

PART II

NOTES ON THE THREE MAJOR
TEXT-TYPES OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT

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The Three Major Text-Types

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Notes Upon the Byzantine Text-Type as Concerns the Pauline Epistles

The history of the New Testament manuscripts ought probably to be divided into three sections:

- [1] history of the Synoptic Gospels (including Acts, and probably most of the non-Johannine Catholic epistles)
- [2] history of the Johannine texts (John, I, II, III John and Revelation)
- [3] history of the Pauline corpus

While examining each section, the researcher will usually discern three primary "text-types", or three distinct groups of manuscripts within each section. The three text-types are usually named: Alexandrian, Western and Byzantine. These three text-types are grouped together in accordance to their similar variations (both agreements and disagreements) as concerns the Greek New Testament text.

Each of the above three sections (Pauline, Johannine, Synoptic) have separate origins and histories, these notes will focus upon the history and origin of the Byzantine text-type in relation to the Pauline epistles.

We begin with the accounts revealed within the New Testament itself. Paul dictated (and perhaps wrote several of his epistles) his epistles to an amanuensis over a 17 year period. His first epistle was probably I Thessalonians or Galatians, written circa AD 49-51. His last epistle was probably II Timothy or Philemon, written circa AD 68. In Acts and within several of his epistles we learn where he was when he wrote such and such an epistle, and

to where or whom he sent each epistle. He encouraged the sharing and copying of his epistle(s); note for example, this comment in Colossians 4:16 (NASB):

And when this letter is read among you, have it also read in the church of the Laodiceans; and you, for your part read my letter that is coming from Laodicea.

History itself shows that Paul's epistles were widely copied, we can assume that the early congregations which he worked with followed his advice and they shared amongst themselves his correspondences. In light of these apparent facts we may begin summarizing:

[1] Paul's epistles were shared amongst other congregations, yet the originals may have stayed with the original receiving group, copies sent to other groups.

[2] Paul wrote his epistles to these places/groups—Corinth, Ephesus, Rome, Philippi, Colossae, Thessalonica, churches of Galatia, and several individuals.

[3] His "home church" was initially in Antioch of Syria, we assume that they too received or made copies of each of his epistles.

How profound the above observations are! Here we have located the source or geographical origins of Paul's epistles. Profound, due to the obvious simplicity of such observations. We thus have a fairly certain starting point. We assume too, that the Apostolic (or Messianic) church in Jerusalem (headed by James) did also have access to Paul's epistles, as Peter states in II Peter 3:15, 16 (NASB):

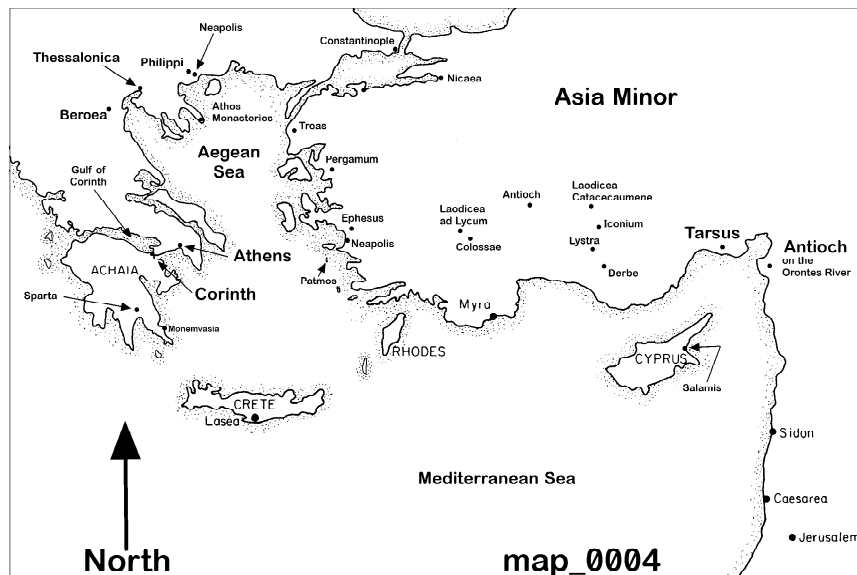
15 and regard the patience of our Lord to be salvation; just as also our beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom given him, wrote to you, 16 as also in all his letters, speaking in them of these things, in which are some things hard to understand, which the untaught and unstable distort, as they do also the rest of the Scriptures, to their own destruction.

I believe Peter is addressing those to whom he was sent (Israelites and proselytes) thus when he states "wrote to you" in verse 15, he may be referring to the epistle named Hebrews, or to a letter we do not possess, or to Romans chapters 9-11 which are addressed to Israelites. Yet, surely verse 16

makes it evident that Peter had read Paul's epistles! This suggests that the corpus (extant at that time) had been copied and a copy had been sent down to the Messianic Church in Jerusalem.

As to the original format of Paul's epistles, we are safe to assume that they were written upon papyrus scrolls, whether or not they were opisthographic (written on both sides) or not we cannot presume. Remains from excavations such as at Oxyrhynchus, suggest that soon they were put into a convenient format, bundled into a *single quire codex*. As such the whole corpus could be conveniently carried and used.

I assume that the originals were written upon papyrus *scrolls* because it is incomprehensible to imagine that his amanuensis wrote the dictated words in a page by page formatted codex—or that they could judge beforehand how long the dictation was to be and then be able to lay out each quire folio! Writing upon a handy papyrus scroll and trimming the roll at the end, is both practical and economical. I suspect that when his works were first collected that they were then copied into a single quire codex format. To date, we have no known portions of any of these supposed original scrolls. The earliest Pauline manuscript surviving in Greek would probably be P⁴⁶, from circa A.D. 175-225, it is in a single quire codex format, and found in Egypt. It was probably also copied in Egypt.



In the map above, one should be able to discern the areas which received *original* epistles, all other areas received copies, the text in Egypt began from copies. It is the areas north of Israel and occupying much of modern Turkey, Greece and to Rome which received originals.

These original locations are all in northern climes as compared to Israel or Egypt. In these environments papyri will soon deteriorate, and we can assume that in the centuries following their original depositions that they were copied onto parchment, individually, or in formats which contained the entire Pauline corpus or a praxapostolos form (which includes Acts and the Catholic epistles).

In Antioch, the early Pauline-influenced Gentile church survived. In fact, expansion occurred in the centuries following Paul's death. In the map section of *A History of Antioch in Syria, from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* [Glanville Downey, Princeton University Press, 1961], we note a Christian cemetery, though an excellent map, he does not show the five Christian churches which were excavated in a 1939-45 excavation! Merrill F. Unger's *Archaeology and the New Testament* [Zondervan, 1962, pages 170ff.] mentions Christian edifices dating back to the fourth century, and mentions the famous church—the great octagonal building of Constantine. Two cemeteries found in Antioch date back to the second century, it appears that at least one of them was Christian.

Lucian of Antioch, in about AD 270, wrote or translated his famous edition of the Septuagint, which text was considered authoritative in both Antioch and Constantinople. [noted in *Introduction to Junillus's Instituta Regularia*, an article posted at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/junillus.intro.html> (circa 2003)]. Not only was this edition of the LXX authoritative in Constantinople, but so was the early text of the New Testament hypothetically preserved at Antioch.

When Saint Chrysostom was "kidnapped" and taken to Constantinople to be its bishop, it is possible that he did not (or, could not) take his personal Bible with him. Yet we know that many other folks left Antioch for the safety of Constantinople during the Persian and Arabic invasions. This leaves open the door for entry into Constantinople of ample copies of Paul's epistles. As the Byzantine empire grew in the 500s so did its theological influence. Scriptoriums flourished in and around Constantinople. Most surviving documents from the various Byzantine scriptoriums (circa AD 850-1450) point to a single text-type. It is my contention that this text which flourished during the Byzantine empire in Constantinople, was a modified form of the ancient text as found in Antioch. Other ancient copies of Paul's epistles could

also have made their way to Constantinople, such as from Colossae and perhaps Ephesus. If so, then there would have been a nearly complete homogeneity if they were compared, and thus this confirmation would have added support to the authority of the text as delivered and or brought to Constantinople from the surrounding regions. Since Antioch of Syria was the primary ecclesiastical center of the early Gentile church, and a center in later centuries, its copy of Paul's epistles would have had some authority. If it was compared to other very early copies (from the surrounding regions where Paul *did* send epistles) then its authority became unquestioned.

We know of the early religious conflicts which occurred between the sees of Alexandria and Antioch. They each jealously maintained their copies (or revisions) of the Greek New Testament. It is very unlikely that the scriptoriums in and around Constantinople would have asked Alexandrian scriptoriums for copies of Paul's epistles. Why should they when they probably had earlier and better copies!

The surviving manuscript testimony shows a clear dichotomy between the text-types of Alexandria Egypt and that of Constantinople. As a matter of fact, in Egypt we do find ancient papyrus evidences of a non-Egyptian text-type, which suggests that at an early date (A.D. 150 or so) the scribes of Alexandria did acquire copies from elsewhere. Papyrus \mathfrak{P}^{46} , and others, contain non-Egyptian readings, and a fair number of these readings are only found elsewhere in Byzantine manuscripts. Either MSS like \mathfrak{P}^{46} were imported up to Constantinople, or the Alexandrians received copies from the north. Had they been sent from Alexandria northward, then the scholars in Constantinople radically altered them, and this just does not make sense. No, the texts underlying \mathfrak{P}^{46} were sent to Egypt from outside Egypt, and the Alexandrian grammarians adjusted them to conform to their notion of correctness, or these early copies were much abused by the copyists in Egypt (circa A.D. 100 - 300) along the Nile (note appendix 2). The results via professional editing, would be \mathfrak{P}^{75} and codex Vaticanus (of the Pauline epistles they would be—codices Alexandrinus and Sinaiticus, or their exemplars).

I propose that the Byzantine text-type, which flourished from A.D. 850 to 1453, was a slightly modified form of the earlier Antiochian (or Asia Minor) manuscripts. These early Antiochian MSS would be presumably, faithful descendents of the copies made of the original Pauline epistles. These early Antiochian copies would have retained their integrity over the years due the opposition of their possessors to the religious postulations of the Bishops and sees of Alexandria Egypt, as well as opposition to the Pope in the West. This

antagonism served to isolate and preserve the early Antiochian (note I use this term "Antiochian" but it could include early copies from Asia Minor as well) text.

It now remains to demonstrate just how and why the early Antiochian text, evolved into the later Byzantine text-type.

Recall that by Antiochian text, I am referring to that text which exists in each of the areas which Paul had originally sent his epistles to. Since Antioch is the primary city for most of these areas, I refer to the text as Antiochian. This does not mean that the text is a local text restricted only the city or see of Antioch. It could be called the "Asia Minor text" but this too is not fully appropriate as it leaves out Rome and Corinth *et al.*

Harnack and others clearly document the early existence of a church(es) in the city of Antioch Syria. By early is meant pre-third century. A school is known to have existed in Antioch which functioned as a training center for manuscript copyists, and for preservation of the New Testament, as well as preservation of a literal method of interpretation and exegesis. J.H. Srawley, in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, volume 1, pages 584 *ff.*, posits the early beginnings of just such a school as during the life of Lucian (Lucian died circa AD 311-312). Lucian is said to have studied in the schools of Caesarea and Edessa. Dorotheus and Origen also impacted the school at Antioch, as well as Ephrem the Syrian, who moved to Edessa from Nisibis in AD 363. It would seem that this school in Antioch gained a strong position of authority as regards manuscript production. This despite the mild Arian leanings which Lucian exhibited. Churches and sees seem to have requested copies of the NT manuscripts from Antioch. This may explain why there are similarities between the Western text-type (including the Old Latin) and the Antiochian text.

Several scholars in the late 19th century suggested that the origins of the Western text-type can be found in Syriac manuscripts! One needs to only read Frederic Henry Chase's *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae* [Macmillan, 1893], as well as J. Rendel Harris's work entitled: *On the Origin of the Ferrar Group* [London, 1893]. Harris connects the Ferrar MSS (written most likely in the Calabria region of southern Italy) stichometry with the stichometric system as seen in older Syriac manuscripts—which at the least suggests a connection between these Greek manuscripts and the earlier Syriac manuscripts. More recently, David Parker has proposed that Codex Bezae was made in Bertyus (Beirut)—[*Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text*, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 266-278]. Italy possessed

an original of Romans, but relied upon the professional scribes of Antioch to provide them with the rest of the New Testament. A. F. J. Klijn [*An Introduction to the New Testament*, Leiden, 1967, page 197] also states that "If the Diatessaron (see next paragraph) was translated into Latin at an early date, this may explain why Old Latin and Old Syriac manuscripts show so many instances of agreement." This concept is not final or conclusive, but it has some factual support.

To my knowledge, we have no existing pre-fourth century Greek manuscripts of the New Testament from the environs of Antioch. However as I write this, I await word from Dr. Daniel Wallace as concerns a new fragment of a parchment palimpsest found in Istanbul by one of his students - Ivan Y. Yong; the text is of Mark, and may be in the AD 250-325 era. Early hints suggest it may well be an early Byzantine witness! The *Diatessaron* (prior to circa AD 250) was probably composed in Edessa, and an early copy of it was found in Dura Europos. Its bearing upon the actual NT text is still not fully clarified. But this *Diatessaron* was also widely copied into many languages.

One of the earliest versions based upon the Antiochian text is the Gothic. It is in this version that we get a good picture of what the early Byzantine text-type was like. Here in the Gothic as well as in the Old Syriac, we can see and study the Byzantine text-type *before* its later polishing and publication during the Byzantine empire (pre-385 AD). This perception—that we have the early form of the Byzantine text-type available within these versions—is not the popular or prevailing one amongst many scholars of our 21st century. An example would be Daniel Wallace's comments in *Studies & Documents: The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, in his article titled: *The Majority Text Theory: History, Methods, and Critique* [Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995, quote from page 311]:

...as far as the extant witnesses reveal, the Majority text did not exist in the first four centuries.

One would agree that his (Wallace's) statement that the Majority text did not then exist, is valid, but the catch is that what Wallace is referring to is the existence of the *later* polished text of the Byzantine empire, for the earlier Antiochian text did exist in the first four centuries, hopefully he co-discovered just such a manuscript, [see above].

