

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SPLIT TEXT-TYPES FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT

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The significance of splits in text-types has been overlooked in Majority text (hereafter MT) studies. It will be shown in this paper that when any text-type splits, one party to the split will retain the reading of the Majority text (MT), at the place where the other party diverges from it.

List 1 was the key research that led to this paper. It gives every instance in the Gospel of Matthew where the unsplit Caesarean text-type is different from the Majority text. The Caesarean text is made up of two families of manuscripts, Family 1 and Family 13. List 1 is a register of 176 differences which gives us the earliest state of the Caesarean text in Matthew before the split occurred.¹ It so happens that the Egyptian text fully agrees with the Caesarean text in these 176 differences.²

Given that the Egyptian text-type (as represented by the Aleph-B text) differs from the Byzantine text (as represented by von Soden's Koine text and Robinson-Pierpont's text), and that the Caesarean text agrees fully with the Egyptian in List 1, it would appear from this list, taken on its own, that the Caesarean text is a strong supporter of the Egyptian text. However, this would be a misleading conclusion to draw from this one list. Elsewhere, the united Caesarean text agrees with the Byzantine text in opposition to the Egyptian text-type, 1,629 times, in the Gospel of Matthew, showing just how close the Caesarean text was, and is, to the Byzantine text.³

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¹ The following charts have been compiled by the writer using the textual volumes of Reuben Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Matthew* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). Others who influenced the final shape of this research were Prof. Roy David Hampton (West Point, USA), Dr Peter Head (Cambridge), and Dr Graham Thomason (Tadworth, Surrey).

² The differences consist of 48 omissions, 14 additions, and 27 word order changes. The rest are substitutions and spelling differences.

³ The Caesarean text consists of some twenty-six manuscripts split into two families, *f*1 and *f*13. Family 1 comprises 15 manuscripts, namely: **1**, **22**, **118**, 131, 205, 205abs[chrift], **209**, 872, 884, **1192**, **1210**, 1278, **1582**, 2193, and 2542 (von Soden's MSS are in bold font). Family 13 comprises 13 MSS: 13, 69, 124, 174, 230, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689 and 1709. In comparison to the 5,000+ Byzantine manuscripts, the Caesarean text-type is a minority off-shoot of the Majority (Byzantine) text. See Jacob Geerlings, *Family 13 in Matthew, Luke, and John* (SD 19, 20, 21: Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1961-62). Kirsopp Lake did more than any other scholar to identify the Caesarean text in Family 1,

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SPLITS IN TEXT-TYPES

Collating the agreements and disagreements between splits in the Egyptian and Caesarean text-types in the Gospel of Matthew brought to light a remarkable fact. It was discovered that when the Caesarean text split into *f*1 and *f*13, one or other family of manuscripts *always* agrees with the Byzantine reading *at the point of disagreement* (bar a handful of exceptions).⁴ In all of Matthew there were just six cases (see Chart 1, list 4, numbered down the right hand side of the chart) where the Caesarean text was united against the Byzantine text and against the Egyptian text. These six readings are unique *at the text-type level* to the united Caesarean text. (Note the qualification of the term ‘unique’ here.) This shows that triple variation is extremely rare.

The same statistical discovery that was found in the Caesarean text was also found in the united Egyptian text. When the Egyptian text split into Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, it was discovered that one or other of these manuscripts will *always* agree with the Byzantine reading *at the point of their disagreement*, bar the usual handful of exceptions. In all of Matthew there were only six cases (Chart 1, list 4) where the Egyptian text was united against the Caesarean text and against the Byzantine text. There remains, however, list 1 in Chart 1 where the united Caesarean text and the united Egyptian text agree against the Universal (Byzantine) text in 176 places, and the full list of these is given below.

Family 13, Q (038, Koridethi Codex; Caesarean only in Mk), 565, 700, and 28, see K. Lake and R. P. Blake, “The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex,” *HTR* 16 (1923) 267-86. M. Robinson reported that 26 MSS have moved the Pericope Adulterae to the end of John’s Gospel, which is where *f*1 places it, see Maurice A. Robinson, “Preliminary Observations Regarding the *Pericope Adulterae* Based Upon Fresh Collations of Nearly All Continuous-Text Manuscripts and All Lectionary Manuscripts Containing the Passage,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 13 (2000) 35-59, esp. p. 42. The Caesarean text is not found outside the Gospels. In this connection see J. Tim Gallagher, “A Study of von Soden’s H-text in the Catholic Epistles,” *AUSS* 8 (1970) 97-119; but see also M. M. Carder, “A Caesarean text in the Catholic Epistles?” *NTS* 16 (1970) 252-70. For a devastating critique of her 1968 Th.D. dissertation on the same topic, see W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles* (SBL Dissertation Series 35; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977) 202-06.

⁴ K. Lake made the same observation on *f*1. He noted that ‘when the members of this group do not support one another, they usually have the reading of ς .’ Here ς stands for the *Textus Receptus*; see Kirsopp Lake, *Codex 1 of the Gospels and Its Allies*; in *Texts and Studies*, vol. 7 (ed. by J. A. Robinson; Cambridge: University Press, 1902) lxxiii.

It is obvious from these statistics that when a split occurs in either the Caesarean or the Egyptian texts, one of the parties from each text-type will *always* be identical with the Byzantine text. For this to occur, the text underlying the Caesarean and the Egyptian texts must be the Universal (Byzantine) text. It is the purpose of this article to put forward the evidence for the view that it is the Universal (Majority) text that other text-types have modified. In other words, the Majority text is the base text.

Note that in the following charts the numbering of the lists was determined by the need to link combinations of agreements between *f1*, *f13*, Vaticanus, and Sinaiticus, with a view to establishing a unified theory of descent between these two text-types, as set out in Chart 3. The list numbers may be in a different order in Charts 1–3, but the contents stay the same in each of the 24 lists.⁵

CHARTS 1–3 GO IN HERE (3 sheets) PLACE CHARTS 1 AND 2 FACING EACH OTHER TO
ASSIST IN THEIR COMPARISON
NEXT, IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE 3 CHARTS, PUT IN HERE “EXPLANATION OF
SIGLA’ (1 sheet)
FOLLOW THIS WITH “LIST 1. 176 CAESAREAN VARIANTS . . . “ (5 sheets)

1. *The danger of a small base.* Critical texts based on a small number of manuscripts are in danger of disenfranchising the majority of other witnesses to the original text. An eclectic text, by its very nature, assumes that the original text has disintegrated so badly in places that no one text, or text-type, can be relied upon to convey the original wording of the Gospels. The current thinking is that the original text has to be put back together again (like Humpty Dumpty) by the skill of man. Thus we have as many ‘original texts’ as we have textual scholars. Each editor did, and still does, what is right in his own eyes, always claiming, of course, to be ‘scientific’ in his approach and method.

The forgivable mistake that Erasmus made was to extract his final text of the four Gospels from an extremely small base of three manuscripts, two of which represented the Caesarean text-type (MSS 1 and 69), and one represented the Byzantine text (MS 2)—and not a very good specimen of it.

The unforgivable mistake that Westcott and Hort made was to extract their text of the Gospels from an extremely small base of two local, Egyptian manuscripts, neither of which was in actual use in any living congregation when found. Hort regarded the *aB* combination as the original text except

⁵ There may be slight differences in the totals in each list but these take account of the instances where all three text-types differ from each other when they split up.

for a few slips of the quill.⁶ He believed that B and a were derived *independently* from a common original, at no great distance from the autographs. Yet Vaticanus, during its existence, had been discarded twice, and on both occasions bookworms had eaten through the front and back of the codex, eating away almost all of Genesis and from Hebrews 9:14 to the end of the New Testament. When the lost text had been restored and the volume rebound, it was again discarded and the bookworms got at it again as can be seen in the Vatican Library to this day. Sinaiticus was rescued by Tischendorf halfway through being burnt in the Monastery of St Catherine, by the monks, not by the enemies of Christianity. The monks evidently recognised that Sinaiticus was a faulty copy of the original, Universal text, and not worth keeping.

⁶ B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (2 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1907) Introduction, 250, 259-60 (§§330, 343); see also Calvin L. Porter, "Papyrus Bodmer XV (P75) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus," *JBL* 81 (1962) 363-76, esp. p. 365.

