$ **Vigilius$^{2/2}$ Ephraem [cf. Epistle of Barnabas v. 2].**

The effect here is dramatic : the ascension is eliminated entirely from the passage, for the 'Western' text reports that the author of Acts merely says, 'I have dealt, O Theophilus, with all that

*24:* 51), **but never in place of the same term.** Διΐστημι, **in the NT, occurs only in Luke-Acts, and no other gospel uses** ἀφίστημι.



Jesus began to do and to teach on the day when he chose the apostles through the Holy Spirit and commanded [them] to preach the gospel'.

Secondly, the absence of a clause, the use of a synonym, and the slight rearrangement of the passage in the 'Western' text of Acts 1 : 9 produces a somewhat similar though less dramatic result :

Acts 1 : 9

| Codex Vaticanus | 'Western' Text |
|---|---|
| *καὶ ταῦτα* ● 17r&v | *καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ* |
| *αὐτῶν βλεπόντων* | |
| *ἐπήρθη,* | |
| *καὶ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν* | *νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν* |
| *ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.* | |
| | *καὶ ἀπήρθη* |
| | *ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.* |

αὐτῶν βλεπόντων] *om* **D d** cop$^{sa}$ **Augustine.**
ἐπήρθη **B** *cett* (= **levatus est)]** ἀπήρθη (= **sublatus est)** cop$^{sa}$ **Augustine Promissionibus.**
ἀπὸ (τῶν) ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν] ἀπ' αὐτῶν cop$^{sa}$ **Cyprian Augustine** | ἀπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν **(a discentibus) Promissionibus.**

The lack of the expression, 'as they were looking on', reduces—if only slightly–the nature of the ascension as an observable incident, and the 'Western' text goes on to say that Jesus was 'taken away/removed' (**ἀπαίρω ; *sublatus est***) rather than 'taken up/lifted up' (**ἐπαίρω ; *levatus est***),[8] again reducing–in a similar fashion–the explicit emphasis on a vertical, objectified ascension. Finally, the clause, 'a cloud took him' (***RSV***) has a slightly different nuance in the 'Western' text due to the rearrangement of the passage and the consequent change in the force of the verb **ὑπολαμβάνω** (whose meanings include 'take up', 'take away', 'remove', 'seize', 'come suddenly upon', 'receive and protect') :

| Codex Vaticanus (***RSV***) | 'Western' Text |
|---|---|
| And when he had said this, | And when he had said this, |
| as they were looking on, | |
| he was lifted up, | |

**[8] The variant** ὑπέβαλεν **in D (for** ὑπέλαβεν**), though a construable form, does not easily make sense and must be viewed as an error.**

| | |
|---|---|
| and a cloud took him | a cloud suddenly came upon him, |
| | and he was removed |
| out of their sight.[9] | from their sight.[10] |

Plooij, long ago, suggested that for the 'Western reviser' 'the "ascension" was alright [sic!], but a bodily ascension was too much for him'.[11] This, however, may be saying too much, for while the 'Western' formulation certainly does not *demand* an ascension in the usual sense, it also cannot be said to *preclude* such an understanding. Yet the reduction of the objectifying features is noticeable and significant.

As the reader of Acts continues through this context, however, the 'Western' textual variations pertaining to the ascension suddenly-almost inexplicably-diminish, though they do not disappear, and the expected consistency in reducing the historical, observable aspects of the ascension is not carried through, leaving the scholar unsatisfied but not without some intriguing questions. In v. 10, both the 'Neutral' and 'Western' texts, without significant variation between or within the two traditions, describe the apostles as 'gazing into heaven as he [Jesus] went' (*RSV*). Verse 11 continues with the statement of the 'two men in white clothing' to the apostles: 'Why do you stand looking into heaven ? This Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven' (*RSV*). In this verse, only two traces of consistency with 'Western' variants in the passages previously discussed remain: one is the lack of the second occurrence of the expression, 'into heaven' (though not of the first or the third or the occurrence in v. 10):

Acts 1:11

| Codex Vaticanus | Codex Bezae |
|---|---|
| *Ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἑστήκατε* | *Ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἑστήκατε* |
| *βλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν;* | *ἐμβλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν;* |
| *οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς* | *οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς* |
| *ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν* | *ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν* |
| *εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν* | |
| *οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον* | *οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον* |
| *ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν* | *ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν* |
| *πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.* | *πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.* |

**[9] van Stempvoort, *NTS* 5 (1958–9), 37–8, stresses the 'verticality' in various terms in the usual text of Acts 1: 9.**

**[10] The 'Western' text may have lacked 'from their eyes/sight' and read simply 'from them', as in Augustine (ab *eis*).**

**[11] Plooij, 'The Ascension in the "Western" Textual Tradition', 53.**



Codex Gigas (gig) & Augustine, *sermon* 277: Viri Galilaei, quid statis aspicientes in caelum? Hic Jesus, qui receptus [acceptus (Aug)] est a vobis sic veniet, quemadmodum [quomodo (Aug)] vidistis eum euntern in caelum.

Tertullian, *Adversus Praxeam c. 30*: Hic et venturus est rursus super nubes caeli, talis qualis et ascendit.

*ἀναλημφθείς* (= assumptus est) B D *cett*] receptus est e gig p; acceptus est Augustine$^{\text{serm }277(=1/2)}$.
*εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* (2d) ℵ B *cett* ar e **ph vg** sy$^{p,h}$ cop$^{sa,bo}$ **arm geo**] *om* D d *minn* $l^{60}$ gig t* vg$^{codd}$ cop$^{bo\ mss}$ Augustine$^{\text{serm }277(=1/2)}$ Vigilius Promissionibus.

The absence of the phrase, 'into heaven', only one out of four times cannot be marshalled as evidence that the 'Western' text of w. 10-11 lacked a narrative of the ascension as an observable phenomenon, yet the fact that it is the *second* occurrence of the phrase in v. 11 that is involved (and not one of the others) takes on added significance upon the further scrutiny of the 'Western' textual evidence. Two of the Old Latin witnesses that lack this second 'into heaven' (and two others that do not) also employ a different term for *assumptus est,* that is, for the Greek expression, *ἀναλημφθείς* or 'taken up'; instead, they use *receptus est* or *acceptus est,* that is, 'taken'. The result-admittedly only for that single clause of v. 11 (though cf. below on 1:22)—is that the text of these witnesses, rather than reading 'This Jesus who was taken up from you into heaven ...', reads now 'This Jesus who was taken from you ...'. An ascension is neither explicit nor required in the latter formulation (though, of course, it remains in the other portions of vv. 10-11). It is of more than passing interest, moreover, that the same two witnesses, Augustine (though not in the same writing) and Codex Gigas (gig), also drop the term *ἀνελήμφθη*, that is, ***assumptus est*** from Acts 1: 2 (see above), suggesting a 'Western' textual strain that was reluctant, in these two passages, to describe Jesus as 'taken up (into heaven)'. With this should be compared the absence in the 'Western' text at Luke 24 : 51 of the clause, 'and was taken up into heaven' (see above), a further evidence of the same reluctance. Also, Acts 1: 22, the final passage that treats the ascension as an observable event involving transfer from earth to heaven, fits into this discussion in a similar way; in the context of replacing Judas among the apostles, the verse specifies that the person chosen must be (v. 21) 'one of the men who have accompanied us during all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, (v. 22) beginning from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up from us ...' (*RSV*). This passage, which yields no major variants in the textual tradition, envisions a historical, datable ascension, but it offers no further narrative description of the event. Yet, the same phenomenon observed above in certain Old Latin witnesses appears here as well and should not be viewed in isolation. Whereas the Greek textual tradition uniformly reads 'until the day when he was taken up ...' (*ἕως [or ἄχρι] τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήμφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν*), once again the Old Latin witnesses gig and *p* have ***receptus est*** for *ἀνελήμφθη* (***assumptus est***), perfectly consistent with their reading of 1: 11, so that in both cases Jesus is merely 'taken from them/us', rather than explicitly 'taken up (into heaven)',

The remaining trace in Acts 1:11 of consistency with the 'Western' tendencies regarding the ascension is minor but perhaps worth noting. Tertullian's reading of the clause in 11b, 'This Jesus ... will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven', is as follows: 'This [Jesus] also will come back again on a cloud, such as he went up' (*Hic et venturus est rursus super nubes caeli, talis qualis et ascendit*). The result is that here the disciples are not represented as having *seen* Jesus ascend, supporting (though in a somewhat different way) the deobjectifying tendency seen elsewhere in other 'Western' witnesses to this passage.[12]

A comparison of the witnesses attesting these 'Western'

[12] *See* J. Rendel Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament* (London: Clay, 1894), 56-7; Plooij, 'The Ascension', 17.



variants presently being discussed, namely, (1) the omission in Luke 24 : 51; (2) the omission of *ἀνελήμφθη* in Acts 1: 2; (3) the use of ***sublatus est*** for ***levatus est*** in Acts 1: 9; (4) the omission of 'into heaven' in 1:11; (5) the use of ***receptus est*** or ***acceptus est*** in 1:11 or (6) of ***receptus est*** in 1: 22, shows that Augustine supports five of these six (though not consistently in citing a given passage); that Codex Gigas supports four of the five pertaining to Acts; and that Codex Bezae (D and *d*), *p*, *t**, *De promissionibus*, and Vigilius each support two of the six variations. (Not all, of course, are extant at all places.) This suggests-though certainly it cannot prove-that the 'Western' text tended strongly to resist any description of Jesus as being 'taken up into heaven' (and perhaps also as being *seen* going up into heaven), even though our extant witnesses to that 'Western' textual tradition do not show that this tendency was carried through with rigid consistency.

Indeed, anyone who has worked extensively with the 'Western' text knows that this aberrant textual tradition-like any other—is only imperfectly preserved for us in available Greek manuscripts, versions, and patristic quotations; that much effort must be expended to ascertain the likely original 'Western' text; and also that significant clues about its character must be pursued not only with vigour but also with some reasoned imagination. (After all, the Greek 'Western' tradition suffered over time by assimilation to its rival 'Neutral' text, just as the 'Western' Old Latin and Old Syriac witnesses were quite thoroughly overshadowed by their respective Vulgate editions.) In the present case-the ascension in Luke-Acts-there is enough consistency of viewpoint presented in the relevant 'Western' variants to encourage that kind of further exploration and creative imagination. As demonstrated above, the relevant textual variations comprising the evidence serve-rather strikingly, though not with the consistency that might be desired—to diminish most effectively-though not completely-the entire NT's portrayal of the ascension as an objectified event. Indeed, to put it differently, had the 'Western' text carried through its tendency here with full rigour, and were the 'Western' text to be adjudged the original Lucan text, the ascension as an observable incident would all but disappear from the NT. Alternatively, were the standard (i.e. the 'Neutral') Lucan text to be taken as original-which seems more likely-an argument could be made (with only some slightly rough edges) that the 'Western' text assumed for itself the task of reducing if not eliminating the observable, objectifying aspects of the ascension from the gospels and Acts.

This view, however, has two difficulties that cannot be overcome easily or with complete satisfaction. The first-mentioned several times already-is the lack of complete consistency in the 'Western' text at the pertinent points. The extent to which consistency actually is absent could be discerned, of course, if the original, presumably 'pure' form of the 'Western' text at Luke 24: 51 and Acts 1: 2, 9-11, and 22 were available to us. At best, however, that text has been preserved only incompletely, yet with extensive and provocative indications of what it might have been-indeed, what it must have been. Taking the clues provided by these known points, as we have observed them here and there among the 'Western' witnesses, can we plot the trajectory that the 'Western' textual tradition has followed with respect to the ascension ? Can we trace its path backwards along these remaining observable points, and can we then break through boldly to what the uncontaminated, presumably early 'Western' text must have been ? The clues are clear enough : numerous variations in the 'Western' witnesses that vitiate the observable aspects of the ascension ; and a tendency is adequately evident : a pattern of recurrent reduction of these objectifying features by the 'Western' tradition. The only thing lacking is rigorous consistency. Accordingly, I would venture that, whereas the 'Neutral' textual tradition yields a narrative description of the ascension as an observable transfer from earth to heaven, on the contrary the 'Western' configuration of the ascension material in these same passages originally read as follows (with demonstrable support lacking at only a few points) :

(Luke 24 :50–3) Then he led them out as far as Bethany, and lifting up his hands he blessed them. While he was blessing them, he went away from them. And they returned to Jerusalem with great joy, and were continually in the temple praising God.[13]

(Acts 1: 1-2) In the first book, O Theophilus, I have dealt with all that Jesus began to do and to teach on the day when he chose the apostles through the Holy Spirit and commanded them to preach the gospel.

(Acts 1: 6–7) So when they had come together ... he said to them, (Acts 1: 8b–12a) '... And you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth'. And when he had said this, a cloud suddenly came upon him, and he was removed from their sight. And while they were looking intently as he departed, behold, two men stood by them in white clothing and said, 'Men of Galilee, why do you stand and stare? This Jesus, who was taken from you, will come back in the same way that you saw him depart'. Then they returned to Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet. ...

(Acts 1: 15, 21-2) In those days Peter stood up among the disciples . . . and said, '. . . So one of the men who have accompanied us during all the time that the Lord Jesus Christ went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken from us-one of these men must become with us a witness to his resurrection'. (*RSV* modified)

In this 'Western' version, the ascension does not occur at all until at least Acts 1: 9, or more probably not until 1: 10 or 11, whereas in the 'Neutral' text it appears clearly at both Luke 24 : 51 and again at Acts 1: 2 and 1: 9. Furthermore, this carrying of the 'Western' tendencies in Luke's treatment of the ascension to their logical conclusion leaves an account that describes the ascension only as a removal of the risen Christ from the presence of his disciples, with no descriptive narrative of the transfer from earth to heaven. All of the undocumented changes, incidentally, involve words or phrases that are elsewhere suppressed or modified in this same context in the 'Western' tradition, namely the phrase 'into heaven' in vv. 10 and 11 (in accordance with its omission in v. 11), and the verb ἀναλημφθείς in vv. 11 and 22 as modified by Augustine and Codex Gigas in v. 11.

If the slight liberties taken here with respect to these few words can be tolerated, perhaps one more inconsistency in the 'Western' tradition can be overlooked, for the second and remaining difficulty in the present study is one not mentioned earlier, the fact that Codex Bezae, along with numerous 'Western' and other witnesses, contains the longer ending of Mark, which—in turn-contains a brief narrative description of the ascension in a historical context, as quoted earlier (16 : 19) : 'So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up (ἀνελήμφθη)

[13] The rationale for 'joy' and 'praise' admittedly is less clear in the 'Western' text.

into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God' (*RSV*). The answer to this anomaly of the preservation by the 'Western' text of an appended ascension story lies somewhere in that still mysterious history of NT textual transmission, and within the scope of this study it must remain unanswered.

### III. CONCLUSION

Our familiarity with the great creeds of Christianity may have led us to assume that the ascension looms much larger in the NT than it actually does. That the risen Christ has been exalted and is at God's right hand is clear from Acts, the Pauline letters, Hebrews, and Revelation; and that the risen Christ 'went up' or 'ascended' (though without further description) is presupposed by the Fourth Gospel and is clear also from the deutero-Pauline and general epistles (though it well might be noted that-perhaps surprisingly-there is no mention of the ascension at all in the early credal formulation quoted by Paul in 1 Cor. 15 : 4). The passages that describe an objectified transfer of the risen Christ from earth to heaven are, however, strikingly few in number, rather restrained in their descriptive character, and severely restricted in location : Luke-Acts only. The early creeds of Christianity and their successors do, of course, depict an observable event: he was crucified, dead, buried, rose again, and 'ascended into heaven' (or 'into the heavens' [*ἀνάβαντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς*] as the Old Roman Symbol has it), but the NT, as we have seen, keeps this kind of description to a minimum.

Our analysis of the text of the Lucan passages reveals a further limitation in the notion of an observable ascension in early Christianity, namely, that the 'Western' tradition bears only fragmentary traces of such an objectified ascension. This situation leaves us with some searching questions about the process of textual transmission : first, since the primary remnant of an objectified ascension in the 'Western' text of Luke-Acts consists of the phrase, 'into heaven' (*εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*), could it be that the presence of that phrase in the old creeds (though there it is in the plural) made it virtually impossible to keep the phrase completely out of the various witnesses to the 'Western' text? Secondly, if the 'Western' text were the original text of the gospels and Acts (or even Luke-Acts alone)-an issue quite beyond the scope of this paper-could it then not be argued with considerable persuasion that the notion of the ascension of the risen Christ as a visible transfer from earth to heaven was only a secondary and later development in early Christian thought?

Quite apart from the answers to these questions, and even disregarding the slight liberties taken in this paper so as to make the 'Western' text rigorously consistent with its obvious tendency, one conclusion is clear : the 'Western' textual tradition restricts the narrative description of an objectified ascension virtually to a single passage in the NT : Acts 1 : 10-11, with an additional brief mention of it in 1 : 22—a total of about eight lines in the Greek NT !

# 11. The Texts of Acts: A Problem of Literary Criticism ?[1]

M.-E. BOISMARD

THE so-called 'Western' text of the Acts of the Apostles has given much concern to exegetes. Besides numerous important variants, the text is notably longer than the Alexandrian text. How does one account for this phenomenon? At the end of the last century, F. Blass[2] had suggested the following hypothesis: the author of Acts himself altered his text in order to improve it; the Western text gives us the first redaction, the Alexandrian text, the second. Taken up anew by Zahn,[3] this hypothesis was then completely abandoned. In 1933, Albert C. Clark[4] upheld the priority of the Western text over the Alexandrian text; the latter was a slightly simplified version of the first, written in the course of the second century. But as early as 1926, James H. Ropes[5] had held the opposite view and given priority to the Alexandrian text, while recognizing that it should be improved at more than one point. M.-J. Lagrange[6] adopted the same position, and we find it again, for example, in E. Haenchen's commentary,[7] the last edition of which came

[1] This article was written in collaboration with A. Lamouille and completed in 1978. We are grateful to Lorraine Caza for the English translation.

[2] F. Blass, *Acta Apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter: Editio philologica apparatu critico, commentario perpetuo, indice verborum illustrata* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895), 30–2.

[3] Th. Zahn, *Die Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur, IX. Teil ; Leipzig: Deichert, 1916).

[4] A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes on Selected Passages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933).

[5] J. H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts.* Vol. 3 of *The Beginnings of Christianity: Part I, The Acts of the Apostles* (ed. by F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake; 5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1926).

[6] M.-J. Lagrange, *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament: II: Critique textuelle: II, La critique rationnelle* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1935), 389–420.

[7] E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (MeyerK 3; 6th edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968); Eng. trans., *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971).

out in 1965. A number of authors[8] refuse to take a stand and adopt a more eclectic position: *a priori we* cannot decide in favour of one of the texts against the other; each case must be judged in particular and the variant which intrinsically seems the best must be chosen, whether it appears in the Alexandrian text or in the Western text. In general, it so happens that the most recent studies prefer the Alexandrian text to the Western text, holding that even though it might have retained a few authentic readings, the latter is the result of a revision made during the first half of the second century and characterized by clear-cut theological tendencies.9

We do not pretend to solve the problem of the relation between the two competing texts in this article ; we simply wish to draw the attention of specialists to certain aspects of the problem which have been neglected up to now. We thought that it was necessary to start with a very tight analysis of the vocabulary and style of both texts. We did it for Acts 11: 2, and this helped to bring out the fact that not only the Alexandrian text, but also and mainly the Western text, have an undeniable 'Lucan' style which cannot possibly be the work of a skilful imitator of Luke's style. It then becomes necessary to reconsider F. Blass's hypothesis, and this we tried to do by analysing Acts 19:1, a passage in the Western text which is tightly linked to Acts 11: 2. The result of this analysis suggests that the Alexandrian text and the Western text are a kind of echo of various successive forms of Acts, prior to its final redaction. In other words, the problems of textual criticism and of literary criticism are closely linked.

## I

Acts 11: 2

| Alexandrian Text | Western text |
|---|---|
| | *ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἠθέλησεν πορευθῆναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* |

[8] For example, G. D. Kilpatrick, 'An Eclectic Study of the Text of Acts', *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963), 64-77; Dom Jacques Dupont, *Les problèmes du livre des Actes d'après les travaux récents* (ALBO 2/17; Louvain, 1950), 25-7.

[9] See, for instance, Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTSMS 3; London/New York: Cambridge University, 1966); C. M. Martini, 'La figura di Pietro secondo le varianti del codice D negli Atti degli Apostoli', *San Pietro: Atti della XIX setfimana biblica* (Brescia, 1967), 279-89.



| | |
|---|---|
| | *καὶ προσφωνήσας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐπιστηρίξας αὐτοὺς ⟨ἐξῆλθεν⟩ πολὺν λόγον ποιούμενος διὰ τῶν χωρῶν διδάσκων αὐτούς. ὃς καὶ κατήντησεν ⟨αὐτοῦ⟩ καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ.* |
| *ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβη Πέτρος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ* | |
| *διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς . . .* | *οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιτομῆς ἀδελφοὶ διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτόν . . .* |

The Western text is attested here by Codex Bezae (D), Codex Perpinianus (*p*) of the OL version, two MSS of the Vulgata (*q*, *w*), the Philoxenian Syriac version, and cop[G67], a Coptic MS from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth, kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library.10 The last sentence is attested only in D and in cop[G67], the other witnesses having replaced it by the Alexandrian text. We have reproduced here the text of Codex Bezae with two corrections. Following Clark, we have restored the verb *ἐξῆλθεν* with all the MSS other than D. On the other hand, in the last sentence, the *κατήντησεν αὐτοῖς* is impossible; with Zahn, we have replaced the *αὐτοῖς* by the adverb *αὐτοῦ*;[11] it is easy to see how a scribe would put in an *αὐτοῖς* under the influence of the one that follows, The Coptic MS has 'Jerusalem' instead of *αὐτοῖς*, a proof that he read there a locative and not a personal pronoun ; he might have made explicit an *αὐτοῦ* from the Greek text.

1. The Alexandrian text does not present any problem in vocabulary or in style. The initial *ὅτε δέ* is in the manner of Acts/Luke (8+1/8);[12] one may note especially the formula *ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβη*, which has its equivalent in Acts 8 : 39 (*ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβησαν*) and cannot be found anywhere else in the NT. The form *Ἱερουσαλήμ* instead of *Ἱεροσόλυμα* is particularly frequent in Acts/Luke (38+27/13); we find it after the verb 'to ascend',

[10] Cf. T. C. Peterson, 'An Early Coptic Manuscript of Acts: An Unrevised Version of the Ancient So-called Western Text', *CBQ* 26 (1964), 225-41.

[11] This substitution is also suggested in Nestle–Aland[25].

[12] The first number refers to Acts; the second to Luke's Gospel; the third to the rest of the NT. We shall indicate the references *only* when the examples are difficult to locate in a concordance.

as we have here, in Luke 18: 31; Acts 15: 2; 21: 12; 24: 11. The first of these examples is interesting in that Luke replaces Ἱεροσόλυμα, attested in the Mark/Matt. parallels, by Ἰερουσαλήμ.

On the other hand, the formula **οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς** would have a more Pauline flavour.[13] Further on, we will see that the parallel formula in the Western text is more in keeping with the style of Acts/Luke. But, since Pauline influences are not lacking in Acts, the Alexandrian text could easily give a text which is authentically Lucan.

2. Let us now analyse very closely the details of the Western text, which is much more elaborate than the Alexandrian.

**ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος.** The very classical **μὲν οὖν** formula is much more frequent in Acts than in the rest of the NT (27+1/11). To be more precise, it is practically only in Acts that it is, as we see here, immediately inserted between a substantive or a proper name and its article (8+0/1).[14] Finally, it must be noted that the complete expression **ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος** is found in Acts 12:5, in a passage without any thematic connection with this one.

**διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου.** The adjective **ἱκανός** is much more frequent in Acts/Luke than in the rest of the NT (18+9/12), and only in Acts/Luke does it accompany the substantive **χρόνος** (3+3/0)[15] or the word **ἡμέρα** (4+0/0).[16] On the other hand, **διά** with the genitive here has the meaning of 'after, at the end of' ; it is seldom so used in the NT but is found in Acts 24:17 in a formula close to that of 11: 2 : **δι' ἐτῶν δὲ πλειόνων**; in both texts the space of time is indeterminate. The two other instances where **διά** has the same meaning are Gal. 2:1 and Mark 2:1.[17]

**ἠθέλησεν πορευθῆναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.** The verb **πορεύεσθαι** is especially frequent in Acts/Luke (37+51/59), often when it is followed by **εἰς** and the name of a place, as we have here (10+14/12). Furthermore the place name in this instance is 'Jerusalem', and we find only one such case outside of Acts/Luke (3+4/1).[18]

[13] Rom. 4: 12; Gal. 2: 12; Titus 1: 10; cf. Col. 4: 11. In Gal. 2: 12 the expression refers to Judeo-Christians just as in Acts 11: 2.

[14] Acts 9: 31; 12: 5; 16: 5; 17: 30; 23: 22, 31; 25: 4; 26: 4; John 19: 24.

[15] Acts 8: 11; 14: 3; 27: 9; Luke 8: 27; 20: 9; 23: 8.

[16] Acts 9: 23, 43; 18: 18; 27: 7.

[17] In Matt. 26: 61 = Mark 14: 58, the meaning would rather be 'in' (*während*); cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, διὰ, A II 1 b.

[18] Acts 19: 21; 20: 22; 25: 20; Luke 2: 41; 9: 51, 53; 17: 11; Rom. 15: 25.



For 'Jerusalem', Luke's writings give either Ἱεροσόλυμα (23+4/36) or Ἰερουσαλήμ (38+27/13) ; this second form is, as one can see, much more Lucan than the first and it is found in 11: 2 in the Alexandrian text (see above). Were the Western text the work of a gifted imitator of Lucan style, why then should he have replaced the very Lucan Ἰερουσαλήμ by Ἱεροσόλυμα? Would he have been subtle enough to observe the following fact : whereas Luke always has Ἰερουσαλήμ after the formula **πορεύεσθαι εἰς**, we have the form Ἱεροσόλυμα in Acts (19 : 21; 25 : 20 ; also in 20 : 22 according to the Western text) ? Who would dare maintain this? It is therefore to be noted that the Western text reflects at this point the quite subtle distinction in style which exists between Luke and Acts, a distinction all the more astonishing since the Alexandrian text of 11: 2 has Ἰερουσαλήμ and not Ἱεροσόλυμα.

**καὶ προσφωνήσας τοὺς ἀδελφούς.** The term 'brothers' to designate Christians is frequent in the Acts, as in Paul. But the use of the verb **προσφωνεῖν** here is very significant. To render 'to call to oneself' in the sense of 'to have someone come near', it would have been more normal to use the verb **προσκαλεῖσθαι** (9+4/16). The verb **προσφωνεῖν** is quite typical of Acts/Luke (2+4/1), but the following point must be made. As in classical Greek, its most frequent meaning is 'to address oneself to', and it is then followed by a dative ; it has the meaning of 'calling to oneself' with a direct object in the accusative, as we find here, only in Luke 6 : 13,[19] a text in which Luke replaces by **προσφωνεῖν** the **προσκαλεῖσθαι** attested by Mark and Matthew. Never would a clever imitator of Luke's style have referred to Luke 6 : 13 to use **προσφωνεῖν** here, instead of **προσκαλεῖσθαι**.

**καὶ ἐπιστηρίξας αὐτοὺς ἐξῆλθεν.** The verb **ἐξέρχεσθαι** in the sense of 'to go away' is frequent in Acts, as in the Gospels. On the other hand, the verb **ἐπιστηρίζειν** is typical of Acts (3+0/0), where it always carries the meaning of 'strengthening' the morale of the Christians.

**πολὺν λόγον ποιούμενος διὰ τῶν χωρῶν.** The expression **πολὺς λόγος** is characteristic of Acts in the NT. The Alexandrian text as well as the Western text witness to this fact in 15 : 32 and 20 : 2 ; it is also found in the Western text alone at 13 : 44, in a construction using the same verb : **πολύν τε λόγον ποιησαμένου.**

[19] And perhaps also in Luke 13: 12.

This expression is close to that of Acts 2:40 in both forms of the text: *ἑτέροις τε λόγοις πλείοσιν διεμαρτύρατο* (‘and by many other words, he exhorted them’). One more point must be made : here Peter gives several speeches while crossing the country to go up to Jerusalem ; in 20:2, Paul acts similarly while passing through Macedonia ; the circumstances are analogous. In 20:2, instead of the *παρακαλέσας αὐτοὺς λόγῳ πολλῷ* attested by the Alexandrian text, the Western text has the formula *καὶ χρησάμενος λόγῳ πολλῷ*, close to the one we find here.

Also note the expression ‘to make a speech’ (*λόγον ποιεῖν*) here and in 13 : 44 of the Western text (see above) ; it corresponds to that of Acts 1:1 where the word *λόγος*, however, takes on a slightly different meaning : to give a written narrative and not an oral speech. But these are the only NT passages where the word *λόγος* is the direct object of the verb *ποιεῖν*.

Finally, the word *χώρα* is here used in the plural with the meaning ‘country’ ; the only other examples in the NT are in Luke 21:21; John 4 : 35 ; and Jas. 5 : 4. Concerning the use of *διά* followed by the genitive with the meaning ‘through’, see Acts 9: 32; 20:3; Luke 6: 1 ; and *passim*.

*ὃς καὶ κατήντησεν αὐτοῦ*. The placing of a *καί* right after a relative, whatever its case, is in keeping with the style of Acts/Luke, but is also frequently done by Paul ; to limit ourselves to the Gospels and Acts, the proportion is 17+5/5.[20] As for the verb *καταντάω*, it is especially frequent in Acts (9+0/4).

If we read *αὐτοῦ* instead of the impossible *αὐτοῖς*, in line with Zahn’s conjecture, we have an adverb of place which is in keeping with the style of Acts/Luke (2+1/1). On the other hand, in the sequence ‘he arrived there and announced to them (*αὐτοῖς*)’, the personal pronoun ‘them’ refers to the inhabitants of the country just mentioned (‘there’= Jerusalem) ; such an anomaly in style is also found in Acts 8 : 5 ; 8 : 14 ; 16 : 4 ; 16 : 10 ; 20 : 2 ; and in Luke 4 : 31 where Luke adds the pronoun *αὐτούς* to Mark’s text.

*καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ*. The verb *ἀπαγγέλλω* is well in the style of Acts/Luke (16+11/15). The expression ‘the grace of God’ (if we put aside Paul, who uses it frequently) is

[20] Acts 1: 3, 11; 7: 45; 10: 39; 11: 23, 30; 12: 4; 13: 22; 17: 34; 22: 5; 24: 5; 24: 6 (*bis*); 26: 10, 26; 27: 23; 28: 10; Luke 6: 13, 14; 7: 49; 10: 30, 39; Mark 3: 19; 15: 40, 43; Matt. 27: 57; John 21: 20.



found only in Acts 11: 23; 13: 43; 14: 26; and 20: 24 (see Luke 2:40 without the article).

*οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιτομῆς ἀδελφοί*. The formula of the Alexandrian text, which has only *οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς*, is very Pauline (see above). The Western text formula has good parallels in Acts: *οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοί* (10 : 45), *ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Λύστροις καὶ Ἰκονίῳ ἀδελφῶν* (16 : 2), *τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς* (15 : 23). The Western text formula is, therefore, more Lucan than the Alexandrian.

3. What consequences can be drawn from these stylistic analyses? All modern critical editions keep the Alexandrian text as the only valid echo of the authentic text of Acts. The stylistic analysis has shown that there is nothing against this, as far as one can judge from a passage made up of only twelve words. Then what about the Western text? Should it be attributed to an anonymous hand, revising the text of Acts during the second century? But in this case, an insurmountable problem arises: how can an author, however clever, have imitated in such a thorough way the vocabulary and style of Acts, and even of Luke’s gospel, in a forty-six-word passage, without making the slightest slip in his text? True, certain words, certain formulas might have been borrowed from parallel passages, but we cannot say this about the text as a whole, and we have noted in passing the cases where an anthological style is impossible. The only plausible solution is to admit that the Western text is an authentically Lucan text.

Are we then to reject the Alexandrian text and attribute it to a reviser who, in this case also, would have skilfully imitated the style of Acts? Such a hypothesis would be more easily acceptable since the Alexandrian text is four times shorter than the Western text. Nevertheless, we believe that the most plausible hypothesis is that which F. Blass suggested at the beginning of the century: the two texts are authentically Lucan ; Luke himself would be responsible for the revision of his work. But, against Blass, we think that this revision had to do not only with the vocabulary and style, but also with the heart of the work itself. This is what we would like to show in the following example.

## II

Acts **19:1**

| Alexandrian Text | western text |
|---|---|
| | *θέλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* |
| | *εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν* |
| *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν Ἀπολλῶ εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ* | |
| *Παῦλον διελθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ* | *&&& δὲ τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ* |
| *μέρη ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἔφεσον* | *μέρη ἔρχεται εἰς Ἔφεσον* |

Here, the Western text is backed not only by D and Ephraem, but also by the Michigan papyrus **1571** (**𝔭**[38], dated around 300). Except for a few orthographical details, the texts of **𝔭**[38] and D are identical, and that is the one we have reproduced above. For a reason that will appear later on, we will first analyse the Western text.

1. The Western text of Acts **19:1 is closely** linked to that of 11:2 which we have just **analysed** ; they begin in a very similar way: *ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος . . . ἠθέλησεν πορευθῆναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* (*I* **1 : 2**) ; *θέλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου . . . πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* (**19:1**). The presence of two such similar sentences would not appear strange in Acts, because such cases often appear elsewhere in passages where the Alexandrian and Western texts are practically identical. For instance, the same words are found in 8 : 4 and in 11:19: *οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες . . . διῆλθον*, or again in 8 : **14:** *ἀκούσαντες δὲ . . . ὅτι δέδεκται . . . τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* and in 11:1: *ἤκουσαν δὲ . . . ὅτι . . . ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ.*

*θέλοντος . . . εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.* Here we refer our reader to explanations that were given about 11: 2. We will only add a few words concerning the expression *κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλήν.* The substantive *βουλή* is quite typical of the vocabulary of Acts/ Luke (7+2/3), where it can point to the will of men as well as to that of God, The text closest to the one we are here studying is Acts 27: 12: *οἱ πλείονες ἔθεντο βουλὴν ἀναχθῆναι ἐκεῖθεν.* In both texts, it is a question of the ‘will’ to move to another place.



*εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.* A similar sentence is found in the Western text of 20 : *3* : *εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφειν διά . . . .* Let us first note the typically Lucan *ὑποστρέφειν* (11+21/3). *Next*, let us look at ‘the Spirit tells him’. With or without the personal pronoun, it is found in Acts 8 *:* 29 about Philip, in 10:19 and 11:12 about Peter, in 13 : 2 concerning the Antiochian community. In 10:19 and 13 : 2, it is preceded by a genitive absolute as it is here ; 10:19 is interesting as a term of comparison because the rhythm of the sentence is similar: *τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου διενθυμουμένου . . . εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα.*[21]

The Western text is here in line with what was said in 16:*6*: ‘They went through Phrygia and the Galatian territory, the Holy Spirit having prevented them from announcing the word in Asia’ (cf. **16 :** *7).* Paul, then, acts under the impulse of the Spirit, who first forbids him to go to Asia (16:6), and then, on the contrary, orders him to travel there (19:1). We will return to this problem later on ; but let us say here that it would be strange if the author of Acts, who is so concerned with establishing a parallel between the missionary activities of Paul and of Peter, had described in a positive way the action of the Spirit in Peter (10 *:* 19*;* 11: 12) but only negatively this action on Paul (**16 : 6-7**) ; such an anomaly disappears if the texts of **19:1** and **20** :*3*, under their Western form, are held as authentic.

*διελθὼν δὲ τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη.* This beginning of the sentence is found also in the Alexandrian text, with, however, the initial participle in the accusative. The verb *διέρχεσθαι*, followed by the accusative, is very Lucan (10+2/3). On the other hand, the adjective *ἀνωτερικός* is a NT ***hapax legomenon.***

*ἔρχεται εἰς Ἔφεσον.* The verb *ἔρχεται* is the only element out of tune in this passage, which is otherwise so Lucan. One knows as a matter of fact, that historical presents are very few in Acts/Luke, and this would be the unique case of an occurrence with *ἔρχεσθαι.* The problem, however, is not entirely insoluble ; there are ten historical presents characteristic of Luke and thirteen in Acts. Among the latter, one might note the *θεωρεῖ* of 10:11, linked to an aorist, and the *εὑρίσκει* of 10: *27.*

**[21] The *εἶπεν* preceded by a genitive absolute is very Lucan in structure: 4+8/4. The references are as follows: Acts 10:19; 13: 2; 18: 14; 27: 30–1; Luke 8: 4, 45; 9: 43; 19: 33; 20: 45; 21: 5; 24: 5, 41; Matt. 17: 22; 27: 17; Matt. 26: 21 = Mark 14: 18. One will note that Luke often modifies the parallel texts of Matt./ Mark in order to get this structure.**

2. Though, at first glance, very Lucan in style, the Alexandrian text in fact embodies a subtle difficulty. *ἐγένετο* at the beginning of a clause is typical of the style of Acts/Luke (20+19/2), and in Lucan material it is followed either (a) by *ἐν τῷ* and the infinitive or (b) by the accusative and infinitive. Construction (a) appears frequently in the Gospel of Luke, but this is the only instance in Acts (1+20/1).[22] Construction (b), on the contrary, is frequent in Acts but rare in the Gospel of Luke (17+4/1).[23] These observations highlight the double anomaly in the Alexandrian text of Acts 19:1. It is the only instance in all of the Lucan material where constructions *(a)* and (b) are *combined,* and the only passage in Acts where construction (a) appears. The anomaly disappears if we assume that *ἐν τῷ τὸν Ἀπολλῶ εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ* is a Lucan interpolation. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the omission of these words yields a sentence exactly parallel to Acts 9:32.

| 9:32 | 19:1 |
|---|---|
| *ἐγένετο δὲ* | *ἐγένετο δὲ* |
| | *ἐν τῷ τὸν Ἀπολλῶ* |
| | *εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ* |
| *Πέτρον διερχόμενον* | *Παῦλον διελθόντα* |
| *διὰ πάντων* | *τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη* |
| *κατελθεῖν* | *ἐλθεῖν* |
| *πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους* | *εἰς Ἔφεσον* |

The sentence 19:1 follows the same pattern as 9:32 in order to underline the parallelism between the activities of Peter and Paul.

3. The preceding analyses bring us to the following conclusions. The mention of Apollos' stay in Corinth, which is absent from the Western text, seems to be an addition in the Alexandrian text. This addition is hard to place at the level of textual criticism, because it is attested by all the witnesses to the Alexandrian form. We could, then, have a problem of literary criticism

[22] Acts 19:1; Luke 1: 8; 2: 6; 3: 21; 5: 1, 12; 9: 18, 29, 33, 51; 11: 1, 27; 14: 1; 17: 11, 14; 18: 35; 19: 15; 24: 5, 15, 30, 51; Mark 4: 4. One will note that in Acts 9: 3, the *ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι* precedes the verb *ἐγένετο*; it is a different kind of usage, furthermore, a unique one in Acts/Luke.

[23] Acts 4: 5; 9: 3, 32, 37, 43; 10: 25; 11: 26; 14: 1; 16: 16; 19: 1; 21: 1, 5; 22: 6, 17; 27: 44; 28: 8, 17; Luke 6: 1 = Mark 2: 23; Luke 6: 6, 12; 16: 22.



which involves the presence, in the text of Acts, of the Apollos episode mentioned in **18 :** *24-8.*

*(a)* The Western text makes more sense without the Apollos episode. In this case, 19:1 would immediately follow **18 :** *22-3. So* let us consider the sequence 18 : 23b and 19:1. Paul crosses *the Galatian territory and* ***Phrygia*** **(18 : 23b),** then the Spirit tells him to return *to Asia* (19:1). This text is the exact opposite of that which we find in **16 :** *6:* Paul and Timothy cross ***Phrygia*** *and the Galatian territory,* but the Spirit prevents them from announcing the Word in *Asia.* The opposition between the two passages is partly destroyed by the insertion of the Apollos episode in Ephesus, in **18 :** *24-8.* The Western text of 19:1, like that of 11:2 (which is so close to it), is not due to the activity of some reviser of the text of Acts; it could well represent an authentic form of this text, prior to the one we now possess.

*(b)* In the Alexandrian text, the mention of Apollos in 19:1 must be considered as an addition of Lucan style. But if this addition is suppressed, 19:1 is much better connected with 18 : 22-3, without the Apollos episode narrated in 18 : 24-8. Paul's movements mentioned in 19:1 complete the description in **18 :** 23. The Alexandrian text under its present form implies also an earlier state of the text of Acts, in which there was no mention of Apollos' activity in Ephesus.

Therefore, we see how problems of textual criticism and literary criticism can be closely linked in Acts. The two examples we have just given are not sufficient to prove this ; nevertheless, they open up for serious study the problem foreseen by Blass.

# 12. The Holy Spirit in the Western Text of Acts

MATTHEW BLACK

In an earlier study of the text of Acts I have drawn attention to the comparatively recent shift in emphasis in textual studies from. the classical approach to textual problems to the hermeneutical questions raised by significant *variae Zectiones,* to be found, for instance, most notably in the work of Clark and Parvis in the USA or Menoud and Fascher on the continent of Europe.[1] One of the most detailed monographs in this connection has been Eldon Jay Epp's The *Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* in which Epp, following Menoud and others, who had noted certain prominent characteristics in the 'Western text' generally, such as a tendency to anti-Judaism, developed the thesis that these features were to be set down to a tendentious 'Western' reviser, with anti-Semitic views, a pronounced universalism of outlook, and both combined with a special theological interest in the Holy Spirit.[2]

In his important study on 'The Western Text and the Theology of Acts',[3] P. H. Menoud was careful to emphasize, in connection with the so-called Bezan 'supplements on the Holy Spirit, that, in fact, there was 'no theology of the Spirit peculiar to the Western writer'. Along similar lines Professor C. K. Barrett asks, in a recent study, 'Is there a theological tendency in Codex Bezae ?',[4] and writes : 'The main, perhaps the only, contention of this essay is that though scholars such as Menoud

[1] M. Black, 'Notes on the Longer and 'shorter Text of Acts', *On Language, Culture and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida (ed.* M. Black and W. A. Smalley; The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1974), 119–31.

[2] E. J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTSMS 3; London/New York: Cambridge University, 1966).

[3] P. H. Menoud, 'The Western Text and the Theology of Acts', *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas,* Bulletin 2 (1951), 30.

[4] C. K. Barrett, 'Is There a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?' *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black (ed.* E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; London/New York: Cambridge University, 1979), 15–27.

and Epp have rightly noted in D a tendency to anti-Judaism, and a few other related tendencies, these do not justify us in speaking of specific theological characteristics of the MS (or of the Western text). The essential characteristic of the MS, or text, is to exaggerate existing tendencies. ... This interest (anti-Judaism), along with other characteristics, was found in the original text of Acts, and all were developed and exaggerated by the Western editor'.[5]

This point of view will be widely shared by many textual scholars, but it still leaves several questions unanswered, such as the extent of such alleged 'exaggeration' in D, but above all the controversial issue, which is hardly even raised in this discussion, of the relationship of these two streams of textual tradition, the 'pure' old Uncial stream and the 'muddy waters' of the 'Western text'. Related they certainly are, for no one will deny a basic underlying original Lucan text.[6] But the questions as to whether and, if so, where, the longer text of D may represent more faithfully this primitive apostolic text are by no means closed, so that ***some of the anti-judaic 'Western' variants or Holy Spirit 'supplements' could in fact be originally Lucan, and the old Uncials a bowdlerized and abridged form of text.***[7]

The question then becomes one, not of theological tendencies being exaggerated, but of a possibly original, longer anti-Judaic and 'charismatic' textual tradition being modified, perhaps by pro-Jewish Alexandrian revisers. J. Rendel Harris's abortive attempt to demonstrate Montanist influences on the text of Codex Bezae[8] may point us in the right direction : they are not Montanist additions, but their disappearance from the B ℵ textual tradition is perhaps to be set down to anti-montanist tendencies.

Although 'Western' readings with the Holy Spirit had been frequently noted, M.-J. Lagrange was among the first to give some special consideration to them, listing seven in all : 6 : 10; 8: 18; 11: 17; 15: 29, 32; 19: 1; 20: 3.[9] A brief but comprehensive survey of the work of Ropes, Clark, Menoud, Klijn, Fascher, and Crehan is contained in Epp's monograph, which adds, in addition to the seven passages noted by Lagrange, three more where 'the Holy Spirit' occurs in 'Western' authorities alone: 8: 39; 15: 7; 26: 1.[10] (A number of other peculiarly 'Western' readings occur where the 'Holy Spirit' is mentioned in the context of both forms of text, e.g. 1: 2 ; 8 :16 ; 10 : 48.[11]) To the explicit occurrences of the 'Holy Spirit' in the 'Western text' only, I would add the variant of the Textus Receptus at 18 : 5, ***συνείχετο τῷ πνεύματι***, which may be a 'Western' reading.[12]

[5] Barrett, ibid., 26.

[6] Cf. Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 40.

[7] The controversial thesis of A. C. Clark about the 'Western' variants generally, in *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933).

[8] J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae: A Study of the So-Called Western Text of the New Testament* (London: Cambridge University, 1891), 148-53, 228-34.

[9] M.-J. Lagrange, *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament: II: Critique textuelle, II. La critique rationnelle* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1935), 54-5, 389-94; cf. C. S. C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1951), 56.



These 'Western' 'Holy Spirit' variants fall into three distinct categories : (1) where the Holy Spirit inspires utterance; (2) where it directs action ; and (3) where it is the pre- (or post-) baptismal Holy Spirit.

## I. THE HOLY SPIRIT AS INSPIRING UTTERANCE

Acts 6 : 10 reads (D ***et al.*** in brackets) : *οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀντιστῆναι τῇ σοφίᾳ [τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ] καὶ τῷ πνεύματι [τῷ ἁγίῳ] ᾧ ἐλάλει.* The shorter old Uncial text says simply, '... they could not withstand the wisdom and the Spirit with which he spoke' (RSY). To translate by 'the inspired wisdom with which he spoke' (*NEB*) does less than justice to what Luke's phrase connotes, and the rendering 'spoke in a spirited way' (Epp) could be quite wrong. ***RSV*** is closer to the original intention of the author by capitalizing Spirit, i.e. the Holy Spirit. Stephen spoke with the inspired utterance of the Pentecostal Spirit: it was such a man the Apostles had chosen-one of the seven 'full of the Spirit and wisdom' (v. 3), and Stephen was 'full of faith and the Holy Spirit' (v. 5). The D text makes this unambiguously clear by employing its usual fuller expression 'Holy Spirit'. In fact D here looks less like an 'interpolation' than an expansion and interpretation of the shorter old Uncial text. But the alternative hypothesis must also be considered, viz., that B ℵ is an editorial abridgement of the longer text, perhaps even suggesting the alternative meaning given to the expression by modern translators. Several other considerations may be urged in favour of the originality of D's 'additions' in this and the following verse,

[10] *Theological Tendency*, 7, 103-4, 116-17, 153-4.

[11] Ibid., 65-6; 62-3.

[12] Below, p. 170.

The words *διὰ τὸ ἐλέγχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας* in v. 10 explain why the Jews were unable to withstand Stephen's divinely inspired eloquence-'they were being refuted by him with all freedom of utterance'. The expression *ἐλέγχεσθαι ὑπό* occurs again at Luke 3 : 19, in a similar context (the Baptist 'reproving' Herod), and at Acts 18 : 28 the compound *διακατ-ελέγχεσθαι* is used of Apollos 'refuting' the Jews.13 This suggests that the phrase is Lucan ; two other words in D here, *παρρησία* and (in v. 11) *ἀντοφθαλμεῖν* also support Lucan authorship: the first occurs five times in Acts, and the comparatively rare word *ἀντοφθαλμεῖν*, either as here 'to confront (eyeball to eyeball)' or 'to sail in the face of' (Acts 27 :15), is confined to Luke in the NT.

In the account of the Jerusalem Council, there are three passages where the 'Western text' introduces the '(Holy) Spirit', viz. 15: 7, 29, 32.[14]

At Acts 15 : 7, D attaches *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* to *ἀνέστησεν*, 'rose up in the Spirit', an unusual combination, since *ἀνέστησεν* (B ℵ *ἀναστάς*) in this context, is normally an auxiliary verb ('rose up to speak'). Such an unlikely position would seem to point to the phrase as a somewhat carelessly inserted gloss. But the text may be at fault (*ἐν πνεύματι* sometimes occurs before, sometimes after *Πέτρος*), and the phrase may have gone originally with the main, not the auxiliary verb, i.e. *ἀνέστησεν Πέτρος (καὶ) ἐν πνεύματι εἶπεν*, which would bring the phrase into line with the normal connection of the operation of the Spirit in the utterance of the prophet or disciples. I suggest that the 'Western text' should be construed and rendered, 'Peter stood up and spoke in the Spirit .. .'. On such an important occasion, such a predicate so far from being a gloss could well be original, matching, as it does, similar introductions of the speeches of the apostles: e.g. 4: 8 (cf. 4: 31): *τότε Πέτρος πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς* . . . ; 7: 55 (Stephen) ; 13 : g (Paul). One possible reason among others for its omission may have been clumsy word-order, suggesting a connection with the auxiliary verb *ἀνέστησεν*.

At Acts 15 : 32 Dd has *καὶ αὐτοὶ προφῆται ὄντες πλήρεις πνεύματος ἁγίου*. This Bezan text (it is confined to Dd) follows on 15 : 29, the concluding greeting of the Apostolic decree in its 'Western'

[13] See Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 132-3.
[14] For full textual attestation of these readings, see ibid., 116, 111, 108.



form, viz., *εὖ πράξατε φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. ἔρρωσθε.* Epp argues that the intention of the latter is 'to counteract any legalistic overtones' in the decree, and 'this same interest would account for the supplementary words in xv. 32'.[15] So far as the 'decree' itself is concerned there is a wide consensus that its prohibitions were originally of a ritual nature and that the 'Western text' is a later 'Christianized' version.16 But the last word has not yet been said on the tradition-history of this chapter of Luke ; and the fact that the 'Western' tradition has references to the Spirit absent from the old Uncial MSS is no reason for dismissing them as secondary tradition. What is of peculiar interest in both these readings is that the phraseology is again Lucan: the expression 'full of the Holy Spirit' occurs at Acts 7 : 55 ; 11: 24 ; and Luke is fond of expressions with *πλήρης* (6 : 3, 5, 8 ; *g* : 36). It seems particularly appropriate following *καὶ αὐτοὶ προφῆται ὄντες*. Similarly *φέρεσθαι*, especially used of the Spirit, occurs at 2 : 2; the verb is used again at 27 : 15, 17, but in its more literal sense 'to be borne or carried along by waves or winds' (Liddell and Scott s.v.). The expression at 15 : 32 may have been suggested by the familiar phrase, *εὖ/καλῶς/κακῶς φέρεσθαι*, 'to fare well or ill'. We should perhaps construe *ἀφ' ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτούς* as an imperative ('from which you must keep yourselves free'), and *εὖ πράξατε* as the closing greeting, the words to be taken together: 'Fare well, as you go with the Holy Spirit'.

Epp cites the reading of the Harclean margin at Acts 26 :1 as a possible example of this type of Spirit-inspired (or Spirit-encouraged) utterance.[17] It reads, 'Then Paul, given confidence and encouragement by the Holy Spirit, stretched out his hand . . . '. This Harclean variant, however, is a substitute for the idiomatic Syriac rendering of *ἀπελογεῖτο*, namely, *nephaq ruḥa* (lit., 'laid forth in spirit[ed] utterance'), so that it could be an inner-Syriac theological gloss. Moreover, it is still a debatable point whether all these marginalia are to be traced, without exception, to a Greek MS source, so that, for this reason too,

[15] Ibid., 111.
[16] See E. Haenchen, 7% Acts of *the Apostles* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 449-50.
[17] The reading receives qualified support from Ephraem. See J. H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts.* Vol. 3 of *The Beginnings of Christianity: Part I: The Acts of the Apostles* (ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake; 5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1926), 448; Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 153.

the reconstructions of this 'variant' by Clark and Lake and Cadbury (accepted by Epp) are by no means certain.[18]

### II. THE HOLY SPIRIT AS DIRECTING ACTION

There are two passages in the 'Western text' of Acts (both in D : 19 : 1; 20 : 3) where the role of the Spirit is to direct Paul in his journey, sometimes by interposing its authority against the Apostle's own plans. The expression in both places is the same: **εἶπεν (αὐτῷ) τὸ πνεῦμα (αὐτῷ)**, 'the Holy Spirit told/instructed him'.[19] The reading at 19:1 occurs in a long 'Western supplement' with nothing corresponding in the old Uncial text :[20] at 20 : 3, however, B ℵ etc. read **ἐγένετο γνώμης** for D's **εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῷ**. A third possible example is noted by Epp in a reading of Ephraem at 17 : 15, 'the Holy Spirit prevented him from preaching ...'.[21]

As Menoud noted, D Acts 19 : 1 and 20 : 3 refer to 'a theme which is treated by both recensions earlier in the career of the Apostle (Acts 16 : 6–7)'.[22] Acts 16 : 6–7 is not, however, the only passage where this Spirit motif is found in 'both recensions'. The precise expression at Acts 19:1 and 20 : 30, in connection with Paul, occurs again with reference to the direction of Philip in 8 : 29 (**εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ Φιλίππῳ**), of Peter in 10 : 19; 11: 1 2 (**εἶπεν [αὐτῷ] τὸ πνεῦμα: εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμά μοι**), at 1 3: 2 (to the 'prophets and teachers' gathered at Antioch who were 'directed' by the Holy Spirit to set apart Barnabas and Saul: **εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον**), and finally again of Paul at 19 ; 2 1 (**ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ...**). The expression and the idea of a Spirit-motivated and directed mission is so characteristically Lucan that serious consideration must be given to the possibly Lucan authorship of D 19:1 and 20 : 3.

Acts 19:1 belongs to several interconnected Bezan variants relating to Paul's relations with Jerusalem. To dismiss this verse as 'nonsense' and 'an amazing insertion' is hardly responsible

[18] *θαρρῶν καὶ iv πνεύματι ἁγίῳ παράκλησιν λαβών* **(Clark)**; *παρρησιασάμενος καὶ τῷ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ παρακληθείς* **(Lake and Cadbury).**

[19] ● **tnrv ('*amar*) is biblical Greek. Both readings have the support of *d*, gig, the Harclean Syriac, and Ephraem (Epp, Theological *Tendency*, 117).**

[20] **See further below, p. 168.**

[21] **Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 142–3, and below, p. *166*.**

[22] **'Western Text', 30.**



textual criticism.[23] A more plausible reason for the words is that a reviser, thinking that 18 : 22 referred to the church at Caesarea, felt some explanation was necessary for Paul's failure to visit Jerusalem.[24] If the argument is sound, however, that 18 : 2 1-2 described a Passover visit to Jerusalem (possibly to be identified with the 'conference visit' of Gal. 2 : 1-10), deliberately 'played down' by Luke in view of his placing of the 'Jerusalem Conference' earlier at Acts 15,[25] then 19 : 1 could refer to a desire of the Apostle to celebrate Pentecost in Jerusalem. (20 : 16 represents Paul as anxious to celebrate a subsequent Pentecost, probably the following year: cf. 20 : *6.)* An additional 'Holy Spirit' D variant occurs at verse 2: the idea that any Christian disciples brought up in a Jewish-Christian tradition should ask if there is such a thing as 'the Holy Spirit' is extremely unlikely: the 'Western' variant 'whether *any* receive the Holy Spirit', in my opinion, makes much better sense.

At Acts 20: *3* it was clearly more than danger from a Jewish plot which led St. Paul and his band to take the circuitous route to Jerusalem via Macedonia rather than the direct sea voyage from Corinth.[26] In the 'Western text' this change of plan is attributed not to St. Paul's own decision but to the direction of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, the phraseology is again distinctively Lucan, **εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῷ** (above, p. *164)* ; **ἐγένετο γνώμης** provides a rational alternative to a charismatic directive, just what one would expect of the traditional response to Montanist enthusiasm by the Alexandrian catechetical School.[27] Epp argues that the Spirit is here (as possibly earlier at 17 : 15 [see below]) given the role of protecting Paul from the hostility of the Jews, implying an anti-Jewish tendency in D.[28] Could the opposite not be the correct explanation, that the B ℵ text is deliberately toning down the strong anti-Jewish feeling which is already present in the Book of Acts and so prominently exhibited here in the 'Western text'?

[23] **W. L. Knox, *St Paul and the Church of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: University Press, 1 925), xviii-xxvii.**

[24] **Cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Tyndale, 1951), 353.**

[25] **Black, 'Longer and Shorter Text', 126-7.**

[26] **Cf. K. Lake and H. J. Cadbury, *English Translation and Commentary*. Vol. 4 of *The Beginnings of Christianity: Part I: The Acts of the Apostles* (ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake; 5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1932), 253.**

[27] **See H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1969), 192–3.** [28] **Epp, *Theological Tendency, 143-4.***

At Acts 17: 15 D*d et al.* have (παρῆλθεν δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν) ἐκωλύθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς κηρῦξαι τὸν λόγον. Ephraem has the same text but with two significant additions: *quod praepeditus est a spiritu quia loqueretur illic quia persequebantur illum ab initio* ... (or, for the last clause, *ne forte occiderent eum*).[29] Ephraem appears to have read in his Greek original ἐκωλύθη ὑπὸ πνεύματος. Without the ὑπὸ πνεύματος and the reason Ephraem gives for Paul's being 'hindered by the Holy Spirit', namely the hostility of the Thessalonian Jews, D gives simply a bare statement, without giving the reasons (and motivation) provided by the longer form of text. Ephraem seems to have read: ἐκωλύθη γὰρ ὑπὸ πνεύματος εἰς αὐτοὺς κηρῦξαι τὸν λόγον μήποτε ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν. Even without the last clause the text assumed by Ephraem makes excellent sense, and is closely parallel to Acts 16: 6: κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. The B ℵ text omits altogether. Is this again a toning down of anti-Jewish hostility, in this case-if the Ephraem text is original-by virtually a deliberate *suppressio veri*?

### III. THE PRE- (POST-) BAPTISMAL SPIRIT

In the accounts of baptism in the Acts, sometimes the reception of the Spirit precedes, sometimes follows the rite itself.[30] The outstanding example of the first is the baptism of the household and friends of Cornelius (10: 44-8). The second order is implied at Acts 2: 38: 'Repent and be baptized ...; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit'. In what is probably a later form of the second order, the reception of the Spirit follows the imposition of hands of the Apostles (8: 4–25).[31] In no case does baptism take place without the reception by the convert of the Holy Spirit *with the sole exception of Philip's baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch as narrated in the old Uncial text of Acts 8: 38–9.*

When we turn to the 'Western text' for Acts 8: 38-9, a different picture presents itself. That text, although absent from the Bezan codex, is not lacking in attestation (it is found in Alexandrinus $cop^{G67}$ arm geo $sy^h$ Ephraem). I have suggested elsewhere[32] that the shorter text could, in this case, have arisen

[29] For the two forms of text, see Ropes, *The Text*, 382, 432-3.
[30] For a discussion of the different forms of the tradition, see T. W. Manson, 'Entry into Membership of the Early Church', *JTS* 48 (1947), 25-33.
[31] Ibid.
[32] 'Longer and Shorter Text', 123,



by scribal parablepsis, if the original text was that presupposed by the Harclean Syriac. The verse in these 'Western' authorities reads: ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος πνεῦμα [ἅγιον ($sy^h$ κυρίου) ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον, ἄγγελος δὲ] κυρίου ἥρπασεν τὸν Φίλιππον. ... Two points support the longer text: (1) the story begins by a revelation of the 'angel of the Lord' to Philip; in the 'Western' tradition the story ends appropriately by an action of the same angelic visitor. (2) The omission of the Holy Spirit clause is more readily explained than its insertion, for, as Menoud has convincingly argued, its inclusion contradicts the narrative a few verses earlier, which implies that the Spirit came only through the hands of the apostles.[33] It also goes against the general tendency of the Alexandrian tradition to strengthen the authority of the apostles. The evidence points here, in my opinion, conclusively to the originality of the longer 'Western text'.

At Acts 11: 1-18 Peter recapitulates the account in chap. 10 of the conversion of the household of Cornelius. In the story of their baptism at 10: 44-8, they are said to have received the Holy Spirit while Peter was speaking to them (10: 44): thereafter, in view of this, Peter gives instructions for their baptism (v. 48). In the recapitulation, Peter draws attention in v. 15 to the miracle of the reception of the Spirit by Cornelius and his family, while he himself was still speaking. No mention is made of his subsequent performance of the rite of baptism, except perhaps by implication at v. 17, in Peter's rhetorical question (εἰ οὖν τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός) . . . ἐγὼ τίς ἤμην δυνατὸς κωλῦσαι τὸν θεόν; [D + τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα ἅγιον πιστεύσασιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ . . .]. The shorter text can only be understood to mean '... how could I possibly stand in God's way' (*NEB*), by proceeding to withhold baptism from Gentiles who had already received the Spirit. According to D, Peter produces the perfect defence, without even alluding to the offensive rite of admission he had administered to Gentiles, by asking the rhetorical question, 'Who was I (ἐγὼ τίς ἤμην) to restrain God from bestowing the Holy Spirit on (Gentile) believers in Him?' The initiative had come from God.

Two other arguments may be urged in favour of D's longer text. (1) κωλύειν τὸν θεόν, 'to prevent, restrain God' is certainly an unparalleled expression, if it is not an odd one. (*RSV*'s 'withstand

[33] Menoud, 'Western Text', 30.

God', like the free rendering of *NEB*, is without any support in Greek usage.) I suspect a philological 'botching' of the originally longer text. (2) Just how far Aramaic sources can be assumed behind these early chapters in Acts, in particular the speeches of the apostles, is a much debated issue, but it is worth noting in this verse that **κωλύειν** = ***kělā'*** and that for **πιστεύειν** ('believe and trust in') an excellent equivalent would be ***tekhal*** (occasionally in the form ***kělî***): then in Aramaic Peter's rhetorical question would contain a word-play. 'I, who am I to be capable of restraining (***šalîṭ l^e miklê***) God that He should not bestow the Holy Spirit on those who have put their trust in Him (***letkîlîn bēh***)?'

One can see why the additional words in D were omitted: a reviser, familiar with the liturgically fixed order of baptism followed by the Holy Spirit, removed the whole clause, since it seemed to imply that the Spirit had still to be bestowed.[34]

If any one of these 'Western' 'Holy Spirit' variants is original and Lucan, and the B ℵ text a revision, the operative factor in the latter may well have been a desire to tone down the anti-Semitic 'bias' which they tend to support. It is also possible, as we have already suggested, that, so far from Montanist influence leading to the introduction of such 'Holy Spirit glosses', it was anti-Montanism which led to this reduction or elimination of such charismatic anti-Jewish and Gentile tendencies. It is perhaps also worth noting that three of these passages refer to St. Paul (17:15; 19:1; 20:3) and lesser 'apostles' such as Judas or Silvanus (15:32).

One passage which certainly suggests that such influence may have been strongly at work in producing the B ℵ text-type is Acts 18:4-6, reporting Paul's final break with Judaism and the Synagogue-so dramatically expressed by Luke in Paul's parting words: 'Your blood be on your own heads! My conscience is clear; and I shall go to the Gentiles' (v. 6). The breach is even more sharply expressed in the 'Western text' of this verse, and indeed the whole episode is even more dramatically presented in that text to a degree which has led more than one interpreter to detect strong anti-Semitic bias.[35] The opposite thesis, however,

[34] Contrast Bruce's comment in *The Acts of the Apostles*, 233: 'D ... adds τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι ... ἐπ' αὐτῷ—inappropriately, as they had already received the Holy Spirit'.
[35] Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 85-6.



may be nearer the truth, that it is a pro-Jewish bias which has led to the shortening and altering of the text of D.

The additional clause in the D text at v. 4, **ἐντιθεὶς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ**, is so strange that it may well be original. The phrase is usually explained as meaning that Paul 'introduced' or 'inserted' (*interponens*) the name of Jesus in the OT where it was appropriate, e.g. in the same way as 'Messiah' was added to 'my servant' in the Targum of Isa. 42:1; 52:13.[36] I would suggest that **ἐντιθείς** could be a correction of **ἐπιτιθείς** (the Harclean Syriac has *sa'em* = **τιθείς**), which with **τὸ ὄνομα** is the regular biblical Greek phrase meaning 'to name', e.g. 2 Kgs. 17:34: **τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰακὼβ οὗ ἔθηκεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ.** The phrase would then mean that Paul 'was giving the name of **κύριος** to Jesus' (**Ἰησοῦ** as dative), a claim that was certainly guaranteed to cause controversy, if not to arouse violent opposition, in the synagogue in Corinth. Moreover, it is a phrase which describes exactly what Paul actually does in his christological use of the OT in his epistles: he applies the title **κύριος** of the OT—a Hellenistic substitute for the tetragrammaton-to Jesus or assumes that Jesus is the **κύριος** of OT predictions.[37] Such an understanding of the phrase would also make the repeated **κύριος χριστός** in these verses a necessary part of the text: Jesus had not only been shown to be **χριστός** by OT prophecies but **κύριος χριστός**; and the 'addition' **πολλοῦ δὲ λόγου γινομένου καὶ γραφῶν διερμηνευομένων** would be no less appropriate in such a context.

Ropes considered that, in these verses, the D text 'betrays a Gentile's feeling that any statement is inadequate which implies that Christianity in the Apostolic age was limited to Jewry'.[38] He is probably thinking of the special emphasis D here places on the Greeks whom Paul convinced (**καὶ ἔπιθεν δὲ οὐ μόνον Ἰουδαίους ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλληνας**). It seems just as probable that it was Paul's **κύριος** gospel which, while giving most offence to the Jew,[39] commended itself most of all to the Greeks. If then it is the D text which preserves the more primitive Lucan original, we can only explain the shorter B ℵ text as a deliberate editing out of passages'too offensive to Jewish minds.

[36] Bruce, *Acts*, 343.
[37] See D. E. H. Whitely, *The Theology of St Paul* (London: Blackwell, 1964), 106.
[38] Ropes, *Text*, ccxxxiii n. 2.
[39] Cf. Menoud, 'Western Text', 31.

One other variant in the passage may be worth noting, especially as it introduces the 'Holy Spirit' against B ℵ, namely **συνείχετο τῷ πνεύματι,** T R H L P sy$^{hmg}$ in v. 5 (B ℵ D, etc. **τῷ λόγῳ**). Ropes thinks 'the difficult **συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ** has been made over into D's **πολλοῦ δὲ λόγου γινομένου**',[40] but does not explain where the difficulty lies. I suggest it is in the combination of **τῷ λόγῳ** with **συνείχετο.** The verb appears generally to be used to describe the effects of some powerful agency, psychological or physical, such as anger, love, sleeplessness, fever: to be 'carried away by the Spirit' is entirely appropriate, but with **λόγος** seems at least strange. (*RSV* renders tamely 'Paul was occupied with preaching'; *NEB*, 'devoted himself entirely to preaching'.) We may perhaps be justified in suspecting a piece of philological 'botching', possibly the work of an anti-Montanist reviser.

On the whole, this review of the 'Holy Spirit' variants in Acts seems to me to point to a core of original Lucan tradition, not necessarily preserved in every case exactly as Luke wrote, but in line with the Gentile, anti-Jewish and, one must add, enthusiastic or charismatic character of the primitive text of Acts. It would seem not improbable that, at more than one point in the textual tradition, this 'spiritual' gospel has been pressed into the Procrustean mould of a pro-Jewish and anti-Montanist Alexandrian scholasticism.

[40] Ropes, *Text*, 172.