In another instance, Wallace declares that:

...for the letters of Paul, there is no majority text manuscripts before the ninth century. (*Grace Theological Journal*, 12.1 (1992), page 30)

herein he exposes some of his naïveness as concerns the Greek New Testament manuscripts. For example, codex 0209 is clearly a Byzantine manuscript, or the equivalent to the Majority Text. A full collation of its Pauline portions makes this clear, and as per most manuscripts, there does appear several Alexandrine and Western readings, but the vast majority of variations are of the Majority Text! Now 0209 is dated in the 500s or 600s, a full two or three centuries earlier than Wallace's uninformed speculation. When the Aland's categorized/tested MS 0209 in II Corinthians, it came up as having 5 of 5 readings matching the Majority Text, which agrees with my collation.

But earlier yet is codex 0176, dated in the 400s. Nearly all of its variations match the Majority Text. There is no way a collator could declare that MS 0176 is not of the Byzantine text-type! In these two samples (codices 0209 and 0176) we are not discussing *scattered readings*, rather we are seeing a coherent text-type! An examiner only sees the Byzantine text-type in these two MSS, with a very few Western and Alexandrine readings!

Codex H (015) of the 500s has more variations agreeing with the Majority Text than with any other text-type (I count 14 of 23) this gives us 61%. 61% of the variations in codex 015 are of the Byzantine text-type! (I did not count minor phonetic or spelling differences). And what of MSS 0254, 061, 0158, 0159? Of what text-type are these early uncial manuscripts? Despite the fact that many thousands of early manuscripts were destroyed and or burned, we do have some early manuscripts which are definitely of the Byzantine (or Majority) text-type.

Let us view some of the actual versional readings which support an early existence for the Byzantine/Antiochian text. We begin first with the Gothic, which version was created from existing Greek manuscripts in the decades of about A.D. 360-380 by Bishop Ulfilas. Note this comment by G. W. S. Friedrichsen [*The Gothic Version of the Epistles*, Oxford, 1939, quote from page 4]:

There is abundant proof that the original Greek text of the Gothic Epistles was of the Byzantine (Antiochian or 'Asiatic') type represented by the codices K L (M) P, agreeing very closely with the Textus Receptus (*K)...

A sample from Friedrichsen [page 26], illustrating Galatians 2:16:

GOTHIC - ni wairþiþ garaihts us waurstwam witodis
GREEK - ου δικαωθησεται εξ εργαων νομου

The Greek agrees with codices K and L, but not with \mathfrak{P}^{46c} \aleph , A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and P. These Western/Alexandrian codices read:

εξ εργαων νομου ου δικαωθησεται

Numerous other examples could be given which illustrate that the Gothic version contains readings found only in the later Byzantine manuscripts. But there are also connections seen with other versions: in I Corinthians 1:15, the Gothic reading of daupidedjau is a first person singular form, this agrees with the Greek $\epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\alpha$ as seen in the Byzantine minuscules as well as the Latin manuscripts and the Syriac texts, but not with the Egyptian texts or papyri which have the plural form. In concert with some Latin texts the Gothic omits $\eta\pi\iota\nu$ of I Corinthians 1:18, which Greek minuscules 6 and 2147 also omit.

This is not to say that the Gothic has no Egyptian readings, it does along with other mixed readings, but it certainly contains readings *found only in the Byzantine tradition*, which implies that prior to A.D. 360 or so, the Antiochian text did also have such and such a reading. One may argue that the extant Gothic manuscripts may have been revised to agree with the Byzantine text-type, yet Friedrichsen's magisterial work [noted above] declares on page vi:

By eliminating all readings whose Western origin may be suspect, we obtain a fairly accurate reconstruction of the Byzantine Text of the Epistles as it appeared about the middle of the fourth century...

The remainder of his volume amply supports the above quote.

The Syriac also has ancient readings which are found only in the Byzantine textual tradition. Note the following examples:

I Corinthians 1:10 - the Syriac and minuscule 2012 read $\text{ου}\nu$ for a $\delta\epsilon(1)$

I Corinthians 8:2 - the Syriac along with the Byzantine tradition reads $\tau\iota$ $\text{ου}\delta\epsilon\pi\omega$ $\text{ου}\delta\epsilon\nu$ instead of the Egyptian/Latin $\tau\iota$ $\text{ου}\delta\epsilon\nu$ or $\tau\iota$ $\text{ου}\pi\omega$

I Corinthians 9:23 - the Syriac and the Byzantine MSS, and the Gothic read a $\tau\text{ου}\tau\text{ο}$ instead of $\text{π}\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$

Many more examples are given in the apparatus of this edition, besides the evidences observable in the remainder of the other Pauline epistles.

A few readings in the early church fathers also illustrate Byzantine readings, these would be very early, yet most critics deny them as being early and instead argue that the manuscripts containing these readings have been modified to match the Byzantine text-type. As for the testimony of the early Byzantine readings found in the early papyri, we might note these:

ⲑ¹³ at Hebrews 3:3 reads δοξης ουτος instead of ουτος δοξης (note a few Latin MSS also have this word order). Generally this is a Byzantine reading.

ⲑ¹³ at Hebrews 11:2 reads αυτη with MSS 103 and 1908, against the Egyptian and Latin traditions.

ⲑ¹¹² (fifth century) omits at Acts 26:31 λεγοντες agreeing with minuscules 547, 1838 and 1874

ⲑ⁴⁶ at Galatians 4:6 omits του υιου with minuscules 1734*, 1738*

ⲑ⁴⁶ at Galatians 1:18 reads επεινα with minuscules 460, 614, 999, 1175 and 2412

ⲑ⁴⁶ at I Corinthians 7:7 reads χαρισμα εχει agreeing only with the Byzantine tradition, the Syriac, Gothic and some Armenian MSS

The late Harry A. Sturz, the author of *The Byzantine Text-Type & New Testament Textual Criticism* [Thomas Nelson, 1984], collected numerous samples illustrating various manuscript alignments. His conclusions are still largely valid. For example, on page 155 he shows:

I Corinthians 9:7 - εκ του καρπου ⲑ⁴⁶, C³, D^{bc}, E, K, L, pl, c, d, e, t, vg^{sc}, am, fu, sy, co, arm, Or, Aug, Amb, K, Ϛ

τον καρπον ⲛ*, A, B, C*, D*, F, G, P, 33, 1739, pc, f, g, tol, harl, floriac, al, sa, go, Or; WH

Generally, he is correct in the above demonstration that ⲑ⁴⁶ does support the majority of minuscules and major Byzantine uncial manuscripts. In the list from which the readings above are demonstrated, he states that this list

shows Byzantine-papyrus agreements against the Alexandrian and Western texts. One might argue that the presence of some Latin manuscripts (*c, d, e, t, fu*) would nullify this but most other Western representatives do not here support the Byzantine- \mathfrak{P}^{46} reading. Sturz makes his case overall, but some of his examples are weak. His text on the subject is a must read.

It is true that with a little effort and an accurate apparatus one can show all sorts of alignments (such as \mathfrak{P}^{46} agreeing with just Western witnesses), however there are a small number of papyri readings which only agree with the Byzantine tradition, enough to validate the antiquity of numerous Byzantine supported variants.

So we do see the archaic features of the Byzantine text-type. We see ancient agreements betwixt the Syriac and the Gothic versions and the Byzantine/Antiochian text. I suspect that when we see old papyri readings and several Byzantine MSS in agreement *against all other witnesses*, that herein we have a strong case for an ancient Antiochian or original reading.

Further, when we see several Byzantine manuscripts agreeing with the Syriac and Western manuscripts again *against all other witnesses*, we have a strong case for originality. But how is it, or why has the Antiochian text apparently evolved into the vast Majority Text, or the vast Byzantine text-type of the 9th through 15th centuries? Several factors were at work, I suggest these:

- [1] the Greek language was evolving
- [2] Byzantine grammarians clarified the texts and language
- [3] certain theological issues exerted some influences upon the text
- [4] resolution of dialectical contaminations
- [5] Scriptoriums in Constantinople enforce a homogeneous text, provincial areas were slower to submit or align with the "superior" exemplars stemming from the official scriptoria.

The liturgy which Saint Chrysostom brought to Constantinople in the sixth century was also enforced, issues such as Mary being the Mother of God, the nature of Jesus Christ, the death of Jesus on the cross, fasting, various sacraments and holy days are all closely observed in the Greek text, in some cases it would appear that a few portions may have been suppressed or

altered to maintain the Byzantine liturgy. The oldest reading in John 19:40 has Joseph and Nicodemus taking down the "body of God" per codex A (kindly brought to my attention by Dr. Reuben Swanson). The Byzantine tradition would not support this reading of "God".

Bart Ehrman's *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* [Oxford, 1993], provides us with a few well chosen illustrations of some intentional and or theologically motivated changes seen in the manuscript tradition. At Hebrews 2:9, Luke 1:35, I John 4:15, Galatians 6:17, Matthew 20:22,23, Matthew 28:3, Galatians 4:4; we will note, as suggested by Ehrman, that there does seem to be various readings and alterations—due to various religious controversies.

Annemarie Weyl Carr in her excellent article in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 36, entitled: *A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century*, [quote from page 66], concludes after a paralinguistic analysis of the manuscripts (2400, 38, 515, 491, 212, 1491, 2127, 1573 and several others) that:

As the subgroup developed, the initial, superannuated Byzantine traditions were blended with massive waves of direct and indirect metropolitan influence and with elements from the local Syrian and Armenian traditions that were maturing at the same time.

Another article in the same publication, by Henry and Renée Kahane entitled: *The Western Impact on Byzantium: the Linguistic Evidence*, provides a multitude of evidences of Latin infusions within the Byzantine Greek. I would add nasalizations and other phonetic contaminations affecting some aspects and seen in the manuscripts; (mixture of -m- and -n- sounds, and the voiced -s- sounds -z-).

A fascinating paper written by R. Browning, entitled *Recentiores non Deteriores*, [published in the journal - *Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Number 7*, 1960, University of London], enforces the originality of distinctively Byzantine readings. He makes a strong and well supported case for the restoration and preservation of ancient manuscripts by the Byzantine scribes. I have not yet seen any type of response to his arguments. One of his conclusions is [from page 18]:

What emerges from the above examples is that it was not an exception for a thirteenth or fourteenth century scholar to have access to early tradition, it was the rule.

His illustrations show the respect and care which the scholars of Byzantium had for their older manuscripts, his work too is a must read.

The changes within the Byzantine manuscript tradition can also be realized when one examines just how the Byzantine scribes and grammarians worked with the manuscripts: in addition to what Browning instances, we find in the sixth century *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis*, rules for interpreting things Scriptural. These were employed within the schools at Nisibis, which were similar to the tactics seen in Antioch (via Ephrem the Syrian), which methods migrated to the Stoudios and other scriptoria in Constantinople. For example in Book 2, section 29 we read [note this English translation of the Latin is that which is seen on the website noted above - the fourth page of this appendix]:

QUESTION: Whence do we prove that the books of our religion have been composed with divine inspiration [Latin - *inspirazione conscriptos*]? REPLY: From many things, first of which is the truth of Scripture itself. Second, the arrangement of the material, the harmony of the precepts, the manner of speaking without circumlocution, and the plainness of the words. In addition, there is the condition of the writers and preachers that humans would not have handed down godly things, humble persons lofty things, inarticulate persons subtle things, unless they had been filled with divine inspiration.

It is well known that Alexandria of Egypt prided itself for its scholarly achievements. Grammar and the prescriptive aspects of grammar were some of their specialties. The Byzantine grammarians also prescribed various grammatical niceties which found their way into the scriptoria. Many of the grammatical "rules" followed and enforced by the Byzantine grammarians are nicely exposed in the work by R. H. Robins: *The Byzantine Grammarians: Their Place in History*, [Mouton de Gruyter, 1993]. He notes that the Byzantine grammarians carried on a long tradition without adding many grammatical innovations. They maintained as best they could *proper* Greek forms; often resorting to the classical Attic. Aristophanes of Byzantium, librarian of Alexandria (circa 257 -180 BC.) was credited with the invention of the Greek accent marks. This indication of the tonal structure tended to influence the orthography of all written documents, they became more standardized.

Throughout the Byzantine empire and its history the grammar provided by Dionysius Thrax, was viewed as the standard for word taxonomy. Manuscripts would most likely have been corrected to its standard, especially if manuscripts from outlying regions (provincial areas of the Byzantine empire) found their way into the hands of a scribal corrector. Transitivity of the verbs was also somewhat codified by Apollonius (second century AD), and this affected the proper observation of verb endings and case forms. A descriptive

priority of morphology over syntax evolved and was characteristic of Byzantine grammar throughout the empire's existence. Robins, however, notes that:

some confusion of the case syntax established in the classical authors was a characteristic feature of Byzantine usage, leading ultimately to the reduced case system of Modern Greek, and therefore the compilation of the case meanings in classical literature was accorded particular attention. [page 32].

Variation in the proper use of verbs of sensation and sight are seen in the Byzantine writings, this due to their modified understanding of verbs as such with the genitive and accusative cases. They constructed these verbs with *both* case forms, adding that verbs of "seeing" construct with the accusative only, but not all writers followed these observations (especially—one supposes, in the outlying scriptoria—in the provincial areas).

Robins also notes that the Byzantine grammarian, Choeroboscus (AD. 750-825), who may have been the university librarian in Constantinople, lectured extensively upon the canons of Theodosius. These "canons" of grammar demonstrated proper paradigms for word formations. Choeroboscus sought to establish the rules underlying these paradigms and was also determined to terminate and remove barbarisms and solecisms (such as spelling and accent errors).

With all of the above forces at work: *theological controversies, grammatical modulations and clarifications, linguistic borrowings from neighboring cultures and the fluctuating control of provincial areas*, we are not surprised that the early Antiochian text evolved. It became the finished and somewhat polished Majority Text, or the standard Byzantine Text-Type of the Byzantine empire from circa AD 800 to the demise of the empire in 1453. The process of change was not as persistent when it came to the Biblical texts, but they too experienced "upgrading" done in a very reverent manner.