CHART 1. THE EVOLUTION OF THE CAESAREAN TEXT IN MATTHEW
SET ALONGSIDE THE BYZANTINE, EGYPTIAN AND WESTERN TEXTS

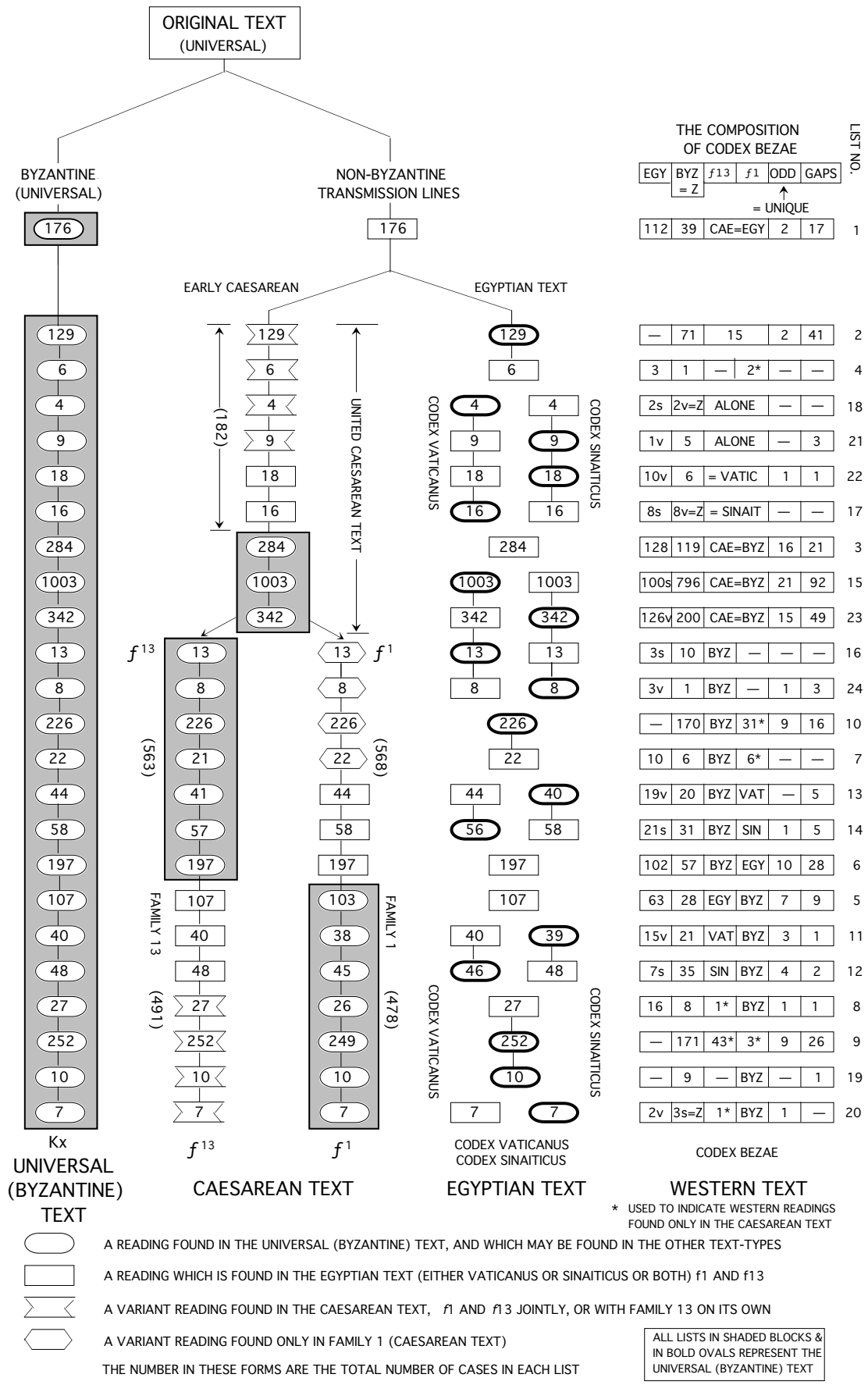


CHART 2: THE EVOLUTION OF THE EGYPTIAN & WESTERN TEXTS IN MATTHEW

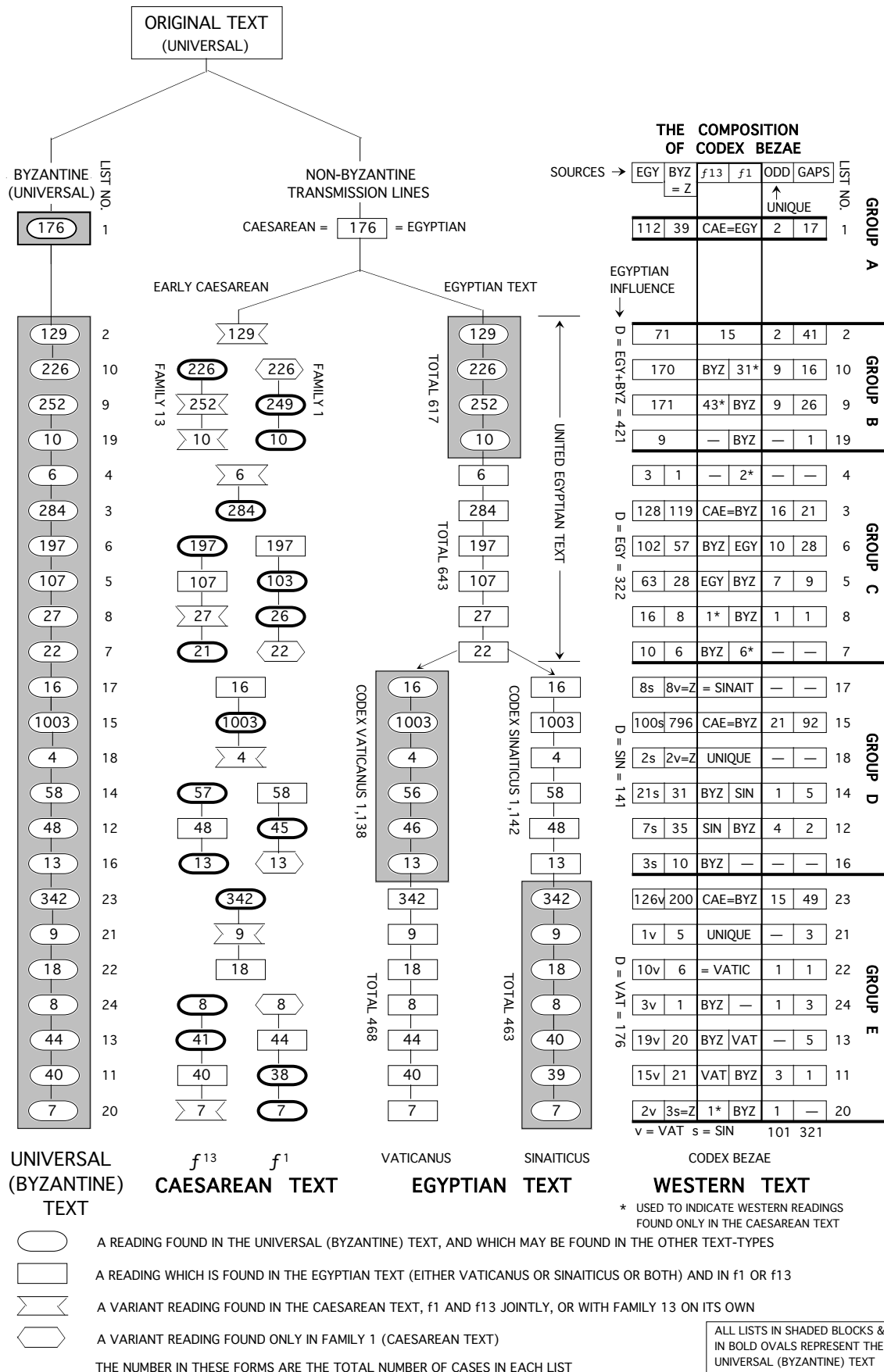
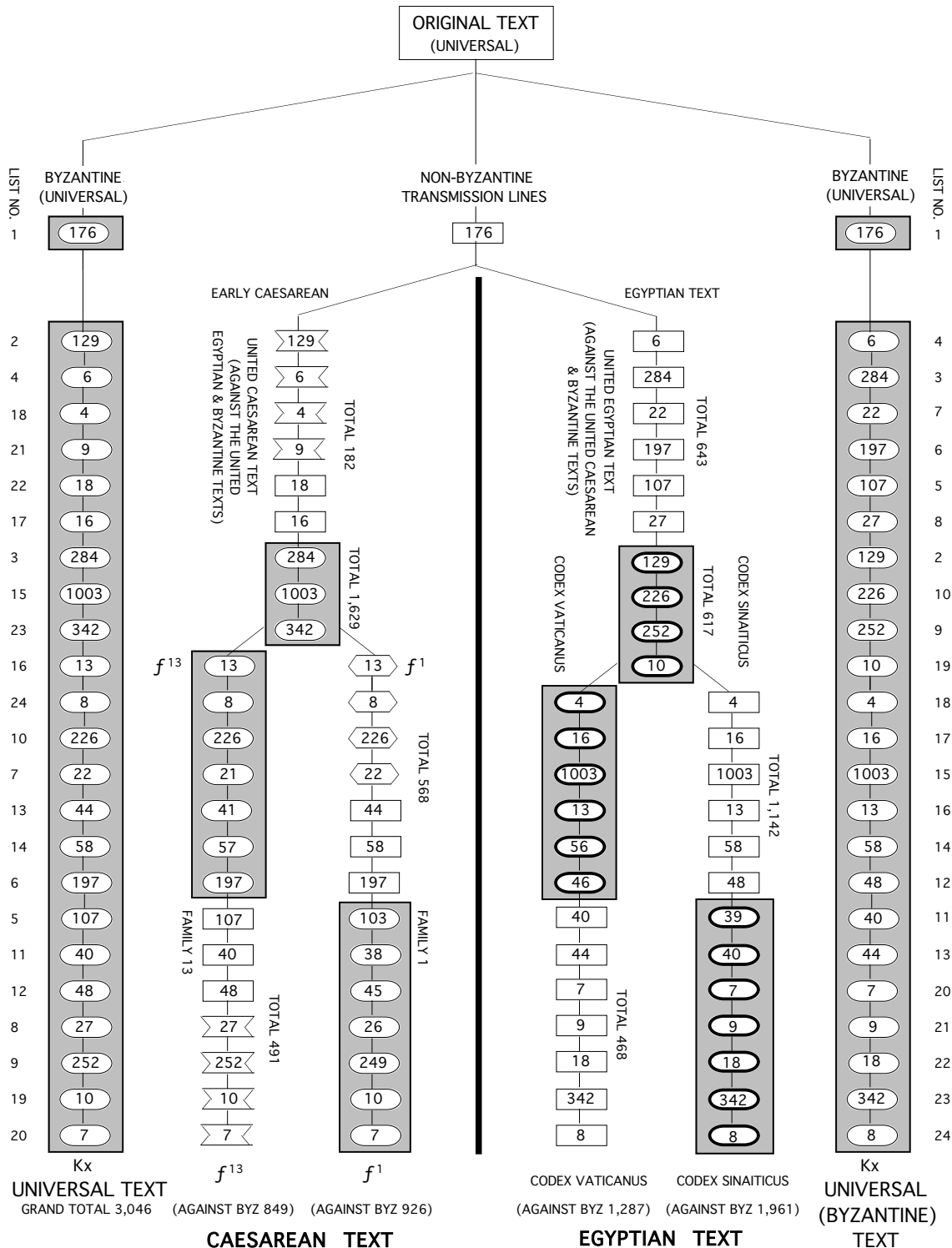


CHART 3. THE EVOLUTION OF THE CAESAREAN AND EGYPTIAN TEXTS IN MATTHEW
 EVERY VARIANT OF f1, f13, VATICANUS & SINAITICUS COLLATED AGAINST THE BYZANTINE KOINE TEXT



- A READING FOUND IN THE UNIVERSAL (BYZANTINE) TEXT, AND WHICH MAY BE FOUND IN THE OTHER TEXT-TYPES
 - A READING WHICH IS FOUND IN THE EGYPTIAN TEXT (EITHER VATICANUS OR SINAITICUS OR BOTH) & OTHER TEXT-TYPES
 - A VARIANT READING FOUND IN THE CAESAREAN TEXT, f1 AND f13 JOINTLY, OR WITH FAMILY 13 ON ITS OWN
 - A VARIANT READING FOUND ONLY IN FAMILY 1 (CAESAREAN TEXT)
- THE NUMBER IN THESE FORMS ARE THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES IN EACH LIST

ALL LISTS IN SHADED BLOCKS & IN BOLD OVALS REPRESENT THE UNIVERSAL (BYZANTINE) TEXT

EXPLANATION OF SIGLA

McFALL'S GENERAL CLASSIFICATION

STANDARD CLASSIFICATION FOR MANUSCRIPTS WITH DATES IN BRACKETS

BYZANTINE READING GIVEN FIRST FOLLOWED BY NON-BYZANTINE READINGS

THE COLLATIONS OF 44 MSS WERE TAKEN FROM R. SWANSON'S VOLUMES ON *NEW TESTAMENT GREEK MANUSCRIPTS*. ONLY THOSE MSS WHICH WERE EXTANT FOR ALL FOUR GOSPELS WERE CHOSEN. FRESH COLLATIONS OF **N**, **B**, AND **E** WERE MADE BY THE AUTHOR

VARIANT SEPARATOR

WORD ORDER IN SWANSON'S LAYOUT (IMPOSED BY LMF)

GOSPEL REFERENCE (J = JOHN)

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

BYZANTINE || OTHER VARIANTS

J1:13 (9-10) οὐδε ev || οὐδεν
 J1:18 (3) εἰπακεν || εἰπακεν
 J1:15 (6) κερκευει || ---ye

PRINTED	COMPLUTEN	I + #	←	COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOTT - (PRINTED 1514) PUBLISHED 1522
	ERASMUS	I I I	←	ERASMUS FIRST EDITION - 1516
UNIVERSAL TEXT	TEXTUS REC	I + #	←	BEZA FOURTH EDITION - 1598
	VON SODEN APPARATUS	I ✓ N	←	VON SODEN'S EDITION - 1913 ✓ = COLLATED BY VON SODEN / - = NOT COLLATED / N = NOTE IN APPENDIX BY L MFALL
BYZANTINE TEXTS	Kx (550)	I I I	←	KOINE GROUP "x" (550 MSS) DEFINED BY VON SODEN
	Kr (221)	I I I	←	KOINE GROUP "r" (221 MSS) DEFINED BY VON SODEN
	Kl (64 MSS)	I I I	←	KOINE GROUP "l" (64 MSS) DEFINED BY VON SODEN (IOTA OR JERUSALEM GROUP)
	E (VIII)	I I I	←	KOINE GROUP "i" (4 MSS) DEFINED BY VON SODEN
	F (IX)	I I I		
	G (IX)	I I I		
	H (IX)	I I I		
	M (IX)	I + #		
	S (IX)	I I #		
	Ω (IX)	I I #		
	Y (IX)	I + #		
	Λ (IX)	I I I		
	U (IX)	I + #		
700 (XI)	I + #			
CAESAREAN TEXTS	Δ (IX)	I I I		
	2 (XII)	I I I	←	ERASM
	579 (XIII)	I I I		
	28 (XI)	I 0 #		
	1424 (IX/X)	I I I		
	157 (1122)	I + #		
	K (IX)	I I #		
	Π (IX)	I I I		
	ψ (IX/X)	I I I		
	565 (IX)	I + #		
	1 (XII)	I I I	←	ERASM
	118 (XIII)	I + #		
	1582 (948)	I I I		
13 (XIII)	I + I			
EGYPTIAN TEXTS	69 (XV)	I + #	←	ERASM
	124 (XI)	I + #		
	788 (XI)	I + #		
	346 (XII)	I + 0		
	P66 (200)	# I I		
	P75 (III)	I I #		
	Br	I + I	←	Br = RESTORER/RE-INKER OF VATICANUS - PRE-A.D. 1475
	B (IV)	I 0 I	←	CORRECTIONS TO VATICANUS APPEAR ON THIS LINE APART FROM THOSE BY Br
	N (IV)	ϕ I I		
	W (V)	S S S	←	SUPPLEMENT TO REPLACE LOST TEXT
	C (V)	I I #	←	MARGINAL READING (BYZANTINE SUPPORT)
	D (V/VI)	# I	←	DOTS INDICATE A LACUNAE
	1071 (XII)	# I T	←	TRANSPosed TEXT (T1 T2)
N (VI)		←	BLANK SPACE INDICATES THAT NO TEXT IS EXTANT	
L (VIII)	I I I			
33 (IX)	I = I	←	= USED FOR NO EVIDENCE GIVEN IN SWANSON'S APPARATUS (OVERSIGHT)	
Θ (IX)	I I I			
A (V)	I I I			
P (VI)				
W-H (1881)	I I I	←	WESTCOTT-HORT - 1881/ #] = TEXT IN DOUBLE BRACKETS/ #? = TEXT IN SINGLE BRACKETS	
NU (1993)	I I I	←	NESTLE-ALAND 28TH EDITION - 2012/ 4TH UNITED BIBLE SOCIETY EDITION REVISED - 1994	

THE THREE BOXED MANUSCRIPTS WERE USED BY ERASMUS TO CREATE HIS FIRST EDITION OF THE FOUR GOSPELS IN 1516

THE ABOVE CHART AND THE FOLLOWING TEXT (BELOW) SHOULD BE OPPOSITE ONE ANOTHER.

CLARIFICATION NOTES

All variants in the following charts were registered under two readings, 'Egyptian' (♣) and 'Byzantine' (I), which are given in Greek in the headings, unless it was obvious that we have a third reading, in which case it was registered using the # sign (most frequently 'Caesarean').

Once a reading was judged to fall into the I- or ♣-category then any slight change in morphology was carefully registered (which may be phonetic or phonemic) using numbers. Numbers 2, 3, and 4 register variants within the I-category. Number 1 was not used to avoid confusion with I, instead † was used. This symbol was used most often to register the absence of moveable Nu (ν ἐφέλικυστικόν) or moveable Sigma. Numbers 6, 7, and 8 were used to register variants within the ♣-category. If there was doubt over which of the two categories to register a minority reading (and which was not Caesarean) then number 5 was used; but these instances were very rare. Singular readings were registered under number 9 or †. The important thing was to register every morphological difference (even down to the moveable Nu), as these could help to link two or more manuscripts.

Experience had shown that the vast bulk of all variants come under 'Egyptian' (♣) or 'Byzantine' (I), with variations on these. The Western text proved to be an eclectic text drawing on both categories, plus its own input. The Caesarean text proved to be a universal (Byzantine) text with some early Egyptian influence, plus its own input.


Although Swanson's collation is a very accurate work it was decided to make a fresh collation of Vaticanus (including the re-inker's text, as Br⁷), Sinaiticus, Codex Basilensis (E/07), and von Soden's Koine texts: Kx, Kr, Ki, and Kl (all Byzantine). These collations were first entered on a data-chart base; then independent collations were made of the following printed texts: Complutensian Polyglot, Erasmus's first edition, Beza's last edition, Westcott & Hort, von Soden, and the Nestle-Aland 27th edition (which is no different from the 28th edition). This procedure vastly increased the number of columns, but it also meant that 44 of Swanson's manuscripts could be register for or against these

⁷ An interesting observation to come out of registering Br is that whoever re-inked Codex Vaticanus (its readings are placed immediately on the line above B in List 1) did so using a Caesarean manuscript, as the consistent policy of the re-inker was not to re-ink the moveable Nu in Vaticanus, which omission is characteristic of Caesarean manuscripts. To avoid complicating List 1 the readings of Br have been deleted for this publication so as to present the Egyptian text on its own.

readings. If there are any slight errors in Swanson's collations these will not be detrimental to the final conclusions of this paper.

The data base was organised on the following definition of a printed Greek word, namely, a word is a series of letters bounded by blank spaces. The object behind this data base was to bring to the fore phonemic differences, because it was recognised that phonetic differences can be the result of policy decisions by individual scribes. So, for example, it is well-known that –ει– in Vaticanus becomes –ι– in Sinaiticus. This can be seen in the replacement sheets in Sinaiticus where we have the predictable substitutions κεινουντες/ κινουντες; Πειλιτος/ Πιλατος; Γαλειλιαν/ Γαλιλιαν; and Ηειλαν/ Ηιλιαν, by scribe D. On other occasions Vaticanus will have –ει– where all other mss have –ι–, as in the spelling of Νεικοδημος and Γαλειλαιαν. Sometimes the same scribe can spell the same word in two different ways (ειπον/ειπαν)!⁸ These phonetic differences have no phonemic value. Accordingly, when this paper claims that when splits occur in text-types one side of the split will always contain the Universal (Byzantine) text, this observation will always be true at the phonemic level, even though slight phonetic differences may be involved on rare occasions.

⁸ Π⁶⁶ has σπιρων at John 4:36 and σπειρων at 4:37.

		MANUSCRIPT SIGLA		BYZANTINE=I || OTHER VARIANTS =  or #				
		M8:32 (22-23) των χοιρων [κατα] || omit		M9:1 (4) το [πλοιο] || omit		M9:17 (24) απολυνται || απολυνται		
		M9:24 (1-2) λεγει αυτοις || ελεγεν		M10:10 (20) εστιν [εις ην] || omit		M10:19 (19) λαλησετε || λαλησητε		
		M10:23 (12) αλλη || ετεραν		M11:5 (12) omit || και [νεκρο]		M11:8 (19) βασιλειων || βασιλειων		
		M11:13 (12) προφητευσαν || επιροφητ---		M11:16 (16-17) και προσφωνουν || α π-υπτα		M11:17 (1) και λεγουσιν || omit		
		M12:3 (13) αυτος [και οι] || omit		M12:13 (6-8) την χειρα σου || 3|2		M12:22 (16) και λαλειν || omit		
		M12:32 (31) νυν [αων] || omit		M13:16 (13) ακουει || ακουουσιν		M13:24 (12) σπειρον || ---ραυτ		
		M13:51 (11) Κυριε [ο δε] || omit		M13:52 (11-13) εις τ-βασιλειων || τη βασιλεια		M13:54 (14) εκκλητησεθα || εκκλητησεθα		
		M14:12 (10) σωμα || πτωμα		M14:13 (1-2) και ακουσα || 2+δε		M14:14 (3-4) ο [ησους] omit		
		M14:22 (4-5) ο [ησους] [τους] || omit		M14:25 (6) απηλθεν || ηλθεν		M14:25 (13-14) της θαλασσης || την θαλασσαν		
		M14:26 (7-8) την θαλασσαν || της θαλασσης		M14:28 (13-15) προς σε ελθειν || 3|2		M15:1 (5) οι [απο ιεροσολιμων] || omit		
		M15:1 (8-10) γραμματεις και φαραισαι || 3|2		M15:8 (1-2) εγγιζει μοι [ο λαο] || omit		M15:14 (3-5) οδηγοι ε. τυφλοι || 3|2		
		M15:22 (12) αυτω λεγουσα || omit		M15:25 (4) προεικησαν || προσεκυνη		M15:31 (14) omit || και [χωλους]		
		M15:35 (2 c.36[9]) εικελευσεν || παραγγειλας		M15:35 (3-4) τοις οχλοις || τω οχλω		M15:36 (1-2 c. 35[2]) και λαβων || ελαβεν		
		M15:36 (10) omit || και [ευχαριστησας]						
UNIVERSAL TEXT	COMP (1514)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
	ERAS (1516)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
PRINTED	BEZA (1598)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
	VON SODEN APPARATUS	I?						
EGYPTIAN TEXTS	Λ (IX)							
	U (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
	700 (XI)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
	Γ (X)							
	Δ (IX)		I	I	I	I	I	
	2 (XII)	I	8	I	I	I	I	
	579 (XIII)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
	28 (XI)							
	1424 (IX/X)			I	I	I	I	
	157 (1122)		7	I	I	I	I	
	K (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
	Π (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
	ψ (IX/X)							
	565 (IX)	I		I	I	I	I	
	f1	1 (XII)						
		118 (XIII)						
1582 (948)								
13 (XIII)			9					
69 (XV)								
124 (XI)								
788 (XI)								
346 (XII)	I	9						
f13	P66 (200)							
	P75 (III)							
	Br (XV)							
	B (IV)							
	Σ (IV)							
	W (V)		I	I	I	I	I	
	C (V)		7*	I	I	I	I	
	D (V/VI)							
	1071 (XII)	I	5	I	I	I	I	
	N (VI)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
f13	L (VIII)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
	33 (IX)							
	Θ (IX)		9c	I	I	I	I	
	A (V)							
	P (VI)	I						
	W-H (1881)							
NU (1993)								