# 13. The Problem in Acts 16: 12

ALLEN P. WIKGREN

I WELCOME the opportunity to join in this tribute to Bruce Metzger, contributor of so much of value to our common enterprise, as well as a long-time colleague on two committees which involved a steady diet of text problems. Whether more of the same is an appropriate dessert or not, it does represent an area in which Professor Metzger has been and still is significantly and helpfully involved.

We have chosen, as an ingredient in the *pot-pourri*, to discuss the description of Philippi as a *πρώτη πόλις* ('first city') in Acts 16 : 12. This text-for so it is ordinarily printed-has invited various interpretations to avoid what appear to be insuperable difficulties in the meaning here. Resort also has been taken to conjectural emendations to solve the problem, chief of which has been the familiar and widely commended proposal to read **πρώτης** for **πρώτη,** which would exactly describe the status of Philippi as 'a city of the first part [or district] of Macedonia, and a colony'. We would assume the best text in support of this rendering to be **πρώτης μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις** as compared with the usually accepted 'Alexandrian' form, **πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας πόλις.** The latter reading, when **πρώτη** is taken in its normal meaning of 'first' or 'foremost', contradicts the fact that Amphipolis was the capital of the first **μερίς** of Macedonia and that Thessalonica was the capital of the entire province. Both also were more important than Philippi. We are assuming here that the reader has access to an *apparatus criticus* showing the variant readings in the passage and their supporting witnesses. However, the more significant ones will be discussed below.

After the defeat of Perseus of Macedonia by the Romans and the Peace of Pydna in 168 BC, Macedonia was divided into four administrative and autonomous units. A decade later the right of coinage was restored, and a huge number of coins, especially tetradrachms, survive from the first, second, and fourth geopolitical divisions (μερίδες). The amount of this coinage, particularly from the first μερίς,[1] suggested to some scholars that it could hardly have been produced in the short interval between 158 and 150 BC, when a revolt was instituted by Andronicus, a supposed son of Perseus, and after which Macedonia in 148 BC was made a Roman province. It was long assumed, though not proved, that the fourfold division ceased to exist, an assumption which naturally threw some doubt upon the proposed emendation in Acts. Roman policy, however, generally was not to alter local administrative machinery unless it was deemed necessary ; and evidence does exist to indicate that the fourfold division continued, although the autonomy of each μερίς was modified by the introduction of a supreme administrative body (κοινόν) for Macedonia as a whole.[2]

The fact that the coins bore the insignia πρώτη, δευτέρα, or τετάρτη without expression of a nominal form was misleading. H. Gaebler suggested, however, that μερίς was to be understood, and this was confirmed by the discovery of a didrachm which bore the full legend: *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ* on the obverse and *ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΜΕΡΙΔΟΣ* on the reverse side. It was first published by W. Schwabacher in 1937,[3] and was also discussed in relation to the Macedonian divisions by Charles Edson in 1946.[4]

But long before this an inscription from Beroea was known which definitely mentions συνέδρια for the first and fourth μερίδες as well as a κοινόν for Macedonia as a whole.[5] From its reference to the governor, L. Baebius Honoratus, it can be dated in the first century AD (after 73), and Gaebler placed it in the Flavian period, i.e. shortly before the usual dating of Acts.[6]

[1] H. Gaebler described the tetradrachms of the first *meris* as belonging 'zu den häufigsten Münzen des Altertums' in *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia* (Berlin: Georg Reinken, 1906), 1.3.

[2] J. A. O. Larsen refers to direct evidence that the laws of Aemilius Paulus, who had supervised the reorganization of 167 BC, remained in force at the time of Augustus, citing Livy *Hist.* 45.32.7 and Justin *Hist. Philip.* 33.2.7 for his opinion. See his 'An Additional Note on Acts 16. 12', *CTM* 17 (1946), 124.

[3] *Numismatic Chronicle* 19 (1937), 2-3 and pl. I, no. I.

[4] 'A Note on the Macedonian Merides', *Classical Philology* 41 (1946), 107.

[5] The earliest notice of it apparently was by M. Rostovtzeff in *Revue Archéologique* 37 (1900), 480. Its significance seems not to have been realized at this time,

[6] *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 23 (1902), 141 n. 2.



These lines of evidence would seem to have dispelled doubts about the continuation of the fourfold division of Macedonia in our period, and to have made the suggested reading in Acts 16:12 quite feasible.

We should perhaps also note, apropos scepticism concerning the 'emendation', that for some time the term μερίς was questioned as a designation for a geographical division. The papyri, however, soon revealed such use of the term in Egypt, and enough examples are found in late Greek writers to settle any doubts about the matter. In fact W. M. Ramsay[7] long ago called attention to passages in Strabo in which the word is used of geographical subdivisions in Syria, Asia Minor, and Gaul. We may add another passage (Geog. 2. 1.23-4) in which Strabo refers to 'the third section' (τὴν τρίτην μερίδα) of Macedonia ! The LXX also affords several instances of the use of μερίς for allotments or divisions of land. Good examples are found in Josh. 18 : 5-9 and Ezek. 45 : 7 ; 48 : 8.

Although, as we have noted, there has been a wide approval of the 'emendation' in Acts among NT commentators, apparently the evidence we have cited has not, with few exceptions, been sufficient to cause an abandonment of the traditional text in the face of the documentary witnesses to it. The feeling also still prevails that among the many witnesses to the NT text the original reading must both be preserved and well attested. But in the text of Acts, largely because of the problem of the 'Western' form, such an assumption may well be challenged. Martin Dibelius suggested therefore some years ago that 'the exegetes of Acts, instead of aiming at an explanation of many impossible readings, should rather attempt conjectural improvements of such readings. . .'.[8] Even before the discovery of the Beroea inscription, several NT scholars, including F. Field,[9] F. Blass,[10] and C. H. Turner[11] advocated the 'emendation' in our passage. Likewise, among those who have given special attention to the problem,

[7] 'Note on Acts XVI. 12', *The Expositor* 6 (1898), 320. Cf. also Strabo 2.x.33; 7 frag. 47; Diod. Sic. *Hist.* 15.63, 64; 16.47; Dionys. of Halic. *Rom. Antiq.* 8.73.4. Hellenistic Greek authors are cited from the text of *LCL*.

[8] *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Scribner's, 1956), 92.

[9] *Notes on the Translation of the New Testament* (London: Cambridge University, 1899), 124.

[10] *Philology of the Gospels* (London: Macmillan, 1898), 67-9.

[11] 'Philippi' in *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*, 3.838.

may be mentioned A. C. Clark,[12] Hans Conzelmann,[13] and Gunther Zuntz.[14] To these one can add eminent historians of the period such as Paul Collart,[15] Paul Lemerle,[16] and J. A. O. Larsen.[17] Earlier editions of the Nestle Greek text marked the 'conjecture' with a special symbol to indicate that it was a widely accepted reading.

Actually the 'conjecture' goes back at least as far as Clericus (Jean Leclerc), who cautiously proposed it but did not adopt it in a second edition of his Latin NT published at Frankfort in 1714. If the Crell referred to in the margin of the Nestle–Aland Greek text is Johannis Crell (1590–1633), the proposal would be much earlier; yet Lemerle, who made a special investigation of the matter, was unable to find anything in the published works of this Crell available to him.[18] But there is little point in further pursuing such data, for this simple emendation might easily occur to anyone acquainted with the fourfold division of Macedonia, and who also at least may have suspected that it could have continued into the first century AD.

It is customary to refer to *πρώτης* as a 'conjectural emendation', although it does have some documentary support, viz. at least three Vulgate MSS (Θ, c, Par. lat. $11505^2$, which read *primae partis*; Provençal [Old French], and Old High German). F. F. Bruce[19] also cites two other Vulgate MSS, A and Par. lat. 342, the latter of which was known to Blass. They read respectively *prima parte* and *in prima parte.* These texts generally, and perhaps too arbitrarily, have been dismissed as late and insignificant or as owing to scribal blunders. But it is curious that in making or copying a mistake a late scribe should arrive at a reading which exactly describes the status of Philippi at the time when Acts was written. A Vulgate reading may well derive of course from

[12] *The Acts of the Apostles: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes on Selected Passages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), 362-5.

[13] *Die Apostelgeschichte* (2nd edn.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1972), 98.

[14] 'A Textual Criticism of Some Passages of the Acts of the Apostles', *Classica et Mediaevalia 3* (1940), 20–46, esp. pp. 33-7.

[15] *Philippes ville de Macédoine depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937), 457 n. 3.

[16] *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et Byzantine: Recherches d'histoire et archéologie, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (2 vols.; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1945).

[17] 'Representation and Democracy in Hellenistic Federalism', *Classical Philology* 40 (1945), esp. pp. 67–8.

[18] *Philippes*, 21 n. 1.

[19] *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951), 313 n. 1.



the OL and so rest upon very primitive evidence. A few witnesses read *πρώτη μερίς* or equivalent, but this is grammatically difficult and would make Philippi itself the *μερίς* of Macedonia.

Most commentators, editors, and translators have been persuaded, with varying degrees of dissatisfaction, to adopt the 'Alexandrian' reading.[20] The majority text adds the article before Macedonia, as does Codex Vaticanus. But the latter also omits the article before *μερίδος*. This is not without significance, for its text can then be translated 'the foremost city of a district of Macedonia', and may be regarded as in partial support of the 'emendation' since it implies more than one district or division. It seems likely, also, that *τῆς Μακεδονίας*, as a chorographic genitive, which usually has the article, was the original reading.

Except for the text of Codex Bezae (D), the other variants in the passage need not seriously be considered. D reads *κεφαλή* for *πρώτη*, and simply omits (*τῆς*) *μερίδος* with a dozen or so other witnesses which retain the *πρώτη*. A. C. Clark,[21] in a careful consideration of the problem, attempted to defend the *κεφαλή* by showing with good reason that it could mean a 'frontier' town. But he also posited a text in which *πρώτης μερίδος* was originally present, and supposedly omitted by haplography. Such a conflate reading would seem more difficult to explain than the proposed 'emendation' involving one sigma. The *κεφαλή* is therefore usually regarded as a Latinism, perhaps derived from the OL column of Codex Bezae, which reads *caput.* The citation of the Peshitta Syriac for this reading is inconclusive, for the word here (*rîšā*) can also mean 'foremost', and Gunther Zuntz has shown that it was sometimes used to render the Greek *πρῶτος*.[22]

Those who would retain the 'Alexandrian' text have proposed other possible interpretations. Probably the most popular of these would render *πρώτη* ... *πόλις* as 'a leading city'. But the evidence for such a meaning is rather meagre. In over forty

[20] An exception also is found in E. Haenchen's commentary on Acts, where he favoured and translated the 'emendation'. See *The Acts of the Apostles* (tr. by R. Noble and G. Shinn; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971). Cf. *Today's English Version,* which was based on the UBSGNT 1st edn., and reads 'a city of the first district of Macedonia'. In the 3rd edn. of the UBSGNT text the sigma of *πρώτης* is bracketed.

[21] *Acts*, 363-4.

[22] 'A Textual Criticism ...', 36–7.

instances of πρῶτος in the NT only one, in 17:4, has been taken in this sense. But this too is somewhat questionable, since the phrase here, γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων might well be translated-with apologies to 'women's lib' — 'the wives of the leaders' (cf. Acts 13:50 and 17:7). It is so understood in D, which reads καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων, perhaps to resolve the slight ambiguity.[23] It appears that Lucan usage here would have accorded with the usual attributive positions of the adjective, i.e. either τῶν τε πρώτων γυναικῶν (cf. 17: 4 and 12), or τῶν τε γυναικῶν τῶν πρώτων (cf. 17: 2; 19: 12; and the adjectival equivalent in 27: 5). The ambiguity may result from the possibility that the article is to be supplied from the preceding part of the sentence. But to cite the phrase as γυναικῶν πρώτων, as is often done, is rather inaccurate and misleading. It is true that certain phrases such as τῶν πρώτων φίλων occur, in which 'leading' may be regarded as the equivalent of 'first' or 'foremost' in the loose sense of 'important' ; and one may therefore concede this as a possibility in the Acts passage. But among the many and distinguished cities mentioned in Acts only one, Tarsus, is singled out for a laudatory remark, and that by the litotes, 'a not undistinguished city'. This would seem to militate against such special treatment for Philippi. On the other hand, the incidental reference provided by the suggested 'emendation' may well have been prompted by the significance of Philippi as the place where the gospel was first proclaimed in Europe. Similar items are found in Acts 11: 26, where Antioch is named as the place 'where the disciples were first called Christians', and in Luke 4 :16, where Nazareth is described as the place 'where he [Jesus] had been brought up'. Otherwise only a few chorographic genitives or equivalents occur for the purpose of exact identification of towns and cities (e.g. Acts 13: 13, 14; 14: 6).

Even, also, if the meaning 'leading city' be conceded in the passage, the problem of its geographical reference still remains. Since it can scarcely be posited of Macedonia as a whole, translators have often avoided this sense by rendering the phrase as 'a leading city of *that* district of Macedonia'. But such a demonstrative use of the article is very dubious in this period ; and even

**[23] Or does this reflect an alleged anti-feminism in D? The Vulgate, generally cited in support of D here, actually reads** *et mulieres nobiles.* **Perhaps the other versions cited also need rechecking in terms of the whole phrase.**



in Attic Greek it is mainly confined to constructions with μέν . . . δέ and similar particles.

Suggestions also have been made which assume the primary meaning of πρώτη. One such is that Philippi or the immediate region was Luke's home or second home, and the description simply a matter of local pride. There is, however, no corroborative evidence for this assumption, A more likely proposal rests on the fact that certain prominent cities described themselves as πρώτη πόλις, although they were not so in the sense of 'first'. But there is apparently no evidence from coins or inscriptions that Philippi so designated itself; and the few cities that did so are all in Asia Minor, except Thessalonica. Probably the best interpretation here takes πρώτη to mean the first city which Paul and company reached after disembarking at Neapolis and proceeding westward on the Egnatian way. A related possibility is that it was the first city reached in Macedonia, since Neapolis actually was in Thrace.

This kind of geographical identification perhaps merits more attention than has been given to it.[24] The usage can easily be illustrated from Strabo and other writers. The former often enumerates and describes a number of cities, towns, rivers, and other geographical items *seriatim*, using πρώτη for the first mentioned. So in Geog. 6. 1.5: Ἀπὸ γὰρ Λάου πρώτη πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Βρεττίας Τεμέση ('After Laus the first city is Temesa of Brettium').[25] In Polybius *Hist.* 2.16.2, in a mixture of geographical items, Pisa is mentioned and described as 'the first city of western Etruria' (... ἣ πρώτη κεῖται τῆς Τυρρηνίας ὡς πρὸς δυσμάς). In a succession of items, those following the first are usually introduced by some resumptive expression or, occasionally, by the succeeding numerals. This is so even after a long interruption of the account, which is common in Strabo. It is true that in Acts, probably because of the long narration of the events in Philippi, there is no explicit resumptive phraseology. Yet in 17:1 the next cities are then named in geographical sequence: Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica. But instances are also found where a city is mentioned as 'first' in a topographical sense apart from a succession of items. So Polybius

**[24] I do not know its origin, but Field mentions it** *(Notes,* 124), **refers to** Alford, **and gives three examples: Appian** *Bella civ.* **2.35; Herodotus** *Hist.* **1.142;** 7.198.

**[25] Other good examples are found in Strabo Geog. 3.4.2-3; 5.2.1, 3, 7; 6. x.12; 7 frag.** 35.

(*Hist.* 5.80.3), in describing the progress of an army, refers to Raphia as 'the first city of Coele-Syria on the Egyptian side' (... πρώτη τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν πόλεων ὡς πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον).[26] At all events, there are enough examples of this geographical usage to warrant the supposition that the adjective may have this sense in the Acts account. It would seem to be at least as plausible a solution to the problem as the proposed 'leading' city.

A related suggestion, that Luke was referring to Philippi as 'the first colonial city' has less merit. No other colonial cities in Acts are identified as such; and if the author were interested in such precise identification here, one might expect him to write 'first colony'. To make him do so would also require an emendation of the text. It appears therefore that mention of the fact that Philippi was a colony was an incidental historical reference such as one finds elsewhere in Acts.

Much as can be said for certain of the foregoing interpretations of the 'Alexandrian' text, we come back to the proposed 'conjectural emendation' as in our judgement the best solution of the problem, one which is supported by significant internal evidence and provides an exact description of the status of Philippi at the time when Acts was written.

[26] A. C. Clark (Acts, 365) also cites an instance from Procopius *Bell. Goth.* 38.9.

# 14. Orthography and Theology: The Omicron–Omega Interchange in Romans 5:1 and Elsewhere

IAN A. MOIR

PROFESSOR Metzger has given us a most valuable array of bibliographical and scientific aids to the study of the Greek NT which are listed elsewhere in this volume. Here I would mention his most recent work on The *Early Versions of the New Testament*[1] and his *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*.[2] Both are most welcome additions to the tools of textual scholars and their pupils alike. In the latter Professor Metzger mentions the problems of the reading at Rom. 5:1, where the choice is between ἔχομεν (customarily translated 'we have') and ἔχωμεν (customarily translated 'let us have').

Many commentators have discussed this text with or without attempts to weigh the evidence rather than to count it and sometimes with the kind of comment made by B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort: '... the imperative εἰρήνην ἔχωμεν, standing as it does after a pause in the epistle, yields a probable sense, virtually inclusive of the sense of εἰρήνην ἔχομεν which has no certain attestation of good quality but that of the "corrector" of א'.[3]

Professor Metzger, however, takes another view.

> Since in this passage it appears that Paul is not exhorting but stating facts ('peace' is the possession of those who have been justified), only the indicative is consonant with the apostle's argument. Since the difference in pronunciation between ο and ω in the Hellenistic age was almost non-existent, when Paul dictated ἔχομεν, Tertius, his amanuensis (16:22), may have written down ἔχωμεν.[4]

[1] B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977).

[2] B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971).

[3] B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* [II] *Introduction, Appendix* (2nd edn.; London/New York: Macmillan, 1896), 309.

[4] *Textual Commentary*, 511.

Most handbooks on Greek palaeography have little to say about the question of orthography, nor is it a subject of much discussion in NT grammars. Something general is said by J. H. Moulton[5] and by Westcott and Hort in their *Introduction* (hereafter WH).[6] There is also a short chapter by F. H. A. Scrivener in his *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*,[7] together with sporadic comments in the rest of that volume. This may account for the fact that little is said by the commentators on the subject in relation to the reading now under consideration.

WH do hint briefly at the problem and note (with regard to itacisms) that 'the question cannot be answered with any confidence except by careful comparison of the various places in the New Testament which are affected by it'.[8] Shortly after they remark that 'probably the commonest permutation is that of ο and ω, chiefly exemplified in the endings *-ομεν* and *-ωμεν*, *-όμεθα* and *-ώμεθα*'.[9] They then come to the reference to Rom. 5:1 quoted above. I am still trying to trace the papers other than books which Hort left to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and, even if WH used only some 20 MSS for their edition, the *Introduction* suggests that Hort's *Nachlaß* might include a good many tables of orthographic usage, which he implies were compiled with considerable labour.[10]

Since the advent of computerized studies, it is now possible to obviate much of the drudgery of a century ago, even if one has to proceed with caution and with the recognition that a computer is both a better and a worse instrument than the human brain.

With a view to looking at the habits of some scribes in relation to the ο/ω permutation, resort was had to an Edinburgh search program made available to me by Professor Sidney Michaelson of the Department of Computer Science. The program was used to concord all words ending in *-ομεν* and *-ωμεν* in the Greek NT and an examination was then made of the evidence of scribal practice yielded by some of the older papyri and MSS of various parts of the NT. The total operation took about four

[5] J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek:* Vol. I, *Prolegomena* (3rd edn.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), 44-56.

[6] *Introduction*, 308–9.

[7] F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (4th edn.; 2 vols.; London: Bell, 1894), 2.312–20.

[8] *Introduction*, 309.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., 307.



minutes for each search and in all a list of some 222 instances of *-ομεν* and 192 of *-ωμεν* was produced. (Space does not permit of reproduction, but I shall be glad to supply a copy of the concordance to anyone who may be interested.)

I give a table of tentative results in an appendix.

Regrettably $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ is too fragmentary to give any useful indications, but some other MSS show how they stand. It is notable that relatively little alteration on the printed text is to be seen in either $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ or in Codex Vaticanus (B), though this may be due to the fact that currently printed texts are often biased towards the text found in these two MSS. Codex Sinaiticus (K) and Codex Alexandrinus (A) both show a figure of variation of about 4.5 to 5.0%. Slightly higher figures are obtained for Codex Boernerianus (G) and the position for Codex Bezae (D, 05) and Codex Claromontanus (D, 06) is interesting in that the former gives no variation from ο to ω, but provides in 10% of its available instances the presence of a variant text. In the ω to ο table there are three permutations to ο, but here also there are seven instances of total variation in the text-a notable feature of Codex Bezae. Codex Claromontanus, on the other hand, shows seven permutations from ο to ω and five from ω to ο, but gives no instance of the removal of the opportunity afforded to the scribe to change because he was faced with a larger textual variation.

This sample does of course only represent a small fraction of the ο/ω interchange and an investigation of such endings as *-ομεθα/-ωμεθα*, *-ομαι/-ωμαι*, and *-ονται/-ωνται* would also be called for. Some MSS such as ℵ and Washingtonianus (W) would in addition need examination of the habits of more than one scribe where individual work can be distinguished.

I come to my main points. In spite of a statement made by an American scholar some twenty years ago (I cannot now locate the exact reference) to the effect that a Greek writer, or perhaps a scribe, was always aware of the difference between indicative and subjunctive and would consciously write what was correct in the circumstances, I would still want an assurance that a writer or scribe could not produce an -ο- and still intend the form to be read as a subjunctive or vice-versa with ω. Thus I would want to ask if the scribes of ℵK P meant their *ἐπιμένομεν* at Rom. 6:1 to be read as an indicative; if the *ζήσωμεν* of

$\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ G L at Rom. 6 : 2 is really intended for a subjunctive (g reads *vivemus*); and one could equally well ask if the ἀποθνήσκωμεν of ℵ C L at Rom. **14:** 8 is properly treated as a subjunctive.

At Rom. **14 : 19** I am not convinced, in spite of Sanday and Headlam,[11] that the scribes of ℵ A B G meant their διώκομεν to be read as an indicative, though the indicative would seem to make quite good sense at this point, even if an exhortation is slightly more germane to the context. One could also raise questions about the χαίρωμεν of D(06) at 2 Cor. **13 : g** where *d* reads *gaudemus.*

While the exploration summarized above yielded a more consistent pattern of conformity than I had expected, there is in most MSS just enough deviation to suggest: (1) that WH were justified in writing that '... it would be unreasonable to assume that the same writer, even in the same book, always spells the same word in the same way'[12] (the text of A at Rev. 19:7 is of interest at this point where the MS appears to read δώσομεν following on χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλίωμεν);[13] and (2) that the habits of a particular scribe may be as important for determining the true text of a particular passage as are modern views about the lesser or greater theological acceptability of two alternative readings.

No one need hesitate long over the occasional appearances of ἀνθροπος in Codex Koridethi (Θ), but a provisional study of κενος and καινος in Codex Alexandrinus (A) suggests that more ground needs to be broken in the matter of exploring the relationship of orthography to textual criticism than has been done up till now. More sophisticated resources for this are now available and they deserve to be harnessed.

[11] **W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam,** *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary 'on the Epistle to the Romans* **(ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895), 392.**

[12] *Introduction, 308.*

[13] *See* **Metzger's discussion of this variant in** *Textual Commentary 762.*



## APPENDIX

### (a) -ομεν

| MSS | Total occur-rences | MS de-fec tive | Calcu-lated no. | ω inter-change | larger variant | Col. 5/ col. 4 as % | (Col. 5+ col. 6)/ col. 4 as % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| ℵ | | 0 | 222 | 10 | 6 | 4.5 | 7.2 |
| A | 222 222 | 9 | 213 | 3 | 7 | 1.4 | 4.69 |
| W | 222 | 23 | 199 | 10 | 8 | 5.0 | 9.0 |
| | 54 | 0 | 54 | 2 | 4 | 3.7 | 11.1 |
| $\mathfrak{p}_{45}$ | 54 | 51 | 3 | 0 | 1 | — | — |
| $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ | 27 | 9 | 18 | 0 | | | 5'56 |
| $D(05)_{75}$ | 83 | 13 | 70 | 0 | 7 | — | 10.0 |
| $\mathfrak{p}_{46}$ | 101 | 37 | 64 | 2 | 2 | 3.125 | 6.25 |
| D(06) | 101 | 15 | 86 | 7 | 0 | 8.14 | 8.14 |
| G | 101 | 15 | 86 | 5 | 4 | 5.8 | 10.46 |

### (b) -ωμεν

| MSS | Total occur-rences | MS de-fective | Calcu-lated no. | ω inter-change | larger variant | Col. 5/ col. 4 as % | (Col. 5+ col. 6)/ col. 4 as % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ℵ | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| B | 192 | 0 | 192 | 9 | 4 | 4.69 | 6.8 |
| | 192 | 15 | 177 | 3 | 2 | 1.7 | 2.8 |
| A | 192 | 9 | 183 | 9 | 2 | 4.92 | 6.0 |
| W | 62 | 4 | 58 | 0 | 3 | — | 5.17 |
| $\mathfrak{p}_{45}$ | 69 | 2 | 67 | 0 | 0 | — | — |
| $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ | 30 | | 16 | 0 | 1 | — | 6.25 |
| $D(05)_{75}$ | 88 | 149 | 60 | 3 | 7 | 5.0 | 16.67 |
| $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ | 123 | 34 | 54 | 1 | 0 | 1.85 | 1.85 |
| D(06) | | 35 | 88 | 5 | 0 | 5.68 | 5.68 |
| G | 88 | 23 | 65 | 4 | 1 | 6.15 | 7.69 |

# 15. The Doxology at the End of Romans

LARRY W. HURTADO

THE doxology at the end of Romans (16 : 25-7) is a familiar problem in the textual history of the letter. Is the passage from Paul or someone else ? Was it written originally to close the 16-chapter form of Romans, or possibly a 14- or 15-chapter form of the epistle? The larger and associated discussion of the textual history of Romans 15-16 involves a mass of data, and over the years several different scholarly theories have been proposed; but there is neither space nor need to recount this discussion here.[1] Rather, it is my intent to focus attention on the doxology *itself* in the context of the most *recent* scholarly discussions of the textual history of Romans, especially the work of H. Gamble.[2] It is my thesis that, in spite of the confidence with which some scholars assert their opinions on the subject, the question of the origin of the doxology remains open. The unsettled nature of the question can be illustrated easily by looking at recent literature on Romans. Since the older literature is well known, and since important studies discussing the doxology have appeared in the last few years, in what follows we shall first survey important publications that have appeared from 1970 to the present in order to illustrate contemporary scholarly opinions about the passage.

## I

In spite of the major investigation by E. Kamlah[3] in 1955, the more recent literature dealing with the doxology shows continuing disagreement about the origin of the passage.

M. Black, for example, inclines to the view that the Roman

[1] See the standard introductions, e.g. W. G. Kümmel, Introduction *to the New Testament* (Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1975), 305–20; D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction* (3rd edn.; Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity, 1970), 393–420.

[2] H. Gamble, Jr., *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans* (SD 42; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977). This is a revised version of the author's 1970 Yale Ph.D. dissertation.

[3] E. Kamlah, 'Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Schlußdoxologie des Römerbriefes' (Dissertation, Tübingen University, 1955).

letter ended originally at 16 : 23, that Marcion cut off chaps. 15-16, and that, under the influence of Marcionite MSS, and / or for other reasons, 14- and 15-chapter forms of Romans circulated in the early church. The doxology Black sees as 'of later literary vintage than the original letter to the Romans', and the present form of the doxology as the result of an unspecified editorial process.[4]

C. E. B. Cranfield also credits Marcion with originating a 14-chapter form of Romans, and, though Cranfield is aware of opinion in favour of the authenticity of the doxology, he believes the passage was composed to 'round off' Romans 14, either among Marcion's followers or in those orthodox circles where a 14-chapter text-form was used.[5]

This certainty that the doxology was an addition to a 14-chapter form of Romans and the possibility that the doxology originated in Marcionite circles is affirmed also by both W. G. Kümmel[6] and K. P. Donfried[7] in recent publications.

W. Schmithals, however, in addition to insisting that the present form of Romans is a compilation of Pauline writings, argues that the doxology was composed in church circles for the present 16-chapter form of Romans, in connection with the circulation of an early collection of Paul's letters. Romans closed this early collection, Schmithals believes, and the doxology was intended as a conclusion, not only for Romans, but for the whole collection.[8] In his idea that the doxology reflects a process of collecting Paul's letters, Schmithals is not alone. In his 1973 commentary on Romans, E. Käsemann, too, sees the doxology

[4] M. Black, *Romans* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1973), 26–9, 184–5.

[5] C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975–79), 1.8.

[6] Kümmel, *Introduction*, 317.

[7] K. P. Donfried, 'A Short Note on Romans 16', *JBL* 89 (1970), 441–9; reprinted in *The Romans Debate* (ed. K. P. Donfried; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977), 40–60. The latter reprint version was used in this study.

[8] W. Schmithals, 'On the Composition and Earliest Collection of the Major Epistles of Paul', *Paul and the Gnostics* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972). (This essay appeared originally in *ZNW* 51 [1960], 225-45, and a revised form appeared in *Paulus und die Gnostiker: Untersuchungen zu den kleinen Paulusbriefen* [TF 35; Hamburg-Bergstedt: Reich, 1965], 175–200.) See also *Der Römerbrief als historisches Problem* (Gtitersloh: Mohn, 1975), esp. pp. 108–24. For a critique of Schmithals and other theories about an early Pauline corpus, see Harry Gamble, Jr., 'The Redaction of the Pauline Letters and the Formation of the Pauline Corpus', *JBL* 94 (1975), 403–18.



as secondary, having been composed in church circles around the beginning of the second century ; and he thinks that it originated to conclude a 16-chapter form of Romans.[9]

Schmithals and Käsemann, then, differ from the preceding scholars in their views about the integrity of Romans and, what is important for the focus of this paper, in their view that though the doxology does not come from Paul, its original position was after Rom. 16 : 23. But the range of scholarly opinion reflected in current literature on Romans is even greater.

In the 1972 edition of his commentary, H. W. Schmidt continued to insist that the doxology is thoroughly Pauline in content, and Schmidt held that its original position was after 16 : 23.[10] Were it not for the lack of uniformity in the textual tradition about the place of the doxology, no one, Schmidt insisted, would question that the verses belong to Romans.[11] Schmidt's work was cited with approval by Paul Minear, and, though he did not himself try to defend the authenticity of the doxology and its original position after 16 : 23, Minear indicated that he inclined toward this view.[12]

The most recent major commentary on Romans, by H. Schlier, reflects the view that the doxology did not originate with Paul ; but Schlier shows some hesitation.[13] His main reason for treating the doxology as a secondary addition is its uncertain position in the textual tradition.[14] Although he views the content and style of the doxology as unPauline, reflecting liturgical language, and though he favours the view that the passage was added by the early church to fit Romans for liturgical use, he recognizes that Paul could have adopted liturgical language of early church tradition to close his own letter.[15]

I have reviewed these recent publications to show that, though many NT scholars see the doxology as not coming from Paul, the debate about the origin of the passage goes on. The unsettled nature of the question is reflected in the treatment of

[9] E. Kisemann, *An die Römer* (HNT 8a; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1973), 401–7; Eng. tr., *Commentary on Romans* (tr. G. W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 42 1-8.

[10] H. W. Schmidt, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1972), 265-6.

[11] Ibid., 266.

[12] S. Minear, *The Obedience of Faith: The Purposes of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans* (SBT 2/19; London: SCM, 1971), 30–1, 35 n. 18.

[13] H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief* (Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1977), 45x-5.

[14] Ibid., 451.

[15] Ibid., 452.

the doxology in the UBSGNT textual commentary edited by Professor Metzger.[16] With this review of present opinion in view, we shall look next at the recent and important study of the textual history of Romans by H. Gamble to examine his attempt at resolving the question.

II

In light of the disagreement and uncertainty reflected above, the publication of Gamble's monograph on the textual history of Romans is a timely event.[17] The main intentions in his study are to defend the originality of Romans 1–16 and to explain the origin of shorter forms of the book in the early church. Employing evidence of a text-critical nature and considerations based on studies of Hellenistic letters in general and Pauline letters in particular, Gamble succeeds, I believe, in these main intentions. Gamble shows convincingly that Romans 16 formed the end of Paul's letter to Rome; and, building on the work of N. A. Dahl (his dissertation supervisor), he links the shorter form(s) of Romans to early interest in reproducing 'catholicized' forms of some of Paul's letters (rejecting the idea that Marcion shortened the letter).[18]

On these major positions taken in Gamble's study, I find myself largely in agreement, but, since I am concerned here with the doxology specifically, I shall not devote space to a fuller presentation of Gamble's defence of these positions. Instead, I wish to examine Gamble's views about the origin of the doxology, for on this subject I find his treatment less persuasive. The thoroughness and recent date of Gamble's work do, however, justify using it as the major 'discussion partner' in the following pages.

Before registering any reservations about his work, it must be noted that Gamble effectively refutes two commonly held views about the doxology. First, he shows that the doxology is not Marcionite.[19] Drawing upon the work of N. A. Dahl, D. Lührmann, and E. Kamlah, Gamble shows that the content of the doxology is characteristic of early Christian preaching, and concludes that 'nothing in the doxology is suggestive of an origin in Marcionite circles'.[20] Though I cannot share Gamble's confidence in his view that the doxology comes from post-Pauline ecclesiastical circles, Gamble's insistence that the doxology reflects aspects of early Christian teaching and Pauline theology is quite proper.

Secondly, Gamble rejects the idea that the doxology was composed to conclude an early collection of Paul's letters.[21] Though the doxology reflects general Pauline proclamation, the phrasing of the passage shows that whoever composed it did so with special attention to the contents and phrasing of Romans, designing the doxology as a conclusion for that letter alone.

Having refuted these two theories about the origin of the doxology, Gamble then defends the thesis that the passage originated in early ecclesiastical circles to conclude the 14-chapter form of Romans.[22] As noted above, this is not a new view, but its presentation in connection with convincing arguments for the integrity of the 16-chapter form of Romans calls for a careful examination.

Gamble's major arguments against the Pauline origin of the doxology are three: (1) it is not Pauline epistolary style to conclude with a doxology; (2) the phrasing of the doxology is liturgical and more like the 'deutero-Paulines' (Ephesians, the Pastoral Epistles) than like Paul; (3) most importantly, the text-critical data suggest an origin with a 14-chapter form of Romans. While there is merit in these arguments, and we must be grateful to Gamble for a convenient presentation of them, they by no means settle the issue of the origin of the doxology. My purpose is not to provide a full defence of a particular view, such as the Pauline authorship of the doxology. Rather, in debating with Gamble, I hope to show the inadequacy of his own case and thereby wish to demonstrate that the question of the origin of the doxology remains open.

Let us consider the argument from Paul's epistolary style. It is certainly true that Paul does customarily end his letters with

[16] B. M. Metzger, A Textual *Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 533-6, 540.

[17] See note 2 above.

[18] Ibid., 115-26. See also Nils A. Dahl, 'The Particularity of the Pauline Epistles as a Problem in the Ancient Church', *Neotestamentica et Patristica: Eine Freundesgabe ... Oscar Cullmann* (NovTSup 6; Leiden: Brill, 1962), 261-71.

[19] See Gamble, *Textual History*, 107–11, for the discussion of the Marcionite origin theory and for references to the literature,

[20] *Textual History*, 111.

[21] See ibid., 121-3, for Gamble's discussion of this idea and for references to the important literature.

[22] Ibid., 123-4, 130–2.

a 'grace benediction',[23] and a doxology at the end of Romans would be an exception to this practice. Nevertheless, without minimizing the importance of such observations, we must note some weaknesses in the argument. First, Romans with the doxology for a conclusion would *not* be the *only* exception to Pauline custom. 1 Cor. 16: 24 (a concluding love wish) is technically an exception, as Gamble admits.[24] His plea that this verse is 'not a formal element, but only an *ad hoc* addition which is best regarded as a postscript',[25] is not impressive, for the doxology too can be understood as a Pauline postscript following the greetings of Rom. 16: 21-3. Indeed, Rom. 16: 21-7 as a whole can be read as a kind of postscript. The regular Pauline letter closing, the grace benediction, appears in 16: 20, and the greetings of 16: 21-3, separated as they are from the greetings of 16: 3-16, seem out of regular sequence.

Secondly, and with 1 Cor. 16: 24 in mind, it seems unwarranted to insist that Paul was incapable of writing a letter that did not conform with his usual practice. As another example, we may note that Galatians does not have Paul's usual 'thanksgiving' in the opening section. It is plain that there is a customary Pauline letter form, but neither the evidence nor logic demands the idea that Paul was a slave to this form.[26]

Thirdly, no matter how one decides that Romans 16 should end, one has an exception to Pauline custom! For example, if Romans ended originally at 16: 23, the usual Pauline custom of ending with a 'grace benediction' is broken. Even Gamble's defence of the repetition of the 'grace benediction' at 16: 20 and 16: 24 as the authentic ending of the letter presents us with an exception to Pauline custom, for it would be the only example of a repeated grace benediction in the Pauline corpus.[27] It should be clear then, in spite of the importance that Gamble attaches to the matter, that the argument against the authenticity of the doxology on the grounds of Pauline letter custom is not by itself compelling, though it might count for something if combined with other, stronger arguments.

[23] *Textual History*, 65-7, 82-3. [24] Ibid., 67 n. 56; 82. [25] Ibid., 82.
[26] See the summary of work done in the Seminar on Pauline Epistolography of the Society of Biblical Literature: James D. Hester, 'Epistolography in Antiquity and Early Christianity' (unpublished paper available from the author at the Jameson Center for the Study of Religion and Ethics, University of Redlands, Redlands, Calif.), 6. [27] Cf. Gamble, *Textual History*, 129-32.



With this in mind, we must now examine the argument against the doxology based on its 'liturgical' and 'unPauline' style. First, it must be noted that the apparent similarities between the doxology and the 'deutero-Paulines' (Eph. 3: 4-7, 8-11; cf. 2 Tim. 1: 9-11; Tit. 1: 2-3) can be used against the authenticity of the doxology only if one can be certain that all these letters in no way come from Paul.[28] In view of the continuing disagreement about the authorship of Ephesians, for example, the argument against the doxology based on its similarities to the disputed letters of the Pauline Corpus remains an attempt to support one unproven hypothesis by means of another.

Secondly, though the language of the doxology is lofty and traditional-sounding, such language is not impossible for Paul. 1 Cor. 16: 22 shows elements of early liturgical tradition adopted for Paul's epistolary purpose. Rom. 11: 33-6 is further evidence that Paul used liturgical and formal language in his letters. It seems perilous, therefore, to presume because of its phrasing that Paul could not have written the doxology, for, just as his epistolary style shows variations, so does his language.[29]

Thirdly, Gamble's use of the argument against the doxology based on its similarities with disputed Pauline letters, seems to be undercut both by his own demonstration that the doxology was written with 'special attention' to Romans and by his acknowledgement that 'the doxology discloses no similar connections with other individual letters or with the letters as a collection'.[30] He shows that the 'revelation-scheme formula' does not betray literary dependence, but is reflective merely of a widely-used pattern in early Christian preaching,[31] surely a pattern known in some form to Paul also.

We are left finally with the text-critical argument that is based on the varied position that the doxology occupies in the MS tradition. The inadequacy of the preceding arguments

[28] Cf. e.g. Kümmel, 357-63, for the discussion of Ephesians and for references to scholars who support the authenticity of Ephesians.
[29] P. S. Minear, Obedience, 35 n. 16, criticizes use of the assumption that in six or seven letters we have a complete index of Paul's vocabulary. 'It forgets how often he used words lifted from the vocabulary of his readers. It gives priority to verbal sounds rather than to thought sequences. Paul was far more flexible in his speech patterns than are most Pauline scholars'. On liturgical and traditional elements in Pauline writings, see e.g. L. G. Champion, *Benedictions and Doxologies in the Epistles of Paul* (Oxford: Kemp Hall, 1934).
[30] Gamble, *Textual History*, 122-3. [31] Ibid., 108-11.

against the authenticity of the doxology, and the comparative importance of the text-critical data are recognized when Gamble calls his examination of these data 'the decisive argument for its [the doxology's] non-Pauline origin'.[32] Though it is true that the text-critical data are the most important, the decisiveness of Gamble's handling of the data is open to question.

Gamble's presentation of this 'decisive argument' is restricted mainly to a few sentences and is weakened by his undefended assertions and occasional specious interpretations of the data.[33] For example, he asserts that 'if the doxology were originally at the end of ch. 16, there would be no reasons by which t&account for its transposition to the end of ch. 14 and the wide adoption of this placement in the tradition'.[34] Though Gamble himself can see no such reasons, they are nonetheless not difficult to perceive. The only really difficult thing to imagine is why 14: 23 was chosen as the cut-off point in preparing a 'catholicized' form of Romans (a matter on which Gamble sheds no light);[35] but, once the cut was made, it is clear that a fitting conclusion to this form of the letter soon would have seemed desirable, and it is easy to imagine that editors might supply one most easily from the materials that might have originally ended the 16-chapter form of the letter. Accordingly, the doxology could have been appended at 14: 23 quite naturally, if it were already in the minds of editors as the familiar ending of the letter. One can easily see the possibility that the doxology originated as a non-Pauline conclusion to a shortened form of Romans; on the other hand, it is equally possible that the doxology was simply retained as a fitting conclusion when the letter was shortened. The latter possibility requires far less creativity of the editors (who clumsily chopped the letter at 14: 23!), and, though Gamble is unaware of reasons for this possibility, it must be considered seriously.

The wide support for the doxology after ch. 14 among Byzantine-text MSS (mentioned by Gamble in support of his view that the doxology originated as a conclusion to a 14-chapter edition) shows only the popularity of the doxology in that position in many ecclesiastical (and perhaps liturgical) circles. Perhaps also these MSS show the influence of an early shortened form of

[32] *Textual History*, 107.
[33] Ibid., 123–4 and 129–32.
[34] Ibid., 123.
[35] Ibid., 115.



Romans with the doxology as a conclusion.[36] The Byzantine witnesses with the doxology after both ch. 14 and ch. 16 display the familiar Byzantine tendency toward conflation,[37] in this case a conflation of one textual tradition having the doxology at the end of ch. 14 with another tradition having the doxology at the end of ch. 16. The Byzantine witnesses do not, however, furnish evidence about the ***origin*** of the doxology, or the ***priority*** of either the one or the other position for the doxology ***(contra*** Gamble).[38]

Further, one may seriously question the validity of Gamble's assertion that an original position of the doxology after ch. 14 is supported by the fact that the final phrase *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* is lengthened to *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* in some witnesses that have the doxology at the end of ch. 16. Gamble thus argues that the lengthening of the phrase could be explained only in connection with a moving of the doxology from an original position after ch. 14 to the end of ch. 16; but such an explanation is neither necessary nor warranted.[39] The lengthening of the phrase in some textual witnesses, when the doxology appears at the end of Romans 16, shows nothing more than a preference among some scribes for the longer, more sonorous phrase to conclude the letter.

What is more, the evidence is not quite accurately presented by Gamble. He writes, 'MSS which offer the doxology in both places attest the short phrase in the early position and the long phrase in the later position'.[40] It should be noted, however, that some MSS with the doxology in both positions have the short phrase in both places (e.g. 33 104). Further, he neglects to note that the most important witnesses for the doxology at 16 : 25-7 (e.g. B C 1739) have the short phrase, and this means that the shorter or longer phrase is a textual variation somewhat unrelated to the question of the origin and movement of the doxology. This is confirmed by the fact that the same variants appear elsewhere in NT epistles where there is no question of textual dislocation. Note the following data.[41]

[36] *e.g.* L Ψ 0209 181 326 and most minuscules.
[37] e.g. in A P 5 33. The classic description of the conflation tendency in Byzantine witnesses is B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: [II] Introduction, Appendix* (Cambridge/London: Macmillan, 1882), 93–107, 132–5.
[38] Cf. Gamble, Textual *History*, 123.
[39] Ibid., 123-4.
[40] Ibid., 124.
[41] I thank Professor G. D. Fee for drawing these data to my attention.

(a) *τῶν αἰώνων* added after *τοὺς αἰῶνας*:

Rom. 11: 36-F G f syr$^{p}$ Origen Cyprian Hilary
2 Cor. 9: 9-F G 6 255 326 1739 *pc*

(b) *τῶν αἰώνων* omitted after *τοὺς αἰῶνας*:

Gal. 1: 5—460 642 Chrysostom
Phil. 4: 20-L 436
1 Tim. 1: 17—623
2 Tim. 4: 18—P 256
Heb. 1: 8-B 33
1 Pet. 4: 11—69 206 614 623 1245 1518 1758 q *pc*

Finally, Gamble's interpretation of the text-critical data concerning the presence or absence of the doxology at the end of Romans 16 in connection with the positions of the grace benedictions in that chapter is unconvincing.[42] He shows clearly enough that the questions about the original position of the benedictions and the doxology form an interlocking problem, and, further, that it is most unlikely that Romans 16 concluded with both the doxology and a benediction (at 16: 24 or at 16: 28). His own solution to the problem is that benedictions stood originally at both 16: 20 *and* 16: 24, and that the later introduction of the doxology caused the final benediction to be dropped (or displaced to 16: 28). He says:

> It can be seen that witnesses which either lack the doxology altogether or place it only at the end of ch. 14 almost always offer the benediction at 16: 24. Within this group of witnesses those reading the doxology after ch. 14 also read the benediction at 16: 20b. On the other hand, texts which contain the doxology at the end of ch. 16 always offer the benediction at 16: 20b, but almost never provide the benediction at 16: 24, and only occasionally do they offer the benediction of 16: 24 as 16: 28, that is, after the doxology. Thus we can see that the benediction of 16: 24 is lost (or displaced to 16: 28) *only when* the doxology *is found at the end of ch.* 16. Thus even if the benediction at 16: 20b is very well attested, this [in] no way impugns the authenticity of 16: 24, which is actually strongly supported. To the contrary, once the intrusion of the doxology is recognized as the *cause* of the omission of 16: 24—and this is exactly what the alignment of the witnesses shows-then 16: 24 has to be judged an original reading.[43] [italics his]

[42] Gamble, *Textual History*, 129–32.
[43] Ibid., 130. See his chart, p. 131, for the MS evidence.



But this seems to stand on its head a more likely interpretation of the data.

The fact that a grace benediction appears at 16: 24 in MSS that either omit the doxology or place it after 14: 23 shows only that scribes desired some sort of 'ceremonial' and 'appropriate' ending of one kind or another for Romans. This variation does not in itself tell us which conclusion, a grace benediction or the doxology (or neither!), may have been the original conclusion. There are other data relevant to this question.

It must be noted initially that the doxology at 16: 25-7 has for support what are judged generally as better quality witnesses[44] than the witnesses supporting a benediction at 16: 24.[45] Further, it is interesting that the witnesses that (for reasons that are not now clear) omit the benediction from 16: 20 have ***instead*** a benediction at 16: 24.[46] These particular witnesses seem to me to furnish the clue to the origin of a benediction at 16: 24. As representatives of the Western text, a textual tradition with a record for textual dislocations (e.g. 1 Cor. 14: 34-5 in D F G *pc*, some of the very MSS which figure in the discussions of 16: 25-7!), these witnesses show that the benediction at 16: 20 was probably lengthened to sound more impressive (on the model of the longer grace benediction of 2 Thess. 3: 18) and was ***moved to 16:24*** to conclude the letter. The witnesses that have a double benediction (either at 16: 20, 24 or 16: 20, 28) are almost all representatives of the Byzantine text, a tradition with well-known conflation tendencies.[47] In this case, these MSS seem to exhibit a conflation of two textual traditions, one with a benediction at 16: 20 and another (as in the case of the Western MSS cited above) with a benediction at 16: 24. These same 'Byzantine text' representatives, in which the doxology appears sometimes after 14: 23 and sometimes both there and at the end of ch. 16, seem to reflect a conflation of a 14-chapter form of Romans and a 16-chapter form. Thus, a benediction at 16: 24 (or 16: 28) seems to have originated from scribal effort to produce a suitable conclusion for Romans 16 by moving and

[44] e.g. 𝔓$^{61}$ ℵ B C 81 436 630 1739 vg syr$^{p}$ cop$^{sa,bo}$.
[45] e.g. L Ψ 0209 181 and most minuscules representing the Byzantine text.
[46] e.g. D G it$^{d*\ g}$ Sedulius-Scotus.
[47] L Y? and most minuscules have the doxology after ch. 14, and benedictions at 16: 20 and 16: 24. A P 5 33 104 arm have the doxology after 14: 23 and at 16: *25-7*, and read a final benediction at 16: 28.

modifying the benediction from 16:20. This stage of the textual history of Romans is reflected in D G and their allies. Then, at a later time, other scribes, aware of some MSS with the benediction at 16 : 20 and other MSS with the benediction at 16 : 24, produced the conflate text represented by the 'Byzantine' witnesses.

Gamble argues, however, that the double benediction of the Byzantine text is original and tries to explain the absence of 16 : 20 in the Western tradition by saying that the double benediction would have been felt 'difficult', not conforming to Pauline style.[48] But what *evidence* is there that a double benediction may have been felt difficult? In fact, the great mass of popular witnesses have a double benediction, some even when they have the doxology at 16 : 25-7. It seems assured, as Gamble shows, that a benediction originally stood at 16:20. The absence then of this benediction and the presence of a closing benediction at 16 : 24 in the Western textual tradition, plus the presence of a benediction both at 16 : 20 and at 16 : 24 (or 16 : 28) in the Byzantine tradition, combine to show varying, widespread scribal attempts to conform Romans to Pauline style by seeing to it that the letter *ended with a benediction.* The combining of a Romans textual tradition ending in a doxology at 16 : 25-7 with a tradition ending in a benediction at 16 : 24, did not apparently produce the omission of 16 : 24, but, rather, the retention of this benediction as the concluding item at 16 : 28.[49]

In short, Gamble's ideas about the original ending of Romans 16 and the way scribes may have altered the passage, while interesting, do not seem to be supported very clearly by the evidence.[50] That is, it does *not* appear likely that Rom. 16 : 24 is an original part of the letter. Now, let us return to the doxology.

The doxology either originated (from Paul or someone else later) to conclude Romans 16 and was adopted to conclude the 14-chapter edition, or (in Gamble's view) originated to conclude this 14-chapter edition and was later moved in some MSS to the end of Romans 16. The arguments based on the style and transcriptional probability offered by Gamble in favour of the

[48] Gamble, *Textual History,* 132. [49] As shown by A P 5 33 104 arm.

[50] Gamble, *Textual History,* 132, mentions MS 629 as containing his reconstructed version of Romans 16. It should be noted that his chart on p. 131 erroneously shows 629 as omitting the benediction at 16: 20. I find the support of a single fourteenth-century MS unimpressive.



latter view have been shown to be very weak and inconclusive. Aside from the fact that 'impressive manuscript evidence'[51] supports the doxology at 16 : 25–7, I believe that there is further evidence linking the doxology with a 16-chapter form of Romans. I turn now to a brief presentation of this evidence.

## III

Gamble himself shows that the doxology was written to reflect specifically the Roman letter,[52] but he does not seem to have realized that the same method of using verbal allusions to link the doxology to Romans can be used to link the doxology to the 16-chapter edition. It has been recognized already that the content of the doxology, the praise to God in connection with the message of Gentile salvation, reflects a major theme of the Roman letter ;[53] but I should like to emphasize here the significance of the similarities between the wording and content of the doxology and Romans 15. That is, I intend to show that the content of the doxology seems to echo portions of Romans 15 and seems more understandable as to content as a conclusion to an edition of Romans with at least 15 chapters.

For example, though the reference to 'prophetic writings' in 16: 26 certainly resembles Rom. 1: 2, the phrase *ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου . . . φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν διά τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν* also seems related to the thought of 15 : 4 that the OT Scriptures have a special meaning for the present eschatological time of the gospel. Further, the phrase *εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη γνωρισθέντος,* though similar to Rom. 1:5 (*εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*), seems also to echo 15 : 18, where Paul writes of Christ's work through him as *εἰς ὑπακοὴν ἐθνῶν.*

Much more striking, however, is the fact that the ascription of glory (*δόξα*) to God in 16 : 27, which parallels the phrasing of 11: 36b, seems to be a particularly fitting echo of 15 : 1–13,

[51] B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary,* 540.

[52] Gamble, *Textual History,* 123.

[53] Verbal connections of the doxology with Romans were given by F. J. A. Hort, 'On the End of the Epistle to the Romans', in *Biblical Essays* by J. B. Lightfoot (London: Macmillan, 1893), 327-9. Hort's interest, however, was in showing the connection of the doxology with Romans against those who sought to emphasize connections with the later Pauline letters, an interest like that of Gamble.

especially 15 : 6-g. The theme of divine glory is a frequent one in Romans,[54] but it is noteworthy that the idea of ascribing glory to God on account of Gentile salvation occurs most emphatically in 15 : 5-13. In 15 : 6 Paul prays that Christians might 'glorify (δοξάζητε) God ; and the phrase 'with one voice' (ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι) seems in the context to allude to the inclusion of Gentiles into Christian faith (15 : 7-13). In 15 : 7 Christians are exhorted to welcome one another 'for the glory of God' (εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ), and, in the context, the exhortation seems intended to encourage the acceptance by one another of Jewish and Gentile believers. In 15 : 8-g Paul says that Christ's ministry was intended to result in Gentiles glorifying God (τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ ἐλέους δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν); and the following verses (15 : g-r 3) form a catena of references to joy and praise over Gentile salvation. At no other point in Romans is the idea of ascribing glory to God in connection with Gentile salvation so pronounced as it is in Rom. 15: 1–13 and 16: 25–7.[55]

If one reads 15 : 1–13 and then immediately reads 16 : 25–7, it becomes clear how perfectly the doxology, giving glory to God and referring to the message of Gentile salvation now disclosed through OT writings, gathers up the content of 15 : 1-13, where the glorification of God by and for converted Gentiles is spoken of, and where it is shown by examples that the OT points to their salvation![56] I am prepared to suggest, therefore, that whoever composed the doxology seems to have done so, not only with 'special attention' to Romans, but, more specifically, with special attention to an edition of Romans with ch. 15. The evidence for this suggestion does not in itself amount to proof of Pauline authorship of the doxology, but it does render further reason to regard as questionable the popular idea espoused also by Gamble that the doxology first arose as a conclusion for 'a 14-chapter edition of Romans.[57]

[54] e.g. 1: 23; 2: 7, 10; 3: 7, 23; 4: 40; 5: 2; 6: 4; g: 23; 11: 36; 15: 7; 16: 27.

[55] The doxology of 11 : 36 glorifies God for his plan to save 'all Israel'. The doxology of 16: 25-8 seems to complement this passage in giving praise for Gentile salvation.

[56] Cf. Hort, 'On the End of the Epistle to the Romans', 328.

[57] Cf. P. S. Minear, *Obedience, 3 1*. In connecting the doxology to Romans 15, I am suggesting that the doxology arose (from Paul or someone else) to conclude the present 16-chapter letter. It is also possible, though less likely I think, that the doxology arose in connection with a 15-chapter edition of Romans. $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ has the benediction after 15: 33. Cf. Gamble, *Textual History*.



## CONCLUSION

My objective in this study was to show that the origin of the doxology is still an open question, and I believe this objective has been achieved. The recent literature shows continuing disagreement, and the recent major investigation by Gamble, while valuable on some important issues in the textual history of Romans, does not offer a sufficiently compelling case for his view to justify pronouncing the question closed. In view of the inadequacy of arguments against the authenticity of the doxology, the close connections shown between the doxology and the Roman letter (including ch. 15), and the general quality of the MSS supporting the doxology at 16 : 25-7, it seems that the position taken by Metzger and fellow editors in the UBSGNT textual commentary is still the best policy.[58] That is, it seems best still to recognize three possibilities : (1) It is still possible that the doxology was Paul's conclusion to Romans 16. (2) The doxology may have been a later composition, appended to Romans 16 as one of two early attempts to provide a more ceremonial conclusion than 16: 23 (the other attempt being a transposition of the benediction from 16 : 20 to 16 : 24) .[59] (3) It is possible, as Gamble argues, that the doxology began as a secondary conclusion to a 14-chapter edition of Romans, though I have tried to show that the confidence with which Gamble holds this view is excessive. In short, the situation calls for a scholarly 'agnosticism' and continuing research.

[58] Metzger, Textual *Commentary, 536, 540.*

[59] This possibility is not often recognized, and is not mentioned in the UBSGNT commentary.

# 16. The Text of 1 Corinthians 10:9

CARROLL D. OSBURN

ALTHOUGH no evidence prior to the fourth century can be cited for *κύριον* in 1 Cor. 10:9, this reading appears in all of the principal critical editions of the Greek NT since Lachmann in 1831. The support for *κύριον* is basically Egyptian with significant versional attestation in Syriac and Armenian as well as Ethiopic. However, the Egyptian versions, corroborated by the particularly noteworthy evidence of Clement,[1] $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, and 1739, readily demonstrate that it was probably not the original Egyptian reading. Furthermore, it was not the dominant Palestinian reading, since Origen and other Fathers in that vicinity based christological arguments on the reading *Χριστόν*. On the other hand, *Χριστόν*, *the* reading of Marcion, is well attested as early as the second century and throughout the entire Mediterranean, including Alexandria. Gunther Zuntz poignantly comments that to adopt the reading *κύριον* under these circumstances is 'fides non quaerens intellectum'.[2]

Since Professor Metzger figured prominently in the committee discussions that led to the insertion of *Χριστόν* in 1 Cor. 10:9 in the third edition of the *United Bible Societies Greek New Testament*, it seems particularly appropriate to honour him in this *Festschrift* with a reassessment of the textual data pertaining to this christologically significant variation in the MS tradition.

The following apparatus presents the essential data:

(1) *Χριστόν* $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ D E F G K L Ψ 056 0142 0151 1 3 4 5 6 7 18 35 38 42 51 57 $61^c$ 62 69 76 82 88 90 91 93 94 97 102 103 105 110 131 133 141 142 149 175 177 180 189 201 203 204 205 206 209 216 218 221 223 226 228 234 250 296 302 308 309 312 314 319 321 322 323 325 327 328 330 337 356 363 367 378 383 384 385 386 390 393 394 398 400 404 421 424 425 429 431 432 440 444 450 451 452 454 455

[1] *Eclogae propheticae* 49.2 (*GCS* 3.150).

[2] G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles* (London: Oxford University, 1953), 127. Similarly, Eberhard Nestle (*Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899], 123) was led to observe that 'an dieser Stelle war der textus receptus besser als der unserer kritischen Ausgaben'.

456 457 458 462 463 464 465 466 468 469 479 483 489 491496 498 506 517 522 547 567 582 592 601 602 603 604 605 607 608 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 622 625 627 628 629 630 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 641 642 656 664 665 676 680 699 720 757 794 796 801 808 824 858 876 901 910 911 912 913 914 915 918 919 920 921 922 935 941 945 996 997 999 1022 1058 1069 1070 1072 1075 1094 1099 1100 1101 1102 1103 1104 1105 1107 1149 1161 1162 1240 1241 1242 1243 1244 1245 1247 1248 1249 1250 1251 1267 1270 1292 1297 1311 1315 1352 1354 1359 1360$^{vid}$ 1367 1384 1390 1398 1400 1404 1405 1409 1424 1448 1456 1482 1501 1503 1505 1508 1509 1521 1522$^{vid}$ 1548 1563 1594 1597 1598 1599 1609 1610 1611 1617 1618 1622 1626 1628 1636 1637 1642 1643 1646 1656 1668 1673 16781702 1704 1718 1719 1720 1722 1723 1724 1725 1726 1727 1728 1729$^{mg}$ 1730 173’ 1732 1733 173417361737 1738 1739 1740 1741 1742 1743 1744 1745 1746 1747 1748 1749 1750 1751 17521753’754 1757 1758 1759 1761 1762 1763 1765 1767 1768 1769 1770 1780 1827 1828 1830 1831 1832 1839 1840 1841$^{vid}$ 1843 1845 1846 1847 1848 1849 1850 1851 1852 1853 1854 1855 1856 1857 1858 1860 1861 1862 1863 1864 1865 1869 1870 1871 1872 1873 1876 1878 1880 1881 1882 1885 1886 1888 1889 1890 1891 1892 1893 1894 1896 1899 1900 1902 1903 1905 1906 1907 1908 1911 1912 1914 1915 1916 1917 1918 1919 1920 1921 1922 1923 1924 1926 1927 1929 1930 1931 1932 1933 1934 1935 1937 1941 1943 1948 1950 1956 1958 1961 1978 1980 1981 1982 1984 1986 1987 1988 1991 1992 1994 1995 1997 1998 2000 2001 2002 2003 2007 2008 2009 2011 2080 2085 2086 2104 2105 2125 2131 2138 2143 2175 2180 2183 2189 2191 2197 2200 2201 2218 2221 2243 2248 2255 2261 2279 2289 2298 2310 2344$^{vid}$ 2352 23562374 2378 2400 2401 2404 2412 2423 2431 2466 2475 2484 2492 2494 2495 2501 2511 2527 2541 2544 2554 2558 2576 2587 2625 2626 2627 2629 2652 2653 2674 2675 2690 2691 2696 2704 2705 2716 2718 2723 2736 2739 2746 2774 2777 it$^{ar,d,dem,e,f,g,x,z}$ vg syr$^{p,htxt}$ cop$^{sa,bo}$ Marcion **Irenaeus Clement Ambrosiaster Origen** Hymenaeus[3] **Eusebius Ephraem Chrysostom Pelagius Augustine Ps-Oecumenius** Theophylact **Photius TR**

[3] **The text of the** *Hymenaeusbriefe* **against Paul of Samosata printed by M. J. Routh (***Reliquiae Sacrae* **[2nd edn.; Oxford: University Press, 1846], 3.299) and the MS followed by Friedrich Loofs (***Paulus von Samosata* **[TU 24/5; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924], 274, 329) have** *κύριον***, as does the text of Eduard Schwartz,** *Eine fingierte Korrespondenz mit Paulus dem Samosatener* **(Miinchen: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1927), 46. Loofs conjectured, on the basis of the context, that the text must have read** *Χριστόν* **originally, a conjecture confirmed by the important evidence of codex 1739$^{mg}$ which had been noted earlier by** Theodor **Zahn, 'Eine neue Quelle für die Textgeschichte des Neuen Testaments',** *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (1899), 180.



**(2)** *κύριον* **ℵ B C P** 0150 33 43 104 181 255$^{vid}$ 256 263 326 365 436 441 459 460 467 606 621 623 917 1175 1319 1573 1735 1836 1837 1838 1874 1875 1877 1939$^{vid}$ 1942 1945 1996 2004 2127 2242 2464 **syr$^{hmg}$** arm eth Epiphanius Chrysostom Theodoret Cassiodorus John-Damascus **Sedulius-Scotus**
(3) *θεόν* **A** 2 61* 81 254 891* 1003 1115 1127 1524 1595 1649 1947 2012 2523 Euthalius **Pseudo-Chrysostom**
(4) *omit* 927 1729* 1985 2659

**Of** lesser interest for textual purposes is the reading *θεόν*, which appears to be nothing more than a later scribal correction conforming to the **LXX.4 The** omission of an object with *ἐκπειράζωμεν* is attributable to accident, although an intentional effort to render the passage ambiguous is at least conceivable. Neither *θεόν* nor the omission has serious claim to be the original reading. The choice is obviously between *κύριον* **and** *Χριστόν*.

**The long-standing preference for** *κύριον* **is based upon the assumption that** *Χριστόν* **is merely a scribal gloss to explain the meaning of** *κύριον*.[5] **The alternative assumption has been that the original** *Χριστόν* **was** altered to *κύριον* **because of the difficulty involved in supposing the Israelites in the desert actually to have tempted Christ.6**

**Initially, it must be noted that the well-known statement of Epiphanius that** Marcion **altered the term** *κύριον* to *Χριστόν*[7] has been adduced as prime evidence for the secondary nature of *Χριστόν*. **E. C. Blackman, for instance, in his study of** Marcion, **cautiously allowed that**

**there is a possibility of this being a Marcionite alteration as** Epiphanius **says, because** *Κύριον* **in this context refers to the Creator,**

[4] **The highly speculative postulation of George Howard ('The Tetragram and the New Testament',** *JBL* **96 [1977], 81) that Paul wrote יהוה here and that** *θεόν* **and** *κύριον* **were the first substitutes, with** *Χριστόν* **being a later scribal interpretation, remains so questionable as to provide no substantial basis for evaluating this christological variation in the NT MS tradition.**

[5] **Cf. among others, Johannes Weiss,** *Der erste Korintherbrief* (MeyerK; 9th **edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), 253 n.** 2; **and Hans** Lietz**mann, An** *die Korinther I/II* **(ed. G. Bornkamm; HNT 9; 4th edn.;** Tübingen: **Mohr [Siebeck], 1949), 47.**

[6] **B. M. Metzger,** *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* **(London/ New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 560; Zuntz,** *Text*, **127; and C. K. Barrett,** *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* **(HNTC; London: Black, 1968), 225.**

[7] *Haer.* **42.12.3 (GCS 2.164-5):** *ὁ δὲ Μαρκίων ἀντὶ τοῦ κυρίου Χριστὸν ἐποίησε.* **Cf. Adolf von Harnack,** *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* **(TU 45; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1921), 87*.**

and if Marcion was going to make any use of the passage at all he had to alter Κύριον here, as he could have no object in exhorting his followers not to tempt the Demiurge.[8]

Although this analysis does provide a possible rationale for Epiphanius' allegation, Blackman's basic assumption that 'Κύριον in this context refers to the Creator' is open to question, since elsewhere (e.g. 1 Cor. 2: 8; 4: 5; 6: 14; 10: 16; 15: 45, 47) Marcion retained or used κύριος with reference to Christ and could have done so quite easily here in v. 9. However, in view of Marcion's retention of ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός in v. 4 and his omission of ὁ θεός in v. 5, making Χριστός *the* subject of εὐδόκησεν,[9] it is just as reasonable to assume that Marcion, rather than falsifying the text at this point, actually found Χριστόν in his exemplar.[10] Furthermore, if one accepts the idea of a Marcionite alteration of κύριον to Χριστόν, one concomitantly accepts the rather difficult task of explaining the reading Χριστόν in Clement and the 'presbyter' whom Irenaeus mentions.[11] It is highly unlikely that writers as early as Clement, Irenaeus, and his 'presbyter' were influenced by the NT text of Marcion. Keeping in mind the salient fact that apart from this suggestion about Marcion by Epiphanius κύριον is otherwise unattested prior to the fourth century, one is caused to wonder whether Marcion did in fact alter his biblical text.

It may be suggested that the *erratum* is attributable instead to Epiphanius, who, using a text which read κύριον, merely *assumed* Marcion to have made the substitution. In view of the zealous hatred for all heresies which permeates the work of Epiphanius

[8] E. C. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948), 164-5; cf., however, p. 47 n. 1.

[9] Zuntz (*Text,* 232) argues that the secondary addition of ὁ θεός was early and widespread; but I find little to commend Marcion's text as original.

[10] Cf. F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (3rd edn.; Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1883), 506 n. 2; (4th edn., 1894), 2.260 n. 3. Argument that Marcion could not have allowed an original Χριστόν to stand because it would have been inconsistent with his doctrinal presuppositions is nullified not only by 10: 4, but by numerous instances where he retained passages inimical to his theology such as Luke 7: 27; 10: 27; 16: 17 and Rom. 13: 8–10, which are inconsistent with his 'dualism'. J. Rendel Harris ('Marcion's Book of Contradictions', *BJRL 6* [1921–2], 289) notes correctly that much is yet to be learned concerning Marcionite theology, and John Knox gives appropriate caution against premature certainty regarding even the reconstruction of Marcion's text (*Marcion and the New Testament* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942], 47-8).