This process (the process of change) is quite normal and is typified in our own age as we see the evolution of our own English Bibles. It is true, a culture and its language are linked; as America becomes more immoral so does its language, this entropy was also seen in certain aspects of the Byzantine empire and in its Scriptoria. Despite the multitude of linguistic tensions exhibited upon the Byzantine text-type, it basically remains truer to the original than the other surviving text-types. Nevertheless, no single Byzantine manuscript is to be considered absolutely authoritative. An eclectic approach must thus be employed when determining which reading is original. Such an

approach will examine the manuscript(s) very carefully noting the scribe's idiosyncrasies, his/her level of accuracy. Aural characteristics will be evaluated, corrections and erasures examined. Phonetic anomalies will be noted, diachronic evaluation of the morphology will be required, ligatures and abbreviations studied, paralinguistic features (format, images, signs, *et cetera*) should be evaluated. The script dated and compared with others to determine the identity of the scribe(s) and the location of the document's origin. Knowing the synchronic states of grammar during various periods of the Byzantine empire can assist with evaluating variants associated with case-verb alliances, as well as dialectal and other language contaminations. Knowing the nationality of the scribe will assist, and this can be sometimes seen in his/her writing. Correlation with external witnesses is mandatory and establishing a genealogical or chronological sequence is desirable; that is—placing the manuscript in its place as far as the evolution of its text-type is concerned.

Some of these above mentioned features require a logical or reasoned eclectic approach. It must be eclectic as no constant edifice exists, but such a foundation for a stalwart edifice is seen taking form while seeking out the original text. The eclectic approach embodies examining all textual traditions, as we have seen embedded in Egyptian papyri early Byzantine readings! This original text was constant for a short time; in its infancy (first century AD) a scribe might be tempted to correct some idiom he/she deemed improper—as perhaps at a very early date the text was not yet understood as *Holy*. But as time progressed the New Testament manuscripts were seen as unique, containing God-breathed words. This may be validated by the formal scripts which probably evolved from the letter writing style of Paul's original dictations to the very literary form of the stately Biblical Uncial.

In light of my "process" perception, one must not think that I am in opposition to the views of Zane Hodges, W. Pickering, William Pierpont, Burgon and Professor Maurice Robinson. Each held, that basically, the Byzantine text-type did not evolve over time into its present state; I fully agree. The changes which I posit under the heading of "process" are merely orthographic and phonetic, basic linguistic changes. It is agreed that there are some few intentional alterations, confluations and some Atticisms, but these are clearly observable, and minor, as well as typical for any text which has been hand copied thousands of times! Unlike the other text-types, ruptured *semantic* variations are rather rare in the Byzantine text-type; from its earliest perceivable form it remains very stable! As a result, it demonstrates no

developmental process beyond basic and natural language evolution. [I trust this clarifies my "process" statement!].

The earliest form of the Byzantine text-type—call it proto-Byzantine or Antiochian—is only a step away from the original epistles which Paul sent out to those regions of the then, Roman empire.

God has, over time allowed corruptions to filter into all types of manuscript survivors, thus requiring dedicated *believers* (who have a sound relationship with God through Jesus Christ) to discern the original text. In most cases the copying of manuscripts was a very serious undertaking. Thanks to the extensive labors of the Syrian churches and to the scribes of the Byzantine empire, we have very dependable copies of the New Testament from which to work. Without question the proud Alexandrians and Arabic peoples, the Goths, the Italians, the Slavs the Armenians the Ethiopians and many other folks are eternally indebted to the scribal efforts of the Byzantine copyists, consequently a mode of Divine Preservation is evident.

Finally, in closing this all too brief appendix, it needs to be said that as evidenced in this present work, I will not insist upon the validity of a reading just because it has full support from the Byzantine text-type. At times I prefer readings without any apparent Byzantine support. This is part of the freedom which is allowed for those who sense "the mind of Christ", and who use all of the tools provided today for textual criticism, the most important of which is my God-given faith. As prior mentioned elsewhere, I do not claim that my choices are Divinely Inspired, or that they must be seen as orthodox by others. They are suggestions resulting from my earnest efforts.

The manuscripts themselves only represent an external witness, many other factors are involved in making difficult decisions. This present edition demonstrates numerous techniques, some of which will incite others to cast stones at my choice. However, I would close saying that as far as text-types go, (of the Pauline epistles) the Antiochian/Byzantine text-type seems to preserve the greatest number of original readings.



The Dissolution in Egypt, A.D. 100-639

For well over a century Biblical scholars have recognized the existence of the Egyptian text-type (**E_g**, in this editor's terminology the Egyptian text-type is equivalent to the "Alexandrian" text-type). It is identifiable in many of the earliest papyri as well as in some of the later great codices; such as codex Vaticanus (03), codex Sinaiticus (01, 8) and codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (04). Certain minuscules display a form of text which also is classed as of the Egyptian text-type. Amongst the versions the Sahidic (**S_a**) often agrees with the Egyptian text-type.

With the discovery of the Bodmer papyri (especially P⁷⁵, circa AD. 200) an apparent relationship was exhibited with the fourth century codex 03, Vaticanus. This apparent relationship ignited much speculation amongst some scholars, resulting in the supposed confirmation of the existence of a rigid Egyptian text-type which was constant and uniform from circa AD. 200 unto the creation of codex Vaticanus, and then trajectoring into the Byzantine era in some minuscules. By "constant and uniform" is meant that from the earliest witnesses (notably P⁷⁵ of the Gospel of John) unto numerous minuscules (33, 1739 *et al*) we should perceive a fairly accurate transmission of a text-type, not as a recension, but perceived as a tradition stemming from the *originals*.

Finally, an analysis of the textual character of P⁷⁵ B *when compared with other manuscript traditions* indicates that there is little evidence of recensional activity of any kind taking place in this text-type. These MSS seem to represent a "relatively pure" form of preservation of a "relatively pure" line of descent from the original text. [Studies & Documents, volume 45: *The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria*. page 272. 1993. Gordon Fee]

Fee, seems to be overstating the case, just because we have discovered two manuscripts which are separated by several hundred years, and which have a very similar text, is no reason so suppose that this occurrence represents the true text-type of all or any part of Egypt. It would appear to me

that the scribe(s) of codex Vaticanus simply used \mathfrak{P}^{75} (or its sister MS) as an exemplar for a portion of its New Testament text. With the discovery—that in codex 03, we have symbols which point to places in the text where numerous known variants exist [thanks to the research by Philip B. Payne]—we can also conclude that the scribe(s) of codex 03 had several exemplars available. It is pure conjecture to suppose that these scribes chose \mathfrak{P}^{75} because they recognized its text as closest to the original. Perhaps they chose it because it was very legible and easy to copy from, or because it was the oldest document they possessed, or because it reflected their particular religious views. In any case, other such manuscript affinities are also seen (manuscripts separated by time, but possessing very similar texts)—as for example:

Codex Bezae (05) circa AD. 550 \mathfrak{P}^{38} circa 300, 614 - AD. 1250

Codex 038, circa AD. 850 minuscule 700 - AD. 1050

Codex K, (018) circa AD. 850 minuscule 1315 - AD. 1150

Numerous other correspondences could be demonstrated especially between early and late Byzantine text-type witnesses. Worth mentioning too are the relationships which exist between various versional manuscripts and later Greek manuscripts, as for example between the Harclean version of the Syriac (circa AD. 616) and the minuscules 1505, 1611 and 2495 (respectfully - AD. 1150, 950 and 1400) as noted by: Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel; *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung. II. Die Paulinischen Briefe. Teil 1, 24ff.* 1991.

Taking a more reasonable approach was the late Dr. Kurt Aland of the Institute in Münster. He posited that in the first several centuries in Egypt (AD. 100 - 300) no text-type flourished, that there were only mixed witnesses, or papyri which contained thorough mixtures of various text-types. [per Kurt Aland's article: "The Present Position of New Testament Textual Criticism", SE—1957. Briefly reiterated in TNT—1989, pages 51, 64]. Indeed, this is what the papyri from Egypt exhibit, as well as several ancient parchment fragments (0308 *et al*). The surviving manuscripts contain very many variants across the the whole spectrum of NT texts (gospels, and praxapostolos). In Egypt, during these early centuries, a mass of bewildering papyri were created. As Aland has stated, there appears to be at this time no standard or central authority [TNT—1989, 64]. As a consequence we critics of today are laboring to try to explain and piece together this mass of variations which

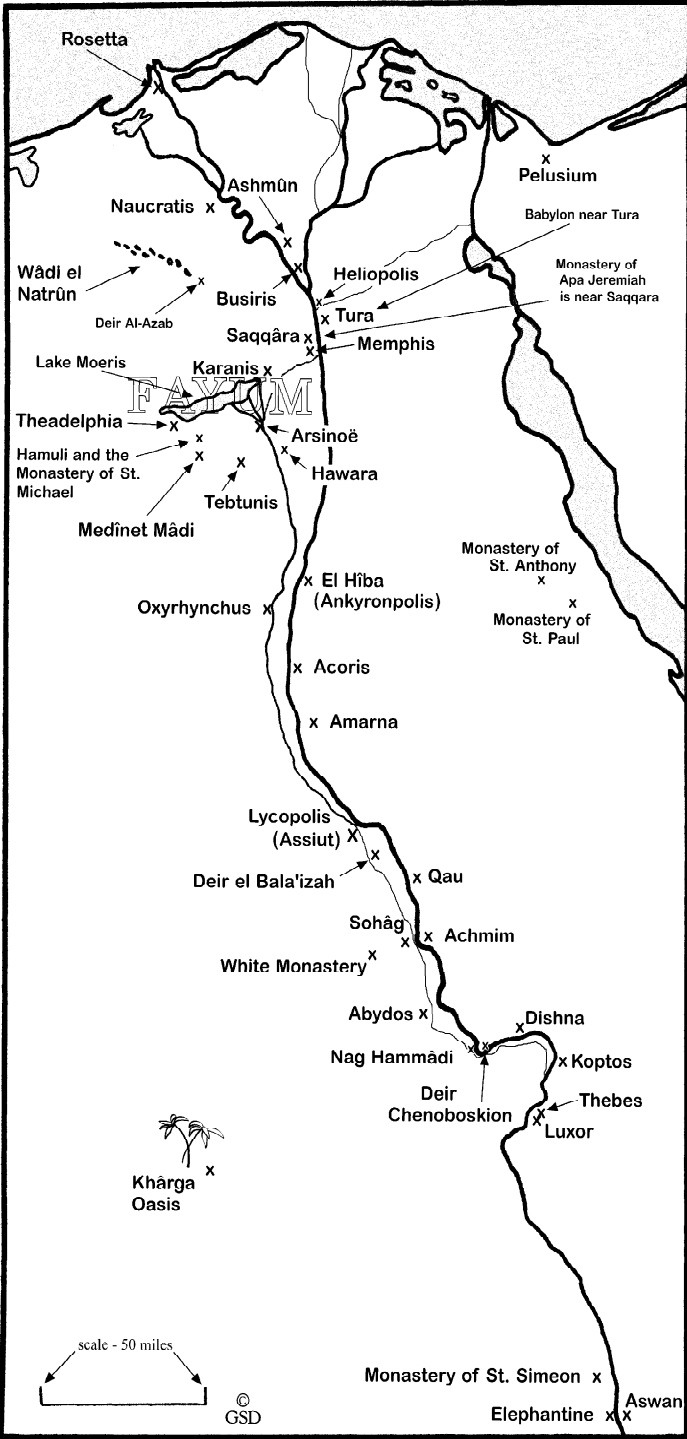
bloomed in early Egypt. In one sense, it could be said that Egypt was the original source of the dissolution of the pristine authority of the copies of the NT sent down to Egypt. Recall, that as far as the Pauline Epistles are concerned, *no originals* were sent by Paul down to Egypt. If anything it is reasonable to assume that they received early copies from Galatia, Rome, Corinth and other locales to which Paul did send original epistles.

It is exciting to witness the interest in the archæology of Egypt, especially as concerns its Christian monasteries and Byzantine sites. As these explorations in Egypt continue, it is anticipated that many more manuscripts shall come to light. As more Egyptian locales are discovered, and as the papyrological information is studied and shared, we are able to better construct this early period in Christian Egypt.

Information from numerous archæological sites, Coptic studies, patristic and apocryphal studies are shedding more light on the state of affairs in Egypt during the pre-invasion centuries (A.D. 100 - 639). As per the map on the following page, we can observe the papyrological landscape of where various manuscripts were found and where some may have been written. We could also add the spread of various Coptic dialects, and the spread of Greek into the rural/desert regions south of Alexandria. Researchers (such as: Tito Orlandi, Stephen Lewis Emmel with his 1993—"Shenoute's Literary Corpus." Ph.D. diss, Yale University; James Goehring and his 1986—"New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies," in *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*; Colin H. Roberts, 1979—*Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*; James M. Robinson, 2000—*The Coptic Gnostic Library*; Samuel al-Syriani's important—*Guide to Ancient Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Upper Egypt—1990*; and of course the seminal work by the late Paul Eric Kahle, in 1954—*Bala'izah: Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, especially pages 193-290) have all broadened our understanding.

Locations of various papyri as to where they were found or created is of value: [the 60 or so NT MSS from Oxyrhynchus are not shown here]....

- Mednet Mâdi p⁹², and numerous Manichaean documents
- Dishnâ p⁹⁹, p⁶⁶, p⁷², p⁷⁵ (+ Beatty papyri ?)
- The Fayum region p³, p¹², p³⁴, p⁵³, p⁵⁵, p⁵⁶, p⁵⁷, p⁷⁹
- Sinai Monastery p¹¹, p¹⁴, p⁶⁸
- Koptos p⁴



Papyrological Sites Along the Nile

Tito Orlandi adds this useful information as concerns the White Monastery [from the Conference titled; Perspectives on Panopolis, Leiden. 16-18 Dec. 1998, *The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenute at Atripe*].

I think that, taking into consideration the manuscripts entirely lost, we can speak of a library of at least 1000 codices, an astonishing number compared with the largest western libraries of the same time, which seem to have kept 300 to 500 codices.