	EGYPTIAN TEXTS	f_{13}	f_1	BYZANTINE TEXTS	UNIVERSAL TEXT	PRINTED
	P66 (200)			Λ (IX)	←	COMP (1514)
	P75 (III)			U (IX)	↑	ERAS (1516)
	Br (XV)			700 (XI)		BEZA (1598)
	B (IV)			Γ (X)		VON SODEN
	Σ (IV)			Δ (IX)		APPARATUS
	W (V)			2 (XII)		K x (550)
	C (V)			579 (XIII)		Kr (221)
	D (V/VI)			28 (XI)		Kl (64 MSS)
	1071 (XII)			1424 (IX/X)		E (VIII)
	N (VI)			157 (1122)		F (IX)
	L (VIII)			K (IX)		G (IX)
	33 (IX)			Π (IX)		H (IX)
	Θ (IX)			ψ (IX/X)		M (IX)
	A (V)			565 (IX)		S (IX)
	P (VI)					Q (IX)
	W-H (1881)					Y (IX)
	NU (1993)					

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

BYZANTINE=I OTHER VARIANTS = **▲** or #

- M15:36 (15) εδοκειν] εδιδου
- M15:36 (18) αυτου Ιοι δε]] omit
- M15:36 (22-23) τω οχλω] τοις οχλοις
- M15:38 (5) omit] ως [τετρακιςχίλου]
- M16:11 (10) αρτου] αρτων
- M16:11 (13) προσεχειν] προσεχετε
- M16:17 (1-2) και αποκριθεις] 2-δε
- M16:20 (12) ις(= ιησους)] omit (h.t)
- M16:21 (14-16) απελεθειν ε. Ιεροσολυμα] 231
- M16:26 (3) ωφελειται] ωφελιθησεται
- M16:28 (8) omit] των Ιωδε]
- M16:28 (10) εστωτες] εστωτων
- M17:12 (13) αλλα [επουησαν]] αλλ'
- M17:14 (3) αυτων [προσ]] omit (h.t.)
- M17:17 (14-16) εσομαι μεθ' υμων] 231
- M17:20 (5) ειπειν] λεγει
- M17:20 (9) απιστιαν] ολιγοπιστιαν
- M17:20 (26) μεταβηθ] μεταβα
- M17:25 (4) οτε [εισηλθεν]] omit
- M17:27 (15) αναβαινωτα] αναβαντα
- M18:8 (13) αυτα [και βαλε]] αυτων
- M18:10 (24) βλεπουσιν] ---σι
- M18:15 (10) και [ελεγχου]] omit
- M19:11 (8) χορουσιν] ---σι
- M19:23 (13-14) δυσκολως πλουσιος] 21
- M19:28 (28) καθισεσθε] καθηρασθε
- M19:29 (3) οσι] οστις
- M20:2 (1-2) και συμφωνησας] 2-δε
- M20:17 (15-18) εν τη οδω και] 4123
- M20:26 (3) δε [εσται]] omit
- M21:9 (6) omit] αυτων [κα οι ακολουθ]
- M21:14 (4-6) χωλοι και τυφλοι] 321
- M21:22 (4) εαν] αν
- M21:23 (2-3) ελθουτι αυτω] ελθοντος αυτου
- M21:30 (1-2) και προσελθου] 1-δε
- M22:1 (8-10) αυτοις εν παραβολαις] 231
- M22:5 (11) ο [δε]] ος
- M22:7 (1-2) και ακουσας ο] ο δε [βασιλευς]
- M22:28 (3-4) ουν αναστασει] 21
- M22:30 (14) του [θεου]] omit

CAESAREAN TEXTS

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

BYZANTINE=I OTHER VARIANTS = ⬤ or #

- M26:43 (4) ευρισκει]] ευρειν
- M26:45 (6) αυτου [κα λεγει]] omit
- M26:52 (7-9) σου την μαχαραιαν]] 231
- M26:59 (17-18) θανατωσ. αυτων]] 2* -σωσιν
- M26:63 (6) αποκριθεις [ο αρχιερευς]] omit
- M26:69 (4-5) εξω εκαθητο]] 21
- M27:12 (10) των [πρεσβυτερων]] omit
- M27:29 (13-15) επι την δεξια]] εν τη δεξια
- M27:34 (5) οξος]] οινου
- M27:34 (12) ηβλεν]] ηβλησεν
- M27:41 (2) δε [κα]] omit
- M27:41 (12-13) και φαρισαιων]] omit (h.t)
- M27:46 (22) να τι]] νατι
- M27:52 (11) ηγεθη]] ηγεθησαν
- M27:64 (15) νυκτος [κλεψωσιν]] omit
- M28:9 (12) απηντησεν]] υπηγη---

	UNIVERSAL TEXT					PRINTED								
	COMP (1514)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	ERAS (1516)	I	I	5	I	I	I	5	I	I				
	BEZA (1598)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	VON SODEN APPARATUS	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Kx (550)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	Kr (221)	⬤	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	K1 (64 MSS)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	E (VIII)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	F (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	G (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	H (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	M (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	S (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	Ω (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	Υ (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	Λ (IX)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	U (IX)	I	I	5	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	700 (XI)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	Γ (X)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	Δ (IX)	⬤	⬤	+	I	+	I	I	I	I				
	2 (XII)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	579 (XIII)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	28 (XI)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	1424 (IX/X)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	I	I	I	I	I				
	157 (1122)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	I	I	I	I	I				
	K (IX)	⬤	⬤	5	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	Π (IX)	⬤	⬤	5	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	ψ (IX/X)	⬤	⬤	5	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	565 (IX)	⬤	⬤	5	I	5	I	I	I	I				
	1 (XII)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	118 (XIII)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	1582 (948)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	13 (XIII)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	69 (XV)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	I	I	I	⊖	⬤				
	124 (XI)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	I	Ϛ				
	788 (XI)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	346 (XII)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	I	⊖				
	P66 (200)													
	P75 (III)													
	Br (XV)													
	B (IV)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	⚭ (IV)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	W (V)	⬤	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	C (V)	⬤	⬤	I	⊖	I								
	D (V/VI)	⬤	I	⊖	+	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	1071 (XII)	⬤	⬤	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	N (VI)	⬤	⬤	⊖	I	⬤	I							
	L (VIII)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	33 (IX)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	⊖ (IX)	⬤	⬤	5	5	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	A (V)	⬤	⬤	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	P (VI)	⬤	⬤	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
	W-H (1881)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				
	NU (1993)	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤				

Wilbur Pickering chose a sub-group of the Majority text, Family 35 (*f*35), on which to erect his Greek New Testament.⁹ Because Pickering's chosen MSS were used to cover the entire text of the NT, he has reached the ultimate in the profiling method for one sub-group of the Kr-text. If this procedure were to be repeated for every extant MS we would have reached the final goal of textual criticism as regards grouping all MSS into their families. Pickering has set the standard for others to follow and emulate.¹⁰

However, the danger of restricting one's foundational text to two or three manuscripts (as in the case of Hort's Egyptian text) puts it on a par with the World War II victory parade through London, where all the mothers, wives and daughters of the returning soldiers lined the streets of London to cheer on their returning, victorious soldiers. The scene switches to a group of such female admirers and as soldiers they recognise come along, marching with heads held high, arms swinging in perfect unison to the sound of a drum beat, they wave and cheer and throw flowers at them. Then one woman, seeing her husband, Johnny, marching smartly along, turns to her female companions and shouts, "Look! they are all out of step with my Johnny." Now, is it likely that they are all out of step with her Johnny, or is it possible that her Johnny is out of step with the rest of the army?

Among the 2,361 Gospel manuscripts, and the 2,700 lectionaries, and the many versions that make up the army of textual evidence,¹¹ there will always be a 'Johnny' who is out of step with the

⁹ There are only 91 differences between Pickering and RP in John's Gospel. Pickering carefully selected 23 MSS for Matthew out of hundreds of Byzantine manuscripts, because he discovered that they agreed almost word for word, and he decided that the text of these 23 MSS contained a perfect copy of the original writings of the Gospels. He called this text *f*35. His MSS belong to von Soden's Kr-text. See Wilbur N. Pickering, *The Greek New Testament According to Family 35* (made in Lexington, KY, USA: 9 February 2014, also registered under 'San Bernardino, California, 2014' by Pickering) 56 note 9. However, Frederik Wisse has listed 25 MSS as belonging to this 'Kr subgroup 35' in Luke, but only four of them (35, 204, 928, and 2554) are common to the lists of Pickering and Wisse; see Frederik Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* (ed. Irving Alan Sparks; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) chap. V.

¹⁰ See also W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts*. He used 81 MSS for his selection of readings (p. 19), and analysed 1,600 variants, reduced to 209 variables (Appx I), to produce his (Claremont) profile classification of the Johannine manuscripts.

¹¹ In 1998 *Text und Textwert* included information on 1,997 manuscripts of the Synoptic Gospels, and in 2005 listed 1,987 manuscripts of John's Gospel. See K. Aland, B. Aland, and K. Wachtel (eds),

majority. Do we latch on to that single manuscript and say that it is the only one in step with the original text, or do we look at the whole picture and ask how the entire army got out of step with Johnny? The more likely solution is that Johnny is out of step with his army, and not that they got out of step with him.

This analogy sums up the danger of ignoring the weight of evidence that is available, even in the most corrupted manuscripts, all of which can still become witnesses to the original words, provided they are taken in conjunction with all the other witnesses.

2. *The preservation of the original texts among the multitude of copies.* It is fair to say that from the moment the original, inspired writings became known, Christians all over the known world would have clamoured to have their own copy of these original documents, and once they had them they would value them—as the Elect still do today—as extremely valuable possessions, and would lovingly treat them as infallible and authoritative records of what the Lord Jesus said and did. Exact copies would have been made as and when their own copies started to become worn out or damaged through constant use, on a par with the Hebrew Scriptures.

It cannot be proved that the Holy Spirit superintended the copying of any authorized copy such that He preserved the copyists from making a single clerical error, down through the centuries; nor did He preserve the original writings for all time. *He didn't need to; there is safety in numbers.* The more copies that were made of the original texts, before they disintegrated, the less chance there was that a single word would be lost, because it would take every copyist in the world to make the same clerical error in the exact same place to lose a single word of the original text.

3. *Coming to terms with the implication of splits in text-types.* With regard to the Egyptian text, it has been shown in the above table, Chart 2, that Vaticanus and Sinaiticus go back (eventually) to a single exemplar of the Gospel of Matthew. That exemplar had acquired 643 deviations from the Universal text (see Group C on the chart = lists 3-8), plus the 176 that it shared with the united Caesarean text (see Group A = list 1), making a total of 819 deviations from the MT. However, when the scribe of Vaticanus (or his predecessors) came to copy out this deviant exemplar, he introduced 468 more deviations from the Universal text (see Group E = lists 11, 13, 20-24), but, significantly, in these 468 places Sinaiticus *retained the Universal text.*

Likewise, when the scribe of Sinaiticus came to copy out the same exemplar, he (or his predecessors) introduced a further 1,142 deviations from the Universal text (Group D = lists 12, 14-18)

Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. IV, die synoptischen Evangelien. 1. Das Markusevangelium. Band 1.1 (ANTF 26; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999) 1*, 17*.

on top of the 819 (Groups A and C) that he inherited from the exemplar itself, but, significantly, in these 1,142 cases Vaticanus retained the Universal text in all these places.

With regard to the Caesarean text, it has been shown in Chart 1 that *f1* and *f13* go back (eventually) to a single exemplar. That exemplar had just 182 deviations from the Universal text (registered under lists 2, 4, 17-18, 21-22), plus the 176 deviations that it had in common with the united Egyptian text (list 1), making a total of 358 deviations from the Universal text. However, when the scribe of *f1* (or his predecessors) came to copy out this exemplar, he introduced 568 more deviations from the Universal text (registered under lists 6-7, 10, 13-14, 16, 24), on top of the 358 that he inherited through the exemplar itself, but, significantly, in these 568 places *f13* retained the Universal text.

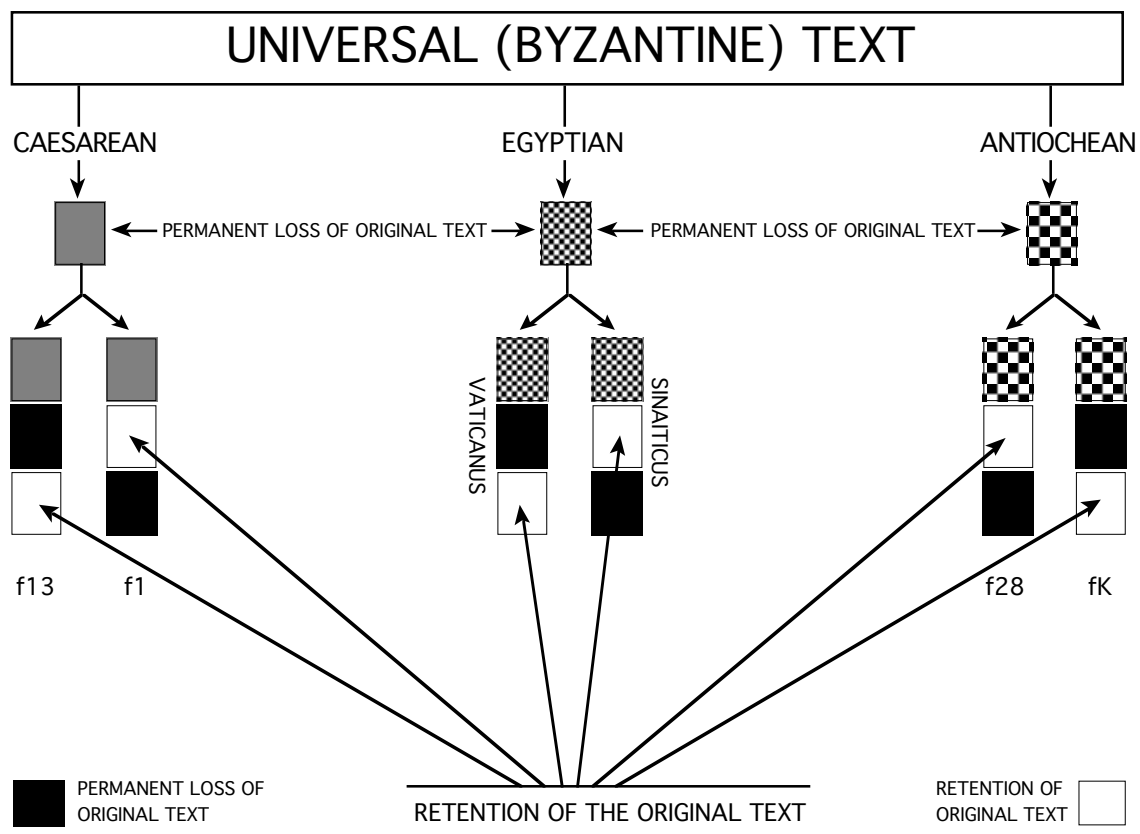
Likewise, when the scribe of *f13* (or his predecessors) came to copy out the same exemplar, he introduced a further 491 deviations from the Universal text (lists 5, 8-9, 11-12, 19-20), but, significantly, in these 491 places *f1* retained the Universal text.