[11] *Adv. Haer.* 4.27.3 (SC 100/2. 746-7).



and the lack of critical acumen often reflected in his writings,[12] one cannot rely too heavily upon his allegation as having a reliable basis. The distinct impression that emerges is that nowhere is Epiphanius less trustworthy for textual purposes than here.[13]

This postulation is enhanced by an analysis of the textual data, which suggests that Χριστόν, preserved in $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ 1739 D E F G and the mass of Byzantine MSS, is the older reading, occurring early in the East, supported by Clement and Origen, and surviving in the so-called Western tributaries as well as continuing in the main stream of the textual tradition. Κύριον, supported by ℵ B C 33, can hardly be the original reading preserved in a supposedly 'neutral' text, as implied by Westcott and Hort by their failure to note or discuss alternatives to κύριον.

In view of the early and diverse attestation favouring Χριστόν and the lack of convincing evidence in support of Epiphanius' allegation that Marcion was responsible for the alteration of κύριον, careful consideration must be devoted to internal evidence which, while hardly convincing apart from external data, is of considerable importance.

The opening midrashic section of 1 Corinthians[14] has been

[12] Cf. among others, Wilhelm von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* (6th edn.; Munich: Beck, 1961), 7. 1 446-51. As a heresiologist Epiphanius' purpose was to controvert Marcion by any available means, and his allegation of a Marcionite alteration is not surprising. However, since he provides no source of information upon which to base such an assertion, it remains an open question whether Epiphanius even relied upon a source at this point. As might be expected from observing his lack of precision in biblical citations, even Epiphanius' use of traditional material was not altogether precise; e.g. his assertion in *haer.* 30.24.1–5, that John met *Ebion* in the bath house at Ephesus, whereas in common tradition it was Cerinthus.

[13] B. M. Metzger, 'Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament', *NTS* 18 (1971–2), 398–9, mentions the value of explicit patristic references to variant readings in NT MSS current in antiquity, and has noted F. J. A. Hort's caution that '... in the statements themselves the contemporary existence of the several variants mentioned is often all that can be safely accepted: reliance upon what they tell us beyond this bare fact must depend on the estimate which we are able to form of the opportunities, critical care, and impartiality of the respective writers' (2% *New Testament in the Original Greek : [II] Introduction, Appendix* [London: Macmillan, 1882], 87).

[14] E. Earle Ellis, 'Exegetical Patterns in I Corinthians and Romans', Grace *Upon Grace: Essays in Honor of Lester J. Kuyper* (ed. J. I. Cook; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 137-8. Cf. also W. Wuellner, 'Haggadic Homily Genre in I Corinthians 1-3', *JBL* 89 (1970), 199–204, and N. A. Dahl, 'Paulus Apostel og menigheten i Korinth (1 Kor. 1–4)', *NorTT 54* (1953), 1-23.

characterized correctly by Nils Dahl[15] as an apology for Paul's apostolic ministry, and it functions within the total structure of the epistle to overcome various objections and to re-establish his apostolic authority as the founder of the entire church at Corinth, in order that he might effectively answer the questions that had been raised, not as the champion of one group, but as the apostle of Christ. While it is true that it is difficult to relate with precision the trends in chs. 5-16 to the slogans mentioned at the beginning (1:12), there is no compelling reason to doubt the literary integrity of the epistle.[16] As an integral part of Paul's treatment of the Corinthians' questions concerning idol food, 1 Cor. 10:1-13 continues the appeal for consideration of the weaker brother as a second and somewhat stronger attempt to dissuade them from eating such food. Whereas earlier (8:13), with reference to an immature Christian, Paul had concluded that if eating idol food caused his brother to fall, he would avoid meat entirely, in 10:1–13 he posits, stressing the propriety of avoiding idol food, that the situation in Corinth is potentially analogous to that of ancient Israel, which forfeited its spiritual gifts by stumbling and falling in the desert. As it stands, 10:1-11 is related to the preceding exhortation to exercise self-control with regard to eating idol food in 9:24-7 by *γάρ* in 10:1 and functions as a rabbinic midrashic basis for the admonition in v. 12 to the 'all things are lawful' group in Corinth: 'Therefore let the one who thinks he stands fast beware lest he fall'.

While it is widely acknowledged that in 10:1-11 Paul makes reference to Christ's pre-existent activity in OT history, divergent opinions do exist concerning certain aspects of the passage which are pertinent to the resolution of the textual problem in v. 9. Even though most commentaries are based upon the *κύριος* reading, the assertion of Robertson and Plummer,[17]

[15] **'Paul and the Church at Corinth according to I Corinthians 1:10–4:21'**, *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox* **(ed. W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, and R. R. Niebuhr; London/New York: Cambridge University, 1967), 329. Cf. also C. J. Bjerkelund,** *PARAKALÔ: Form, Funktion und Sinn der parakalô-Sätze in den paulinischen Briefen* **(Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967), 141-6.**

[16] **For discussion of various views concerning the literary integrity of 1 Corinthians, see J. C. Hurd, Jr.,** *The Origin of I Corinthians (New* **York: Seabury, 1965), 43-7 and 115–49.**

[17] **A. Robertson and A. Plummer,** *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* **(ICC; 2nd edn.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914), 205.**



that by *κύριον* in v. 9 Paul almost certainly has reference to יהוה, has received little support. Alternatively A. T. Hanson[18] has posited that Paul detected the real presence of Christ in various LXX *κύριος* texts (e.g. Exod. 14:19, 31) and that, although the actual incident of the serpents in the wilderness is described in Num. 21: 4–9, Paul here had in mind Exod. 17: 1-7 where he took *κύριος* of the LXX with reference to Christ. Hanson thus postulates that *Χριστόν* was either the original reading or a correct early interpretation. Most interpreters,[19] however, have considered it far more likely that, if indeed Paul wrote *κύριον*, he would have understood it to mean Christ since in v. 4 he had just spoken of Christ's presence with Israel.[20]

Since Wilhelm Bousset[21] it has been variously held that the designation of Jesus of Nazareth as *κύριος* belonged to a later stage and to Gentile contexts. However, it has been argued cogently for some time that the *κύριος* christology is more realistically conceived as having its origin in Palestinian circles,[22] and Matthew Black has drawn our attention to a *maran* or *maranatha* christology which, if it did not precede it as its source, must have arisen at least concurrently with the *κύριος* christology of the Greek-speaking churches.[23] It is sufficient for our present discussion to note that, as far as christological titles are concerned, there is no substantial. reason that Paul could not have written *κύριον* in v. 9 with reference to Christ.

[18] A. **T. Hanson,** *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament* **(London: S.P.C.K., 1965), 10–25.**

[19] **Cf. among others, H. L. Goudge,** *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* **(London: Methuen, 1903), 86; R. Hanson, 'Moses in the Typology of St Paul',** *Theology* **48 (1945), 175; and A. J. Bandstra, 'Interpretation in 1 Corinthians 10: 1-11',** *CalvTJ* 6 **(1971), 18.**

[20] **On the interesting rabbinical tradition of the following rock, see Str-B, 3.406-8; cf. E. E. Ellis,** *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* **(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 66–70; H. St. John Thackeray,** *The Relation of St Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought* **(London: Macmillan, 1900), 205–11.**

[21] **W. Bousset,** *Kyrios Christos: Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenäus* **(5th edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 75–101. Cf. also R. Bultmann,** *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* **(5th edn.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1965), 124–32.**

[22] **Cf. among others, C. F. D. Moule, 'The Distinctiveness of Christ',** *Theology* 76 **(1973), 565; R. Fuller,** *The Foundations of New Testament Christology (New* **York: Scribner's, 1965), 158; Ed. Schweizer, 'Discipleship and Belief in Jesus as Lord from Jesus to the Hellenistic Church',** *NTS* **2 (1955–6), 93; and O. Cullmann,** *The Christology of the New Testament* **(rev. edn.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 207.**

[23] **M. Black, 'The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament',** *NTS* **18 (1971–2), 6–11.**

On the other hand, internal evidence appears to point in the direction of an original *Χριστόν*. Although Conzelmann's[24] assertion that 10:1-11 was composed prior to 1 Corinthians has failed to gain acceptance, it can hardly be doubted that at. least vv. 1-5 constitute a summary statement of the events of the exodus25 and it may well be that Paul has constructed his own midrash upon the basis of several OT texts.26 Whether Paul intended each of the items mentioned to correspond to identical items in the experience of the Corinthian church is debatable,[27] but it is certain that he intended to utilize the ancient wilderness disaster as proof of his principal idea in g : 27 and 10:12, as the exhortations of IO :7–10 clearly demonstrate.28 Since Paul expressly stated in v. 4 that *ἡ &pa δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός*, it is fair to conclude that the admonition to the Corinthians in v. g was made with reference to *Χριστόν* rather than to *κύριον*.[29]

In 1:11–13 Paul noted the report of various factions within the Corinthian church, and in 1:10 had appealed for unity. Intending the midrashic exposition in chs. 1-4 to destroy any notion of himself as leader of a Pauline party and to establish Christ as the central figure, Paul urged the Corinthians in 4 :16 to follow him as he follows Christ. In treating their concern over idol food, Paul stated in 8 : 6 that there is but one lord, ***Jesus Christ,*** and the exhortation in 10: g was made in view of the fact that the Corinthians must reckon with Christ. The directive with regard to idol food is that one ought not cause his brother to stumble (8 :13 ;10: 32). While there is nothing inherently evil in idol food and Christians can eat it without hesitation (IO :25–7), once it has been designated as idol food, one ought not eat it because of the weaker brother's conscience (IO : 28-g).

[24] **H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (MeyerK;11. Aufl. ;Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 194; Eng. tr., 1 *Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 165. There is no reason to suppose with G. Gander, 'I Cor.** *10.2* **parle-t-il du baptême?' *RHPhR 37* (1957), 97–102, that Paul wrote a first copy of 1 Cor. 10 in Aramaic.**

[25] **Peder** Borgen, ***Bread From Heaven*** (NovTSup 10; **Leiden: Brill, 1965),** *22.*

[26] **Bandstra, 'Interpretation', 13, suggests Deut. 32. J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief, 253,* suggests also Num. 21 and Ps. 77 (LXX).**

[27] **Bruce J. Malina, *The Palestinian Manna Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 97.**

[28] **Paul Neuenzeit, *Das Herrenmahl: Studien zur paulinischen Eucharistieauffassung* (Munich:** Kösel, 1960), **47.**

[29] **It is also not unimportant to note that while 10: 1-11 may not be eucharistic in its entirety, it does anticipate the eucharistic discussion in 10: 16 where Christ is the focal point of the admonition to flee idolatry in 10: 14.**



A further appeal is made in 11:1 for the church to imitate him in this respect as he imitates Christ. In this connection 10: 1-11 serves to illustrate and emphasize Paul's admonition in *g :* 24-7 that restraint should be exercised with regard to eating idol food. Blatant exercise of 'freedom' to eat such food while remaining insensitive to the spiritual welfare of one's brother would irk Christ, very much as ancient Israel, although likewise in possession of spiritual gifts, by stumbling and falling in the desert, incurred God's wrath. In view of the immediate context of 10:1-11, the developing argument in chs. 8–10, and Paul's dominant concern throughout the epistle, *Χριστόν* assumes intrinsic probability as the original reading of IO : g.

Given the strength and diversity of the external attestation for *Χριστόν*, the improbability of a Marcionite alteration, and the intrinsic probability favouring *Χριστόν* as original, it remains to be asked when, by whom, and for what reasons *κύριον* was introduced into the textual tradition. In view of the several *Χριστόν/κύριον* interchanges in the NT MS tradition, the variation could have been merely accidental. On the other hand, there exists the possibility that the interchange could have been deliberate, but not doctrinal, e.g. upon reading *ἐξεπείρασαν* a scribe could have surmised *Χριστόν* to be a mistake for *κύριον*. However, there is considerable reason to conclude that *κύριον* arose as a theologically motivated alteration to the text.

It is of considerable importance that while Origen read *Χριστόν* in v. g, he was unaware of any biblical text which read otherwise. A fragment of book four of Origen's lost *Stromateis*, written in Alexandria sometime prior to AD 232,[30] is preserved in the margin of codex 1739 at 1 Cor. IO : g and reads :

*καὶ οἱ καθελόντες τὸν σαμοσατέα παῦλον πατέρες ἅγιοι οὕτως ἀνήνεγκαν τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῶι Δ τῶν στρωματέων οὕτως προθεὶς τὴν χρῆσιν αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἐπιφέρει· ἴσως μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ὡς ἀλληγορουμένης εἰς $\overline{\chi\nu}$ εὑρησιλογήσουσι οἱ μὴ θέλοντες $\overline{\chi\nu}$ ἐκείνας τὰς οἰκονομίας ὠικονομηκέναι· τί δὲ ἐροῦσι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ ῥητά· τίνες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐξεπείρασαν· οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ ἢ τὸν $\overline{\chi\nu}$. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν ὀφέων ἀπώλλυντο.*[31]

[30] **Eusebius, *h.e. 6.24.3 (GCS* 2/2.572).**

[31] ***See* Eduard von der Goltz, *Eine textkritische Arbeit des zehnten bezw. sechsten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899), 66, for the edited text. One of the earliest commentators to recognize the strength of this evidence was Philipp Bachmann, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 7; Leipzig: Deichert, 1905), 340–1 n. I.**

Origen, aware that there are those who would not desire that Christ should have participated in these wilderness experiences, ponders whether they will produce some ingenious interpretation of 1 Cor. 10:9 to avoid the obvious implications of Christ's having been present among the Jews during their wilderness wanderings. Those with an aversion to viewing Christ as pre-existent and present with the Israelites in the desert would appear to be monarchians of the second and third centuries AD who disparaged the prevalent Logos christology held by the church.[32] Had the reading *κύριον, θεόν*, or even the omission, been present in the textual tradition in the East during the early third century, Origen's speculation about how his rivals would explain away this particular text would have been redundant. Certainly Origen knew no biblical text which read other than *Χριστόν*; indeed, the force of his argument is predicated upon that term being a firm reading in the text. Having thus drawn attention to the fact that 1 Cor. 10:9 constituted an *anguis in herba* for his opponents, Origen in effect had challenged them to provide an alternative explanation of that text, if indeed they could.

Later in the third century, Paul of Samosata, who had become bishop of Antioch about AD 260, rejected the prevailing Logos christology and assumed an adoptionist stance.[33] Although reliable accounts of his teachings are meagre,[34] it can be ascertained that Paul of Samosata found Origen's theology to be repugnant and preferred instead to stress the pure humanity of Jesus. Several prominent bishops in the East, most of whom had been influenced by Origen, met at Antioch between AD 264 and 268 to hold discussions and deal with the disturbing views of Paul of Samosata. Finally at a synod at Antioch in AD 268 Paul of Samosata was condemned for denying the pre-existence of Christ and was deposed as a heretic. In the *Hymenaeusbriefe* against Paul of Samosata, written that same year, the bishops concerned with obtaining Paul's condemnation used 1 Cor. 10:9

[32] Cf. the brief discussion in R. P. C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* (London: SCM, 1959), 153.

[33] Adolf von Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904), 2.135-8; and Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (3 vols.; Utrecht/Antwerp: Spectrum, 1960), 2.140-1.

[34] Henri de Riedmatten, *Les Actes du Procès de Paul de Samosate* (Fribourg en Suisse: St. Paul, [redacted]



with the reading *Χριστόν* as evidence against his erroneous view with regard to the pre-existence of Christ:[35]

*Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς πρὸ τῆς σαρκώσεως ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ὡς Χριστὸς ὠνόμασται, ἐν μὲν Ἰερεμίᾳ· πνεῦμα προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς κύριος, ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον· κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτόν· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός· καὶ πάλιν· μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν, καθώς τινες αὐτὸν ἐξεπείρασαν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφεων ἀπώλλυντο· καὶ περὶ Μωυσέως· μείζονα πλοῦτον ἡγησάμενος τῶν Αἰγύπτου θησαυρῶν τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὁ Πέτρος· περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξεζήτησαν προφῆται οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες, ἐρευνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδήλου τὸ πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς.*[36]

The text indicates more than that *Χριστόν* appeared in this verse in a single third-century witness; it implies that neither Paul of Samosata nor his opponents were aware of a biblical text which read other than *Χριστόν* in v. 9.

It may be suggested, then, that an appropriate occasion for the alteration of *Χριστόν* to *κύριον* in v. 9 is found in the repeated use of *Χριστόν* in this verse by the school of Caesarea to prove christological assertions against the opposing views of Antiochian Fathers. Lucian of Antioch, himself a disciple of Paul of Samosata, is generally agreed to have founded a school in Antioch where, in opposition to the allegorism of Alexandria and Caesarea, it became fundamental procedure to see figures of Christ only occasionally in the OT and to stress a literal interpretation. Quasten posits that 'Lucian extended his textual criticism to the New Testament also, but limited it most probably to the four Gospels'.[37] However, in view of the frequent use of *Χριστόν* in v. 9 by Origen and other Fathers to prove christological points, it is not at all improbable that some Eastern Father, such as Lucian or one of his disciples, could have been stimulated to introduce *κύριον* into the text at this point for theological reasons. The substitution was made as early as the last decades

[35] Schwartz, *Eine fingierte Korrespondenz*, 47 ff., argued that the *Hymenaeusbriefe* is post-Nicean and composed from sources by a Coptic editor. However, Gustave Bardy, *Paul de Samosate* (2nd edn.; Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1929), has marshalled sufficient evidence to establish the authenticity of the document; and J. Allenbach, *et al.*, eds., *Biblia Patristica: Index des Citations et Allusions bibliques dans la Littérature patristique* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche scientifique, 1977), 2.47, give the document a third-century date and note Bardy's edition as the critical text.

[36] Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, [redacted]

[37] [redacted] 142.

of the third century, but was definitely a part of the MS tradition by the time of ℵ and B. The fragment of an anonymous treatise preserved in Eusebius (*h.e.* 5.28.1–6)[38], which dates from the early third century and treats the heretical views of Artemon and Theodotus, specifically charges the monarchians with altering biblical texts to prove their own doctrine. Although there is no evidence to indicate a conscious alteration of 1 Cor. 10:9 in the early third century, *The Little Labyrinth* does indicate monarchian tampering with various christological texts in the West as early as AD 199–218. However, even if an alteration of *Χριστόν* in this verse occurred in the West during the time of Zephyrinus, by Asclepiodotus, Theodotus, Hermophilus, or Apollonius, it had not yet affected MSS in the East by the mid-third century.

The cumulative effect of the data can hardly be denied: there is insufficient evidence convincingly to establish *κύριον* as the original reading. Epiphanius' statement in his *Panarion*, with respect to the Marcionite alteration of *κύριον* to *Χριστόν*, evidently was not made upon the basis of sound information, but was merely a slanderous remark intended to cast reflection upon a despised heretic rather than to transmit accurate information concerning Marcion's text. While the external evidence is certainly in favour of *Χριστόν* as far as weight and diversity are concerned, *Χριστόν* can also be demonstrated as preferable on internal grounds. A good and reasonable claim can be made that *κύριον*, which has every appearance of being a theologically motivated alteration to the text, is of Eastern origin in the late third century. It is reasonable to assume that the provocative challenge in Origen's *Stromateis* and the significant utilization of this text with the reading *Χριστόν* evoked a monarchian textual response which made only a limited impact upon the tradition as a whole, finding acceptance in that arc which runs eastward from Syria to Armenia and southward from Egypt to Ethiopia. In view of these considerations, the terse admonition of Theodor Zahn, that *κύριον* should never again be printed in the text,[39] has continuing validity.

[38] GCS 2/1. 504, 506. The third century date is assigned by H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, *Eusebius* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), 189. Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte*, 2.225; and J. B. Lightfoot, *S. Clement of Rome* (London: Macmillan, 1890), 379, consider the author to be Hippolytus.

[39] *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (1899), col. 180.

# 17. The Silenced Wives of Corinth (1 Cor. 14: 34-5)

E. EARLE ELLIS

## I

In the passage, 1 Cor. 14: 34-5, problems are posed both for the textual critic and for the interpreter of Paul's theology. Among the textual variants a number of MSS, mainly Western, place 14: 34-5 after 14:40, and one of them, Codex Fuldensis (*c.* AD 545), also puts the verses in the margin after 14:33.[1] Since no MS omits the verses, these variants would scarcely suffice to call the genuineness of the passage into question. However, a number of scholars, noting additional problems, have concluded that 14: 34–5[2] or, more broadly, 14:33b–6[3] is a non-Pauline interpolation.

The interpolation hypothesis, a long-standing viewpoint among German commentators,[4] has recently been argued by Professor Conzelmann. Its most significant points are the following:

1. 1 Cor. 14:33b–6 interrupts the topic under discussion, i.e. prophecy, and spoils the flow of thought.
2. It contradicts Paul's teaching in 1 Cor. 11:2–16.[5]
3. It includes linguistic and theological peculiarities. For example, the phrase 'churches of the saints' is found only here

[1] Cf. B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 565.

[2] Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: A. and C. Black, 1968), 329–33; W. Bousset, 'Erster Korintherbrief', *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (ed. J. Weiss; 4 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917), 2.146.

[3] H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 246; C. Holsten, *Das Evangelium des Paulus. Teil I* (Berlin: Reimer, 1880), 495–7; J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970 [1910]), 342–3.

[4] Barrett (*First Corinthians*, 332) thinks that an interpolation is probable, but sensibly decides, in the absence of any MS that lacks the verses, to leave the question open.

[5] This problem is not resolved even if, with Weiss and Schmithals, one regards the two sections as originally belonging to separate Pauline letters. Cf. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, xli; W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971), 90–6.

in Paul; the term ἐπιτρέπεσθαι ('to be permitted') appears elsewhere in the Pauline corpus with this sense only in the post-Pauline 1 Tim. 2: 12, and in both passages it refers to a pre-existing regulation (Weiss); the term ὑποτάσσεσθαι ('to subordinate oneself') is typical of household regulations in the deutero-Pauline letters of Colossians and Ephesians. In a word, the atmosphere of this ceremonial regulation reflects 'the bourgeois consolidation of the church' (Conzelmann) and hardly fits in 'the emotion-laden (*enthusiastische*) epoch' of Paul's ministry (Weiss).

4. It does not join smoothly to its context; indeed, 14 : 37 more easily follows 14 : 33a.

5. The displacement of 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 in some MSS is secondary, but it shows that certain scribes were sensitive to the incongruity of the pericope in its present context.

These arguments are not of equal value. The fourth point, the rough connection of the passage to its context, is well founded but is weakened by disagreement about the location of the connections, some identifying them after 14 : 33 and 14 : 35 (Barrett, Bousset) and some after 14 : 33a and 14 : 36 (Weiss, Conzelmann). On balance, the forrner seems to be preferable although 14 : 33b ('as in all the assemblies of the saints') presents problems whether it is joined to 14 : 33a or to 14 : 34. In any case, the seams joining 14: 34-5 to its context are rough, and it is these two verses that are displaced in a number of MSS and duplicated in the margin of one. Some suspicion is aroused, therefore, that 1 Cor. 14: 34-5 may represent an addition to the original text. But whether a post-Pauline interpolation is the best explanation of the problem is another question.

A relationship between 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 and 1 Tim. 2 : 11-3 : 1 a is also quite probable (point 3). In addition to ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, noted by Weiss and Conzelmann, similarities appear in the terms, 'silence' (σιγᾶν/ἡσυχία), 'subjection' (ὑποτάσσεσθαι/ὑποταγή), 'learn' (μανθάνειν) and in the common allusion to Gen. 3 : 16. But there are few exact parallels of words or phrases. All this suggests a common tradition or an existing regulation to which both passages are indebted rather than a direct literary relationship, whether that relationship is conceived of as an interpolation of elements of 1 Tim. 2 : 11-3 : 1 a into 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 (Weiss)



or a construction of 1 Timothy 2 from 1 Corinthians 14.6 In support of a pre-existing piece underlying 1 Tim. 2 : 11-3 : 1a is the formula 'faithful is the word' (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, 3 : 1a), which probably concludes the pericope.[7] This formula has Jewish antecedents[8] and, in the Pastorals, appears to signal a traditional teaching-piece or a biblical exposition of Christian prophets or inspired teachers.[9] Here it refers to a Christian exposition of Genesis 1-3 that was already a received teaching among the Pauline churches, not only when 1 Timothy was written but also, apparently, when 1 Corinthians was written.

Less convincing is the conclusion that such an ordered pattern of conduct must come from a post-Pauline period of the church (point 3). Both charisma and order were constitutive of the church from the beginning[10] and, in fact, the regulation in 1 Cor. 14: 34-5 is essentially no different from the earlier instructions regulating prophecy and tongues (1 Cor. 14 : 26-33) and the dress of prophetesses (1 Cor. 11: 2-16).

More fundamentally, one must question the validity of a procedure that automatically interprets *theological* differences in NT documents in terms of *chronological* distance. This approach, which arose in the eighteenth century[11] and became an established critical axiom after the work of F. C. Baur,[12] assumes

[6] So P. Trummer, Die *Paulustradition der Pastoralbriefe* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1978), 144–9, who argues the thesis that the (post-Pauline) Pastorals have been consciously constructed on the model of passages in the Pauline letters even though a literary dependence can be shown only in a few places (241).

[7] As it does in 1 Tim. 4: 8-9 and Tit. 3: 3–8a, where a Christian interpretation of Joel 3: 1 is involved (otherwise: 1 Tim. 1: 15; 2 Tim. 2: 11–13). The 'faithful word' in 1 Tim. 3: 1a may specifically refer only to 1 Tim. 2: 13-15, but it implicitly includes the preceding application that Paul has given to the Genesis passage.

[8] Cf. 1Q27 1: 8: 'Certain (נכון) is the word to come to pass and true (אמת) the oracle.' Also, Rev. 2 1: 5; 22: 6: 'These are the faithful words and true'.

[9] Cf. 1 Tim. 4: 1 ('the Spirit says') with 4: 6 ('by the words of the faith'); Tit. 1: 9; Rev. 21: 5; 22: 6.

[10] Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic* (Tubingen: Mohr [Siebeck]; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 12.

[11] Cf. E. Evanson, *The Dissonance of the Four generally received Evangelists* (Ipswich, 1792). He took Luke-Acts to be the earliest and most reliable NT books and dated others that diverged from them as late as the second and third centuries.

[12] In his earlier writings Baur seldom questioned the traditional dating of NT books. His post-apostolic dating of many of them, e.g. 'Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe' (1835) appears to coincide with his general reconstruction of early Christian history along the lines of Hegelian dialectic. Cf. J. Fitzer, *Moehler and Buur in Controversy* (Tallahassee: Academy of Religion, 1974), 97–8.

that Christian thought and practice moved forward as a block in either a straight-line or a dialectical development. While such an assumption or something very much like it continues to govern much NT research, it remains undemonstrated and to my mind oversimplifies a rather complex pattern of relationships. A more likely scenario is that various circles of prophets and teachers, often under the leadership of an apostle, developed their theology and praxis at different rates and in different directions. Even if, in a given circle, a particular doctrine or practice was subsequent to another, it is difficult if not impossible to establish whether it arose after six months, six years, or several decades. Furthermore, many of these prophetic circles of co-workers were in contact and gave mutual recognition to one another's pneumatic, i.e. prophetic credentials.[13] Consequently, the oracles, expositions, and resulting regulations of one circle could be taken over and applied by another as circumstances warranted. Therefore, even if an exposition of Genesis found in 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 and 1 Tim. 2 : 11-3 : 1a is judged to be non-Pauline, it cannot on that basis alone be labelled post-Pauline. If this is true, the argument that 1 Cor. 14: 34-5 is a post-Pauline interpolation rests on mistaken assumptions, and one must seek another explanation for the variants in the MSS.

Whether 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 is congenial with its context and with Paul's teaching in 1 Cor. 11 (points 1, 2, and 5) depends upon the exegesis of the verses. To that question we may now turn.

## II

The Spanish reformer, Juan de Valdez, offered a novel and, for the sixteenth century, remarkable interpretation of 1 Cor. 14: 34–5.[14] This ordinance of the Apostle, he wrote, 'could be kept only by married women and, among them, only those who had Christian husbands [and, among them], only by those who had Christian husbands so capable and learned (*diestros y entendidos*) in the things concerning Christianity that they would

[13] Cf. Rom. 16: 3-15; 1 Cor. 16: 12; Gal. 1: 18; 2: 7-9; Tit. 3: 13; 2 Pet. 3: 15-16; Acts 13: 1-2; E. E. Ellis, 'Dating the New Testament', *NTS* 26 (1980), 501.

[14] J. de Valdez, *La primera epístula de San Pablo apóstol a los Corintios* (Venezia: Philadelpho, 1557), 267-8 = *Reformistas antiguos españoles, Tomos XI* (Madrid, 1856). Eng. tr.: London: Trubner, 1883. For his hermeneutic, cf. J. C. Nieto, *Juan de Valdez and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 185–255. I am indebted to Professor Metzger for alerting me to the work of Valdez.



be able to teach others. All the other women were excluded from keeping this regulation and precept'. Of course, Valdez is not the only commentator to observe that Paul's instruction was directed to married women, but his forthright emphasis on the limited nature of the regulation is unique and opens the way to a quite different understanding of the Apostle's command.

A number of considerations suggest that 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 is not a prohibition on the public ministry of women, as has traditionally been supposed, but is an ordering of the ministry of wives to accord with their obligations to their husbands. First, the word **γυνή**, which means either 'woman' or 'wife', requires the latter meaning in the present context. (1) The phrase 'their husbands' makes clear that it is married women who are in view. (2) The reference to the law is in all likelihood an allusion to Gen. 3 : 16, which stipulates the wife's subordination to her husband. (3) With the explanatory adjective, '*your* wives', several Western (OL and Syriac) versions make the meaning explicit, as they do in other passages.[15] Although this reading is apparently not original, it is a correct interpretation and shows the way in which the passage, at a very early time, was understood and/or a misunderstanding of it put right.

Second, the principle that one's ministry is to be consistent with and qualified by one's marriage obligations accords with Paul's teachings generally. For the husband is (properly) concerned to please his wife, the wife to please her husband (1 Cor. *7: 33-4).* The married couple, moreover, are to be mutually subject to one another, and submission is an emphasized characteristic of the wife's marriage role.[16] Indeed, the wife can be called 'the subject-to-a-man woman'.[17] This principle is applied specifically to qualify the ministry of wives not only in the sequel to 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5, i.e. 1 Timothy 2, but also in 1 Corinthians 11: 'the head of a wife is her husband' (11:3), and in her creation 'woman was made for man' (11: 9), that is, to be his wife. The marriage role, then, is a part of the rationale in regulating the ministry of women in 1 Corinthians 11, although it is not as central there as it is in 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5.

[15] Eph. 5: 25; Col. 3: 18–19. A qualified meaning is intended also where the absolute form (ἡ γυνή) occurs (1 Cor. 7: 3-4, 10-11, 33; Eph. 5: 22-5; 1 Tim. 2: 14). Cf. Matt. 18: 25; 1 Pet. 3: 7.

[16] 1 Cor. *7: 4;* 11: 3; Eph. 5: 21-4; Col. 3: 18.

[17] Rom. 7: 2: ἡ ὕπανδρος γυνή.

Third, 1 Cor. 14 : 26–40 is concerned to regulate the ministry of the pneumatics, i.e. those with gifts of inspired speech and discernment.[18] In this context the 'silence' imposed on the wives (14 : 34) is regulative and is no different in kind from that imposed on the tongue-speaker (14 : 28) or on the prophet (14 : 30). Likewise, the 'speaking' (14 : 34, λαλεῖν) almost certainly refers, as it does throughout the section, to the exercise of pneumatic gifts. The wives in view are pneumatics and are known to be such. In 1 Corinthians 11 women legitimately exercise such a public ministry[19] and at least two women, Phoebe and Prisca, are Paul's fellow ministers who carry on a ministry of teaching.[20] Therefore, the prohibition on the wives in 1 Corinthians 14, if it is to be consistent with Paul's recognized teaching and praxis, must rest on some other grounds than that they are women. Such other grounds are clearly at hand in the Pauline teaching on the role of the wife.

1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 represents the application, in a particular cultural context, of an order of the present creation concerning the conduct of a wife *vis-à-vis* her husband. It reflects a situation in which the husband is participating in the prophetic ministries of a Christian meeting. In this context the coparticipation of his wife, which may involve her publicly 'testing' (διακρίνειν, 14 : 29) her husband's message, is considered to be a disgraceful (αἰσχρόν) disregard of him, of accepted proprieties, and of her own wifely role.[21] For these reasons it is prohibited.

### III

If 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 is appropriate to its context and consistent with Paul's theology, as has been argued above, why has it been

[18] Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy*, 24–7.

[19] 1 Cor. 11 : 5. The limitation of 1 Corinthians 11 to non-public prayer sessions (Schlatter), to an 'extra-ordinary impulse of the Spirit' (Godet), or to a reluctant concession by the Apostle (Lietzmann) does not resolve the conflict, is not present in the text, and probably should not be inferred. Cf. A. Schlatter, *Paulus der Bote Jesu* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1969 [1934]), 390; F. Godet, *Commentary on First Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1977 [1889]), 545 = 2.117; H. Lietzmann-W. G. Kümmel, *An die Korinther I-II* (HNT; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1949), 75.

[20] Rom. 16: 1 (διάκονος), 3 (συνεργός), 7; cf. Acts 18: 26. On the teaching function implied in the ascriptions given to Phoebe and Prisca cf. Ellis, *Prophecy*, 6–10.

[21] J. N. Sevenster (*Paul and Seneca* [Leiden: Brill, 1961], 198) notes this aspect of the problem: 'Paul is probably alluding in the first place to a passion for discussion which could give rise to heated argument between a wife and husband'.



transposed to follow 14 : 40 in a number of ancient MSS (D F G 88* it$^{ar,d,e,f,g}$ vg$^{F}$ Ambrosiaster)? Possibly, as it is often assumed, these scribes or their predecessors did not consider the pericope to fit after 14 : 33 and accordingly transposed it. However, that hypothesis would not explain the anomaly found in the sixth century Latin Codex Fuldensis, which places 14 : 34-5 not only after 14 : 40 but also in the margin after 14 : 33.

It may be that Codex Fuldensis offers a clue to the textual problem of 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5. According to Professor Metzger[22] it is a leading witness to Jerome's Vulgate and also contains hundreds of OL readings. In all likelihood the scribe who wrote it (or a predecessor) had both readings of 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 before him and decided to include (or retain) a deuterograph rather than to sacrifice either textual tradition. The marginal reading, then, was present already before the mid-sixth century. How did it arise?

Perhaps the marginal location of 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 originated with a careless scribe who, having omitted the verses, corrected his error in the margin of his MS. However, this would not explain the rough seams between the passage and its context. A more likely explanation is that 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 was a marginal note in the autograph of 1 Corinthians.[23] As Otto Roller[24] and others have shown, a letter-writer of the first century would often employ an amanuensis who drafted the letter from shorthand notes. When the author received the draft from the amanuensis, he would add a closing greeting and make any desired additions or corrections. In 1 Corinthians, Paul employed an amanuensis (1 Cor. 16 : 21) and he, or the amanuensis at his instruction, could have added 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 in the margin of the MS before sending it on its way to Corinth.

On this assumption the textual problems of 1 Cor. 14 : 34-5 are readily resolved. (1) An added marginal note would interrupt the flow of the letter and would probably make for rough edges wherever it might be later incorporated. (2) In transcribing the letter, the scribe or scribes behind the majority textual tradition incorporated the passage after 14 : 33; those

[22] B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 20–1.

[23] G. Heinrici (*Das erste Sendschreiben . . . an die Korinthier* [Berlin, 1880], 459) suggested that it was Paul's own marginal note.

[24] O. Roller, *Das Formular der paulinischen Briefe* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933).

behind the Western 'displacement' thought 14 : 40 to be a more appropriate point to insert it, and a few others copied the letter and left 14 : 34-5 in its marginal position. However, no MS lacks the verses and, in the absence of some such evidence, the modern commentator has no sufficient reason to regard them as a post-Pauline gloss.

# 18. 'Putting on' or 'Stripping off' in 2 Corinthians 5: 3

MARGARET E. THRALL

IN the third edition of the UBSGNT this verse is printed : εἴ γε καὶ ἐκδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθησόμεθα. In their commentary the editors say:

> It is difficult to decide between ἐνδυσάμενοι and ἐκδυσάμενοι. On the one hand, from the standpoint of external attestation the former reading is to be preferred. On the other hand, internal considerations, in the opinion of a majority of the Committee, decisively favor the latter reading, for with ἐνδυσάμενοι the apostle's statement is banal and even tautologous, whereas with ἐκδυσάμενοι it is characteristically vivid and paradoxical ('inasmuch as we, though unclothed, shall not be found naked').[1]

Professor Metzger, however, disagrees with the majority verdict, and writes: 'In view of its superior external support the reading ἐνδυσάμενοι should be adopted, the reading ἐκδυσάμενοι being an early alteration to avoid apparent tautology? All the editors agree, therefore, that the witnesses to ἐνδυσάμενοι are more numerous and more significant than the attestation to ἐκδυσάμενοι, which receives support from D* *d e g m* Marcion Tertullian, and indirectly from the reading ἐκλυσάμενοι in F G. (Bultmann adds Ambrosiaster and Chrysostom,[3] but the apparatus in Tischendorf indicates that both these witnesses show themselves aware also of the existence of the reading ἐνδυσάμενοι.[4]) It is not entirely clear whether Professor Metzger agreed with the rest

[1] Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 579–80.

[2] Ibid., 580.

[3] R. Bultmann, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther* (ed. Erich Dinkler; MeyerK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 137.

[4] C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (8th edn.; Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1872), 2.588-g. I am indebted to Professor Gordon D. Fee for pointing out additional support for the reading ἐκδυσάμενοι in Ps-Macarius/Symeon (who quotes the text twice, both times using ἐκδυσάμενοι) and in Ambrose and Cassiodorus.

of the committee that internal evidence favours *ἐκδυσάμενοι*, and disagreed only on the weight to be given to internal evidence over against external, or whether he also thought less of the internal evidence. The aim of this discussion is to widen the investigation in this area, and to ask whether it is really true that 'internal considerations ... decisively favor' the reading *ἐκδυσάμενοι*. After a brief survey of commentators' views we shall consider the following three questions:

(1) Can a decision be reached on the other variant in the same verse, and, if so, does the decision between *εἴ γε καί* and *εἴπερ καί* throw any light on whether *ἐνδυσάμενοι* or *ἐκδυσάμενοι* is original?

(2) Does Pauline usage in respect of compound verbs and also emphatic *καί* suggest a preference for the one reading or the other?

(3) Is it necessarily true that the reading *ἐνδυσάμενοι* is 'banal', or 'tautologous'?

Most commentators on 2 Corinthians favour *ἐνδυσάμενοι*.[5] This may be due largely to the weight of the external support, but some other reasons are given as well. According to Windisch, if one chooses the alternative *ἐκδυσάμενοι* the point of the additional prefix *ἐπ-* in the preceding *ἐπενδύσασθαι* would be lost. Moreover, the phrase would be confused. How can someone who has 'undressed' be preserved from 'nakedness'? The Western reading will have arisen as a means of avoiding tautology, since the presupposition is self-evident.[6] Schmithals agrees with Windisch, and argues that the participle of v. 3 obviously resumes the *ἐπενδύσασθαι* of v. 2.[7]

It is Bultmann who is the chief supporter of the reading *ἐκδυσάμενοι*. It is only this reading which gives a clear sense to v. 3: the alternative gives a trivial sense. All is plain if we read *ἐκδυσάμενοι*: 'Wenigstens wenn es gilt (und das ist für Paulus selbstverständlich), daß wir nach Ablegung des irdischen Gewandes nicht nackt dastehen werden'. The simple answer to the question put by Windisch is: 'if at the same time one has a new garment at one's disposal'.[8] To this, Baumert objects that there is no actual mention of another garment.[9] Bultmann would seem to have the better of the argument here, however: the allusion to the other garment is surely implicit in the context. Windisch's first point raises the question of Paul's use of compound verbs, which we are to discuss later. His last point, on the origin of the Western reading, has some weight, since it provides a reason for the origin of the variant which works one way only, and would tell in favour of *ἐνδυσάμενοι*, as Professor Metzger notes.

[5] See e.g. A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915), 148; H. Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (MeyerK; Gdttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1924), 162; E.-B. Allo, *Saint Paul: seconde épître aux Corinthiens* (Paris: Gabalda, 1937), 124; Jean Héring, *La seconde épître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens* (Neuchatel/Paris: Delachaux & Niestlt, 1958), 47-8; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC; London: Black, 1973), 149, 153.

[6] *Der zweite Korintherbrief*, 162.

[7] W. Schmithals, *Die Gnosis in Korinth* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 226–7.



Further investigation of the problem requires us, first, to consider the other variant in the same verse. Most printed texts have *εἴ γε καί*, following ℵ C K L P. But there is impressive support for the alternative *εἴπερ καί*, read by 𝔓[46] B D E F G. Baumert notes that the entire passage is lacking in A, so that, of what he calls the 'classical' witnesses, only ℵ provides support for *εἴ γε καί*.[10] Bruce remarks on the impressive early attestation of *εἴπερ καί*,[11] and Barrett says that it may well be correct.[12] Hughes comments: 'The correct reading may well be *εἴπερ καί* (𝔓[46] B D G), which would seem to introduce a note of greater certainty'.[13] Collange, on the other hand, prefers *εἴ γε καί*, on the ground that it is impossible to explain how the majority of MSS come to have this reading if *εἴπερ καί* is the original:

En fait, on ne voit guère comment cette majoritt aurait été amenée à lire *εἴ γε καί* au lieu de *εἴπερ καί*, qui est d'un grec très correct et dont le sens est clair, alors que *εἴ γε καί* est, avec Gal. 3:4, un *hapax* de toute la littérature grecque.[14]

[8] R. Bultmann, *Exegetische Probleme des zweiten Korintherbriefes* (Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses 9; Uppsala, 1947), 11; see also *Der zweite Brief*, 137-8.

[9] N. Baumert, *Täglich Sterben und Auferstehen: Der Literalsinn von 2 Kor 4, 12-5, 10* (SANT 34; Munich: Kösel, 1973), 190.

[10] Ibid., 385. Baumert refers here (n. 707) to B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 46. He adds that WH give *εἴπερ* as a possibility in the margin, and that Weiss accepted it into the text.

[11] F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1971), 202.

[12] *Second Epistle*, 149 n. 1.

[13] P. E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), 169 n. 32.

[14] J.-F. Collange, *Énigmes de la deuxième épître de Paul aux Corinthiens: Étude exégétique de 2 Cor 2: 14–7: 4* (SNTSMS 18; London/New York: Cambridge University, 1972), 216. Other supporters of *εἴ γε καί* are Plummer, *Second Epistle*, 147-8;

We shall see that he could be right in arguing that it is easier to explain the substitution of εἴπερ καί for an original εἴ γε καί than to explain the reverse process. On the question of whether εἴ γε καί is *hapax legomenon*, however, Collange seems somewhat confused, since he himself apparently quotes an example of it from Xenophon. The reason for the confusion is that he initially treats εἴ γε καί as a unit, and may be right about its virtual non-existence. But he then goes on to argue for the separation of the καί from the εἴ γε and for its attachment to the word which follows it, and it is in this context that he quotes the Xenophon example.[15] He does not seem to realize, however, that this may destroy the force of his earlier argument. It could well be that in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 and Gal. 3 : 4 we have (as the undisputed text in Gal. 3 : 4 and as a possible variant in 2 Cor. 5 : 3) examples of precisely the idiom attested in Xenophon.

Does Pauline usage elsewhere shed any light on the correct reading here ? The fact that there is no other example of εἴπερ καί in Paul but that we do have an instance of εἴ γε καί in Gal. 3 : 4 would tend to favour the adoption of εἴ γε καί in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 as well. On the other hand, if, as Collange maintains, the καί is to be taken with the following word rather than as an integral part of εἴ γε καί considered as a unity, we should need to look also at the Pauline usage of εἴπερ and εἴ γε by themselves. When this is done, the balance of probability shifts somewhat towards εἴπερ καί. The particle, or particle-combination, εἴπερ occurs in Rom. 8: 9, 17; 1 Cor. 8: 5; 15: 15; 2 Thess. 1: 6; also probably in Rom. 3 : 30 ;[16] εἴ γε is found in Gal. 3 : 4 ; Col. 1 : 23 ; Eph. 3 : 2 ; 4 : 21; perhaps also in Rom. 5 : 6.[17] Thus,

Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief*, 162 ; Hans Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I-II* (HNT; 4th edn. with supplement by W. G. Kümmel; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1949), 120; and Allo, *Seconde épître*, 124.

[15] *Énigmes*, 216.

[16] See C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), I.22 n. 2: 'The variant ἐπείπερ is an easier reading, since it expresses rather more obviously the sense "seeing that", which the context requires'.

[17] This is more doubtful. Cranfield *(Romans, 1.263)* comments: 'The reading ἔτι γάρ seems more likely to be original. It looks as if ἔτι was placed at the beginning of the sentence in order to give it special emphasis, and then repeated after the genitive absolute to which it belongs for the sake of clarity'. See also C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (BNTC; London: Black, 1962), 101 n. 1. According to Barrett, the alternative readings are attempts to avoid the



we have 5 (possibly 6) instances of εἴπερ, and 4 (perhaps 5) examples of εἴ γε. Of these examples, one occurrence of εἴπερ is found in a letter of doubtful Pauline authorship, i.e. 2 Thessalonians, and 3 occurrences of εἴ γε are found in doubtful letters, i.e. Colossians and Ephesians. If we eliminate from consideration both the variants and the examples found in letters which are doubtfully Pauline, we are left with four instances of εἴπερ and only one instance of εἴ γε. This might suggest that we should prefer εἴπερ καί in 2 Cor. 5 : 3. This would still be true if we accept the Pauline authorship of the three disputed epistles, since at the time of writing of 2 Corinthians Paul would seem to have been more inclined towards εἴπερ than towards εἴ γε. If Colossians and Ephesians are Pauline in the strict sense, they must come from a later date, when Paul's literary style in general had changed. In letters either earlier than 2 Corinthians or belonging to roughly the same period we have five definite instances of εἴπερ, and only one definite instance of εἴ γε. These arguments in favour of reading εἴπερ καί in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 are not absolutely conclusive, however. They could be counterbalanced by the fact that the one definite instance of εἴ γε in a letter contemporary with (or earlier than) 2 Corinthians is not only followed by emphatic καί (as would be the case in 2 Cor. 5 : 3), but also occurs in Galatians, which displays a rather close general similarity in vocabulary and phraseology to 2 Corinthians. This similarity was noted by J. N. Sanders. The following items of correspondence are especially worthy of remark :

Gal. 1 : 6 εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον
2 Cor. 11 : 4 ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον

Gal. 1 : 9 ὡς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω
2 Cor. 13 : 2 προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω

Gal. 1 : 10 ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν
2 Cor. 5 : 11 ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν, θεῷ δὲ πεφανερώμεθα

Gal. 2 : 4 ψευδαδέλφους
2 Cor. 11 : 26 ψευδαδέλφοις

Gal. 3 : 3 ἐναρξάμενοι . . . ἐπιτελεῖσθε
2 Cor. 8 : 6 προενήρξατο . . . ἐπιτελέσῃ

Gal. 6 : 15 and 2 Cor. 5 : 17 καινὴ κτίσις

repeated ἔτι. See, however, Margaret E. Thrall, *Greek Particles in the New Testament* (NTTS 3 ; Leiden: Brill, 1962), 88–90, for an attempt to argue in favour of εἴ γε.

The phrase καινὴ κτίσις, the term ψευδάδελφος, and the use of the adjective ἕτερος with the noun εὐαγγέλιον occur nowhere else in Paul.[18] Perhaps εἴ γε καί in Gal. 3 : 4 and 2 Cor. 5 : 3 should be added to the list? At all events, the argument from Pauline usage seems at least to be evenly balanced : it would not preclude the acceptance of the reading εἴ γε καί in 2 Cor. 5 : 3, if other considerations seemed to support it.

The decision would seem to turn, then, on the question of which reading could the more easily have given rise to the other. A collocation of particles which was in general less frequent and familiar might have been replaced by a more familiar grouping, by scribal accident or design. Alternatively, the one or the other might have created difficulties of interpretation, and so have been changed to provide an easier reading. We shall explore these two possibilities in turn.

Consultation of Denniston's work on Greek particles in the classical period gives the impression that in classical Greek the combination εἴπερ καί was fairly frequent, and that the collocation εἴ γε καί hardly occurred at all. Denniston lists examples of εἴπερ καί under the heading of the use of καί in conditional clauses, and comments : 'By the process of inversion which we noted in the case of relative clauses, καί in the protasis sometimes logically refers to the apodosis'.[19] The usage is frequent in Plato. See, for example, *Crat.* 385c :

Ἔστιν ἄρα ὄνομα ψεῦδος καὶ ἀληθὲς λέγειν, εἴπερ καὶ λόγον;

**Then it is possible to utter either a false or a true name, since one may utter speech that is either true or false? (LCL)**

Also *Tht.* 155c :

καὶ ἄλλα δὴ μυρία ἐπὶ μυρίοις οὕτως ἔχει, εἴπερ καὶ ταῦτα παραδεξόμεθα.

**And there are countless myriads of such contradictions, if we are to accept these that I have mentioned. (LCL)**

However, when we turn our attention to εἴ γε καί we find that Denniston gives one example only, from Hippocrates, *De Int. Affect.* 50 :

εἶτα ἐξέρχεται μελετωμένη καλῶς ἐν χρόνῳ, ἥν γε καὶ μὴ καταρχὰς ἰηθῇ.[20]

[18] J. N. Sanders, 'Peter and Paul in the Acts', *NTS* 2 (1955–6), 133-43; the items listed here are found on p. 140.

[19] J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (2nd edn.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), 304–5; the comment quoted is on p. 304; on p. 305 further references to this idiom may be found.

[20] Ibid., 142.



**Then, rightly treated, it (i.e. the disease) passes off in time, if, that is, (or, even if) it is not cured at the beginning.**

If this pattern of usage continued in the Hellenistic period, one would deduce that, since εἴ γε καί was an unfamiliar grouping of particles and εἴπερ καί a familiar one, the former was the original in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 and was altered to the latter. This appears to be Collange's initial argument. The matter is not quite so simple, however. Collange himself, as we have seen, quotes an example of εἴ γε καί in Xenophon :[21]

Λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, παμμέγεθες πρᾶγμα, εἴ γε καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεήσει. (*Mem.* 3.6.13)

**What an overwhelming task, if one has got to include such things as that in one's duties! (LCL)**

This example is quoted by other commentators.[22] There is a similar instance in *Mem.* 3.4.5 :

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐάν γε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τοὺς κρατίστους, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς χορικοῖς, ἐξευρίσκῃ τε καὶ προαιρῆται, εἰκότως ἂν καὶ τούτου νικηφόρος εἴη.

**And therefore, said Socrates, if he finds out and prefers the best men in warfare as in choir training it is likely that he will be victorious in that too. (LCL)**

From the Hellenistic period we can quote Epictetus:

**(For men start with these principles upon which they are agreed, but then, because they make an unsuitable application of them, get into disputes.)** ὡς εἴ γε καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι πρὸς ἐκείνοις ἐκέκτηντο, τί ἐκώλυεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι τελείους; (*Dss.* 2.11.9).

**Since if, in addition to having the principles themselves, they really possessed also the faculty of making suitable application of the same, what could keep them from being perfect? (LCL)**

It is perhaps interesting to note that although εἴπερ occurs with some frequency in Epictetus, there is no instance of εἴπερ Kai in the *Discourses*—which is precisely the situation we meet in the Pauline epistles. At all events, it is possible that εἴ γε Kui was beginning to come into use by the time of Xenophon, and was current, if not frequent, in the Koine. The reason, presumably,

[21] See n. 15 above.

[22] See Plummer, *Second Epistle*, 147; also Allo, *Seconde épître*, 125.

why Denniston does not give the examples from Xenophon is that the particle καί, strictly speaking, goes with the following word rather than forming a unity with the preceding εἴ γε, so that εἴ γε καί cannot, in these instances, function as an integrated and distinguishable collocation of particles. On the other hand, one might argue that the same is true of the καί in the two examples of εἴπερ καί quoted from Plato: in both instances it makes perfectly good sense to regard the καί as giving emphasis to the following word. And indeed Denniston himself, with his slightly different suggestion that the καί logically belongs to the apodosis, implies that it is detachable from the εἴπερ. It is not always easy to draw a very firm distinction between a collocation of particles considered as a unity and the same group regarded as functioning separately in respect of its various parts. Be that as it may, what, if anything, does the occasional use of εἴ γε καί in Xenophon and Epictetus tell us about the likelihood of its original use in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 ? Does it alter the provisional conclusion above that εἴ γε καί was more likely to have undergone alteration to εἴπερ καί than to be itself the result of scribal alteration? Not necessarily. It remains true that εἴπερ καί was much the more classical idiom of the two. (Whatever Denniston's principles of classification, had εἴ γε, immediately followed by καί, been of frequent occurrence during the classical period, he could scarcely have failed to give it more attention than he does. The mere repetition of the pattern would have served to establish it as a unity, and so worthy of detailed treatment.) In that case, atticizing scribes might very well have altered Paul's original εἴ γε καί to εἴπερ καί. They would not have made the reverse alteration. Moreover, since εἴ γε καί could scarcely be said to be of very common occurrence even in the Koine, it remains unlikely that any scribe would consciously substitute it for εἴπερ καί.

Style apart, it seems probable that εἴ γε καί would be more open to misunderstanding than i;rep καί, and so more likely to be altered. Denniston makes an interesting comment on his example of ἤν γε καί in Hippocrates : 'this combination of εἴ γε, "if, that is", with εἰ καί, "even if ", is easily intelligible, though, strictly speaking, illogical: γε καί om. EHKΘ'.[23] The fact that γε καί is omitted in some MSS, however, suggests that this combination of

[23] *Greek Particles,* 142.



particles was not so readily intelligible, and that the illogicality was what came more immediately to mind. It is possible, then, that in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 an original εἴ γε καί was similarly felt to be illogical, and was altered. It would also be possible to understand an original εἴ γε καί as expressing real doubt : '*at least* if. . . we shall not be found naked (though I fear that we may)'.[24] This would contradict the assertion of confidence in v. 1. In fact, εἴ γε can also be used to mean 'since', in phrases which express certainty rather than doubt.[25] Nevertheless, it is more open to misunderstanding than the more confident Znep.[26] Hence, in the present context, it could have been altered to the latter.

We may therefore conclude that εἴ γε καί is more likely to be the original reading at the beginning of 2 Cor. 5 : 3, and can ask the further question whether this conclusion would help us to make a decision between ἐνδυσάμενοι and ἐκδυσάμενοι. I suggest that the same misunderstanding of εἴ γε καί which may in some texts have produced the alteration to εἴπερ καί could also have produced, in other texts, the alteration of ἐνδυσάμενοι to ἐκδυσάμενοι. For if εἴ γε καί were understood as expressing serious doubt, the reading ἐνδυσάμενοι would produce a logical absurdity : 'at least if, having put on the heavenly dwelling like a garment, we shall not be found naked (though I fear that we may)'. The reading ἐκδυσάμενοι would not remove a possible discrepancy between an expression of doubt in v. 3 and the confidence of v. 1, but it would at any rate get rid of the illogicality felt to be inherent in v. 3 itself. We could then paraphrase v. 3 : 'at least if, having discarded the earthly body, we shall not be found naked (though I fear that we may)'. Thus the acceptance of the reading εἴ γε καί would support the originality of ἐνδυσάμενοι.

Another way of approaching the textual problem is to investigate Paul's use of compound verbs. In 2 Cor. 5 : 2-3, if we read ἐνδυσάμενοι, we seem to have an example of a compound verb followed by the related simple verb :

*τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες, εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθησόμεθα.*

[24] See Thrall, *Particles,* 85-7.

[25] See R. Kiihner-B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (Hannover/Leipzig, 1904), 2. 1 78: 'Εἴ γε wird von den Attikern mit einer gewissen Urbanität auch von unzweifelhaften Aussagen gebraucht, wo auch ἐπειδή, *quoniam,* stehen konnte'. See also Thrall, *Particles,* 87-91.

[26] Thrall, *Particles, 86-7.*

Is this a common Pauline pattern of speech ? If it is, then, conversely, we should have some warrant for regarding the reading *ἐνδυσάμενοι* as original.

Moulton, reading *ἐνδυσάμενοι,* regards these verses as an example of 'the survival in NT Greek of a classical idiom by which the preposition in a compound is omitted, without weakening the sense, when the verb is repeated'.27 The other Pauline examples he quotes are :

Rom. 15: 4 *ὅσα γὰρ προεγράφη, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν ἐγράφη.*
1 Cor. 10 : 9 *μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν, καθώς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπείρασαν.*[28]
Phil. 1 : 24–5 *τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἀναγκαιότερον δι' ὑμᾶς. καὶ τοῦτο πεποιθὼς οἶδα ὅτι μενῶ. . . .*

If we widen the investigation to include examples where we find a compound verb followed by its simple verb but perhaps with some slight difference in meaning, there are more Pauline instances to be detected. We can add the following:

Rom. 2 : g-10 *ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν, . . . παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν.*
Rom. 12: 3 *μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν.*
Rom. 13: 1 *Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω . . . αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν.*
1 Cor. 4: 4-5 *ὁ δὲ ἀνακρίνων με κύριός ἐστιν. ὥστε μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρίνετε.*
1 Cor. 11 : 31 *εἰ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα.*
2 Cor. g: 10 *ὁ δὲ ἐπιχορηγῶν σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι . . . χορηγήσει καὶ πληθυνεῖ τὸν σπόρον ὑμῶν.*
Col. 2 : 12 *ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν* itc *νεκρῶν.*

It looks as though we have here an established Pauline pattern of speech, into which the reading *ἐνδυσάμενοι* in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 would readily fit. On the other hand, the pattern in 2 Cor. 5 : 2-3 is not, perhaps, quite so simple. Strictly speaking, what we find here is not a compound verb followed by the corresponding simple verb, but a double compound followed by a single compound. And this would be true whether we read *ἐνδυσάμενοι* or *ἐκδυσάμενοι* in v. 3, since both *ἐνδύομαι* and *ἐκδύομαι* are single compounds of *δύομαι,* and *ἐπενδύομαι* is a double compound of the same verb.29 Parallels elsewhere in Paul to this variation of the basic pattern are much less frequent. There appear to be two :

Rom. 8: 26-7 *ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει . . . ὅτι κατὰ θεὸν ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἁγίων.*
Col. 3 : 9–10 *ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . , καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον. . . .*

Of these two examples, it is clear that the second is closer to 2 Cor. 5 : 2-3, since we have a double and a single compound of the same verb *δύομαι.* And more exact comparison might suggest that the appropriate reading in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 is *ἐκδυσάμενοι* rather than *ἐνδυσάμενοι.* This can be seen by setting out the two passages in parallel columns :

| 2 *Cor. 5:* 2-3 | *Col.* 3 *: 9–10* |
|---|---|
| *τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν* | |
| *τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* | |
| *ἐπενδύσασθαι* | *ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν* |
| *ἐπιποθοῦντες, εἴ γε* | *παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . ,* |
| *καὶ ἐκδυσάμενοι/ἐνδυσάμενοι* | *καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι* |
| *οὐ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθησόμεθα.* | *τὸν νέον. . . .* |

With the reading *ἐκδυσάμενοι* in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 we get an identical pattern: in both cases we have a double compound of *δύομαι,* followed by a single compound which is not itself included in the double compound. (By contrast, in Rom. 8 : 26-7 the double compound does include the following simple compound.) Perhaps not too much should be made of this. Paul was obviously fond of this sort of word-play with simple and compound verbs, and may have produced the variation on *δύομαι* which we should get if we read *ἐνδυσάμενοι* in 2 Cor. 5 : 3, as well,as the one which occurs in Col. 3 : g-10. Nevertheless, the latter passage might count as one item of evidence in favour of the reading *ἐκδυσάμενοι.*

A further aspect of Paul's usage which might be relevant to the present investigation is the way in which he employs emphatic *καί.*[30] There are at least two examples where it is used in the

[27] James Hope Moulton, ***A Grammar of New Testament Greek*** (3rd edn.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), I. 1 **15.**

[28] Some witnesses (𝔓[46] ℵ C D* G) read here *ἐξεπείρασαν.* The first edition of the UBSGNT text has this reading, but in the third edition the editors have opted for *ἐπείρασαν,* with B A.



[29] The active *δύνω* occurs in Mark 1 : 32 and Luke 4: 40. The middle *δύομαι* is classical, but does not occur in the NT.

[30] On the use of emphatic *καί* in a conditional protasis, see Thrall, ***Particles,*** 79–80, 90.

protasis of a conditional sentence to emphasize a repetition of some word in the preceding phrase:

1 Cor. 4:7 τί δὲ ἔχεις ὃ οὐκ ἔλαβες; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες, τί καυχᾶσαι ὡς μὴ λαβών;
1 Cor. 7: 10–11 γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι—ἐὰν δὲ Kat χωρισθῇ, . . .

Baumert cites Phil. 4 : 10 as a further example of an emphatic καί which picks up a word from the preceding phrase.31 It is very likely that the καί in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 has emphatic force. In all probability it is to be detached from the εἴ γε, in view of the lack of evidence for the collocation εἴ γε καί considered as a unity,[32] and, if it is so detached, the alternative meanings 'also' and 'even' hardly give an acceptable sense. If, then, the καί is emphatic, it is at least possible that the word it emphasizes is a word picked up from the preceding phrase. If so, then the reading ἐνδυσάμενοι, as a virtual repetition of ἐπενδύσασθαι, is more probable as the original reading. Some of this reasoning, however, would be disallowed by Baumert, who agrees that the καί has emphatic force, but wishes to regard it as emphasizing the clause as a whole rather than the immediately following participle.33 If he is right, then we could not argue from the use of emphatic καί to the correctness of the reading ἐνδυσάμενοι. He points out that in the other examples where καί emphasizes a repeated word this word is not a participle : καί with a participle should have a concessive force. In any case, to take καί as emphasizing the participle here would not make good sense, since it would give too much importance to something that is self-evident. This last point will be dealt with in the final section of the present discussion. How valid is the rest of Baumert's argument? In reply to it, two points could be made. First, Paul shows a noticeable inclination towards the use of participles in general in this section of 2 Corinthians, and this could have led him to use a participle following emphatic καί even though this was not a linguistic habit with him. Secondly, he nowhere

[31] *Täglich Sterben*, 383.
[32] Professor Fee points out the interesting fact that in the quotations in Ps-Macarius/Symeon (*serm.* 48.5.9 [Typ. I] GCS, 102.19; *serm.* 48.6.5 [Typ. I] GCS, 102.11) the phrase is in both cases broken by the insertion of φησίν between εἴ γε and καί.
[33] *Täglich Sterben*, 384.



uses καί with a participle to express concession.34 In that case, he might very well use it with some different force. It remains possible, therefore, that the καί in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 does emphasize the word which immediately follows, and does, therefore, give some support to the reading ἐνδυσάμενοι. It appears, then, that both readings are supported by some aspect of Pauline usage, the reading ἐκδυσάμενοι by the parallel pattern of compound verbs in Col. 3 : 9–10 and the alternative ἐνδυσάμενοι by the way Paul uses emphatic καί.

Lastly, we have to ask whether the reading ἐνδυσάμενοι is necessarily to be regarded as 'banal' or 'tautologous'. Is it really an expression of so self-evident an idea that Paul could not have been so unintelligent as to utter it? An affirmative answer to this question is by no means as obvious as it may appear at first sight. It is not always easy to draw the line between tautology and repetition for the sake of emphasis, and in any case some of the other verses in 2 Cor. 5 : 1-10 are rather awkwardly repetitive ; it would not be out of character if repetition from v. 2 of the idea of being clothed occurred in v. 3, and gave rise there to the appearance of tautology.

What needs to be shown is why Paul should want to stress this theme, and it is not difficult to find the answer. He might well have wanted to emphasize the somatic nature of the future life. He begins with the image of the heavenly dwelling, but then, perhaps, finds it too ambiguous, and changes to the metaphor of the garment. The Christian's future heavenly dwelling is something he *puts on*, i.e. a new body which clothes him individually : he will not exist in this heavenly residence as a disembodied spirit. And to make this perfectly clear, Paul then adds that when he is possessed of the heavenly dwelling he will not be discovered to be stripped of bodily covering : 'longing to put on (? in addition) our dwelling from heaven, since, having *put it on, we* shall not be found *naked'*. All this raises a number of further questions, however. Why should Paul wish to emphasize the somatic nature of the future life at this point in the epistle ? It might be regarded as part of an anti-gnostic polemic, but,

[34] See Nigel Turner-J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. Vol. III *Syntax* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), 157. Turner gives four examples only of concessive participles in Paul. In three of these, it is simply the participle by itself, within its context, which expresses the idea of concession (1 Cor. 9: 19; 2 Cor. 10: 3; Philem. 8). In the fourth, it is preceded by καίπερ (Phil. 3: 4).

on the other hand, most recent commentators agree that 2 Corinthians is not primarily concerned with opposition of a gnostic character.[35] Furthermore, if this *is* the point of emphasis, and if the image of the dwelling is inadequate to express it, why does Paul begin with this image of a change of residence in the first place? And in any case, why is he moved to discuss the nature of the future life in the midst of a defence of the apostolic ministry? These questions cannot be adequately answered here, in view of the immense complexity of the exegetical problems raised by the passage as a whole. I wish merely to sketch out a tentative theory, which would link 2 Cor. 5:1-10 more closely to Paul's apostolic apologia, and which would also explain why he might wish to stress the somatic nature of the future existence.

Bultmann notices that there is a short passage in Philo which contains some parallels to Paul's language in the verses we are considering.[36] It refers to Moses' preparations for his own death. This passage may be more illuminating than Bultmann himself indicates. It runs as follows:

*ἤρξατο μεταβάλλειν ἐκ θνητῆς ζωῆς εἰς ἀθάνατον βίον κἀκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον συνῃσθάνετο τῆς τῶν ἐξ ὧν συνεκέκρατο διαζεύξεως, τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὀστρέου δίκην περιπεφυκότος περιαιρουμένου, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἀπογυμνουμένης καὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνθένδε ποθούσης μετανάστασιν. εἶθ' ἑτοιμασάμενος τὰ πρὸς ἔξοδον οὐ πρότερον ἐστείλατο τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ τὰς τοῦ ἔθνους φυλὰς ἁπάσας εὐχαῖς ἐναρμονίοις [ἀριθμῷ δώδεκα] γεραῖραι διὰ τῆς τῶν φυλαρχῶν κατακλήσεως.* (*De Virt.* 76-7)

He began to pass over from mortal existence to life immortal and gradually became conscious of the disuniting of the elements of which he was composed. The body, the shell-like growth which encased him, was being stripped away and the soul laid bare and yearning for its natural removal hence. Then after accomplishing the preparations for his departure he did not set out for his new home until he had honoured all the tribes of his nation with the concent of his benedictions, mentioning the founders of the tribes by name. (LCL)

There are several similarities between this section in Philo and Paul's words in 2 Cor. 5:1-10:[37]

(1) The subject of discussion is the moment of death.

[35] See Barrett, *Second Epistle*, 29.

[36] *Exegetische Probleme*, 5.

[37] For the sake of the present argument, I take for granted several debatable points: that Paul is talking about the future Christian existence beyond death; that in v. 8 the phrase *ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος* refers to 'departure' from the present physical body; and that *γυμνός* in v. 3 means the absence of a body.



(2) The adjective *θνητός* is applied to the present existence.

(3) The future state is something longed for (*ἐπιποθοῦντες, ποθούσης*).

(4) Transition out of this present life is described as a change of residence.

(5) Paul speaks of the possibility of being *γυμνός*, Philo of the soul as *ἀπογυμνουμένη*. The difference, of course, lies in the implicit attitude towards being stripped of the body. In Philo this is the natural and acceptable thing, whereas for Paul the process is unwelcome.