Orlandi, after tedious reconstruction, adds the following categorized data as concerns a portion of the library of the White Monastery: it possessed 94 Biblical uncials, 89 homilies, 13 hagiographic writings, 18 apocryphal texts and numerous other manuscripts. Many of the Coptic texts are in the Achmimic dialect. As for other libraries in Egypt, Orlandi suggests these tentative reconstructed contents:

Dishna Chester Beatty Library, Bodmer Library, Barcelona Palau Ribes

Saqqara, apa Jeremias . . . Chester Beatty Library, Washington Freer

Bala'iza, apa Apollo Oxford Bodleian Library

Thebes Harris collection, then British Library

Hamuli (Sopehes)

Monastery of St. Michael . . New York P. Morgan Libr., Cairo Coptic Museum

Edfu, Monastery of

St. Mercurius British Library, New York P. Morgan Libr.

Sketis, Monastery of

St. Makarius Rome, Vatican Libr., Leipzig

Folks who long ago carried off manuscripts from the White Monastery or its neighbors include: Cardinal Stefano Borgia (circa late 1700s) via Assemani, Woide, Maspero, Nani, Curzon, Tattam, Rainer, Tischendorf, Horner, De Ricci, Hyvernat, Thompson, Sayce, Aspley Guise and Goleniscev. If these names seem familiar, it is because many of them supplied basic resources for most of the world's greatest libraries. Further information can be seen in Orlandi's article (above). The work of organizing and cataloging all of the Coptic, Greek, Arabic and Latin manuscripts connected with the White Monastery is on-going.

From the rubbish heaps at Oxyrhynchus we are continually adding to our knowledge of early Christianity in Egypt. However, even at this stage it is clearly apparent that in Egypt an abnormal variety of variations were produced. One suspects that one of the causes would be the preoccupation with esoteric religious affiliations. We have testimony to many odd beliefs existing in Egypt, right alongside of its emerging Christianity!

From the ancient Egyptian cults of the dead, a plethora of modern evolutions consumed the minds and lives of many Copts in the early Christian centuries of Egypt. These concepts of resurrection, a judgment by the gods, life in another world and concepts of eternity all merged with forms of gnosticism, early Christian teachings, various forms of Judaic beliefs and a variety of imports such as Manichæism [from Persia circa 262 AD, according to Robert M. Grant—"Manichees and Christians in the Third and Early Fourth Centuries". *Ex Orbe Religionum, Studia Geo Widengren Oblata*, 1972, Volume 1; p.431]. The surviving magical texts written in Hieratic and Old Coptic (and in Greek) teach us much about the beliefs and overt paganism of various Copts. These texts also remind us that there was an international community of followers of magic, though Egypt was looked upon as a center. Interestingly, a number of these magical texts and amulets contain numerous Christian terms, as for example this amulet cited as: PMich inv. 3023a, from Karanis circa AD 350, on papyrus; this is a portion of its text:

akrammajamari aablanaphanalbaa. . . axeeeeeee [characters] , Jesus, Jesus, great mind [. . .], Jesus, Jesus, . . . Michael, Gabriel, . . . nuel.
extracted from - <http://www.lib.umich.edu/pap/magic/rb.display.html>

Though the above may not in of itself seem to be Christian, it is per its associated contexts. Many, apparently Christian, magical papyri come from Egypt. Note this from the back cover of Hans Deter Betz's re-edited and expanded publication on the Coptic Magical Papyri—*Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*, 1994:

...magical texts from ancient Egypt shows the exotic rituals, esoteric healing practices, and incantatory and supernatural dimensions that flowered in early Christianity. These remarkable Christian magical texts include curses, spells of protection from "headless powers" and evil spirits, spells invoking thunderous powers, descriptions of fire baptism, and even recipes from a magical "cookbook." Virtually all the texts are by Coptic Christians, and they date from about the 1st-12th centuries of the common era, with the majority from late antiquity. By placing these rarely seen texts in historical context and discussing their significance, the authors explore the place of healing, prayer, miracles, and magic in the early Christian experience, and expand our understanding of Christianity and Gnosticism as a vital folk religion.

Many of the Coptic magical texts invoke the names of Jewish (IAW - for "Yahweh") and Christian divinities from Biblical texts, even using selected passages from the Bible. To what extent this type of magic prevailed amongst the Christians in Egypt is difficult to assay at this time, but it certainly appears that it was common and popular. There was a syncretism in which pagan practices and Christian beliefs intermingled. Various deities are called upon for revenge, for healings, for protection, to keep from becoming pregnant, to live a long life, to repel demons, and so forth.

Coupled with the above influences were the threats of the gnostics—Cerinthus, Carpocrates, Basilides and Valentinus. These men are considered "Egyptian Christians", each being a gnostic. [*Early Egyptian Christianity; From Its Origins to 451 C.E.* C. Wilford Griggs, 1991, p.47.]. The teachings of these men had a major impact upon the Christians of Egypt, and as Griggs points out, even Clement of Alexandria was under their spell [op. cit. above, page 59].

With such influences, scholars should be keen to note their potential impact upon the Biblical manuscripts produced in Egypt. Subjects such as: *knowledge* (γνῶσις), *resurrection*, *baptism*, *the physical body of Christ*, *creation*, *visions and prophecies*, *the bread and wine of communion*, *miracles*, *bishops (or popes)* and *various judgments*; should attract attention if clouded with variant readings amongst the Egyptian papyri. Each of these topics were subjects of the hidden wisdom of the gnostics, many magical texts and of numerous heretical sects as well as the Hermetic corpus. The texts of the Hermetic books usually deal with astronomy, the powers of gemstones and plants; in our period (A.D. 100 - 639) they move in the direction of philosophy and moral issues. Of the few which have a Jewish-Christian flavor, we might note this quote from Tractate 1:

...just as the intellect willed, their revolution brought forth living animals out of the downward-tending elements—irrational ones, for they had not retained reason.

And air brought forth flying things, while water brought forth swimming things. Then land and water separated from one another, just as the intellect willed. And <the earth> produced out of itself the quadruped living animals <and> creeping things that it possessed, animals wild and tame.

[Tractate titled: *Poimandrês* as rendered in Bentley Layton's *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 1987, page 454.]

A clear connection with concepts found in Genesis chapter one is evident.

If anything I trust that I have reminded the reader that in Egypt during this period, we find an amazing number of religions and pagan beliefs, many of which were intermingled within the lives and activities of Coptic Christians. Critics should be alert to the possibility that these belief systems were embedded within the mental and spiritual fabric of the very saints who copied and created various religious texts. We should see their impact upon these generated texts including Biblical texts, which they apparently did not view as holy, perfect nor God-breathed!

In Alexandria, a mighty opponent stood poised against all heresy, especially that type of heresy which the gnostics peddled amongst the monks (and amongst the nearly 100 bishops) of the upper Nile (areas south of Alexandria). Athanasius (d. 373) archbishop of Alexandria railed against the Jewish and pagan attacks upon pure Christianity. Shortly after Athanasius' pronouncements, the great Coptic archimandrite, Shenoute (of the White Monastery), enforced his strict rules against all heresy. [do note the article by Tito Orlandi—*A Catechesis Against Apocryphal Texts by Shenoute and the Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi*, HTR—75:1—1982, pages 85-95]. During this period many pagan temples were destroyed, magical books destroyed and materials such as the Nag Hammadi texts banned. Via Shenoute some real ecclesiastical order began to prevail amongst the monasteries south of Alexandria, as well as the initiation of a separation from the control of Constantinople. Not only was there an ecclesiastical split in the 5th century between Constantinople (including Antioch) and Alexandria, but it seems that their methods of Biblical interpretation permanently split. Thus a distinctive yet multifaceted text matures somewhat isolated in Egypt. I propose that when the church was more organized in Egypt (post Athanasius, post AD 373) the scholars and scribes in the great school at Alexandria, corrected and "purified" the many deviations, and produced a semi-final text which became our current Egyptian text-type (**Eg**).

1 ΚΑΙΤΩΝCΥΝ[
 2 ΠΩΝΩΝΤΑΟ[
 3 ΗC ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ[
 4 ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ ΤΟ[
 5 CΘΗΤΩΠΑC[
 6 ΜΗΔΕΝΜΕΡ[
 7 ΤΗΠΡΟCΕΥ[
 8 ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΙΑ[
 9 ΓΝΩΡΙΖΕCΘ[.]ΠΡΟ[
 10 ΡΗΝΗΤΟΥΘΥΗΥΠΕΡ[.]ΧΟ[
 11 ΤΑΝΟΥΝΦΡ[.]ΡΗCΕΙΤΑCΚ[
 12 ΜΩΝΚΑΙΤ[.]ΟΗΜΑΤΑΚ[
 13 ΤΑΥΜΩΝ[.]ΧΩΪ ΤΟΛΟ[
 14 ΦΟΙΟCΑΕ[.]ΝΑΛΗΘΗ Ο[
 15 ΟCΑΔΙΚΑ[.]ΟCΑΑΓΙΑ ΟC[

1 ΘΑΗCΑΝΜΟΙΜΕΤΑΚΑΙΚΑΗΛΕΝΤΟCΚΑΙΤΩΝ
 2 ΛΟΙΠΩΝCΥΝΕΡΓΩΝΜΟΥΩΝΤΑΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ
 3 ΕΝΒΥΒΛΩΖΩΗC ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕΕΝΚΩΪΠΑΝΤΟ
 4 ΤΕΠΑΛΛΙΝΕΡΩ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕΤΟΕΠΙΚΕCΥΜΩΝ
 5 ΓΝΩCΘΗΤΩΠΑCΙΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙC ΟΚC
 6 ΕΝΓΥCΜΗΔΕΝΜΕΡΙΜΝΑΤΕΑΛΛΕΝΠΑΝ
 7 ΤΙΤΗΠΡΟCΕΥΧΗΚΑΙΤΗΔΕΗCΕΙΜΕΤΑΕΥΧΑ
 8 ΡΙCΤΕΙΑCΜΕΤΑΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΕΙΑCΤΑΑΙΤΗΜΑ
 9 ΤΑΥΜΩΝΓΝΩΡΙΖΕCΘΠΡΟCΤΟΝΘΝΚΑΙ
 10 ΗΕΙΡΗΝΗΤΟΥΘΥΗΥΠΕΡΧΟΥCΑΠΑΝΤΑΝΟΥΝ
 11 ΦΡΟΥΡΗCΕΙΤΑCΚΑΡΔΙΑCΥΜΩΝΚΑΙΤΑΝΟ
 12 ΗΜΑΤΑΥΜΩΝΕΝΚΩΪΗΥΤΟΛΟΙΤΟΝΑΔΕΑ
 13 ΦΟΙΟCΑΕCΤΙΝΑΛΛΗΘΗΟCΑCΕΜΝΑΟCΑΔΙΚΑΙΑ

COMPARISON TEXT - PHILIPPIANS 4:3-8

As a result we have an Egyptian text-type which had numerous influences. We also have one which is the result of wild transcriptional endeavors. For reasons unknown (lack of respect for the Inspired text?), we have surviving a large and growing mass of Greek New Testament texts which rarely are identical with each other. Previously mentioned was the agreement between \mathfrak{P}^{75} and codex Vaticanus, but these (or, this) are the exceptions! Instead of seeing some uniformity amongst the early (and late) papyri coming from Egypt, we see a multitude of variants. I wish, however, to state—so as not to be misunderstood—that in general terms the papyri do conform to a very broad type of agreement, enough of an agreement that **statistically** they are part of the larger Egyptian text-type, but the uniformity is not nearly as distinctive as that which is seen in all periods of the Antiochian/Byzantine text-type.

Günther Zuntz, towards the conclusion of his popular work—*The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition Upon the Corpus Paulinum*, 1946, pages 263 ff.—theorizes that the Alexandrian recension represented by codices, 01, 02, 03, 04 *et al*, came into existence by way of referring to some secreted copies of the originals! Zuntz proposes that an editor—like that of Porphyry (editor of Plotinus' works)—preserved, or found preserved, copies of the original texts of Paul's epistles (note pages 277, 278 in Günther's work). Zuntz suspects that this Alexandrian editor used these preserved copies to correct the wild readings found in the manuscripts which were flourishing throughout Egypt, so as to produce the texts of Vaticanus and other Alexandrian masterpieces. How else could the Alexandrian recension come into being? Such is Zuntz's explanation.

It does seem mysterious, to see the production of the great Alexandrian codices as stemming from such earlier wild texts seen in Egypt. Surely the exemplars for Vaticanus (*et al*) did not *all* come from Egypt! So Zuntz creates the bogeymen, the carefully protected copies of the originals! Fanciful.

Codex 03's creators did refer to a manuscript like that of \mathfrak{P}^{75} , but when the two manuscripts are actually collated and compared, the creators of 03 did not carefully copy a manuscript akin to \mathfrak{P}^{75} , for there are numerous differences. In fact in John chapter one, \mathfrak{P}^{75} agrees more with the Byzantine readings than does 03. If the creators of 03 used \mathfrak{P}^{75} accurately, then they must have edited out some of the agreements which \mathfrak{P}^{75} had with Byzantine readings! On the other hand, we also see Byzantine readings which are in 03, but not in \mathfrak{P}^{75} ! The creators of the great Alexandrian codices most likely, used copies of manuscripts from the north, from Jerusalem and/or Antioch; they then picked and chose which readings they wanted in their recension. For

example in John 1:13 we read this in codex 03*,

...θεληματος σαρκος αλλ εκ θυ...

ⲡ⁷⁵ reads:

...θεληματος σαρκος ουδε εκ θεληματος ανδρος αλλ εκ θυ...

On the margin of 03 a corrector adds the missing words. Though a possible copying error may have occurred here, this is just one of many samples in which we may infer that the creators of the Alexandrian codices may have used earlier copies of proto-Byzantine (or Antiochian text-type manuscripts) manuscripts to correct the wild readings seen all over Egypt. Many more examples can be seen in Harry A. Sturz's *The Byzantine Text-Type & New Testament Textual Criticism*. Consequently I would modify Zuntz's theory and state as such: the editors which created the great Alexandrian codices, corrected the wild readings seen in Egypt, with copies of the original manuscripts FROM Antioch or Jerusalem! Another reason why Byzantine readings are found in codices 03, 01, 02 and in ⲡ⁷⁵.