Thus when Vaticanus and Sinaiticus deviate from each other, it will be found that one of these will *always* retain the Universal text (bar the handful of exceptions). When *f1* and *f13* deviate from each other, we find the same phenomenon, namely, one of these families will *always* retain the Universal text.

It turns out that Vaticanus and Sinaiticus become witnesses to the existence of the Universal (Byzantine) text *at the point where they deviate from each other*.¹² The same applies to the split between *f1* and *f13*, and the split between *f28* and *fK*. These three distinct groups of manuscripts become

¹² Von Soden detected the influence of the K-text (Byzantine) in A, C, the Peshitta, and in the Gothic (Ulfilas) versions, which takes the K-text back to the fifth century. He even suggested that it goes back to the exemplar from which Vaticanus and Sinaiticus were copied. K was used by Chrysostom and the Cappadocian Fathers (Basil and Gregory), see Kirsopp Lake, *Professor H. Von Soden's Treatment of the Text of the Gospels* (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze, 1908) 7, 15; Claude Darwin Dicks, "The Matthean text of Chrysostom in his Homilies on Matthew," *JBL* 67 (1948) 365-76. According to Gordon Fee the TR/MT was used by "a group of writers associated with the Church of Antioch: Asterius the Sophist, the Cappadocians, Chrysostom, Theodoret of Cyprus. . . . The earliest Greek MS to reflect this text is from Alexandria (Codex W, ca. 400—Luke 8:14–24:23 only) and is only about eighty-five per cent Byzantine." See Gordon D. Fee, "Modern Textual Criticism and the Revival of the *Textus Receptus*," *JETS* 21 (1978) 19-33, esp. p. 28. Given that the Egyptian text is just 5% different from the Byzantine, 85% of 5% is a tiny differential. How is 85% arrived at when we do not have the complete Bibles any of these early Church fathers used? Earlier (p. 27), Fee made the point that "copies of a father's Biblical text are conformed to the prevailing ecclesiastical text (the so-called majority text)."

witnesses to the existence of the Universal (Byzantine) text *at the point where they deviate from each other*. What makes this discovery a landmark event is that when Mark, Luke, and John, were fully collated to the same standard of exactness carried out in Matthew, the results were the same, namely, where the Egyptian and Caesarean text-types split into two parts, creating four distinct lines of descent, it was found that the Universal (Byzantine) text was present in two out of the four resulting texts *at the point where they deviate from each other*. The Papyrus Bodmer XIV, Π^{75} (dated to 3rd cent.)¹³ contains Luke 3–24, and John 1–15. When Π^{75} departs from Vaticanus, and Vaticanus disagrees with the Byzantine text, the reading in Π^{75} is that of the Universal (Byzantine) text, with the usual handful of exceptions; and vice versa. The Papyrus Bodmer II, Π^{66} (dated to AD 200) contains most of John’s Gospel. Where Π^{66} departs from Sinaiticus, and Sinaiticus disagrees with the Byzantine text, the reading in Π^{66} is that of the Universal (Byzantine) text (with the usual handful of exceptions); and vice versa. See Chart 4 below for a fuller treatment of this significant finding.



[THE ABOVE DIAGRAM CAN BE FITTED IN HERE SOMEWHERE AT THE FINAL PRINT STAGE, EXCEPT NOTICE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THE WORD 'ABOVE' IN THE NEXT

¹³ Herbert Hunger considered this MS to date no later than the mid-second century, see “Zur Datierung des Papyrus Bodmer II (Π^{66}),” *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 4 (1960) 12-23.

PARAGRAPH BELOW THIS DIAGRAM. THIS WOULD NEED TO BE ALTERED TO 'BELOW' IF THE DIAGRAM *FOLLOWS* THAT PARAGRAPH.]

These three alignments with the Universal (Byzantine) text demonstrate that *it* is the autograph text from which all New Testament MSS are descended. The diagram above shows six streams (*f1*, *f13*, *B*, *a*, *f28*, *fK*) amounting to over thirty, extant manuscripts. These manuscripts have descended from three ancestor copies going back eventually, through intermediaries, to the original text. Each of the three has accidentally miscopied (or carefully edited in the case of the Egyptian text-type) the original text (shown by the black infill in the diagram).

It might appear from this chaotic situation that it would be impossible to recover the original wording; but one of the quirks in copying out any text is that it would be rare for the first generation of copies to contain the same scribal error in the same place in every first copy, before the originals eventually disintegrated. It is this observation that ensures that the more copies that were made of the original document, before it finally disintegrated, the more certain does it become that the original wording of the autograph text can be established without any difficulty. Careful multiplicity outweighs duplicity and stupidity.

4. *The question that won't go away.* The question is: When a text-type splits into two sub-groups, or a sub-group splits into two families, why does one or other of them *always* support the Universal (Byzantine) text at the point where they disagree, and not a different text-type?

This phenomenon can be observed between Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, and in the split in the Caesarean text between *f1* and *f13*, and in the split in the Antiochian text between *f28* and *fK*. We shall look at each of these splits in turn in what follows.

THE CAESAREAN TEXT

	α (<i>f1=f13</i> ≠ BYZ)	β (<i>f1</i> ALONE)	γ (<i>f13</i> ALONE)	δ (<i>f1=f13</i> DISAGREE)
MATTHEW	352	568	491	6

Each boxed column gives the total number of times that *f1* and *f13* disagree with the MT. The interesting total is the one in column δ ('*f1=f13* DISAGREE'). There are six cases where, when *f1* splits from *f13*, they both disagree with the MT. The numbers show that *f1* and *f13* are both splitting away from the MT at different points in writing out their texts. There is no third option.

Another text-type, which I have called the Antiochian text, because geographically and textually it is closer to Byzantium than to Caesarea, is made up of two families, *f*28 and *f*K. Family 28 comprises MSS 28, 157, and 1424.¹⁴ Family K is made up of MSS K Π¹⁵ Ψ and 565.

THE ANTIOCHIAN TEXT

	α (<i>f</i> 28= <i>f</i> K ≠ BYZ)	β (<i>f</i> 28 ALONE)	γ (<i>f</i> K ALONE)	δ (<i>f</i> 28= <i>f</i> K DISAGREE)
MATTHEW	104	230	161	5

Whenever these two families split, one of them will retain its Universal (Byzantine) text. There are only five cases (column δ) in the whole of Matthew where, when *f*28 splits away from *f*K, they also both disagree with the MT. The figures show that *they are both splitting away from the MT at different points in their texts*. There is no third option.

In the next table, the interesting total in the case of the Egyptian text is also contained in column δ. Where Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (S) disagree with each other, and both of them disagree with the Universal (Byzantine) text, in a triple variation,¹⁶ they do so just fifteen times in the whole of the Gospel of Matthew.¹⁷ This is a remarkable statistic: *triple variation is rare*. A study of all four Gospels produced the following results.

¹⁴ Wisse lists other members of this group as 517, 954, 1349, and 1675, under 'Cl 1675' (*Profile Method* 112).

¹⁵ Silva Lake, *Family Π and the Codex Alexandrinus* (London: Christophers, 1936).

¹⁶ Hutton collected 312 cases where the Alexandrian, the Western, and the Byzantine texts offered mutually conflicting readings in an attempt to resolve which one was right; see Edward Ardrone Hutton, *An Atlas of Textual Criticism* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1911). For an evaluation of this work see W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts* 21-24, 283-84.

¹⁷ The 15 places where there is a triple variation between MT, B, and a, are (the order is MT/B/a): (1) Mt 1:4, αμιναδαβ/αμειναδαβ/αμιναδαμ; (2) Mt 4:23, ολην την Γαλιλαιαν ο Ιησους/εν ολη τη Γαλιλαια/45+εν τη Γαλιλαια; (3) Mt 5:39, σου σιαγονα/21/omits σου; (4) Mt 6:25, και/η/omit; (5) Mt 12:38, και φαρισαιων/omit/και φαρεσεων; (6) Mt 12:41, Νινευιται/Νινευειται/Νινευειτε; (7) Mt 13:1, απο/omit/εκ; (8) Mt 18:5, παιδιον τοιουτον εν/312/1+εν τοιουτω; (9) Mt 18:18, τω ουραμω/ουρανω/τοις ουρανοις; (10) Mt 19:9, μη επι πορνεια και γαμηση αλλην μοιχαται/ παρεκτος λογου πορνειας ποιει αυτην μοιχευθηναι/ παρεκτος λογου πορνεια+4567; (11) Mt 19:9, μοιχαται/omits/μοιχατε; (12) Mt 19:16, εχω ζωνη αιωνιον/ σχω+23/ 23+κληρονομησω; (13) Mt 20:13, ειπεν ενι αυτων/231/321; (14) Mt 20:17, αναβαινων/αναβενων/αναβαινειν; (15) Mt 26:61, οικοδομησαι αυτον/1/21. (Mt 24:3 might be considered another case.)

THE EGYPTIAN TEXTS: VATICANUS AND SINAITICUS

	α (BOTH AGREE)	β (Vat.)	γ (Sin.)	δ (ALL DISAGREE)
MATTHEW	819 (= 176+643) (GROUPS A+C)	468 (GROUP E)	1,142 (GROUP D)	15
MARK	1,004	352	526	28
LUKE	1,152	586	748	25
JOHN	652	576	864	35
TOTALS:	3,627	1,982	3,280	103

The figures relate to the whole of the Gospel of Matthew. The following notes explain the significance of the numbers in the four columns, α , β , γ , δ .

α = Both Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (a) agree to disagree with the Universal (Byz) text 819 times.

A common exemplar would account for these agreements between Vaticanus and Sinaiticus.

β = Vaticanus disagrees with Sinaiticus and with the Universal (Byz) text 468 times. In this case

Sinaiticus agrees with the Universal (Byz) text 468 times.

γ = Sinaiticus disagrees with Vaticanus and with the Universal (Byz) text 1,142 times. In this case

Vaticanus agrees with the Universal (Byz) text 1,142 times.

δ = All three disagree with each other (15 times in the case of Matthew).

If we take the case of Matthew, the obvious interpretation is that the 819 agreements between B and a (against MT) go back to a common exemplar. The figures show that *they are both splitting away from the MT at different points in their texts*. When B and a disagree, one or the other will be found to retain the MT *at the point of disagreement*. There is no other rival text-type to the MT alternative. How is this remarkable fact to be explained?

The Hortian critic would quickly reply: "Of course it is the case that where Aleph and B disagree (one reads X, the other reads Y), the MT, which will read either X or Y (since triple variation is rare), will agree with one of them. Big deal: this also works if you state that where Aleph and the MT disagree, one of them will agree with B! and where B and the MT disagree, one of them will agree with Aleph!"

The first question to ask is, Why should triple variation be rare? The second question is, Why should Aleph and B *always* select a MT reading as the alternative reading (including even phonetic variants) when they disagree with each other? Why didn't they choose a Western, or a Caesarean, or a singular reading in these places of disagreement? Why is it that it is *always* the MT reading that is the alternative text? The third question is, Why is this phenomenon repeated in the Caesarean and the Antiochian text-types (as set out above), and even between Π^{66} and Π^{75} (see V below), and why does it

occur in all four Gospels? To find the phenomenon in the Egyptian text might be dismissed as a coincidence; but to find it repeated in two more text-types, *and repeated in all four Gospels*, and then dismiss these as also due to coincidence is to avoid the implication of the question.

The obvious interpretation of this phenomenon is best illustrated by an analogy. Suppose a public school boy of about twelve years of age is detained for an hour, for misbehaving, after the school day ends. The punishment is that he must write out by hand some classical English literature (e.g. Shakespeare or Dickens). His teacher is not interested in checking his transcription for errors. Why should he? But he now knows what a boy can copy out in a full hour's detention!

A day or two later he detains two more boys for the same punishment. To save time, he photocopies the first boy's transcription (and let's say it contains fifteen transcription errors), and tells them they can leave the room once they have made their own full, readable transcription. Both boys will make their own mistakes *on top of the fifteen mistakes that they inherited in the first boy's transcription*.

If the first boy represents the exemplar lying behind Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (S), and B and S represent the second and third boys, then we have a plausible explanation for the situation we find in Matthew.

Boy A created 15 mistakes. This represents the exemplar that B and S inherited, and let's say boys B and S introduce a further 20 and 45 mistakes respectively. The result is that B contains $15+20 = 35$ mistakes, while S contains $15+45 = 60$ mistakes. But the chance of B and S committing the same mistake in the same place is negligible, and this is the situation we find in Vaticanus and Sinaiticus in Matthew. One or other of the two boys will retain the text of the first boy.¹⁸

The implication of the four statistical totals given above (reading across horizontally, to give the relationship between Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and MT) is that, for Matthew's Gospel, B and S were copying out a Universal (Byzantine) text that had 819 mistakes (= first boy's transcription). Vaticanus and Sinaiticus then each made additional mistakes on top of the 819 inherited mistakes. Sinaiticus (scribe S) made an additional 1,142, giving a total of $1,142+819 = 1,961$ deviations from the MT. Vaticanus (scribe B) made an additional 468, giving a total of $468+819 = 1,287$ deviations from the MT.

The implication of this scenario would be that the Majority text was contemporary with the exemplar behind Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. It also means that the present Egyptian text (as

¹⁸ A similar idea is presented by James R. White, who made the point that if ten persons copied out five chapters of John, each making numerous mistakes, "you could easily reproduce the text of the original, because when one person makes a mistake, the other nine are not likely to do so at the very same spot" in *The King James Only Controversy: Can You Trust Modern Translations?* (Bloomington, Minnesota: Bethany House Publishers, 2009), 63. White quotes Erasmus to the same effect, *ibid.* 95.

represented in the NA text) is a modified version of the Universal (Byzantine) text. Vaticanus and Sinaiticus themselves become, inadvertently, witnesses to the existence of the Majority text, in that when they disagree, one or other will preserve their underlying, inherited Majority text. Consequently the MT is older than the date scholars have given to these two Egyptian manuscripts. How much older will become apparent when we come to examine Π⁶⁶ and Π⁷⁵ below.

Hort placed a glass ceiling over all future textual studies when he placed the origin of the Byzantine/Syrian text centuries after the Egyptian and Caesarean text-types had come into existence. The suggestion in this paper is that the presence of a universal text-type that predates all other text-types should be considered to be the base text from which they have all departed. The Byzantine text was emphatically rejected by Hort, whose influence still lives on today, having yoked the cart of textual criticism to two of his most favoured manuscripts, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. J. N. Neville noted, 'It [the Byzantine text] has attracted little analytical attention apart from the work of von Soden, who examined it in some detail on the assumption that it was a major text-type directly descended from the original.'¹⁹ Once Hort had produced his text, and created the myth of a Lucian recension, the science of textual criticism entered an ice age from which it has yet to emerge.

II. A LUCIAN RECENSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT?

It is considered incredible that the Universal (Byzantine) text could go back directly to the first century and that it could have remained faithful to the autograph text of the NT throughout one thousand years of copying and recopying.²⁰ James White noted, "If we had only one manuscript [of the NT], we would have very little confidence that it accurately represents the original."²¹ Yet the earliest, extant texts of any of the early Church fathers date from 800 to 1000 years *after they were written*, but these very same, late manuscripts are considered to be flawless, and *exact copies* of what the Fathers wrote; and this is how their evidence is presented in critical apparatuses. In some cases we have only one, very late manuscript in existence of a Church father's works (as in the case of Clement of Alexandria's works).