These parallels, and this difference, may throw some light on Paul's intention in 2 Cor. 5:1-10, and upon its connection with its context. Philo is talking about Moses, and Paul is talking, primarily, about himself as an apostle. This reminds us of ch. 3, where we have an explicit comparison and contrast between the Christian apostles and the ministry of Moses. Paul is there arguing that the glory of the Christian ministry is infinitely greater than that of Moses. One reason for his making this claim may have been that in Corinth he was himself being compared with the glorious figure of Moses in Jewish tradition, and compared to his disadvantage. Paul claimed to be the bearer of a divine message, and to have been given a divine revelation, like Moses. But Moses' reception of divine revelation had caused a visible transfiguration of his personal appearance. This was not true of Paul. Was he really a divine messenger? He has to insist that he, with all other apostles (and, indeed, all other Christians), is being transformed continually into a state of glory, although it is a concealed glory, as he goes on to explain in ch. 4.[38] There may be a further implicit comparison with Moses in this next chapter. According to Num. 12:8 (LXX) Moses saw God's glory: *τὴν δόξαν κυρίου εἶδεν*, and Philo says that in the vision of the burning bush he saw an 'image of Being': *εἰκὼν τοῦ ὄντος*.[39] In 2 Cor. 4:4, 6 Christ is the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ*, and Paul

[38] See Margaret E. Thrall, 'Christ Crucified or Second Adam? A christological debate between Paul and the Corinthians', *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament* (ed. Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley; London / New York: Cambridge University, 1973), 143-56; see especially pp. x47-52,

[39] *Vit. Mos.* 1.66. See also D. L. Balch, 'Backgrounds of I Cor. vii: Sayings of the Lord in Q; Moses as an Ascetic *θεῖος ἀνήρ* in II Cor. iii', *NTS* 18 (1971-2), 35 x-64; see especially pp. 363-4. I am indebted to this article for stimulating my thinking on 2 Corinthians 3-4, although my own argument follows a somewhat different line.

says that God shone in his heart **πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ.** It is possible, therefore, that the figure of Moses may still be in Paul's mind at the beginning of ch. 5. He has been considering the physical hardships and suffering by which he is gradually being destroyed, and at 5 : 1 he envisages the possibility that this process may actually bring about his death. Is it not possible that at this point he might recollect the very different traditions about the death of Moses which were current in Judaism ? According to Deut. 34: 7, 'Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died ; his sight was not dimmed nor had his vigour failed'. Most Jewish sources imply that the glory bestowed on him on Sinai was permanent, lasting until his death.[40] And Philo represents his death as a dignified process in which the soul is gradually freed from the body, in preparation for a natural transition to a new residence. To the outward eye, and especially to the outward eye of the Corinthians, the death of Paul, should it appear imminent, would hardly look like this. His obvious lack of outward glory would suggest that death, in this case, would simply complete the humiliating process of physical decay and destruction. If he was aware that disparaging comparisons with Moses were being made, he might want to show that he also was confident of future transition to a new and superior dwelling, the eternal dwelling in heaven. He might at the same time become conscious that the sort of Moses-traditions current in the world of Hellenistic Judaism and reflected in Philo might turn out to be misleading to the Corinthians in another way. Philo describes Moses' death as a stripping bare of the soul, and this would appeal to the gnostically-minded in Corinth. Paul would, therefore, feel it necessary to insist that *his* new dwelling is at the same time a form of garment. It is something that does *not* leave the soul stripped bare: this would be something that he would *not* wish to have to undergo. The new dwelling is also a new form of somatic existence. He might stress this point, somewhat repetitively, by insisting that having *put on* the dwelling from heaven Christians will not be discovered to be *naked.*

If this sketch of the possible background to 2 Cor. 5 : 1-10 is plausible, then it would account for the apparent tautology of **ἐνδυσάμενοι** in v. 3. Conversely, if the tautologous form of expression can be accounted for, it is not a hindrance to the acceptance of **ἐνδυσάμενοι** as the original reading here.

In summary, we can say that there is some evidence in favour of the reading **ἐνδυσάμενοι** in 2 Cor. 5 : 3 in addition to its external support. We have argued that *εἴ γε καί* is the preferable reading at the beginning of the verse, and that acceptance of **εἴ γε καί** in turn supports the originality of *ἐνδυσάμενοι.* Furthermore, the **καί** in this expression probably has emphatic force, and Pauline usage would suggest that the following word may therefore be a virtual repetition of something in the previous phrase: in this case, the **ἐπενδύσασθαι** would be taken up by a following **ἐνδυσάμενοι.** We have also attempted to show that there could be good reason for the apparently tautologous form of words produced by taking *ἐνδυσάμενοι* as original. Over against these arguments we should have to set a parallel in Col. 3 : 9–10 which would count in favour of **ἐκδυσάμενοι.** This does not seem sufficient, however, to counterbalance the evidence for **ἐνδυσάμενοι,** and *ἐνδυσάμενοι* should therefore be accepted as the original reading.

[40] See M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (AnBib *27;* Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), 174–5.

# 19. Jude 22–3: Two-division form or Three?

**SAKAE KUBO**

THE form of the text of Jude 22-3 has been a controversial one: scholarship is divided over the two-division or three-division form. The publication of $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$,[1] the earliest extant text of Jude, led to a re-examination of the form of this passage. Although J. N. Birdsall, C. D. 0sburn, and I[2] accepted the reading of $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ with its two divisions as original, no other scholars apparently have been persuaded. Since I have now changed my view on this variant, it seemed appropriate to honour Professor Metzger by offering a new examination of the data.

The purpose of this paper is to point out the weaknesses in the arguments, especially the most recent ones, which have been used to support the two-division form and to attempt to show that the three-division form as read by ℵ is original. After a presentation of the textual evidence, we shall examine in turn: (1) the possibilities of transcriptional error; (2) the arguments for and against the two-division form; and (3) the likelihood of the triple-division text as the original.

## I

The evidence for Jude 22-3 may be outlined as follows:

A. The Two-Division Text

1. With the main verbs *ἁρπάσατε* and *ἐλεεῖτε* (*ἐλεᾶτε*):

*οὓς μὲν ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάσατε, διακρινομένους δὲ ἐλεεῖτε ἐν φόβῳ* $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ $it^{t}$ $cop^{sa}$ $sy^{ph}$ (Clement [Strom. 6.8.65] *ἁρπάζετε*, *om.* *ἐν φόβῳ*) Orsisius (Jerome *om.* *ἐν φόβῳ*)

[1] *Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX* (ed. Michel Testuz; Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959).

[2] J. N. Birdsall, 'The Text of Jude in $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$', *JTS* 14 (1963), 396-g; Carroll D. Osbum, 'The Text of Jude 22–23', *ZNW* 63 (1972), 139–44; Sakae Kubo, $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ *and Codex Vaticanus* (SD 27; Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1965), 89–92.

2. With the main verbs *σώζετε* and *ἐλεεῖτε* (*ἐλεᾶτε*):

(*a*) With one *ἐλεεῖτε* (*ἐλεᾶτε*):

quosdam autem saluate de igne rapientes, quibusdam uero miseremini in timore Clement (*Adumb. Jud.*); Moffatt

(*b*) With two *ἐλεᾶτε* (*ἐλεεῖτε*), the first in subordinate relation to *σώζετε*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε διακρινομένους σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ* B; Nestle Kilpatrick Tasker von Soden Weiss WH; Goodspeed *NEB*

3. With the main verbs *ἐλεεῖτε* (*ἐλεᾶτε*) and *σώζετε*:

(*a*) With *διακρινόμενοι*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεεῖτε διακρινόμενοι, οὓς δὲ ἐν φόβῳ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες* K L P (049 *σώζεται*) 056 (0142 *σώζεται*) 330 451 (630 *ἐν φόβῳ* after *ἁρπάζοντες*) 1877 2127 (2495 *ἐν φόβῳ* after *ἁρπάζοντες*) *Byz* (Lec *ἐκ τοῦ πυρός*) Ps-Oecumenius$^{\text{txt}}$ Theophylact$^{\text{txt}}$; TR; *KJV* Phillips

(*b*) With *διακρινομένῳ*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεεῖτε διακρινομένῳ, οὓς δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες ἐν φόβῳ* 1505

(*c*) With *διακρινομένους*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες ἐν φόβῳ* C$^2$ sy$^h$

4. With main verbs *ἐλέγχετε* and *σώζετε*:

(*a*) With *διακρινόμενοι*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγετε* [sic] *διακρινόμενοι, οὓς δὲ ἐν φόβῳ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες* 2492

(*b*) With *διακρινομένους*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες ἐν φόβῳ* C*

5. Conjecture: Schrage:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε διακρινομένους σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐκβάλετε/ἐλάσατε ἐν φόβῳ*

B. The Three-Division Text

1. With main verbs *ἐλεᾶτε*, *σώζετε*, and *ἐλεᾶτε*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ* ℵ$^c$ (ℵ* *ἁρπάζετε*) Ψ; Kilpatrick Souter; *ASV* Barclay LB *NIV* *TEV* Weymouth

2. With main verbs *ἐλέγχετε*, *σώζετε*, and *ἐλεᾶτε* (*ἐλεεῖτε*):

(*a*) With *διακρινομένους*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ* (A *ἐλεεῖτε*) 33 81 (181 *ἐλέγετε*) 326 (436 1241 *ἐλεεῖτε*) 1739 1881 it$^{\text{ar,c,dem,div,p}}$ (p$^c$ adds *θεοῦ* after *φόβῳ*) vg cop$^{\text{bo}}$ arm Ephraem; Bover Merk Tischendorf Tregelles; *JB* (?) Knox *NAB RSV*



(*b*) With *διακρινόμενοι*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρινόμενοι, οὓς δὲ ἐν φόβῳ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλεεῖτε ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ* 629

3. With main verbs *ἐλεᾶτε* (*ἐλεεῖτε*), *σώζετε*, and *ἐλέγχετε*:

(*a*) With *διακρινομένους*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ ἐν φόβῳ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλέγχετε ἐν φόβῳ* 88

(*b*) With *διακρινόμενοι*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεεῖτε διακρινόμενοι, οὓς δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλέγχετε ἐν φόβῳ* 104 (945 *ἐν φόβῳ* before *σώζετε*) (2412 *ἐλέγετε*)

4. With main verbs *ἐλέγχετε*, *σώζετε*, and *ἐλέγχετε*:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ ἐν φόβῳ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλέγχετε ἐν φόβῳ* Ps-Oecumenius$^{\text{comm}}$ Theophylact$^{\text{comm}}$

5. Conjectures:

(*a*) Windisch and Schneider:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρινομένους, οὓς δε σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐκβάλετε/ἐλάσατε ἐν φόβῳ*

(*b*) Bieder:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ*

(*c*) Wohlenberg:

*καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλάσατε ἐν φόβῳ*

## II

Scribal carelessness could explain the omission or addition of *οὓς* after *διακρινομένους* through haplography or dittography respectively. The possibility of haplography in the case of 𝔭$^{72}$ (variant A1) is real, because one would expect *οὓς δέ* since *οὓς μέν* is found in the first clause. If the exemplar of 𝔭$^{72}$ had *οὓς δέ* here, it might lend some support to the reading of B (variant A2b), since *διακρινομένους* could then be read with the first clause in B, and their texts would then be virtually the same except for the dropping of the first *ἐλεᾶτε* and the substitution of ἁρπάσατε for σώζετε ... ἁρπάζοντες in $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$. Another possibility of haplography-dittography can be seen as we compare B with ℵ. If a reading such as that of ℵ (variant B 1) were original, then the omission of οὓς before σώζετε in B could only have been deliberate. On the other hand, based on an original text such as that of B, the reading of ℵ could be explained as due to dittography which subsequently led to the addition of δέ.

III

Those who favour the two-division form follow either the reading of $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ Clement (variant A1) or that of B (variant A2b).[3] While Bigg and Moffatt[4] had opted for the first reading before the publication of $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$, the publication of this earliest MS of Jude (and 2 Peter) no doubt has led scholars to provide arguments for its originality. The following arguments have been set forth in favour of the two-member form of $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ Clement (variant A1):

1. This reading makes a clear-cut distinction between the classes of people discussed-those who should be snatched from the fire and those to whom mercy should be shown.[5] With the three-division form it is very difficult to distinguish the two groups to whom mercy should be directed.

This argument, however, really backfires, since it goes against the canon that the difficult reading is usually preferable to the simple reading unless the former is completely without meaning. This is not the case in this instance.

[3] Several other two-division forms are accepted by some scholars, but hardly merit serious consideration. E. M. Sidebottom (*James, Jude and 2 Peter* [NCB; London: Oliphants, 1967], 92–3) apparently favours the reading of C² (A3c) because 'there seem to be only two classes of people in question, not three'. Bo Reicke (*The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude* [AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964], 215) selects the reading of the TR (A3a) and supports his choice incredibly by stating that it 'seems to present fewest difficulties'. Friedrich Hauck (*Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, Judas und Johannes* [NTD 10; 8th edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957], 112) and Wolfgang Schrage (*Die 'katholischen' Briefe* [NTD 10; 11th edn.; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973], 231) both favour the reading of B (A2b), but the former would replace the first ἐλεᾶτε with ἐλέγχετε. Because they see the second group as hopelessly lost, they prefer some word stronger than ἐλεᾶτε in the second division. They both prefer a conjecture, either ἐκβάλετε or ἐλάσατε.

[4] Charles Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* (ICC; 2d edn.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902), 340–3; James Moffatt, *The General Epistles: James, Peter, and Judas* (MNTC; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928), 244.

[5] Bigg, *Commentary, 341.*



2. If this were the original reading, all other readings can be explained on the basis of it. Bigg tries to show this by assuming that the scribe of B wrote down by accident the second clause first, then corrected himself without deleting what had already been written, and finally compounded the situation by also omitting the participle in the second clause.[6] This confused text inevitably led to a semblance of clarity by the kind of text found in ℵ (variant B1) and A (variant B2). Birdsall[7] explains the rise of the other readings first by positing a hypothetical reading in which the clauses are interchanged resulting in οὓς μὲν ἐλεεῖτε διακρινομένους δὲ ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάσατε instead of οὓς μὲν ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάσατε, διακρινομένους δὲ ἐλεεῖτε as in $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$. He then suggests that the text of ℵ is a conflation based on these two forms of the text. The scribe of ℵ took this interchanged form and joined to it the last part of the $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ form thus duplicating the ἐλεεῖτε clause at the end. And by the duplication of the syllable -ους by dittography the existence of the three-division form is thus explained. The form of B is due to the same conflation except that in its case the δέ dropped out accidentally or because of lingering memory of the original two-division form. The rise of ἐλέγχετε as a substitution for the first or the second ἐλεεῖτε he considers as a development of the conflate text attested by ℵ. The words σώζετε ... ἁρπάζοντες are an expansion of ἁρπάσατε.

The original interchange of verbs is explained as due to the ambiguity of the meaning of the verb διακρίνομαι. In Greek outside the NT and in the Apostolic Fathers it bears the meaning 'to be judged', but in the primitive Christian usage, 'to argue' or 'to doubt'. In $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ 'under judgement', while in B 'doubting', would be more fitting in the context. 'Originally (and not surprisingly in a writing of probable sub-apostolic origin) the general meaning was intended here: later when the New Testament was treated more as a unity, the "Christian" sense was applied, with resultant textual change'.[8] In other words when διακρίνομαι, whose original meaning in Jude was 'under judgement', came to mean 'doubting', it was necessary to interchange the clauses so that διακρινομένους would be connected with ἁρπάσατε rather than ἐλεεῖτε. Originally the verse was understood to mean, 'Have mercy with fear on those under judgement', but

[6] Ibid., 342. [7] Birdsall, 'The Text of Jude in $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$', 396–9. [8] Ibid., 398.

with the word changing in meaning it was difficult to understand *διακρινομένους* in that sense with the phrase 'with fear'. It would then read, 'Have mercy with fear on those who doubt'. With the new meaning it would be much clearer if the verbs were interchanged. It would read, 'Snatch those who doubt with far'.

Osburn[9] agrees with Birdsall that an early interchange of verbs took place but suggests that this was due to the substitution of *ἐλέγχετε* for *ἐλεεῖτε* by a scribe who understood *διακρίνομαι* in the sense of 'dispute'. 'The scribe then reasoned that, logically, one should make an effort to refute or convict the disputers *prior* to undertaking the more drastic measure of snatching them from the fire, and thus he reversed the verbs'? The word *ἁρπάσατε* was expanded to *σώζετε . . . ἁρπάζοντες* in order to explain what *ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάσατε* really meant. This explains the origin of the reading of C* (variant A4b).

Osburn states that the text of B is a conflation of 𝔭72 and C*, though it is difficult to see how he arrives at this. He attributes the omission of the *οὓς* SC to accident or to the influence of the original two-clause form. 'In view of the harsh asyndeton with *σώζετε*, it appears that *οὓς δέ* was more likely added on [later], resulting in a substantially divergent message from that of the B text'."

The text of ℵ (variant B1) arose from the text of B through dittography of the last three letters of *διακρινομένους*. The text of Codex A (variant B2a) is derived from C* (variant A4b) through the same dittography 'and the addition of *οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ* surviving from the original two-clause form'.[12] Or it could have arisen from the B text (variant A2b) through the substitution of *ἐλέγχετε* because of the difficult double *ἐλεᾶτε*. The reading of K L P (variant A3a) is simply an emended ℵ text. The second *ἐλεᾶτε* was omitted as an unnecessary duplication.

This argument that all other readings can be explained on the basis that the text one has chosen is the original is of course used by all those who consider their reading as the best. We need to determine, therefore, how well indeed the reading of 𝔭72 Clement can explain the rise of all the other variants. In the final analysis the determination of the best reading really comes down to this.

[9] Osburn, 'The Text of Jude 22–23', 139–41.
[10] Ibid., 141. [11] Ibid. [12] Ibid., 142.



It is unusual when, in order to explain the origin of the other variants, it is necessary to posit a completely hypothetical reading that is found nowhere among the MSS. The result is that both Birdsall and Bigg ironically have to spend more effort to explain the rise of this hypothetical reading than the rise of the other variants. But one might ask, if the reasons they give for the plausibility of the rise of these hypothetical variants are sound, should we not expect to find traces of such in our early MSS ? Osburn, on the other hand, posits a reading such as C* (variant A4b) with *ἐλέγχετε* as the cause of the other variants. But it seems highly unlikely that out of this clearcut reading a reading such as B and ℵ with the double *ἐλεᾶτε* could arise. Birdsall's explanation of a hypothetical variant also requires the occurrence of a highly unlikely double dittography of *οὕς*.

While Birdsall sees the reading of the majority text (variant A3a) as a descendant of his early hypothetical interchange of the verbs as arranged in 𝔭72, the fact that it appears in later MSS in that way (with no early evidence of any kind) should tell us that it is a later development and that something other than the reason he gives is the cause of this interchange. What in fact appears to have happened is that because of the difficulty in distinguishing the meaning of the *ἐλεᾶτε* clauses, one of them has been dropped. In the case of the majority text the last clause has been simply dropped, pushing the *ἐν φόβῳ* of the last clause into the second clause, since that phrase is the only thing different in that clause that needs to be preserved. In the case of 𝔭72 Clement (variant A1) the first and third clauses have been combined with *διακρινομένους* shifting to the third clause and making the first clause no longer necessary. It is much easier to explain 𝔭72 on this basis, rather than to explain the rise of the three-division form on the basis of an early hypothetical interchange of clauses.

The *ἐν φόβῳ* is a troublesome phrase for Birdsall. For him its presence with the change of meaning of *διακρίνομαι* led to the interchange of verbs. But in that case, would it not have been easier simply to drop the phrase so that an interchange of verbs would not be necessary? The change in the meaning of the verb does not necessitate an interchange of verbs. Osburn makes much of the fact that the meaning of *διακρίνομαι* was ambiguous and therefore that *ἐλέγχετε* was substituted for *ἐλεεῖτε*. But if the word was ambiguous would not the verb determine its meaning, in this case 'to doubt', or 'to waver', so that a substitution would not have been necessary? The necessity arises from another reason, the need to distinguish the first and third groups in the three-division form.

The crux of the argument of Birdsall rests on the hypothetical variant. Since this approach is questionable (to explain the rise of other variants on the basis of a hypothetical variant rather than the text of their original reading), his argument does not rest on solid ground.

Bigg's argument is highly improbable from a scribal point of view. Would it not be simpler to explain the text of B as resulting from the accidental omission of the *οὓς* through haplography, which then caused the necessary omission of the *δέ*, rather than to explain the other readings through his very complicated and highly tortuous explanation? B in fact has all the ingredients of a three-division form except for the omission of the *οὓς δέ*.

Birdsall and Osburn also do not give the reason for the 'conflation' to have taken place. This is especially difficult since the third clause adds nothing of substance to the text and in fact creates a more difficult reading. Why not simply leave the clauses interchanged ? Conflation does not ordinarily take place in that kind of circumstance and situation.

Birdsall contends that *σώζετε ... ἁρπάζοντες* is an expansion of an original *ἁρπάσατε* while Osburn explains that this was due to the scribe's perplexity in understanding the metaphorical *ἁρπάσατε ἐκ πυρός*.[13] If the latter were original, it is difficult to see why a scribe would change it to the former. It is easier, on the other hand, to see why a scribe would want to change *σώζετε . . . ἁρπάζοντες* to either *σώζετε* or *ἁρπάσατε* or *ἁρπάζετε*. *Σώζετε* is less appropriate than *ἁρπάσατε* or *ἁρπάζετε* because of the *ἐκ πυρός* following. Thus we find the latter two but not the former appearing alone without *ἁρπάζοντες* in the witnesses. The idea of saving would have seemed redundant when the idea of snatching was present. And with *ἐκ πυρός* present it is easy to see why *ἁρπάσατε* would replace *σώζετε ἁρπάζοντες*.

3. The early wide attestation of this reading with the support of $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$, Clement, the Philoxenian Syriac, the Sahidic, and the Liber Comicus is also given as argument in its support.

[13] Birdsall, 'The Text of Jude in $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$', 398; Osburn, 'The Text of Jude 22–23', 141.



As far as the early attestation of this reading goes, it should be balanced with internal considerations. It should also be noticed that the wide attestation is due to versional and patristic support. It is significant to observe that where versional and patristic support is found, the readings have removed the difficult double *ἐλεᾶτε* by having only two divisions (variants A2a, A3a) or by having substituted *ἐλέγχετε* for *ἐλεᾶτε* in the first (variant B2a) or in both the first and third clauses (variant B4). The reason appears to be that in a translation or in patristic usage, where more deliberation takes place, the tendency would be to remove such difficulties.

The arguments adduced in favour of the reading of Codex B are as follows:

1. In Kelly's words, 'its stylistic roughness and sheer difficulty as compared with the smoothness and correctness of the longer one' speaks to its originality.[14]

The stylistic roughness of B which is given in its favour is probably due at least initially to scribal carelessness. Even Hort, who has a prejudice in favour of B, finds the text too difficult and suggests that it has undergone 'some primitive error'.[15] He thinks that perhaps the first *ἐλεᾶτε* is an intrusion from below. Another difficulty with this reading is that *οὓς μέν* has to be used in a different way from *οὓς δέ* and not in the parallel relationship that one would expect.

2. It is easier to explain the readings of A and ℵ if B were original.

How the reading of B can explain the origin of all other readings has not been shown by those who make this claim. It is true that the readings of ℵ and A appear to be smoothened forms of B but no one has shown how the reading of $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ Clement could have arisen from that of B. In fact Bigg has attempted to show how the opposite was the case.[16]

3. Clarity is achieved only when the reading of B is accepted in which the first *ἐλεᾶτε* is explained by the *σώζετε* clause as an active mercy while the second *ἐλεᾶτε* deals with those who have gone beyond the point where active mercy can be useful. Thus

[14] J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude* (HNTC; New York: Harper, 1960), 288.

[15] B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: [II] Introduction, Appendix* (New York: Harper, 1882), 107.

[16] Bigg, *Commentary*, 342.

the second ἐλεᾶτε refers to compassion which is not active, and church members must conduct themselves in such a way as to avoid contact with them. The type of ἐλεᾶτε intended is made clear by the words that are connected with it. Thus B is preferable since it clarifies what otherwise would be a meaningless first division which is neither the climax nor the first step toward a climax.17

It is true that clarity in some sense is achieved with regard to the first ἐλεᾶτε (over that of the reading of א) when the reading of B is accepted, but if this is the criterion, then the reading of the majority text (variant A3a) is clearer still, and still more so the conjectural readings. The text critic cannot select his variant on the basis that a certain reading is better because it clarifies an obscure text. Text criticism cannot be based on exegesis but vice versa. This is not to say that there is never any interplay between them in determining a text. Hauck and Schrage are to be criticized the more severely, since approving the text of B they would still conjecture ἐκβάλετε or ἐλάσατε in place of the second ἐλεᾶτε. Actually there is no reason at all for such a conjecture in connection with the reading of B. It is more difficult to understand why Hauck would do this, especially when he replaces the first ἐλεᾶτε with ἐλέγχετε.

## IV

In explaining the rise of other variants on the basis of a selected text, it seems more likely that the two-division form arose from an original three-division form with the double ἐλεᾶτε. This was due to the problem of making a distinction between the first and third groups.[18] As long as no clear distinction could be made, one of the clauses could be omitted or they could be combined into one clause. This happened very early as witnessed by the two readings of Clement. In *Strom. 6.8.65* he has omitted the first clause or replaced the third clause with the first clause

[17] Ernst Kühl, *Die Briefe Petri und Judae* (MeyerK; 6th edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897), 3323.

[18] Friedrich Spitta (*Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas: Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung* [Halle: Waisenhaus, 1885], 377–8), however, does not feel that the change was due to the double ἐλεᾶτε, but to the fact that the same class of men are described in the two clauses. However, this problem is exactly what the double ἐλεᾶτε points to, so that to speak of the difficult double ἐλεᾶτε is to speak of the difficulty of distinguishing the two groups included in the ἐλεᾶτε clauses.



by shifting διακρινομένους to the last clause, while in *Adumb. Jud.*[19] he has completely omitted the first clause and left the last clause intact. 𝔭[72] has virtually the same form of text as that of *Strom. 6.8.65.* Clement's two 'citations' in fact are crucial for our understanding of the evolution of this text. Because of the difficulty of distinguishing between groups one and three, he has in one case taken the first and omitted the last, while in the second case he has taken the last and omitted the first. The key to the solution of this problem lies precisely here: the difficulty in distinguishing any difference between the first and third groups. It is not without significance that in those readings where ἐλέγχετε is used-and thus removes the difficulty-the three-division form is almost always found, while where ἐλέγχετε is not found, usually only a two-division form is found.20 Instances of the first case are found in variant B2. The same is true where ἐλέγχετε is found in the third position as in variant B3 or in the

[19] Osburn ('The Text of Jude 22–23', 143-4) contends that this reading of the text is a sixth-century emendation by Cassiodorus. The fact that the latter makes the general statement that he corrected what he considered to be erroneous in the original does not necessarily mean that he corrected this particular verse, especially when the MS tradition does not preserve any text which reads like this. This is true not only of the Greek tradition but also of the OL and vg. It seems best in light of the evidence to accept this as Clement's text and ascribe whatever reasons Cassiodorus had for altering the text to Clement himself. Most likely, Clement was trying to avoid the use of the difficult double ἐλεᾶτε clauses.

[20] The majority of those who favour the triple division prefer the reading found in A (B2a) with ἐλέγχετε instead of ἐλεᾶτε in the first division. Among these are C. E. B. Cranfield, *I & II Peter and Jude: Introduction and Commentary* (Torch Bible Commentaries; London: SCM Press, 1960), 170; E. M. B. Green, *The* Second *Epistle General of Peter and the General Epistle of Jude: An Introduction and Commentary* (Tyndale NT Commentaries; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 187; J. E. Huther, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude* (MeyerK; 3d edn. ; New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1887), 698; R. Knopf, *Die Briefe Petri und Judä* (MeyerK; 7th edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1912), 242-3 ; R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of the Epistles of St. Peter, St. John and St. Jude* (Columbus, 0.: Wartburg, 1945), 647-g; E. H. Plumptre, *The General Epistles of St Peter and St Jude* (The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges; London: Cambridge University, 1926), 2 14; H. von Soden, *Hebräerbrief, Briefe des Petrus, Jakobus, Judas* (HKNT 3; 2d edn.; Freiburg: Mohr [Siebeck], 1892), 191; F. Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas,* 379; Wilhelm Thüsing and Alois Stöger, *The Three Epistles of St. John and the Epistle of Jude (New* Testament for Spiritual Reading; New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), 145-6; J. W. C. Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* (Westminster Commentaries; London: Methuen, 1934), 219. This reading has the same weakness as the two-division form in that it removes the problem of the double ἐλεᾶτε. While in the former the difficulty is removed by eliminating an ἐλεᾶτε clause, here it is removed by replacing the first ἐλεάτε with ἐλέγχετε.

first and third position as in variant B4. Instances of the second case are found in variants A1 and A2a. The only exceptions to these are the readings of B (variant Aab), ℵ (variant B1), and C* (variant A4b). B in my opinion really represents a text like that of ℵ, but through haplography has been corrupted; but it could now preserve the double ἐλεᾶτε because the problem of meaning disappears when the second clause is joined to the first, thus making a distinction between the two groups. The reading of ℵ appears then to be unusual in preserving the three-member form with the double ἐλεᾶτε clauses. Everything points to it as the original reading since the tendency was to drop one of the ἐλεᾶτε clauses or substitute one of the ἐλεᾶτε's with ἐλέγχετε. C* (variant A4b) also appears to be unusual, since it has only two divisions with an ἐλέγχετε clause but no ἐλεᾶτε clause. The vulnerability of this reading, however, shows itself in the presence of the ἐν φόβῳ phrase, which in the major witnesses ($\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ ℵ A B) is connected with the ἐλεᾶτε clause, never with σώζετε. Obviously then an ἐλεᾶτε clause has dropped out, probably before the ἐλέγχετε was substituted for the first ἐλεᾶτε.

Another reason given by several proponents of the three-division form for their choice is the fact that Jude has a predilection for constructions with three members. On this they are probably all dependent on Mayor. However, this argument is not altogether convincing since Mayor himself indicates that Jude also uses constructions with two members.[21] An argument such as this is not persuasive in itself. The internal and external evidence are determinative here.

The decision between the selection of ἐλεᾶτε and ἐλέγχετε in the first clause is connected also with the above argument. Assuming that it is hard to distinguish any difference in meaning between the two ἐλεᾶτε clauses, it is difficult to believe, if ἐλέγχετε were original, that ἐλεᾶτε would replace it even accidentally, and if it did so to see how it could establish a foothold in the MSS. The presence of ἐλέγχετε in the TR reading speaks against such a possibility. Its presence in the two-division form in certain MSS can be explained as due to the fact that they reflect an original three-member form with an ἐλεᾶτε clause. The ἐλέγχετε came into existence while it was still a three-division form and

[21] Joseph B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1965; reprint of 1907 ed.), cxc, lvi.



was preserved after the third division was dropped. Or it could be the result of copying from a MS with a three-division form with ἐλέγχετε and a two-division form with ἐλεᾶτε, the scribe following the first part of the three-division form but the last part of the two-division form.

The conjectures of Windisch and Schneider[22] (variant B5a) of ἐκβάλετε or ἐλάσατε and of Bieder[23] (variant B5b) of ἐᾶτε in place of the second ἐλεᾶτε are attempts to alter the text to fit one's own exegetical schemes. The scribes' dropping of one of the ἐλεᾶτε clauses or of substituting ἐλέγχετε for ἐλεᾶτε are of the same order and do not have much to recommend them. The text is not so corrupt as to necessitate such conjectures which demonstrate more the ingenuity of the scholar in altering the text than in establishing it. They are controlled by exegetical considerations of the particular exegete with his particular view of how the text ought to be read. If such is allowed, a wholesale alteration of the text of the NT can result as we seek to make the text say what we think it ought to say.

We see the evolution of the text, then, in the following manner. Originally, a three-division text with ἐλεᾶτε in the first and third division was read. The difficulty of distinguishing between the

[22] Hans Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe* (HNT 15; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 1930), 47; Johannes Schneider, *Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, Judas und Johannes, Die katholischen Briefe* (NTD 10; 9th edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), 136. Windisch considers the third clause with ἐλεᾶτε enigmatic and impossible on internal grounds. Mercy that can be expressed only in intercession would be expressed differently. Mercy without any contact and with the counsels of the strictest avoidance is inconceivable and practically impossible. Thus a stronger word is demanded.

[23] Werner Bieder, 'Judas 22 f.: Οὓς δὲ ἐᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ', *TZ* 6 (1950), 75-7. He feels that ἐκβάλετε or ἐλάσατε makes a good climax to the passage but is not in harmony with the context of the letter. On the basis of vv. 3-4, 22-3, he indicates that the letter reflects the strength and power of the heretics in the church and the weakness of the saints. The latter can only be reminded of the predictions of the appearance of the heretics (v. 17) and the need to build themselves up in the most holy faith and to wait for the mercy of Jesus Christ (vv. 20-1). Their *Glaubenskampf* consisted in the above, but not in excommunication. The power of the heretics was too much for the church to deal with in this manner. In contrast to Enoch, by whom Jude is influenced, Jude knows nothing of disciplinary actions. For Jude God alone is the one who executes judgement (v. 15), not the church. In fact the judgement has already begun (vv. 10-11). No more can they address the heretics or pray for them. The only thing that is left is to say: 'Leave them alone'. But how has the substitution of ἐλεᾶτε for ἐᾶτε taken place? People thought of the fire of v. 23 from an early period as purgatory. This idea coupled with that of universalism made it very difficult to read ἐᾶτε here and thus it was changed to ἐλεᾶτε, the root of all the misunderstandings of this difficult passage.

first and third groups led to (1) dropping either the first or the third division as in the readings of $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ $C^2$ K L P Clement; (2) incorporating the first ἐλεᾶτε clause into the second clause so that a distinction was made between the groups described in the ἐλεᾶτε clauses as in B; (3) substituting ἐλέγχετε for the first or the third ἐλεᾶτε clause as in A 33. The dropping of the third clause with ἐλεᾶτε led to the problem of what to do with ἐν φόβῳ, which is another consideration in determining the original text of this difficult passage. The solution was (1) to drop it (Clement [Strom. 6.8.65]); (2) to shift it to the second clause with σῴζετε (K L P et al.). The confusion caused by the dropping of the third clause and the orphaning of the ἐν φόβῳ phrase led also to the very unlikely double ἐν φόβῳ in the second and third division where even the three-division form was kept. The result was that, besides connecting it with ἐλεᾶτε, ἐν φόβῳ was connected with σῴζετε and ἐλέγχετε separately and with them both. The support for the connecting of ἐν φόβῳ with ἐλέγχετε (only in the third division) and with both ἐλέγχετε and σῴζετε is late and weak; Besides, ἐλέγχετε with ἐν φόβῳ in this context is not very suitable. The external evidence is overwhelming in favour of its connection with ἐλεᾶτε ($\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ Clement [*Adumb. Jud.*] ℵ A B) rather than with σῴζετε. Internally, it also is more suitable, since the verb is connected with the rest of the verse which reads, 'hating the garment spotted by the flesh'. The ἐν φόβῳ here is appropriate because extreme caution is necessary in avoiding one's own defilement. The verb 'to save' in this context would be better connected with an adverb indicating 'haste' than 'fear'.

The last clause, 'hating the garment spotted by the flesh', also is more suitable when connected with ἐλεᾶτε than with σῴζετε . . . ἁρπάζοντες, since it shows why mercy should be exercised with caution. But there is a definite incongruity if the phrase σῴζετε . . . ἁρπάζοντες with its implication of contact is the last division connecting to 'hating the garment spotted by the flesh'. Obviously then οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ is most fitting if attached to 'hating the garment spotted by the flesh'. However, to join with this clause the word διακρινομένους with the meaning 'dispute', as Osburn does in his reading of $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$, is completely inappropriate when the clause 'hating the garment spotted by the flesh' is connected to it. This injunction is too harsh. Why should they hate even the garments of those who are only disputers? Birdsall recognizes this and thus takes the meaning 'to be judged' instead of 'dispute' for διακρινομένους.



With regard to whether ἐλεᾶτε or ἐλεεῖτε is original, the evidence shows that ἐλεᾶτε is read by ℵ A B Clement while ἐλεεῖτε is found generally in the minuscules. However, $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ reads ἐλεεῖτε. Birdsall's explanation of this phenomenon is that 'verbs in -εω began to yield to a tendency to be written with -αω in the early years of the Christian era, but the contrary tendency is not found until about the third century. ἐλεεῖτε then will be original, and ἐλεᾶτε an instance of the former tendency'.[24]

The late reading διακρινόμενοι 'is obviously a secondary development, introduced by copyists in order to conform the participle to the nominative case in agreement with the following two participles in verse 23 (ἁρπάζοντες and μισοῦντες)',[25] and could arise in the nominative case because it 'seemed, to those who were not aware of the difference in meaning of the active and middle of διακρίνω to supply a very appropriate thought, viz. that discrimination must be used; treatment should differ in different cases'.[26]

Thus the reading of ℵ with its three divisions but with double ἐλεεῖτε (instead of ἐλεᾶτε), with διακρινομένους, and with ἐν φόβῳ following the second ἐλεεῖτε is to be accepted as the original reading.

[24] Birdsall, 'The Text of Jude in $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$', 398.

[25] Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 729.

[26] Mayor, *The Epistle of St Jude*, cxc.

# PART II

# TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION AND TRANSLATION

# 20. Der neue 'Standard-Text' in seinem Verhältnis zu den frühen Papyri und Majuskeln

KURT ALAND

BEIM Erscheinen dieser Festschrift liegt der neue 'Standard-Text', wie er weithin — in Deutschland jedenfalls in der Regel — genannt wird, nicht nur in der Fassung der Third Edition des Greek *New Testament* vor, sondern auch in der der 26. Ausgabe des *Novum Testamentum graece* von Nestle-Aland. Das ist insofern ein wesentlicher Fortschritt, als der neue Text jetzt nicht nur an den rund 1200 Stellen kontrolliert werden kann, an denen das *Greek New Testament* einen kritischen Apparat bietet, sondern an den rund 15 000 (oder mehr) des neuen Nestle. An allen Stellen, bei denen Meinungsverschiedenheiten über die neue Textgestaltung bestehen könnten, ist also eine Nachprüfung möglich, die noch dadurch erleichtert wird, daß in Anhang II zum neuen Nestle-Aland eine Zusammenstellung aller Variationen in den sieben wichtigsten Textausgaben der letzten hundert Jahre geboten wird, von Tischendorf[8] an bis zu Bover[5], wobei jede dieser Variationen im kritischen Apparat mit voller Bezeugung repräsentiert ist.

Wer im *Novum Testamentum graece* den Anhang I mit der Liste der zugrundegelegten Handschriften oder in der Einführung zur Ausgabe die Liste der sog. 'ständigen Zeugen' ansieht, wird dort (urn von den Majuskeln zu schweigen) sämtliche edierten Papyri aufgeführt finden. 'Ständige Zeugen', das bedeutet: Handschriften, die bei jeder Variante im Apparat ausdrücklich genannt werden. Die 'großen' Papyri findet der Benutzer dort entsprechend häufig, nach den 'kleinen' Papyri muß er ziemlich suchen. Denn sie gehen entweder mit dem 'Standard-Text' zusammen, oder aber ihre Abweichungen sind nicht von der Bedeutung, daß sie einen kritischen Apparat rechtfertigten. Es handelt sich dabei entweder urn Singulär-Lesarten, die (anders als oft bei den 'großen' Papyri) eine

Einzelverzeichnung nicht rechtfertigen oder um Abweichungen, die in der iibrigen Überlieferung nur wenig Nachfolge gefunden haben, so daß ihre Aufnahme in eine Handausgabe sich nicht lohnt. Denn sie haben keinerlei Aussicht, als Bestandteile des urspriinglichen Textes in Betracht gezogen zu werden und sind von Interesse nur für die textgeschichtliche Situation in der Frühzeit. Dem soll dieser Aufsatz nachgehen, aber gleichzeitig, ja vor allem auch der Frage, wie dieser 'friihe Text' sich zum 'Standard-Text' verhält, d.h. dem (wenigstens vom Herausgeberkomitee — zu dem bekanntlich der Jubilar wie der Verfasser dieses Aufsatzes gehören — als solchem behaupteten) für heutige Voraussetzungen besten, dem urspriinglichen Text so nahe wie möglich kommenden Text. Besteht der 'Standard-Text' die Probe an den frühen Papyri und Majuskeln ? Das ist eine naheliegende und lohnende Frage.

Auf sie kann versucht werden, eine Antwort zu geben, nachdem im Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster (durch W. Grunewald) eine Neukollation aller frühen Papyri und Majuskeln an Hand der vollständig vorliegenden Fotos erfolgt ist. Sie war seit langem ein dringendes Bedürfnis. Zwar liegen für die 'großen' Papyri — $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ einerseits und $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ andererseits — vorzügliche Faksimile-Ausgaben bzw. zahlreiche Kollationen und Untersuchungen vor. Aber für die 'kleinen' Papyri ist man in der Regel auf die, z.T. viele Jahrzehnte zurückliegende, editio princeps angewiesen, die kaum jemand jemals nachgeprüft hat. Die nur maschinenschriftlich vorliegende Arbeit von Schofield ('The Papyrus Fragments', Clinton, 1936), die sich dankenswerterweise dieser Aufgabe unterzogen hat, ist jetzt über 40 Jahre alt und (abgesehen davon, daß hier im wesentlichen nur die Papyri bis $\mathfrak{P}^{48}$ behandelt werden) auch in den Teilen der Papyrusiiberlieferung, die sie bearbeitet, kein Ersatz für eine solche Neukollation. Die frühen Majuskeln, obwohl vier an der Zahl, blieben ohnehin so gut wie ohne Beachtung. Wenn von 'friihen Texten' gesprochen wurde, meinte man ausschließlich die Papyri, obwohl 0189 aus dem 2./3. Jahrhundert und 0212 wie 0220 aus dem 3. Jahrhundert stammen.

Dabei bedarf es einiger grundsätzlicher Vorbemerkungen. Zunächst einmal ist festzustellen, was mit 'frühen Papyri und Majuskeln' gemeint ist. Unter diesen frühen Zeugen werden



die Handschriften bis zum 3./4. Jahrhundert verstanden, und unter dem 'frühen Text' der bis zur Schwelle des 4. Jahrhunderts. Handschriften, die ins 4. Jahrhundert datiert werden, bleiben außer Betracht. Denn nur bis zum 3./4. Jahrhundert reicht die freie, unkanalisierte Entwicklung des neutestamentlichen Textes, von da ab setzt die Wirkung der großen Textformen ein, sei es des ägyptischen, sei es des antiochenischen (Koine-, Byzantinischen, usw.) Textes ein. Diese Wirkung ist eine sozusagen mechanische. Nach der 'Münsterschen Texttheorie' — nennen wir sie einmal so —, die ich seit den ersten Ansätzen in den 'Studien zur Oberlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes' von 1967 in verschiedenen Aufsätzen vorgetragen habe und demnächst in größeren Veröffentlichungen wenigstens in den Grundzügen ausgebaut vorzulegen beabsichtige, erklärt sich die Entstehung der großen Texttypen bzw. -formen daraus, daß nach dem Aufhören der diokletianischen Verfolgung an einem bzw. mehreren kirchlichen Zentren bestimmte Texte als Vorlage vorgeschrieben wurden, die dann als Grundlage für die damals notwendigen 'Groß-Serien' von neutestamentlichen Handschriften dienten.

In der diokletianischen Verfolgung waren die Kirchengebäude systematisch zerstört worden und mit ihnen die dort befindlichen biblischen Handschriften. Auf diese insbesondere wurde, wie wir aus zeitgenössischen Berichten wissen, speziell Jagd gemacht, sie wurden in feierlicher Aktion öffentlich verbrannt. So begann, als 311/13 (nach dem Edikt des Galerius bzw. des Konstantin und Licinius) bzw. 324 (im Osten, nach der Besiegung des Licinius, der der Verfolgung der Christen in seinem Reichsteil mindestens wohlgefällig zugesehen hatte, durch Konstantin) die christliche Kirche die volle Freiheit für ihre Verkündigung und Mission gewonnen hatte, nicht nur eine Epoche fieberhaften Wiederaufbaus der zerstörten und des Baus neuer Kirchen, sondern gleichzeitig eine Epoche der Handschriftenfabrikation wie nie zuvor. All die wieder- bzw. neuerbauten Kirchen bedurften neutestamentlicher Handschriften (auf jedem Altar hatte z.B. eine Handschrift der Evangelien zu liegen), ebenso wie die an ihnen wirkenden Theologen, deren Zahl damals ebenso schlagartig zunahm wie die der Kirchengebäude. Denn die Mission der Christen, die jetzt zum ersten Mal in drei Jahrhunderten voll ihre Kräfte entfalten konnte, brachte nicht nur die Gründung zahlloser neuer Gemeinden, sondern auch eine gewaltige Ausdehnung der bereits bestehenden, weil die bisherigen Hemmungen, sich für den christlichen Glauben zu erklären, weggefallen waren.

Wie niemals zuvor oder danach in der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche hat im 4. Jahrhundert die Zahl der neutestamentlichen Handschriften zugenommen (zu vergleichen ist der Vorgang mit dem Zeitalter der Reformation, in dem Luthers Bibeliibersetzung sich explosionsartig ausbreitet, wenn es sich damals auch urn Drucke handelt). Aber sie mußten erst einmal hergestellt werden. Das bisherige System privater Abschriften reichte angesichts des gewaltigen Bedarfs nicht mehr aus, nur 'Schreibfabriken', sprich Skriptorien, konnten hier Abhilfe schaffen. Nun kann man annehmen, daß im beginnenden 4. Jahrhundert das die Regel wurde, was im 3. Jahrhundert die Ausnahme war (wahrscheinlich nur in Alexandrien) , nämlich die Existenz eines solchen christlichen Skriptoriums am Bischofssitz : vergessen wir nicht, daß die Gemeinden eben nicht nur mit Handschriften des Neuen, sondern auch des (sehr viel umfangreicheren) Alten Testaments wie mit denen der Schriften der Kirchenväter versorgt werden mußten. Auf dem Wege der Selbsthilfe, wie in früheren Generationen, war das nicht mehr möglich, hier konnte nur eine zentrale Organisation helfen. In Ägypten war das kein Problem. Hier bestand seit den Anfängen der Katechetenschule, spatestens seit Origenes, in Alexandrien eine wissenschaftliche Zentrale, die der Bischof Demetrius bei seiner Neuorganisation der ägyptischen Kirche ohne Zweifel zu nutzen wußte. Wahrscheinlich schon früh, spätestens seit 328, als der machtbewußte Bischof Athanasius die Herrschaft über die Kirche Ägyptens antrat, ist hier von zentraler Stelle aus ein bestimmter Text des NT systematisch verbreitet worden ; so hat sich der alexandrinisch/ägyptische Text durchgesetzt (wobei, urn das am Rande zu bemerken, die Bezeichnung 'alexandrinischer Text' für die Frühzeit, 'ägyptischer Text' fiir die spätere Zeit gelten sollte, in der sich der Einfluß der Koine zunehmend bemerkbar macht).

Jener 'Koine-Text', der seinen Siegeszug in der Kirche des Ostens bereits im 4. Jahrhundert antritt, tut das unter Bedingungen bzw. Voraussetzungen, die die 'Münstersche Texttheorie' nachdrticklich bestatigen. In der antiochenischen



Exegetenschule war vom in der diokletianischen Verfolgung zum Märtyrer gewordenen Lukian eine bestimmte Textform herausgebildet worden. Die verschworene Gemeinschaft der hier herangebildeten origenistischen Theologen führte mit Selbstverstandlichkeit diesen Text als Vorlage für das Skriptorium in den zahlreichen Diözesen ein, deren Leitung sie im 4. Jahrhundert iibernahmen. So hat sich der Koine-Text damals bereits schlagartig ausgebreitet. Dieser Koine-Text stellte eine bewußte Bearbeitung des bis dahin verbreiteten Textes dar. Er war geglättet und erbaulich erweitert worden, ob auf einmal oder vorbereitet durch Vorstufen bzw. Vorläufer, können wir nicht sagen. Auf jeden Fall hat er seine Endform in den iiber 40 Friedensjahren vor der diokletianischen Verfolgung gewonnen, genauso wie offensichtlich jene zweite Textbearbeitung, die uns in D, im Codex Cantabrigiensis, überliefert ist. Diese Bearbeitung geht nun urn ein Vielfaches weiter als bei der Koine und kann in ganzen Partien als neue Niederschrift angesehen werden. Auch hier können wir nicht sag-en, ob die Bearbeitung auf einmal geschah oder Vorstufen besaß. Aber der D-Text fand eben keine Gruppe von Bischöfen oder auch nur einen Bischof, der den Text seinem Skriptorium als Vorlage für die Großserien von Handschriften vorschrieb, die damals aus der Zentrale an die Gemeinden hinausgingen. So sind die Reprasentanten des D-Textes gering an Zahl geblieben, der Text läuft parallel zu dem anderer Kleingruppen und Familien, die im 4. Jahrhundert durchaus bestehen bleiben bzw. neu entstehen. Denn erstens sind in der diokletianischen Verfolgung keineswegs alle griechischen Handschriften vernichtet worden, und zweitens wirkt das Gesetz der Tenazität der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung trotz aller Einflußnahme der Zentrale, die in Agypten — um auf den dritten nachweisbaren Texttyp zurtickzukommen — eine oder mehrere Handschriften zugrundelegte, welche den iiberkommenen Normaltext in besonders guter Qualität enthielten. Auch sie wurden vorher revidiert, aber lediglich nach philologischen bzw. stilistischen Regeln, wahrscheinlich gibt der Evangelienteil von B, dem Codex Vaticanus, ein relativ getreues Spiegelbild jener im Skriptorium von Alexandria verwandten Vorlage. Es ist leicht möglich, daß die kirchliche Zentrale Alexandrien schon länger einen einheitlichen Text pflegte. Denn die Katechetenschule und das wahrscheinlicherweise damit verbundene Skriptorium ist bei Ausbruch der großen Verfolgung schon rund 100 Jahre alt. Dennoch muß erstaunen, daß man für den Paulus-Teil von B keine Handschrift vom für die Evangelien verwandten Typ verwandte (weil man sie nicht zur Verfügung hatte ?). Hier kommt neben dem, was man in Münster 'festen Text' bzw. 'Normaltext' nennt, der andere Typ des frühen Textes, der 'freie Text' zur Geltung. Nach dem Bekanntwerden der Chester Beatty-Papyri und des $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ mußte man meinen: 'früher Text' und 'freier Text' seien identisch, erst $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ hat diese Vorstellung als nicht zutreffend erwiesen (diese Untersuchung, um ihre Resultate vorwegzunehmen, liefert auf breiter Basis die Bestätigung dafür).

Um zusammenzufassen: der 'frühe Text', der sich ohne zentrale kirchliche Maßnahmen entwickelt, wird vom Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts ab ergänzt bzw. eingeengt durch Textformen, die sich infolge ihrer Förderung durch kirchliche Zentralstellen in einer Provinz oder auch gleich in mehreren Provinzen herrschend ausbreiten. Auch da, wo die Textgrundlage durchgreifend bearbeitet wurde, wie z.B. bei der Koine oder D, geschah das an einer Handschrift des Frühtextes. Bei D war es sogar eine von hoher Qualität, sie macht die Autorität der Handschrift aus, die von den Verfechtern eines 'westlichen' Textes unzulässig auf den Bearbeiter des D-Textes bezogen wird. Gewiß haben wir in D einen Text des 2./3. Jahrhunderts vor uns — urn Westcott-Horts Meinung, wenn auch in Verkehrung der Fronten, wiederaufzunehmen — aber nur da, wo der Urheber des D-Textes *nicht* in den ihm vorliegenden Textbestand eingegriffen hat. Schon daß niemand mehr von einem 'westlichen' Text ohne Anwendung der Anftihrungszeichen spricht, zeigt die Wandlung der Situation. Ein Text, dessen älteste Zeugen — $\mathfrak{p}^{29}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{38}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{48}$ — aus Ägypten stammen und dessen Hauptreprasentant (stamme er nun aus Ägypten oder Nordafrika) jedenfalls nicht im Westen geschrieben ist, sollte diesen Namen nicht mehr tragen dürfen, zumal er im Westen des 2./3. Jahrhunderts keinen 'Sitz im Leben' hat (bei einer in Vorbereitung befindlichen ausftihrlichen Darstellung der 'Münsterschen Texttheorie' wird eingehend darüber gesprochen werden). Das, was sein Specificurn ausmacht, die Zusätze, Streichungen und Textanderungen, sollte den Maßstab für ihn abgeben und die Beurteilungsgrundlage ausmachen. Nur Handschriften, welche diese Specifica aufweisen, können zum D-Text gerechnet werden — erst wenn diese eigentlich selbstverständlichen Maßstäbe und Gesichtspunkte voll berücksichtigt werden, werden wir aus dem geradezu babylonischen Sprachen- und Gedankenwirrwarr der Diskussion über den 'westlichen' Text herauskommen.



Der Frühtext gliedert sich nach dem Befund in den 'großen' Papyri (urn sie zu wiederholen: $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{47}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$) in einen 'freien Text', einen 'Normaltext' und einen 'festen Text'. Alle entwickeln sich ohne zentrale Aufsicht oder Lenkung. Auch der 'Normaltext', ja selbst der 'feste Text' ändert, fügt hinzu oder läßt weg, aber der 'feste Text' tut das nur sehr begrenzt, selbst der 'Normaltext' halt sich in den Grenzen, die wir auch bei der späteren neutestamentlichen Uberlieferung beobachten: Paralleleneinfluß, Verdeutlichung, stilistische Änderung usw. Der 'freie Text' verfährt an sich nach denselben Prinzipien — so daß die Grenzen fließend sein können — aber er läßt ihnen weiten Raum, verstandlich genug in einer Zeit, in welcher die neutestamentlichen Schriften erst beginnen, kanonische Autorität zu gewinnen und völlig verstandlich in der frühesten Zeit, in denen der Christ sich als Geisttrager dem in diesen Schriften Mitgeteilten gleichgestellt und gleichberechtigt weiß und dementsprechend frei damit schaltet (vgl. die Zitate aus dem NT im friihchristlichen Schrifttum vor Irenäus). Selbst als um 200 das Vierevangeliencorpus und das paulinische Corpus allgemein in der Kirche anerkannt sind, bezieht sich diese Anerkennung nur auf die Corpora als solche und nicht auf jede Einzelheit des Textes. Und selbst als die Kanonizitat der 27 Schriften des NT vom 4. Jahrhundert ab kirchlich fixiert wird, bleibt der Text des NT immer noch ein 'lebender Text'. Bis in die spätesten Zeiten hinein haben sich die Schreiber zu Änderungen frei gefühlt und ihre Vorlage niemals so sklavisch genau kopiert, wie das in der orientalischen Uberlieferung Gesetz war — sei es beim hebraischen Alten Testament oder beim arabischen Koran.

Wenn nun nachstehend die Varianten der frühen Papyri und Majuskeln vom 'Standard-Text' verzeichnet werden, so geschieht das mit der bereits genannten doppelten Abzweckung: einer Kontrolle des 'Standard-Textes' auf sein Verhältnis zum Text der Frühzeit und ob Anderungen daran nach dem Befund dort erforderlich sind sowie einer Untersuchung des Textes der Frühzeit darauf, ob er sich in die genannten Kategorien einfügt und ob bzw. wieweit diese Kategorien erweitert oder verändert werden müssen. Dabei wird, wie ebenfalls bereits bemerkt, von den 'kleinen' Papyri ausgegangen. Gewiß handelt es sich bei ihnen wie den zusätzlich heranzuziehenden Majuskeln urn Fragmente. Aber diese Papyri und Majuskeln haben ursprünglich *mindestens* den Text der ganzen neutestamentlichen Schrift enthalten, von der sie heute nur noch Teile bieten. Um ihren Textcharakter festzustellen, reichen auch Proben aus — das ist wie bei dem berühmten Eimer mit Marmelade, den man nicht ganz aufessen muß, urn den Charakter der Marmelade zu bestimmen, e i n i g e Löffel d a v o n reichen dafür vollständig. Natürlich ist es möglich, da8 ein Fragment ausgerechnet einen Textabschnitt enthält, in dem alle Zeugen miteinander übereinstimmen, dann fällt es für unsere Untersuchung aus. Die wenigstens vorläufige Feststellung, ob und wieviel Varianten in diesem Abschnitt sonst überliefert sind, ermöglicht ein Seitenblick in die Ausgabe von Sodens, welche von allen Ausgaben das umfanglichste Variantenmaterial bietet (bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch in den neuen Nestle), diese Zahlen werden deshalb jedes Mal zur Kontrolle angegeben. Die Anordnung erfolgt nach den Schriften des NT und hier so, daß zwar die chronologische Anordnung dominiert, gleichzeitig aber nach Möglichkeit die inhaltliche Reihenfolge beachtet wird.

Aus diesem Grunde werden auch Papyri und Majuskeln ineinander geordnet : die übliche Trennung beider ist ebensowenig sinnvoll zu begründen wie die übliche Anordnung in der (doch rein zufälligen) Reihenfolge der Papyrus-Nummern. Die Individualitat der insgesamt 38 Papyri und Majuskeln bleibt auch beim gewählten System erhalten. Wenn im nachstehenden Text nur *27* von ihnen behandelt werden und die Untersuchung beim Philipperbrief abbricht, so hat das den rein äußeren Grund der radikalen Umfangsbeschrankung für die Beiträge zu dieser Festschrift durch den Verlag. Es fehlen noch für den I Thess $\mathfrak{p}^{65}$ (III) mit I : 3-2 : I, 6-13 und $\mathfrak{p}^{30}$ (III) mit 4: 12-13, 16-17; 5: 3, 8–10, 12-18, 25-28, für den 2 Thess der Rest von $\mathfrak{p}^{30}$ mit I : 1-2, fiir Titus $\mathfrak{p}^{32}$ (urn 200) mit I:11–15; 2 : 3-8, für Philemon $\mathfrak{p}^{87}$ (III) mit 13-15, 24-25, fiir Hebr $\mathfrak{p}^{12}$ (III) mit I : I und $\mathfrak{p}^{13}$ (III/IV) mit 2 : 14-5 :5; 10 :8–22, 29–11: 13; II : 28-12: 17, für Jak $\mathfrak{p}^{23}$ (III) mit I : 10–12, 15-18 und $\mathfrak{p}^{20}$ (III) mit 2 : 19–3 : g, für I Joh $\mathfrak{p}^{9}$ (III/IV) mit 4: 11–12, 14-17, für Jud $\mathfrak{p}^{78}$ (III/IV) mit 4-5, *7-8* und fur die Apokalypse $\mathfrak{p}^{18}$ (III/IV) mit I: 4-7. Aber auch so ist der vorgeschriebene Umfang bereits überschritten, obwohl der ursprüngliche Plan, jeder Variante einen ausführlichen Apparat aus den wichtigsten Handschriften mitzugeben, von vornherein aufgegeben und die Einleitung auf ein Minimum gekürzt worden ist.



Immerhin bedeutet die Weglassung der frühen Papyri für I Thess — Apok keine grundsätzliche Einbuße. Denn das Gesamtbild wird dadurch nicht geändert. Und vielleicht hat die Konfrontierung mit der 'Münsterschen Texttheorie' ohne viel erklärende Zusätze, wie sie jetzt in der Einleitung erfolgt, auch ihren Vorteil. Anschließend an die Materialdarbietung wird noch einmal kurz davon zu reden sein.

## *Matthäusevangelium*

$\mathfrak{p}^{64/67}$ (urn 200) : Matt 3 : g, 15 ; 5 :20–22, 25-28 ; 26 : 7-8, 10, 14–15, 22-23, 31–33

I g Verse, 62 Zeilen (zweispaltig), 2 Varianten : Auslassung von αὐτήν nach ἐπιθυμῆσαι in 5: 28, αυ]τω· μ[ητι] in 26: 2 2 (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 15, bei v. Soden 52) : fester Text.

$\mathfrak{p}^{77}$ (II/III) : Matt 23 :30–38 (39)

g (I 0) Verse, 23 *(27)* Zeilen, 2 Varianten, davon I Singulärlesart: κοινωνοὶ αὐτῶν in *23 : 30*, ἠθέληκα in 23 : *37*, dazu Schreibvariante ὄρνιξ in 23 : 37 (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 6, bei v. Soden 38) : mit nachlässigem Schreiber, mindestens Normaltext.

$\mathfrak{p}^{1}$ (III), Matt I : r-g, 12, 14–20

I 7 Verse, 47 (50) Zeilen, 2 Singularlesarten (abgesehen von den Varianten der Namen) : Auslassung von τοῦ vor Οὐρίου in I: 6 und αἱ vor γενεαί in I : 17 (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 14, bei v. Soden 54) : fester Text.

$\mathfrak{p}^{70}$ (III), Matt 2: 13-16, 22-3: I; II: *26-27;* 12: 4-5; 24: 3-6, 12-15

19 Verse, 47 Zeilen, 7 Varianten, davon 3 Singulärlesarten: ναζα]ρα in 2: 23, γινώσκει in I I: 2 *7*, ϵ]φαγεν in 12: *4*, εν (?) τω

σαββ]ατῳ in 12: 5, εν τ[ω ονοματι in 24: 5, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο (2. Hand, 1. Hand läßt τοῦτο aus) und εις ολη]ν την οικου[μενην in 24 : 14. (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland[26] g, bei v. Soden 58): etwas flüchtig geschriebener fester Text.

𝔭[53] (III) Matt 26 : 29–40 (+Acta g, s. dort)
12 Verse, 39 Zeilen, 5 Varianten, davon 1 Singulärlesart : ἐγὼ ἐν σοί in 26 : 33, ἀπαρνήσει in 26 : 34, οὐ ἂν in 26 : 36, προσελθών und πάτερ (1. Hand, während die 2. Hand μου hinzufügt) in 26 : 39 (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland[26] 19, bei v. Soden 50): mindestens Normaltext.

02 12 (III) Matt 27 : 56-57 und Parallelen
'Da es sich hier um Diatessarontext handelt, ist eine vergleichende Betrachtung der Textvarianten nicht möglich; selbst da, wo einwandfrei festzustellen ist, welche Stelle eines der Evangelien zugrundegelegt worden ist, sind die Texte bearbeitet.

𝔭[35] (III?, IV?) Matt 25: 12-15, 20–23
8 Verse, 20 Zeilen, 1 unsichere Variante, da es sich urn die Frage der Rekonstruktion einer Lücke handelt; ob 𝔭[35] προσελθὼν καί oder προσελθὼν δὲ καί hat, ist nicht sicher zu sagen, nach der Buchstabenzahl ist die Auslassung von δέ wahrscheinlicher (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland[26] 7, bei v. Soden 32): fester Text.

𝔭[37] (III/IV) Matt 26: 19–52
34 Verse, 65 Zeilen, 27 Varianten, davon 10 Singularlesarten : λέγω ὑμῖν (ohne ὅτι) in 26 : 21, εἷς (?) εκασ]τος αυτων in 26 : 22, τὴν χεῖρα μετ' ἐμοῦ in 26 : 23, ἐγενήθη (1. Hand, von der zweiten in ἐγεννήθη verbessert) in 26 : 24, ἐκάλεσεν (1. Hand, von der zweiten Hand in ἔκλασεν verbessert) in 26 : 26, λαβων τ[ο ποτηριον in 26 : 27, ἐκ τούτου γεννήματος (1. Hand, die zweite fügte τοῦ hinzu) und πίω in 26 : 29, εν εμοι εν ταυτη τ[η νυκτι] ταυτη und διασκορπ]ισθησεται in 26 : 31, εἶπεν ● t in 26 : 33, καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς und ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί und αλεκτοροφ[ωνιας in 26: 34, μείνατε δὲ ὧδε und ἐγρηγορεῖτε in 26: 38 (vgl. 26: 40 und 41), ἴσχυσαν[τες (?) μι]αν und ἐγρηγορῆσαι in 26 : 40, ἐγρηγορεῖτε und ἔλθητε in 26 : 41, Auslassung von ἀπελθών und von μου in 26 : 42, Auslassung von πάλιν und ἐκ τρίτου in 26 : 44, ἐάν in 26 : 48, τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἶπεν αὐτῷ in 26 : 49–50, Auslassung von τῶν in 26 : 51 (Varian-



tenangabe bei Nestle-Aland[26] 54, bei v. Soden 169): freier Text (nicht zufällig geht 𝔭[45] in einer Reihe von Fallen mit 𝔭[37] zusammen).

*Lukasevangelium*

𝔭[4] (III) Luk 1 : 58–60, 62–2 : 1, 6-7; 3 : 8-4: 2, 29–32, 34-35; 5: 3-8, 30–6: 16
96 Verse, 480 Zeilen (zweispaltig), 26 Varianten (von einigen differierenden Namensschreibungen in 3 : 23 ff abgesehen), davon 8 Singularlesarten : η[νεωχθη oder η[νοιχθη und παραχρη [μα το στο]μα αυτου [και η γλωσ]σα αυτου in 1 : 64, καὶ ἐλαλεῖτο in 1: 65, ἑαυτῶν in 1 : 66, Auslassung von κύριος in 1 : 68, τοῦ κυρίου in 1: 76, επε[σκεψατο in 1 : 78, Auslassung von καλόν in 3 : 9, βαπτισθη[ναι] παντα in 3 : 21, πνευματι (κῳ?) εἴδει in 3 : 22, ο]λιγ[ον δ]ε καθι[σας] εδιδασκεν εκ [τον πλοιου in 5, 3, χαλ]ασαι in 5 : 4, Ἰησοῦς ohne Artikel und πρ]ο[ς] αυτον in 5 : 31, ῥήγνυσι (statt ῥήξει) in 5 : 37, Auslassung von καί in 5 : 39, Ἰησοῦς ohne Artikel und Auslassung von ὄντες in 6 : 3, Auslassung von ὡς in 6 : 4, Zufügung von καί vor τοῦ σαββάτου in 6 : 5, ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ und δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ in 6 : 6, θεραπεύσει in 6 : 7, Ἰησοῦς ohne Artikel in 6 : g, ἐλάλουν in 6 : 11, εφω[νησεν in der 2. Hand in 6 : 13 (die erste liest προσεφώνησεν). Dazu kommen in 3, 23–29 einige Varianten bei Namensformen, aber lediglich orthographischen Charakters (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland[26] 143, bei v. Soden 578): Normaltext.

𝔭[69] (III) Luk 22: 41, 45–48, 58–61
g Verse, 28 Zeilen, 13 Varianten (davon g Singularlesarten), wobei in einer Reihe von Fallen nicht sicher zu entscheiden ist, was 𝔭[69] ursprünglich tatsächlich gelesen hat, da die Rekonstruktion mit verschiedenen Unsicherheitsfaktoren belastet ist : offensichtlich hat 𝔭[69] nach προσηύχετο von 22 : 41 eine Auslassung, die größer gewesen ist als die vielfach bezeugte von 43-44 (schon in 𝔭[75]), offensichtlich hat auch 22 : 42 gefehlt; wie der Anschluß von 45b zu konstruieren ist, ist nicht sicher ; ευρεν αυτους καθ]ευδοντας κοι[μωμενους in 22: 45; auch in 22 : 46 weicht 𝔭[69] von allen anderen Texten ab, moglicherweise hat er gelesen ειπεν αυτοις (ο) $\overline{ιης}$] τι καθευδε[τε; [ετι δε (?)] und και εγγισας εφιλησε]ν τον $\overline{ιην}$ in 22: 47, αυ[τ]ω ε[ιπεν και συ und ὁ δὲ εἶπεν am Schluß in 22 : 58, ωσ[ει ωρας αλλος ισχυ]ριζετο

und ουτος ην μ[ετ αυτου in 22 : 59, auch in 22 : 60 weicht 𝔭[69] vom Standard-Text erheblich ab, wahrscheinlich hat er gelesen KUL ● TLJ αυτου λαλου[ντος παραχρημα, in 22 : 61 ο πετρ[ος ενεβλεψεν αυ]τω τοτε, schließlich wird in 22 : 61 ὅτι vor πρίν ausgelassen (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland[26] 27, bei v. Soden 77) : sehr freie Textform eines auch sonst stark variierten Textes, von allen anderen Reprasentanten dieses Typs unterschieden. Trotz gelegentlicher Berührungen mit Lesarten bei D nicht in den D-Text als Vorläufer einzuordnen, D hat die bei 𝔭[69] ausgelassenen Verse 22 : 43-44 und bietet auch 22 : 42 in ganz anderer Gestalt.