As time passes we have a growing corpus of papyri from Egypt of various portions of the NT. In some cases we have several papyri with the same texts, when we compare these side-by-side, we clearly note that though they may both be from Egypt, and both may be very old, they both exhibit difficult to explain variances. Note the preceding page which displays a portion of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus ⲡ¹⁶ with the equivalent passage from the much larger papyrus ⲡ⁴⁶, which may be from Dishna or Oxyrhynchus. The corresponding words are underlined in the ⲡ⁴⁶ portion. The passage mentions women who work for the cause of the gospel, the "book of life", "the Lord is near", and God's peace which guards the hearts and minds.

Besides several altered spellings (βυβλω for a correct βιβλω—line 3, ⲡ⁴⁶; and ευχαριστηιας for a correct ευχαριστιας—lines 7/8, ⲡ⁴⁶) we have several major discrepancies. On the ⲡ¹⁶ side we see a conflation wherein the readings of νοηματα and σωματα have been combined [via a strong ^{vid} observation]. I trust that you dear readers can see several more deviations—words added and word order variations. So, here we are with our two oldest papyri for this text, which is correct, which is to be trusted? The scribe for ⲡ¹⁶ seems to be the more accurate as per his/her orthography, perhaps the more extensive ⲡ⁴⁶ was made via dictation and thus contains numerous aural errors and the

scribe of P¹⁶ copied from a (or several) exemplar(s), thus the accuracy of the scribes cannot be fairly compared. The much larger P⁴⁶ also shows conflation in other passages. Without more evidence, we are left in a quandary if, we limit ourselves to just these two papyri.

As more and more papyri are found and published, we shall see more and more inconsistencies! The texts in ancient Egypt (circa AD 100 - 300) were unstable, and lacked any discipline. We are forced to edit them with manuscripts which are not from early Egypt. Most often these other and later manuscripts are of the much more consistent Byzantine text-type, from the smaller block of Syro-Latin manuscripts, or the later polished Egyptian manuscripts.

Dr. Maurice Robinson (a very vocal Byzantine text-type advocate), recently produced an essay titled: *New Testament Textual Criticism: The Case for Byzantine Priority*. Published on-line in the *Journal for Biblical Textual Criticism*, 2001. He makes several astute observations:

...those who use the modern eclectic texts [as opposed to the Byzantine text-type] are expected to accept a proffered "original" which similarly lacks any pattern of agreement over even a short stretch of text that would link it with what is found in *any* MS, group of MSS, version, or patristic witness in the *entire* manuscript tradition.

The overriding principle is that *textual criticism without a history of transmission is impossible*. To achieve this end, *all readings in sequence* need to be accounted for within a transmissional history, and no reading can be considered in isolation as a "variant unit" unrelated to the rest of the text.

Indeed! the Byzantine text-type, demonstrates a consistent homogeneity over its observable history (even via Old Latin, Gothic and Syriac versions—reaching back to pre-AD 300).

The possibility that the early manuscript copies in Egypt could have been influenced by various pagan beliefs is higher in Egypt than elsewhere. The Syrians had in the late second century, the plague of the Bardesanes teachings, their impact upon the manuscripts produced in this area has not ever been exposed, if they impacted the Christian texts at all. Marcion made an impact in Edessa and Syria as well, and history declares that he *did* generate alterations within the Biblical documents, these influences are usually noted by other ancient writers and are discernible in manuscripts which came under the spell of the Marcionites. However, as a whole the thousands of surviving

Byzantine Biblical manuscripts seem largely to be free from contamination via these heretical sects which flourished in the first several centuries of the Christian era.

If early *copies* of Paul's epistles were taken to Egypt in the first century (from the northern regions, as they surely were) then naïve (or sinister) scribes along the Nile corrupted these once pristine copies. The Alexandrian grammarians (of the great school in Alexandria) corrected or edited the many variations seen in the manuscripts from the early years of Christianity in Egypt, especially from amongst the monks and monasteries along the Nile. These "corrected" texts stemming from Alexandria became what we today refer to as the Egyptian (Æg) text-type. The earlier papyri from Egypt exhibit many potentially early readings, but also exhibit a mass of textual alterations and variations. The great codex Vaticanus, illustrates that over 750 New Testament variants were known to the creators of that masterpiece, yet its text too is quite mixed, especially in the Pauline corpus. Codex Vaticanus was not based solely upon the text of one papyrus (such as P⁷⁵) but upon numerous manuscripts, many with texts originating from outside Egypt. The great uncials from Egypt still display a dissolution, enhanced with what the Alexandrian grammarians considered as orthodox Greek grammar and syntax. Over time, this dissolution which is evident in early Christian Egypt becomes even more apparent as more fragments are unearthed in the dry sands of Egypt.



On the Origin of and Value of The Western Text-Type as Concerns the Pauline Epistles

"In the beginning...", I utilize a quote:

This essay does not aim at any form of completeness, and is published only in the hope that it may be found suggestive...I know the result must be full of errors; but I hope the search for these will lead others to further stages on the same road." [from the preface to: *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, Dom John Chapman, O.S.B.. 1908, Oxford.]

fine sentiments, and fully applicable to this present endeavor. I have long pondered the origin of the Western text-type of the Pauline epistles and what follows are notes collected during such studies and musings. Facts they may not be, but quite probable they are.

The origin of the "Western text-type" hereafter signalled with this siglum **W**, has been the subject of many studies over the last several centuries. As concerns the origins of the four gospel texts, one is inclined to accept the probability that the **W** of the gospels originated in either Syria or Rome, influenced by the famous four-in-one Diatessaron. As for the origin of **W** of Acts, some prefer Beirut or other regions in Syria. Myself, I suspect that an early copy in Rome—annotated by Paul before his execution—was utilized as an exemplar for Codex Beza and the early Latin copies which began life in Rome. As I suspect, Paul annotated the copy of Acts which Dr. Luke shared with him; later copyists moved Paul's notes into the body of the main text. This event—coupled with the development of the Latin text in Italy—produced the early forms of the **W** text of Acts. (similar to Blass' theory).

As for the Pauline epistles, the emergence of the early **W** text developed along very different lines, according to my theories. Making clear this emergence and the possibility of such a development is the essence of this essay.

* * *

Among the distinctive features of the **℣** text as concerns the Pauline epistles, is the number and type of variations seen when compared with the Byzantine or Egyptian text-types. Additions, expansions, apparent interpolations, changes in word order, changes in verb tenses and a plethora of other variations occur. As one studies and compares a **℣** manuscript with the typical "Eastern" texts one is left with a challenge—to explain such variations! It is these variations which stamp this text as a text-type.

TRADITIONALLY, the **℣** text is usually declared to be in these Greek manuscripts of the Pauline epistles: (as well as direct copies of these MSS)

- codex 06 · Claromontanus [bilingual Greek/Latin]
- codex 010 · Codex F [bilingual Greek/Latin]
- codex 012 · Codex G [bilingual Greek/Latin]
- codex 048 · in a small portion of the Pauline corpus

About a dozen Greek minuscules have some portions of the Pauline epistles in a "South Italian Type". These include but are not limited to: 326, 330, 1836, 1837, 1875, 1912, 2400; they are related via their shared idiosyncrasies, ligatures, decorations, folio formatting and style of writing as well as a small set of common variants. Many were copied or written in Calabrian and Sicilian monasteries; however, they are not truly part of the **℣** type.

Concerning the versions, the Old Latin (OL) preserves the best and oldest **℣** form. As concerns the church fathers: Cyprian, Tertullian and Augustine are strongly OL. The more recent Vulgate MSS, contain some remnants of the OL, and retain some identity with the **℣** text-type. According to the Beuron Institute in Germany—which conducts research on the Old Latin—the following is a partial list of MSS which they reckon as completely or partially Old Latin *in the Pauline epistles*: [all are Latin MSS or, Greek/Latin or Gothic/Latin bilinguals], most are shown with their Beuron nomenclatures.

The list is a modified and supplemented version as seen in *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel. 22 . Epistula ad Corinthios I.* parts 1 and 3, 1995 and 1998: editor Uwe Fröhlich; published by Verlag Herder Freiburg. A few manuscripts, as yet, have no Beuron siglum (-) . When the siglum states, for example, (in 71) this redundancy means that the MS is allied with group or manuscript 71. Typically the Beuron sigla can indicate group relationships; to identify many individual MSS, the institution of origin's siglum or shelf number must be sought. Recall that this list only concerns the Pauline Epistles, and I have modified and supplemented it.

Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale 87 (VI 709)	(in 76)
Bamberg, Staatlich Bibliothek Bibl. 1 (A.I.5)	ϕ ^B
Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón Rivipullensis 52 (κ = Catalonia region)	(in κ ^P)
Basel, Universitätsbibliothek A.VIII.3	(in 77)
B.II.5	(-)
B.II.11	(in ϕ ^B)
Bergamo, Biblioteca di S. Alessandro, Colonna 242	ρ ^B
Berlin, Kunstbibliothek MS 1400 and Cleveland, Museum of Art	(in ρ ^P)
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Hamilton 82	(in ϕ)
Theol. Lat. oct. 96 fol. 1-51	(in G)
Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz Staatsbibliothek Theol. Lat. fol. 366	N ^W
Bern, Burgerbibliothek 16	(in G)
A.9	(Θ ^B)
Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale 38 fol. 1-172 (VI 749)	(in ρ)
Budapest, Ungarisches Nationalmuseum Clmae 1	89
Burgos, Seminario de San Jerónimo S.N. Tesoro Catedralicio	Δ ^B
Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 164 (159)	(in Z ^R)
Cambridge, Trinity College B.10.5 and London, British Lib. Cotton Vitellius C. VIII fol. 86-90 (II 133)	E
B.17.1	78
B.17.2	(in 77)
Cambridge, University Library Nn. II.41 (II 140)	(in 75)
Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale 38 fol. 1-172 (VI 749)	(in N ^C)
38 fol. 173-238 (VI 750)	(N ^C)
Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale 12-15	(in Ω)

Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek 191 (Lassberg. 1) (K = Cyprian) 618	(in K) (in σ^W)
Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 12 (VI 758)	(in Z^H)
Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek A. 145b	77
Dublin, Trinity College 52 (II 270) 59 (A.IV.23) (CLA II 275)	61 (in 61)
Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek MS. A 14 (VIII 1182) MS. B 3 (VIII 1183)	Z^L Z^E
Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek Aa. 1a (VIII 1174) Aa. 10 and Aa. 11 Bonifatianus 1 (VIII 1196)	(in σ^P) (in σ^R) F
Gerona, Museo Diocesano 44, (früher 2) (κ = Catalonia)	(in κ^P)
Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek S.N. and S.N. (a) plus München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6436 and Leimadbrücke in Clm 6230 (IX 1286a + 1286b)	64
Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Membr. I, 20	N^M
Hannover, Kestner-Museum 3926	(-)
Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare LXXIX (28)	λ^A
Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. CLXXXV	K
København, Kongelige Bibliotek Ny Kgl. Samling 1	(in θ)
La Cava dei Tirreni, Archivio della Badia 1 (14)	C
León, Archivo Catedralicio 2 6 15 (XI 1636)	τ Δ^L (in X)
León, San Isidoro 1.3 and 2. Codex Gothicus	(in λ^L)
Le Puy, Trésor de la Cathédrale (VI 768)	θ^A
London, British Library Add. 10546 and Add. 10547 Add. 11852 Add. 24142 Add. 30846 Add. 30851	(in ϕ^G) σ^U θ^H τ^{73} 411

Add. 37777 and Add. 45025 and Loan 81 (II 177; vgl. CLA S p. [46] and CLA Addenda p. 351-352)	(in A)
Harley 1772	Z ^H
Royal 1. B. 12	Ω ^W
Madrid, Academia de la Historia Aemil. 2 and 3	Λ ^H
Aemil. 20	Δ ^M
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Vitr. 5-1 (10001, Hh 69), Tol. 35-1)	(in 411)
Vitr. 13-1 (Tol. 2-1)	Σ ^T
MS. 13048 and MS. 13049	(in τ ⁷²)
MS. 13052	(in 262)
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense 31	X
32	Σ ^C
Madrid, Casa Central de la Hermandad de los Sacerdotes Operarios Diocesanos, Fragmente, <i>Bibel von Oña</i>	(in Λ)
Madrid, Museo Arqueológico 485	Σ ^O
Mainz, Domschatz 972	(-)
Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale (VI 786)	Z ^M
Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana A. 24 bis inf.	ρ ^A
A. 28 inf.	(-)
B. 48 sup.	Γ ^C
C. 228 inf.	ρ ^A
D. 58	(in ρ ^B)
E. 26 inf.	Γ ^B
E. 53 inf.	Γ ^A
Parchment portion in E. 26 inf. and C. 238 inf. (III 325)	(in Γ ^B)
Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 104	(in Compact. XIII. 1)
109	(in Compact. XIII. 1)
271 K Palimpsest	(-)
522 AA	Π ^L
Compact. XIII. 1 (III 382)	(-)

(note λ, lower case = MSS of the Burgund region)

Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare g-1/1 i-2/9	ϕ^M 86
Monza, Museo del Tesoro della Basilica s. Giovanni Cod. CIX	(-) (in ρ^P)
Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'Université 409 (VI 795) [in Wein lat. Ser. nov.]	Wein # 2065
Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Ville 6	Σ^A
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4577 (IX 1243) Clm 6229 (IX 1252) Clm 6436 and Leim. 6230 and Göttweig (IX 1286a and 1286b) Clm 9510 and 9534 and 9564 and 9636 Clm 9545 Clm 14179 Clm 14345 Clm 28135	(-) M 64 (all in Clm 9545) (-) Z^R Z^Z (in 64)
München, Universitätsbibliothek 4 ^o 928 frag. 1-2 (IX 1286a)	(in 64)
Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 19 (16) fol. 26-30 and Paris. Bib. Natl. lat. 2389 fol. 41-48 (VI 800)	J
Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud. lat. 108	O
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale 1 (A. 20)	λ^P
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale grec. 107, and 107A, and 107B (V 521) lat. 1 and lat. 3 lat. 6, 1-3 and lat. 6,4 (small κ = Catalonia region) lat. 45 and lat. 93 lat. 254 lat. 321 lat. 335 lat. 653 (V 527) lat. 2269 fol. 17-48 lat. 2389 fol. 41-48, and Orléans, Bibl. Municipale 19 (16) fol. 26-30 (VI 800) lat. 8847 lat. 9380 (V 576) lat. 9427 (V 579) lat. 9451 (V 580) (ρ = Roman liturgy) lat. 11504 and lat. 11505	75 (in Φ) (in κ^P) Q Ω^C 54 L (in λ^A) (in τ) J ϕ^E Θ^M 251 ρ^P (in Z^P)

lat. 11514	(in Φ)
lat. 11532	(in Z^C)
lat. 11533	Z^C
lat. 11553	G
lat. 11937	(in Θ)
lat. 13246 (V 653)	(in M)
lat. 17296	(in Verona LXXXVIII)
new acq. lat. 1063 (V 679)	P
new acq. lat. 2171	τ^{56}
Perpignan, Bibliothèque Municipale 1	(in κ^P)
Praha, Komenského Evangelická Bohoslovecká Faculta S.N.	58
Rome, Biblioteca Sessoriana, (Santa Croce) no. 58	Ps-Au Spe
Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B. 6	ϕ^B
D. 8	(in H)
Salamanca, Biblioteca de la Universidad 2268	415
Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca de la Universidad 5	414
Sélestat, Bibliothèque Municipale 1 (1039) (VI 829) and 1b (VI 831) and 1a (VI 830)	(in 87)
Silos, Abtei S. Domingo frag. of <i>Bibel von Oña</i>	(in λ)
Saint Gallen, Stiftsarchiv Urk. C 3 B 55	(in σ)
Saint Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 2 p. 301-568 (VII 894)	(in S)
7 and 19 and 46	(in σ^U)
48	(in 77)
64 and 68 and 72 and 80	(in σ)
70 (VI 903)	S
75 (VI 904)	ϕ^T
77 and 78 and 81 and 82	(in σ^H)
365	ρ^S
728	(in ϕ^T)
1395 (VI 984)	(in σ^R)
Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket A. 148	51
Saint Petersburg, Öffentliche Saltykow-Schtschedrin- Staatsbibliothek F. v. XX Greek-Latin	76
Saint Petersburg, Public Library, F. v. VI. 3 (XI 1611)	(in 75)
Q. v. I. 16 (IX 1619)	(in ρ)
Q. v. I 21	(in ϕ^B)

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB II, 16	Θ^S
HB. II, 20	(in σ^U)
HB. II, 54	σ^W
Theo. and Phil. Fol. 208 (IX 1354)	(in λ^A)
Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo 35-4	τ^{72}
35-5	262
35-6	271
35-8	τ^{68}
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vat. lat. 4859	(in λ^L)
Vat. lat. 5755 p. 95-131...(I 32)	(-)
Vat. lat. palmp. 5755, fol. 308-309 (I 32)	(in M)
Vat. lat. 8484	(in C)
Pal. lat. 57	(in Z^Z)
Vat. Reg. lat. 9 fol. 1-2 (I 100)	84
Vat. Reg. lat. 9 fol. 3-114 (I 100)	R
Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare VII (70)	Θ^W
XI (57)	Θ^V
Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LII (50) (IV 505)	(in λ)
LXXXII (77)	ρ^V
LXXXVIII (83)	(-)
Vich, Museo Episcopale 26	(in κ^P)
Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa akc. 12400 (VIII 1071)	Σ^W
Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	
lat. 1a (X 1470) and lat. 1b (X 1471) and	
lat. 2160* (X 1507)	(in Π^W)
lat. 723 fol. 64-178 (X 1487)	(-)
lat. 903	(in Π^W)
lat. 1190 fol. 16-292	(-)
lat. Ser. nov. 2065 (X 1513) and lat. Ser. nov. 2066 (I)	(-)
(X p. [22] 1318)	(in lat. Ser. nov. 2065)
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek	
Weissenburg 76 (IX 1392)	32
Weissenburg 99 (IX 1396)	(in 251; in Ξ , in Σ)
Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th. f. 12 (IX 1403)	W
M. p. th. f. 45 (IX 1412) [note: this V is not Vg!!]	(in V)
M. p. th. f. 61 (IX 1415)	(in W)
M. p. th. f. 62 (IX 1417)	ρ^W
M. p. th. f. 69 (IX 1424) [this V is not Vg!!]	(in V)
M. p. th. q. 28b (IX 1436/7) [this V is not Vg!!]	(in V)
M. p. th. q. 32 (IX 1441)	(-)

Zurich, Central Library C. 57 Car. C. 1	(in σ) ϕ^Z
Codex Demidovianus (now lost or missing)	λ^D

(note ρ = MSS of the Ambrosian liturgy. Z = MSS of the North Frankish region)

An aspect of the Beuron sigla is that groups are indicated. Basically these appear as such in the Pauine corpus [list not exhaustive]

X	siglum for Tertullian type MSS
K	siglum for Cyprian type MSS
D	siglum for Claromontanus type MSS
I	siglum for Ambrosiaster type MSS
N	siglum for the Frankish oriented MSS
J	siglum for a mixed text of Vg and I readings
M	siglum for regional texts of Milan
A	siglum for Freisinger MS (64) and Augustine
τ	siglum for regional Spanish MSS
ϕ	siglum for Alcuin type MSS
Σ	siglum for Toletanus type MSS
Δ	siglum for Cardena type MSS
Θ	siglum for Theodulf type MSS
Λ	siglum for Valerância type MSS
Π	siglum for "spätere cassinesische" type MSS
σ	siglum for region on south of Lake Constance

One can see immediately that the OL manuscript tradition is fractured into a number of groups or families. Often the distinctions within the OL manuscript tradition lie in the use of alternate synonyms, word order or an omission or addition.

As compared to the methodology connected to Greek manuscript textual criticism, the groupings in the OL data are not aligned per agreements or disagreements as concerns errors or copying mistakes. Rather, as Petzer declared:

...the vocabulary, that is, the choice of Latin words to render specific Greek words, plays an important part in this research. Text-types are thus identified by means of differences in the patterns of vocabulary and diction in the different Latin witnesses as well as differences in their relation to the Greek text.

[*The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*. Studies and Documents, Vol. 46. Essay titled: The Latin Version of the New Testament, by Jacobus H. Petzer, page 118f.. 1995]

Petzer is correct as far as he goes, but certainly distinctions of orthography, morphology and even phonetics are also utilized in differentiating the various OL manuscripts. Lowe, the eminent Latin paleographer reminds us that subtle scriptural differences can serve to identify the locale and source or exemplar for various OL manuscripts [E. A. Lowe, *English Uncial* 12]. In Insular affected copies, the confusion in spelling *s* and *ss*, is but one of several features which can assist in identification, for example. Yet, as Petzer suggests, OL manuscript relationships are typically classed via vocabulary distinctions.

Thus, this is how the above groupings occur, based largely upon vocabulary distinctions. In light of this, the variations result from different scribes choosing different Latin words to render their Greek exemplar(s). This does not mean that the Greek exemplars were different, but that the scribe preferred a certain Latin word over another possible synonym. This, to me, is important to keep in mind. Consequently, I do not subscribe to the theory that the OL texts or manuscripts present so much variety because their Greek *Vorlagen* differed, but rather they differed because the individual scribe preferred an alternative form of expression or a better rendering in his or her's mind. In other words, the differences are a matter of translation preferences, not differing Greek *vorlagen* or text-types! But more on this later.

The above MSS as indicated by the Beuron classification system, approximately 209 total manuscripts, present to us—for the Pauline epistles—the text-type known as the Western text-type, (℞). All of the above Latin MSS are of the Old Latin (OL), or are mixed OL and Vulgate texts. These MSS preserve the only readings which should be called *a* or *the* Western text-type. Keep in mind, that no single Latin OL manuscript can be declared as the archetype or standard form for the ℞ in general. All of the manuscripts contribute and each must be so examined within its tradition.

The Vulgate text, is a later recension of the earlier OL, and Jerome did apparently utilize some Greek manuscripts, but they were not of a ℞ nature, rather they were more Alexandrian or Byzantine! The Greek manuscripts 06, 010, 012 (et al) reflect their Latin readings or the Latin tradition, and are of little value as independent *Greek* witnesses for ℞.

The OL text did begin life as translations based upon Greek exemplars. The Greek sides of codices 06, 010, and 012 are largely based upon their accompanying Latin texts. No doubt the scribes who created these bilingual documents may have referred to a Greek MS(S) for various assists in creating the Greek translations of their Latin text; but this apparent use of any Greek MS(S) was not as exemplars for their text rather as spelling guides, or word separation guides, or as guides for word formation [depending upon which of the bilingual codices we are referring to]. Consequently, in my mind, 06, 010, and 012 do not witness to an early Greek version of any sort of a western text-type.

The earlier OL MSS over time, increasingly left their original Greek foundation and matured on their own, at length developing their own "text-type" based or identified largely upon their departures from an ancient Greek text or Greek MS exemplar(s), and then dividing along lines of differing synonym choices and translation styles. Recall from above, these words:

As one studies and compares a **W** manuscript with the typical "Eastern" texts one is left with a challenge—to explain such variations! It is these variations which stamp this text as a text-type.

If the above is true, then we can see that **W** is not a maintained and stable copy/translation from an early distinct Greek text-type source, but is a later and on-going translational evolution. Which postulation does not deny the existence of a valid single OL version. It is simply a departure from the other texts, or in fact a departure from its original seed-bed of whatever Greek exemplars Tertullian or Cyprian or early scribes in southern Gaul or Italy used. It is no secret that many scholars have viewed with suspicion the validity of equating the "western text-type" with the status of the Byzantine and Egyptian text-types.

Via Westcott and Hort:

The Western [β] and Alexandrian [γ] texts as wholes are therefore in the strictest sense, as we have called them partly by anticipation, aberrant texts.

[*Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek*, pages 172f. Hendrickson reprint of an 1882 edition. By "Alexandrian" W&H mean the results of an early Egyptian text altered by scholars in Alexandria.]

Via Eberhard Nestle:

A quote of F. H. Chase - "The time is, we hope, not far distant, when the term Western will give place to the term Syro-Latin, the only one which truly represents, in our opinion, the facts of the case." Of this statement Nestle said that he was "inclined to recommend" this nomenclature.

[*Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament.* page 218. Williams and Norgate, 1901]

Via Caspar René Gregory:

This text [his "Re-Wrought" which is the "western"] had in the second century a certain fascination for the Christian gaze. It retains some of that power to-day. Alongside of the Original Text it was more juicy, more popular, and more full. It left almost nothing out. It added almost all it could lay hands upon.

[*Canon and Text of the New Testament.* page 490. T & T Clark, 1907]

Via Alexander Souter:

The 'Western' texts may be described as due to increasing free handling of the apostolic originals.

[*The Text and Canon of the New Testament.* page 112. 2nd edition, Gerald Duckworth and Co. London. 1960.]

Via Hans Lietzmann:

[As referred to by Jack Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts*, page 72f..] The continued development of the uncontrolled text, apart from and without revision such as appears in the Egyptian text, is that which is represented, according to Lietzmann's view, in the so-called Western text.

[Lietzmann's books, "Handbook of the New Testament" and "Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Pauline Epistles", were published in German 1919-1934.]

Via J. Harold Greenlee:

At present, while some scholars have a relatively high opinion of the Western text, most scholars find that upon examination of individual readings those with only

Western support generally do not commend themselves upon the principles of internal evidence.

[*Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*. page 89. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.. 1977]

Via Bart D. Ehrman:

The "Western" text is almost invariably expansionistic, as opposed to the normally succinct attestations of its Alexandrian counterparts (including Westcott and Hort's "Neutral" text).

...the general propensity of this tradition [i.e. the "Western" text-type] (is) to *expand* the text so as to help clarify its meaning.

[*The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*. pages 198 and 223. Oxford University Press. 1993]

Via William Sanday and Arthur Hedlam:

The specific characteristics of the textual apparatus of Romans may be said to be these: (1) the general inferiority in boldness and originality of the δ - (or Western) text;

[*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. page lxxii. 5th edition. T & T Clark. 1907, reprinted 1992.]

Via Frederick G. Kenyon:

What we have called the δ -text [i.e. the Western text], indeed, is not so much a text as a congeries of various readings, not descending from any one archetype, but possessing an infinitely complicated and intricate parentage.

[*Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. page 356. 2nd edition. 1926.]

And lastly, again via Bruce Manning Metzger:

The chief characteristic of Western readings is fondness for paraphrase. Words, clauses, and even whole sentences are freely changed, omitted or, inserted. Sometimes the motive appears to have been harmonization, while at other times it was the enrichment of the narrative by the inclusion of traditional or apocryphal material.

[*A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. page 6*. 2nd ed. 1994.]

In the above quotes, no distinction is indicated between the OL version and the latter **W** text-type. I am fairly certain that most of the above would have modified their comments had we been able to press them to include or focus upon the OL version, even though it too appears to often fluctuate (mostly in its vocabulary). And, additionally, most textual critics would agree that the **W** text is expansive, but then most are referring to that latter form seen since Jerome's revision. The earlier OL version, though displaying alternate synonyms, and other slight variations, is not considered expansive, but rather as being quite literal to its Greek *vorlagen*.

That a *single OL version* existed is suggested via:

(1) There exists identical renderings betwixt the European and African OL texts, which cannot be explained in any other way than to recognize a common origin. For example the well known mistake at Mark 9:15, wherein *τρέχοντες* was accidentally read as *χαίροντες* and thus producing *gaudentes* in both European and African manuscripts of the OL.

(2) The Marcionite prologues which appear in certain Vulgate manuscripts suggest a continuity or unity with an earlier form. Vööbus informs us that "...between the Marcionite corpus, as translated into Latin, and the Latin tradition which ended in the Vulgate version, there must have been some relations." [*Early Versions of the New Testament*, page 45]. That they are retained by Jerome suggests that they must have been quite widespread (both geographically and temporally) in the earlier OL version.

(3) Souter states: "The fact that on close study the translation used by him [as regards Cyprian's writings] shows secondary characteristics confirms the conclusion that in Tertullian's time a Latin New Testament already existed in Africa, and suggests that it is the result of a long period of translation commenced not later than 150." [*The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, page 33. 2nd edition. 1960.].