¹⁹ J. Neville Birdsall, "The New Testament Text" in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 1. From the Beginnings to Jerome* (Cambridge: University Press, 1970) 319. On the Byzantine text being an early text-type see, Harry Sturz, *The Byzantine Text-Type and New Testament Textual Criticism* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1984).

²⁰ The evidence for the MT goes back to the 5th century (MSS A and W), and is found virtually unchanged in MS 093 (48 lines of Acts 24:22-26) which is dated to the 6th century.

²¹ White, *The King James Only Controversy* 64.

The idea that the Majority text came into existence for the first time through a recension by Lucian in the fourth century AD is based on an ambiguous statement by Jerome and taken up by F. J. A. Hort to undermine the Byzantine text. Metzger and Ehrman state, "It does appear, however, that the Byzantine editors formed their text by taking over elements of earlier extant traditions, choosing variant readings from among those already available rather than creating new ones that fit their sense of an improved text."²²

Referring to this hypothetical Byzantine text, J. Neville Birdsall wrote:

Its original recension (should we say archetype?) is frequently ascribed to Lucian of Antioch, and the ascription is turned to fact by frequent repetition, but as we shall see there is no direct evidence of any philological work by him upon the New Testament text. The Byzantine text goes back to the fourth century, as the Freer codex (W) shows by its text in Matthew and Luke. . . . The picture of a Byzantine patriarch sending for manuscripts from which to construct a text or to abstract readings may be convincing as an argument *a priori*, but we are hard put to substantiate it from precise data of history, strange as this may be. . . . it was an error of earlier years to dismiss the readings of this [Byzantine] text as in all respects worthless.²³

The persons Hort referred to as Lucian and Hesychius can only relate to their LXX recensions, which we have extant today. It was a misunderstanding by Semler²⁴ that these recensions were

²² Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (4th ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 279; see p. 177 (and 215), where it is assumed that the newly created Byzantine recension "was taken to Constantinople whence it was disseminated widely throughout the Byzantine Empire." It is a pity that there is no evidence that this actually happened, which would be the knockout blow that Hortians hunger for, to rule out the Byzantine text being the original text. Spinning yarns like this does textual criticism no favors, nor does it bring credibility on those who spin them.

²³ J. Neville Birdsall, "The New Testament Text" 308-76, esp. pp. 320-21. This seems to be a case where one scholar's surmise, became another's scholar's footnote, and a third scholar's fact, leading to a scholarly consensus!

²⁴ Bruce M. Metzger, "The Greek New Testament," in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. D. C. Greetham (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1995). On the influence of Semler on Griesbach for the three text-types, Alexandrian, Occidental [Western], and Byzantine (the Caesarean had not yet been discovered), see Richard Laurence, *Remarks upon the Systematical Classification of Manuscripts adopted by Griesbach . . .* (Oxford: University Press, 1814) 16-18.

extended to include the New Testament. The most plausible explanation is that when Lucian made his LXX recension *the New Testament was added to it* to create a complete Greek Bible. Thus there was a Lucian Greek Bible and a Hesychian Greek Bible, on a par with Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, both of which included the Old and New Testaments in single volumes.

A number of modern textual critics have come to the conclusion that a Lucian recension of the New Testament never existed.²⁵ If such a recension had been made then reference to it would not have been confined to one person in an obscure sentence (i.e. Jerome [346-420]). Such an event would have been noted throughout Christendom; but history is silent over such a significant event.²⁶

The idea that the Majority text originated *after* Vaticanus and Sinaiticus had come into existence, and was the result of a recension by Lucian in the fourth century, would be undermined if B and a become witnesses to the existence of the Majority text *at the time that these codices were being copied out*, and also if the split in the Caesarean text into f1 and f13 came into existence before the time of Origen (d. 254), as indicated by the fact that Origen quoted from f1 but not (or very seldom) from f13.

III. ORIGEN AND HIS USE OF THE CAESAREAN TEXT

²⁵ Harry A. Sturz, *The Byzantine Text-Type and New Testament Textual Criticism* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984) 122-26. Although Kurt Aland defended the idea of a Lucian recension in his earlier book, see K. Aland and B. Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1982) 74-75, he dropped the idea in his edition of the Catholic Epistles; see Kurt Aland (ed.), *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. I. Die katholischen Briefe* (ANTF 9-11, 3 vols.; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987) II.1, pp. VII-VIII (according to Jakob van Bruggen, "The Majority Text: Why not Reconsider its Exile?" in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* [ed. Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. O'Sullivan; London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2003] 147-53, esp. p. 148 n. 9); and Klaus Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text der katholischen Briefe. Eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der Koine des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 24; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995). On the other hand, the next generation of textual scholars continue to toe the Hortian line that the Byzantine text was a late recension resulting in a 'fully developed ecclesiastical standard text' (cf. Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew* (NTTS 32; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004) 103, 83, 96, 119).

²⁶ For support for the Lucian recension, see Gordon D. Fee, "P⁴⁵, P⁶⁶, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* (eds. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 19-45.

If Origen used the Caesarean text as the text for his commentary on Matthew this will have a significant impact on dating the Caesarean text, and also for dating the presence of the Majority (Byzantine) text in the middle of the second century. Concerning the text of MS 1739, which belongs to *f*₁ (it lacks the Gospels and the book of Revelation), Kwang-Won Kim noted:

In its compilation, different archetypes were used for the Pauline Epistles and for the rest of the New Testament. For the Pauline Epistles the compiler used a very ancient codex by comparing it with the writings of Origen. It is very suggestive to note that for the Epistle to the Romans the compiler reconstructed his text from the lemmata of Origen's commentary. We may safely assume that the text of Romans in Codex 1739 is that which Origen used. As a matter of interest, I examined Origen's quotations from Romans in his Commentary on Matthew. Origen cites about forty verses from the Epistle. I compared these quotations with the text of Romans in Codex 1739 and found that they are identical. . . . We may safely say that the text of the Pauline Epistles in Codex 1739 may well represent the Origenian-Caesarean text more accurately than any other manuscript. . . . I have discovered that Origen's text of Matthew . . . is remarkably close to the text of Codex 1 and 1582; 1582 is, in fact, a little closer to Origen. . . . The text of Codex 1582 is so close to Origen that I am strongly inclined to believe that the compiler of the original exemplar, which Ephraim copied, reconstructed his text from Origen's *Commentary on Matthew* and other writings, as was the case with the text of Romans in Codex 1739.²⁷

Kim analysed 120 multiple readings in the 400 verses of Origen's quotations in the Gospel of Matthew. Support for Origen's reading came from the following manuscripts: MS 1582 (*f*₁/92 times out of 120 readings); MS 1 (*f*₁/88 times); MS 892 (73x); MS 118 (*f*₁/70x); and manuscripts 33, 209(*f*₁), and 1424 (68x). Support from *f*₁₃ is weak.²⁸ This proved Kim's case that *f*₁ comes closest to representing the text that Origen used in his commentary on Matthew. Regarding the date of origin

²⁷ His footnote refers to Kirsopp Lake and Silva New, *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts* (Cambridge, MASS.: Harvard University Press, 1932) 145. See also, K. W. Kim, "Codices 1582, 1739, and Origen," *JBL* 69 (1950) 167-175, esp. p. 168. In the same article (p. 169f.) Kim noted that at Mark 16:19 there is an identical colophon note in Codex 1 and 1582 that reads: 'Irenaeus, who was near to the Apostles, in the third book of *Against Heresies* quotes this saying as found in Mark' (see Caten. Iren. in cod. 72). The work *Against Heresies* [III, x, 6] was written about AD 180. Kim concluded, 'Thus Irenaeus is one of the earliest witnesses to the Longer Conclusion of Mark.'

²⁸ K. W. Kim, "The Matthean Text of Origen in his *Commentary on Matthew*," *JBL* 68 (1949) 125-139, esp. p. 130.

for the Caesarean text, the discovery of Π⁴⁵, the Chester Beatty Papyrus (Matt–Acts), which is dated between AD 200 and 250, shows the same textual affinity to the Caesarean text of Mark. When K. W. Kim wrote, “Any attempt to restore the original text of the New Testament is doomed to failure, if it neglects Origen,”²⁹ he did not realise how true that statement would be, but for another reason, namely, Origen’s text is closer to *f*1 in the form of MSS 1 and 1582, than it is to *f*13. This means that the Caesarean text had already split into *f*1 and *f*13 *before* Origen used his copy of *f*1 as the base text for his commentary on Matthew. (In Caesarea he also wrote a commentary on John,³⁰ and Homilies on Luke.) Kim concluded that Origen used *f*1 (MSS 1, 1582) in Matthew; family Θ in Mark; and the Egyptian (αB) text in his work *Against Celsus* and in Luke and John. However, when Origen wrote *Against Celsus*, 11 out of 30 variants have the support of *f*1, while 22 out of the same 30 have Egyptian (αB) support.³¹

It is an interesting fact that the Egyptian and Caesarean texts existed side by side in Caesarea, one in each hand of Origen, as it were. This projects the origin of the Caesarean text back to the middle of the second century. Now given that *f*1, *f*13, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, all share 176 differences with the Universal (Byzantine) text, it is theoretically possible that both the Caesarean and the Egyptian texts had their origin in a common ancestor *before the time of Origen*, and this would explain their community in disagreement with the Universal (Byzantine) text. Or, a more probable alternative would be that the compiler of the Caesarean text, made a selection from the Egyptian variant readings, which came to 176 cases. This would account for the agreements between the two text-types at this early stage.

More research into the Caesarean text is required. A work similar to Amy Anderson’s should be conducted on the *f*13 group of manuscripts to settle the text that Origen used for the Gospel of

²⁹ K. W. Kim, “Origen’s Text of John in His *On Prayer, Commentary on Matthew, and Against Celsus*,” *JTS NS* 1 (1950) 74-84; esp. p. 74.

³⁰ Origen’s quotations from John in his *On Prayer*, shows that αB (together or separately) support his text 13 times out of 22 variants; *f*1 supports it 11 times, and *f*13 just 6 times. Gordon Fee has proved beyond reasonable doubt that Origen and Cyril used the Egyptian text for John, but that Chrysostom used a text that was primarily Byzantine. Other studies show that Chrysostom used the Byzantine text of Matthew, Mark, Acts, and the Pauline Epistles; see Gordon Fee, “The Text of John and Mark in the Writings of Chrysostom,” *NTS* 26 (1979-80) 525-47.

³¹ K. W. Kim, “Origen’s Text of John” 79. Origen’s text of John has been reconstructed in Bart D. Ehrman, Gordon D. Fee, and Michael W. Holmes, *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1992) I.345-67. Unfortunately it lacks a textual apparatus.

Matthew.³² However, sufficient evidence has been produced to link Origen to the split Caesarean text-type.³³ Amy Anderson has produced a list of 108 agreements between the text of Origen and MS 1582 (f1), and only twenty of these are shared with the Robinson-Pierpont text, leaving 88 agreements between Origen and Family 1.³⁴ According to Kim the Matthean text of Origen is represented by Codex 1 and 1582.³⁵ He drew the same conclusion when he extended his research into Origen's commentary on John.³⁶

³² The pioneer work in this area is K. and S. Lake, *Family 13* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941). The distinguishing characteristic of f13 is said to be their great number of assimilations to other Gospels, or harmonisations, and possible dependence on Tatian's *Diatessaron*, see Edward F. Hills, "The Inter-Relationship of the Caesarean Manuscripts," *JBL* 68 (1949) 141-159, esp. pp. 156-59.

³³ Origen quoted about 400 verses from Matthew. Kwang-Won Kim made a complete collection of Origen's quotations in Matthew in his thesis, *The Matthean Text of Origen in his Commentary on Matthew* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, the University of Chicago, 1946), which he based on the Greek text set out in the edition of Erich Klostermann (ed.), *Origenes Werke – Matthäuserklärung*, vol. 10 (Commentary) in the series *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1941 [1935]). Other studies are H. W. Huston, "Mark 6 and 11 in P 45 and in the Caesarean Text," *JBL* 74 (1955) 262-271; Bart D. Ehrman, Gordon R. Fee, and Michael W. Holmes, *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen* (vol. 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); K. W. Kim, "Codices 1582, 1739, and Origen," *JBL* 69 (1950) 167-175; idem, "The Matthean Text of Origen" 125-139; idem, "Origen's Text of John" 74-84; Lake, *Codex 1 of the Gospels*; Kirsopp Lake, Robert P. Blake, and Silva New, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," *HTR* 21 (1928) 207-404; P. R. McReynolds, "Two New Members of Family One of the New Testament Text: 884 and 2542," pp. 397-403 in *Texte und Textkritik: eine Aufsammlung* (ed. Jürgen Dummer; Texte und Untersuchungen 133; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1987) (MSS 884 and 2542 are members of f1.); and Henry A. Sanders, "A New Collation of MS 22 of the Gospels," *JBL* 33 (1914) 91-117 (MS 22 is a member of f1).

³⁴ See Appendix 1 in Anderson, *Textual Tradition* 148-152.

³⁵ Kwang-Won Kim, *The Matthean Text of Origen in his Commentary on Matthew* (PhD dissertation at the University of Chicago, 1946) 135; idem, "The Matthean Text of Origen" 134.

³⁶ Kwang-Won Kim, "Origen's Text of John" 74-84. One of the earliest to connect Origen's text to extant Caesarean manuscripts was G. D. Kilpatrick, "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament," in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze. Festschrift für Prof. Josef Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Josef Blinzler, Otto Kuss, and Franz Mussner; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1963) 125-37, esp. p. 128.

If Origen (AD 185-254) never (or rarely) quoted variants from *f*13, then this would mean that the Caesarean text split into these two families *before his time*, which would put the split in the second century *at the latest*.³⁷

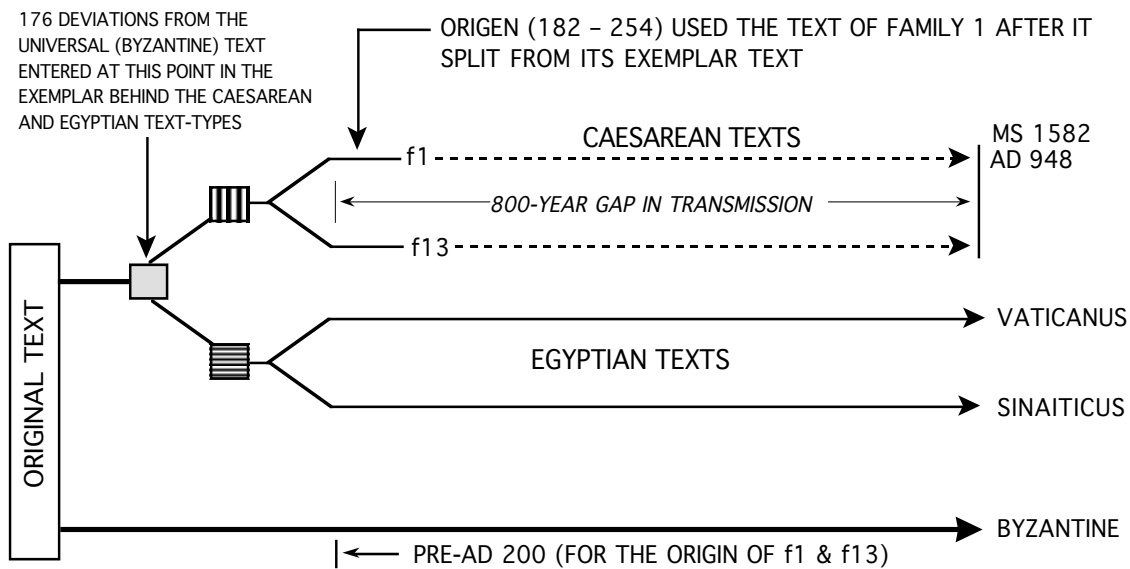
Both Fee and Zuntz concluded that Origen used the Egyptian text for his commentary on John, and in his quotations from Luke, and for Mark chapters 1-12; but, claim Kim and Anderson, Origen's text of Matthew definitely supports a Caesarean text, and in particular *f*1.³⁸ Anderson was of the firm conviction that the text of Family 1 was available in Caesarea at the time that Origen was there.³⁹

³⁷ See Anderson, *Textual Tradition* 3. Her work on MS 1582 claims that its Caesarean text "can be shown to be as old as and related to the text used by Origin, and associated with the city of Caesarea" (pp. 3, 60-71). She dated the archetype of *f*1 to the second half of the fifth century (pp. 101, 97), presumably as the latest date. Origen moved in AD 231 from Alexandria (where he used the Egyptian text?) to Caesarea (where he used the Caesarean text). See Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (4th rev. ed.; London: MacMillan & Co., 1930) 91ff., and Lake, Blake, and New, "The Caesarean Text" 277.