### *Johannesevangelium*

𝔭[52] (urn 125) Joh 18: 31–33, 37-38

5 Verse, 14 Zeilen, 1 Variante (Singulärlesart): die Ausfüllung der Lücke in 18 : 33 ισ[ηλθεν ουν παλιν εις το πραιτω]ριον ist nicht absolut sicher, die Auslassung von εἰς τοῦτο in 18 : 37 befindet sich ebenfalls in Lücke und ist aus der Buchstabenzahl der Zeile erschlossen (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland[26] 4, bei v. Soden 21) : Normaltext.

𝔭[5] (III) Joh 1 : 23–30 (31), 33–40; 16: 14–30; 20: 11–17, 19–25

48 Verse, 137 (140) Zeilen, 25 Varianten (davon 8 Singulärlesarten) : Auslassung von καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ (rekonstruiert) in 1: 25, Auslassung von πάλιν (rekonstruiert) in 1: 35, Auslassung von αὐτοῦ (rekonstruiert, Angabe im Apparat von Nestle-Aland[26] ist dementsprechend zu korrigieren) in 1: 37, οἱ δέ in 1: 38 von der ersten Hand ausgelassen, von der zweiten beigefügt, αὐτῷ dafür ursprünglich im Text und vom Korrektor getilgt und λεγεται ε]ρμηνευομε[νον (aber nicht sicher, da die Zeile dann nur 25 Buchstaben hätte, μεθερμηνευόμενον würde sie auf 28 bringen, was durchaus möglich wäre, da die Buchstabenzahlen zwischen 25 und 29 liegen), in 1: 40 wird entweder Σίμωνος oder Πέτρου ausgelassen (eine Entscheidung, welches Wort fehlte, ist nicht möglich, da es sich urn eine Singulärlesart handelt), in 16 : 17 wird von der ersten Hand ὅτι ausgelassen (vom Korrektor eingefügt), in 16 : 18 wird ὃ λέγει ausgelassen, ebenso wie mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit τό vor μικρόν, in 16 : 19 vor Ἰησοῦς der Artikel, in 16 : 21 steht ἡμέρα statt ὥρα, in 16 : 23 hat der Papyrus die Wortfolge δώσει ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, in 16 : 24



ist durch Homoioteleuton der Text von ἕως ἄρτι bis ὀνόματί μου ausgefallen (der Korrektor fügt die Auslassung als Anhang hinzu), in 16 : 26 wird περὶ ὑμῶν ausgelassen, in 16 : 27 fehlt (als Singulirlesart) ἐγώ vor παρά und danach der Artikel vor θεοῦ, in 16 : 29 wird vom Korrektor das ursprünglich fehlende αὐτῷ nach λέγουσιν hinzugefügt, in 20 : 16 bleibt es innerhalb des rekonstruierten Teils unsicher, ob διδάσκαλε oder κε gestanden hat, das zweite ist wahrscheinlicher, weil die Zeile dann 27 Buchstaben hat, was im Durchschnitt liegt, während das erste 34 Buchstaben ergäbe, in 20 : 19 läßt die erste Hand καί vor λέγει aus (vom Korrektor hinzugefügt). Auffällig ist der Variantenbestand in 20: 24-25. Hier scheint der Papyrus mit ℵ* iibereinzustimmen: wie dieser liest er ὅτε οὖν (rekonstruiert) in 20 : 24, läßt in 20 : 25 zunächst das οὖν nach ἔλεγον aus, dann das ἄλλοι vor μαθηταί und schließlich das οὖν nach χερσίν. Allerdings befinden sich alle diese Vorkommnisse im rekonstruierten Bestand, wobei die niedrige sich so ergebende Buchstabenzahl (23/25/25/25 in den Zeilen 24-27 von Bv[0]) deutlich unter dem Durchschnitt liegt. Deshalb ist in 20 : 24 höchstwahrscheinlich der Artikel vor Ἰησοῦς einzufügen, was gegen ℵ ginge. (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland[26] 88, bei v. Soden 279): Normaltext.

𝔭[80] (III) Joh 3: 34

1 Vers, 3 Zeilen, 1 Variante : ἐκ μέρους statt ἐκ μέτρου (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland[26] 1, bei v. Soden 4). Über den Textcharakter ist wegen der Kürze des gebotenen Textes nichts zu sagen (weithin Rekonstruktion) ; das mit Sicherheit zu lesende ἐκ μέρους wird bezeugt von 𝔭[66]*, 030, 1223 al, aber es können daraus keine weiterführenden Schlüsse gezogen werden.

𝔭[28] (III) Joh 6 : 8-12, 17-22

11 Verse, 23 Zeilen, 4 Varianten : in 6 : 10 offensichtlich ὡσεί (rekonstruiert), in 6 : 11 ἔδωκεν, in 6 : 17 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐληλύθει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, in 6: 22 εἶδεν (ἴδεν) (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland[26] 16, bei v. Soden 75) : Normaltext.

𝔭[39] (III) Joh 8: 14-22

g Verse, 50 Zeilen, 1 Variante: ἡ μαρτυρία μου ἀληθής ἐστιν in 8 : 14 (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland[26] g, bei v. Soden 57) : fester Text (charakteristischerweise geht 𝔭[39] bei seiner Abweichung vom Standardtext mit 𝔭[75] und B zusammen).

𝔭$^{22}$ (III) Joh 15: 25-16: 2, 21-32

17 Verse, 37 Zeilen, 2 Varianten : ὅτι ἐάν in 16 : 23 (anscheinend Singularlesart), in 16: 27 ganz offensichtlich τοῦ θεοῦ (wenn auch rekonstruiert), in 16: 32 καὶ ἐμέ (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 24, bei v. Soden 81) : Normaltext, wenn nicht mehr.

0162 (III/IV) Joh 2: 11-22

12 Verse, 38 Zeilen, 5 Varianten : μετὰ ταῦτα und Auslassung von αὐτοῦ nach ἀδελφοί in 2: 12, ὡς φραγέλλιον und τὰ κέρματα in 2: 15, ᾠκοδομήθη in 2: 20 (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 14, bei v. Soden 65) : Normaltext, wenn nicht mehr (in drei der fünf Varianten geht 0162 bezeichnenderweise mit 𝔭$^{75}$ zusammen).

*Apostelgeschichte*

0189 (II/III) Apg 5: 3-21

19 Verse, 66 Zeilen, 6 Varianten : ἐγίνοντο (εγεινοντο) und πάντες in 5: 12, οὐθείς in 5 : 13, συνήρχοντο in 5: 16, ἤνοιξε (ηνυξε) und δέ statt τε in 5 : 19 (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 32, bei v. Soden 118) : Normaltext, wenn nicht mehr (vier der Varianten gehen bezeichnenderweise mit B zusammen).

𝔭$^{53}$ (III) Apg 9 : 33–10:1 (+Matt 26, s. dort)

12 Verse, 37 Zeilen, 6 Varianten : Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ( ?) in 9: 34, Λύδδαν καὶ Σαρῶνα in 9: 35, ἀγαθῶν ἔργων in 9: 36, ὅλης Ἰόππης in 9 : 42 und ἑκατόνταρχος in 10 :1 (Varianten in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 13, in v. Soden 58) : Normaltext.

𝔭$^{29}$ (III) Apg 26: 7-8, 20

𝔭$^{48}$ (III) Apg 23 :11–17, 23–29

𝔭$^{38}$ (um 300, III/IV?) Apg 18: 27–19: 6, 12-16

Alle drei Papyri sind (wenn auch bei 𝔭$^{29}$ mit einiger Zurückhaltung wegen des zu geringen Textbestandes) als Vorfahren bzw. Geschwister des D-Textes anzusehen, von dem sie allerdings selbständig abweichen. Sie bedürfen einer Sonderuntersuchung, eine Kollation gegen den ‘Standard-Text’ würde wegen ihres grundsätzlich verschiedenen Charakters unübersichtlich werden und keine konkreten Resultate ergeben. Auffällig ist, daß für die Evangelien keine D-Text-Zeugen in den frühen Papyri und Majuskeln vorliegen, einzig 𝔭$^{69}$ kommt



hier in Betracht, seine Selbstandigkeit in der Auslassung von Luk 22 : 43-44 gegen D weist (vielleicht) in die Richtung, die künftige Untersuchungen nehmen sollten.

*Römerbrief*

𝔭$^{40}$ (III) Röm 1: 24-27, 31-2: 3; 3: 21-4: 8; 6: 4-5, 16; 9: 16–17, 27

33 Verse, 106 Zeilen, 7 Varianten (davon 3 Singularlesarten und 3 durch Homoioteleuton) : Auslassung von τῆς (?) vor πίστεως in 3 : 25, Auslassung von νόμον bis πίστεως in 3 : 30–31 durch Homoioteleuton, Auslassung von τὸν προπάτορα bis Ἀβραάμ in 4 : 1-2 durch Homoioteleuton, τ̣ω δε̣ εργα[ζομε]νω [ο]υ [λο]γ̣ι̣ζεται ο μ̣ισ̣θ[ος κα]τα χ̣αριν anstelle von τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐργαζομένῳ und ἑαυτοῦ in 4: 5, Auslassung von καθάπερ bis δικαιοσύνην in 4: 6 durch Homoioteleuton und διαγγέλλη in 9 : 17 (Varianten in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 33, in v. Soden 111) : freier, flüchtig geschriebener Text.

0220 (III) 4: 23-5: 3, 8-13

12 Verse, 29 Zeilen, 4 Varianten : ἐγείροντα in 4 : 24, Auslassung von τῇ πίστει in 5 : 2, in 5 : 3 nach μόνον δέ eine im einzelnen nicht festzulegende Zufügung und καυχώμενοι (Varianten in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 12, in v. Soden 47) : fester Text (?, die Varianten in 5 : 2-3 gehen mit B).

𝔭$^{27}$ (III) *8* : 12-22, 24-27, 33-9 : 3, 5-9

30 Verse, 60 Zeilen, 2 Varianten (davon 1 Singularlesart) : ἐπ ἐλπίδι in 8 : 20, ἐλευθεροῦται ἀπό in 8 : 21 (2. Hand, 1. Hand vielleicht ἠλευθερώθη ἐκ) (Varianten [in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 33, in v. Soden 98) : fester Text.

*1. Korintherbrief*

𝔭$^{15}$ (III) 7 : 18-8 : 4

27 Verse, 75 Zeilen, 10 Varianten (davon 3 Singularlesarten) : τις κέκληται in 7: 18, ἐν ᾗ ἐκλήθη in 7 : 20, παρὰ τῷ θεῷ (rekonstruiert) in 7 : 24, Auslassung von τό vor λοιπόν in 7 : 29, Auslassung von αὐτῶν vor σύμφορον sowie ἀπερισπάστους εἶναι in 7: 35, ἕστηκεν τῇ καρδίᾳ (rekonstruiert) und κέκρικεν τῇ ἰδίᾳ in 7 : 37, ποιήσει in 7 : 38, Χριστοῦ in 7 : 40 (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 44, bei v. Soden 104) : mindestens Normaltext.

*Epheserbrief*

$\mathfrak{p}^{49}$ (III) 4: 16–29, 31-5: 13

29 Verse, 49 Zeilen, 8 Varianten (davon 4 Singulirlesarten) : Auslassung von *ὑμᾶς* nach *ἀποθέσθαι* in 4: 22, *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι* in 4 : 23, Auslassung von *τῷ* vor *παροργισμῷ* in 4: 26, *ταῖς χερσὶν τὸ ἀγαθόν* in 4 : 28, Auslassung von *καί* vor *ὁ θεός* und *ἡμῖν* in 4: 32, *ἀπιστίας* in 5 : 6, Auslassung von *γάρ* vor *κρυφῇ* in 5 :12 (Varianten in Nestle-Aland[26] 28, in v. Soden 85) : mindestens Normaltext, wenn nicht mehr.

*Philipperbrief*

$\mathfrak{p}^{16}$ (III/IV) 3 :10-17 ; 4: 2-8

15 Verse, 40 Zeilen, 10 (9) Varianten (davon 4 Singulärlesarten) : Auslassung entweder von *τήν* oder *τῶν* in 3 :10 (nicht zu entscheiden, da in der Rekonstruktion), Auslassung von *καί* vor *καταλάβω* und von *καί* oder *Ἰησοῦ* (nicht zu entscheiden, da in der Rekonstruktion) in 3 :12, *οὔπω* (rekonstruiert, aber nicht sicher, der Papyrus kann nach der Durchschnittsbuchstabenzahl auch *οὐ* gehabt haben) sowie *λογίζομαι ἐμαυτόν* in 3: 13, *τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ* in 3 : 14, *ἐφθάσατε* in 3 :16, *φρονεῖτε* in 4: 2, *τῶν συνεργῶν μου (καὶ?) τῶν λοιπῶν* in 4: 3, *καὶ τὰ νοήματα καὶ τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν* in 4 : 7 (Varianten in Nestle-Aland[26] 18, in v. Soden 55) : Normaltext.

Brechen wir hier ab und wenden wir uns einer — notgedrungenermaßen kurzen — zusammenfassenden Betrachtung zu. Die hier vorgenommenen Klassifizierungen werden manchen Kollegen — den Jubilar eingeschlossen — wahrscheinlich schokkieren, sind sie doch gewohnt, den Text der hier behandelten Papyri anders zu klassifizieren : ‘stimmt mit B und Θ überein’ ($\mathfrak{p}^{6}$), ‘Mischtext ; stimmt teils mit ℵ$^{corr}$ und teils mit D überein’ ($\mathfrak{p}^{22}$) und was dergleichen mehr ist, oder ihn mindestens zu einer der späteren großen Gruppen zuzuordnen : alexandrinischer Text, C&area-Text, westlicher Text bzw. Mischung aus ihnen, was dann bis zu einer Zuordnung zum praecaesareensischen Text und ähnlichem gehen kann. Abgesehen davon, da8 die Zuordnung zu einzelnen oder mehreren, in sich ganz verschiedenen Handschriften (B und Θ!) für gewöhnlich auf willkürlich herausgegriffenen Lesarten beruht und dem Duktus des betreffenden Papyrus auf keine Weise entspricht, scheint sie den einfachsten Regeln der Logik zuwider. $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ und B kann



man vielleicht wegen ihrer überwältigenden Ubereinstimmung über lange Strecken hin so beurteilen, aber selbst hier *muß es* heißen: B stimmt mit $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ überein, niemals umgekehrt. Denn Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse verlaufen doch immer vom Früheren zum Späteren, nur das Spätere kann in seinem Charakter mit dem Früheren verglichen werden und nicht umgekehrt. Folgt man aber dieser überall geltenden Regel, so müßte es bei $\mathfrak{p}^{6}$ z.B. heißen ‘*B* und Θ stimmen mit $\mathfrak{p}^{6}$ überein’ — wobei die Sinnlosigkeit, urn nicht zu sagen Unsinnigkeit eines solchen Vergleiches deutlich sichtbar wird. Schon die für $\mathfrak{p}^{32}$ gegebene Beschreibung: ‘stimmt mit ℵ überein, ebenso mit F G’ scheint erstaunlich, bringt man sie in die logische Ordnung : ‘ℵ und F G stimmen mit $\mathfrak{p}^{6}$ überein’, wird die Unmöglichkeit einer solchen Betrachtungsweise ganz deutlich.

Darüber ließe sich noch viel sagen, lassen wir es mit diesen wenigen Sätzen genug sein. Der ‘frühe Text’, d.h. der Text des NT bis ans Ende der diokletianischen Verfolgung und bis zum Beginn der Wirkung der großen Textformen, von denen allein die alexandrinische (der spätere agyptische Text) und die antiochenische (der Koine- usw. Text) sicher zu erfassen sind, gliedert sich nach — wenigstens meinem — bisherigen Erkenntnisstand in drei Gruppen: fester Text, Normaltext, freier Text. Neben allem steht als einsame Größe der D-Text, der im ‘frühen Text’ drei bzw. vier Reprasentanten hat (von 38 !): $\mathfrak{p}^{29}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{48}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{38}$ und eventuell noch $\mathfrak{p}^{69}$. Alle diese Papyri sind offensichtlich Vorgänger, bestenfalls Geschwister des Textes von D, nicht von ihm abgeleitet. Aber das bedarf noch einer eingehenden Untersuchung (die hoffentlich in nicht zu ferner Zukunft vorgelegt werden kann).

In der vorstehenden Zusammenstellung ist versucht worden, alle hier behandelten Zeugen des frühen Textes einer der drei Gruppen zuzuweisen. Das geschah provisorisch, wie schon die mehrfach wiederkehrende Bezeichnung ‘mindestens Normaltext’ zeigt. Das geschah bei insgesamt fünf Zeugen: $\mathfrak{p}^{53}$ (für Matthäus), $\mathfrak{p}^{22}$, 0162, 0189, $\mathfrak{p}^{15}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{49}$. Eindeutig unter das Vorzeichen des ‘festen Textes’ wurden sieben Zeugen gestellt: $\mathfrak{p}^{64/67}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{1}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{70}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{35}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{39}$, 0220, $\mathfrak{p}^{27}$. Die Klassifikation ‘Normaltext’ erfolgte für ebenfalls sieben Zeugen : $\mathfrak{p}^{77}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{4}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{52}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{5}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{28}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{53}$ (fur Apostelgeschichte), $\mathfrak{p}^{16}$. Nur zwei Zeugen : $\mathfrak{p}^{37}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{40}$ wurden dem ‘freien Text’ zugeordnet. Ohne Beurteilung mußten aus und ουτος ην μ[ετ αυτου in 22: 59, auch in 22: 60 weicht $\mathfrak{p}^{69}$ vom Standard-Text erheblich ab, wahrscheinlich hat er gelesen και ετι] αυτου λαλου[ντος παραχρημα, in 22: 61 ο πετρ[ος ενεβλεψεν αυ]τω τοτε, schließlich wird in 22: 61 ὅτι vor πρίν ausgelassen (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 27, bei v. Soden 77): sehr freie Textform eines auch sonst stark variierten Textes, von allen anderen Repräsentanten dieses Typs unterschieden. Trotz gelegentlicher Berührungen mit Lesarten bei D nicht in den D-Text als Vorläufer einzuordnen, D hat die bei $\mathfrak{p}^{69}$ ausgelassenen Verse 22: 43–44 und bietet auch 22: 42 in ganz anderer Gestalt.

*Johannesevangelium*

$\mathfrak{p}^{52}$ (um 125) Joh 18: 31–33, 37–38

5 Verse, 14 Zeilen, 1 Variante (Singulärlesart): die Ausfüllung der Lücke in 18: 33 ισ[ηλθεν ουν παλιν εις το πραιτω]ριον ist nicht absolut sicher, die Auslassung von εἰς τοῦτο in 18: 37 befindet sich ebenfalls in Lücke und ist aus der Buchstabenzahl der Zeile erschlossen (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 4, bei v. Soden 21): Normaltext.

$\mathfrak{p}^{5}$ (III) Joh 1: 23–30 (31), 33–40; 16: 14–30; 20: 11–17, 19–25

48 Verse, 137 (140) Zeilen, 25 Varianten (davon 8 Singulärlesarten): Auslassung von καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ (rekonstruiert) in 1: 25, Auslassung von πάλιν (rekonstruiert) in 1: 35, Auslassung von αὐτοῦ (rekonstruiert, Angabe im Apparat von Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ ist dementsprechend zu korrigieren) in 1: 37, οἱ δέ in 1: 38 von der ersten Hand ausgelassen, von der zweiten beigefügt, αὐτῷ dafür ursprünglich im Text und vom Korrektor getilgt und λεγεται ε]ρμηνευομε[νον (aber nicht sicher, da die Zeile dann nur 25 Buchstaben hätte, μεθερμηνευόμενον würde sie auf 28 bringen, was durchaus möglich wäre, da die Buchstabenzahlen zwischen 25 und 29 liegen), in 1: 40 wird entweder Σίμωνος oder Πέτρου ausgelassen (eine Entscheidung, welches Wort fehlte, ist nicht möglich, da es sich um eine Singulärlesart handelt), in 16: 17 wird von der ersten Hand ὅτι ausgelassen (vom Korrektor eingefügt), in 16: 18 wird ὅ λέγει ausgelassen, ebenso wie mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit τό vor μικρόν, in 16: 19 vor Ἰησοῦς der Artikel, in 16: 21 steht ἡμέρα statt ὥρα, in 16: 23 hat der Papyrus die Wortfolge δώσει ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, in 16: 24



ist durch Homoioteleuton der Text von ἕως ἄρτι bis ὀνόματί μου ausgefallen (der Korrektor fügt die Auslassung als Anhang hinzu), in 16: 26 wird περὶ ὑμῶν ausgelassen, in 16: 27 fehlt (als Singulärlesart) ἐγώ vor παρά und danach der Artikel vor θεοῦ, in 16: 29 wird vom Korrektor das ursprünglich fehlende αὐτῷ nach λέγουσιν hinzugefügt, in 20: 16 bleibt es innerhalb des rekonstruierten Teils unsicher, ob διδάσκαλε oder $\overline{κε}$ gestanden hat, das zweite ist wahrscheinlicher, weil die Zeile dann 27 Buchstaben hat, was im Durchschnitt liegt, während das erste 34 Buchstaben ergäbe, in 20: 19 läßt die erste Hand καί vor λέγει aus (vom Korrektor hinzugefügt). Auffällig ist der Variantenbestand in 20: 24–25. Hier scheint der Papyrus mit ℵ* übereinzustimmen: wie dieser liest er ὅτε οὖν (rekonstruiert) in 20: 24, läßt in 20: 25 zunächst das οὖν nach ἔλεγον aus, dann das ἄλλοι vor μαθηταί und schließlich das οὖν nach χερσίν. Allerdings befinden sich alle diese Vorkommnisse im rekonstruierten Bestand, wobei die niedrige sich so ergebende Buchstabenzahl (23/25/25/25 in den Zeilen 24–27 von Bv$^{0}$) deutlich unter dem Durchschnitt liegt. Deshalb ist in 20: 24 höchstwahrscheinlich der Artikel vor Ἰησοῦς einzufügen, was gegen ℵ ginge. (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 88, bei v. Soden 279): Normaltext.

$\mathfrak{p}^{80}$ (III) Joh 3: 34

1 Vers, 3 Zeilen, 1 Variante: ἐκ μέρους statt ἐκ μέτρου (Variantenzahl bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 1, bei v. Soden 4). Über den Textcharakter ist wegen der Kürze des gebotenen Textes nichts zu sagen (weithin Rekonstruktion); das mit Sicherheit zu lesende ἐκ μέρους wird bezeugt von $\mathfrak{p}^{66*}$, 030, 1223 al, aber es können daraus keine weiterführenden Schlüsse gezogen werden.

$\mathfrak{p}^{28}$ (III) Joh 6: 8–12, 17–22

11 Verse, 23 Zeilen, 4 Varianten: in 6: 10 offensichtlich ὡσεί (rekonstruiert), in 6: 11 ἔδωκεν, in 6: 17 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐληλύθει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, in 6: 22 εἶδεν (ἴδεν) (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 16, bei v. Soden 75): Normaltext.

$\mathfrak{p}^{39}$ (III) Joh 8: 14–22

9 Verse, 50 Zeilen, 1 Variante: ἡ μαρτυρία μου ἀληθής ἐστιν in 8: 14 (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 9, bei v. Soden 57): fester Text (charakteristischerweise geht $\mathfrak{p}^{39}$ bei seiner Abweichung vom Standardtext mit $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ und B zusammen).

$\mathfrak{p}^{22}$ (III) Joh 15: 25–16: 2, 21–32

17 Verse, 37 Zeilen, 2 Varianten: ὅτι ἐάν in 16: 23 (anscheinend Singulärlesart), in 16: 27 ganz offensichtlich τοῦ θεοῦ (wenn auch rekonstruiert), in 16: 32 καὶ ἐμέ (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 24, bei v. Soden 81): Normaltext, wenn nicht mehr.

0162 (III/IV) Joh 2: 11–22

12 Verse, 38 Zeilen, 5 Varianten: μετὰ ταῦτα und Auslassung von αὐτοῦ nach ἀδελφοί in 2: 12, ὡς φραγέλλιον und τὰ κέρματα in 2: 15, ᾠκοδομήθη in 2: 20 (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 14, bei v. Soden 65): Normaltext, wenn nicht mehr (in drei der fünf Varianten geht 0162 bezeichnenderweise mit $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ zusammen).

*Apostelgeschichte*

0189 (II/III) Apg 5: 3–21

19 Verse, 66 Zeilen, 6 Varianten: ἐγίνοντο (εγεινοντο) und πάντες in 5: 12, οὐθείς in 5: 13, συνήρχοντο in 5: 16, ἤνοιξε (ηνυξε) und δέ statt τε in 5: 19 (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 32, bei v. Soden 118): Normaltext, wenn nicht mehr (vier der Varianten gehen bezeichnenderweise mit B zusammen).

$\mathfrak{p}^{53}$ (III) Apg 9: 33–10: 1 (+Matt 26, s. dort)

12 Verse, 37 Zeilen, 6 Varianten: 'Ιησοῦς ὁ Χριστός (?) in 9: 34, Λύδδαν καὶ Σαρῶνα in 9: 35, ἀγαθῶν ἔργων in 9: 36, ὅλης 'Ιόππης in 9: 42 und ἑκατόνταρχος in 10: 1 (Varianten in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 13, in v. Soden 58): Normaltext.

$\mathfrak{p}^{29}$ (III) Apg 26: 7–8, 20

$\mathfrak{p}^{48}$ (III) Apg 23: 11–17, 23–29

$\mathfrak{p}^{38}$ (um 300, III/IV?) Apg 18: 27–19: 6, 12–16

Alle drei Papyri sind (wenn auch bei $\mathfrak{p}^{29}$ mit einiger Zurückhaltung wegen des zu geringen Textbestandes) als Vorfahren bzw. Geschwister des D-Textes anzusehen, von dem sie allerdings selbständig abweichen. Sie bedürfen einer Sonderuntersuchung, eine Kollation gegen den 'Standard-Text' würde wegen ihres grundsätzlich verschiedenen Charakters unübersichtlich werden und keine konkreten Resultate ergeben. Auffällig ist, daß für die Evangelien keine D-Text-Zeugen in den frühen Papyri und Majuskeln vorliegen, einzig $\mathfrak{p}^{69}$ kommt



hier in Betracht, seine Selbständigkeit in der Auslassung von Luk 22: 43–44 gegen D weist (vielleicht) in die Richtung, die künftige Untersuchungen nehmen sollten.

*Römerbrief*

$\mathfrak{p}^{40}$ (III) Röm 1: 24–27, 31–2: 3; 3: 21–4: 8; 6: 4–5, 16; 9: 16–17, 27

33 Verse, 106 Zeilen, 7 Varianten (davon 3 Singulärlesarten und 3 durch Homoioteleuton): Auslassung von τῆς (?) vor πίστεως in 3: 25, Auslassung von νόμον bis πίστεως in 3: 30–31 durch Homoioteleuton, Auslassung von τὸν προπάτορα bis Ἀβραάμ in 4: 1–2 durch Homoioteleuton, τω δε εργα[ζομε]νω [ο]υ [λο]γιζεται ο μισθ[ος κα]τα χαριν anstelle von τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐργαζομένῳ und ἑαυτοῦ in 4: 5, Auslassung von καθάπερ bis δικαιοσύνην in 4: 6 durch Homoioteleuton und διαγγέλλῃ in 9: 17 (Varianten in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 33, in v. Soden 111): freier, flüchtig geschriebener Text.

0220 (III) 4: 23–5: 3, 8–13

12 Verse, 29 Zeilen, 4 Varianten: ἐγείροντα in 4: 24, Auslassung von τῇ πίστει in 5: 2, in 5: 3 nach μόνον δέ eine im einzelnen nicht festzulegende Zufügung und καυχώμενοι (Varianten in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 12, in v. Soden 47): fester Text (?, die Varianten in 5: 2–3 gehen mit B).

$\mathfrak{p}^{27}$ (III) 8: 12–22, 24–27, 33–9: 3, 5–9

30 Verse, 60 Zeilen, 2 Varianten (davon 1 Singulärlesart): ἐπ ἐλπίδι in 8: 20, ἐλευθεροῦται ἀπό in 8: 21 (2. Hand, 1. Hand vielleicht ἠλευθερώθη ἐκ) (Varianten in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 33, in v. Soden 98): fester Text.

*1. Korintherbrief*

$\mathfrak{p}^{15}$ (III) 7: 18–8: 4

27 Verse, 75 Zeilen, 10 Varianten (davon 3 Singulärlesarten): τις κέκληται in 7: 18, ἐν ᾗ ἐκλήθη in 7: 20, παρὰ τῷ θεῷ (rekonstruiert) in 7: 24, Auslassung von τό vor λοιπόν in 7: 29, Auslassung von αὐτῶν vor σύμφορον sowie ἀπερισπάστους εἶναι in 7: 35, ἕστηκεν τῇ καρδίᾳ (rekonstruiert) und κέκρικεν τῇ ἰδίᾳ in 7: 37, ποιήσει in 7: 38, Χριστοῦ in 7: 40 (Varianten bei Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 44, bei v. Soden 104): mindestens Normaltext.

*Epheserbrief*

𝔭$^{49}$ (III) 4: 16–29, 31–5: 13

29 Verse, 49 Zeilen, 8 Varianten (davon 4 Singulärlesarten): Auslassung von *ὑμᾶς* nach *ἀποθέσθαι* in 4: 22, *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι* in 4: 23, Auslassung von *τῷ* vor *παροργισμῷ* in 4: 26, *ταῖς χερσὶν τὸ ἀγαθόν* in 4: 28, Auslassung von *καί* vor *ὁ θεός* und *ἡμῖν* in 4: 32, *ἀπιστίας* in 5: 6, Auslassung von *γάρ* vor *κρυφῇ* in 5: 12 (Varianten in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 28, in v. Soden 85): mindestens Normaltext, wenn nicht mehr.

*Philipperbrief*

𝔭$^{16}$ (III/IV) 3: 10–17; 4: 2–8

15 Verse, 40 Zeilen, 10 (9) Varianten (davon 4 Singulärlesarten): Auslassung entweder von *τήν* oder *τῶν* in 3: 10 (nicht zu entscheiden, da in der Rekonstruktion), Auslassung von *καί* vor *καταλάβω* und von *καί* oder *'Ιησοῦ* (nicht zu entscheiden, da in der Rekonstruktion) in 3: 12, *οὔπω* (rekonstruiert, aber nicht sicher, der Papyrus kann nach der Durchschnittsbuchstabenzahl auch *οὐ* gehabt haben) sowie *λογίζομαι ἐμαυτόν* in 3: 13, *τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν 'Ιησοῦ Χριστῷ* in 3: 14, *ἐφθάσατε* in 3: 16, *φρονεῖτε* in 4: 2, *τῶν συνεργῶν μου (καὶ?) τῶν λοιπῶν* in 4: 3, *καὶ τὰ νοήματα καὶ τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν* in 4: 7 (Varianten in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ 18, in v. Soden 55): Normaltext.

Brechen wir hier ab und wenden wir uns einer — notgedrungenermaßen kurzen — zusammenfassenden Betrachtung zu. Die hier vorgenommenen Klassifizierungen werden manchen Kollegen — den Jubilar eingeschlossen — wahrscheinlich schokkieren, sind sie doch gewohnt, den Text der hier behandelten Papyri anders zu klassifizieren: 'stimmt mit B und Θ überein' (𝔭$^{6}$), 'Mischtext; stimmt teils mit ℵ$^{corr}$ und teils mit D überein' (𝔭$^{22}$) und was dergleichen mehr ist, oder ihn mindestens zu einer der späteren großen Gruppen zuzuordnen: alexandrinischer Text, Cäsarea-Text, westlicher Text bzw. Mischung aus ihnen, was dann bis zu einer Zuordnung zum praecaesareensischen Text und ähnlichem gehen kann. Abgesehen davon, daß die Zuordnung zu einzelnen oder mehreren, in sich ganz verschiedenen Handschriften (B und Θ!) für gewöhnlich auf willkürlich herausgegriffenen Lesarten beruht und dem Duktus des betreffenden Papyrus auf keine Weise entspricht, scheint sie den einfachsten Regeln der Logik zuwider. 𝔭$^{75}$ und B kann



man vielleicht wegen ihrer überwältigenden Übereinstimmung über lange Strecken hin so beurteilen, aber selbst hier *muß* es heißen: B stimmt mit 𝔭$^{75}$ überein, niemals umgekehrt. Denn Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse verlaufen doch immer vom Früheren zum Späteren, nur das Spätere kann in seinem Charakter mit dem Früheren verglichen werden und nicht umgekehrt. Folgt man aber dieser überall geltenden Regel, so müßte es bei 𝔭$^{6}$ z.B. heißen '*B* und Θ stimmen mit 𝔭$^{6}$ überein' — wobei die Sinnlosigkeit, um nicht zu sagen Unsinnigkeit eines solchen Vergleiches deutlich sichtbar wird. Schon die für 𝔭$^{32}$ gegebene Beschreibung: 'stimmt mit ℵ überein, ebenso mit F G' scheint erstaunlich, bringt man sie in die logische Ordnung: 'ℵ und F G stimmen mit 𝔭$^{6}$ überein', wird die Unmöglichkeit einer solchen Betrachtungsweise ganz deutlich.

Darüber ließe sich noch viel sagen, lassen wir es mit diesen wenigen Sätzen genug sein. Der 'frühe Text', d.h. der Text des NT bis ans Ende der diokletianischen Verfolgung und bis zum Beginn der Wirkung der großen Textformen, von denen allein die alexandrinische (der spätere ägyptische Text) und die antiochenische (der Koine- usw. Text) sicher zu erfassen sind, gliedert sich nach — wenigstens meinem — bisherigen Erkenntnisstand in drei Gruppen: fester Text, Normaltext, freier Text. Neben allem steht als einsame Größe der D-Text, der im 'frühen Text' drei bzw. vier Repräsentanten hat (von 38!): 𝔭$^{29}$, 𝔭$^{48}$, 𝔭$^{38}$ und eventuell noch 𝔭$^{69}$. Alle diese Papyri sind offensichtlich Vorgänger, bestenfalls Geschwister des Textes von D, nicht von ihm abgeleitet. Aber das bedarf noch einer eingehenden Untersuchung (die hoffentlich in nicht zu ferner Zukunft vorgelegt werden kann).

In der vorstehenden Zusammenstellung ist versucht worden, alle hier behandelten Zeugen des frühen Textes einer der drei Gruppen zuzuweisen. Das geschah provisorisch, wie schon die mehrfach wiederkehrende Bezeichnung 'mindestens Normaltext' zeigt. Das geschah bei insgesamt fünf Zeugen: 𝔭$^{53}$ (für Matthäus), 𝔭$^{22}$, 0162, 0189, 𝔭$^{15}$, 𝔭$^{49}$. Eindeutig unter das Vorzeichen des 'festen Textes' wurden sieben Zeugen gestellt: 𝔭$^{64/67}$, 𝔭$^{1}$, 𝔭$^{70}$, 𝔭$^{35}$, 𝔭$^{39}$, 0220, 𝔭$^{27}$. Die Klassifikation 'Normaltext' erfolgte für ebenfalls sieben Zeugen: 𝔭$^{77}$, 𝔭$^{4}$, 𝔭$^{52}$, 𝔭$^{5}$, 𝔭$^{28}$, 𝔭$^{53}$ (für Apostelgeschichte), 𝔭$^{16}$. Nur zwei Zeugen: 𝔭$^{37}$, 𝔭$^{40}$ wurden dem 'freien Text' zugeordnet. Ohne Beurteilung mußten aus den jeweils angegebenen Gründen bleiben : 02 12, $\mathfrak{p}^{80}$ (Reihenfolge bei allen Aufzählungen jeweils wie auf den vorstehenden Seiten).

Mag der Textkritiker nun über die Nomenklatur und das ganze System denken, wie er will : eins wird er zugeben müssen, und das ist m.E. ein Resultat, das die ganze Untersuchung bereits lohnt : das bisherige Bild vom friihen Text muß revidiert werden. Nicht $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ und $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ repräsentieren den Textcharakter der friihen Zeit, wie wir bisher meinten, und $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ stellt in ihm nicht eine einsame Ausnahme dar. Sondern neben $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ steht eine zahlreiche Zahl von Zeugen von den Anfängen an bis hin zum 3./4. Jahrhundert, die auf ähnliche Weise wie er den ursprünglichen Text zäh festhalten und von ihm nur geringfügig abweichen, und zwar in allen Schriftengruppen des NT. Gewiß handelt es sich bei den hier betrachteten Papyri und Unzialen nur urn Zeugen für kleinere Textstücke. Aber wenn wir die Zahl der Varianten ansehen, die sich in der Uberlieferung in diesen Textstücken finden (und sie ist gewiß noch höher als im kritischen Apparat bei v. Soden!), scheint der Schluß a minore ad maius nicht nur gestattet, sondern geboten. Nur zwei der vorstehend betrachteten 27 friihen Zeugen (bzw. 25, wenn wir 0212 und $\mathfrak{p}^{80}$ in Abzug bringen), bieten einen ähnlich 'freien Text' wie $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ und $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$.

Und schließlich, urn zum Ausgangspunkt und zum Anlaß dieser Untersuchung zurückzulehren: der neue 'Standard-Text' hat die Probe an den frühen Papyri und Majuskeln bestanden. Er entspricht in der Tat dem Text der Frühzeit. Was dessen Zeugen an Abweichungen von ihm bieten, liegt in der normalen Variationsbreite neutestamentlicher Überlieferung. Nirgendwann und nirgendwo finden wir hier Lesarten, die eine Anderung des 'Standard-Textes' geböten. Wenn die hier in aller Kiirze und Gedrängtheit angestellten Untersuchungen einmal vollständig vorgelegt werden können, wird der jeder Variante beigegebene ausführliche Apparat auch den letzten Zweifler davon überzeugen. Hundert Jahre nach Westcott-Hort scheint das Ziel einer Ausgabe des NT 'in the original Greek' erreicht. Weder der Jubilar noch der Verfasser dieser Betrachtungen wird bei dieser Feststellung der Selbstsicherheit Westcott-Horts verfallen. Denn der kritische Apparat des neuen Nestle mit seinem umfangreichen Material bietet Anlaß zu



vielen nachdenklichen Betrachtungen. Aber im Rahmen des bisher Möglichen scheint das angestrebte Ziel doch erreicht, die Schriften des NT in der Textform zu bieten, die der am nächsten kommt, in der sie aus der Hand des Verfassers bzw. Redaktors ihren Weg in die Kirche des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts antraten.

# 2 1. Abschreibpraktiken und Schreibergewohnheiten in ihrer Auswirkung auf die Textiiberlieferung

KLAUS JUNACK

DIE Analyse komplexer Handlungen und Ablaufe, nicht nur im Bereich von Naturwissenschaft und Technik, sondern auch im humanwissenschaftlichen Bereich, ist erst seit einiger Zeit, nicht zuletzt unter dem Einfluß von Verhaltensforschung und Psychologie verstärkt in Angriff genommen worden. Die Ergebnisse der meisten dieser Untersuchungen können vielleicht nicht an invent&en Aufsätzen früherer Generationen gemessen werden, weisen aber doch verblüffende Konsequenzen auf; ihr Verdienst liegt dabei häufig nur in der Zusammenschau von Einzelzügen und Detailbeobachtungen, die einzeln genommen trivial erscheinen, wie selbstverständlich wirken oder schon in anderen Zusammenhangen dargestellt wurden. Aber ihre Aufgabe ist es schließlich nur, in der Zusammenordnung der Einzelphanomene und der Darstellung ihrer Bezogenheiten Vorgänge und Ablaufe transparent zu machen. Erst so ergeben sich mit der nötigen Deutlichkeit die sachlichen oder situationsbedingten Voraussetzungen, die entsprechenden Abhangigkeiten und die daraus zu ziehenden Schlußfolgerungen und Erkenntnisse.

Ich möchte den Versuch wagen, auf dieser Linie einem Vorgang genauer nachzugehen, der implizit und explizit immer wieder in den Handbüchern und Spezialwerken angesprochen, aber lange Zeit nur wie eine Nebensachlichkeit behandelt wurde, dem Akt des Abschreibens, dem Akt des manuellen Kopierens griechischer Texte im Rahmen ihrer handschriftlichen Uberlieferung speziell zur Zeit der Spatantike, also in der sogenannten Frühzeit der neutestamentlichen Textgeschichte. Dabei kann es sich hier nur urn einen ersten Versuch handeln, der von den wenigen Vorarbeiten zu diesem Kopmlex ausgehen soll und nur die Grundphanomene ansprechen kann.

Eine einigermaßen erschöpfende Darstellung der Erscheinungen würde den vorgegebenen Umfang sprengen, aber auch eine sehr lange Zeit der Vorarbeit verlangen und eine themabezogene Behandlung aller frühen Handschriften und Fragmente voraussetzen. So können hier nur die Grundfragen angerissen werden und muß — ebenfalls aus Raumgründen — auf eine umfangreiche Dokumentation verzichtet werden.

Eine wesentliche Anregung zu dem Versuch, das Abschreiben genauer zu analysieren, habe ich — neben meiner speziellen Tätigkeit im Institut fiir neutestamentliche Textforschung und den mir hier gestellten Aufgaben in Handschriftenforschung und Unterricht von Studenten — direkt und indirekt durch Bruce M. Metzger, seinem vielseitigen Oeuvre und nicht zuletzt seinen Ausführungen zu diesem Thema[1] empfangen. Er, dem dieser Aufsatz daher in aller Bescheidenheit und Verehrung gewidmet sein soll, hat nämlich in seinen vielen und vielseitigen Veröffentlichungen gerade diesem Aspekt immer wieder einen gewissen Raum eingeräumt und sich nicht damit begnügt, Vorfindlichkeiten festzustellen oder die Deutungen anderer zu referieren, sondern ist mehr als andere auch den sachlichen und inhärenten Begründungen und Bedingtheiten nachgegangen. Neben der profunden Einzelkenntnis und einer immensen Erfahrung, die bei allen uneingeschränkte Bewunderung findet, scheint mir gerade diese Tatsache einen wesentlichen Grund für die Anerkennung und den Erfolg darzustellen, die der Jubilar in seiner Lehrtatigkeit und in seinen Veröffentlichungen gefunden hat; sie sollte allen Jüngeren zum Vorbild und Ansporn dienen.

Daß handschriftliche Wieder- und Weitergabe von Texten mit einer Fülle von Schwierigkeiten und Fehlern verbunden ist, wurde immer in den Standardwerken hervorgehoben, liegt auf der Hand und gehört in den Erfahrungsbereich eines jeden, der durch die Schule gegangen ist und schreiben lernte. Die speziellen Fehlermöglichkeiten beim Abschreiben, sowohl die unwillentlichen, aber auch die willentlichen hat dabei jeder an sich selbst erfahren. Gerade diese Tatsache jedoch scheint es vornehmlich zu sein, die dazu verführt, vorschnell die eigene Erfahrung mit der der damaligen Schreiber zu identifizieren, die eigenen Schwächen

[1] Vor allem ist hier zu nennen sein pädagogisch so geglücktes Handbuch *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (2nd edn.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).



und Schwierigkeiten bei diesem Vorgang auf die damalige Zeit zu projizieren und somit die Einzelprobleme des Abschreibens vorschnell als allgemein bekannt oder wenigstens als allgemein vorstellbar anzusehen und dann aus diesem Grund nicht näher zu untersuchen. Die Arbeiten und Veröffentlichungen des vorigen Jahrhunderts, aber auch die Standardwerke und Handbücher aus der ersten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts können insgesamt als Beleg dafür herangezogen werden. Selbst in Spezialwerken des antiken Buchwesens und der griechischen Palaographie wurde in größter Ausführlichkeit über die Materialseite gesprochen, wurden Beschreibstoffe, Schreib- und Schreiberutensilien anhand der alten Quellen und der archäologischen Funde genauestens beschrieben, wurden anhand der sehr sparlichen Angaben über Schreib- und Buchwesen viele Schlüsse über diesen Bereich gewagt, der eigentliche Vorgang des Schreibens, die dabei zu beobachtenden oder vorauszusetzenden Einzelstadien und ihre speziellen Probleme kamen dabei aber regelmäßig zu kurz. Aber auch die Fehlermöglichkeiten wurden meist nur recht allgemein angesprochen, aber selten und dann nur vordergründig mit den Einzelstadien des Vorganges 'Abschreiben' in Verbindung gebracht. Die 'Diktat-Hypothese' mag als typisches Musterbeispiel dafür dienen und zeigt die Problematik mit überraschender Deutlichkeit; sie soll hier, und zwar nur unter diesem Gesichtspunkt, kurz anhand von T. C. Skeat's Akademiebericht 'The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production'2 dargestellt werden. Nach einer Klage darüber, daß selbst moderne Standardwerke wenig oder gar nichts iiber den Vorgang des Schreibens ausführen, geht Skeat der Frage nach, auf wen und auf welche Quellen die Diktat-Hypothese, die immer wieder in der Literatur auftaucht, zurückzuführen ist. Das Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung ist ausgesprochen mager, aber in unserem Sinne symptomatisch: Die Quellen sind sehr vieldeutig und erlauben Interpretationen in ganz verschiedenen Richtungen; die als Gewährsleute für die Diktat-Hypothese angeführten Namen und Werke bieten allenfalls Andeutungen und Vermutungen, keine eindeutigen Quellen und Beweise. Die zunächst als möglich oder vorstellbar dargestellte Hypothese wird später mit steigender Bestimmtheit vertreten, Namen

[2] T. C. Skeat, 'The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production', *Proceedings of the British Academy 42* (London: Oxford, 1956), 179–208.

und Erwägungen treten an die Stelle von Quellen, und innerhalb einer gewissen Zeit ist aus einer theoretischen Möglichkeit eine schon immer vertretene Wirklichkeit geworden.3 Dennoch glaubt Skeat, genügend Gründe und Argumente für seine Auffassung zu haben, daß wenigstens im kommerziellen Bereich antike Texte in der Regel nach Diktat kopiert wurden, also von einem Vorleser vorgetragen und nach diesem Diktat von einer größeren Zahl von Lohnschreibern oder Sklaven gleichzeitig niedergeschrieben wurden. Während für ihn in dem zusammen mit H. J. M. Milne veröffentlichten minutiösen Werk Scribes *and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*[4] die Diktat-Hypothese die einzige Erklärung für die vielen Schreibversehen und besonders für die teilweise erschreckende Fülle von orthographischen Fehlern in dieser kalligraphisch einmaligen Handschrift war, modifizierte er nun seine Argumentation, besonders aufgrund der minutiösen Beweisführung von A. Dain, daß auch Abschreiben durch einen einzelnen immer Diktat, allerdings Selbst-Diktat ist, aber auch aufgrund der kritischen Besprechungen der *Scribes and Correctors* durch Kirsopp Lake und H. A. Sanders : 'I would admit, that we had not given sufficient weight to the possibilities of "subconscious dictation"; but even so it seems to me hard to believe that errors on the limitless scale indulged in by Scribe B in particular can be produced by such means's schränkt er ein. Zwei Handschriftennotizen, in denen für den Korrekturvorgang einmal das Vorlesen durch einen anderen, einmal die Lektüre der Vorlage durch den Korrektor selbst vorausgesetzt wird, führen Skeat zu dem Schluß, dass wie beim Korrigieren auch beim Schreiben zwei Personen beteiligt sein können, zumindest also beide Formen nebeneinander angewendet wurden. 'But at least we have been able to envisage a situation

[3] Skeat, 'Use of Dictation', 185: 'He quotes his own two earlier books, neither of which, as we have seen, seriously discusses the matter, and attempts to bolster up his bald assertions about dictation with a few miscellaneous quotations, most of them quite inconclusive since they refer to authors dictating their own literary works, which is, of course, a commonplace of every age and civilization, and has absolutely no bearing on methods of commercial book-production. The only really telling point he makes is that which has just been mentioned, viz. that the writing position normally adopted would have made visual copying very difficult, if not impossible; but this is very far from proving the dictation theory'.

[4] H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum, 1938), esp. 51-g.

[5] Skeat 'Use of Dictation', 192–3.



in which, above all others, dictation is likely to have been used to enable the manuscripts to be produced in the shortest time possible',6 beharrt er bei seinen Überlegungen, obwohl in sehr speziellen Gegenargumenten aufgrund von Verlaufs- und Zeitanalysen nachgewiesen wurde, daß durch Diktieren kaum Zeit gewonnen werden kann.[7] In der Zusammenfassung driickt Skeat die Hoffnung aus, daß künftig in einer exakten Fehleranalyse doch weitere Beweise für die Diktat-Hypothese erbracht werden könnten. 'While identical visual errors and identical phonetic errors may be made by different scribes, the mistakes due to lack of liaison between scribe and dictator are more likely to be different in each case. As a result, a dictated manuscript may be expected to contain a larger or smaller number of *singular* errors ; and this is in fact the case with most of the manuscripts which have been examined above'.[8]

Ich bin überzeugt, daß in diesem vorbildlich gearbeiteten Artikel die Argumentation und die Schlußfolgerung eine andere Richtung erhalten hätte, wenn dem Vorgang Abschreiben in allen seinen Aspekten und Konsequenzen seit längerem ein spezielleres Augenmerk gewidmet worden ware und die wenigen bereits vorliegenden Arbeiten oder Teildarstellungen zu diesem Thema, das allerdings mehr technischer und nur mittelbar philologischer Natur ist, eine breitere Würdigung und Anerkennung gefunden hätten. Dabei erkennt Skeat durchaus an, daß in jener profunden Veröffentlichung 'Voces paginarum' J. Balogh[9] 'established once and for all that in the ancient world all readers, whether of books or documents, normally pronounced aloud the words as they read them, and that the silent reading which is so universal today was then looked upon as something phenomenal'.[10] Aber die Folgerungen, die A. Dain aus diesem spezifischen Aspekt in einer Systematisierung des Abschreibevorganges und im Hinblick auf die Diktat-Hypothese gezogen hatte, ohne allerdings nähere Beweise und Belege zu bieten, konnten Skeat nicht überzeugen.

Dain hatte 1949 in seinem Buch *Les Manuscrits*,[11] das als der

[6] Ibid., 197.

[7] K. Ohly, 'Stichometrische Untersuchungen', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 61 (Leipzig, 1928; reprint Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968).

[8] Skeat, 'Use of Dictation', 207–8.

[9] *Philologus* 82 (1927), 84–109, 202–40.

[10] Skeat, 'Use of Dictation', 187.

[11] A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits* (Paris: 'Les belles-lettres', 1949; 1964²).

Grundstein für die neue Hilfswissenschaft Kodikologie angesehen werden kann und auch von Skeat hoch gewertet wird, als 'containing within its brief compass an extraordinary wealth of information and acute observation by an acknowledged master in the field of ancient manuscripts and textual transmission',[12] deutlich zu machen versucht, daß jedem Schreibvorgang immer ein Diktat zugrunde liegt, dieses aber durchaus nicht auf einen Vorleser zurückgeführt werden muß, sondern ebenso gut durch den Schreiber selbst erfolgen kann. Dain unterscheidet dabei vier Stadien fur das Abschreiben : 1. *La lecture du modèle*, 2. *la rétention du texte, 3. la dictée intérieure, 4. jeu de main.*[13] Wichtig dabei ist, daß die manuelle Reproduktion eines Textes immer nach einem inneren Diktat erfolgt, also alle Fehler, die Skeat vornehmlich durch Fremd-Diktat entstanden deutet, ebensogut auch bei der Einzelabschrift entstanden sein können.

Skeat meint dagegen, 'that the case made out by M. Dain for rejecting the dictation theory is not wholly convincing'.[14] Tatsächlich muß man zugeben, daß die Stadien 1 und 2 — 4 durchaus auch auf verschiedene Personen verteilt gewesen sein können, ohne das Verlaufsschema von Dain modifizieren zu müssen. Ob der zu kopierende Text durch einen Vorleser oder den Kopisten selbst dem, der da abschreibt, bewußt gemacht wird, bleibt in gewissem Maße gleich. Denn stets ist es nur das *gesprochene* Wort, das die Brücke zwischen Vorlage und Abschreiber und so zu seinem den Text dann reproduzierenden Geist bildet. Ferner liegt es wohl daran, daß im 3. Stadium nur von einer *dictke intérieure* gesprochen wird, die zugegebenermaßen jedem Schreiben zugrunde liegt. Hier wirken wieder, wie mir scheint, die oben erwähnten allgemeinen Erfahrungen und Erlebnisformen des eigenen Schreibens behindernd nach, die auf die Situation der alten Schreiber übertragen werden, ohne sich ihre spezielle Situation zu vergegenwartigen und ohne das von Balogh aus den Quellen eindeutig belegte Phänomen des lauten Lesens sachlich zu analysieren, auf seine Bedingtheit zu untersuchen und auf den Ablauf bezogen anzuwenden.

Die Bedingungen beim Lesen sind aber vom Altertum bis ins Mittelalter wesentlich andere gewesen als die heutigen und mit modernen Verhaltnissen nicht zu vergleichen. Eine Handschrift, selbst kalligraphisch exakt und ohne individuelle Eigenwilligkeit in der Buchstabengestaltung (von daher fast den modernen Drucktypen vergleichbar), aber in der *scriptio continua* geschrieben, kann nicht gelesen werden, wie wir es tun, d.h. kann nicht durch ausschließlich optisches Erfassen der deutlich gegliederten Worteinheiten aufgenommen und verstanden werden. Wenn aber die optisch erfaßbaren Abgrenzungen und Elementgliederungen fehlen, bedarf der Lesende zwangslaufig einer anderen Rezeptionsform, die ihm das sinnhafte Erfassen des Gelesenen ermöglicht oder doch wenigstens neben dem optischen Vorgang eine zusätzliche Hilfe bietet. In diesem Bereich muß mit Sicherheit das von Balogh so überzeugend aus den Quellen erhobene Phänomen, daß alles Lesen im Altertum lautes Lesen oder gar Deklamieren war, seinen 'Sitz im Leben' haben. Denn eine kontinuierliche Buchstabenkette kann zwar auch mit den Augen kontinuierlich oder in Lautelementen zusammengefaßt abgetastet werden, dann aber bedarf es notwendigerweise der sinnvollen Zusammenordnung des so Gelesenen. Diese Zusammenordnung kann nur erfolgen durch eine parallel laufende akustische Umsetzung, denn nur so ist — durch Artikulierung — der Sinngehalt des Gelesenen analog zur gesprochenen Sprache zu erfassen. Der vornehmlich wirksame Sensus kann also nur das Gehör des Lesenden sein, der den ins Akustische umgesetzten Buchstabenketten ihren Sinngehalt abgewinnt.

Neben den literarischen von Balogh zusammengetragenen Belegen kann aber auch auf eine Reihe anderer Erscheinungen in den Handschriften hingewiesen werden, die direkt oder indirekt die geschilderte Form des Lesens belegen. Bis ins 8. Jahrhundert weisen die Handschriften nur sehr wenige, aber ganz charakteristische Lesehilfen auf, die auf diese Form des Lesens bezogen sind. Zunächst ist hier die sogen. Dihärese zu nennen, jene meist zwei diakritischeu Punkte über Jota und Ypsilon, die dem Leser einen neuen Anlaut signalisieren und somit verhindern, daß etwa bei vokalischem Auslaut Jota oder Ypsilon als Element eines Diphthonges erfaßt werden und so beim Lesen, d.h. beim Lautieren des Textes zu lautlichen Sinnlosigkeiten und damit zu textlichen Mißverständnissen führen.

Gleiche Funktion haben jene Kennungen — meist deutliche Uberstreichungen — für Zahlen und in den christlichen Texten

[12] Skeat, 'Use of Dictation', 190.
[13] Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, 40–5.
[14] Skeat, 'Use of Dictation', 190.

für die Nomina sacra. In der kontinuierlichen Buchstabenkette sind diese den Silben- und damit den Sprachfluß abrupt unterbrechenden Einzelbuchstaben oder Buchstabenkombinationen mit spezifischen Laut- und Wortwerten, die nur auf einer internen Konvention beruhen, also Symbol- oder Chriffrencharakter haben, deutlich und zwangslaufig vom Kontext abzuheben und für den Leser zu markieren, um ihm den ‘Systemwechsel’ zu signalisieren und sein Umdenken zu bewirken.

Auch die gelegentlich zu beobachtende Markierung von Fremdwörtern, Orts- oder Eigennamen, besonders wenn sie ungriechisch sind, gehört in diesen Zusammenhang ; bei diesen Buchstabenkombinationen, die ja auch eigentlich einen Systembruch allerdings nur im Sprachlichen darstellen, wird der gesamte Wortumfang oder doch wenigstens das Wortende markiert, urn die sinnverwirrende oder sinnentstellende Zusammenfassung von Teilen des Eigennamens mit Teilen des Kontextes oder Folgetextes zu vermeiden.[15]

Von den schon in einigen poetischen Texten benutzten prosodischen Zeichen, die die Grundlage für das spätere Akzentsystem bilden, finden dagegen in die spätantiken Handschriften vornehmlich Eingang die Zeichen für vokalischen Anlaut und da auch meist nur der Spiritus asper. Das geschieht aber nur sehr unregelmäßig und beschränkt sich bei einzelnen Handschriften auf wenige Laut- oder Wortformen, etwa um Artikel, Relativpronomina oder andere Kurzwörter deutlicher als solche zu kennzeichnen und Verwechslungen mit buchstaben- oder lautgleichen Wörtern zu vermeiden.[16]

Die wenigen anderen Zeichen, die in manchen Handschriften vorkommen, aber nur sehr unregelmäßig gesetzt sind wie der Hyphen, der lautliche und damit sprachliche Einheiten markiert,[17] oder die Diastole, in der Spätantike graphisch damit fast identisch und für die Abgrenzung von Wörtern oder Wortfugen benutzt, besonders wenn ungewöhnliche Auslaute vorliegen,[18]

[15] Z. B. 𝔭[66] (Joh 5: 2) ·ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΘΡΑ· ; 𝔭[72] (2 Pet 2: 15) TOYBAAAAM'TOYBOCOP'.

[16] 𝔭[75] z.B. unterscheidet die Zahlwörter EIC, EN, ЄΞ (Luk 22: 50; 12: 6; 13: 14) von den optisch und akustisch gleichen Prapositionen durch Spiritus asper; in Joh 10: 12 differenziert er zwischen OY (Relativum) und OY (Negation) ebenfalls durch Spiritus asper.

[17] In den Papyri sehr häufig für Konsonantenverdoppelung und Verbindungen von zwei Gutturalen angewandt.

[18] Z. B. 𝔭[75] (Joh 3: 6) CAPΞ'; in 𝔭[72] auch zur Trennung gleicher Vokale benutzt: AE'EKACTON TE'EXEIN (2 Pet 1: 15).



gehören schon nicht mehr zum zwangslaufig notwendigen Bestand der Lesehilfen in spätantiken Handschriften, liegen aber auf der angesprochenen Linie. Das zeigt sich in ihrer unregelmäßigen Benutzung und auch darin, daß für diese Zeichen eine genaue Definition und graphische Unterscheidung meistens unmöglich ist. Ihre Funktion dagegen ist eindeutig und immer nur als Lesehilfe beim Lautieren und damit beim Verstehen zu interpretieren. Der Schreiber benutzt sie oder iibernimmt sie aus seiner Vorlage, weil sie ihm hilfreich sind und auch für den Lesenden eine Unterstützung bieten, Fehllesungen und damit Mißverständnisse zu vermeiden ; die ursprüngliche Funktion und ihr spezieller Anwendungsbereich sowie die differenzierte graphische Gestaltung der Zeichen ist ihm in der Regel dabei nicht mehr im einzelnen bewußt.

Aber auch die Art, wie die Wörter bei auslaufenden Zeilen umbrochen werden, kann ebenfalls als Beweis dafür herangezogen werden, daß nicht Wort oder Wortgruppen, sondern ausschließlich Lautgruppen für die Untergliederung und die Zeilenbriiche bestimmend waren. Wenn Wörter in der Form von Є|ΠЄCTHCAN (𝔭[75] Luk 24: 4), OY|K YΔACIN (𝔭[72] bei Jud 10) oder sogar ANH|P OC (𝔭[23] bei Jak 1 : 22) und O|NЄIΠЄN (𝔭[66]* bei Joh 2 : 22) oder MЄ|Θ YMΩN (𝔭[66] bei Joh 7: 33) getrennt wurden, urn nur ganz wenige Beispiele herauszugreifen, ist damit deutlich, daß die Zeilenbrüche nur nach lautlichen Gesichtspunkten erfolgten und die Lautgruppen, nicht etwa die Bildungsfugen oder die Wortgrenzen dafür bestimmend waren, was auf die neue Zeile überläuft.

Also auch bestimmte Einzelheiten in den Handschriften und ihrer Textgestaltung sind geeignet, die von Balogh so eindeutig belegte Normalform des Lesens in der Form des Lautierens und des primär akustischen Verstehens zu unterbauen. Andererseits kann man sich schon vorstellen, daß es bei versierten Lesern und demzufolge auch bei versierten Schreibern einer exakten und vollen Lautbildung des Gelesenen nicht unbedingt mehr bedurfte, sondern vielmehr dann aus dem Zusammengehen vom optischen Erfassen der Sprecheinheiten und einer unbewußten oder unterbewußten Zusammenfassung der eigentlichen Lauteinheiten in der Form eines ‘stummen Lautierens’ ein annähernd stummes Lesen werden konnte, das aber trotzdem nur nach den gleichen Prinzipien abgelaufen sein kann wie das 'normale' Lesen, d.h. das laute Lesen. Daß diese Form des stummen oder annähernd stummen Lesens möglich war, aber eine absolute Seltenheit darstellte und die staunende Bewunderung der Zeitgenossen hervorrief, kann ebenfalls aus den von Balogh zusammengetragenen Belegen entnommen werden.[19]

Auf jeden Fall war die Normalform des Lesens, aber auch die 'fortgeschrittene' Art des fast stummen Lesens und Begreifens eines Textes immer eine irgendwie geartete Formulierung des Textes, d.h. eine Umsetzung des Textes in gesprochenes, gemurmeltes oder gedachtes Wort. Dabei ist aber immer im Auge zu behalten, daß die Form dieser Umsetzung notwendig und zwangsläufig immer von den Sprechgewohnheiten des Lesenden, also seiner Sprechform, seiner Aussprache und der dialektischen Färbung seiner Sprechweise, aber auch seinem Sprachgefühl im allgemeinen bestimmt ist. Ein Schreiber der Spätantike hat auf jeden Fall seine Texte in der zeitgenössischen Sprechweise erfaßt, also nur itazistisch gelesen. Er mag dabei — je nach Bildungsstand — den orthographisch-grammatikalisch richtigen Buchstabenbestand des betreffenden Wortes vor Augen gehabt und bei der Niederschrift auch meistenteils richtig wiedergegeben haben, Vertauschungen mit lautgleichen Silben oder nur lautliche Wiedergabe lagen dagegen nahe und können so in unterschiedlichem Maß immer eingeflossen sein.[20] Ferner muß man mit regional bedingten Erscheinungen wie Vokalfärbungen (a-o Verfälschungen etwa[21]) oder spezifischen Konsonantenartikulierungen rechnen (etwa ungenaue Aussprache von Doppelkonsonanten,[22] Konsonantenschwund oder Vertauschung

[19] Balogh (85-86) zitiert dafür Augustin, *Confess.* 6.3: ***'Sed cum legebat*** **(i.e.** Ambrosius), ***oculi ducebantur per paginas et cor intellectum rimabatur, vox autem et lingua quiescebat'.***

[20] Itazistische Fehler weisen eigentlich alle griechischen Handschriften auf, charakteristisch fiir die einzelne Handschrift und ihren Schreiber sind nur die Häufigkeit, die Laute und die Wörter, in denen die Verschreibungen vorkommen. In $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ stellen z.B. Verschreibungen wie ΙΜΙ fiir ЄΙΜΙ (Joh 1: 20), ЄΙΝΑ fiir ΙΝΑ (10: 10) und ЄΡΙ fiir ΑΙΡЄΙ (10: 18) eine gewisse Ausnahme dar; diese Stellen belegen aber gleichzeitig, daß bei derartigen Verschreibungen in der Regel keine Notwendigkeit empfunden wurde, den Schreibfehler zu korrigieren, wie es sonst bei den anderen Schreibfehlern üblich ist (vgl. unten S. 292). Wohl aber scheint gelegentlich die Häufung von i-Lauten Anlass zu Textänderungen gegeben zu haben; vgl. z.B. $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ ℵ B ΟΥΤΟΙ ΥΙΟΙ ЄΙϹΙΝ (Gal 3: 7) wird zu ΟΥΤΟΙ ЄΙϹΙΝ ΥΙΟΙ umgestellt (A C und spätere Überlieferung).

[21] Z.B. $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ bei Luk 8: 18 OCON statt OC AN; Joh 4: 14 AAAO statt AAAA.

[22] **Z.B.** $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ ΑΠΡΟϹΩΠΟΛΗΜΤΩϹ (1 Pet 1: 17).



von stimmhaften und stimmlosen Konsonanten[23] usw.). Auch hier bewahrt die solide Sprachkenntnis einen gebildeten Schreiber meist vor schlimmen Fehlern und seinen Folgen.

Dabei sind die genannten Erscheinungen insgesamt schon im ersten Stadium der Systematisierung von Dain wirksam und bilden bereits hier den Anlaß für spätere orthographische Fehler jeder Art. Zu den Sprech- oder Formulierungsgewohnheiten eines Schreibenden können aber auch gewisse Vorlieben und Abneigungen gegen Wortformen und Wortsequenzen gehören, die schon im ersten Stadium oder aber dann im nächsten Stadium von Dain, der *rétention du texte* wirksam werden. Je nach Bildungsstand und Sprechgewohnheit muß damit gerechnet werden, daß der Abschreiber seinen Text bei der sinnhaften Aufnahme und Einprägung in sein Gedächtnis gewissen Umformungen unterworfen haben kann, die weniger für den Sinngehalt, wohl aber für seine genaue Form von größerer Auswirkung sind. In diesen Bereich kann die Einführung von Attizismen bzw. Vulgarismen,[24] die Änderung von ungewöhnlichen Wortstellungen,[25] die explizite Einfügung von impliziten Beziehungsworten, die Vorliebe oder Abneigung bestimmten Partikeln oder Kurz- und Füllwörten gegenüber,[26] bestimmten Verbal- und Zeitformen gegenüber gehören sowie die Einführung von Synonymen oder sinngleichen bzw. sinnverwandten Wörtern, teilweise unter ParalleleneinfluB.27 In diesen Bereich und in dieses Stadium gehören aber auch die unwillktirlichen Angleichungen

[23] **Z.B.** $\mathfrak{p}^{72}$ AYAAZEIC [αuδʌzis] statt ΑΥΘΑΔЄΙϹ [αuθʌδis] (2 Pet 2: 10) oder ΓΟΓΥΖΜΟΥ statt ΓΟΓΓΥϹΜΟΥ (1 Pet 4: g); hier liegen z.T. auch die Gründe für das Schwanken zwischen [σ] und [ζ] und damit zwischen Präsens und Futur/Aorist bei Verben wie *βαπτίζειν, εὐαγγελίζειν, σκανδαλίζειν* ***usw.***

[24] Die Beispiele hierfür sind Gegenstand einer ganzen Reihe von Publikationen durch G. D. Kilpatrick; auf sie braucht hier nur verwiesen zu werden, vgl. die Bibliographie in ***Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George-D: Kilpatrick*** (ed. J. K. Elliott; NovTSup 44; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 5–9. Das Phänomen selbst und die Deutuna dafür werden von ihm allerdinas anders gesehen und vornehmlich im literarischen Bereich angesiedelt, während ich es mehr dem sprachlich-individuellen Bereich zuordnen möchte.