This is not to say that there are or were not huge varieties of Old Latin texts (or, translations) as Jerome lamented. I shall not take Jerome or Augustine to task. However, the surviving evidence seems to indicate that the variations are rather minor as far as semantics are concerned. Most are changes in vocabulary (alternate synonym), some an improved Latinization—that is, putting the translation from the Greek exemplar into an improved or more

polished Latin form. None of these "variations" strike me as differences which would dictate that we are dealing with multiple versions.

It may be worthwhile to recall that a difference in *reading* differs from a difference in *rendering*. The "rendering" differences refer to differences in the translation, that is, the choice of one or another word in the Latin translation; whilst "reading" differences involve true textual or text-type variation stemming from the Greek exemplar, meaning a different Greek text.

I will grant that in certain locales, a distinctive family of renderings evolved; in which case they may only rise to the level of being a separate version if it is clear that actual "readings" differ. When the differences are merely various synonyms and or minor vocabulary changes, we are most likely not dealing with a different version or archetype. It is true that "local texts" can be demonstrated; certainly the scholars in Beuron would persuasively argue that various *groups* of OL texts simultaneously existed. However, they admit that their groupings are simply all-too-often based on mere vocabulary fluctuations, which lexical fluctuations are useful for identifying similar groups or families.

Besides the numerous independent translations that may have been privately produced, a single OL version seems to also have coexisted! I can illustrate the existence of a single version, or common source which the few samples below should reveal. These samples illustrate readings found in the OL manuscripts. The Vulgate stands as the lemma, followed by the OL reading, shown with Beuron sigla, and others (d, f, g).

I Timothy 2:10

pietatem] castitatem PS-AU spe, 64, g

Ephesians 3:18

sublimitas] altitudo 61, d, g, Vict., Ambst. (this OL reading is much more literal)

Philippians 3:21

claritatis] gloriae PS-AU spe, 61, d, g (NOTE: claritatis is typically "African!")

Galatians 6:13

circumciduntur] circumcisi sunt 64, d, g, Vict., Ambst., Aug., Jerome, Pel.

Galatians 4:28

nos...sumus] vos...estis τ⁵⁶, d, g, Vict., Ambst. (the change from first person to the second is also reflected in the Greek)

- II Corinthians 8:2
 experimento] probatione 64, d, g, Ambst., Aug.
- II Corinthians 6:6
 suavitate] benignitate τ⁵⁶, d, g, Ambst., Aug. (again the OL is much more literal)
- II Corinthians 4:10
 mortificationem] mortem PS-AU spe, 64, d, g, Ambst.
- I Corinthians 10:20
 gentes] omit PS-AU spe, d, Tert., Ambst., Aug., Prisc.
- I Corinthians 9:27
 castigo] lividum facio PS-AU spe, d, g
- I Corinthians 9:6
 hoc] non d, e, g, Aug., Hil. (again a very literal rendering)
- I Corinthians 6:20
 magno] omit PS-AU spe, 64, d, f, g
- Romans 9:33
 omnis] omit 86, 89, d*, g, Ambst., Aug.
- Romans 2:16
 Christum] Christum Dominum nostrum τ⁵⁶, 61, PS-AU spe, Aug.

In some of the above, a corresponding variation is seen amongst the Greek witnesses, but most illustrate Latin internal variations only. We thus see readings from Spanish texts/provenances (PS-AU spe, and τ⁵⁶) as well as Insular (61, g), European (86, 89, d), and African (64), and in a variety of Latin fathers. We see across the spectrum, readings which are identical, which suggests a clear unity. Apparently we are viewing the remnants of an OL *version* which was known across most of the Western Empire. Hence, I feel confident to speak of a single Old Latin version, one which was known from North Africa to Ireland, and one which was quite literal as concerns its Greek exemplar.

This confirms a statement made by Petzer: [from: *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*. Studies and Documents, Vol. 46. Essay titled: The Latin Version of the New Testament, by Jacobus H. Petzer, page 123. 1995]:

Contrary to earlier opinion, which explained the great differences between the Latin versions as having originated from independent translations, it is currently generally believed that with a few—if any—exceptions, the whole known tradition goes back to a single translation of the Greek into Latin. All texts and text-types in the main line of development are consequently related in some way to this ancient version.

This OL version should provide NT textual critics with a fairly good window into the ancient Greek exemplar(s) which formed the basis of the very literal OL version. This is of significant value. Whereas the later revisions effected principally by Jerome, depart from this literalness, iron-out the rusticity of the Latin and incorporate readings from a slightly later Greek *vorlagen*. The Latin Vulgate is a fine translation, but compared to the OL version it is quite secondary in nature and of less value as far as textual criticism is concerned.

When one peruses some of the vast literature produced during the last 150 years upon OL manuscripts (such those seen in the series: *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, and in such journals as the *Journal of Theological Studies*) it becomes clear that there were two primary branches of the OL, the African and the European; and that amongst the Pauline epistles, the two branches did not deviate as much as they did in the gospel MSS testimony. [The researches of the Benedictine scholars, Dom de Bruyne and Dom Quentin also make this apparent]. The Pauline corpus seems not to have had as much Old Syriac influence as did the gospel tradition. It would appear vain to seek for the origins of the OL text of the Pauline epistles, amongst the remains of the Old Syriac.

One avenue of investigation was put forth by H. H. Glunz, he suggested that the Latin manuscripts were manipulated via...

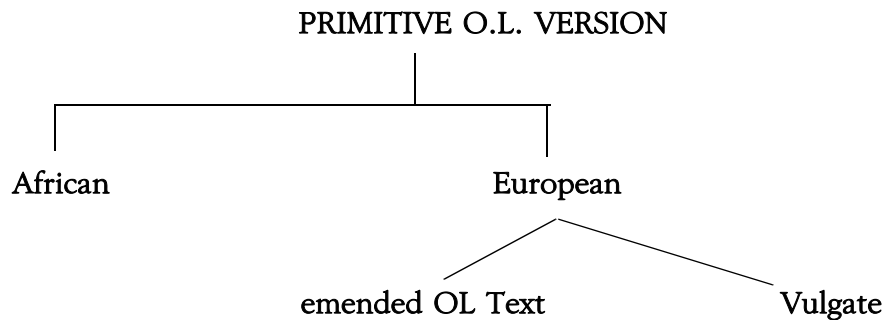
...the spur of the moment drove men to use the Bible as an effective weapon in the strife between good and evil, the character of the Vulgate text being then determined by the necessity of the moment, when certain readings from other sources accorded better with the purpose to be achieved.

[*The Vulgate in England*. page 22. Cambridge. 1933]

In other words, the scribes altered the OL (or, Vulgate per Glunz) manuscripts to suit their whims or theological arguments. No argument here, this certainly occurred; but perhaps more so in the Gospels text, or at least not as much as can be demonstrated in the Pauline corpus.

Novatian and Tertullian both utilized some sort of an OL version. Tertullian, as it is well known often translated directly from his Greek manuscripts, and consequently it is challenging to try to ascertain his source, an OL manuscript or his Greek manuscript? From whence did these early Latin fathers acquire their Greek manuscripts? This is the question.

There seems to have been a single original source for all the resulting OL manuscripts of the Pauline epistles, a single Greek stimulus. This original OL text began life either in Rome, southern Gaul or North Africa. It certainly did spread into these three areas at an early date, and from which area it first began may forever lie in the long lost annuals of history. Yet, the locale is not as important as knowing what was the Greek archetype. Here we might view the famous position put forth by F. C. Burkitt, that being that the Old Latin exists in only two main branches as opposed to three (suggested by Westcott and Hort, et al). In an article on the Corbeiensis Latin manuscript, in the journal, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. vii, 1906, Rev. E. S. Buchanan summarized the views of Burkitt thusly:



However, Burkitt additionally declared the African to be the oldest and best form of the OL, and that all others originated from it. Note:

The history of the European text would be that of a continuous development, or rather degeneration, from the African standard.

[*Text and Studies*. vol. iv, No. 3. The Old Latin and the Itala. page 15. F. C. Burkitt. Cambridge. 1896]

Though I am not as well informed as was Burkitt, I certainly agree with his proposal. Perhaps I can punctuate it with some further observations concerning Egypt.

Egypt looms to the forefront as the source for very early papyri for the regions of southern Gaul, North Africa and Rome. All three areas were involved in sea trade, Rome and Gaul also had land-based trade routes. Especially heavy was the shipping of corn and other agricultural products from North Africa to Rome and other parts of the Roman empire. Egypt also shipped grain, and commerce was known to be very active between all these Mediterranean ports, especially between Rome, Egypt and North Africa.

Christian missionary activity was strong in some restricted areas of Gaul but only since the second half of the second century (since A.D. 150), where Latin was one of the three primary languages. Holmes tells us:

The first historical event connected with the Church in Gaul of which we have any reliable evidence is that of the martyrdom of St. Pothinus and many of his flock at Lyons. This occurred in the summer of A.D. 177 during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180).

[*The Origin & Development of the Christian Church in Gaul During the First Six Centuries of the Christian Era.* page 34. T. Scott Holmes. London. 1911]

Irenaeus replaced the martyred Bishop of Lyons, Pothinus. Lyons is a city in south central France by the Rhine river—on an avenue to the Mediterranean to the south. Near the point where the Rhine flows into the Mediterranean lies the port city of Marseilles (formerly Massilia), a port which passed into Roman control in 121 B.C. from the Greeks. Just north of Marseilles was the true trading center for points northward, Arles. Lyons was a center from which the gospel flowed into Germania and Celtic lands. Who originally evangelized Lyons, and points south, is not known. There seem to be early ties with Asia Minor as well as with the traders from Rome, North Africa and Egypt. Yet, manuscripts being carried into Lyons, or even into North Africa must have been borne in the very early second century, perhaps as early as A.D. 120. From whence can one acquire manuscripts in A.D. 120?

The answer to the above question is most likely scriptoria in ancient religious centers such as Antioch or even Alexandria Egypt. Especially Antioch as missionary zeal was high in the early Syrian churches (eventually reaching even to China!). At this early date, good manuscripts had not settled into their respective text-types. What we have in A.D. 120, is copies not far removed from the originals. Evidence surviving from Egypt indicates that even at an early date copies of Biblical manuscripts IN EGYPT, were created

which apparently had many discrepancies, strange and wild readings which were generated by Egyptian copyists for a variety of reasons.

Though challenging, an observer today can detect clues surviving in the remaining OL manuscripts of the Pauline epistles, which connect with one of these early sources. If the source is Antioch, then we would expect to see readings/variants supporting the Antiochian text, and if the readings were aligned more so with the early papyri from Egypt then we could suspect Egypt as the source for the early manuscripts reaching Tertullian or Novatian (A.D. 200?-250), and Irenaeus.

Upon investigating these two avenues, we encounter a twofold problem:

(1) the early text in Egypt was quite wild, and very inconsistent.

(2) from Antioch (Syria and N. Palestine) no early (A.D. 100-200) documents survived, and the texts must be reconstructed from early surviving Byzantine, Syriac and Gothic sources, post A.D. 300.

Consequently we must proceed with some caution and the results may only be suggestive. The easiest route is to examine the earliest Egyptian papyri, and surmise from them the relationship with the OL texts, if they largely agree, then we can consider Egypt as the source, but if they rarely agree, then we can focus more so upon another region, most likely Syria.

Several papyri from Egypt will now be evaluated for OL agreements, an exhaustive treatment is not herein accomplished, but simply a general overview so as to "steer our ship in a particular direction".

When I examined papyri, P¹⁵, P¹⁶, and P⁴⁹ I found no distinctive agreements, in fact in nearly all cases the OL (notably PS-AU spe) did not agree with any of these papyri. Nor did I find any valid agreements with P²⁷ and P⁵¹. However this is to be expected when examining the OLDER papyri, as they rarely agreed over much of their content. It was hoped that a papyrus could be found which contained a fair number of OL readings. Finally, after some time researching, I began to evaluate P⁴⁶. In P⁴⁶ I did indeed find a goodly number of specific OL agreements. I shall present some of my findings below. When I present a reading as being of both OL and P⁴⁶, there are usually a few other Greek manuscripts also agreeing, but in no case are any Byzantine manuscripts involved, nor any form of the Syriac version. Instead we will see some Egyptian text-type manuscript agreements, notably codex B, (03, Vaticanus), and often some Bohairic or Sahidic manuscripts. All of these

are later than P⁴⁶ and of some of our OL manuscripts; thus these later Greek witnesses contain some OL readings and readings from earlier Egyptian papyri: these are recipients, not sources. Keep in mind that I have eliminated those readings which may have any Syriac or early Antiochian basis, we thus focus upon Egypt.

Also keep in mind, that P⁴⁶ is not *the* or possibly even *an* exemplar for the OL manuscripts. But a common ancestor, of a very ancient sort existing in Egypt, was probably the common parent. This could take us back to the very early second century (circa A.D. 100-120). When P⁴⁶ and a variety of OL manuscripts agree, we have a potent testimony, but one which ONLY concerns the **11** text, which may not be genuine). I shall exhibit a few of these interesting readings. Others, more diligent than I, may be able to fully examine other early Egyptian papyri and find more relationships with the OL.

The readings below are culled from a variety of sources: several from facsimile plates, some from Tischendorf, some from the efforts of those in the Beuron Institute, some from the Nestle/Aland Greek New Testaments, some from Merk's Greek/Latin edition, and some from Wordsworth and White. Most have been double checked. I use the Beuron numbers except for the Speculum (PS-AU spe) which I present as *m*. Also the Latin sides of Greek codices 06, 010, and 012 I show as *d*, *f*, *g* respectfully. In each case, we see OL readings agreeing with an early Egyptian papyrus, and not with any other early manuscripts of other locales.