³⁸ See Anderson, *Textual Tradition* 74 for the details. In older works, the Caesarean text is sometimes referred to as the Θ -text. The Θ -text was made up of MSS Θ 565 700 28 and the Georgian. This group was called Γ^a by von Soden. However, B. H. Streeter (*The Four Gospels*) used 'family Θ ' to include *f*1 and *f*13.

³⁹ Lake, Blake, and New, "The Caesarean Text" 77. Lake noted that we do not have any patristic writings earlier than the tenth century (Lake, Blake, and New, "The Caesarean Text" 285), and this applies to the writings of Origen and Eusebius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. As early as 1814, Richard Laurence compared Origen's text with Codex Alexandrinus in his Appendix in his work, *Remarks upon the Systematical Classification of Manuscripts adopted by Griesbach . . .* (Oxford: University Press, 1814) 95-135. Origen's text was taken from Griesbach's *Symbolae Criticae*, vol. 2 (Romans-Revelation). Griesbach did not cover the Gospels. See Scrivener, *Full and Exact Collation* p. xvi (footnote) for a summary of Laurence's finds.

ORIGEN AND THE CAESAREAN TEXT (FAMILY 1)



The writings of Eusebius of Caesarea contain MT readings alongside non-MT readings. Of the 59 non-MT variants the Old Latin (OL) agrees with 34 of them, **a** with 24, B+D with 20, and the Vulgate with 19. However, the high level of agreement with the OL is exaggerated by counting any single OL MS that agrees with Eusebius. Eusebius did not know Latin, so it is concluded that he must have used a Greek text that came very close to the OL. There are 38 Caesarean readings peculiar to Θ W *f1* *f13* 22 28 157 565 700 fam. 1424 and the Georgian version in Eusebius's text of Matthew. Origen agrees with 16 of these Caesarean readings. There are a considerable number of Byzantine readings, but these are dismissed as pre-Byzantine readings.⁴⁰

It was to the credit of Teófilo Ayuso that he was the first to see that Π^{45} split the Caesarean witnesses into two groups: Π^{45} , *f1*, W, 28, and Origen, on the one side; and Θ , *f13*, 565, and 700 on the other side.⁴¹ Here we see *f1* aligned with Π^{45} when *f1* differs from *f13*.⁴²

Colwell drew attention to the significance of Bodmer Π^{66} . He noted that it is a witness to readings found in the Byzantine text (= Hort's Syrian):

⁴⁰ M. Jack Suggs, "The Eusebian Text of Matthew," *Novum Testamentum* 1 (1956) 233-45.

⁴¹ Teófilo Ayuso, "Texto cesariense o precesariense? Su realidad y su trascendencia en la crítica textual del Nuevo Testamento," *Biblica* 16 (1935) 369-415.

⁴² Metzger and Ehrman switch around *f1* and *f13*, see *The Text of the New Testament* 87. For the support of MS W for the Caesarean text see Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1981).

Strangely enough . . . the contemporary corrections in that papyrus frequently change an Alpha-type [Byzantine] of reading to a Beta-type [Egyptian] of reading (Hort's "Neutral"). This indicates that at this early period readings of both kinds were known, and the Beta-type were supplanting the Alpha-type—at least as far as this witness is concerned.⁴³

Zuntz also found Π⁴⁶ a witness for the existence of the Byzantine text in the second century. His statement deserves quoting:

A number of Byzantine readings, most of them genuine, which previously were discarded as 'late', are anticipated by Π⁴⁶.⁴⁴ Our enquiry has confirmed what was anyhow probable enough: the Byzantines did not hit upon these readings by conjecture or independent error. They reproduced an older tradition. The existence of this tradition was in several cases borne out by some versions or patristic quotations; but where such evidence is not forthcoming, the inference proved no less certain. How then . . . [do we account for places] . . . where no Chester Beatty papyrus happens to vouch for the early existence of a Byzantine reading? Are all Byzantine readings ancient? In the cognate case of the Homeric tradition G. Pasquali answers the same question in the affirmative; and, indeed, it seems to me unlikely that the Byzantine editors ever altered the text without manuscript evidence. They left so many hopelessly difficult places unassailed! Their method, I submit, was selection rather than conjecture.⁴⁵

Note the dominant influence of Hort on Zuntz's thinking. He cannot bring himself to conclude that the Byzantine text-type could be contemporary with the Egyptian papyri. That would overthrow everything Hort stood for. The presence of Byzantine (*K*) readings must be *explained away* by any means, because the overwhelming consensus among Hortian scholars rules out the possibility that the evidence could point to a *K* text-type contemporary with the Chester Beatty and the Bodmer Papyri. Colwell's stock objection to such an early date for the Byzantine text was: "Even if—and it is

⁴³ E. C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969) 47-8.

⁴⁴ The same is true of the Byzantine readings in Π⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Günter Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition Upon the Corpus Paulinum* (London: Published for the British Academy, 1953), p. 55. Zuntz even suggests that Byzantine readings are found in the sister-manuscript Π⁶⁶, noting Mt 26:7, Acts 17:13, Gal 2:1, and Heb 7:1, and Colwell adds that Byzantine readings are found in Π⁶⁶, see Colwell, *Studies in Methodology* 48 n. 3.

too big an if—every reading found in *K* existed somewhere in the second century, *K* did not exist in the second century.”⁴⁶ This demonstrates that Hort’s glass ceiling is still in place.

It is for this reason that Zuntz wrote: ‘They reproduced an older tradition.’ Neither Zuntz nor Colwell would ever entertain the idea of a Universal (Byzantine) text alongside these papyri. They have allowed Hort to freeze their intellect. Zuntz went on:

The essential question, however, remains from what evidence they [the Byzantine editors] made their selection.

We are not going to resume the hopeless fight of Dean Burgon. The Byzantine is the latest text and it is both natural and evident that it contains the largest proportion of corruptions The chance that, even so, they [Byzantine readings] are far older than the manuscripts that attest them is none the less great. Between, say, A.D. 200 and 800 much new corruption could, and did, infect the tradition upon which the Byzantine editors relied.

At this point we pass from sober enunciation of facts to fantasy. The tape of Hort’s voice continues to run on a continuous loop. It can’t be turned off. Even when Zuntz recognises that “Byzantine readings which recur in Western witnesses *must* be ancient,” and that “They go back to the time before the Chester Beatty papyrus was written; the time before the emergence of separate Eastern and Western traditions; in short, they reach back deep into the second century,” he still cannot entertain the possibility that they belong *by right* to a Universal (Byzantine) text-type that existed in its own right. The solution he offers is, “Obviously the Byzantines retained Western readings which had been carried down to them by the main stream of the Eastern tradition.”⁴⁷ Colwell concluded, “If the term ‘text-type’ means anything, it means the entire complex of readings in its total pattern which we refer to as ‘the Alpha text-type’ or ‘the Byzantine text’ or ‘the *K* text-type.’ This [Byzantine text-type] did not exist as the dominant element in any manuscript in the second century.”⁴⁸ At this point the modern text critic comes up against a brick wall of his own making, and Hort’s glass ceiling. The ice-age is still in place. M. Robinson observed that “statistically . . . the modern NA²⁷ text remains 99%+ identical to that of Westcott and Hort.”⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Colwell, *Studies in Methodology* 52.

⁴⁷ Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles* 150-51.

⁴⁸ Colwell, *Studies in Methodology* 52.

⁴⁹ Maurice A. Robinson, “Investigating Text-Critical Dichotomy: A Critique of Modern Eclectic Praxis from a Byzantine-Priority Perspective,” *Faith and Mission* 16 (Spring 1999) 16-31.

IV. THE COMPOSITION OF CODEX BEZAE

Codex Bezae is regarded as the main representative of the Western text, which is said to have the support of the Old Latin. Evidence has been produced to show that Codex Bezae, certainly in Acts, deliberately set out to subordinate women and their role in the Christian community.⁵⁰ If so, this would become a dubious line of transmission.

Bruce Metzger noted, "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."⁵¹ I would like to see each of these characteristics demonstrated with examples. If Metzger's statement was the summary conclusion of a full study of these characteristics this would rule out the Western text as a candidate to represent the original text.

The earliest uncial manuscript in support of Codex Bezae (D) is MS 0171 (dated to 3/4th cent.).⁵² Although only 110 lines of text exist, 0171 and D agree eighteen times without any appreciable support from any other source. In addition 0171, D, and *f1* are found together eight times without any appreciable support from any other source. Thus 0171 and D share twenty-six uncommon readings in these small fragments. It is likely, therefore, that D and 0171 go back to a common exemplar. Codex Bezae is important because it shows that the Western text had its origin in Egypt and its base was the Egyptian revision of the Hellenistic New Testament writings. C. S. C. Williams noted that, "The evidence of 'Western' papyri found in Egypt should be enough to warn us, however, against any theory that the whole of the 'Western' text of Acts was written either in Syriac or in Latin."⁵³

The base for the Caesarean text was the Hellenistic New Testament writings. This Caesarean text underwent a slight revision toward the Egyptian revision, as the above tables reveal.

⁵⁰ David E. Malick, "The Contribution of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis to an Understanding of Women in the Book of Acts," *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 4 (2007) 158-83.

⁵¹ Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament* (2nd. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Gesellschaft/United Bible Societies, 1994) 6.

⁵² Other supporters are "Π⁴⁸ (Acts), late 3d cent.; Π²⁹ (Acts) 3d cent.; Π³⁸ (Acts) c. 300; a (in Jn 1:1-8:38); W (Mk 1:1-5:30) 4-5th cent.; F^P (Pauline Epistles) 9th cent.; G^P (Pauline Epistles) 9th cent.; E^P (Pauline Epistles) 9-10th cent.; 383 (Acts) 13th cent.; and 614 (Acts) 13th cent.

⁵³ C. S. C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1951) 82.

Included in Chart 2 is a column headed 'The Composition of Codex Bezae.' This column is set over against the Egyptian and the Caesarean columns, which contain a list of 3,046 variants distributed over twenty-four lists for comparative purposes.

In what follows, the comparison statistics refer only to the Byzantine, Caesarean, Egyptian, and Western *text-types*, so that the term 'unique' means that a reading is found in only one of these four text-types. It does not mean that the 'unique' reading is not found in *individual* manuscripts within any of these text-types. The comparisons are made at the text-type level, and it is well to bear that in mind in what could be a complex discussion.

Another point to bear in mind with regard to the Western text is that while full totals are given for the other three text-types, the columns headed 'ODD' and 'GAPS' and the totals given at the foot of those columns refer only to the statistics contained in the twenty-four lists. No special study was undertaken to isolate readings found only in Codex Bezae in Matthew. So, for instance, while the total of 'ODD' readings is given as 101, and the total of 'GAPS' is given as 321, these are only the totals found in the twenty-four lists used for the analysis of the other three text-types. By my reckoning, in Matthew, there are a total of 237 'unique' readings in Bezae, and the 'GAPS' far exceed 321.

It is clear from Chart 3 that whenever the Egyptian and Caesarean texts split, one member of the split will carry the Universal (Byzantine) text, as triple variation is rare. Given this situation how does the Western text fit in with this new analysis of the Caesarean and Egyptian text-types? The following tables set out the facts for the Gospel of Matthew. By the 'Egyptian text' is meant the text where Vaticanus and Sinaiticus are in agreement. The following four tables show the agreements between Codex Bezae (D) with the other text-types. The object is to trace the possible sources used by the compiler of Codex Bezae to create his distinctive text. Note that in what follows the figures for *f*1 and *f*13 refer to readings that are 'unique' to them, in that they are not found in the Egyptian or the Byzantine text-types. The same applies to the term 'unique' for Bezae.

The following tables are modelled on the column showing the composition of Codex Bezae (D) in Chart 2, which should be consulted closely before engaging with the following commentary on them. The term 'group' refers to the division of the 24 lists into five groups of lists (Groups A, B, C, D, and E) indicated down the right-hand side of Chart 2.

In the table below, the heading "BEZAE - MIXED TEXTS" means (and the reader should have consulted Chart 2, Group A, list 1, before this point) that it is made up of 112 Egyptian readings, 39 Byzantine readings, no Caesarean readings (because the Caesarean and Egyptian texts agree on the 176 mutual readings), 2 'unique' readings, and 17 gaps in the text representing 17 readings in the other text-types. (In the following table the letter D stands for Codex Bezae.)

GROUP A. BEZAE (D) = MIXED TEXTS = 176 READINGS

D = EGY	D = BYZ	D = f1+f13	D = f13	D = f1	D = UNIQUE	D = GAPS
112	39 (list 1)	= EGY	= EGY	= EGY	2	17

Group A consists of list 1. This list reveals that Bezae did not acquire its 39 Byzantine readings (in column 2 of the above table) from the Caesarean or the Egyptian texts. These were taken from the Universal (Byzantine) text, or are coincidental readings (or convergent developments).

GROUP Ba. BEZAE (D) = 'BYZANTINE' = BYZANTINE TEXT

D = EGY = BYZ	D = BYZ	D = f1+f13	D = f13	D = f1	D = UNIQUE	D = GAPS
421	<-421	15	43	31	20	84

ALTERNATIVE GROUP Bb. BEZAE = 'BYZANTINE' = CAESAREAN TEXT

D = EGY = BYZ	D = CAES	D = f1+f13	D = f13	D = f1	D = UNIQUE	D = GAPS
71	350-->	NONE	170	171+9	20	84

In Chart 2, Group B consists of lists 2, 9-10, 19. What is common to this group is that the Egyptian and Byzantine texts are in total agreement (as shown in the first column of the above table, D = EGY = BYZ), over against the Caesarean text, which is split. The source for the 421 readings is either the Egyptian text or the Universal (Byzantine) text. The source for the 71 readings in list 2 (see Chart 2) cannot have come into Bezae from the Caesarean text, because the Caesarean text has its own unique readings in place of these 71 Byzantine/Egyptian readings.

The 'Alternative Group Bb' table above shows what would have had to happen if the 421 readings had come into Bezae via the Caesarean texts. All but 71 (list 2) of the 421 readings are found in either *f1* or *f13* when we combine their witness. But for the 421 to have entered via the Caesarean texts this would have meant that the compiler of Bezae had a copy of *f1* and a copy of *f13* before him (which is problematic) when he chose their combined readings, which agree with the combined witness of the Egyptian/Byzantine readings in these 421 places, except, of course, for the 71 cases in list 2.

The puzzling feature in Group B is that Bezae (D) agrees with 31 unique readings found only in *f1* (marked in Charts 1 and 2 with an asterisk), and with 43 unique readings found only in *f13*, and with 15 unique readings that occur jointly in *f1+f13* (before the split). Are these 89 unique Caesarean readings coincidental agreements in Bezae? If not, and if Bezae acquired them from *f1* and *f13*, then Bezae must have acquired these unique Caesarean readings only *after* *f1* and *f13* split from one another. This would mean that the Western text is later than the split Caesarean text. The alternative explanation would be that these 89 unique Caesarean readings were taken from the Western text, which would put the origin of the Western text before the origin of the Caesarean text. (In the following table D = Codex Bezae.)