[25] **Z.B.** die Umstellungen von $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ TON AOYAON TOY ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩϹ statt TOY ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩϹ TON AOYAON bei Luk 22: 50 oder von $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, der bei Joh 1: ***27; 6: 23;*** g: 27; 18: 10 das Possessivum dem allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch entsprechend hinter das Substantiv stellt.

[26] Z.B. läßt $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ bei Luk 6: 41; g: 42; 15: 30 jeweils das ΔЄ aus; $\mathfrak{p}^{74}$ fügt Jak 2: 6 zwischen ΟΥΧΙ ΟΙ ein ΔЄ ein, um die i-Laute zu trennen.

[27] Z.B. *μνῆμα/μνημεῖον* (so $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ bei Luk ***24:*** 1) oder *ἄξιος/ἱκανός* (so $\mathfrak{p}^{66,75}$ bei Joh 1: ***27).***

an den Kontext und die Identifikation des Gelesenen mit ähnlichen Sinngehalten und Formulierungen aus früherer Tätigkeit und anderer Kenntnis, also Parallelenangleichung im allgemeinen und ähnliche Phänomene.

Dieser Rezeptionsprozeß ist auf jeden Fall eine entscheidende Phase beim Abschreiben, in ihm werden die individuellen Voraussetzungen und Eigenheiten des Abschreibenden, seine geistige und rezeptive Kapazität wirksam und kommen schon viele seiner positiven und negativen Fahigkeiten zu Tage. In dieses Stadium gehören wohl, abgesehen von den eigentlichen Lesefehlern, die Mehrzahl jener Fälle von unwillentlichen Fehlern, die beim Abschreiben zu beobachten sind. Ihr Quantum ist dabei sicher abhängig davon, in welchen Umfängen ein Schreiber seinen Text liest und sich einprägt. Ganz gewiß ist davon auszugehen, daß diese Partien von bestimmten Sinn- und Satzeinheiten bestimmt sind, also gewisse merkbare Sinnpartien umfaßten. Sie werden im Altertum und der Spatantike sicher länger gewesen sein und Größenordnungen gehabt haben, die über denen des modernen Menschen liegen. Auf keinen Fall dürfen diese Einheiten zu klein angesetzt oder sogar auf Silben oder Einzelbuchstaben reduziert werden, wie es E. C. Colwell in seinem Aufsatz 'Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits'[28] wenigstens für bestimmte Handschriften tat. Er meinte, aus einem Vergleich von $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, und $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ ableiten zu können, dass $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ 'copies letters one by one ; $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ copies syllables, usually two letters in length ; $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ copies phrases and clauses'.[29] Den Grund dafür glaubt er in einer bestimmten Fehlertendenz zu sehen; $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ 'has more than sixty readings that involve a single letter *and* not more than ten careless readings that involve a syllable. But $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ drops sixty-one syllables (twenty-three of them in "leaps") and omits as well a dozen articles and thirty short words'.[30] So richtig jene Beobachtungen sind, so wenig kann man aus ihnen auf die Umfänge schließen, die ein Abschreiber 'umsetzt', also liest, aufnimmt und wiedergibt. Die Umsetzung von Einzelbuchstaben oder einzelnen Silben aus der Vorlage in die Kopie würde den Abschreibevorgang völlig mechanisieren und bedeuten, daß nur noch Chiffren, aber keine Sinneinheiten mehr übertragen werden, der Abschreibevorgang also völlig sinnentleert ware ; da bei einem solchen Vorgang die Kontrolle durch das Sinnhafte allenfalls erst beim Korrigieren des bereits Geschriebenen erfolgen könnte, würde der zu beobachtende Fehlerquotient in den Handschriften sprunghaft ansteigen und sehr viel höher liegen als in den beiden besprochenen oder allen anderen Handschriften zusammen. Aus der zu beobachtenden Fehlerkategorie darf daher nicht auf den Umfang der Umsetzeinheiten geschlossen werden, Fehler dieser Art gehören vielmehr in die vierte Phase von Dain, in das *jeu de main,* dorthin, wo tatsächlich bestimmte mechanische Fehler sich einschleichen können, weil der diktierende Verstand schneller ist als die schreibenden Finger. Die eindeutige Erfahrung beim Auswerten von Einzelhandschriften ist, daß der Schreiber beim Abschreiben nicht mechanisch iibertrug und nicht zu wenig, sondern eher zu viel aufgenommen, gedacht und zu viele individuelle Elemente in die Abschrift eingebracht hat. Demzufolge können nur Sinneinheiten bestimmten Umfangs umgesetzt worden sein.

[28] E. C. Colwell, 'Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$', *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 106–24.
[29] Ibid., 116.
[30] Ibid.



Welchen Umfang diese Einheiten gehabt haben, ist jedoch exakt kaum festzustellen. Genaueste Durchmusterung der alten Papyri, des Sinaiticus und des Alexandrinus blieben ohne jedes Ergebnis. Weder anhand des Schriftcharakters, noch anhand der Tinte konnten Hinweise auf regelmäßige Unterbrechungen des Schreibvorganges festgestellt werden. Auch durch Fehleranalysen konnten keine Anhaltspunkte gewonnen werden, da die hierfür vermutlich ergiebigste Fehlerform, die Dittographie von Satzteilen, relativ selten vorkommt, sehr schnell bemerkt wird und alle Umfänge aufweist, so daß aus dieser Fehlerart weder für einen speziellen Schreiber noch generell Gesetzmäßigkeiten abzuleiten sind. Aus Übersprüngen wegen Homoioteleuton oder -arkton auf den Umfang der Abschreibeinheiten schließen zu können, scheint mir nicht sicher zu sein, da dieser Fehler ja dem Schreiber nach Abschluß eines Teilvorganges unterläuft, also wenn er zur Vorlage zurückkehrt, urn eine neue Abschreibeinheit zu lesen und aufzunehmen. Dennoch ist es auffällig, daß die größeren, meist vom Schreiber korrigierten Auslassungen im $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, die durch Homoioteleuton bedingt sind, zwischen 15 und 36 Buchstaben umfassen. Die Versuchung ist groß, in dieser Größenordnung die Umsetzgrößen beim Abschreiben anzunehmen. Aber schon beim Sinaiticus belaufen sich die Homoioteleuta in der Regel auf bis zu 60 Buchstaben und darüber, die Übersprünge sind also meist größer. Wenn auch aus diesen Erscheinungen induktiv keine Schlüsse auf Umsetzeinheiten beim Abschreiben zu ziehen sind, wird man doch deduktiv zu Ergebnissen kommen, die diesen Werten in etwa entsprechen und etwa zwischen 15 und 60 Buchstaben gelegen haben dürften, also 5 bis 12 Wörter bzw. 10 bis 25 Sprechsilben umfaßt haben können. Diese Größenordnung würde sich auch mit einer anderen Größe ungefähr decken oder ihr zumindest nicht widersprechen, dem Stichos, jener etwas unbestimmten Einheit von ca. 36 Buchstaben, die vermutlich als Einheit für die Entlohnung des Schreibers gedient haben dürfte und so sicher neben sprachstrukturellen Gründen auch als Schreibeinheit ihre Bedeutung gehabt hat, also eventuell auch in Beziehung zur durchschnittlichen Umsetzgröße gestanden haben könnte. Diese Oberlegungen sind, wie nochmals betont werden muß, rein theoretisch und fast spekulativ zu nennen, doch sehe ich im Moment keine andere Möglichkeit, auf diese konkrete und im vorliegenden Zusammenhang wichtige Frage zu einer Antwort zu kommen.

Die Wiedergabe des Textes, also die eigentliche Ausführung des Abschreibens, kann nur, wie Dain eindeutig herausgestellt hat, in Form eines Selbstdiktates erfolgt sein. Die theoretische Möglichkeit eines Diktates vor einer Schreibergruppe hätte allenfalls die Funktion, den Schreibern den Text, der zu kopieren ist, vorzulesen, würde also dem Stadium eins, dem Lesen des Textes der Vorlage entsprechen, schon das zweite Stadium, die *rétention du texte*, wäre auch beim Gruppendiktat Sache des einzelnen Schreibers und von seinen individuellen Fahigkeiten abhängig. Das gilt aber in verstärktem Maße und unter allen Voraussetzungen im Stadium drei, das dem eigentlichen Schreiben der Kopie voranging und immer ein Selbstdiktat war. Für dieses Stadium aber sind wiederum die Sprechgewohnheiten, die Sprecheigenarten des Schreibers und alle oben beim Stadium eins aufgeführten Uberlegungen von Belang. Es wiederholen sich aber auch die oben geschilderten Probleme, die mit dem Stadium zwei verbunden waren. Das Selbstdiktat erfolgt also nie unmittelbar nach der Form des Textes in der Vorlage, sondern immer nur nach der Form, wie sie der Schreiber



sprachlich und inhaltlich aufgenommen und sich dann gedanklich seiner Erinnerung eingepragt hat und wie er sie nun als sinnvolle, stimmige und subjektiv richtige Form weiterzugeben beabsichtigte. Hier also liegen die Hauptgefahren, hier liegen nämlich die Anlässe und Gelegenheiten für sprach- und verstandnisbedingte oder sogar willentliche Umformungen des Textes. Denn zumindest in der Frühphase der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung kommt es darauf an, welche Bindungen und Beziehungen der Schreiber zu seiner Vorlage hatte oder für wie zuverlässig er sie ansah. Setzte er voraus, daß in ihr mit Fehlern und Unvollkommenheiten zu rechnen war, maß er die Vorlage an seiner Vorkenntnis des Textes, wenn er Christ war, hielt er sich sklavisch an den vorgefundenen Wortlaut, wie er ihn aufgenommen hatte, oder legte er nur Wert auf eine sachlich adäquate Wiedergabe des Textes, ohne sich eng an den vorgefundenen Wortlaut anzulehnen? Das sind Fragen, die bei jedem einzelnen Schreiber von neuem zu beantworten sind und nur aus einer vorsichtigen Analyse entwickelt werden konnen. Die Eigentiimlichkeiten etwa des Schreibers von $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ und der Kopisten des Sinaiticus sind in diesem Zusammenhang als Beispiel anzufiihren. In beiden Handschriften sind sicher berufsmäßige Schreiber tätig gewesen, sie weisen sehr gute handwerkliche Fahigkeiten auf, die sich sowohl aus ihrem exakten und gleichmäßigem Schriftduktus, aber auch aus ihrer Sicherheit bei der Gestaltung des Einzelblattes und der Gesamthandschrift ableiten lassen. Zudem schreiben die Schreiber des Sinaiticus in einem spezifischen zeitgenijssischen Schriftstil, der 'Bibelunziale', die in den Skriptorien schon seit längerer Zeit in Gebrauch und recht verbreitet war, wie zahlreiche Beispiele des 2. bis 4. Jahrhunderts ergeben.[31] Und doch weisen ihre Abschriften Fehler, Ungenauigkeiten und Selbstherrlichkeiten auf, die in ihrer Zahl und Häufigkeit in einem auffallenden Gegensatz zu ihrer perfekten Handschriften- und Schriftgestaltung stehen und nur in ihrer individuellen Kopiertechnik ihrc Ursache haben können. Schon die Haufigkeit von Übersprüngen durch Homoioteleuton scheint mir ein geniigender Beweis dafür, daß sie selbständig und nicht im Gruppendiktat abgeschrieben haben, weil ein Vorleser nicht wie ein Einzelschreiber

[31] G. Cavallo, ***Ricerche*** *sulla maiuscola biblica* (Studi e tcsti di papirologia, 2; 2 vols.; Firenze: Le Monnier, 1967).

genötigt war, den Blick von der Vorlage zu lösen und jeweils den Punkt wiederfinden zu miissen, bis zu dem bisher geschrieben worden war, sondern seinen Blick auf die Vorlage geheftet halten konnte.

Die Wiedergabe des Textes selbst ist dann noch einmal im 4. Stadium, dem *jeu de main*, bestimmten Gefahren unterworfen, die von der Sorgfalt und Fähigkeit des Schreibers abhängen. Hier kann — diesmal mit gutem Recht — auf den Erfahrungsbereich jedes, der einmal schreiben gelernt hat oder abschreiben mußte, zurtickgegriffen werden. Auslassungen von Einzelbuchstaben, von Silben oder von Kurzwörtern, besonders wenn sie den Sinn nicht oder nicht wesentlich beeinflussen, gehören eigentlich automatisch zum Schreiben dazu und sind ganz einfach dadurch bedingt, daß das Niederschreiben eines Textes länger dauert als sein 'Diktat', die Gedanken und damit das interne Diktat dem Geschriebenen stets etwas vorauseilen. Die von Colwell bei $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ und $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ festgestellten Auslassungen von Einzelbuchstaben oder Silben können nur, wie ich meine, in dieses Stadium gehören und geben dann keinen Anhalt mehr für die Umsetzungsgrößen beim Abschreiben, sondern können allenfalls dazu dienen, Hinweise auf Sorgfalt und Wiedergabetreue zu geben.

In den meisten Fallen ist damit zwar der Vorgang 'Abschreiben', aber nicht die Arbeit beendet. Wie aus den von Skeat behandelten Notizen und aus den Vorfindlichkeiten in einer ganzen Reihe von Handschriften deutlich zu belegen, schließt sich seitens des Schreibers oder Skriptoriums noch die Korrektur der neu geschriebenen Handschrift an, vornehmlich wohl anhand der Vorlage, die kopiert worden ist. Die dabei zu beobachtenden Prinzipien liegen weitgehend auf der Linie, die oben angesprochen wurde. Denn es ist fast durchgangig festzustellen, daß lautlich gleiche, nur orthographisch unterschiedene Wort- und speziell Verbformen in der Regel keinen Anlaß zu einer Korrektur boten. Gleiches gilt in den meisten Fallen für gewisse formale Differenzen: eine allgemein nur gliedernde, aber inhaltlich abgeschliffene und unwesentliche Partikel, eine veranderte Wortstellung, eine bestimmte Verbalform — attizisierend oder in der zeitgenössischen Form — die Zufügung oder Auslassung eines Artikels etwa vor Eigennamen oder in unwesentlichen Zusammenhangen, eines Possessiv-



pronomens, sein Ersatz durch ein entsprechendes Nomen, eine verfeinernde oder vergröbernde Änderung des Verbalaspektes durch Tempusanderung, ja möglicherweise auch die Angleichung an den Kontext, urn nur die wesentlicheren Möglichkeiten zu nennen, waren normalerweise nicht Anlaß genug, um — wenigstens in der Friihphase der Uberlieferung — korrigierend einzugreifen. Dal3 dagegen aber alle echten Sachfehler in den meisten Fallen erkannt und entsprechend verbessert wurden, beweist, in welche Richtung die Korrektur des abgeschriebenen Textes durch den Schreiber, den Korrektor oder auch bei späterer Lektüre durch die Benutzer zielte. Dabei werden anhand der Vorlage oder einer Vergleichshandschrift beim Korrigieren oder aber nur durch die intime Kenntnis der Schrift beim Benutzer im späteren Stadium fast alle Sachunterschiede bis hin zu Auslassungen und fehlerhafter Wiedergabe aufgespiirt, richtiggestellt und der Normal- oder Regionalform des Textes angepaßt.

Viele der hier angesprochenen Erscheinungen haben ihre Gültigkeit vornehmlich in der Frühzeit der handschriftlichen Uberlieferung des Neuen Testaments, gelten also speziell für die ersten 3 bis 4 Jahrhunderte, in der Folgezeit ändern sich zunehmend die Voraussetzungen und die Bedingungen. Die volle Anerkennung als heilige Schrift, aber vor allem wohl der Ubergang der Schreibtradition von kommerziellen Skriptorien und von Gelegenheits- oder Gefälligkeitsschreibern auf klösterliche Zentren und in die kirchliche, vornehmlich wohl mönchische Tradition, die langsam zunehmenden Hilfsmittel fur das Lesen der Texte durch häufigere Interpunktion und Lesehilfen bis hin zum voll ausgestalteten Akzentuierungssystem erleichtern das Lesen und damit das Abschreiben in allen vorauszusetzenden Stadien. Bestimmte lautbedingte und damit orthographische oder formale Schwierigkeiten bleiben jedoch bestehen und bilden auch in späteren Epochen genügend Anlaß zu Mißverstandnissen und im Schreibvorgang begründeten Varianten. Dennoch ist eine gewisse Verfestigung und Stabilisierung der handschriftlichen Tradition nicht zu übersehen.

Dieser Versuch einer Analyse des Vorganges Abschreiben, dieser Versuch, das Schreiben, die Situation des Schreibers und die näheren Bedingungen dafür etwas genauer und systematischer in den Blick zu bekommen, kann nur den Zweck haben, die Fehler*möglichkeiten*, die bei diesem komplexen Vorgang bestehen, aufzuzeigen und einmal in ihrer Kausalität und vorgangsbezogenen Bedingtheit zusammenhängend darzustellen. Sie ist, wie ich meine, um so dringender, je starker sich die textkritische Diskussion aus verschiedenen Gründen, die hier nicht zu erörtern sind, auf Einzelvarianten oder Einzelstellen konzentriert. Gerade unter diesen Voraussetzungen gewinnt der angeschnittene Problemkreis seine besondere Bedeutung. Denn von dieser Fragestellung her läßt sich tatsächlich bei einer Fülle von Stellen ein sehr äußerlicher Anlaß ausmachen, der zur Entstehung einer Variante geführt hat, die dann, da jede Abschrift selbst zur Vorlage geworden sein kann, in die Tradition eingedrungen ist, und die Verbreitung erklären, die eine derartige Variante gefunden hat. In diesem Bereich sind zum Teil auch die Notwendigkeiten oder Verführungen für spätere Abschreiber zu suchen, die an solchen Stellen zu weiteren Veränderungen des Textes Anlaß oder Gelegenheit boten. Neben den vielfach wirksamen theologischen oder inhaltlich bedingten Anlässen, die zu Textänderungen führten, stehen, wie ich meine, mindestens gleich häufig die schreiber- oder abschriftbedingten Anlässe, die bisher meist nur nebenher oder als alternative Möglichkeit für Textabweichungen angesehen worden sind. Ferner wird auf diese Weise erst voll verstandlich, daß bei verschiedenen Abschreibvorgangen an verschiedenen Orten durch verschiedene Schreiber an der gleichen Stelle die gleichen Fehler gemacht und in die eigene Teiltradition eingeführt werden konnten, also gemeinsame Bezeugungen zu einzelnen Varianten entstehen können, die genealogisch nichts miteinander zu tun haben, sondern nur den äußeren Anlaß für die Textveranderung gemeinsam haben.

Auch für die Einzelbeurteilung von speziellen Handschriften und ihren Schreibern, gelegentlich sogar für ihre Vorlagen, werden sich bei stärkerer Berücksichtigung dieser äußeren und technischen Bedingtheiten neue Wertungen ergeben, wenn den hier nur angerissenen Überlegungen und Hinweisen systematisch nachgegangen wird. Dabei ist nicht auszuschließen, daß die Analyse des Abschreibvorganges und die Aufgliederung in jene vier Stadien durch Dain noch einige Modifikationen und Verfeinerungen erfahren wird. Dennoch : das Grundprinzip scheint mir richtig zu sein und kann, konsequent angewendet,



dazu beitragen, unseren Blick zu schärfen für gewisse äußerliche Bedingtheiten und Gefahren, die nun einmal jeder handschriftlichen Oberlieferung anhaften, in den Beurteilungen jedoch oft nicht genügend Beriicksichtigung finden oder vorschnell an den Rand geschoben werden.

# 22. Neutestamentliche Zitate in Zeno von Verona

HERMANN J. FREDE

EINE Analyse der Bibelzitate Zenos stößt auf nicht geringe Schwierigkeiten. Den Großteil seiner Zitate entnimmt der Bischof von Verona wie eine Anzahl anderer Schriftsteller des 4. Jahrhunderts den Werken Cyprians,[1] besonders dessen reicher Materialsammlung Ad *Quirinum*, auch an zahlreichen Stellen, an denen die neue Ausgabe seiner Traktate von B. Löfstedt das nicht ausdrücklich vermerkt.[2] In anderen Fallen erschweren die Kürze der biblischen Anspielungen oder ihre Übereinstimmung mit der Sprache aller übrigen lateinischen Zeugen eine nähere Charakterisierung oder machen sie unmöglich. Geeignet für eine Untersuchung im gegebenen Rahmen erscheinen daher nur verhältnismäßig wenige Stellen und vornehmlich solche, zu denen das verfügbare Vergleichsmaterial in den schon erschienenen Teilen der Vetus Latina-Ausgabe aufbereitet ist.

Die starke Abhangigkeit von Cyprian und seinem Bibeltext[3] führte dazu, daß man Zeno als selbständigen Zeugen entweder ganz vernachlassigte oder ihn vorschnell unter die Vertreter des 'afrikanischen' Textes einreihte. Berticksichtigt wird Zeno von P. Corssen[4] ebenso wenig wie von H. von Soden.[5] Auch seine Genesis-Zitate, die nicht unbedeutend sind, haben weder

[1] Stark benützt sind auch Tertullian, Laktanz, Hilarius und in zwei Traktaten Victorin von Pettau; bei dem Traktat 1.3 handelt es sich um eine Parallele zum 4. der Gregor von Elvira zugeschriebenen Traktate, das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis ist noch ungeklärt.

[2] CChL 22 (1971). So finden sich, urn nur ein Beispiel zu nennen, die von Löfstedt 168 als Matt 23: 37-38 und 24: 2 vorgestellten Texte in korrekter Identifizierung als Lukas 13: 34-35 und Mark 13: 2 wortgleich in CY te 1.6 und 1.15, wonach Zeno ohne Zweifel zitiert.

[3] Schon P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Lutinae Versiones antiquae seu Vetus Italica* I (Reims: Reginaldus Florentain, 1743), XLV, sagt von den Schriftzitaten Zenos: *pars maxima cum exscriptis e Cypriano et Lactantio ita concinit, ut pene unus idemque omnibus codex fuisse videatur.*

[4] P. Corssen, *Der cyprianische Text der Acta Apostolorum* (Berlin: Hayn, 1892).

[5] H. von Soden, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* (TU 33; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909).

A. V. Billen[6] noch B. Fischer[7] untersucht, doch ist auf die zahlreichen Lesarten etwa in Genesis 38 hinzuweisen, in denen Zeno mit Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Augustinus, dem Lyoner Heptateuch und dem rätselhaften Gregor von Elvira übereinstimmt, der seinerseits von Rufin und Gaudentius abhängig ist.[8] A. Bigelmair[9] und P. Monceaux[10] unterstreichen die Nähe zu Cyprian, aber besonders Bigelmair verharmlost die Differenzen. W. Thiele[11] nimmt Zeno in 1 Petrus mit dem Zitat 2:11 als Zeugen für die Textform K in Anspruch; doch ist es wohl ebenso wie 1 Joh 2:15-17 und andere Zitate den Testimonien 3:11 entnommen und hat demnach in diesem Zusammenhang keinerlei Beweiskraft. Aber auch wenn es sich um ein selbständiges Zitat Zenos handelte, ließen sich die Seitenzeugen nicht übersehen: dieselben Lesarten kehren teilweise bei Hieronymus und vielleicht Gaudentius und Augustinus, großenteils bei Ps-Pelagius *Casp.* 3, unter dem sich ein britischer Pelagianer in Sizilien verbirgt, und vollständig bei Chromatius wieder.[12]

In den biblischen Büchern, zu denen genauere Untersuchungen vorliegen, zeigt sich, daß Zeno gegenüber Cyprian oft eigene Wege geht und seine Lesarten ihre Entsprechung etwa in italienischen oder gar oberitalienischen Texten finden. Für die Psalmen lehnt P. Capelle[13] eine Beziehung zum afrikanischen Text strikt ab, desgleichen H. Schneider[14] für die biblischen Cantica. Zeno steht vielmehr dem Psalter von Verona sehr nahe, den diese Autoren noch für afrikanischen Ursprungs hielten.[15]

[6] A. V. Billen, *The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch* (London: Cambridge University, 1927).

[7] B. Fischer, Genesis (Vetus Latina 2; Freiburg: Herder, 1951–54).

[8] Vgl. oben Anm. 1.

[9] A. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona* (Münster, 1904).

[10] P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* (Paris: Leroux, 1905), 3.366.

[11] W. Thiele, *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes* (Vetus Latina: Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 5; Freiburg: Herder, 1965), 80–81, 111.

[12] Vgl. *Epistulae Catholicae* (Vetus Latina 26/1; Freiburg: Herder, 1956–69), 110-11 und zu Chromatius den Nachtrag 457. Das CHRO-Zitat wurde erst durch die Edition von J. Lemarié, *RBén 73* (1963), 208, bekannt und in Thieles Untersuchung, auf die sich Löfstedt 7* Anmerkung 4 beruft, nicht berücksichtigt.

[13] P. Capelle, *Le Texte du psautier latin en Afrique* (Collectanea Biblica Latina 4; Rome: Pustet, 1913), 61-62.

[14] H. Schneider, *Die altlateinischen biblischen Cantica* (Texte und Arbeiten 29–30; Beuron, 1938), 28–30.

[15] Der Text des Psalters ist bekanntlich um die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts in Norditalien entstanden, vgl. A. Vaccari, *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia* I (Rome:



Noch deutlicher tritt die Eigenart von Zenos Bibeltext in den Paulusbriefen in Erscheinung, gewiß auch deshalb, weil das reichhaltige Material mehr Differenzierungsmöglichkeiten gestattet. Bei 1 Tim 1: 3-5 handelt es sich um eines der seltenen längeren Zitate unseres Autors, das den Vorzug besitzt, nicht letztlich aus Cyprian zu stammen. In der Liste von Zenos Lesarten beschränke ich mich auf die Angabe der wichtigeren Textzeugen.[16]

1 Tim 1: 3-5

v. 3 *παρεκάλεσα* = hortatus **sum ZE; HIL]** rogavi *ceteri*

*ἵνα παραγγείλῃς* = ut denuntiares ZE ; **75 77 78** 89 **61 86** V ; AU ; PS-AU spe; THr ; *cf.* **ut** denunties AMst ; *cf.* RUF Rm] ut praeciperes HIL; *cf.* RUF ap H

*μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν* = **ne** perversa doctrina uterentur ZE; 61] ne aliter docerent 78 86 V ; HIL ; AU ; *cf.* **ne al.** doceant 75 77 89 ; AMst ; RUF ; PS-AU spe

v. 4 *μηδὲ προσέχειν* = **neque** adtenderent ZE ; HIL ; *cf.* **n.** adtendant RUF] n. intenderent 78 61 **86** V ; **AU** ; *cf.* **n.** intendant 75 77 89 ; AMst ; *cf.* AM ; PS-AU spe

*ἀπεράντοις* = **quae sine fine sunt ZE; 77 ; GR-I** 1/3] **infinitis 75** 89 $\Gamma^{B}$ ; AMst ; *cf.* **GR-I** 2/3 ; **RUF ; PS-AU spe** ; *cf.* **interminatis 78 61 86** V; **HIL; AU Rm**

*αἵτινες ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσιν μᾶλλον* = quae magis quaestiones praestant ZE ; 61] ∼ **quae quaestiones magis praestant HIL; IR; AM; RUF;** *cf.* ∼ **quae quaestiones praestant magis** *ceteri* : = 𝔊

*οἰκονομίαν* = veram rationem ZE; *cf.* dispensationem THr] aedificationem *ceteri* : = *οἰκοδομήν* D*

*τὴν ἐν πίστει* = quae est in fide ZE ; $77^{1}$ 78 **61 86** V; HIL; IR; AMst ; AM fi 4; AU Rm; PS-AU spe; THr] ∼ quae in fide est 75 89 ; AM fi **2** ; *cf.* in fide 77*

v. 5 *τὸ τέλος* = definitio ZE] finis *ceteri*

*τῆς παραγγελίας* = **iussionis** ZE] praecepti *ceteri*

*ἐκ* = ex ZE ; $\text{AMst}^{com}$ ; **RUF Lv 13** ; THr] **de** *ceteri*

*ἀνυποκρίτου* = simplici ZE] non ficta 75 77 78 89 **61 86** V ; PS-CY sng ; **AM ; RUF ; AU ; PS-AU spe** ; *cf.* non simulata AMst ; *cf.* **sine** hypocrisi **IR**

Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1952), 207–55; II (Rome, 1958), 229–43; G. Ongaro, 'Saltero veronese e revisione agostiniana', *Bib 35* (1954), 443–74.

[16] Sämtliche Belege sind zuganglich in *Vetus Latina* 25, 5. Lieferung (Freiburg: Herder, 1978), 390–95.

Am auffalligsten sind ohne Zweifel Lesarten wie *perversa doctrina uti, vera ratio, definitio, iussio, simplex,* in denen zum Ausdruck kommt, daß ihr Schöpfer beim Vergleich der hergebrachten Ubersetzung mit dem Urtext nicht zufrieden war. Das gilt in erster Linie für den als besonders kraß erscheinenden Fall von *aedificatio* als Wiedergabe von οἰκονομία, die auch in den Marginalien des Lateiners G als Fehlleistung herausgestellt wird;[17] hier ist jedoch zu beachten, daß alle übrigen Lateiner mit Ausnahme der Theodor-Ubersetzung auf der im Griechischen äußerst schmal bezeugten Lesart οἰκοδομή beruhen. 1:5 wird durch die Begriffe *definitio* und *iussio* entschieden, daß παραγγελία nicht allgemein als Predigt und damit letztlich als das überragende *praeceptum* und die verpflichtende *lex* verstanden werden soll, sondern daß damit die spezielle Weisung von 1:3 gemeint ist, so sehr auch die andere Deutung den Gedanken des Paulus (vgl. Gal 5 : 6) nahekommt und praktisch von allen Vätern in diesem Sinne aufgefaßt wird. Einmalig ist die Wahl von *simplex* für ἀνυπόκριτος und seine Verbindung mit *fides.*[18] Vers 3 belehrt die Wendungperversa *doctrina uti,* die wohl bewußt den Gegensatz zur *sana doctrina* (1:11) herausstellen will, über den Spielraum, den sich der Ubersetzer dem Griechischen gegenüber vorbehält, ebenso wie die Umstellung *quae magis quaestiones praestant* oder die Ubersetzung von ἀπεράντοις durch einen Relativsatz.

Gerade mit diesen Lesarten steht Zeno nicht allein; besonders bemerkenswert ist die zweimalige Begleitung durch die Handschrift **61,** im anderen Fall durch 77, dessen Interlinear-Ubersetzung im allgemeinen auf wörtliche Entsprechung mi t dem Griechischen, auch was die Zahl der Wörter angeht,Wert legt und an dieser Stelle versehentlich die Formen ihrer weiteren Quellen, einer Bilingue ähnlich dem Claromontanus sowie der Vulgata, nicht ausgeschrieben hat. Für andere Lesarten von

[17] Siehe die Liste der Marginalien in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 11553 (Sangermanensis), bei Frede, *Vetus Latina* 25, 1. Lieferung (1975), 38–39. Οἰκονομία erscheint 1 Kor g: 17; Eph 1: 10; 3: 2, 9; Kol 1: 25 und wird mit *dispositio, dispensatio* oder *distributio* tibersetzt; ein anderer Wortsinn liegt Luk 16: 2 vor, der lateinisch mit *vilicatio* oder *actus* wiedergegeben wird.

[18] Diese Fassung des Bibeltextes bei Zeno hat 0. Hiltbrunner, *Latina Graeca: Semasiologische Studien über lateinische Wörter im Hinblick auf ihr Verhältnis zu griechischen Vorbildern* (Bern, 1958) s.v. *simplex fides,* nicht beriicksichtigt. Zur Wiedergabe von ἀνυπόκριτος in der lateinischen Bibel vgl. W. Thiele (Anm. 11), 80–81, 88, 111; die Handschrift 89 belegt jetzt auch für 2 Tim 1:5 *non simulatus.*



Zeno treten Hilarius und (ober-)italienische Texte des 4. oder frühen 5. Jahrhunderts ein, während sich eine dritte Gruppe mit für die lateinische Bibelsprache ungewijhnlichen Wendungen nicht durchsetzen konnte.

Einen ähnlichen Befund vermitteln andere Pauluszitate Zenos, soweit sie nicht aus Cyprian stammen. Als weiteres Beispiel führe ich Eph 6 : 16 an, wo ebenfalls die vollstandige Bezeugung aller Lesarten vorliegt und Cyprian einen anderen Text belegt.[19]

Eph6: **16**

ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεόν = accepto scuto ZE ; 6 1; MAR; *cf.* accipientes scutum 86; AM] adsumentes scutum 75 77 89; CY; LUC ; AMst; RUF; PS-AU spe; THr ; *cf.* sumentes scutum 78 V

ἐν ᾧ = per quod ZE] in quo *ceteri*

δυνήσεσθε = poteritis ZE; AMst] possitis *ceteri*

τὰ βέλη = sagittas ZE ; MAR ; AM ; HI ; PRU ; AU] iacula 75 77 ; TE; CY; LUC; HIL; AM; GAU; *cf.* GR-I; HI; RUF; AU; PS-AU spe; THr ; *cf.* tela 78 89 61 86 V; TE; CY; NO; AMst; AM; HI; RUF

τοῦ πονηροῦ = illius mali ZE] maligni 86 ; AMst ; HI ; RUF ; AU ; PEL (B) ; *cf.* nequissimi 75 77 78 ; *cf.* 89 61 **V; CY;** LUC ; MAR ; GAU ; AU ; PS-AU spe ; *cf.* diaboli TE ; CY; LUC ; HIL ; RUF

τὰ πεπυρωμένα = quae sunt igne plenae ZE] ignita(s) 77 86; TE; CY; HIL; AMst ; AM ; *cf.* GR-I ; HI ; AU ; THr ; *cf.* ignea(s) 78 86 **61 V;** TE ; MAR ; AU ; *cf.* candentia 75, *cf.* 774 ; LUC ; GAU; PS-AU spe

Wiederum ist, besonders offenkundig für die beiden letzten Zeno-Lesarten, der Vergleich mit dem Griechischen ursächlich, begegnen Wendungen, die singular blieben, und finden sich in den anderen Fallen ähnliche italienische Texte als begleitende Bezeugung ein. Bei der ersten Lesart stimmt Zeno sowohl in der Wortwahl wie auch in der Satzkonstruktion mit dem Altlateiner 61 und mit Marius Victorinus iiberein. Niemand wird in dem Bischof von Verona den Gestalter dieses Textes vermuten wollen,[20] dessen Lesarten teilweise schon vor ihm oder von

[19] Vgl. *Vetus Latina* 24/1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1962–64), 308–14. In der folgenden Liste sind bei gegensatzlichen Lesarten desselben Schriftstellers nicht dessen einzelne Schriften vermerkt.

[20] Gegen die Annahme, Zeno habe sich mit griechischen Quellen befaßt, spricht sich A. Bigelmair (Anm. g), 77, aus; dagegen zählt E. Diehl, 'Zur Textgeschichte des lateinischen Paulus', *ZNW 20* (1921), *gg,* Zeno wie Victorin von Pettau und Maximinus zu 'den Autoren, die nachweislich aus eigenem die griechische Bibe 1 tibertragen', ohne jedoch diesen Nachweis zu liefern.

Zeitgenossen in anderen Gegenden belegt werden. Hervorstechend an dem von Zeno benutzten norditalienischen Text ist das deutlich erkennbare Bemühen um prägnante Formulierungen, die zugleich dem Urtext möglichst gerecht werden. Damit steht er in einer Linie etwa mit dem Text, den Ambrosiaster benutzt, mit den Glossen in der Vulgata-Handschrift G oder auch mit dem anonymen Kommentar der Handschrift von Budapest.2'

Dal3 es sich nicht um Beispiele handelt, die lediglich unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Zweckes ausgewählt sind, zeigt auch Eph 5 : 5, wo sich das Verhältnis des Zeno-Textes zu den Seitenreferenten ähnlich darstellt :[22]

Eph 5 : 5
ἔστε γινώσκοντες D² K *plur* = scire debetis ZE; *cf.* scitote 86; *cf.* TE ; MAR ; AMst; AM ; HI] scitote intellegentes 75 77 78 89 61 V; CY; NIC; AU; *cf.* scitote cognoscentes AU ; THr : = 𝔊
ὅτι = quoniam ZE ; AU ; THr] quia CY; HI ; NIC ; *cf.* quod 75 77 78 89 61 86 V; TE; MAR; AMst; AM; AU
πόρνος = fornicarius ZE ; THr] fornicator 75 77 78 89 **61 V;** TE ; CY; AMst; HI; NIC; AU; *cf.* inpudicus 86; MAR; AM; PEL (B) ; *cf. lect. dupl.* fornicator aut inpudicus 61 C Σ A Θ^HAM(mg)^
ἀκάθαρτος = inpudicus ZE; *vide supra*] inmundus *ceteri*
πλεονέκτης = fraudator ZE; CY] avarus *ceteri*
(E) ἰδωλολατρία G = idolorum servitus ZE; 75 77 78 89 61 V; AM; AU; *cf.* idol(ol)a 86; CY; MAR; AMst; AM
οὐκ ἔχει = non habent ZE ; τ⁷⁰ ; KA Sp] non habet *ceteri*
θεοῦ καὶ χριστοῦ G = dei et christi ZE; 77 R* ? ; AMst; AM; HI; *cf.* dei TE] ~ christi et dei *ceteri* : = 𝔊

Selbst wenn Zeno seine Zitate Cyprian entnimmt, hat er sie nicht selten durch charakteristische Abweichungen verändert; dafür nur das Beispiel 1 Kor 15 : 42–43 :

ἐν φθορᾷ = in corruptione CY] in interitum ZE; PS-AU spe
ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ = sine corruptela CY] in perpetuitatem ZE ; PS-AU spe
ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ = in ignominia CY] in humilitatem ZE

Während die letze Lesart sonst unbezeugt bleibt, tritt für die beiden anderen als einziger Mitzeuge das pseudo-augustinische *Speculum* auf. Diese Zitatensammlung stammt weder aus Afrika

[21] **Vgl. meine** Veröffentlichung *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar: I, Untersuchungen* (Vetus Latina: Aus **der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 7; Freiburg: Herder,** 1973), 211–12, 256.
[22] **Vgl.** *Vetus Latina* 24/1 **(Anm.** 19), **212-15.**



noch aus Spanien, sondern aus Italien und wird zuerst zitiert von Papst Anastasius II ;[23] eigentümliche Beriihrungen in einer etwas veränderten Fassung mit Chromatius hat R. Etaix[24] nachgewiesen. Bemerkenswert ist die Ü bersetzung *perpetuitas*, die in dem Zusatz 1 Pet 5 : **14** auch handschriftlich belegt ist ;[25] dieser Zusatz stammt aus Eph 6: 24, wo Marius Victorinus ἀφθαρσία im gleichen Sinne mit *aeternitas* überträgt.

Auch in den Evangelien weist Zeno Lesarten auf, die von (ober-)italienischen Texten geteilt werden :

Matt 5: **16**
ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα = opera vestra bona ZE ; 3 (a) ; 15 (*aur*); 4 (*b*) ; 6 (*c*) ; 10 (*f*) ; 7 (*g*¹) ; 12 (h); **13** (*q*) ; PS-CY sng ; HIL ; AMst; CHRO; RUF; MAXn] ~ bona opera vestra 1 (k) ; CY; AU ; HI ; *cf.* ~ vestra bona opera **V;** AN Bob
δοξάσωσιν = magnificent ZE; *cf.* 3 (a) ; 4 (b) ; 7 (*g*¹) ; 12 (h) ; 13 (*q*); PS-CY sng; HIL; AMst; CHRO; RUF; MAXn] clarificent 1 (k) ; CY ; IR; *cf.* glorificent V; HI ; RUF ; AN Bob ; AU

Matt **19 : 21**
σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα = omnia tua ZE ; 2 (e) ; 4 (6) ; 6 (*c*) ; 13 (*q*); **CY** lap, op; AM; GAU ; HI ; RUF ; MAX] bona tua 3 (a) ; 8 (*ff*²) ; 12 (h); **16 (n); CY** te; AM; *cf.* omnia bona tua *cf.* HIL; AM; *cf.* quae habes V; *cf.* omnia quae habes IR; AM ; FIL ; CHRO ; HI ; FAU-M ; AU

In den folgenden Fallen läßt sich Cyprian nicht vergleichen :

Matt 5 : 32
παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας = excepta causa adulterii ZE ; **12 (h)** ; AU ; PS-AU spe; *cf.* excepta ratione adulterii 5 *(d)* ; *cf.* praeter causam (crimen LAC) adulterii TE; LAC] excepta fornicationis causa V; AMst q ; *cf.* praeter causam fornicationis 1 (k) ; *cf.* excepta causa fornicationis 3 (a) ; 4 (b) ; 6 (c) ; AMst 1 Cor; AM; CHRO; HI; AU

Matt 13: 12
αὐτῷ = illi ZE ; 1 (k) ; 2 (e) ; g ($1) ; FAU-R; EUS-G] ei V; TE; HIL; RUF; MAX; AU; EUS-G
καί² = etiam ZE; 12 (h); TE; RUF; MAX; FAU-R; EUS-G] et V; 1 (k) ; 2 (e); HIL; AU

[23] **Vgl.** *Vetus Latina* 24/2, 13; zu beachten **sind die Untersuchungen zum Text des** *Speculum* bei **Frede (Anm. 2 1),** 69–76, 109–16.
[24] **R. Etaix,** *RBén* **70** (1960), 496–97.
[25] **Die Handschriften 55 64 begleitet hier FU; vgl. AU in** 1 **Pet 3: 4, und zum Ganzen Thiele (Anm.** 1 1), 100, 105–6.

Matt 13 : 25

*ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* = dormientibus hominibus ZE; 2 (e); 12 (h); AU] cum dormirent homines V; CHRO ; *cf.* cum dormiunt homines I (k)

*ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σίτου* = in triticum ZE; 3 (a) ; 4 (b) ; 7 (*g*[1]); 8 (*ff*[2]); 12 (h) ; NIC ; PEL] in medio tritici V; 2 (e) ; CHRO; *cf.* inter frumentum I (k)

Von Matt 13 : 12 abgesehen, wo Zenos Text mit *illi* eine afrikanische Lesart bewahrt hat, begleiten ihn mit dem wohl in Verona gegen Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Purpurevangeliar 4 (*b*), dem etwa gleichzeitigen Claromontanus 12 (*h*), dessen Ursprungsort noch ungeklärt ist, Texte, die zur Kernüberlieferung des fortschrittlichen italienischen Textes um 350–380 zu rechnen sind, der mit Ambrosius und Ambrosiaster verwandt ist und bei der Herstellung der Vulgata als Grundlage diente.[26] Es überrascht nicht, daß Zenos Lesarten beim Vergleich mit den Texten der altlateinischen Handschriften einen ähnlichen Platz finden wie schon im Kreis der patristischen Zitate. Im Rahmen seiner eigenen, nicht Cyprian oder anderen entlehnten Bibelanführungen ist Zeno, wenn auch in bescheidenem Umfang, ein wichtiger Zeuge für den Entwicklungsstand des Textes seiner Zeit in Oberitalien (Verona).[27] Er gehört trotz seiner wohl afrikanischen Herkunft[28] zu den Vertretern einer von Italien ausstrahlenden Praevulgata, die die Vetus Latina-Ausgabe als Texttyp I bezeichnet.[29] Vereinzelte afrikanische[30] Lesarten in dem von ihm zitierten Text sind nicht anders zu beurteilen als bei diesen.

[26] Vgl. die Darstellung der Evangelientiberlieferung bei B. Fischer, 'Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache', *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (ed. K. Aland; Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 5; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), 30–39.

[27] Zu den Veroneser Bibelhandschriften siehe B. Fischer, *Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Großen* (Karl der Große II; Dusseldorf, 1965), *2* 14.

[28] Für diese Herkunft spricht lediglich die Passio S. Arcadii, deren Verfasser Zeno wohl ist, vgl. B. Löfstedt, CChL *22,* 6*–7*; F. E. Vokes, 'Zeno of Verona, Apuleius and Africa', *Studia Patristica* 8/2 (TU 93; Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 130–34, will nicht einmal dieses Argument gelten lassen.

[29] In meiner Paulus-Ausgabe sind die Zeno-Lesarten als diesem Typ zugehörig behandelt.

[30] Zu Herkunft und heutigem Gebrauchssinn des Begriffs 'afrikanischer Text' vgl. B. Fischer (Anm. 26), 9–12; H. J. Frede, *Vetus Latina 25, 2.* Lieferung (1976), 146–47.

# 23. The Diatessaron of Romanos

GILLES QUISPEL

THE Dutch Diatessarons are based upon a deviant Latin Gospel harmony translated from Tatian's work. This was proved decisively when the Persian Diatessaron came to light. Then B. M. Metzger and A. Baumstark could show how much this writing has in common with the Western harmonies.[1] Since that date (1951) a scholar leaves the solid ground of textual data and commits an obvious error when he tries to deny this established fact. Nor will it help to object that such Tatianic readings are in fact Old Latin (OL) variant readings that crept into the vernacular harmonies during the course of their transmission, because as often as not these Tatianisms are absent from the OL. For example, the original Dutch harmony must have contained the variant : But if you want to pray, go into your room (Matt. 6 : 6) .[2] It is not to be found in the Codex Fuldensis or any OL MS, but it is contained in the Persian Diatessaron.

The Old High German Diatessaron betrays the influence of the same tradition. Perhaps this could be doubted as long as new evidence was not yet available. But recently it was established that the fourth-century mystic Macarius was familiar with a very extravagant Diatessaron text. As Macarius was a Syrian, probably originating from or in contact with Edessa, the capital of Aramaic Christianity, his Diatessaron is a counterpart of that of Ephraem Syrus who came from Nisibis. And it is in Macarius (*serm.* 61.2 [Typ. I])[3] that we find the variant *ὑπῆρχον* for *εἰσίν* in Matt. 2 : 18 ('Rachel wept for her children, because they were no more'). This confirms the same variant in Ephraem Syrus' Commentary on the Diatessaron and in the Venetian

[1] A. Baumstark in G. Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano* (BibOr 14; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1951), xcvii–cxi; B. M. Metzger, 'Tatian's Diatessaron and a Persian Harmony of the Gospels', *JBL* 69 (1950), 261–80 = *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (NTTS 4; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 97–120.

[2] R. van den Broek, 'Enkele opmerkingen over de Latijnse archetypus van het Middelnederlandse Diatessaron', *De Nieuwe Taalgids 70* (1977), *434-58,* esp. pp. 441–3.

[3] H. Berthold, GCS 2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973), 202.

Diatessaron. Therefore, this Old High German variant cannot be considered as sheer coincidence and be dismissed out of hand.[4] We find the same reading in Ludolph of Saxony's *Life* of *Christ*. That is because Ludolph still knew and quoted the Latin version of Tatian that lies behind the Western vernacular harmonies. The objection that Ludolph's *Vita Christi* is a life of Jesus in verse that would have many variants sheerly for poetic variation is not valid for the simple reason that Ludolph wrote prose, not poetry.[5]

It is true that some of the Tatianisms in the Western Diatessarons can have many explanations other than dependence. But the problem is whether such alternative explanations can be plausible in view of the cumulative evidence which points in the opposite direction, especially if these variants also occur in texts written in the same language as the canonical Gospels, namely Greek. And this is the case with the writings of Romanos.

The saintly Melodos, 'the humble Romanos', is the greatest and most famous poet of the Greek Orthodox Church. He was born of a Jewish family in Emesa, the present Horns, in Syria, and became a deacon of the Christian Church at Berytus (Beirut). It was during the reign of Anastasius I (491–518) that he went from there to Constantinople, where he joined the clergy of the Theotokos church. His 'kontakia' (essays) are elaborately constructed poetical sermons, among others about gospel themes, and were greatly influenced by the poetry of St. Ephraem.[6] This Syrian poet who wrote in Greek was familiar with a version of the Diatessaron of Tatian. A few typical examples will suffice to prove this new but obvious observation.

(1) He quotes Mary as having said : '*I am* (εἰμί) the handmaid of him that sent thee' (9.11.8), whereas Luke 1:38 reads : 'Lo, the handmaid of the Lord'. This is in agreement with the

[4] G. Quispel, *Tatian* and the Gospel *of Thomas* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 114: 'Macarius and the Diatessaron of Tatian', A ***Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East*** (ed. R. H. Fischer; Chicago: Lutheran School of Theology, 1977), 203–9, esp. p. 204.

[5] See the review of ***Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*** by O. C. Edwards, Jr., *JBL* 96 (1977), 464–6, esp. p. 466.

[6] J. Grosdidier de Matons, ***Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance*** (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977); Bathja Bayer, 'Romanos Melodos', ***EncJud* 14.238;** P. Maas, C. A. Trypanis, ***Romanus Melodus, Cantica, Cantica genuina*** (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963); J. Grosdidier de Matons, ***Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes (SC 99, 110, 114,*** 128; Paris: du Cerf, 1964–7).



Persian Diatessaron (*'I am* the handmaid of God') and the Heliand (285), whereas Ephraem's Commentary on the Diatessaron has somewhat adapted his text to the canonical version: 'Lo, *I am* the maid of God'. It is possible of course that there are many other explanations to minimize the importance of the 'I am' in the Dutch Diatessaron variant ('I *am* the handmaid of God'), but there is none to explain away the reading 'of God' instead of 'of the Lord'.

(2) In the first hymn on the Resurrection 40. 3-5, Jesus says to Mary Magdalene : '"Maria". And she, having *recognised* him, said immediately : "Truly, my good shepherd calls me" '. John 20 : 16 only says that she turned to him and said 'Rabbuni', which is Hebrew for 'My Master'. The variant 'she recognised him' is one of the most conspicuous Tatianisms known to date.

In the Rhymebible of Jacob of Maerlant (2681 1/3), based on the oldest version of the Dutch Diatessaron we know, it is said that Mary 'then *recognised* him *immediately* from that *word* and said "Master" and *approached* and wanted to *touch* his *feet*'.[7]

The Liege Diatessaron (ch. 237) has only : 'Then Mary *recognised* him and said : "Rabboni", that is to say, "Master" '. The Stuttgart MS adds: 'She *ran* to him and wanted to *touch* him'. But the Heliand has more details and is nearer to Maerlant :

And *straightway* she came *closer*, the wife, with good will, and *recognised* her savior himself. In her love she could not refrain, but with her hands she longed to hold him, the woman to *touch* the World-Lord. (5929–32 ; Scott, 203)

This must go back to a common ancestor, a Latin Diatessaron, which contained the variants both have in common against the Vulgate.

Traces of the Latin text are preserved in the *Vita beatae virginis Mariae rhythmica* 6 173/4:

Mox quod esset dominus ex hac *voce* pia
*novit* atque propius *statim accedebat,*
se prosternens *suos pedes tangere volebat.*

Moreover the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (89) of Ps-Bonaventura read :

Et *cognoscens* eum *ad vocem.*

[7] R. van den Broek, 'Jacob van Maerlant en het Nederlandse Diatessaron', *NedTTs* 28 (1974), 141–64.

This is reflected by the Pepysian Harmony (ch. 103):

And then she *knew* him by his *voice*.

The Latin Diatessarons of Kassel and München (23346) both read: 'et *occurrit* ut *tangeret* eum'.

As I see it there cannot be the slightest doubt that some of these variants go back to Tatian himself, if only we admit that the Old Syriac versions have been influenced by the Diatessaron. The Sinaitic Syriac has:

And she *perceived* him and saith to him: 'Rabbuli'. And she *ran* forward unto him that she might draw near to him.

The second variant is found very often, both in gospel MSS and Gospel harmonies.[8] This could be due to influence of the Diatessaron. Until now, it might have seemed hazardous to relate the Syrian and the Western fields. But Romanos reveals that the reading 'she recognised him' was contained in the Diatessaron he was familiar with; and it is a clarification that could well be due to the hand of Tatian himself.

(3) In the hymn on the wedding at Cana in Galilee Romanos says: 'Mary *went* immediately and said to her son, "They have no wine left"' (18.5.8). John 2: 3 has only: 'Jesus' mother said to him, "They have no wine left"'. Until now this variant was only attested by Ludolph of Saxony (1.25.2) and the Heliand (2019). It formerly had seemed extremely adventurous to consider this as a Tatianism. Now it is attested in the text of a sixth-century Syrian who knew the Diatessaron.

These few examples taken from many are sufficient proof that Romanos was familiar with the Diatessaron. What does this mean in the context of Diatessaron studies? Since the last war it has been established that the ninth-century Heliand and the Alemannic poem Sælden Hort (*Thesaurus Gratiarum*) of the fourteenth century were based on a Latin Diatessaron which was not the Codex Fuldensis. The former turned out to have been preserved in part by the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony and the *Vita beatae virginis Mariae rhythmica*.[9] And the recently discovered Icelandic Diatessaron shows great affinity with this specific Latin text.[10]

8 $\aleph^{3}$ $\Theta$ $\Psi$ *pc*; $syr^{s,pal}$; $vg^{C,D,gat}$; $T^{lat\,(M\,23346,\,Cassel)}$; $T^{nl(SCHTh)}$; P-H.

9 R. van den Broek, 'A Latin Diatessaron in the "Vita Beate Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica"', *NTS* 21 (1974–5), 109–32.



Not only Augustine, but also his Manichean opponents were shown to be familiar with this highly deviant and heterodox version. And this led to the conclusion that this significant text had come into the Latin world through the intermediary of the Manichees.[11]

Now not only the Syrian Macarius, but also the Syrian Romanos turns out to have known the Diatessaron, though both wrote in Greek. This raises the question whether the Greek version of Tatian's harmony, which unquestionably did exist, as the Yale fragment from Dura Europos proves, did not have more influence also on Greek gospel MSS than is generally supposed. This could have served as an intermediary of the Syriac text and the Latin Diatessaron current among the Manichees of North Africa and known to Augustine. If this is correct, a perplexing problem could possibly have found its solution. No other example of a direct Latin translation from the Syriac is known in the whole history of Latin literature. Macarius and Romanos might reveal that the Greek translation of the Diatessaron was still available and influential in the fourth and sixth centuries.

But still more important is the problem whether or not Tatian has also integrated Jewish Christian gospel tradition into his 'foursome'. Ever since the beginning of critical scholarship with Hugo Grotius, this was generally accepted, although today quite a few text critics would tend to deny it, especially since the discovery of the Gospel of Thomas. This apocryphal writing has a host of deviant readings in common with the Diatessaron, and the hypothesis has been launched that the author of 'Thomas' and Tatian used a common Jewish Christian, extracanonical source. On this problem, too, the text of Romanos has a contribution to make.

In his first hymn on Epiphany (16.14.7–10), he says that John the Baptist was 'seeing in the streams him that appeared in the middle of the three young men, dew in fire and *fire in the Jordan radiant*, bubbling, inaccessible *light*'. This, then, is an allusion to the three boys in the burning furnace (Daniel 3) and to the

10 G. Quispel, *VC* 32 (1978), 214–15.

11 *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, 58–68.

well-known Jewish Christian tradition, contained in the Gospel according to the Ebionites (frg. 3 : 'and straightway there shone about the place a great *light'*).

The same Jewish Christian tradition lies behind *T. Levi* 18 : 6–7 : 'And the *Glory* of the Most High shall be uttered upon him, and the Spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him in the water'.

The words of Ephraem Syrus and other Syrian writers make it clear that Tatian integrated this Jewish Christian tradition into his harmony. As a matter of fact the *Commentary* on the Diatessaron says that the Spirit descended and rested upon One only (4.3) and that the splendour of the *light* appeared upon the water (4.4).

These variants were preserved by the Latin version of Tatian's writing.[12]

Petrus Comestor 34:
Inaestimabilis *splendor* factus est circa eum.

Ludolph of Saxony 1.21.11;
Inaestimabilis *splendor* factus est circa Christum ... (Spiritus) *requievit* super eum.

*Vita Rhythmica 3686* :
*Lux* magnaque refulsit in Jesum.

On this Latin text is based the Pepysian Harmony (ch. 7):
*So* corn the *brightnesse* of hevene and the Holy Gost and alighth withinne hym.

If traces of the same tradition are found in Justin Martyr (*dial.* 88.3), Ps-Cyprian (*rebapt.* 17), and the OL codices a and $g^1$ in Matt. 3 : 15, this only shows that at a very early date Jewish Christian traditions about the baptism of Jesus have influenced the gospel text of the congregation at Rome which, as Hermas showed, was not allergic to the adoptianism which was current among the Jewish Christians.

The opposite view, according to which the Western Diatessaron took these variants from the OL MSS, is no longer feasible, for then we would have to suppose that the Greek-writing Syrian, Romanos, in Constantinople also has been influenced by the OL MSS of Western Christendom, This is absurd.

[12] Van den Broek, 'A Latin Diatessaron', 123.



There are still more readings that Romanos has in common with the Jewish Christian gospel tradition. Moreover, there are some variants which this poet has in common with the Gospel of Thomas, probably through the intermediary of the Diatessaron. They deserve a special inquiry. These few remarks were made in order to show that the problems of the Diatessaron and of the possibly independent tradition it may contain deserve to be put in a much wider context than has been done by recent critics. There probably are still other authors besides Romanos who can adduce new light to this hotly debated issue. But from now on Romanos can no longer be ignored in studies on the free tradition. He is a Hellenic witness to Tatian's Harmony and its Jewish Christian source.

# 24. Diatessaric Readings in the 'Martyrdom of St. Abo of Tiflis'?

J. NEVILLE BIRDSALL

ABOUT the turn of the century, there seems to have been a determined desire on the part of textual critics to discover the Diatessaron in the Caucasus. The strongest part of this campaign was in the Armenian field, where F. C. Conybeare at the end of his life at length declared for an Armenian Diatessaron.[1] His suggestions were built upon by S. Lyonnet[2] and published in post-war years. Only recently have they been called profoundly into question by A. Vööbus.[3]

Into the Georgian area the advance was never so penetrating: A. Harnack in 1901 suggested on the basis of a translation by Džavachišvili that traces of the Diatessaron were to be seen in the Martyrdom of St. Eustathius of Mzhetha;[4] and in 1906 Kirsopp Lake, basing himself equally upon a translation, put forward the view that a like phenomenon was to be observed in the Martyrdom of St. Abo of Tiflis.[5] This view has also held the field till recently, in part because of the inaccessibility of the source material in its original language and partly through the repetition especially of Harnack's opinions in surveys and bibliographies. It is to the credit of our gratuland that he has drawn attention in his most recent bibliographical survey to the discussion of the material in the Eustathius martyrdom by the present writer,[6]

[1] F. C. Conybeare, 'An Armenian Diatessaron?' *JTS* 25 (1924), 232-45.

[2] S. Lyonnet, *Les Origines de la version arménienne et le diatessaron* (BibOr 13; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1950).

[3] A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac* (CSCO 128/Subs. 3; Louvain, 1951), 150–1; *Early Versions of the New Testament: Manuscript Studies* (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 6; Stockholm, 1954), 152-4.

[4] I. Dzawakoff (Džavachišvili), *Das Martyrium des heiligen Eustathius von Mzchetha*, ed. by A. von Harnack (SPAW, phil.-hist. Kl. 37; Berlin, 1901), 897 ff.

[5] K. Lake, 'Tatian's Diatessaron and the Martyrdom of Abo', *ExpT* 17 (1905–6), 286; based on Karl Schultze, *Das Martyrium des heiligen Abo von Tiflis* (TU 27/4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905).

[6] J. N. Birdsall, ' "The Martyrdom of St Eustathius of Mzketha" and the Diatessaron: An Investigation', *NTS* 18 (1971–2), 452-6.

who is gratified to note that Professor Metzger agrees with him that there is no evidence of the Diatessaron to be found there.[7] He evidently shared not only this opinion with the writer, but also ignorance of the work of Lake, which is hidden in a one-column note in the Expository Times, vol. 17 (1905–6). It is a merit of Professor Tjitze Baarda to have brought it to light again in his Proefschrift on the gospel quotations of Afrahat.[8] The rear column of the advance may be said to be the work of Professor Molitor, especially in his Latin translation and harmony of the gospels.[9] In the writer's view, this does no more than to highlight harmonistic readings in the gospel tradition in Georgian which have entered that tradition from a four-gospel base in Armenian, itself tinctured with sporadic Tatianic hue from its ultimate Syriac base.

It is concerning the document discussed by Lake that this note is written in honour of one whose article on the evidence of the versions[10] for the text of the NT was amongst the writer's stimuli to study and research in this field. This document is the work of a contemporary of the martyr who was converted to Christ from Islam and eventually suffered for his faith in AD 786 on January 6. Johannes Sabanidze writes in response to the request of Samuel, Catholicos of Kartli, whose request constitutes the first section of the work. This continues with an address by the martyrologist directed to the church as it listens to the account of the witness of Abo on the feast of the Epiphany. This leads him to speak of the Name of Jesus, which he states himself unable to expound, yet willing to make the attempt for the sake of his zealous brethren. He then embarks upon a catalogue and exposition of names by which Jesus is called, which we will give below.[11]

[7] B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 192.

[8] T. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage:* I, *Aphrahat's Text of the Fourth Gospel* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 1975), 135-7 (§ 52) and Appendix, pp. 381, 449.

[9] J. Molitor, *Synopsis Latina evangeliorum Ibericorum antiquissimorum secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam desumpta e codicibus Adysh, Opiza, Tbeth necnon e fragmentis biblicis et patristicis quae dicuntur Chanmeti et Haemeti* (CSCO 256/Subs. 24; Louvain, 1965), esp. Part III, 'Harmonismen in denen wir unbedenklich Tatianismen vermuten dürfen'.

[10] B. M. Metzger, 'The Evidence of the Versions for the Text of the New Testament', *New Testament Manuscript Studies* (ed. M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1950), 25-68.

[11] This study is based upon the recent edition by Ilia Abuladze, *Dzveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis dzeglebi* (Monuments of Old Georgian Hagiographical Literature; Tbilisi: Me't'sniereba, 1964), 1.46-81. Further bibliography will be found in M. van Esbroeck, Les *plus anciens homéliaires georgiens* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique, institut orientaliste, 1975), 136-7, while the historical background is discussed by Paul Peeters in the article, 'Les Khazars dans la Passion de S. Abo de Tiflis', *AnBoll* 52 (1934), 21-63.



Lake's discussion[12] deals with two gospel quotations, one from John which is in the exposition referred to, the text of which will shortly be given. The other is from Luke and appears in the earlier part of the sermonic introduction: this is ostensibly Luke 17:21 which appears in the form 'sasup'eveli grmtisay gult'a šina t'k'uent'a ars' — the Kingdom of God 'is within your hearts. Since we have more to say of the catalogue of names in which the Johannine quotation appears, it is better to deal with the alleged Diatessaric quality of this other quotation at once. Lake based himself on Moesinger's translation of the commentary of Ephraem upon the Concordant Gospel 'regnum intra in corde vestro est' and 'regnum Dei in corde vestro'.[13] This is confirmed, with slight stylistic variation, by the more recent translation of Leloir.[14] Unfortunately, this occurs in a section of the commentary which has not come to light in the original Syriac. We have then no first-hand assurance that it was the reading of the Diatessaron. To the contrary, we have some probable evidence that it was not. In quotations in works of Ephraem in Syriac (collected by Leloir)[15] we have four occurrences and in no case does the rendering with 'your hearts' appear: three instances have the Peshitta form, and one that of the Vetus Syra.[16] Furthermore, the Pseudo-Ephraemic 'Exposition of the Gospel', extant only in Armenian, whose links with the Diatessaron have often been acknowledged, has a form which appears to be a slavish rendering

[12] 'Tatian's Diatessaron', 286.

[13] G. Moesinger, *Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a Sancto Ephraemo Doctore Syro* (Venice, 1876), 209, 211.

[14] L. Leloir, *Saint Ephrem: Commentaire de l'évangile concordant, Version arménienne* (CSCO 137/Arm. 1; Louvain, 1953), 255, 257; translation (CSCO 145/Arm. 2; Louvain, 1954), 184-5.

[15] L. Leloir, *L'évangile d'Ephrem d'après les œuvres éditées* (CSCO 180/Subs. 12; Louvain, 1958), 90, nos. 560–3.

[16] The matter is discussed by F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da Mepharreshe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1904), 2.198 and 298. He considers the homily from which Leloir's nos. 561 and 562 are taken to be the work of Isaac of Antioch. He cites no evidence, however, for non-authenticity of that containing no. 560, which also has the Peshitta rendering. Moreover, he provides no data to tell us how many quotations he counted in the work of Ephraem.

of the wording of the Peshitta.[17] It would appear most probable, then, that in this case the Georgian form known in the Martyrdom is a legacy in Georgian of an Armenian ancestry, but extends no further back in the tradition.

The second reading which Lake considers to show Diatessaric origin is the form in which John 10:7 or 9 is quoted 'me var kar c̱horebisay'—I am the door of life. This Lake attributed to the Diatessaron on the strength of a quotation of Afrahat[18] which takes this form, but adds the words 'that whosoever by me shall enter shall live for ever'. On this we may make two observations. Firstly, the Georgian form which stands in the edition translated by Schultze is the reading of one MS only, as the more recent edition of Abuladze shows us.[19] The form accepted by the latter (apparently on the basis of majority attestation by fourteen of his fifteen MSS) is 'me var kari c̱hovart'ay'—I am the door of the sheep. There may then be some doubt whether it should be read in this form, agreeing with the Greek tradition, or in the form discussed by Lake. For my part, I would be inclined to accept the form discussed by Lake on the basis of *lectio difficilior potior*. But even so, does it come from the Diatessaron? Baarda[20] doubts this, since Afrahat also attests 'I am the door of the sheep', and in this view he agrees with Leloir and Ortiz de Urbina in their earlier studies. The phrase 'door of life' is known to Ephraem,[21] but in connection with other passages than John 10, namely Ps. 118:20 and Luke 11:52. It is then, concludes Baarda, an agraphon, and he discusses it in this light.

But there is a further reason why we should not hasten to take Lake's assessment of the significance of this reading as the correct one. The reading occurs in the sermonic introduction, and this

[17] G. Egan (ed.), *Saint Ephrem: An Exposition of the Gospel* (CSCO 291/Arm. 5; Louvain, 1968), 69; translation (CSCO 292/Arm. 6; Louvain, 1968), 64. Egan has promised a discussion of the biblical text which has not yet appeared; meanwhile we rely on the work of Joseph Schaefers, *Eine altsyrische antimarkionitische Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1917), 81 n. 4.

[18] *Demonstratio* 4.5 (PS 1. 145).

[19] *Dzveli k'art'uli*, 52 (line 25) and n. 47.

[20] Gospel *Quotations*, 135-7, 381, 449.

[21] Commentary on the Concordant Gospel 18.8 and 21.21 (Leloir, *Saint Ephrem: Commentaire*, 257,326; translation, 185,232). It is intriguing that the former of these occurrences is in close proximity to the Lucan passage also found in Abo and discussed by Lake.



does not represent the Georgian text of the eighth century, but a traditional body of material which John and his contemporaries inherited from a more primitive period. Since it is not available in English,[22] it may be worth while to give the whole of the relevant part in translation, so that it is more readily accessible to English-speaking scholarship.

John refers in the course of his sermonic address to the declaration of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians that 'every knee shall bow and every tongue confess' the Name of Jesus. He continues as follows:

Because fearful and holy and altogether powerful and wonderful and Lord and Almighty is His name. We are not able to attain to (the exposition of) the richness of His name but in accordance with my inability and your eagerness I will make a beginning of your instruction, beloved! (His names are) Door, Way, Lamb, Shepherd, Stone, Pearl, Flower, Angel, Man, God, Light, Earth, Salt, Worm, Mustard-seed, Sun of Righteousness, Son of the eternal Father, and One God, constant (lit. invariable) and indestructible is His nature after the taking of a Body and the unification with Godhead; in connection with which we are perhaps able to make known to you truthfully about each name but only by His grace shall I make it known to you, the friends of Christ.

He is called Door because He said, 'I am the Door of Life' (*v.l.* 'of the sheep'), because truly those who believe in Him enter through Him, the door of the Kingdom (*v.l.* 'through Him as through the door of the Kingdom').