Romans 8:34
read ἀπα δε Χριστος per P⁴⁶, and 61

Romans 9:12
omit αυτη per P⁴⁶ and *d*

Romans 9:20
omit μενουυτε per P⁴⁶ and *d, f, g*

Romans 11:17
omit της ριζης per P⁴⁶ and *d, f, g*

Romans 13:1
omit ψυχη per P⁴⁶ and *m*

Romans 13:14

read word order Ιησουν Χριστον του Κυριου ημων per P⁴⁶ and τ

Romans 15:14

omit και αυτοι per P⁴⁶ and m

Romans 15:14

omit ρου per P⁴⁶ and m

Romans 15:19

insert αυτου (eius) per P⁴⁶ and m

I Corinthians 1:22

omit και¹ per P⁴⁶ and 54, θ^S, Σ^A

I Corinthians 3:10

omit του Θεου per P⁴⁶ and Ω^C, κ^P

I Corinthians 8:6

omit αλλα per P⁴⁶ and 89

II Corinthians 3:18

omit παντες per P⁴⁶ and m

II Corinthians 4:14

omit Κυριον per P⁴⁶ and 64

II Corinthians 8:5

Κυριω] Θεω per P⁴⁶ and 61, f

II Corinthians 9:4

λεγωμεν (dicamus)] λεγω (dicam) per P⁴⁶ and m

II Corinthians 12:19

omit εν Χριστω per P⁴⁶ and 89, d

Galatians 1:6

omit Χριστου per P⁴⁶ and 89, g

Galatians 2:9

read word order Ιακωβος και Πετρος per P⁴⁶ and 64

Galatians 5:25

omit και per P⁴⁶ and 89, d, g

Ephesians 2:4

omit αυτου per P⁴⁶ and 64

Ephesians 3:20

omit υπερ per P⁴⁶ and *d, f, g*

Ephesians 4:28

omit ιδιας (suis) per P⁴⁶, P⁴⁹ vid, *m*

As you can see not all of the Pauline epistles were examined, but enough to substantiate my point: that many OL readings can be seen in an early Egyptian papyrus, namely P⁴⁶.

The above list is by no means exhaustive, I selected the important agreements, and there are many OL manuscripts remaining which I did not examine. Thus, we are only viewing a SMALL PORTION of the agreements between P⁴⁶ and the OL manuscripts. On the other side of the issue, we see a very few readings wherein the OL seems to have just Byzantine support, note:

I Corinthians 14:18

insert που per the Textus Receptus, Greek uncials K and L

Romans 12:3

insert του θεου per many Byzantine MSS, Greek uncial L, τ, Syriac

Additionally, contrary to P⁴⁶, we find OL (MS 64) adding: "in" in the text of Ephesians 2:5. One must not think that P⁴⁶ always contains the foundation for a Latin translation; however it seems to support the OL tradition more so, than not supporting OL readings.

You will find no papyri supporting the above two samples (those for the Byzantine text-type), although in Oxyrhynchus it seems anything is possible! From the above presentation, the Byzantine alignments of the OL manuscripts seem to be the exception and an observer can say that there is a link between an early Egyptian papyrus and the OL manuscript tradition. Thus, I wish to declare that I believe that the Greek manuscripts which a Cyprian or a Tertullian or a Honoratus used were from Egypt. It is no leap to accept the concept that I believe the OL manuscripts to have their origins in Greek exemplars from Egypt, as concerns the Pauline corpus.

When the great minds of the past connected the **W** text with Syria and or Rome, they were focusing upon the texts of the Gospels or Acts. I would agree that both of these areas could indeed be the centers of origin for these texts, but not for the Pauline corpus. Not many folks, at this stage would agree that the origins of the **W** text is to be found in a few early Egyptian

papyri. Even Albert Clark in his monograph upon the *Acts of the Apostles* when he proposed Egypt as the source, was focusing upon the Acts portion of the NT only. Although Clark did illuminate a few points which are useful to my theory.

(1) The use of sense-lines such as are found in Codex 05, appear in a number of Egyptian bilinguals. This colometry is an ancient inheritance from Egypt. (One might include Codex Claromontanus (06) here as well.).

(2) That the Latin side of 05 is quite faulty, suggesting that it was composed by someone who had a poor knowledge of Latin (thus Tischendorf suggests Alexandria Egypt as the locale for this scribe; per Clark).

(3) Various papyri found in Egypt agree remarkably so with the text of 05, as do a number of passages in the Sahidic. Canon order is similar to ancient Egyptian documents (such as 032). Lastly, Clark points out that the nomina sacra (abbreviations) seen on 05, are typical for Egypt. (Good point)

Hence, Clark says that the "cumulative evidence points to Egypt as the birthplace of D". [*The Acts of the Apostles*, pages lxii ff.. Albert C. Clark. Oxford. 1933].

In my opinion, I find it much easier to accept the possibility that the origin of the Western text-type of the Pauline epistles is in early Egypt, for some of the same reasons Clark adduces for his Acts (05) origin theory!

It is well known that we can see in many Insular affected Latin MSS, a mixture of Celtic and Irish elements in the artwork and illuminations. However, it is not so well known that there also exists an apparent Egyptian connection. In the Coptic Glazier (C^{G67}) which contains the first portion of Acts and is dated circa A.D. 375-425 [per Epp], we note an illumination of an Egyptian ankh with two peacocks. In the ankh we see the very same interlacing artwork seen in the Insular MSS, especially the Book of Durrow! We also note similar colors (pastels et al). [note: *Koptische Buchmalerei*, Recklinghausen. 1964; and *Coptic Art*, pages 232ff.. K. Wessel. London. 1965]. Further, jars, made in the East, have been unearthed along the coasts of Ireland, Scotland and England, and the same jars have been found in Coptic monasteries. [note: *Dark Age Britain*, pages 59 ff.. in C. A. Raleigh Radford article:

"Imported Pottery at Tintagel, Cornwall", London. 1956]. These jars were transported by ship, again exposing the early sea trade which existed between these Islands and Egypt and Mediterranean ports. An early Irish manuscript—the Orosius of Bobbio—has a portion similar to some Coptic bindings [per *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, article title: "Les origines de la miniature irlandaise". pages 5 ff.. 1950], as noted in *The Book of Kells*, page 213. Françoise Henry. New York. 1988. Henry also points out the similar poses of some of the evangelists with those of Osiris paintings seen in the Coptic museum, these nearly identical poses seem to not be any kind of an accident!

F. Henry [ibid, *The Book of Kells*], also suggests that other monks from Ireland had, like Cassian, journeyed to Egypt. It is assumed that these monks brought back manuscripts with them. All told, there appears to be many reasons why Egyptian papyrus exemplars appear in Ireland before 500 and even before A.D. 400. I find the fact that most bilingual manuscripts (papyri and parchments) unearthed in Egypt, usually are written in sense-lines. Such a format is seen in numerous Old Latin manuscripts, for example codex *d*; consider as well, Amiatinus, codex Corbeiensis and the Geissen Gothic-Latin fragment. This type of colometry may assist with reading as the translations are easier to compare, in a sense-line format.

The Gothic texts should also be examined, as we know that they probably impacted the OL texts in Italy and Gaul *after* the Frankish invasion (post circa A.D. 476). However, this linguistic impact had its effects upon the latter Vulgate recension as opposed to affecting the earlier (pre-A.D. 476) OL manuscripts.

Recall, that I call or refer to the OL manuscripts, collectively, as THE Western Text-Type. It is from within this mass of OL manuscripts that we find any sort of an early text-type maturing in the West. The latter Vulgate MSS and recension simply form a late single branch with its roots in the OL. It makes no sense to me, to call the late form a Western Text-Type, the early form is the true **𐌆** text-type. Jerome and others smoothed out the Latin, made it more Latin-like, added some intentional theological changes (a few can be demonstrated) and rejected early literal Latin renderings of the Greek, they referred to a few newer Greek manuscripts. In my mind Jerome's work (if even he did translate the Pauline corpus), parallels the modern method of dynamic equivalence, though this only seems true for the Pauline epistles. Whatever literalness remains in the Vulgate of the Pauline epistles, was/is due to following the lead of the OL manuscripts.

Compare these samples of the Clementine Vulgate with a fine OL manuscript, the Speculum:(Sessorianus, 58)

Clementine Vulgate I Corinthians 3:17	Speculum I Corinthians 3:17
Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Deus. Templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos.	Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit, violabit illum Deus; templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos.
I Corinthians 12:4	I Corinthians 12:4
Divisiones vero gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus:	Divisiones autem donationum sunt, idem vero Spiritus.

In the 3:17 quote, note that the Vulgate alters the second verb, to read *disperdet*. Whereas the Speculum retains the same verb in both phrases. The Greek original also had the same verb type in both phrases: φθειρει, which like *violaverit* means "corruption". Thus the Speculum follows more closely the Greek original here. Further, the Vulgate's *disperdet* injects an unwarranted meaning, for it means "destroy, ruin"—which you can read in the Douay version—which meaning is more than simply "violate".

In the 12:4 quote, we may be observing the source of the confusion which the Roman Catholic church inherited from Augustine, as concerns the "graces". The original Greek term: χαρισματα (*charismata*) means "gifts", the context gives the various types of gifts meant. The Speculum reads *donationum* which is quite literal, it too means "gifts"; Suetonius used the term to mean the dole given by the emperor to his soldiers. Later it was applied to any type of gift or present. The Vulgate's *gratiarum* means "graces", a favor or courtesy. A "grace" is an act or expression, whereas a "gift" is an object.

The Roman Catholic Church however has a very confused definition of "grace" or "graces", to them it/they can mean: a favor, a gift, free and undeserved help, a participation in the life of God, can be supernatural, it can be a deifying grace received in baptism, graces can be habitual or actual, justification by the Spirit is called a grace, gifts given to believers via the Holy Spirit, graces can be sacramental, there are special graces and graces of state,

and finally; "grace can only be known by faith". [All definitions taken from: *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, pages 538 ff.. Copyright in part via the Citta del Vaticano, and the Holy See. Doubleday, New York. 1994].

Elsewhere in the Corinthian epistles we find both the Speculum and the Vulgate using other words to translate the same basic Greek word: χάρισμα. So neither one is consistent, but in the above sample we do note the good and accurate translation seen in the Speculum. Why the confusions, why the alterations? perhaps early Roman Catholic theology may play a role.

Along with early readings, artwork, and manuscript construction styles we also note the Egyptian type of monasticism migrating to St. Lérins, Gaul and Ireland. Several agents introduced Egyptian monasticism to the Romans. Athanasius introduced the type and rules of Egyptian monasticism to Romans, and Western Bishops when he was in Rome, circa A.D. 344. Honoratus, Cassian and other eager Christians quickly ingested the Egyptian system and began living it. As concerns Gaul we may quote the venerable Abbot Gasquet:

...it may be said that the available evidence "amply justifies the statement that Gallic monachism during the fifth and sixth centuries was thoroughly Egyptian in both theory and practice".

[*English Monastic Life*, page 6. London. 1904. Gasquet quotes from Dom Cuthbert Butler's article in *Texts and Studies*, vol. vi, No. 1. page 247, concerning the Lausiatic History].

Cassian, an avid devotee and practitioner of Egyptian monasticism, spent some 15 years—beginning in the early 380s—studying on-site, Egyptian monastic life, notably in Scetis and Diolcos. He left Egypt in circa 399 passed through Constantinople and was somewhat influenced meeting John Chrysostom. Eventually Cassian began to fulfill his life's mission, establishing monasteries in Gaul. His first monastery was in Marseilles, circa 410. He had a dynamic influence with the great monastery of St. Lérins and Honoratus, as Stewart states:

Cassian dedicates [i.e. some of his writings known as the *Conferences*] them to Honoratus, still superior of the "enormous" cenobium at Lérins, and to Eucherius, monk of Lérins and author of the treatises *In Praise of the Desert* and *On Contempt for the World*, who later became bishop of Lyons. Cassian provides Honoratus the teaching of the Egyptian anchorites for use in the cenobium at Lérins.

[*Cassian the Monk*, page 18. Columba Stewart. Oxford University Press. 1998]

Thus, we come to understand how early monastic life in Gaul was based upon Egyptian models. According to the *Dictionary of Saints* [John J. Delaney, page 447f.. Doubleday. 1980], St. Patrick of Ireland spent three years studying at the monastery of St. Lérins, and then 15 years at Auxerre (in central Gaul). He most likely brought into Ireland this Egyptian type of monasticism which he mixed with the Celtic type of Ireland—before the missionary Augustine "invaded" England and instilled the Benedictine model upon the Insular divines.

There is no doubt in my mind, that Saint Patrick probably encountered, saw and may have used Greek manuscripts brought to Gaul by Honoratus; behind this thought lies the probable fact that Honoratus and Cassian both used manuscripts which Cassian surely brought from Egypt. This scenario supports my hypothesis that the Latin text which filtered into Europe and even to northern Italy was highly influenced by, or based entirely upon early Egyptian Greek papyri. These early Latin translations became the Old Latin version, seen at Bobbio and St. Gall and at Dublin and throughout much of Europe.

Conclusion

In the above essay, I have striven, however brief, to validate the following claims:

(1) That the Western text-type, *as concerns the Pauline epistles*, had its origins in early Egypt, in the papyri before they themselves became molded into a single and later Alexandrine text-type.

(2) That the phrase or title "Western text-type" as far as New Testament textual criticism is concerned, should be restricted to only encompass the Old Latin version, as concerns the Pauline epistles.

(3) That the Old Latin version of the Pauline epistles, is probably a single identifiable version. That it had divided into various regions and thus contains numerous slight variations based upon the locale.

(4) That the latter Vulgate version (recension) is not the true Western text-type, but is rather a later branch stemming from the earlier actual text-type, the OL.

(5) That the OL version is valuable in ascertaining the early Egyptian papyrus used to produce the Latin translation. The OL version itself, only gives a view into a very limited number of papyri, as only a few Egyptian papyri contained the wild readings which were the basis of the early OL version of the Pauline corpus. (*Alert readers may conclude that the whole foundation of the OL rests, in my mind, upon a few aberrant Egyptian papyri!*).

(6) And lastly, that the OL version itself did not "evolve" via changing Greek Vorlagen. The OL version was basically quite stable, its changes were mainly altered synonyms, word order changes, and various errors of transmission. Hence, changes of renderings, not readings. The latter Vulgate did include later Greek readings which did impact its text.

It is my hope that this study may encourage others to inquire into this vast arena of Latin manuscript studies, and that by doing so may improve, correct or clarify my hypotheses.