GROUP Ca. EGYPTIAN TEXT = NON-BYZANTINE TEXT

D = EGY	D = BYZ	D = f1+f13	D = f13	D = f1	D = UNIQUE	D = GAPS
322	218	2	1	6	34	59

ALTERNATIVE GROUP Cb. EGYPTIAN TEXT = NON-BYZANTINE TEXT

D = EGY	D = CAES	D = f1+f13	D = f13	D = f1	D = UNIQUE	D = GAPS
322 (lists 3-8)	218—>	119 (list 3)	61 (lists 6-8)	36 (lists 5, 8)	34	59

In Chart 2, Group C consists of lists 3-8. What is common to this group is that Vaticanus and Sinaiticus are in agreement against the Universal (Byzantine) text, and the Caesarean text is split. List 4 gives the only places where we have a triple variation at the *unified* text-type level between the three text-types.⁵⁴

Altogether, Codex Bezae goes with the unified Egyptian readings in 322 cases (see Chart 2, Group C), and goes with the 'Byzantine' readings in 218 cases (see Chart 2, Group C, and add the Byz. column: 1+119+57+28+8+6 = 218).

All the 'Byzantine' readings in Bezae could have come through either the Universal (Byzantine) text, or through the Caesarean text. If they did come through the Caesarean text then they did so only after the Caesarean text split into *f1* and *f13*. This possibility is captured in the 'Alternative Group Cb' table above. (In the following table D = Codex Bezae.)

CHART 2 GROUP Da. VATICANUS = BYZANTINE / SINAITICUS = NON-BYZANTINE

D = SIN	D = BYZ+B	D = f1+f13	D = f13	D = f1	D = UNIQUE	D = GAPS
141 (lists 12, 14-18)	882	16	NONE	NONE	26	99

ALTERNATIVE GROUP Db. VATICANUS = BYZANTINE / SINAITICUS = NON-BYZANTINE

D = SIN	D = CAE+B	D = f1+f13	D = f13	D = f1	D = UNIQUE	D = GAPS
141 (lists 12, 14-18)	882—>	796 (list 15)	41 (lists 14, 16)	35 (list 12)	26	99

In Chart 2, Group D consists of lists 12, 14-18. What is common to this group is that the Egyptian witness is split. Vaticanus agrees with the Universal (Byzantine) text 1,138 times, and Sinaiticus is on its own. However, Bezae has acquired 141 readings that are unique to Sinaiticus. Did Bezae obtain these 141 cases directly from Sinaiticus's exemplar? Or, are they coincidental agreements?

The 'Byzantine' readings in Bezae could have come from the Universal (Byzantine) text, as set out in the Group Da table, or they could have come from the Caesarean text via *f1* and *f13* as set out in the Group Db table. If so, then Bezae acquired these Caesarean readings only *after* *f1* and *f13* had split

⁵⁴ The six cases are (in the order of MT/Ba/Caesarean) (1) Mt 5:36, η μελαιναν ποιησαι /312/λευκην+12; (2) Mt 9:18, ελθων/προσελθων/εισελθων; (3) Mt 12:3, αυτος/omit/mixed; (4) Mt 12:44, επιστρεψω εις τον οικον μου/23451 (23451= word order difference)/υποστρεψω+2345; (5) Mt 20:16, εισιν/omit/εισι; (6) Mt 26:44, απελθων παλι/21/απελθων.

from one another. This would mean that the split in the Caesarean text is older than the Western text.

(In the following table D = Codex Bezae.)

GROUP Ea. SINAITICUS = BYZANTINE / VATICANUS = NON-BYZANTINE						
D = VAT	D = BYZ+S	D = f1+f13	D = f13	D = f1	D = UNIQUE	D = GAPS
176	256	NONE	1	NONE	21	62
ALTERNATIVE – GROUP Eb. SINAITICUS = BYZANTINE / VATICANUS = NON-BYZANTINE						
D = VAT	D = CAE+S	D = f1+f13	D = f13	D = f1	D = UNIQUE	D = GAPS
176 (11, 13, 20-24)	256 →	200 (list 23)	21 (lists 13, 24)	23 (list 11, 20)	21	62

In Chart 2, Group E consists of lists 11, 13, 20-24. What is common to this group is that Sinaiticus and the Universal (Byzantine) text agree against Vaticanus. Bezae acquired 176 unique readings from Vaticanus that are not in Sinaiticus. Some of them are found in *f1* (list 13), and some in *f13* (list 11), and some in the unsplit Caesarean text (list 22).

Codex Bezae acquired 256 readings from either the Universal (Byzantine) text, or from Sinaiticus, because both share the same Universal (Byzantine) text; but it is also possible that these 256 readings (minus the 11 cases in lists 21-22) came through the Caesarean text. If the Caesarean text was the source then Bezae acquired these Caesarean readings only *after* *f1* and *f13* had split from one another. This would mean that the split in the Caesarean text must have preceded the creation of the Western text. It should be pointed out that Bezae contains an estimated 237 readings that are ‘unique’ to it, of which only 101 are tabulated in the twenty-four lists drawn up for this analysis.

The analysis of Matthew’s Gospel covered 3,046 variant readings. If we apply the discovery that in all split families, one of the parties to the split will always retain the Universal (Byzantine) text, then this is an important finding and should play a significant role in future studies into split text-types.

To summarise the presentation so far. We have seen that Codex Bezae contains hundreds of ‘Byzantine’ readings that did not come from the *united* Egyptian text, where B = **a**. We also noted that when B and **a** split, one or the other will retain the Universal (Byzantine) text. It is possible that if the compiler of Bezae had a copy of B *and* **a**, then he could have acquired the ‘Byzantine’ readings by closely consulting *both* codices. The fact that Bezae shares 176 readings that are found in B (Group E) but not in **a**, and 141 readings that are found in **a** (Group D) but not in B, is odd, because it is highly unlikely that Bezae, whose origin is put in the second century, would have had a copy of Sinaiticus, which is a fourth-century document. It may be that Vaticanus and Sinaiticus are exact copies of second century exemplars, which the compiler of Bezae had access to.

There are two other ways by which Bezae could have acquired its ‘Byzantine’ readings. First, these readings could have come through the Caesarean text. We noted that when the Caesarean text split into *f1* and *f13* one or the other retains the Byzantine text. Consequently, it is possible that if the

compiler of Bezae had a copy of *f1* and a copy of *f13* he could have acquired the majority of its 'Byzantine' readings through them. If so, then Bezae was compiled *after* the Caesarean text split into two families, and if Bezae was compiled after this split then the split Caesarean text is older than the Western text.

The fact that Bezae shares 45 readings that are found only in *f13* (lists 8, 9, 20), and so not in *f1*; and 37 readings that are found only in *f1* (lists 7, 10), and so not in *f13*, and that Bezae shares 17 readings that are found only in the unsplit Caesarean text (lists 2, 4), making a total of 99 readings that are unique to the Caesarean text, strongly suggests that the Western text somehow managed to acquire unique readings from four distinct sources, namely, *f1*, *f13*, Vaticanus, and Sinaiticus.⁵⁵ Is this likely?

Second, if Bezae had a single copy of the Universal (Byzantine) text, then this would explain where its editor got all his Byzantine readings from, and in particular it would explain the 132 Byzantine readings in Bezae which could not have come via the Caesarean text (see lists 1 [39x]; 2 [71x]; 6 [1x]; 17 [8x]; 18 [2x]; 21 [5x]; and list 22 [6x]). However, 92 of these 132 cases could have come through the Egyptian texts in groups B, D, and E, rather than through the Universal (Byzantine) text. It would still leave 40 readings in Bezae that are unique to the Byzantine (Majority) text (see lists 1 and 4).⁵⁶

The solution to the composition of Codex Bezae is as follows: either the compiler of Bezae had a single manuscript of the Universal (Byzantine) text, OR he had two Caesarean manuscripts, one of which was an exact replica of *f1*, and the other was an exact replica of *f13*, *as we know them today*. Either of these two options would have provided him with the Byzantine = Caesarean readings.

⁵⁵ It is conceded that all the major text-types were in existence before AD 200, for which see the literature in M. A. Robinson, "In Search of the Alexandrian Archetype: Observations from a Byzantine-Priority Perspective, in *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. by Christian-B. Amphoux and J. Keith Elliott (Lausanne: Éditions de Zèbre, 2003) 45-67, esp. p. 48 n. 13. The same article details over ninety instances of *homoioteleuton* in the NT (pp. 56-67).

⁵⁶ On divisions within the Universal (Byzantine) text, see "Early Variants in the Byzantine Text of the Gospels," in J. W. Childers and D. C. Parker (eds.), *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-critical and Exegetical Studies* (TS 4; Piscataway, 2006) 28-47. For perceived difficulties in Byzantine priority claims, see G. D. Fee, "The Majority Text and the Original Text of the New Testament," in E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 183-208.

In addition to one of these sources he must have had an exact replica of Codex Vaticanus and an exact replica of Codex Sinaiticus *as we have them today*, because he shares with both of these Egyptian manuscripts a large number of unique⁵⁷ readings.

If we posit a merger of readings found in the Caesarean sub-groups as we now have them in *f1* and *f13*, then we get the following influence of the Caesarean text on the Western text. We can split this influence into two categories. Category one is where the Caesarean readings are identical to the Byzantine readings. Category two is where the Caesarean readings are not identical to the Byzantine readings. The following tables set out these two categories of influences.

THE CAESAREAN/BYZANTINE POTENTIAL INFLUENCE ON CODEX BEZAE

CHART 2	BEZAE = <i>f1+f13</i>	BEZAE = <i>f13</i>	BEZAE = <i>f1</i>
GROUP A	—	—	—
GROUP B	—	170 (list 10)	171+9 (lists 9, 19)
GROUP C	119 (list 3)	57+6 (lists 6-7)	28+8 (lists 5, 8)
GROUP D	796 (list 15)	31+10 (lists 14,16)	35 (list 12)
GROUP E	200 (list 23)	20+1 (lists 13, 24)	21+3 (lists 11, 20)
TOTALS	1115	295	275

Category one. The grand total of the Caesarean/Byzantine readings that potentially could have been the source of all the ‘Byzantine’ readings incorporated into the composition of Codex Bezae comes to 1115+295+275 = 1685. It can be seen from this grand total that either the Caesarean text OR the Byzantine text was the source for these 1685 readings. These are regarded as ‘potential’ sources because a large number of these readings may be found in Vaticanus and/or Sinaiticus.

Category two. In this case only the non-Byzantine readings in the Caesarean tradition were tabulated as being the source that the compiler of D drew upon. These are regarded as ‘potential’ sources because the same readings may be found in Vaticanus and/or Sinaiticus.

THE CAESAREAN/NON-BYZANTINE POTENTIAL INFLUENCE ON CODEX BEZAE

	BEZAE = <i>f1+f13</i>	BEZAE = <i>f13</i>	BEZAE = <i>f1</i>
GROUP A	112 (list 1)	—	—
GROUP B	15 (list 2)	43 (list 9)	31 (list 10)
GROUP C	2 (list 4)	63+1 (list 5, 8)	102+6 (list 6, 7)
GROUP D	8 (list 17)	7 (list 12)	21 (list 14)
GROUP E	10 (list 22)	15 (list 11)	19 (list 13)
TOTALS	147	129	179

⁵⁷ The term ‘unique’ here and throughout this paper means that it is not found in either the Byzantine or the pre-split Caesarean texts.

The grand total of the Caesarean/non-Byzantine readings that potentially could have been the source of all the non-Byzantine readings incorporated into the composition of Codex Bezae comes to $147+129+179 = 455$.

The only readings in the Caesarean text that are unique to it and in solitary agreement with D are the following: list 2 (15x); list 10 (31x); list 9 (43x); and list 8 (1x).

The less complicated solution is that the compiler of Bezae had just two manuscripts. One was the Universal (Byzantine) text and the other was a copy of Vaticanus. We would then have to explain the 141 agreements with Sinaiticus as 'repeatable human errors,' that the compiler made along with his final tally of 237 'unique' readings.

Given that 95% of the text of Matthew is the same in the Caesarean and Byzantine texts,⁵⁸ it is not possible to determine which source was used by the compiler of Codex Bezae. In any event, Codex Bezae does not represent the original text by any stretch of the imagination. This codex is a deliberate re-writing of the text of the Gospels and Acts based on pre-existing text-types, plus an inordinate number of unique readings that the re-writer has personally introduced, for which he had no precedent manuscript authority to justify their inclusion in the inspired writings. The theological bias against women may have initiated its composition.

V. EVIDENCE FOR SPLIT LINES OF TRANSMISSION AMONG THE PAPYRI

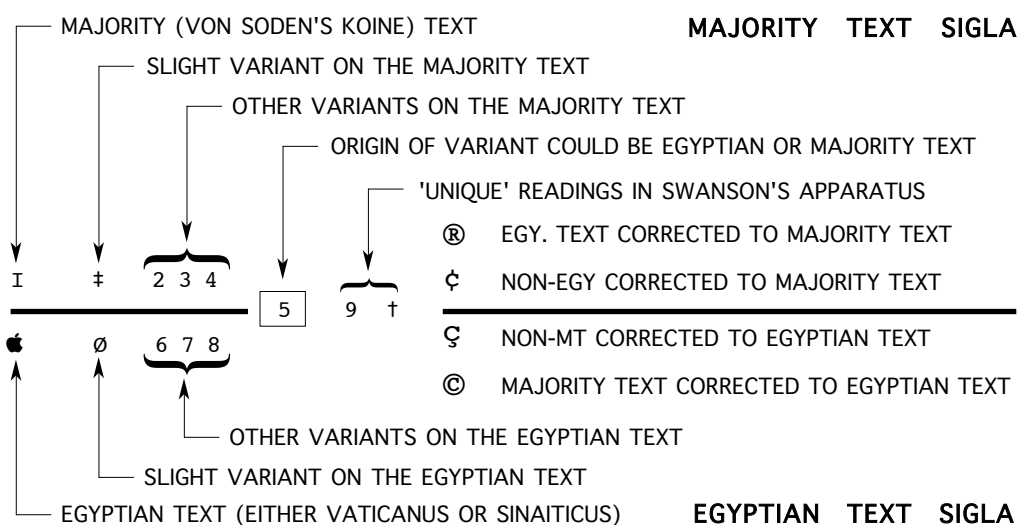
It would be easy to dismiss the Universal (Byzantine) text as a made-up text, as Hort did. The logic of his position was that there was a deliberate policy by Lucian to choose any reading that differed from the Egyptian text. By 'any reading' is meant one that was in circulation at the time Lucian put his text together. Lucian's policy, however, was the exact opposite to the one that Hort employed constantly with his backdoor use of the 'internal evidence' criterion. When Hort was faced with two variants, if one was Syrian (Byzantine) and the other was in Vaticanus, then the original text *had* to be the non-Syrian variant every time. This has been dubbed the 'perverse preference policy.' From Hort's perspective it would seem that Lucian applied the same criterion but in the opposite direction, namely, when faced with two variants, if one was non-Egyptian and the other was Egyptian, then the original text *had* to be the non-Egyptian variant every time. In this way Lucian created a text that never existed in a single manuscript in his day, but once he had created his Syrian (Byzantine) text,

⁵⁸ Given that there are about 18,728 words in the Byzantine text of Matthew (Hodges & Farstad's MT) and that the Caesarean text differs from the MT in about 900 places, this yields about 95% agreement.

this, somehow, ousted the Egyptian text to become the sole text of the universal church for the next one thousand years.

If, however, it can be shown that, when a split occurs among the Egyptian papyri of the third century and earlier, one party to the split always (with the usual handful of exceptions) carries the Universal text, then this would take the evidence for the existence of the Universal (Byzantine) text, *as a text-type in its own right*, back to a pre-Lucian era.