He is called Way because He said, 'I am the Way and the Truth and the Life',[23] because He becomes a way to us as we ascend to heaven.

He is called Lamb, because 'He was slain for us',[24] and ever lives,[25] and by the division[26] of His body and blood to us gives to us eternal life.

He is called Shepherd because He said, 'I am the Good Shepherd'.[27] Truly, He has turned us wandering sheep back, and has killed our

[22] An abbreviated version of the Martyrdom will be found in D. M. Lang *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints* (2d edn.; London: Allen & Unwin, 1976), 115-33. A French translation of this section has been made by M. van Esbroeck; see note 54 below.

[23] John 14: 6.

[24] 1 Cor. 5: 7.

[25] Heb. 7: 25.

[26] *Ganqopay*, rendered here 'division', is used in the setting of the miraculous feeding in the Georgian version at Mark 6: 41 and John 6: 11.

[27] John 10: 14: the 'wolf' in the exposition has links with 10: 12.

enemy the lion with the rod of the cross and has brought to life again by the power of the Godhead the corpse of the first-formed destroyed by that lion (*lit.* by him) and has healed by His wound the bite of the venomous wolf and has dissipated the deadly venom by the medicine of His Godhead and has fulfilled the word spoken through the prophet, namely, 'He was wounded because of our sins and by His wounds we are healed'.[28]

He is called Corner-Stone by the prophet because He is the one who was dishonoured[29] and rejected by the highpriests and by the scribes of the people of the Jews in Jerusalem, but became the head of all the corners[30] of heaven.[31]

He is called Pearl because He shines out like a pearl between the two valves of the spirit and the body. Lovers of God, as merchants[32] of the kingdom, seek Him with faith, not as God alone and not as mere man, but as God and man, and they purchase Him, uniquely of great price, by the expenditure of all treasure (*v.l.* 'of all the world') and by the pouring out of their blood also.

He is called Salt[34] because He has drawn near to our body corrupted by sin and has removed from us the stench of idol-worship and has prepared (lit. mixed) our souls with sweet savour by the faith of the worship of God.

He is called Flower because as a flower He has sprung up from the root of Jesse[35] for the church from the holy virgin Mary in bodily form, and (furthermore) has spread over us the spirit of grace through the sweet smell of Godhead.

He is called Angel, because it was spoken of Him through the prophet, 'the Angel of great counsel, wonderful',[36] who came to us as deliverer from the Father.

[28] Isaiah 53: 5, 6: cf. the use of these verses in 1 Pet. 2: 24, 25, and note 'wandering sheep' which has links with both; and the use of 'lion' in 1 Pet. 5: 8 to describe the devil.

[29] Cf. Mark 8: 31; Luke 9: 22: yet this is not a direct borrowing from scripture; the phrase 'the scribes of the people of the Jews in Jerusalem' smacks of a later, probably anti-Judaic style.

[30] The word 'kidet'a', here rendered 'corners', is used in the translation of Ps. 117: 22 in all Georgian recensions, and in the Adiš MS in Matt. 21: 42 and Mark 12: 10.

[31] The image has here become very highly developed and complex; Eph. 2: 20 may well be a link in its chain of evolution.

[32] Matt. 13: 45. [33] Matt. 13: 46.

[34] The image of the Christian as a sacrifice salted by Christ recalls Rom. 12: 1 and the variant at Mark 9: 49 based on Lev. 2: 13 (which however is known only in Codex Bezae and MSS of the Old Latin).

[35] Isa. 11: 1.

[36] Isa. 9: 6 (Abuladze, whose scripture references are on the whole very accurate—and better than Schultze's!—here inadvertently gives Ps. 9: 6).



He is called Man, because the prophet said, 'He is a man and who shall know Him?'[37] Truly He put on perfect Manhood without sin, and revealed to us His Godhead.

He is called God as the blessed John the beloved said, 'The word was God, and through Him everything was made that was made'.[38]

He is called Light, because He said, 'It was (*v.l.* 'I am') the true Light which lights every man who comes into the world'.[39]

He is called Earth, as David said, 'The earth has given its fruit, bless us O God, our God'.[40] Truly the maker of the earth came to the earth and from the earth is (His) body of an earthly nature from those who were made from the earth; as a comely shoot He has sprung from the earth, and has produced as fruit His holy apostles and martyrs and righteous, and has filled the accursed earth with the fruit of blessing.

He is called Mustard-seed[41] because He made Himself small and was made like us in our stature so that He might plant (Himself in) the field of our soul and strike the roots deep and might gather us upon the branches of His cross and be exalted[42] and exalt us with Him.

He is called Worm because He said, 'I am a worm and not a man'.[43] By the brightness of the Godhead, as a hook in a worm, thus He hid His own Godhead in His body[44] and cast it into the nether regions of the world and drew it up like a good fisherman: about whom He says, 'He took the dragon with a hook and put a bridle in his mouth and a spike through his nose',[45] that is the devil whom He took and whose wiles He broke, about whom the Psalmist David bears witness, 'Thou hast broken the heads of the dragon'.[46]

He is called Sun of Righteousness because the prophet said, 'The Sun of Righteousness shall illuminate you who fear his name, beneath whose wings is healing',[47] because (the sun) is that which covers and warms and there is nothing which is hid from its heat.[48]

But I have explained nothing at all of this to you of myself, beloved,

[37] Jer. 17: 9. [38] John 1: 1, 3. [39] John 1: 9; cf. 9: 5.
[40] Ps. 66: 7. [41] Mark 4: 31 and parallels.
[42] John 12: 32. [43] Ps. 21: 7.

[44] A less literal rendering might be 'flashing forth Godhead, He hid it in His flesh like a hook in a worm'. The Georgian verb rendered 'brightness' or 'flashing' is found in the translation of ἀπαύγασμα (Wisd. 7: 26). ἐκλάμπειν is one of the words it represents in the gospels. A near parallel is found in Cyril of Alexandria, *thes.* 6 (MPG 75.80), where the subject-matter is the eternal generation of the Son, and the image that of the sun emitting its rays.

[45] Job 40: 25, 26 (cited by Schultze) provides a closer parallel, adapted only to form a specific assertion in prophetic mode, than Ezek. 29: 4, adduced by Abuladze.

[46] Ps. 73: 14 (with the variant συνέθλασας/συνέτριψας, known in the whole Georgian tradition).

[47] Mal. 4: 2. [48] Ps. 18: 7.

lovers of Christ and keepers of the teaching, but from the witness of the prophetic books and according to the preaching of the apostles, namely what is written in the holy gospels and the faith established by the holy fathers, the teachers.

Clearly, John spoke the truth : this is no document of the eighth century, but an inheritance from earlier days. Lists of titles of Christ are found in the Acts of Peter[49] and the Acts of John,[50] of which the Acts of Peter share Door, Way, Pearl, Light, and Mustard-Seed with our document, and the Acts of John the first two terms only. Each has a number of others. Lists are found in Justin's ***Dialogue with Trypho*** (especially ch. 126) and lie behind the second book of Cyprian's ***Testimonia (Ad Quirinum).*** A number of the scriptural citations in our document are known in the earlier literature, especially 'angel of great counsel, wonderful' (Isa. g :6)[51] and 'he is a man and who shall know him ?' (Jer. 17 : g).[52] The phrase 'I am a worm and no man' is found quoted in Justin, ***Dialogue*** 101, but is not expounded, although the whole verse from which it comes is said to be foretold of Jesus. Its exposition by the image of the hook in the worm is found with almost exactly the same wording in the homily of Amphilochius of Iconium, 'In illud : Pater, si possibile est', where the quotation from Job 40 is also found (a text never found in the early testimonia lists).[53] In fact a concurrence of recent researches shows that this list in the Martyrdom of Abo is also found in the Amphilochian homily, 'De recens baptizatis et in resurrectionem' ; however, it is known in its full form only in the Martyrdom.[54] The opinion of van Esbroeck is that only by use of the text of the Martyrdom may the archetype of

49 Act. *Petr.* 20 (ed. L. Vouaux [Paris, 1922], 3469).

50 Act. *Jo.* 98 (LB 2/1, 200).

51 Justin, ***dial. 126.1*** (ed. E. J. Goodspeed [Göttingen, 1914], 246).

52 Cyprian, ***ad Quir.*** 2. 10 (CSEL 3/1, 74).

53 CPG 3237; text edited by K. Holl, ***Amphilochius von Ikonium*** (Tübingen: Mohr, 1904), 91–102, esp. 98–9. Data about the use of Job 40: 25-6 are derived from ***Biblia Patristica*** (2 vols.; Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975–7).

54 CPG 3238; BHG 1936q: edited by C. Datema, *Amphilochii Iconiensis* ***Opera*** (Corpus Christianorum, series graeca 3 [Turnhout, 1978]), 151-6. For the details of recent research see CPG ii *sub numero* (where, however, we should read 'versio georgica s.n. Epiphanii' [not 'Amphilochii']); van Esbroeck, ***Les*** *plus anciens homéliaires georgiens*, 152–3; and ***id.*** 'Archtologie d'une homtlie sur la Pâque attribute à Chrysostome ou Épiphane de Chypre', ***Armenian and Biblical Studies*** (ed. Michael Stone; Jerusalem, 1976), 165–81.



the homily be reconstructed. The christological remarks with which the exposition is rich show a two-nature doctrine in terminology which is close to that of Amphilochius, namely Godhead-body (it is ambiguous whether 'body' or 'flesh' is being rendered in Georgian).[55] What we have here then is apparently a borrowing by John Sabanidze of an expansion by Amphilochius of a much earlier list, Thus a document of early Christianity has been preserved in Georgian dress.

Its preservation alerts us to the possibility that other traces of ante-Nicene literature may be found in the same area. Remains of Melito and Hippolytus in Georgian are well known. In the Martyrdom of Eustathius of Mzhetha possible links with the Epistula Apostolorum have been discerned,[56] while Kekelidze in an article rarely observed has argued that the use of the Apology of Aristides may be observed in the same document.[57] A list of canonical books of the OT, preserved in a Sinai MS,[58] might have links with declarations of Melito or other early lists.[59] It is a field well worth prospecting, and young scholars should be encouraged to learn Georgian and the other relevant languages so that that field may be exploited as it should be. It is a curious phenomenon of Christian scholarship at the present time that so much ingenuity should be expended upon areas where no more advance is possible because of a dearth of new data, when there are virgin seams scarcely prospected and completely unmined.

But to return to the quotation of John 10 : 7 or its related agraphon. Its occurrence in a list transmitted through Amphilochius shows without a doubt that no trace of the Diatessaron is to be discerned here, but a valuable relic of early exposition

55 *horci* and (plural) ***horcni*** are used to render both σῶμα and σάρξ in the Georgian biblical translations. A uniform rendering has been given in the text.

56 See note 6 above.

57 K. Kekelidze, 'Antimazdeisturi polemikis p'ilosop'iuri dasabut'eba udzvel's k'art'ul mcerlobaši' ['The philosophical argument of anti-Mazdean polemic in the earliest Georgian literature'], ***Etiudebi 5*** (Tbilisi, 1955), 42–60. I owe knowledge of this interesting article to Professor E. Ḫintibidze of the University of Tbilisi.

58 See M. T'arḫnišvili (Tarchnišvili), ***Geschichte der kirchlichen*** *georgischen Literatur* (Rome: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1955), 327. The reference there given to an unprinted catalogue of Georgian MSS on Mt. Sinai may be improved now as follows: I. Javaḫišvili (Džavachišvili), *Sinis mt'is* ***kart'ul*** *ḫelnacert'a agceriloba* (Tbilisi, 1947), 57,referring to MS 34, fol. 203.

59 See e.g. H. B. Swete, ***An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*** (London: Cambridge-University, 1914), 203.

of the testimonia, and of developing christology. This would seem to be confirmed by the identification in our document of Jesus with the Door of the Kingdom. This meets us in expositions of Jacob's vision of the ladder of Bethel in Tertullian,[60] in the Naassene source of Hippolytus' *Refutatio*, Book 5,[61] and in Afrahat.[62] There seems to be a clear link between the two parts of the exposition which we can trace back to Amphilochius, and the argument of Afrahat. He takes up the wording of the story of Jacob and continues: 'The door of heaven is the Messiah as he said, I am the door of life, that [Syriac *de*] whosoever shall enter by me shall live eternally. David also said, This is the door of heaven through which the righteous enter'.[63] This is a collocation of ideas which meets us in such a link with primitive Christianity as the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*,[64] while a passage in Arnobius[65] shows that its traces were not left only in Eastern Christendom. As to the passages in Ephraem's Commentary, discussed by Baarda, we may note two further points. Firstly, neither allusion to the phrase 'I am the door of life' meets us in the Commentary at the point where reconstruction would place the tenth chapter of John's Gospel.[66] Secondly, the occurrences are at points where the train of thought would naturally excite the use by the expositor of the phrase: at 18: 8, the exposition is of the scribes who take away the key of knowledge and will not let men enter; at 21: 21, a typological contrast of the stone of the sepulchre with the stone of Jacob's slumber at Bethel leads (as in the sources adduced above) to the introduction of the title. This might strengthen Baarda's conclusion that this form of words is an agraphon. It certainly emphasizes that it is not Diatessaric. It is, in the context in the Martyrdom of Abo,

[60] *Adv. Marc.* 3.24.10 (CChL 1.543).

[61] *Ref. omn. haer.* 5.8.20 (GCS 29.93); cf. 5.9.20 (ibid., 102): διὰ τῆς πύλης ὁδεύοντες ἀληθινῆς, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ μακάριος.

[62] See n. 18 above. This is the point from which Professor Baarda's discussion started.

[63] Ps. 117: 20.

[64] *hom.* 3.51.3 (GCS 42/1.76): ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πύλη τῆς ζωῆς· ὁ δι' ἐμοῦ εἰσερχόμενος εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν ζωήν.

[65] *adv. nat.* 2.65 (CSEL 4.101): *Hanc vitae, ut ita dixerim, ianuam per hanc solum est ingressus ad lucem.*

[66] For recent discussion of the order of pericopae in the original Diatessaron one may consult L. Leloir, *Le Témoignage d'Ephrem sur le Diatessaron* (CSCO 227/ Subs. 19; Louvain, 1962), 1–11, and I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus evangelium syrorum et exinde excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani* (Madrid, 1967).



a preservation in the Caucasus of early Christian exegesis of as great interest and complexity as the work of Tatian, and very likely of equal antiquity.

Schultze considered that many of the scriptural quotations were divergent, and Lake follows him in this estimation. A survey of the gospel quotations and allusions, however, does not confirm this view. In vocabulary the passages quoted agree in almost every case with the Old Georgian tradition as known to us, and generally with the tradition of the T'bet, Opiza, Džruči and Parḫal MSS when these differ from the Adiš MS. Two variants only reveal themselves. In a quotation of Matt. 8: 11 we meet the form of words 'Many shall come . . . and repose in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob'; the variant 'in the bosom of' is due no doubt to the influence of Luke 16: 22, 23. It is attested elsewhere in the Greek Fathers.[67] John 12: 26 meets us in the form, 'If anyone serve me, him will my Father honour who is in the heavens'.[68] The added relative clause is not known in the recorded Georgian MS tradition; outside that tradition, we encounter it in The Hague MS of the Dutch gospel harmony, in the Tuscan harmony, in Codex Sangermanensis of the OL, and, amongst Greek MSS, in the Freer codex and the Ferrar group. These witnesses might derive the addition from a common source, but we can also conceive of it arising independently in different places. It is perhaps interesting that the Freer and Ferrar MSS lie in terms of text-type in the area once called 'Caesarean', with which certain aspects of the Old Georgian tradition are affiliated. A more cursory glance at the Psalm and Pauline allusions and quotations shows similar general agreement with the MS traditions as these are now available in published form.[69] No doubt, when the texts are available, evidence for the

[67] Abuladze, *Dzveli k'art'uli*, 55; Schultze, *Das Martyrium*, 20. Patristic attestation of the variant readings is to be found in the following sources: Origen *fr. in Mt.* 158 (GCS 41.79); *hom. in Gen.* 16.4 (GCS 29.141) [preserved in Latin only]; Methodius *symp.* 5.4 (GCS 27.55f.); Eusebius *e.th.* 1.20 (GCS 14.83); *theoph.* 4.5 (GCS 112.170) [preserved in Syriac only]; Epiph. *haer.* 23.6.3 (GCS 25.255); cf. Clementina *hom.* 8.4.1 (GCS 42.1.123); *rec.* 4.3 (GCS 51.148).

[68] Abuladze, *Dzveli k'art'uli*, 75; Schultze, *Das Martyrium*, 37.

[69] Psalms are edited by M. Sanidze, *P'salmunis dzveli k'art'uli redak'ciebi* [*Old Georgian Redactions of the Psalter*] (Monuments of the Old Georgian Language 11; Tbilisi; Me't'sniereba, 1960); Pauline Epistles by K. Dzocenidze and K. Danelia, *Pavles epistolet'a k'art'uli versiebi* [Georgian Versions of Paul's Epistles] (Works of the Department of Old Georgian Language 16; Tbilisi, 1974).

Georgian text of the Bible from quotations and allusions will be drawn up and will raise problems well known to all who have worked in this kind of material. But we may with confidence hazard the opinion that such a study would only confirm the data already gathered from MSS. Only in the name-list and its testimonia do we contact through this Georgian document earlier areas of biblical transmission than the Georgian version itself.

*Appended note:* After the completion of this article, I submitted it to Michel van Esbroeck, S. J., Bollandist, and to Dom Bernard Outtier, of Solesmes. Van Esbroeck's annotations will be found in notes 22 and 54. Dom Outtier made two additions of value. Firstly, that the reading in Luke 17: 21 is found in a Georgian version of Martyrius-Sahdona (Mamat'a scavlani [= Teachings of the Fathers], ed. I. Abuladze [Tbilisi, 1955], 179, 11. 2-3). The Syriac original has the Peshitta reading; there is a lost Arabic intermediary.

Secondly, in the same collection, in a homily attributed to Ephraem but probably to be ascribed to Isaac of Nineveh-also from an Arabic intermediate source-we find the following (p. 188 11. 7-11): 'He is the way of light and life for those who walk in it: but whoever goes outside it encounters darkness and difficulty. He is the door of life and whoever goes through, will come to knowledge of the truth.. He is the inexhaustible treasure and whoever does not possess it will have poverty, wretchedness, and indigence'. As I take Dom Outtier to intimate, there may be some remote link with the source of our document in this homiletic adaptation. Reference may also be profitably made to Ephraem, *Hymni de nativitate* III. 14 and 15 (CSCO 186.23) where use is made of a list of titles.

# 25. The Resolution of the Philoxenian / Harclean Problem

SEBASTIAN BROCK

THE precise identity of the Syriac version of the NT published by Joseph White in 1778–1803 has remained for two centuries one of the unresolved problems of NT textual scholarship:[1] does it represent the work of Polycarp,[2] made under the patronage of Philoxenus, bishop of MabbQg, in AG 819 = AD 507/8, with marginal readings added a little over a century later by a successor on the episcopal throne of MabbQg, Thomas of Harkel, or is the text itself the product of a revision of Polycarp's work, carried out by Thomas? White considered the former to be the case, and so accordingly entitled his edition of the text 'versio Philoxeniana',[3] whereas the latter position is connected especially with the name of G. H. Bernstein, who first put it forward in detail.[4] If Bernstein is correct, then the 'Philoxenian'

[1] See the excellent survey of B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 63-75, where bibliographical details will be found.

[2] That the revision was undertaken by Polycarp is specifically stated only in the letter of Moshe of Aggel (Egil) which prefaces the latter's translation of Cyril's *Glaphyra*; the text was published by I. Guidi in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 4/2 (1886), 404, and the relevant passage reads: '... if the reader finds quotations from the holy scriptures in this translation of Cyril let him not be worried if they do not agree with MSS (of the Bible) in Syriac, seeing that there is great variation between the (different) editions and (versional) traditions of the scriptures. If the reader wants to verify this, should he come across the edition (*mappaqta*) of the NT and of the Psalter ("David") which the late chorepiskopos Polycarp made in Syriac for the faithful teacher Aksenaya' (= Philoxenus) of MabbQg worthy of blessed memory, he will be amazed at the difference between the Syriac (i.e. Peshitta) and the Greek'.

[3] In this century he has been followed notably by A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), 305–29; Silva New, 'The Harclean Version of the Gospels', *HTR* 21 (1928), 376–95; and M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique textuelle, ZZ, La Critique rationnelle* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1935), 229.

[4] See G. H. Bernstein, *De Charklensi Novi Testamenti translatione Syriaca commentutio* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1837). Recent proponents of Bernstein's thesis include G. Zuntz, The *Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament* (The British Academy, Supplemental Papers 7; London, 1945); and A. Vööbus, 'New Data for the Solution of the Problem Concerning the Philoxenian Version', *Spiritus et veritas: Festschrift Karl Kundziņš* (Eutin: A. Ozolins, 1953), 169–86.

version of the Syriac NT canon[5] is lost, for none of the MSS which, from time to time, have been claimed as Philoxenian by those who hold White's text to be Harclean, can seriously be considered as such.

Basically there are three different starting-points available for any attempt to resolve the matter : the evidence of the colophons; the study of Philoxenus' NT quotations in his own writings, and the study of the translation technique evidenced in White's text, seen against the background of the history of Syriac translation technique.

A. C. Clark's statement, 'to obtain light we must go back to the colophons',[6] reflects the opinion of the vast majority of scholars who have written on the subject. Here it will be recalled that the relevant section of these colophons[7] records that the text goes back to a version 'which was first translated (*etpaššaq*) from Greek into Syriac at Mabbûg in the year 819 of Alexander of Macedon, and was subsequently (*batarken*) collated (*etpaḥḥam*) against two (*v.l.* three) accurate Greek MSS at the monastery of the Enaton near Alexandria through the care of Thomas, bishop of Mabbûg, in the year 927 of Alexander (AD 615/6)'. Upholders of White's position claim that the 'plain meaning's of the colophon is that Thomas only 'collated', and did not 'revise', the text. Clearly, everything hangs on the interpretation of the term *etpaḥḥam*, and unfortunately it cannot really be said that the meaning of this word is quite so plain, seeing that later Syriac writers understood it in quite the opposite sense and speak of Thomas' 'revision' (*turraṣa*).

As A. Vööbus has pointed out,[9] the discussion of the colophon has reached something of an impasse, and it is to his credit, and to that of G. Zuntz before him, that he saw the solution

[5] J. Gwynn put forward strong reasons for thinking that the Pococke Epistles and the Crawford Apocalypse are really Philoxenian. Philoxenus' failure ever to quote these (to him extra-canonical) books does not necessarily weaken Gwynn's case.

[6] Clark, Acts, 329.

[7] See, for example, W. H. P. Hatch, 'The Subscription in the Chester Beatty Manuscript of the Harclean Gospels', *HTR* 30 (1937), 149–51. (According to R. Köbert, *Bib* 56 [1975], 249–50, the seventh-century Vat. syr. 268 gives the date [A.G.] 812 [A.D. 500/01] instead of 819, but this will be erroneous [*tr'sr'* (sic) for *tš'sr'*].)

[8] *So* Clark, *Acts*, 320; similarly S. New, 'Harclean Version', 382–9, and C. van Puyvelde in *DBSup* 6 (1962), 876.

[9] A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament* (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 6; Stockholm, 1954), 109.



must lie in the study of the text itself and its relationship to the NT text quoted in Philoxenus' own later writings. It is indeed astounding that so little attempt has been made to do this systematically. Both Zuntz[10] and Vööbus[11] have made preliminary soundings in this direction, but now the recent publication of Philoxenus *Commentary on the Prologue of John* (= *CPJ*)[12] provides an opportunity for a fuller examination of Philoxenus' text and its relationship to the version printed by White. This work not only specifically mentions the revision of the Peshitta which Philoxenus sponsored, but it also happens to be preserved in a MS (BL Add. 14534) written during the bishop's own lifetime.[13] As Vööbus has already intimated, it is the study of Philoxenus' NT quotations in *CPJ*, seen against the background of the history of translation technique in Syriac, which can offer the final resolution of this long drawn out controversy.[14]

After taking into account the various factors[15] (such as Philoxenus' somewhat loose method of quoting and the possibility that he may on occasion derive his NT text from Greek writers translated into Syriac) which could distort the picture gained of his own NT text, a full examination of his NT quotations in *CPJ* indicates very clearly that throughout he is essentially making use of a Syriac NT text that stands somewhere between the Peshitta and White's text. To demonstrate this here, we must confine ourselves to a selection of some of the more telling examples.[16]

[10] *Ancestry*, 40–62, based on *Tractatus tres de Trinitate et Incarnatione* (= *Tract. tres*).

[11] *Early Versions*, 110–18, and 'New Data', 169–86.

[12] Edited, with French translation, by A. de Halleux in CSCO 380/Syr. 165 [text] (Louvain, 1977), and CSCO 381/Syr. 166 [translation] (1977). My references throughout are to the text volume (Syr. 165).

[13] Although the colophon is unfortunately lost, the script is very close to that of Add. 17126, containing fragments of Philoxenus' commentary on Matthew and Luke, dated AG 822 = AD 510/11.

[14] In what follows I use the abbreviations: G = Greek (I am not here concerned with the textual character of Polycarp's *Vorlage*); H = 'Harclean' (i.e. White's text); P = Peshitta; Ph = Philoxenus' NT text in *CPJ*.

[15] Outlined by de Halleux, CSCO 380/Syr 165, xiii-xvi. De Halleux seems to me unduly pessimistic about recovering the Philoxenian version from Philoxenus' quotations; in going through the NT quotations in *CPJ* I have been struck by the consistency with which Philoxenus quotes a revised form of text, even though there are many clear cases of his lapsing back into the Peshitta reading, or quoting rather loosely.

[16] The selection is made after an examination of all the NT quotations in this work; for the passages selected (only) I have checked citations of them in the

First of all, however, it will be helpful to look at the passage of *CPJ* where Philoxenus specifically refers to the revision :[17]

**When those of old undertook to translate these [passages of the] scriptures they made mistakes in many things, whether intentionally or through ignorance. These mistakes concerned not only what is taught about the Economy in the flesh, but various other things concerning different matters. It was for this reason that we have now taken the trouble[18] to have the Holy Scriptures translated (*netpašqun*) anew from Greek into Syriac.**

Four passages in particular concerning the Incarnation are considered by Philoxenus to have been translated unsatisfactorily in the Peshitta and consequently to require correction. The first two go together :[19]

(1) *Matt.* 1: 1 P 'The book of the birth (*iliduteh*) of Jesus Christ ...'

(2) *Matt.* 1: 18 P 'The nativity (*yaldeh*) of Jesus Christ was thus. ..'

After quoting the Peshitta text (which he calls 'the Syriac', *suryaya*), Philoxenus comments on these two passages as follows :

**In the Greek, from which it is well known that the books of the NT were translated, this is not what is written ; rather, instead of 'nativity (*yalda*), both passages have 'becoming' (*hwaya*);[20] nevertheless, the person who translated it (i.e. the Peshitta) for some reason unknown to me preferred to translate by 'birth' (*iliduta*) and 'nativity' (*yalda*) instead of 'becoming' (*hwaya*).[21]**

following three works of Philoxenus: *Tract. tres* (CSCO 9/Syr. 9), *Ep. ad monachos Senunenses* (CSCO 98/Syr. 98), and *Dissertationes de Uno e Sancta Trinitate incorporato et passo* (PO 15,38).

[17] *CPJ*, 53.

[18] *šqalta'na*, used here, is frequently found in colophons of sixth-century MSS referring to the sponsors who had the MSS copied; it likewise occurs in the Harclean colophons.

[19] *CPJ*, 42.

[20] In *CPJ* Philoxenus always quotes the passages with *hwaya* (= γένεσις): Matt. 1:1 (pp. 41, 47, 49, 52; but in *Diss.* 4.57 he uses the Peshitta wording); Matt. 1: 18 (pp. 41, 43, 44, 47, 50, 52, 120; likewise in *Tract. tres*, for which see Zuntz, *Ancestry*, 44).

[21] Shortly after (p. 43) Philoxenus betrays his own poor knowledge of Greek by saying: 'One reason why the translator used "nativity" instead of "becoming" may be that the pronunciation (*qeryana*) of the two words is very similar in Greek; for in the word for "becoming" (*hwaya*) there are two consecutive *nuns*, whereas in the word for "nativity" there is just one'.



Philoxenus' interest here is manifestly christological, for, in his polemic against the Antiochene theologians, he wishes to associate the genesis of these passages with John 1: 14, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. A similar polemical concern is to be found in the other two 'corrections' to which he specifically refers :

(3) *Heb.* 5: 7 (*CPJ*, 53)

Philoxenus first quotes what he considers to be the correct translation of the verse, 'He, who in the days of his flesh ...' (so in the Greek), but then goes on :

**in place of this they (i.e. the authors of the Peshitta) translated 'when he was clothed in the flesh', and instead of [translating] Paul, they inclined to the position of Nestorius who cast the body onto the Word as one does a garment onto an ordinary body, or as purple is put on emperors.**

(4) *Heb.* 10: 5 (*CPJ*, 53-4)

The Peshitta translation of Hebrews introduces clothing imagery (characteristic of early Syriac Christianity)[22] into this verse too, and consequently Philoxenus sees it as requiring correction in order to avoid the possibility of any Nestorianizing interpretation :

**Again, the passage 'you have established me with a body'[23] (Heb. 10: 5)—indicating the inhomination by means of which the Son fulfilled the Father's will and became a sacrifice on behalf of all—was translated by them (i.e. the authors of the Peshitta) as 'you clothed me with a body'. Thus it can everywhere be recognized that they have not translated the Apostle, but introduced their own opinion into their renderings.**

From these four passages it is evident that theological considerations were uppermost in Philoxenus' mind when he sponsored the new (or rather, revised) translation of the NT into Syriac.[24] In passing we may compare the embarrassment that he felt elsewhere over other loose features of early Syriac theological terminology, even including Ephraem's.[25]

[22] It is significant that Philoxenus assiduously avoids 'clothing' metaphors for the Incarnation in his writings.

[23] The passage is quoted in its revised form in *Tract. tres* 38–9, 65 (cf. 55).

[24] Cf. A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog* (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1963), 121 (in this section, pp. 117-25, de Halleux draws attention to the importance of Philoxenus' references to these four passages).

[25] See, for example, *Tract. tres* 39–40, *ep. Sen.* 51, 53-5.

In all these passages except Heb. 5 :7 Philoxenus' revised biblical text agrees with that printed by White, but it would be premature to assume that the latter indeed represents the 'Philoxenian'. An examination of Philoxenus' full quotation of Heb. 5 : 7 alone shows that this is not the case :

ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας

P[26] *ap kad besra lbiš (h)wa* *baʿuta w-takšepta*
Ph *haw dab-yawmata d-besreh* ,, (pl.) ,, (pl.)
H ,, ,, *d-besra dileh w-* ,, ,, ,, ,,

πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον σώζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου

*ba-g'ata hayltanita wab-demʿe qarreb (h)wa l-man d-meškaḥ (h)wa*
*lwat haw da-mṣe (h)wa da-npaṣṣew(hy) men mawta*
,, ,, ,, ,, *da-nšawzbiw (hy)* ,, ,,

μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων προσενέγκας

*men mawta d-naḥew (hy)*
*ba-q'ata hayltanita wab-dem'e qarreb*
*'am* ,, ,, *w-dem'e* ,,

Besides providing a literal translation of the objectionable opening phrase, Ph has adopted the word order of the Greek ; further changes involve number (singular altered to plural), syntax (l- changed to *lwat* to represent πρός), and lexicon (*mṣe* for *meškaḥ*, *paṣṣi* for *aḥi*, *q'ata* for *g'ata*). So thorough, in fact, is the revision in Ph that there was little opportunity for further improvement ; nevertheless the differences between Ph and H, although small, are significant: αὐτοῦ is represented by *dileh*, as regularly in H (in Ph only where emphasis is needed) ; *ʿam* replaces *b-* of P and Ph in order to reflect μετά more closely ; and σώζειν is given its more or less standard rendering in H, *šawzeb* (*paṣṣi* being reserved in H for ῥύεσθαι).[27]

In due course we shall consider three different categories of readings in Ph which clearly indicate the intermediary position of Ph between P and H. First, however, it will be helpful to provide some more extended quotations in order to give a better impression of the slightly different concerns underlying Ph and H.

[26] 'Even when he was clothed in the flesh, prayer and supplication with mighty groaning and with tears did he offer up to him who was able from death to save him'. (Here, as elsewhere, I give a translation [as literal as possible] only of P, since Ph and H are always close calques on the Greek.)

[27] Ph (= H) uses *šawzeb* for σώζειν at John 5: 34 (p. 242), where again P has the Syriacism *ḥy'* (lit. 'live'); in H *paṣṣi* is reserved for ῥύεσθαι. Compare also 1 Cor. 1: 21, quoted below.



(1) *John 16: 12–13* (*CPJ*, 159, 178)

ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω ὑμῖν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἄρτι·

P[28] *tub saggi it li l-memar lkon, ella la meškḥin atton l-meḥad haša,*
Ph *saggi'a ta* ,, *d-imar* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *haša l-meṭʿan*,[29]
H ,, ,, ,, *l-memar* ,, ,, ,, *mṣen* ,, *l-meṭʿan haša*,

ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς

*ma* *d-eta den ruḥa da-šrara* *hu ndabbarkon*
,, *den* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
*emat(y)* ,, *d-nite haw, hu* ,, ,, *nhaddekon*

εἰς πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν.

*b-kulleh* *šrara.*
*lwat kulleh* ,,
*b-kulleh* ,,

This passage excellently illustrates Ph's intermediary position and the following points may be singled out for special comment :

*(a)* In the phrase ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος Ph merely transposes *den*, but otherwise keeps P ; this is not good enough for H, for whom *emat(y)* is the standard rendering of ὅταν,[30] and ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος requires a direct calque.

*(b)* H goes further than Ph in the number of lexical alterations ; note that although *mṣe* was used by Ph at Heb. 5 :7 (above), it only becomes the *regular* equivalent of δύναμαι in H ; likewise H always renders ὁδηγεῖν by *haddi* (perhaps chosen for reasons of homophony).

*(c)* H restores the reading of P twice, as more exact; in the second case Ph had altered *b-* to *lwat* in order better to represent εἰς ; H, however, evidently knew the Greek variant ἐν, and so restored *b-*. We shall come across other instances where Ph and H represent two different Greek readings.

[28] 'Still there is much for me to say to you, but you are unable to grasp (it) now; when the Spirit of truth comes, he will lead you in all truth'.

[29] So on p. 159; on p. 178, however, Philoxenus inadvertently reverts to P's *meḥad*.

[30] Likewise in the translation practice of Thomas' contemporary, Paul of Edessa; see my The *Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Scholia* (London/New York: Cambridge University, 1971), 36.

(2) *Rom.* 1: 1–3 (*CPJ*, 50) (vv. 2-3 : pp. 40, 139; v. 3 : pp. 52, 120, 148, 235)

Παῦλος δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος, ἀφωρισμένος

P[31] **Pawlos ʿabda** *d-yešuʿ mšiḥa,* **qarya** *wa-šliḥa d-etpreš*
Ph ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *šliḥa da-priš*
H ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, ὃ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ

*l-ewangelyon d-allaha* **d-men qdim mlak b-yad** *nbiʾaw(hy)*
,, ,, **d-qaddem** ,, ,, *nbiʾe*
,, ,, **haw** ,, *eštawdi* ,, ,, **dileh**

ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος

**ba-ktabe** *qaddiše,* **ʿal breh haw** **d-etiled ba-bsar men** *zarʿa*
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, **da-hwa** ,, ,,
,, ,, *meṭṭol bra dileh* **haw** ,, ,, ,,

Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα.

**d-bet Dawid**
**d-Dawid ba-bsar**
,, **b-besra**

The following points deserve comment :

(*a*) Although Philoxenus has reverted to P's rendering of **προεπηγγείλατο** on p. **50,** *qaddem* **mlak** (pp. 40, 139) certainly represents Polycarp's revision, and in the next example (Rom. 8 : 29) we shall find a further instance where Greek **προ-** is represented by *qaddem* in Ph as well as H ; H, however, goes a step further and alters the second verb to ***eštawdi*,** which is the standard equivalent of **ἐπαγγέλλομαι** in H ; compare Rom. 4 : 21, quoted by Philoxenus on p. 98, where Ph = P have ***mlak*** against ***eštawdi*** in H.

(b) In view of Matt. 1:1 and 1: 18 it is no surprise to find P's ***etiled***[32] here altered in Ph to ***hwa*,**[33] to represent **γενομένου** more exactly.

(c) H's alteration of ʿal to ***meṭṭol*,** to represent **περί,** finds an exact parallel in the translation practice of Paul of Edessa in his revision (dated 623/4) of the sixth-century translation of Gregory of Nazianzus ;[34] *meṭṭol* for **περί**+genitive is regular in H.

(*d*) Ph adopts the Greek word order for the position of *ba-bsar* (on pp. 40, 235 Philoxenus inadvertently reverts to the Peshitta order).

(3) ***Rom.*** *8: 29* (*CPJ*, 211)

ὅτι οὓς προέγνω, καὶ προώρισε συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος

P[35] **men luqdam** *idaʿ ennon* *wa-ršam ennon* **ba-dmu ta** *d-ṣurta*
Ph **dl-aylen** **d-qaddem** *idaʿ ap* **qaddem** *taḥḥem* **bnay dmuta** *d-ṣalma*
H *meṭṭol dal-hanon* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *šawyay* ,, ,,

τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

*da- breh,* *d-hu nehwe* **bukra** *d-aḥḥe* **saggiʾe**
,, *d-* ,, ,, *b-aḥḥe* ,,
*da-bra* **dileh,** **l-hay** *d-nehwe* **itaw(hy)** ,, **b-saggiʾe** *aḥḥe*

Here the following may be noted :

***(a)*** *qaddem* ***taḥḥem*** (based on *ὅρος* = *ṯhoma* 'boundary') for **προορίζω** is again found in Ph at 1Cor. 2 : 7 (*CPJ*, 175) and Eph. 1 : 5 (*CPJ*, 246).

(*b*) Greek compounds with **συν-** are variously treated by Syriac translators. In early practice (as P here) no effort to render it is made ; later, the use of *bar, bnay* ('son[s] of') represents an attempt to remedy this, while ***šawe*** finally came to be the seventh-century practice (in H compare Rom. 6 : 5, Eph. 3 : 6, etc.), A similar progression can be seen in the renderings of **ὁμοούσιος,** where we have three main stages : *bar kyana, bar ituta* (this is the norm in Philoxenus' writings), and ***šawe*** *b-ituta* or ***šawe*** **b-ousia** (standard in the seventh century).[36]

(c) ***ṣalma*** as the rendering of **εἰκών** can be paralleled for Ph at 1Cor. 15: 49 (= p. 199) and Col. 1: 15 (= p. 216).

(*d*) For **εἰς τὸ εἶναι** H produces the awkward ***Z-hay d-nehwe***

[31] 'Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, one called and an apostle, who was separated out for the Gospel of God which of old he promised through his prophets in the holy scriptures, concerning his Son who was born in the flesh from the seed of the house of David'.

[32] P cannot safely be quoted in support of the variant γεννωμένου here.

[33] *hwa* also features in the quotation of the verse in *Tract. tres* 2x8-19; cf. also the allusion in *ep. Sen.* 59.

[34] See my *Mythological Scholia,* 54-5.

[35] 'From of old he knew them and marked them out in the likeness of the portrait of his Son, that he might be the firstborn of many brothers'.

[36] But already used at least once by Philoxenus when quoting the Nicene Creed (*Tract. tres go*) ; cf. J. Gribomont in *Parole de l'Orient* 6/7 (1975–6), 152–3, and A. de Halleux, 'La Philoxénienne du Symbole', *Orientalia Christiana Analecta 205* (1978), 301–2.

*itaw(hy)*; this actually represents the regular practice both in H and in other early seventh-century translators when faced with either the infinitive or conjunctive of *εἶναι*.[37] The usage is found earlier only sporadically.

(e) Whereas Ph changed *d-* to *b-* in order to represent *ἐν* at the end of the verse, H goes a stage further in reproducing the Greek word order as well (very awkward in Syriac).

**(4) *Phil.* 2: 6–7 (*CPJ*, 1)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων | οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο |
| P[38] | ***haw d-kad itaw(hy) ba-dmuta d-allaha,*** | ***la (h)wa ḥṭupya ḥašbah*** |
| Ph | *,, d- ,, dmuta ,,* | ***wla*** *,, ,, ,,* |
| H | *,, d-kad ba-dmuta d-allaha itaw (hy),* | *law ,, ,,* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, | ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, |
| | ***hade d-itaw (hy) peḥma d-allaha,*** | ***ella napšeh sarreq*** |
| | ***l- ,, d-nehwe šawe ʿam ,, ,*** | ***sarreq hu leh*** |
| | ***l-hay ,, itaw(hy) šawe l-allaha,*** | ***ella hu leh sarreq*** |

μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι

***wa-dmuta d-ʿabda nsab wa-hwa ba-dmuta da-bnaynaša, wab-eskima***

,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

***kad dmuta ,, ,, kad b-damyu ta ,, (h)wa ,,***

εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος . . .

***eštkaḥ a(y) k barnaša***

,, ,, ,,

,, ,, ,,

Once again Philoxenus sometimes reverts to the familiar wording of P, for in two allusions to this verse he uses *peḥma*[39] instead of *šawe ʿam allaha*, which will represent Polycarp's revision. On points of translation technique we may notice:

***(a) hu leh*** for *ἑαυτόν* is a hallmark of H,[40] but it is now clear

[37] See my *Mythological Scholia*, 40; elsewhere in H: John 9: 31, 14: 3, etc. See also Phil. 2: 6, below.

[38] 'Who, while being in the form of God, did not think it a thing to be snatched, the fact that he was an equal of God, but he emptied himself and took the form of a servant, and he was in the form of men and in *schema* he was to be found like a man'.

[39] *CPJ*, 37, 50; similarly *Diss.* 5.30, 41, 46.

[40] Likewise of Paul of Edessa and of Paul of Tella; cf. my *Mythological Scholia*, 37–8.



that it goes back to Polycarp, although whether Polycarp employed it regularly, or used the extensions *hennon bhon* etc. for *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς* etc., is not certain (*sarreq hu leh* is found in all Philoxenus' allusions to this verse in *CPJ*).[41] H again goes one stage further in representing the Greek word order as well.

***(b)*** For the rendering of *εἰς τὸ εἶναι* in H, see above on Rom. 8: 29.

***(c)*** *ἐν ὁμοιώματι* is represented by ***ba-dmuta*** in P and Ph, but since ***dmuta is*** already employed for *-μορφος/μορφή*, H alters to *damyuta*, as at Rom. 5: 14, 6: 5, and 8: 3.[42]

**(5) *Heb.* 1: 1 (*CPJ*, 7)**[43]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως | πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας |
| P[44] | ***b-kul mnawan wab-kul*** | ***demwan mallel allaha*** |
| Ph | ***b-saggi mnawata ,, -saggi*** | *znayya ,, ,,* |
| H | ***kad b-saggi'ut*** *,, ,, -saggi'ut* | *,, men qdim mallel allaha* |

τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις

***ʿam abahayn ba-nbi'e men qdim***

***men qdim l-abahata ba-nbi'e***

,, ,, ,,

***(a)*** Note that, besides removing the suffix (idiomatic in Syriac) from ***abahayn*** ('our fathers'), Ph (= H) alters to *abahata*, i.e. spiritual, as opposed to racial, ancestors; P's usage here (as elsewhere) says something of the milieu in which that translation was made.

***(b) mallel ʿam*** is the natural Syriac usage, and the alteration to *l-* in Ph and H is aimed at representing the Greek dative.

**(6) *Heb.* 9: 16 (*CPJ*, 247–8)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, | θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου |
| P[45] | ***ayka ger d-it diyatiqe mawta (h)u mhawwya*** | ***d-haw d-ʿabdah*** |
| Ph | *,, ,, ,, ,,* ***ananqe d-neštkaḥ mawta*** | *,, ,,* |
| H | *,, ,,* ***diyatiqi ananqi d-mawta nettayte*** | *,, da-pqad* |

[41] *CPJ*, 37, 40, 50, 142, 143, 196; likewise *Tract. tres* 95 (but *Diss.* 2.38 = P).

[42] Ph also has *dmutu* in this verse (quoted in *CPJ*, 40, 120, 148; cf. also Zuntz, *Ancestry*, 46). At Rom. 1: 23, where White's text has *dmwt'*, *we* should probably read *dmywt'* in conformity with H's usage elsewhere.

[43] Philoxenus quotes the P text in *Diss.* 2.37 and 4.64.

[44] 'In all parts and in all forms God spoke with our fathers in the prophets of old'.

[45] 'For where there is a will, it shows the death of him who made it'.

(7) *Heb.* 11: 1–2 (*CPJ*, 149)

ἔστι δὲ πίστις ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασις

P[46] *iteh den haymanuta pyasa 'al aylen d-itayhen b-sabra a(y) k haw da-hway*
Ph ,, ,, *qnuma d-su'rane d-itayhon* ,,
H ,, ,, ,, *d-hanen d-mestabran qnuma*

πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων, ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ
*lhen b-su'rana, w-gelyana d-aylen dla methazyan, wab-hade*
,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
*w-maksanita d-su'rane* ,, *methzen, b-hade ger*

ἐμαρτυρήθησαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι
*hwat sahduta 'al qaššiše.*
*esthed(w)* **kullhon** ,,
,, ,,

***(a)*** By Philoxenus' time ***qnuma*** had become the standard rendering of the important theological term ***ὑπόστασις.***

***(b)*** Note that Ph takes ***πραγμάτων*** with what precedes, but H with what follows.

(c) Ph is content to keep the loose renderings of P for ***ἐλπιζομένων*** and ***ἔλεγχος,*** but these are no longer acceptable to the more rigid philological standards of H, where parts of speech should correspond as far as possible.

(d) H's characteristic concern with the exact rendering of particles is reflected in the insertion of *ger*.[47]

(e) The somewhat inconsistent character of Ph is to be seen in the addition (perhaps for stylistic reasons) of *kullhon* after the 'correction' of ***sahduta*** to *esthed(w)* = ***ἐμαρτυρήθησαν.***

These samples will suffice to give some indication of the general character of the revision of P as evidenced in Philoxenus' NT quotations in *CPJ*. There can be no doubt that we are dealing here with a rather well-defined 'correction' of the Peshitta,[48] and the obvious deduction is that it represents the work of Polycarp, in other words the true 'Philoxenian'. It is at the same time quite clear that the 'Harclean' MSS do not by any means

[46] **'Faith is the persuasion of things that exist in hope as though they had taken place in deed; and the uncovering of those things that are invisible. And by this there was testimony concerning the elders'.**

[47] **For the care taken by the early seventh-century translators over particles, see *Mythological Scholia, 36.***

[48] **The consistency with which Philoxenus quotes the essential features of this revised form of text is impressive.**



reproduce the 'Philoxenian', but present a further, not inconsiderable, revision of this made by Thomas.

Thomas' contribution was thus a real one, and was not confined to the marginal readings and signs; essentially it reflects the further refinement in translation technique that had taken place during the century subsequent to Polycarp's revision. Furthermore, whereas Polycarp's interest (or at least that of his sponsor, Philoxenus), was, as we have seen, above all theological, that of Thomas was primarily philological, his aim being to make the Syriac into as exact a calque of the Greek original as possible.[49]

In order to highlight some of the respective concerns of Ph and H, I now give some examples of three different categories of variation between the three Syriac versions, P, Ph, and H : (A) Ph= P, against H, in passages where Ph otherwise betrays obvious signs of revision ; (B) Ph represents a revision of P, but H has taken the process a stage further ; (C) Ph's revision of P is identical with H, in other words it was adopted by Thomas as adequately representing the Greek according to his strict philological criteria.

A. ***Ph= P, against H***

***(1) 1 Cor. 1: 21*** (*CPJ*, 84, **123**, 150, 240)

G *μωρίας*; **P** = Ph *šatyuta* ; H *leluta*

H's rendering is a regular one for *μωρία* (similarly with *μωραίνω* ; cf. 1 Cor. 1 : **20** [pp. 84, 150]).

**(2)** 1 Cor. *3: 1* (*CPJ*, 156, 179)

G *ἠδυνήθην*; P = Ph *eškhet*; H *etmṣit*

Similarly in v. **2** (pp. 156, 181), 1 Cor. 1**2** : 3 (p. **2**19), and John 16:1**2** (quoted above). Whereas Ph evidently occasionally uses *mṣ'* for *δύναμαι*,[50] H invariably does (and reserves *eškah* for *εὑρίσκω*).

(3) ***Heb. 1: 9*** (*CPJ*, 215)

G *ἀνομίαν*; P = Ph *'awla*; H ***la namosayuta***

H's calque is the regular rendering of *ἀνομία* in this version where *'awla* is reserved for *ἀδικία*.

[49] **See for the background** my **'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity', *GRBS* 20** (1979), 69–87. [50] **Compare Heb. 5: 7, quoted above, p. 329.**

B. *Ph* corrects *P*, and is itself *corrected by H*[51]

(1) *John* 1: 1 (*CPJ*, 5, 20, 29, 132, 203, 237, 241)

**G** *ἐν ἀρχῇ*; P *b-rešit*; **Ph** *b-rešita*; H *b-reša*

The regularity with which Philoxenus quotes this form in *CPJ* (but not elsewhere ?)[52] is striking.

(2) *Rom.* 4: 21 (*CPJ*, 98)

G *πληροφορηθείς*; P *ašar*; **Ph** *eštarar*; H *pleroporetene (h)wa*

Greek verbs taken over in the aorist passive infinitive are a feature of H and probably represent a development subsequent to Philoxenus' time. H uses the Greek loan word in all other occurrences of the verb, apart from Luke 1: 1.

(3) Rom. 6: 6 (*CPJ*, 229)

**G** *δουλεύειν*; P *nšammeš*; **Ph** *nešta'bad*; H *net'abdad*

Ph's rendering of the Greek verb is paralleled in H only at Gal. 5 : 13; H's choice here is remarkably confined to Romans (7: 6, 25; 9: 12; 12: 11), with the exception of Rom. 14: 18 and 16 : 18, which follow the norm found in H elsewhere in the NT (*plaḥ*+*'abduta*).

(4) *Rom.* 11: 34 (*CPJ*, 18–19)

**G** *νοῦν*; P *re'yana*; **Ph** *mad'a*; H *hawna*

*hawna* is the norm for *νοῦς* in H. Exactly the same pattern of variation is found at 1 Cor. 2 : 16 (p. 156). This example is of some importance in the history of Syriac translation technique.

(5) 1 *Cor.* 1: 23 (*CPJ*, 152, 221, 240)

G *ἔθνεσιν*; P *aramaye*; **Ph** *'amme*; H *ḥanpe*

H represents the Greek variant *ἕλλησι* (cf. C[6] below),

(6) 1 *Cor.* 1: 25 (*CPJ*, 152, 168, 240)[53]

G *τὸ ἀσθενές*; P *krihuta*; **Ph** *mḥiluta*; H *hay da-mḥila*

Ph alters P's unsuitable 'sickness' to 'weakness'; H provides a more formal equivalent of the Greek.

[51] As this category is in many ways the most interesting, a rather larger number of examples is given.

[52] In *Tract. tres* 72, 170, 239, *ep. Sen.* 62, and *Diss.* 5.14, 32, Philoxenus quotes the Peshitta form.

[53] Ph's revised form is also found in *Tract. tres* 67.



(7) 1 *Cor.* 2: 4 (*CPJ*, 188)

G *οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖ σοφίας λόγοις*

P[54] *la hwat ba-mpisanuta d-melle d-ḥekmta*

**Ph** *la hwa ba-pyasa* ,, ,,

H *law b-melle mpisanyata d-ḥekmta (')našay ta*

H here reflects two Greek variants, *πειθοῖς* and the addition of *ἀνθρωπίνης*.

(8) 1 *Cor.* 3: 3 (*CPJ*, 157, 181)

**G** *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*; P *ba-bsar* ('in the flesh'); Ph *(')naša'it* ('humanly'); H *a(y)k barnaša* ('as a man')

(9) 1 *Cor.* 12: 27 (*CPJ*, 199, 211)

**G** *καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους*; P *w-haddame b-dukatkon* ('and limbs in your [proper] place'); Ph *w-haddame men mnata* ( = G H[mg]); H *w-haddame men haddama* (= Greek variant *ἐκ μέλους*)

(10) *Eph.* 1: 7 (*CPJ*, 246)

**G** *ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων*

P *d-beh it lan purqana wba-dmeh šubqana da-ḥtahe* ('in whom we have deliverance and in his blood forgiveness of sins')

Ph *d-beh it lan purqana byad dmeh šubqana d-saklawata* ('... through his blood forgiveness of wrongs')

H *b-haw d-it lan purqana byad dma dileh l-šubqana d-šur'ata* (= G)

For the rendering of *παράπτωμα* see below, C(2). Although the end of H could be understood as 'for the forgiveness ...', it is highly probable that Thomas introduced the *lamed* to denote the Greek accusative : in the early seventh-century translators Greek *ἔχω*+acc. is sometimes represented in Syriac as *it Z-A Z-B*, 'there is to A, B', where B is the Greek object which should properly be the Syriac subject.[55]

C. *Ph* = *H*, *against P*

(1) *Matt.* 16: 18 (*CPJ*, 128)

G *πέτρα*; P *kepa*; Ph[56] = H *šo'a*

*šo'a* already occurs in P in some passages (cf. A. F. J. Klijn

[54] 'It was not by persuasion of words of wisdom'.

[55] Elsewhere in H, see (for example) Acts 9: 31; cf. my *Mythological Scholia*, 39.

[56] So too *ep. Sen.* 77; see also Zuntz, *Ancestry*, 74.

in *ZNW* 50 [1959], 99–105); in H it is the regular equivalent of **πέτρα.**

(2) *Rom.* 4: 25 (*CPJ*, 98)

**G παραπτώματα ἡμῶν**; P *ḥṭahayn*; Ph = H *šurʿatan*

Elsewhere H invariably uses *šurʿta* for παράπτωμα,[57] whereas Ph alters the same P rendering at Eph. 1: 7 to *saklawata* (see B[10] above). It is consistency of usage that makes H distinct from Ph here.

(3) *Rom.* 6: 6 (*CPJ*, 229)

**G συνεσταυρώθη**; P *ezdqep*; Ph[58] = H *eṣṭleb*

Ph's preference for *ṣlb* to render σταυρ- is borne out by other passages quoted by Philoxenus: 1 Cor. 1: 23 (pp. 167, 221, 223, 240), 1 Cor. 2: 8 (p. 175), and Col. 1: 20 (p. 201).[59]

(4) *1 Cor.* 1: 21 (*CPJ*, 84, 123, 150, 240)

**G σῶσαι**; P *naḥe*; Ph = H *neproq*

See above on Heb. 5: 7; although H normally uses *šawzeb* for σώζειν, Thomas occasionally employs *praq*, and the present passage suggests that in such cases he is simply taking over the earlier correction of Ph.

(5) *1 Cor.* 1: 23 (*CPJ*, 152, 167, 221, 240)

G σκάνδαλον; P *tuqalta*; Ph = H *kešla*

In H *kešla* is the invariable rendering of σκάνδαλον, while *tuqalta* is reserved for πρόσκομμα.

(6) *1 Cor.* 1: 22, 24 (*CPJ*, 152, 167, 221, 240)

G Ἕλληνες; P *aramaye*; Ph = H *ḥanpe* ('pagans')

We find the same pattern of variation in Ph at 1 Cor. 12: 13 (*CPJ*, 214). It is interesting that Thomas (unlike his contemporary Paul of Edessa) distinguishes the two senses of Ἕλλην, 'Greek' and 'pagan' (see H at Rom. 1: 14 and 16).

## CONCLUSION

The problem of the identity of the revision of the Syriac NT contained in White's text can now be said to have been

[57] At Jas. 5: 16 Thomas is translating the variant reading ἁμαρτίας.

[58] So *Tract. tres* 164 (but 162 = P)

[59] Cf. also de Halleux, 'La Philoxenienne', 298.



conclusively solved, thanks to the publication of Philoxenus' *Commentary on the Prologue of John*: it represents the work of Thomas of Harkel, who was revising the already far-reaching revision of the Peshitta undertaken by Polycarp at the request of Philoxenus. This latter work, as far as the Syriac NT canon is concerned, is lost to us, apart from quotations of it which can most reliably be identified in Philoxenus' own writings, above all in *CPJ*.[60] The view associated with the name of Bernstein thus proves to be the correct one.

It is, furthermore, evident that the aims of these two revisers, Polycarp and Thomas, differed somewhat in emphasis. Thomas' concern was primarily to make the Syriac text into as formal a representation of the Greek original as possible; his approach (anticipated in the field of biblical translation by Aquila and his predecessors working on the LXX) is also to be found in other seventh-century translators/revisers, his contemporaries Paul of Tella and Paul of Edessa, and the rather later Jacob of Edessa, not to mention other, as yet lesser known, scholars. Polycarp's work, on the other hand, was instigated above all by the requirements of the christological controversies surrounding the Council of Chalcedon, controversies in which Philoxenus himself played a leading role. Indeed it may even be possible to identify, as providing the initial inspiration for Philoxenus' sponsoring a revision of the Syriac NT, the translation into Syriac of the conciliar creeds and canons, undertaken in Mabbûg in 500/1.[61]

Whether or not it was that this translation of the Synodicon opened the eyes of Philoxenus to the need for a revision of the Peshitta, we can be pretty certain that Polycarp's work on the Peshitta was closely associated with another undertaking, namely the addition of Euthalian material and the translation of the Euthalian prefaces to the Pauline Epistles, seeing that the latter are specifically stated also to have been translated in AG 819 = AD 507/8. As von Dobschtitz long ago showed,[62]

[60] Zuntz (*Ancestry*, 62-76) has given some indication that other sixth-century writers quote the Philoxenian revision. The field is open for further exploration here as elsewhere.

[61] The importance of this event for Philoxenus' christological terminology has recently been emphasized by A. de Halleux, 'La Philoxenienne', 295–315.

[62] E. von Dobschtitz, 'Euthaliusstudien', *ZKG* 19 (1898), 107–54, esp. pp. 130–45; cf. also Zuntz, *Ancestry*, 109–13. For the following see further my 'The Syriac Euthalian Material and the Philoxenian Version of the NT', *ZNW* 70 (1979), 120–30.

the ‘Philoxenian’ form of the translation of these prefaces is preserved in (surprisingly) an East Syriac NT MS, BL Add. 7157, dated 767/8, while a later revision of this text, bearing all the characteristics of the hand of Thomas, is to be found in Oxford, New College 333, the source of White’s edition. Now one section of the Euthalian prefaces gives a list of the OT quotations to be found in the Pauline Epistles, and it is tantalizing from our point of view that Add. **7157** happens to break off after no. 14 of the OT quotations in Romans ; for this means that the only one which overlaps with a passage quoted by Philoxenus in *CPJ* is Rom. 4: 3 = Gen. **15 :** 6, for which the differences between P and H happen to be minimal. Nevertheless an examination of the thirteen other quotations that do survive in Add. 7157[63] shows very clearly that we are once again dealing with a Syriac NT text intermediary between P and H. To illustrate this I take no. 7, Rom. 4: 7 = Ps. 32 (31) : 1-2 :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **G** = LXX | *μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν* | *αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν* |
| **POT** | *ṭubaw(hy) l-man d-eštbeq* | *leh ʿawleh w-etkassiw leh* |
| Syrohex. | *ṭubtane hanon d-eštabqen* | *la namosaywathon w-hanon d-etkassiw* |
| PNT | *ṭubayhon l-aylen d-eštbeq* | *lhon ʿawlhon w-etkassiw* |
| **Add.** 7157 | ,, ,, *d-eštbeq(w)* | *ʿawlayhon d-etkassiw* |
| H (= **Syh)** | *ṭubtane hanon d-eštabqen* | *la namosaywathon w-hanon d-etkassiw* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *αἱ ἁμαρτίαι·* | *μακάριος ἀνὴρ* | θ 3 | *οὐ μὴ λογίσηται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν* |
| *ḥṭahaw (hy).* | *ṭubaw (hy) l-barnaša* | | *d-la neḥšob leh marya ḥṭiteh.* |
| *ḥṭahayhon.* | *ṭubtana (h)u gabra* | | ,, " " ,, *ḥṭita.* |
| ,, | *w-ṭubaw (hy) l-gabra* | | ,, " *allaha ḥṭiteh.* |
| ,, | *ṭubaw (hy)* ,, | *1-haw* | " " *marya ḥṭita.* |
| " | *ṭubtana (h)u gabra* ,, | | ,, ,, " " |

Add. 7157 alters P in a number of small ways, each bringing the Syriac into closer line with the Greek. H carries this a stage further,[64] introducing two characteristic lexical changes[65] and one, again characteristic, syntactical one (Greek relative ren-

[63] On f. 197b.

[64] Note especially that H takes up *l-haw* (= Greek *οὗ*) of Add. 7157.

[65] The correspondences *ἀνομία* / la *namosayuta* and *μακάριος* / *ṭubtana* are both regular in H (and Syrohex.); from Philoxenus’ quotation of Heb. 1: 19 (*CPJ*, 215; cited above) and Tit. 2: 13 (*CPJ*, 47: G *μακαρίαν*; P *brika* ‘blessed’; Ph *ṭubana*; H *ṭubtana*) it is clear that these are both features of Thomas’, and not Polycarp’s, revision.



dered by *hanon d-*); it is no surprise to find all these also **in** the contemporary Syrohexapla.

The relationship between P, the quotations in Add. 7157, and H is thus exactly parallel to that between P, Ph, and H, and, given the connection between the Syriac Euthalian material and the Philoxenian, there can be little doubt that the OT ‘testimonia’ in Add. 7 157 quote the Philoxenian revision of the Peshitta NT.[66]

While the most important aspect of the Philoxenian/Harclean problem can now be regarded as solved, there remain other facets, such as the meaning and role of the critical signs and marginalia, which still require convincing explanation ;[67] but here probably nothing very conclusive can be done until we have a critical edition of at least the Gospels, based on the earliest MSS.[68]

[66] Whereas these testimonia in the Euthalian material which is preserved in New College 333 and Mingana syr. 343 have undergone subsequent ‘Harclean’ revision; this was already seen by von Dobschütz.

[67] It is at least now clear that Thomas’ activity went much further than the supplying of these. In this connection it is worth drawing attention to Heb. 8: g (quoted by Philoxenus on p. 248), where we have: G *ἐποίησα*; ***Pyehbet*** ‘I have given’; Ph ***‘ebdet*** **(= *G*** and $H^{mg}$); $H^{text}$ *peqdet* **(= *G***reek variant [from LXX] *διεθέμην*). It is probable that Thomas quotes this marginal reading primarily because it represented a Greek variant known to him, and not just because it was found in the Philoxenian.

[68] For a list of these, see e.g. Metzger, ***The Early Versions, 7x-2.***

*a*

# 26. Greek Lectionaries and Problems in the Oldest Slavonic Gospel Translations

K. I. LOGACHEV

THE establishing of the text of the Bible translations made by Saints Constantine and Methodius in the ninth century is undoubtedly the central problem for those working both in the field of Old Slavonic studies and of the history of Holy Scripture among the Slavs.

The famous Russian textual scholar, I. E. Evseyev, suggested that the key to solving the problem would be the Greek originals of the oldest Slavonic Bible translations. He stated in a report presented on 29 January 1915 (according to the Julian calendar), before a meeting of the Russian Bible Commission that 'an exactly determined original that lies behind a translation is the most reliable witness for the original form ... of a translation, when its witness is not corrupted at any rate by either linguistic or stylistic peculiarities'.[1]

About forty years later, however, in his well-known treatise on the Old Slavonic Gospel translation, K. Horálek expressed the opinion that it is impossible to determine exactly the Greek original of the Old Slavonic Gospel because we do not know what the original form of the latter actually was in its details. It is all the more impossible, as Horalek noted, in the case of the original Old Slavonic Gospel lectionary because of our scanty knowledge of the Greek Gospel lectionaries.[2] Subsequent years were not marked by any progress in the determination of the Greek original of the Slavonic NT, and in the early 1970s Chr. Hannick noted that 'die Frage nach den griechischen Vorlagen blieb auf dem gleichen Stand stehen, auf den sie Horalek geführt hatte'.[3]

[1] See the present writer's article, 'Otečestvennaya kirillomefbdieovskaya tekstologiya v 1910–1920-e gody', *Sovetskoe slavyanovedenie* 4 (1977), 77: the 'peculiarities' are, of course, those of extant MSS.

[2] K. Horálek, *Evangeliáře a čtveroevangelia: Příspěvky k textové kritice a k dějinám staroslověnského překladu evangelia* (Státní pedagogické nakladatelstvi; Prague, 1954), 293.

[3] Chr. Hannick, 'Das Neue Testament in altkirchenslavischer Sprache', *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*

Such a situation, however, appears to be due to the disregarding of new results in the field of Greek NT studies on the part of Slavonic scholars rather than to any objective limitations for the solution of the problem. Horálek in particular, so it seems, did not use the first four monographs of the University of Chicago series, *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament*, published in the 1930–40s. Therefore, to support their theories some Slavonic scholars of the next generation ascribe non-existent features to the Greek NT MSS and editions. This is true, for example, of E. M. Vereščagin in his studies on Cyril and Methodius' translation technique. Among other things he alleges categorically that if a Greek Gospel lectionary contains a passage in the Synaxarion and Menologion, passages in both are always in full agreement[4] (although, as could be seen even from old Russian works,[5] the real picture is quite different);[6] similarly he states that the Greek NT published by the United Bible Societies is an edition 'reflecting well the Lucianic (Constantinopolitan) redaction'[7] (although the text is in fact Alexandrian, and the critical apparatus is restricted by design).

It is doubtful whether deductions based on such assumptions will be true. On the contrary, deductions based on results obtained by textual scholars from the 1930s who were working on the Greek NT (and on Greek Gospel lectionaries in particular) seem to be more reliable.

As studies in the Greek Gospel lectionaries have shown, lectionary MSS fall into two types of text. The first represents the so-called 'dominant lectionary text' (with so-called 'lectionary

(ed. K. Aland; Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 5; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1972), 426.

[4] E. M. Vereščagin, *Iz istorii vozniknoveniya pervogo literaturnogo yazyka slavyan* (Doklad na vii. Mezhdunarodnom s″ezde slavistov; Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1972), 8.

[5] Cf. N. Glubokovsky, *Grecheskiy rukopisnyy evangelistariy iz sobraniya prof. I. E. Troitskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1897), 242.

[6] Cf. B. M. Metzger, 'Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament', in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (ed. K. Aland; Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 5; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1972), 491; idem, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 416 n. 2.

[7] E. M. Vereščagin, *K izučeniyu semantiki leksičeskogo fonda drevneslavyanskogo yazyka* (Doklad na viii. Mezhdunarodnom s″ezde slavistov; Moskva, 1978), 29 n. 1.



majority readings') exhibiting great textual homogeneity.[8] The second represents deviations from the 'dominant text'.

The oldest MS of the ten lectionaries selected by the International Greek New Testament Project as the best representatives of the 'dominant text' is from the ninth to tenth centuries. All of these representatives are weekday lectionaries. However, it is possible to conclude from the information about the process of selection of these ten MSS that some Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (with a MS from the ninth century as the oldest) could be added to them, had the Project not decided to exclude Saturday-Sunday lectionaries from their list of representatives of the 'dominant text'.[9] One can affirm, therefore, that the 'dominant lectionary text' existed already in the ninth century (in the time of Saints Constantine's and Methodius' mission), being represented both in Saturday-Sunday and weekday lectionaries.

The Saturday-Sunday and weekday lectionary MSS that show deviations from the 'dominant text' are of a variety of different dates. None the less it is possible to conclude from published materials that such lectionaries also existed in the ninth century.[10]

In light of these conclusions the important question is: Did Saints Constantine and Methodius use a representative of the 'dominant text' or a MS with a 'non-dominant lectionary text' as a main basis for their translation?

If it were possible to affirm that all extant Old Slavonic lectionary MSS go back to a single Greek lectionary text-type, then the answer to this question would not be difficult. But it seems permissible to suppose that translations from Greek MSS of both types were among the *Vorlagen* of the extant Old Slavonic lectionaries. The following examples seem to support such a supposition.

There are a number of differences between two Old Slavonic Saturday-Sunday lectionaries-the so-called Ostromir Gospel (AD 1056–7) and the so-called Savva's Book (eleventh century).[11] Using the apparatus in the UBSGNT, it becomes possible, for a part of these differences, to find the parallel differences between the two lectionary text-types.

[8] Metzger, 'Greek Lectionaries', 491–4.

[9] Ibid., 492–3.

[10] Cf. H. M. Buck, *The Johannine Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament 2/4; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958), 7–9, 26–39.

[11] Information about these lectionaries and their editions is given in B. M. Metzger, *Early Versions*, 406–7.

For Matthew the set of 'dominant/non-dominant lectionary text' variants having parallels in the Ostromir Gospel and Savva's Book is as follows:

| | 'dominant lectionary text' (= Ostromir) | 'non-dominant lectionary text' (= Savva) |
|---|---|---|
| 1: 10 | Ἀμών | Ἀμώς |
| 3:16 | ἠνεῴχθησαν αὐτῷ | *om.* αὐτῷ |
| 5:44 | τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς | *om.* καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς |
| 8:21 | μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ | μαθητῶν |
| 15:36 | μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ | μαθηταῖς |
| 15:39 | Μαγδαλά | Μαγδαλάν |
| 19:7 | ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν | ἀπολῦσαι τὴν γυναῖκα |
| 19:11 | τὸν λόγον τοῦτον | τὸν λόγον |
| 19:22 | τὸν λόγον | τὸν λόγον τοῦτον |
| 24:6 | πάντα γενέσθαι | ταῦτα πάντα γενέσθαι |

In all of these cases the Ostromir Gospel reads with the 'dominant text', while Savva's Book reads with the 'non-dominant'. There are, of course, many more numerous differences between these two Old Slavonic lectionaries without corresponding differences between the 'dominant' and 'non-dominant' text-types. But additional support for the assumption that the extant Old Slavonic Saturday-Sunday lectionaries go back to at least two different *Vorlagen* may be found in the clear-cut differences between the Ostromir Gospel and Savva's Book in structure (e.g. in the order of the main sections; in the number and order of the lessons), as well as in some minor features.

For the present it is impossible to say categorically which type of Old Slavonic Saturday-Sunday Gospel lectionaries is the oldest, and our question may be answered at present only in the most general way, i.e. that Saints Constantine and Methodius could have chosen among Greek MSS of both lectionary text-types, There are, however, good possibilities of answering this question more precisely in the future. One of these possibilities is to study the Old Slavonic Saturday-Sunday Gospel lectionaries separately (*contra* G. A. Voskresenskij and J. Vajs, who treated readings from them with differentiation along with readings both from weekday lectionaries and from non-lectionary Gospel MSS), and, of course, with full use of the results obtained by western textual scholars.

# 27. Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament

GEORGE D. KILPATRICK

In contributing this paper to Professor B. M. Metzger's *Festschrift*, I gladly acknowledge our indebtedness to his work over many years on the Bible and in particular on the text of the NT. His learning and industry have been at the service of many scholars not only in his publications but also in his ready response to any direct request for assistance. In choosing to discuss again the place of conjecture in the textual criticism of the NT, I am treating a subject which has inevitably exercised Professor Metzger and has recently been discussed afresh in a stimulating way.

In his recent 'Plea for Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament'[1] Professor J. Strugnell has dealt so interestingly and instructively with this topic that he has provoked me to look at it again. In 1957 I had given a paper at the Victoria Institute in London on 'The Transmission of the New Testament and its Reliability'.[2] In it I dealt with the place of conjecture in the NT and concluded: 'We may assume as a rule of thumb that at each point the true text has survived somewhere or other among our manuscripts'.[3] This conclusion was stated as probable and as one which cannot be proved from the knowledge we have. It was, however, a practical rule of such rigour that I admitted no known conjectures into the apparatus of the British and Foreign Bible Society's Greek Testament of 1958.

Strugnell's paper can be seen as a reaction against this austerity. In it we may find 'a theoretical justification of the use of conjectural emendation in the NT, and a trumpet-call for a return to more frequent practice of the noble art'.[4] In addition, he

[1] 'A Plea for Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament, with a Coda on 1 Cor. 4: 6', *CBQ* 36 (1974), 543-58.
[2] *Proceedings of the Victoria Institute* (1957), 92–101; repr. *BT* 9 (1958), 127–36.
[3] Ibid. (*BT*), 135.
[4] 'A Plea', 543.

devotes much attention to the fact that many scholars, after admitting as a theoretical possibility that there may be passages in the NT where the original form of the text has not survived in any of our witnesses and can be recovered only by conjecture, then go on to allege various reasons why we cannot resort to such emendation in practice. It is this attitude which Strugnell sets out to rebut. Against such faintheartedness his attitude seems to be in line with Luther's *pecca fortiter*.

In discussing certain contentions we may agree with him: for example, against the belief that 'some special Providence' has watched over the text of the NT to ensure that at every point the original form of our text has survived among some or other of our witnesses. If such were the case, we might wonder why this Providence has not exerted itself a little further to ensure that at each point of variation the original reading would be manifest and immediately demonstrable.

His use of genealogical or stemmatic arguments to suggest that the archetypal reading may sometimes not be the author's text is reasonable enough. There were bound to be passages where this has happened.

We may support his contention with concrete instances. For example, if I hold that the original text of Acts has survived among witnesses known to us only in Codex Bezae (D) at the following places 1:15 ἀναστάς] +ὁ, 2:29 μνῆμα] μνημεῖον, 13:11 ἄχρι] ἕως, 31 πλείονας, 19:21 ἐπέθετο, 21:26 εἰσῄει] εἰσῆλθον, 35 ἐπί] εἰς, seven examples in twenty-two chapters, what do I conclude about the following six chapters where D is no longer extant? On the average I would expect two instances where the other witnesses known to us have failed to preserve the original text in these last chapters. D being lost for them, I am forced to conclude that possibly at two places in them the original text has not survived and, failing the discovery of other witnesses with the original reading, it can only be recovered by conjecture.

Not everyone may accept this view of the readings of D, but we may discover comparable instances in other MSS. $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ is highly regarded in many quarters. Alone of Greek witnesses known to us, it seems to have preserved the original reading πλεῖον at John 4:41. Can we be certain that it had nowhere alone among Greek witnesses preserved the original text in those parts of John where it is now no longer extant? The same argument can be applied to other MSS like ℵ and B. If the great editors of the past have been right in maintaining that the original reading has on occasion survived in one or other MS alone, we cannot exclude the possibility that in those parts of these MSS that have perished they alone had preserved the true text.



Let us return to the seven readings in Acts peculiar to D. I have suspected that they may be original on grounds of language. The grounds of language would still apply if the readings were to occur in other witnesses than D, but it is doubtful if anyone would have conjectured any of them if they had not been present in D or some other Greek MS. Let us take one example, the reading μνημεῖον at Acts 2:29. Μνῆμα is the correct word for tomb; μνημεῖον is incorrect. Only at Acts 7:16 in the NT does μνῆμα occur without the variant μνημεῖον. Should we conjecture μνημεῖον at this place? Neither μνῆμα nor μνημεῖον appears in the corresponding passage of the LXX, but it seems probable that in ch. 7 Acts is using other sources as well as the LXX itself and μνῆμα at 7:16 may be an indication of such a source. In this case, if we were to emend it to μνημεῖον, we might be eliminating a valuable clue to the composition of Acts 7.

Let us now go back to the previous argument. We have supported Strugnell's argument that there are places in the NT where the original form of the text has been lost to the extent that we regard this as probable. Strugnell would, it seems, want to state this more strongly, but the principle has been readily conceded: we cannot assert that the original form of the text has for certain survived at every point somewhere or other among our witnesses. If we want to go beyond this and argue that in fact there are passages where the original form of the text has been lost, then we must produce convincing examples where this has happened.

This Strugnell sets out to do in an appendix to his paper where he discusses 1 Cor. 4:6, ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται ἵνα μὴ κτλ., for which he would read by conjecture ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μὴ μάθητε ἵνα κτλ. His thesis that in the grouping *HMIN MH MAΘHTE*, μή has dropped out by accident is plausible, but is consequent upon his omission of τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται.

We may find this phrase difficult as many have. Others have assumed an ellipse. Against such an assumption it can be pointed out that no adequate parallels are quoted. This is an important consideration ; we must always give particular attention to an unparalleled expression. Where an unparalleled expression is marked by textual variation, there we may give the text a double scrutiny. At 1 Cor. 4: 6 we do not seem to have any variants which indicate that the scribes found the text difficult. This may encourage us in the hope that sooner or later one or more parallels will turn up for our expression. This has happened, for example, for Gal. 2 : 14 **ὀρθοποδοῦσιν,** where we may compare J. B. Lightfoot's note with the evidence from the papyri unknown to him. Again, we now have a parallel for 1 Thess. 3 : 3 **σαίνεσθαι.** This last i's particularly interesting, as variant readings suggest that some copyists found the word difficult.

Let us now assume for the moment, however, that the phrase at 1 Cor. 4 : 6 is too difficult to stand and let us ask for remedies. We have Baljon's conjecture as developed by Strugnell, but we can think of other less drastic emendations, for example, **τὸ μὴ ⟨ὑπερβαίνειν⟩ ὑπὲρ ἃ κτλ.** *or* **τὸ μὴ ⟨ὑπερφρονεῖν⟩ ὑπὲρ ἃ κτλ.** These suggestions have their difficulty, but can we say that they are impossible? If they are not, then we must admit that even if we are agreed that the text of a passage is corrupt it does not follow that we are agreed about the emendation.

We may enlarge this admission. The NT has not a few passages which need either explanation or emendation. Just as it is conceivable that though the text of 1 Cor. 4 : 6 needs emendation rather than explanation, so it is also conceivable that, though we may recognize that 1 Cor. 4: 6 has its difficulties, we may not agree that these difficulties are to be resolved by emendation rather than explanation.

We can illustrate this further from Acts 2 : 9 **Ἰουδαίαν.** This term at this point in the list has caused difficulty, and various conjectures have been made from the second century onward to solve the problem. It is noteworthy that in ancient and modern times no one conjecture has proved generally acceptable. We may now question whether emendation is what is wanted and may turn to explanation. It has been suggested that behind our list lies an older one drawn up not from the standpoint of Jerusalem but of Rome and ending with *προσήλυτοι* in 2 : 11. In such a list **Ἰουδαίαν** would occur at its rightful place in the arrangement of countries in a progression from east to west. We cannot demonstrate this explanation conclusively, but until it or other explanations are shown to be impossible we cannot describe Acts 2 : 9 as a passage needing emendation. We have, too, the possibility that emendation may destroy valuable evidence for the history of the list.[5]



Consistency might suggest that we should emend Matt. 6 : 32 : **ἁπάντων;** 23: 37: **Ἱερουσαλήμ, Ἱερουσαλήμ;** and Luke 2: 22: **Ἱεροσόλυμα.** I do not remember conjectures for any of these words, though conjecture should not prove difficult. Let us look at them.

The difficulty about Matt. 6: 32 *ἁπάντων* is this: *ἅπας* is uncommon against **πᾶς** in the NT. Mark and John have no certain instances of **ἅπας** and Matthew has only this one. In Luke and Acts **πᾶς** and *ἅπας* are both used. If we were to emend **ἁπάντων** to *πάντων* in Matt. 6: 32, then Matthew would be consistent in usage and in line with Mark and John. The rule for Greek style is that *πᾶς* follows a vowel and *ἅπας* a consonant, and **ἁπάντων** in our texts could be regarded as an accommodation to this rule which has affected all our Greek MSS as far as is known. There is a rule in the NT that *πᾶς* precedes its noun or pronoun. There are exceptions, particularly outside the gospels, and the rule does not apply to *ἅπας.* To that extent **τούτων ἁπάντων** would be in order and **τούτων πάντων** would not. How then should we explain **τούτων ἁπάντων?** We may keep one possibility in mind : the phrase is a survival from Matthew's source.

This may be the explanation at 23 : *37.* Mark, John, and Matthew elsewhere have **Ἱεροσόλυμα,** and it would be tempting to read **Ἱεροσόλυμα** here. We could explain *Ἱερουσαλήμ* as due to the parallel passage Luke 13 : 34, but this suggestion opens the door to another possibility: Matt. 23 : 37-9 and Luke 13 : 34-5 derive from a common source and this common source had **Ἱερουσαλήμ** which has survived in Matthew.

This consideration may apply to John 1 : 23 : *ἔφη.* This is the only certain example of *ἔφη* in John, though MSS have included it at 18 : 29. A straightforward emendation would be *εἶπεν* for *ἔφη* as at 18 : 29. *φημί* was going out of use and survived only

[5] *See* **G. D.** Kilpatrick, 'A Jewish Background to Acts *2:* 9–11?', *JJS* 26 (1975), 48–9.

as a word of high style value, and we could regard it here as an attempt to raise the level of style in the passage and to avoid a repetition, 22 εἶπαν, 23 εἶπεν (2), 25 εἶπαν. There is, however, an occasional use of ἔφη to introduce a quotation. It begins as an equivalent of נְאֻם as in Jeremiah and then occurs occasionally in the Greek Bible and the Apostolic Fathers. At 1:23 it would serve in this way introducing the quotation in a slightly different form from that in the synoptic gospels (cf. Mark 1:3 with a contact with Aquila : εὐθύνατε). The clause καθὼς εἶπεν κτλ. looks like an afterthought, added when it was not realised that ἔφη was used to introduce the quotation. If we may follow up these indications, 1:23 : ἔφη . . . κυρίου, represents the oldest stage with distinctive features, and καθὼς εἶπεν κτλ., the second stage when the quotation is taken into the Gospel. The καθὼς εἶπεν formula recurs at 7: 38. This is speculative but, if we emend ἔφη to εἶπεν at 1: 23, we may destroy valuable evidence for the composition of this part of the Gospel.

What then do we say of Luke 2:22? Contrary to the other gospels, Luke uses Ἰερουσαλήμ with two certain exceptions, 2:22 and 23:7. Acts uses both forms, apparently Ἱεροσόλυμα in Gentile contexts and Ἰερουσαλήμ in purely Jewish ones. This practice would keep us with Luke 23:7, which is in a Gentile context, but not with Luke 2:22. Do we conjecture Ἰερουσαλήμ here or do we seek another explanation? Luke 1-2 owes much to the LXX, but we cannot blame Ἱεροσόλυμα on the LXX which consistently has Ἰερουσαλήμ. It is possible that our evangelist was using another source. This suggestion would entail interesting consequences for the making of Luke 1-2. Another possibility to which we shall return is that our evangelist has been inconsistent. We assume in the NT writers a high degree of consistency and on the whole we seem justified in doing so, but we cannot expect this consistency always to be perfect.

Pursuit of consistency produces some borderline instances. τε is a word going out of use in the first century AD, but had a high style value. Mark and John do not use it and Luke has it rarely.[6] The only example of τε in Matthew without a Greek variant, as far as I know, is at 22:10. Latin is quite capable of

[6] See G. D. Kilpatrick, 'Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament', *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift für Prof. Josef Schmid* (ed. J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, F. Mussner; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1963), 135.



rendering τε and does so in the Latin versions of the Bible, but here ignores the word. Does this mean that τε was absent from the Greek texts which the Latin renders? It is not inconceivable, but if it was, then we have an example where all the Greek evidence for the text has gone astray.

Another instance of such a variant is at John 4: 41 : πλείους. This form of the comparative of πολύς is not in keeping with John's style, but until a few years ago no Greek variant was known. Now we have the reading of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, πλεῖον, which gets us out of the difficulty. This discovery enabled us to recognize the relevance of the renderings of the OL e $r^1$ which have *amplius* and plus. If πλεῖον is the right reading, Latin attestation of it was known and ignored for years.

Another example of the original text barely surviving may come at Matt. 8 : 18 ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν. There is Latin and Syriac evidence for the addition of τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ after ἐκέλευσεν, but we do not find in Legg's apparatus or elsewhere any Greek evidence for this. Recently in a comment ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria (and to Origen), most of the reading has turned up in Greek: κελεύει δὲ μόνοις τοῖς μαθηταῖς.[7] We may now ask : is this reading original ? We notice one consideration in its favour : κελεύειν with the dative is condemned by the ancient grammarians though it may occur again at Matt. 15 : 35. One way of avoiding this construction would be to omit τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, especially as an object to ἐκέλευσεν could be understood from ὄχλον or πολλοὺς ὄχλους earlier in the sentence.[8] On the other hand, οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ at v. 23 (cf. 21) suggests that at 8 : 18 τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ rather than πολλοὺς ὄχλους is what is intended. If this suggestion is right, then we have another example of the original text surviving by the skin of its teeth.

Strugnell has called attention to another such survival, Rev. 3:7, where we should read τῷ for τῆς. We may note the same survival at 3 : 14 where τῷ survives only in the Harclean Syriac and part of the Armenian evidence, unless there is some Greek evidence in Josef Schmid's unpublished collections.

A problem of another kind occurs at Col. 1:22 with the three

[7] J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (TU 61; Berlin: Akademie-Vet-lag, 1957), 183.

[8] See my essay, 'An Eclectic Study of the Text of Acts', *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963), 71.

readings ἀποκατήλλαξεν, ἀποκατηλλάγητε, and ἀποκαταλλαγέντες. They all entail difficulties of construction, but we have not convincingly diagnosed the trouble. If we were able to point to two of the three readings as attempts to remedy a shortcoming in the third, then we could eliminate these two and concentrate on the third, looking for the exceptionable feature in it which the other two readings would seek to heal. If we fail in this, then we have to consider other possibilities.

Among these possibilities would be one in line with Strugnell's thinking. None of the three readings before us is the archetypal reading and *a fortiori* none is what the author wrote. In that case we resort to conjecture. We may, for example, assume a lacuna after νυνὶ δὲ: νυνὶ δὲ ⟨απελευθερους . . .⟩ ἀποκατήλλαξεν κτλ., but such a suggestion, though it does remove our difficulty of construction, does not really explain the other two readings. Strugnell may then argue that such suggestions are not sufficiently radical and that we should undertake a more thoroughgoing rewriting of the text.

Let us try to envisage what this means. We can imagine three stages: in the first we have the author's text; in the second we have a damaged text; in the third we have the damaged text and two attempts to remedy it. One difficulty in this is that it does not help us to relate the two readings to the third which lies behind them. We ought to be able to demonstrate that the two readings are attempts to make good a flaw in the third, quite apart from what we may think to be the relation of this third reading to what the author wrote.

Let us beg this question for the time being and consider another possibility. In my first draft of the first paragraph of this paper I referred not, as I should have done, to 'Professor B. M. Metzger's Festschrift' but to 'Professor B. M. Metzger's seminar'. Suppose that this slip had remained uncorrected and had appeared in the published text. The incongruous statement could be explained only as what it was, a mistake. Is there a possibility that an author's mistake may lie behind the variation at Col. 1:22? It would probably not explain all the problems of the passage, but it could explain some at any rate.

This gives us an opportunity to consider Strugnell's attitude to an author's mistake which he discusses in part 3 of his article. The passage is so important that I quote it in full:



Another objection raised is that by emendation one risks correcting the author himself. This must be granted, of course. It is no danger special to the NT but affects all conjectural criticism of all authors; it is inevitable. If ratio and *res ipsa* are our tools for the examination of the readings transmitted by the tradition, they cannot be restrained from correcting those accidental blunders or awkwardnesses committed by the author himself. If you are unwilling to correct rationally, all you gain is the possibility that at some places you will be unwittingly maintaining such of those accidents as have survived in the tradition (though there is no guarantee that they will have survived, and, if they have, purely eclectic criticism will have itself already removed most of them. Of course, even the rational critic will maintain solecisms and grammatical oddities that occur *repeatedly*, for part of his *examinatio* is precisely the consideration of the characteristics of the author's style.) If, on the other hand, you are willing to correct rationally, you have at least the chance of (a) detecting all subsequent deterioration of the author's text and (b) also of correcting any irrationalities of the author, or accidents in his autograph, that the author would himself have corrected had his attention been drawn to them. The only disadvantage is that you cannot distinguish between these two groups of errors.[9]

We may perhaps eliminate one kind of error, the error willed by the author. At Heb. 7:7 we have the startling pronouncement: 'Beyond all contradiction the lesser is blessed by the greater'. It is clearly wrong as can be shown from various passages in the Bible, but the context makes it clear that the author has said what he wanted to say. I presume that Strugnell has not such passages in mind when he discusses an author's mistakes. As he points out he is thinking of 'those accidental blunders or awkwardnesses committed by the author himself'.

Let us illustrate this. At 1 Cor. 2:4: ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις, we may suspect that πειθοῖς is a nonce word written by the Apostle by error. On this showing he ought to have written something like πιθανοῖς. If I follow Strugnell's argument, πιθανοῖς or some such expression should be substituted for πειθοῖς even though the meaning will not be affected.

One difficulty about this kind of conjectural correction is that it eliminates evidence about the author. Anyone studying the language of the Pauline Epistles would want to have available any quirks or oddities of expression which the Apostle has

[9] 'A Plea', 550.

perpetrated as throwing light on his manner of writing and thinking.

Strugnell may not be without predecessors in antiquity. Probably the majority of deliberate changes in the early years of the transmission of the NT were linguistic. The copyists seem often to have removed expressions that they considered incorrect. They may have regarded these expressions as the work of ignorant scribes who preceded them. In this they were altering the text by conjecture, but probably regarded themselves as restoring what authors had written. Alternatively they may have recognized that they were correcting their authors by writing what their authors would have written had they known better. We may, however, suspect that the correctors did not think as far as that, that they did not consider how their corrections related to the NT authors. They were merely concerned to produce a text which would reflect the normative level of education of their time.

Another difficulty in Strugnell's view is that it seems to open the door to considerable rewriting of the NT. He appears to be ready to allow both the conjectural restoration of what the author wrote and what he intended to write.

This brings us to the question: what is the difference between readings of MSS and conjectures? Strugnell's arguments point to the conclusion that for practical purposes at any rate there is no difference. Conjectures and readings of MSS must be judged on their merits.

In considering this contrast we must admit that so stated it is misleading. Some readings which have come down to us in the witnesses to the text are obviously conjectures, for example several at Acts **2 : g** as we have seen. Even if they were made in the second century AD, they are still conjectures and to be regarded as such.

By recognizing the character of these readings, we can be saved from a false dichotomy between conjectures and the readings of our witnesses, The dichotomy is between conjectures and non-conjectures, such readings in our witnesses as are original, or mistakes or deliberate changes apart from conjectures. In what way do these last differ from conjectures? The answer is that they are either part of the transmitted text or derived from the transmitted text, by error or deliberate change. A



conjecture on the other hand is not part of the transmitted text or derived from it, though it obviously relates to it. It is guesswork, inspired perhaps, but still guesswork with all the uncertainty that this carries with it.

This applies both to the attempt to recover what our authors wrote and to the attempts to recover what they ought to have written. If anything we may think that even greater uncertainty attaches to this second class.

There is at least one empirical indication of this uncertainty. Time and again we find indications that our conjectures are themselves unsatisfactory. We may put the difficulty this way. If the conjectures were the transmitted text instead of being a conjecture, we could have seen reason for calling this transmitted text into question. We might have sought to deal with this difficulty by making, in addition to the text before us, conjectures of our own, thus departing further from the original text. But calling in a conjecture to heal a conjecture is not the surest way of arriving at what an author wrote or intended.

We can reinforce this argument by another. Earlier we noted that the majority of deliberate changes in the text were linguistic. Correspondingly we would expect that a large proportion of our conjectures in the NT would be linguistic. In fact we find that this is not so. Linguistic conjectures are few and far between. The majority of conjectures deal with marginal matters which constitute only a small proportion of variant readings. These considerations imply that the direction of much conjectural emendation is misdirected, an implication that strengthens our doubts about much conjectural emendation as practised.

These considerations relate to a matter where Strugnell and I differ. I had suggested that 'in two ways, the general condition of the text and the opportunity for conjecture, the Septuagint does not compare favourably with the New Testament'.[10] On this Strugnell writes: 'Kilpatrick... advances some reasons for the difference of numbers between the two Testaments, but not one adequate to account for so radical a difference'.[11] Strugnell and I had different purposes. He was comparing figures for conjectures in the OT and NT and suggesting that if NT scholars were to stand comparison with the Old they would have to do much more in the way of making conjectures in the

[10] 'Transmission' (*BT*), 135. [11] 'A Plea', 545 n. 5.

New. I was suggesting that conditions of transmission for LXX were sufficiently different from those of the NT that we could venture on conjecture in the LXX with a greater degree of confidence than in the NT.

Strugnell's opinion is understandable. If we should make conjectures in the NT only on the basis of our diagnosis of the condition of the text without qualms or hesitation, then an attempt to show that the general conditions governing the transmission of the LXX differed from those governing that of the NT becomes largely irrelevant. I am able to sustain my contention because basically I think conjecture in the NT a dubious enterprise, but a reasonable resort in the LXX.

This opinion I support with two considerations. First, we can from time to time see grounds for conjecture in the LXX which we cannot see in the NT. For example, the LXX is, with little exception, a translation of a Hebrew text and we can sometimes see from our Hebrew text that our text of the LXX needs correction.

Secondly, there are conditions in the transmission of the LXX that make its text much less secure than that of the NT. The gap between the translators' copies and our MSS is much greater and there are more and stronger encouragements to alteration.

From the preceding arguments it can be seen that in principle and in practice I have changed my opinion but little from my previous argument. I have again acknowledged that *a priori* we cannot say that conjecture is inadmissible, but have suggested that it is too often only one way among others of dealing with a problem in the text. Further I remain unconvinced by Strugnell's suggestion that we should be prepared to correct our authors' 'accidental blunders or awkwardnesses'.

This note of dissent having been sounded, we must acknowledge our indebtedness to Professor Strugnell's paper. He has very properly drawn our attention to pertinent considerations and pressed them with considerable skill. All he has to do now is to come up with some conjectures that we cannot gainsay.

# 28. Conjectural Emendations in Modern Translations

ERROLL F. RHODES

PROFESSOR Metzger's manual on *The Text of the New Testament* concludes with the acknowledgement that in spite of the exceptionally full attestation enjoyed by the NT text, the critic may on occasion find himself forced to reject all the forms in which a passage has been preserved in the MS tradition, and forced to resort to conjecture to supply a more nearly correct, or at least a less unsatisfactory, reading.[1] In his more extended discussion of the role of conjectural emendation earlier in the manual,[2] two tests are offered for evaluating a conjecture: 'It must be intrinsically suitable, and it must be such as to account for the corrupt reading or readings in the transmitted text'. It is further advised that 'the only criterion of a successful conjecture is that it shall approve itself as inevitable. Lacking inevitability, it remains doubtful'.[3] No instance, however, of a successful conjecture is advanced, and the one example adduced as having enjoyed the widest favour of all proposed emendations (i.e. the restoration of 'Enoch' in 1 Pet. 3 : 19) is found unacceptable: 'since the introduction of a new subject ("Enoch") into verse 19 disturbs an otherwise smooth context and breaks the continuity of the argument, the emendation cannot be accepted-for an emendation that introduces fresh difficulties stands self-condemned'.[4]

The preface of Nestle's edition of the Greek NT has advised the reader since the 13th editions that its apparatus incorporates about 200 conjectural emendations ascribed to about ninety authors. This figure includes those examples where a difference of 'accent, separation of words, capital or small type, comes into

[1] B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (2nd edn.; New York/Oxford: Oxford University, 1968), 246.
[2] Ibid., 182-5. [3] Ibid., 183. [4] Ibid., 185 n. 1.
[5] Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Priviligierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1927).

consideration', and is noted parenthetically in the apparatus, attributed to 'comm(entatores)'. If these instances are excepted, the number of proposed emendations recorded in the apparatus is reduced to about **165**. The authors cited represent not only a cross-section of modern scholarship from Erasmus and Beza to Eberhard Nestle and Debrunner, but also include some earlier scholars such as Jerome and *orthodoxi apud Epiphanium.* The emendations proposed by these authors range from improvements in grammar and style to corrections of historical and theological significance. Although these examples only hint at the critical imagination's fecundity in its efforts to determine the original text of the NT, they at least provide a representative sampling of passages which have aroused critical suspicion of early textual disturbance, and they suggest solutions which have been thought worthy of consideration by textual scholars over the years. And further, the remarkably wide acceptance of the Nestle edition among students of the NT has afforded these proposed emendations a ready access to the attention of modern scholars and translators. We shall observe how these emendations have fared in recent translations.

## I. THE EVIDENCE

We have reviewed the treatment given Nestle's selected emendations in a score of NT translations representing a variety of ecclesiastical and scholarly traditions, and including examples of Protestant, Catholic, and ecumenical editions. English *(E)* is represented by the Authorized-Revised-Revised Standard tradition (AV, **1611**; RV, 1881; RSV, 1946); the *New English Bible* (NE, 1961); the *Jerusalem Bible* (J, 1966); the *New American Bible* (NA, 1970); the *New International Version* (NI, 1973); and the two Bible Society versions, the *Good News Bible (GN,* 1976) and the *Translator's New Testament* (T, 1973). The French (F) is represented by the Segond ($S^{1910}$, $S^{1962}$, $S^{1975}$, and $S^{1978}$), the Jerusalem ( $J^{1955}$, $J^{1973}$), the Maredsous ($M^{1948}$, $M^{1968}$), and the Pléiade (P, 1971) versions, by the *Traduction œcuménique de la Bible (0,* 1972), and by the common language *Bonnes Nouvelles Aujourd'hui* (BN, 1971), and the German (G) by the Luther ($L^{1545}$, $L^{1956}$, $L^{1975}$) and Zurich (Z, 1954) versions, the Bishops' version or *Einheitsübersetzung (E,* 1972), the Jerusalem Bible (*Die Bibel*) (J, 1968), and the ecumenical common language Die *Gute Nachricht (GN,* 1971).



First, we note that over three-quarters of the emendations recorded in the apparatus of Nestle's edition appear in neither the text nor the marginal notes of any of the twenty versions reviewed. The remaining thirty-eight emendations are arranged below in groups, according to their concern with vocabulary and grammatical difficulties, the resolution of ambiguities in the Greek text, matters of contextual adaptation or interpretation in translation, of literary criticism, or of historical criticism. The format observed for each example is (1) the biblical reference, (2) the traditional reading of the text, and (3) its support among the twenty versions reviewed; then (4) the proposed emendation, (5) its author, (6) any support it may have among MS, early versional, or patristic witnesses-given in parentheses-and (7) its support among the twenty versions reviewed, followed by (8) comments.

A. *Vocabulary and grammatical difficulties*

Matt. 2:6 *γῇ Ἰούδα E* RV NA, *F* rel, G $Z^{mg}$ J; *γῆς Ἰούδα* Drusius *E* rel, *F* BN, G L Z E GN. G $Z^{mg}$ observes that the whole MS tradition reads 'Bethlehem, land of Judah', but objects that 'Bethlehem is not a land, and surely the sense is "Bethlehem in the land of Judah"'. *E* AV implies the same by its use of italics: 'Bethlehem in the land of Judah'. Note the occurrence of *γῇ Ἰούδα,* however, in 1 Kgs. 19:3 LXX.

Matt. 7:25 *προσέπεσαν F* P, G J; *προσέπαισαν* Lachmann *E* omn, *F* rel, G rel. A common itacism (*ε* for *αι*) can make the difference between deriving the verb from *προσπαίω* 'strike against' instead of from *προσπίπτω* 'fall against' (cf. Matt. 11:16 *ἑτέροις / ἑταίροις*). Only *F* P 'sont tombés sur' and G J 'fielen über jenes Haus her' include literal parallels to the Greek form of *προσπίπτω.* But, although S. A. Naber (1881) and Eberhard Nestle (1908) have defended the emendation (cf. BAG, *s.v. προσπαίω*), BDF §202 pronounces it doubtful; *προσπίπτω* is also versatile, quite capable of meaning 'attack, assault', and LSJ does not recognize *προσπαίω* as an independent lexeme ('*προσπαίω* = *προσπίπτω*').

Acts 7:38 *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* construed with *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* (see discussion); *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* construed with *τῶν πατέρων* Schmiedel G $Z^{mg}$. The sentence order of the Greek text is followed by

G Z as in most versions, but with a footnote to indicate that the OT evidence supports the emendation proposed by Schmiedel. Similar adaptations are found, however, in *E* J NI GN, *F* BN, where they are not considered as emendations, but well within the limits of direct translation. *E* NA condenses ***ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*** to 'in that assembly'.

Acts 21: 21 ***λέγων μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτούς*** *E* AV, G L Z GN ; ***λέγων αὐτοῖς μὴ περιτέμνειν*** Schmiedel *E* rel, *F* omn, G E J. Most versions find it convenient to avoid a pedantic parallel to the accusative and infinitive construction, and show sympathy with Schmiedel's emendation by making the object of ***λέγων*** an infinitive rather than a clause. *E* NA avoids the problem by resetting the entire sentence.

1 Tim. 4 : 3 ***κωλυόντων γαμεῖν ἀπέχεσθαι*** G L$^{1545}$ ; ***κωλυόντων γαμεῖν κελευόντων ἀπέχεσθαι*** Toup *E omn*, *F* rel, G **rel** ; ***κωλυόντων γαμεῖν καὶ γεύεσθαι*** (or, ***ἢ ἅπτεσθαι***) Hort *F* P. The participle ***κωλυόντων*** governs two infinitives in a way that makes no apparent sense. Grammatically this is an example of zeugma, a form of ellipsis (cf. BDF §479, 2). It has been dealt with by translators in four different ways: (1) by retaining the ellipsis, smoothing only the syntax slightly, e.g. G L$^{1545}$ ; (2) by conforming the second infinitive to the meaning required by its governing verb of prohibition, e.g. *E GN*, *F* J M BN (also P, following Hort), sometimes even repeating or rephrasing the governing verb, e.g. *E* T, *F O* ; (3) by conforming the governing verb and the first infinitive to the requirements implicit in the second infinitive, e.g. *F S*, *G* L$^{1956,1975}$ GN ; and (4) by supplying an appropriate and independent governing verb for the second infinitive, following Toup's emendation, e.g. *E* AV$^{\text{italics}}$ RV$^{\text{italics}}$ rel, GZ E J.

Heb. 2: 9 ***ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου*** *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel; transpose to follow ***ἠλαττωμένον*** Schmiedel *E* NA GN, *F* BN, G Z$^{\text{mg}}$. The sentence order of the Greek text is followed by G Z, but a footnote recommends the emendation proposed by Schmiedel: 'Die einzelnen Teile des Verses standen ursprünglich vielleicht in dieser Reihenfolge : "den aber, der eine kurze Zeit unter die Engel erniedrigt worden war, damit er durch Gottes Gnade für jeden den Tod Schmecken sollte, Jesus, sehen wir um seines Todesleidens willen mit Herrlichkeit und Ehre gekrönt"'. *E* GN, *F* BN, and also *E* NA in yet another way, rearrange the Greek sentence order in translating, yet with no suggestion that they intend a departure from the traditional order in their translation base.



Heb. 11: 4 ***πλείονα*** *E* NE NA T, G L$^{1545}$ ; ***ἡδίονα*** Cobet *E* RSV. Zuntz cites a comparable example from Plutarch of ***πλεῖστον / ἥδιστον***.[6] Only *E* RSV 'more acceptable' clearly adopts the emendation proposed by Cobet. The implicit analogy of quantity representing quality is made explicit ('of greater value') in *F* S$^{1962,1978}$ J, G J. It is uncertain which reading is represented by the contextual adaptations 'better' in *E* J NI GN, *F* P BN, G L$^{1956,1975}$ GN, and 'more excellent' in *E* AV RV, *F* S$^{1910,1975}$ M, G Z.

1 Pet. 3 : 7 ***συγκληρονόμοις*** *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel ; ***συγκληρονόμῳ*** Tregelles *E* J, *F* J, G J. The emendation evidently arises from attraction to the parallel singular form in the ***ὡς*** clause immediately preceding ; the plural form it displaces conforms to the parallel plural form in the preceding paragraph (v. 1).[7]

B. *Resolving ambiguities*

Acts 20 : 28 ***τοῦ ἰδίου*** *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel; ***τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ*** Knapp *E* J$^{\text{mg}}$ GN T, *F* J$^{1955\text{mg},1973}$ BN, G L$^{1975}$ E GN. The traditional text may be construed as meaning either 'by his own blood', e.g. *E* rel (with GN$^{\text{mg}}$ T$^{\text{mg}}$), *F* J$^{1955,1973\text{mg}}$ M P, G L$^{1545,1956}$ Z J ; or 'by the blood of his Own', e.g. *E* RSV$^{\text{mg}}$ NE$^{\text{mg}}$.[8] The latter interpretation is made inevitable when the emendation proposed by Knapp is adopted.

1 Cor. 9 : 10 ***πάντως λέγει*** *E* AV RV NE, *F S*, *G* Z J ; ***πάντως οὐ λέγει*** Bois *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel. The traditional text leaves the question entirely open : 'Or is the reference clearly to ourselves ?' (*E* NE). Most translators, however, have preferred to anticipate the affirmative answer implied in the following ***δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη***, and translate with Bois : 'Is there not an obvious reference to ourselves?' (*E* J).

Col. 1 : 19 ***κατοικῆσαι*** *E* rel, *F* S$^{1910}$ BN, G rel ; ***κατοικίσαι*** Venema *E* NA NI, *F* rel, G Z J. The traditional text ***εὐδόκησεν***

[6] **G. Zuntz,** ***The Text of the Epistles*** **(London: Oxford University, 1953), 285.**

[7] **B. M. Metzger,** *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* **(London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 690–1.**

[8] **Cf. also U. Wilckens,** *Das Neue Testament übersetzt und kommentiert* **(Hamburg: Furche, 1970), footnote reading: 'die er durch das Blut seines eigenen** (Sohnes) erworben hat'.

*πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι* may be construed with the subject of the verb *εὐδόκησεν* identified as either (1) *πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα* (nominative), e.g. *E* RVmg RSV, *F* P; or (2) implicitly as 'the Father'. In the latter instance *πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα* (accusative) may be construed as (a) the subject of the infinitive *κατοικῆσαι*, e.g. *E* AV RV N E J G N, F S1910, *G* L1545,1956, (b) adverbially, e.g. *E* T ('in all his fulness'), *F* BN, G L1975 ('mit seiner ganzen Fülle') E GN, or (c) as the object of the homophonic (?) infinitive *κατοικίσαι*, e.g. *E* NA NI, *F* S1962,1975,1978 J M Pmg, G Z J.

## C. *Contextual adaptation and interpretation*

Matt. 6 : 18 *τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ* *E* omn, *F* omn, G rel ; *ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ* Wellhausen G Zmg. Many translators have been content with a closely literal rendering: 'to your Father who is in secret', e.g. *E* AV RV RSV T, *F* S1962 J M P O BN; cf. *G* Z E J GN ('[der] im Verborgenen ist'). Some qualify this expression locally: 'in the secret place', e.g. *E* NE, *F* S1910,1975,(1978). Others have interpreted the phrase in a more specific way: 'who sees all that is done in secret', e.g. *E* NE; 'who is hidden', e.g. *E* NA, G L1545; 'who is unseen', e.g. *E* NI GN. Only G Zmg omits the article before *ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ* and translates adverbially 'in secret to your Father', following the emendation proposed by Wellhausen and the analogy of D and the OL and OS versions in v. 6.

Matt. 7 : 15 *ἐν ἐνδύμασι* *E* omn, *F* omn, G rel ; *ἐν δέρμασιν* Blass G E. Most translators render *ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων* literally and simply 'in sheep's clothing', e.g. *E* AV RV RSV NA NI, *F* S1910,1962mg,1975, *G* L Z J. Some versions introduce slight variations: 'dressed up like sheep', e.g. *E* NE, *F* P 0; 'disguised as sheep', e.g. *E* J T, *F* S1978mg M1968. A few spell out the analogy more explicitly: 'looking like sheep on the outside', e.g. *E GN*, *F* M1948; point to a specific characteristic: 'looking like harmless sheep', e.g. G GN; or leave the suggestion implicit: 'like sheep', e.g. *F S*1978. *G* E follows Blass in strengthening the realism of the metaphor: 'in Schafspelzen'.

Matt. 8 : 30 *μακράν* (see discussion) ; *οὐ μακράν* Beza (it vg) *E GN*, *F* M, G GN. Some versions render *μακράν* literally as 'far' without qualification, e.g. *E* AV RV NE, *F S* P, G L Z. For stylistic reasons many versions have relativized the expression to 'some distance' or 'a certain distance', e.g. *E* RSV J NA NI, F J O B N, G E J. From this to the emendation proposed by Beza is no distance at all.

Matt. 23 : 8 *ἀδελφοί* *E* rel, *F* omn, G omn ; *μαθηταί* Blass *E* NA. 'You are all brothers' seems hardly to correspond appropriately with 'you have one teacher'. *E* NA follows Blass and translates: 'the rest are learners'.

Mark 9 : 23 *τὸ εἰ δύνῃ* *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel (see discussion) ; *τί τὸ εἰ δύνῃ* Blass *E* NI, *F* P, G L1956 GN. Most versions (other than *E* AV and G L1545, which translate another text: *εἰ δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι*) assume that Jesus here repeats the words of the suppliant but doubting father, and punctuate accordingly. A few spell out this assumption either briefly: 'Si tu peux, dis-tu', e.g. *F* M1968 BN; or at greater length: 'Was heißt hier: ‘Wenn du kannst"? ' e.g. G GN. *E GN* interprets differently: 'Yes, if you yourself can!'[9]

Mark 15 : 42 *ὀψίας γενομένης* *E* rel, *F* rel, *G* omn ; *ὀψίας γινομένης* Blass *E* NA NI GN(?), *F* M1968. By emending 'when evening had come' to 'as evening approached', Blass and his followers make more time available, if only a little, for the activities narrated in w. 42-6 to be accomplished before sundown and the beginning of the Sabbath.

John 1 : 18 *μονογενὴς θεός/υἱός* *E* rel, *F* omn, G rel; *μονογενὴς θεοῦ* Burney (cf. itq Irenlat) *E* NE, G Zmg. Apart from the textual alternatives of *θεός* and *υἱός*, the lexical alternatives of *μονογενής* as 'only' and 'only begotten' have been recognized. The versions accordingly render variously: (1) 'the only begotten Son', *E* AV RV NImg, G L1545,1956 J; (2) 'God only begotten', *E* Jmg NImg; (3) 'the only Son', *E* RSV J NImg, *F* S1910,1962mg,1975mg J M 0 BN, G Z Jmg GN; (4) 'the only God', *E* RSVmg. Recently the possibility of construing *μονογενής* substantively, with *θεός* or *υἱός* standing in apposition, has produced the readings (5) 'God the only Son', *E* NA NI GN, *F* S1962,1975,1978 P, G L1975 Emg; and (6) 'the only One, who is God', *E* T, G E. Encouraged perhaps by Burney's conjecture, perhaps by the reading found in itq (*unigenitus filius Dei*), or possibly even by two vg MSS (X *gat*) with some scattered patristic support (*unigenitus* = *ὁ μονογενής*), *E* NE and G Zmg translate: 'God's only Son'?

[9] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 100.

[10] Ibid., 198. [See Paul R. McReynolds, 'John 1 : 18 in Textual Variation and Translation', pp. 105–18 above.]

John 7: 52 *προφήτης* *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel; *ὁ προφήτης* Owen ($\mathfrak{p}^{66*}$) *E* NE NI$^{mg}$ GN$^{mg}$, *F* J$^{1973}$, G E. The discovery of MS support for Owen's conjecture of the specific *ὁ προφήτης* for the generic *προφήτης* has led to its increased popularity among recent translators.[11]

Rom. g : 31 *νόμον (δικαιοσύνης)* *E* rel, *F* omn, G rel (see discussion) ; *δικαιοσύνην* Schmiedel G Z$^{mg}$. Some versions avoid the textual problem here by replacing the repeated *νόμον (δικαιοσύνης)* with the pronoun 'it', gaining rhetorical impact at the expense of verbal parallelism with the Greek text, e.g. *E* NE NI GN, G L$^{1975}$. Others tend to paraphrase : 'failed to do what the Law required', e.g. *E* J ; 'hat dieses Ziel nicht erreicht', e.g. G GN. Only G Z$^{mg}$ adopts the direct simplicity of Schmiedel's emendation.

2 Cor. 3 : 3 *ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις* *E* rel, *F* omn, G rel ; *ἐν καρδίαις σαρκίναις* Hort *E GN* T, *F* BN, G GN ; *ἐν πλαξὶν σαρκίναις* Holwerda G Z. Most versions follow the traditional text quite' literally, but a few soften the harshness of this awkward expression by simplification.[12]

1 Tim. 5 : 13 *ἀργαὶ μανθάνουσιν* *E* omn, *F* omn, G Z$^{mg}$ rel ; *ἀργαὶ λανθάνουσιν* Mangey G Z. Most versions translate with very slight variation : 'they learn to be idle'. G L$^{1975}$ construes the traditional text differently : 'Außerdem sind sie müßig und stets auf neue Lehren aus, wenn sie von Haus zu Haus laufen'. G Z accepts Mangey's emendation and translates : 'Zugleich aber auch laufen sie im geheimen müßig in den Häusern umher'. James Moffatt[13] also accepts the emendation but construes differently : 'Besides, they become idle unconsciously by gadding about from one house to another'-which suggests a possibility that *E* NI ('they get into the habit of being idle'; cf. *F* M BN, G E J GN) may also be indebted to Mangey.

1 Tim. 6 : 19 *θεμέλιον* E rel, *F* S$^{1910,1975}$ P, G rel ; *κειμήλιον* Junius *F* S$^{1962,1978}$ M 0 BN, G Z ; ambiguous *E* J, *F* J. Most versions render *θεμέλιον* in its usual meaning of 'foundation'. Junius' proposed emendation 'treasure' conforms well with the preceding *ἀποθησαυρίζοντας ἑαυτοῖς*, but *θεμέλιον* can also mean 'treasure'. *E* J and *F* J render ambiguously : 'a good capital sum'.

[11] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 219.
[12] Ibid., 577.
[13] James Moffatt, *The Bible, a New Translation* (New York/London: Harper, 1922, revised 1935).



2 Tim. 2 : 12 *ὑπομένομεν* *E* omn, *F* O$^{mg}$ rel, G rel ; *συνυπομένομεν* Price *F* 0, *G* J. The emendation proposed by Price is intended to restore a close parallelism between the second and first lines of the Faithful Saying.

Philem. g *πρεσβύτης* *E* AV RV RSV$^{mg}$ J NI, *F* omn, G omn ; *πρεσβεύτης* Bentley *E* RV$^{mg}$ RSV NE NA GN T. Bentley's suggestion that Paul described himself as an 'ambassador of Christ Jesus' rather than as 'an old man' has been widely accepted in English translations, but rarely elsewhere.[14]

Heb. 4 : 2 *τοῖς ἀκούσασιν* *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel ; *τοῖς ἀκούσμασιν* Bleek (cf. *ἀκουσθεῖσιν* 1912 Theo$^{mops}$) *E* J$^{mg}$, *F* J$^{mg}$ P, G J$^{mg}$. WH agreed that 'the most probable sense (in this very difficult passage) would be supplied by a combination of *συνκεκερασμένους* with the slenderly supported reading *τοῖς ἀκουσθεῖσιν* (from ii. 1), which is possibly genuine'.[15] They also note that Bleek's emendation, which they attribute to Nösselt, has the further advantage of accounting for *τοῖς ἀκούσασιν* as well. Only the translator of *F* P seems convinced by this solution, and translates : 'faute d'avoir ajouté foi à ce qu'ils entendaient'.

2 Pet. 3 : 10 *εὑρεθήσεται*, etc. *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel (see discussion) ; *οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται* Hort (sa) *F* P$^{mg}$ BN, G Z E ; *κριθήσεται* Eberhard Nestle *F* 0, *G* L$^{1975}$. The variety of readings preserved in the MS tradition has invited further conjectures.16 Although the traditional readings *εὑρεθήσεται* (*E* RV$^{mg}$ NE J$^{mg}$ NI GN$^{mg}$, *F* S$^{1978mg}$ P, G Z$^{mg}$ J$^{mg}$), *κατακαήσεται* (*E* AV RV RSV NE$^{mg}$ J NI$^{mg}$ GN$^{mg}$, *F S* J M P$^{mg}$ O$^{mg}$, *G* L$^{1545,1956}$ Z$^{mg}$), and *ἀφανισθήσονται* (*E GN*, *F* P$^{mg}$) remain popular, more recent conjectures have also found acceptance.

1 John 5 : 20 *ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ* *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel ; add *ὄντες* *E* NE J NA T, *F* text *ἐν τῷ υἱῷ* stands in awkward parallel to *ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ*. The redundant *ἐν* has also suggested an ellipsis, whether of *ἐσμὲν* (coordinative, e.g. *E* AV RV NANI), or of&Es (subordinative, e.g. E NE J T, F M, G Z).

Jude 5 (*ὁ*) *κύριος*/*Ἰησοῦς*/*ὁ θεός* *E* rel, *F* omn, G omn ; *ὁ* Hort

[14] Cf. Wilckens' translation: 'als Beauftragter Christi Jesu', but with footnote: 'ich, Paulus, ein alter Mann'. See also Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 657.
[15] B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* [II] *Introduction, Appendix* (2nd edn.; London: Macmillan, 1896), 129.
[16] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 705–6.

*E* RSV. The subject of *σώσας* is almost universally identified by translators as (6) *κύριος* in agreement with the Byzantine text. The better supported reading *'Ιησοῦς* is noted only in the margin in recent versions (*E* RV$^{mg}$ RSV$^{mg}$ NE$^{mg}$ J$^{mg}$ GN$^{mg}$ T$^{mg}$, *F* J$^{mg}$, G E$^{mg}$ J$^{mg}$), while *ὁ θεός* is noticed only by *E* RSV$^{mg}$. Hort's conjecture is adopted only by *E* RSV.[17]

D. *Literary criticism*

Matt. 12 : 33 *τὸν καρπόν* *E* AV RV RSV NE NA, *F S M* ; *ὁ καρπός* Wellhausen *E* J NI T, *F* J P 0, G L **Z** E J. Wellhausen's emendation of the two phrases beginning with *καὶ τὸν καρπόν* to read in the nominative case is based on the assumption of the author's misunderstanding of an Aramaic usage, where the *καί* properly introduces a conditional parataxis. *E GN*, *F* BN, G GN recast the sentence to obscure this distinction.

Mark 6 : 20 *καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἠπόρει/ἐποίει* *E* omn, *F* omn, G **rel** ; omit Schmiedel (A geo$^{1,A}$) G Z$^{mg}$. **G Z** follows the traditional text, but calls attention in a marginal note to Schmiedel's proposal that the disturbing clause was probably in origin itself a marginal note. Although an insertion here, he suggests that it was a gloss on v. 16, intended as a reference to Luke 9 : 7.

Luke 2 : 11 *χριστὸς κύριος* *E* rel, *F* omn, G **rel** ; *χριστὸς κυρίου* J. Weiss (it$^{\beta,r^1}$ sy$^{h,pal}$ Diat Ephr) *E* NE$^{mg}$, G Z$^{mg}$. The traditional reading is peculiar here in the NT (cf. von Dobschütz's emendation *τὸ πνεῦμα κύριος* for *τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου* in 2 Cor. 3 : 17). Rahlfs has observed that in antiquity the form $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ was used to represent both *κύριος* and *κυρίου*.[18]

Rom. 7 : 25 *ἄρα οὖν αὐτὸς . . . νόμῳ ἁμαρτίας* *E* rel, *F* rel, G omn ; omit Michelsen / transpose to follow v. 23 Venema *E* J$^{mg}$, *F* J$^{mg}$. The emendations proposed by Michelsen and Venema are both represented in the marginal note of the Jerusalem version, which reads : 'this sentence, which would come more naturally before verse 24, seems to have been added-perhaps by Paul himself'.

Rom. 8 : 15, Gal. 4 : 6 *αββα ὁ πατήρ* *E* omn, *F* rel, G rel ; *αββα*

[17] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary, 725-6.*

[18] Ibid., 132; also A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Wtirttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935), 764, note in Lam. 4: 20, and Genesis (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926), 21.



Beza *F* BN, G Z$^{mg}$. Beza's emendation is adopted only by *F* BN, although G Z$^{mg}$ suggests that the repetition of the Aramaic word in Greek may have been a marginal note which crept into the text of a MS. Most versions preserve the first word in the Aramaic form, repeating it in translation as though it were a bilingual formula, but the punctuation of *E* NA implies that the repetition is simply explanatory : 'Abba !' ('Father !'); cf. *F* Synodale version : 'Abba ! — c'est-a-dire : Père!' The bilingual character of the expression is obscured in *E GN:* 'Father, my Father'.

E. *Historical criticism*

John 3 : 25 *'Ιουδαίου* (or *'Ιουδαίων*) *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel ; *'Ιησοῦ* Bentley / *τοῦ 'Ιησοῦ* Baldensperger / *τῶν 'Ιησοῦ* Oscar Holtzmann *E* J$^{mg}$, *F* J$^{mg}$, G J$^{mg}$. The emendations proposed by Bentley, Baldensperger, and Holtzmann transfer the controversy with John the Baptist over purification (baptism?) from a Jew (or Jews) to Jesus or to his disciples. This suggestion is attractive[19] and makes excellent sense[20] but for its lack of textual support.

John 19 : 29 *ὑσσώπῳ* *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel ; *ὑσσῷ* Camerarius (476*) *E* NE J$^{mg}$, *F* M 1968$^{mg}$ P, G J$^{mg}$. The emendation 'javelin' for 'hyssop' has the advantage of practical realism as well as the support of a MS, yet against it must be weighed the symbolic associations of hyssop with the Passover. In consequence it has recommended itself to few translators.[21]

Acts 16 : 12 *πρώτη τῆς μερίδος* *E* rel, *F* rel, G rel ; *τῆς πρώτης μερίδος* Crell *E GN* T, *F* BN, G L$^{1975}$ **Z** E GN. The emendation proposed by Crell, which has been adopted with hesitation by the UBSGNT (with square brackets, a class D decision), has been favoured in several recent versions.[22] *F* J observes in a footnote that Philippi was a city in the first district of Macedonia, but only as a historical comment, and not as a textual emendation.[23]

[19] C. K. Barrett, *The* Gospel *according to St John* (London: SPCK, 1955), 184.

[20] R. E. Brown, *The* Gospel *according to John (i-xii)* (AB 29; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 162.

[21] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary, 253-4.* The UBSGNT$^3$ corrects the MS attestation for *ὑσσῷ* to 476* alone.

[22] Also adopted by E. Haenchen in *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959$^{12}$), 431-2.

[23] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary, 444-6. [See* Allen P. Wikgren, 'The Problem in Acts 16: 12', pp. 171–8 above.]

## II. REVIEW

The textual critic of the Greek NT is concerned with establishing the wording of the transmitted Greek text. Matters of literary composition and the prehistory of documents are properly left to literary, historical, and other specialists as he proceeds to review the extant witnesses to the text (*recensio*), weigh the claims to authenticity of the various forms of the text that are exhibited (*examinatio*), and distinguish the earliest form of the text, relying on disciplined common sense and taste to identify the original form, or to reconstruct it when the earliest preserved forms themselves show indications of disturbance (*emendatio*).

The translator, on the other hand, begins with the text which has been established by the textual critic. After first ascertaining the meaning of this text, he then proceeds to express that meaning as faithfully as possible within the linguistic patterns and conceptual framework of another culture (the receptor language). It is rare that a natural, clear, simple, and unambiguous translation can be achieved subject to the requirement that the word order and grammatical structures of the source language be reproduced in the receptor language. Even the common vocabulary of a language can seldom be translated faithfully into another language with mechanical consistency. In translating the NT there are also decisions involving broader contextual perspectives, such as consistency with regard to proper names or other matters of interpretation.[24] Back-translating may have a certain usefulness when a translation consultant is checking the accuracy of a new translation, but it is a technique to be used with great caution in any attempt to determine the text from which a translation was actually made.

In reviewing the evidence presented in the preceding section, we find that especially in group A the correspondence between the Greek text and many of the versions in a number of the passages is not always close and direct. Some of these examples

[24] Thus *E* GN reads Priscilla (for Prisca) in Rom. 16: 3 and 1 Cor. 16: 19 to agree with Acts 18: 26; *E* NE reads Salma (for Salmon) in Matt. 1: 4, 5 to agree with 1 Chr. 2: 11. *E* T adds 'The matter would never have been raised at all' in Gal. 2: 4 to supply the main clause required by the following dependent clause, 'had it not been that ...'.



reveal the tension between the principles of formal parallelism and dynamic equivalence in translating, and call for understanding rather than correction. The desire for a logically coherent translation has forced nearly all translators to compensate for the ellipsis in 1 Tim. 4: 3. Again, the emendation by Cobet in Heb. 11: 4 is brilliant, but it is difficult to be certain how many of the versions are indebted to it. Certainly Tasker is quite justified in identifying the text translated by *E* NE as the traditional text in Matt. 2: 6; 7: 25; Acts 21: 21; and 1 Tim. 4: 3, where it is in ostensible agreement with emendations.[25]

The emendations in group B attempt to solve particular ambiguities presented by the traditional text. Here also it is often impossible to assert with any confidence that a translator is not actually interpreting the traditional Greek text when his version is found to agree with a proposed emendation.

Group C represents the largest group of emendations, including examples which are essentially concerned with matters of contextual smoothness, especially of particular verbal or grammatical forms, whether simplifying a difficult or complex expression (e.g. Rom. 9: 31; 2 Cor. 3: 3; Jude 5), making a general or vague expression more explicit (e.g. Matt. 23: 8; Mark 9: 23; 1 John 5: 20), finding a more precise word (e.g. 1 Tim. 6: 19; 2 Tim. 2: 12), or expressing theological matters with greater lucidity (e.g. John 1: 18; 7: 52; 2 Pet. 3: 10). Here again the interpretational interest of a translator is sometimes evident (e.g. Matt. 8: 30; 23: 8; Mark 9: 23; Rom. 9: 31).

The emendations in group D are concerned with the contextual appropriateness of whole statements rather than with particular verbal or grammatical agreements (e.g. Mark 6: 20; Rom. 7: 25), or with misunderstandings on the part of the original author (e.g. Matt. 12: 33) or of later scribes (e.g. Luke 2: 11; Rom. 8: 15; Gal. 4: 6). These go beyond matters lexical and grammatical to the stylistic and editorial characteristics of authors and scribes, and represent problems that are less distinctively translational.

The last group bears on matters that are neither translational nor narrowly contextual and are concerned with historical realism and probability. Here most versions are remarkably

[25] R. V. G. Tasker, *The Greek New Testament, Being the Text Translated in the New English Bible 1961* (Oxford University/Cambridge University, 1964).

conservative. Only one of the emendations reviewed has been adopted in a significant proportion of the twenty versions we have compared: the emendation proposed by Crell in Acts 16: 12.

Two inferences are suggested by the above evidence and review. First, that textual emendations have tended on occasion to reflect the motivation and interests of the translator rather than of the textual scholar, and second, that although the evidence of the twenty versions and their revisions reviewed above points to a recent increase in the popularity of some few conjectures (e.g. John 7: 52; Acts 16: 12; Col. 1: 19; 2 Pet. 3: 10), yet even among these none can claim to have achieved the recognition of inevitability.

# 29. The New Testament Greek Text in the Third World

EUGENE A. NIDA

FOR most scholars the issues which reverberated around the publication of the Westcott-Hort Greek text of the NT are a thing of the past. For the most part, critical texts and translations based on them are largely taken for granted by informed Protestant and Roman Catholic constituencies in Western Europe, North America, and Japan. Increasingly, this is true of Orthodox Churches which have been in continuous contact with Western scholarship. But for the rest of the world-the so-called 'Third World'-and for an increasingly vocal minority in North America, the *Textus Receptus* (TR), as a reflection of the Byzantine text, has become the rallying cry for a return to what advocates insist is 'biblical truth'.

The book Which *Bible?* edited by David Otis Fuller[1] is typical of the impassioned pleas by devout persons who are anxious to defend the truth of their tradition. J. W. Burgon is the scholar-hero of those for whom the 'democratic principle' of a majority text seems to have such a broad appeal. By the process of counting MSS rather than weighing MS evidence, one can always justify the kind of traditional text which underlies the King James Version. Fuller and those whom he quotes in Which *Bible?* are really not so concerned with the history of the TR, as with the value of such a text as a symbol of faith.

Those who have maintained a position of strict verbal infallibility of the biblical text have often insisted that if God went to so much trouble to produce an infallible text, he would not have permitted the truth to be lost in the vast majority of the MSS. And accordingly, the evidence of the Byzantine tradition must be the only basis for a Bible-believing Church.

The acceptance of the Byzantine text is not made, however,

[1] D. O. Fuller, Which *Bible?* (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids International Publications, 1970).

without the application of certain types of tests. One of the most consistently employed tests is 'doctrinal purity'. On the basis of a series of traditional doctrines, for example, the deity of Jesus Christ, the Virgin birth, bodily resurrection, and the return of the Lord, the advocates of the Byzantine text insist that one can test the validity of MS variants by selecting those readings which are most in accord with such doctrinal positions. Some advocates of the Byzantine text have contended that only enemies of true faith would delete portions of the biblical text, and therefore, the fuller (or conflated) text is most likely to be correct. For some persons, the consistency of textual evidence is one of the most important tests for validating the true text, since the Holy Spirit, as the one who inspired the NT writers, would not have introduced expressions which were not in complete harmony one with the other. Lastly, the test of the 'easier reading' is regarded by many as being of great importance, since the original writers would certainly not have been obscure in what they wrote. Therefore, the variant which is easiest to understand is undoubtedly the correct one.

In view of the fact that such tests for textual validity have been taught extensively by many dedicated and well-meaning missionaries in the Third World, it is little wonder that many local people seriously mistrust any attempt to suggest that a so-called 'critical text' of the NT may be more correct and original.

In the case of the Russian Orthodox Church, problems of textual criticism have been largely neglected, not because there is no potential interest in such issues, but primarily because all difficulties have presumably been resolved by pronouncements of the Holy Synod. On one occasion during which a long discussion had been carried on between a representative of the United Bible Societies and members of a prestigious theological faculty in Russia concerning problems of the Greek NT text and especially concerning differences between internal and external evidence, the head of the NT department concluded, 'But if the Holy Synod has declared what is the correct text, why should New Testament Greek scholars waste their time thinking about such matters?'

In the so-called 'missionary world', the problems of textual studies and understanding are even more difficult and complex. Most early missionary translations of the Bible were conformed



to the texts underlying the Luther Version, the King James Version, or in some instances the Vulgate. Such translations were widely employed and in some instances even venerated, since they were associated in many cases with the ministry of early missionary pioneers.

During the first half of the twentieth century a number of Bible revisions were made for languages in the Third World, and many of these were greatly influenced by the English Revised Version (*ERV*) of 1885 and the American Standard Version (*ASV*) of 1901, which reflected highly significant attempts to represent a more scholarly Greek text. Unfortunately, however, many of these missionary-sponsored translations or revisions were largely rejected-first, because in many cases they employed the same principles of literal rendering which characterized the *ERV* and *ASV*, but, secondly, because the people were never prepared to understand the problems of textual analysis. Generally, there were no books about textual criticism which local people could study, and often missionaries rejected the idea of adding marginal notes concerning alternative readings and renderings, since they felt that the local people would never be able to understand such notes. Furthermore, some of the missionaries engaged in the production of such translations were criticized by members of rival Christian groups as being 'liberals' and 'modernists', and in some instances even 'the tools of Satan'.

The problems involved in the use of critical Greek texts of the NT became even more acute in some areas as the result of the teaching of missionaries belonging to some of the very conservative independent missions, who drew their personnel largely from Bible schools rather than from theological seminaries. Such missionaries normally had no training in textual problems, though they often had been exposed both directly and indirectly to the viewpoints summarized in Fuller's volume. A further barrier to the acceptance of a more accurate Greek NT text resulted from the teaching of the Bible as 'the Word of God' in the sense of being essentially 'the words of God'. Such an approach to the Scriptures often resulted in the local constituency adopting attitudes which made open inquiry into textual problems an almost impossible task.

But despite the efforts of many persons to avoid the issues of text the problems simply would not go away. Persons knowing two or more languages would compare the respective Bibles and would inevitably question differences. Monolinguals also compared different versions in their own language and inevitably insisted on knowing why there were differences. Persons who had a somewhat Koranic view of the Scriptures insisted that if there was uncertainty about the Greek text, then obviously everything could be of doubtful validity. More perceptive persons insisted on getting explanations, but many missionaries and church leaders were simply not prepared to provide answers, in some instances because they could not explain the problems, but often because they did not wish to become involved in controversy.

For the most part there are five major types of textual problems which have concerned the more alert local leadership: (1) the omission of larger sections, such as Mark 16 : 9-20 ; (2) the loss of passages regarded as doctrinally important, such as 1 John 5: 7b concerning the 'witnesses in heaven' (the loss of which is regarded by some as 'a sell-out to Jehovah's Witnesses') ; (3) passages dealing with miraculous events, for example, John 5 : 4 (concerning the angel disturbing the water in the pool of Bethzatha) ; (4) the introduction of nonparallel expressions, as in the Lucan form of the Lord's Prayer ; and (5) the omission of expressions having important ritual implications, for example, Luke 22 : 19b–20.

Such alterations and omissions are often interpreted as being strictly forbidden by the Scriptures themselves, as stated in Rev. 22 : 18–19. In fact, in some instances highly gifted persons have completely refused to have anything to do with revisions or new translations of the Bible for fear of violating this biblical injunction.

In a sense the refusal by theologically conservative persons to accept scholarly texts of the NT constitutes a strange anomaly. Those who claim to be most concerned in maintaining a doctrine of plenary verbal inspiration should be precisely those most interested in reconstructing the earliest form of the text, in other words, in being able to recapture in so far as possible the form of the text closest to the autographs. In reality, however, the persons who reject critical texts must now defend the accumulation of those scribal errors which seem to justify certain theological traditions.



After World War II Bible translating, especially for the major languages in the Third World, entered quite a new phase. No longer were translations being made primarily by missionaries with the assistance of 'native informants', for most of the important work was being increasingly done by national translators, with or without the assistance of missionaries serving essentially as resource persons. The better-educated local translators were obviously better prepared to translate meaningfully and effectively into their own mother tongues than missionary translators could ever do, and these same persons were often quite reluctant to follow the less satisfactory textual traditions which had been handed down to them in Bibles which contained few if any notes as to alternative readings and renderings.

Soon the Bible Societies became convinced that for the rapidly growing number of translation projects, and especially for those involving both Protestant and Roman Catholic translators, a fully satisfactory Greek text was indispensable. Such a text could not be a more or less mechanical result of comparing existing scholarly texts, as had been the case with the Nestle tradition. What was needed was a text which would reflect the combined judgement of specialists in Greek NT texts, which would concentrate attention upon those variants which are exegetically important, and would evaluate for translators the supporting evidence for one or another variant. It was obvious that most translators were not in a position to make the necessary textual decisions, and therefore, some thoroughly scholarly help had to be provided.

To meet this need of translators working in more than 500 languages, the Bible Societies embarked on an ambitious programme lasting some ten years and involving the dedicated work of a highly qualified team of textual scholars : Kurt Aland of the University of Münster, Matthew Black of the University of St Andrews, Bruce M. Metzger of Princeton Seminary, Allen Wikgren of the University of Chicago, to be joined for the second and third editions by Carlo M. Martini of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. The first edition of the Greek NT (published in 1966) marked an important advance in NT textual studies, and increasingly this text has been adopted almost world-wide by translators and scholars. It is the same

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