The following section is based upon the author's analysis of John chapters 1-7. The collation was made between two pairs. On the one hand it was discovered that Sinaiticus and Π⁶⁶ go back to a common exemplar, and that Vaticanus and Π⁷⁵ go back to a common exemplar.⁵⁹ On the basis of this well-known split a thorough analysis of Π⁶⁶, Π⁷⁵, a, B was undertaken of the minute differences between these two competing pairs, using the following sigla to codify the differences.



The following example from John 7:31 (1-6) illustrates how the above sigla was used to record the minute differences between the variants. (LMF = McFall's sigla)

LMF	EGYPTIAN VARIANTS	MS SUPPORT (SWANSON)
Ⓢ	εκ του οχλου δε πολλοι επιστευσαν	BLN
Ⓢ	εκ.....λοι επισ.....	Π ⁷⁵
∅	εκ του οχλου ουν πολλοι επιστευσαν	ΚΠ 1071 565 â ¹ (â ¹ = MSS 1, 118, 1582)
6	εκ του ουν οχλου πολλοι επιστευσαν	W
7	εκ του οχλου πολλοι επιστευσαν	Θ â ¹³ (â ¹³ = MSS 13, 69, 124, 788)
8	εκ δε του οχλου πολλοι επιστευσαν	33

⁵⁹ See, for example, Calvin L. Porter, "Papyrus Bodmer XV (P75) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus," *JBL* 81 (1962) 363-76.

	MAJORITY TEXT VARIANTS	SUPPORT (SWANSON)
I	πολλοι δε εκ του οχλου επιστευσαν	~ΜΓΛΔΨΥ, 2, 157, 579, 700, 1424 TR
‡	πολλοι δε επιστευσαν εκ του οχλου	a D Π66 (Swanson overlooked a second δε)
2	πολλοι ουν εκ του οχλου επιστευσαν	28

It would be rare to find so many sigla used for one entry in the data base for John 1–7, so that the data tables used for this study were not as complex as this example might lead one to expect. Note that in this example the Egyptian witnesses are split. Sinaiticus and Π66 agree with the Majority text.

The result of the analysis of John 1–7 produced a data base of 1,370 differences. These fell into 225 classes, which in turn were collected into 67 groups. These groups were then used to generate the following tables and diagrams.

GOSPEL OF JOHN CHAPTERS 1:1–7:52 AN ANALYSIS OF 1,370 DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THE EGYPTIAN TEXT AND THE KOINE TEXT

The first column contains the class number, and the second column contains the total number of occurrences in each class. The 225 classes have been collected into 67 groups.

CLASS	No.	Π66	Π75	VAT	SIN		CLASS	No.	Π66	Π75	VAT	SIN	
GROUP 01	E-E-E-E	(TOTAL 140)						040	1	E	E	E	MTç
001	107	E	E	E	E		041	1	E	E	Eç	MT	
002	2	E	E	E	E(6+)		042	2	Eç	E	E	MT	
003	7	E	E	E	Eç		043	1	EØ	E	E	MTç	
004	4	E	E	E	E©		044	1	EØ	E	E	MT	
005	3	E	E	EØ	E		045	1	E©	E	E	MTç	
006	1	E	E	E©	E		046	6	E©	E	E	MT	
007	1	Eç	E	E	E								
008	1	EØ	E	E	E		CLASS 12	E-E-MT-E	(TOTAL 8)				
009	1	E	E6	E	E		047	3	E	E	MT	E	
010	2	E	EØ	E	E		048	1	E	E	MT®	E	
011	1	E	EØ	EØ	E		049	2	E	E	MT®	Eç	
012	1	EØ	E	E	EØ		050	2	E©	E	MT	E	
013	1	Eç	E	E	E©								
014	2	Eç	E	E	Eç		GROUP 13	E-...-MT-E	(TOTAL 11)				
015	1	E©	E	E	Eç		051	8	E	...	MT	E	
016	1	EØ	E	E7	E6		052	2	E	...	MT®	E	
017	4	om	om	om	om		053	1	EØ	...	MT®	E	
GROUP 02	E-om-E-E	(TOTAL 1)						GROUP 14	E-MT-MT-E	(TOTAL 74)			
018	1	Eç	om	E	E		054	60	E	MT	MT	E	
							055	1	E	MT2	MT	E	
GROUP 03	E-...-E-E	(TOTAL 10)						056	1	E	MT+	MT	EØ
019	7	E	...	E	E		057	1	E	MT	MT®	E	
020	2	Eç	...	E	E		058	2	E	MT	MT®	E6	
021	1	E	...	E	E©		059	1	E	MT	MT®	Eç	
							060	1	E	MT	MT	E©	
GROUP 04	[]-E-E-E	(TOTAL 12)						061	1	E-t	MT	MT	E
022	9	[]	E	E	E		062	5	EØ	MT	MT	EØ	
023	1	[]	E	E	EØ		063	1	E©	MT	MT	E©	
024	1	[]	E	E	Eç								
025	1	[]	E	E	E©		GROUP 15	...-MT-MT-E	(TOTAL 1)				
							064	1	...	MT	MT	E	
GROUP 05	E-MT-E-E	(TOTAL 7)											
026	4	E	MT	E	E		GROUP 16	[]-MT-MT-E	(TOTAL 24)				
027	1	E	MT	E	E©		065	21	[]	MT	MT	E	
028	1	E	MT®	E	E8		066	1	[]	MT	MT	Eç	
029	1	EØ	MT	E	E		067	1	[]	MTç	MT	E	
							068	1	[]	MT4	MT4	E	
GROUP 06	[]-MT-E-E	(TOTAL 1)											
030	1	[]	MT	E	E		GROUP 17	E-U-MT-E	(TOTAL 1)				
							069	1	E	U	MT®	E	
GROUP 07	E-E-E-U	(TOTAL 2)											
031	1	E	E	E	U		GROUP 18	E-MT-MT-5	(TOTAL 1)				
032	1	Eç	E	E	U		070	1	E	MT	MT	=5	
GROUP 08	U-E-E-E	(TOTAL 2)						GROUP 19	E-MT-MT-U	(TOTAL 1)			
033	1	U	E	E	E		071	1	E	MT	MT	U	
034	1	Uc	E	E	E								
							GROUP 20	E-MT-E-MT	(TOTAL 5)				
GROUP 09	[]-E-E-U	(TOTAL 4)						072	1	E	MT	E	MT®
035	4	[]	E	E	U		073	3	E	MT	E	MT1-4	
							074	1	Eç	MT	E	MT	
GROUP 10	[]-...-E-E	(TOTAL 1)											
036	1	[]	...	E	E		GROUP 21	E-...-E-MT	(TOTAL 10)				
							075	7	E	...	E	MT	
GROUP 11	E-E-E-MT	(TOTAL 59)						076	2	E	...	E	MT®
037	35	E	E	E	MT		077	1	E©	...	E	MTç	
038	6	E	E	E	MT®								
039	5	E	E	E	MT+-4		GROUP 22	E-U-E-MT	(TOTAL 1)				

078	1	E	Uc	E	MTç
<hr/>					
CLASS No.	[[66	[[75	VAT	SIN	
GROUP 23	[]-...-E-MT	(TOTAL 1)			
079	1	[]	...	E	MT
<hr/>					
GROUP 24	[]-U-E-MT	(TOTAL 2)			
080	2	[]	U	E	MT1,4
<hr/>					
GROUP 25	[]-E-E-MT	(TOTAL 6)			
081	5	[]	E	E	MT
082	1	[]	E	E	MT+c
<hr/>					
GROUP 26	E-E-MT-MT	(TOTAL 16)			
083	8	E	E	MT	MT
084	4	E	E	MT®	MTç
085	2	E	E	MT®	MT
086	1	Eç	E	MT®	MT2
087	1	Eç	E	MT	MT
<hr/>					
GROUP 27	E-...-MT-MT	(TOTAL 10)			
088	10	E	...	MT	MT
<hr/>					
GROUP 28	E-MT-MT-MT	(TOTAL 126)			
089	95	E	MT	MT	MT
090	5	E*	MT	MT	MT
091	7	E	MT	MT	MTç
092	3	E	MT	MT	MT®
093	1	E	MT	MT	MT®
094	2	E	MT	MT	MT2
095	1	E	MT	MT®	MT
096	2	E	MT+,3	MT	MT1,2
097	5	Eç	MT	MT	MT
098	1	Eç	MT	MT	MT2
099	3	Eç	MT	MT	MT
100	1	E©	MT	MT	MT®
<hr/>					
GROUP 29	MT-MT-E-U	(TOTAL 1)			
101	1	MT	MT	E	U
<hr/>					
GROUP 30	MT-E-E-E	(TOTAL 16)			
102	10	MT	E	E	E
103	2	MT2	E	E	E
104	1	MT®	E	E	E
105	1	MT	E	E	Eç
106	1	MT+	E	E	Eç
107	1	MT	EØ	E	E6
<hr/>					
GROUP 31	MT-...-E-E	(TOTAL 3)			
108	3	MT	...	E	E
<hr/>					
GROUP 32	MT-MT-E-E	(TOTAL 8)			
109	5	MT	MT	E	E
110	1	MT®	MT	E	E
111	1	MT	MT	E©	E
112	1	MT	MT	E	Eç
<hr/>					
GROUP 33	MT-MT-MT-E	(TOTAL 231)			
113	196	MT	MT	MT	E
114	1	MT	MT	MTç	E
115	1	MT	MT	MT®	E
116	1	MT+c	MT+	MT	E
117	1	MT-T1	MT-T1	MT-T2	E
118	2	MT-T	MT	MT	E
119	9	MT®	MT	MT	E
120	1	MTç	MT	MT	E
121	4	MT1-4	MT	MT	E
122	2	MT	MT+,3	MT1,2	E
123	2	MT	MT	MT	E©

124	9	MT	MT	MT	Eç
125	1	MT	MT	MT®	Eç
126	1	MT	MT	MT	EØ
<hr/>					
CLASS No.	[[66	[[75	VAT	SIN	
GROUP 34	MT-...-MT-E	(TOTAL 21)			
127	19	MT	...	MT	E
128	1	MT®	...	MT	E
129	1	MT3c	...	MT	E
<hr/>					
GROUP 35	MT-E-MT-E	(TOTAL 7)			
130	2	MT	E	MT	E
131	1	MT	E	MT®	E
132	1	MT®	E	MT	E
133	1	MT	EØ	MT	E
134	1	MT	E	MT	Eç
135	1	MT+	E	MT®	Eç
<hr/>					
GROUP 36	MT-om-MT-E	(TOTAL 1)			
136	1	MT	om	MT	E
<hr/>					
GROUP 37	[]-...-MT-E	(TOTAL 6)			
137	5	[]	...	MT	E
138	1	[]	...	MT	Eç
<hr/>					
GROUP 38	=5- =5- =5-E	(TOTAL 1)			
139	1	=5	=5	=5	E
<hr/>					
GROUP 39	MT-E-E-MT	(TOTAL 40)			
140	24	MT	E	E	MT
141	2	MT	E	E	MTç
142	1	MT	E	E	MT®
143	3	MT+-2	E	E	MT+-2
144	1	MT2	E	E	MT2c
145	4	MT®	E	E	MT
146	1	MT®	E	E	MT®
147	1	MT	E	E©	MT
148	1	MT	E	Eç	MT
149	1	MT	E	E©	MT-T
150	1	MT	EØ	EØc	MT
<hr/>					
GROUP 40	MT-om-E-MT	(TOTAL 2)			
151	1	MT	om	E	MT
152	1	MT	om	E	MT®
<hr/>					
GROUP 41	MT-...-E-MT	(TOTAL 12)			
153	12	MT	...	E	MT
<hr/>					
GROUP 42	MT-MT-E-MT	(TOTAL 80)			
154	67	MT	MT	E	MT
155	3	MT	MT	E	MTç
156	2	MT	MT	E	MT®
157	2	MT	MT®	E	MT
158	1	MT	MT2	E	MT
159	2	MT®	MT	E	MT
160	1	MTç	MT	E	MT
161	2	MT	MT	E©	MT
<hr/>					
GROUP 43	MT- =5-E- =5	(TOTAL 1)			
162	1	MT®	=5	E	=5
<hr/>					
GROUP 44	[]-MT-E-MT	(TOTAL 7)			
163	5	[]	MT	E	MT
164	2	[]	MT	E	MTç
<hr/>					
GROUP 45	[]-E-MT-MT	(TOTAL 5)			
165	4	[]	E	MT	MT
166	1	[]	E	MT	MTç

CLASS	No.	¶66	¶75	VAT	SIN
GROUP 46		MT-E-MT-MT	(TOTAL 51)		
167	43	MT	E	MT	MT
168	2	MT	E	MT	MTç
169	1	MT	E	MT	MT®
170	2	MT	E	MT®	MT
171	1	MT2	E	MT	MT
172	1	MT2	E	MT	MT
173	1	MT	Eç	MT	MT
GROUP 47		MT-U-MT-MT	(TOTAL 3)		
174	2	MT	U	MT	MT
175	1	MT	U	MT	MT®
GROUP 48		MTç-MT-MT-MT®	(TOTAL 232)		
176	111	MT	MT	MT	MT®
177	12	MT	MT	MT	MTç
178	12	MT	MTç	MT	MT
179	62	MTç	MT	MT	MT
180	1	MT	MT	MT	MTç
181	3	MT	MT	MT	MT2-4
182	12	MT	MT	MT®	MT
183	1	MT-T	MT	MT	MT
184	2	MT	MTç	MT	MTç
185	2	MT2	MT	MT	MT
186	1	MT	MT®	MT®	MT
187	2	MT	MT	MT®	MTç
188	1	MT‡	MT	MT	MT®
189	1	MT‡	MT®	MT	MT®
190	3	MT®	MT	MT	MT®
191	1	MT®	MT‡	MT‡	MT®
192	1	MTç	MT	MT	MTç
193	2	MTç	MTç	MT	MT
194	1	MT4c	MT	MT	MT®
195	1	MTç	om	MT	MT
GROUP 49		MT-...-MT-MT	(TOTAL 5)		
196	4	MTç	...	MT	MT
197	1	MT‡c	...	MT	MT
GROUP 50		MT-om-MT-MT	(TOTAL 2)		
198	2	MT	om	MT	MT
GROUP 51		MT-...-MT-MT	(TOTAL 31)		
199	13	MT	...	MT	MT
200	13	MT	...	MT	MT®
201	4	MT	...	MT®	MT
202	1	MT	...	MT	MTç
GROUP 52		[]-MT-MT-MT	(TOTAL 43)		
203	21	[]	MT	MT	MT
204	18	[]	MT	MT	MT®
205	1	[]	MT‡	MT	MT
206	3	[]	MT	MT®	MT
GROUP 53		...-MT-MT-MT	(TOTAL 1)		

207	1	...	MT	MT	MT
GROUP 54		MT-MT-MT-om	(TOTAL 1)		
208	1	MT	MT	MT	om
GROUP 55		MT-MT-MT-U	(TOTAL 3)		
209	3	MT	MT	MT	U
GROUP 56		[]-...-MT-MT	(TOTAL 5)		
210	1	[]	...	MT	MT
211	2	[]	...	MT	MT®
212	2	[]	...	MT®	MT
GROUP 57		MT-om-om-MT	(TOTAL 1)		
213	1	MT®	om	om	MT®
GROUP 58		om-om-om-MT	(TOTAL 1)		
214	1	om	om	om	MT®
GROUP 59		MT-...-MT-U	(TOTAL 1)		
215	1	MTç	...	MT	U
GROUP 60		[]-MT-MT-U	(TOTAL 2)		
216	2	[]	MT	MT	U
GROUP 61		[]-om-om-MT	(TOTAL 1)		
217	1	[]	om	om	MT®
GROUP 62		U-MT-MT-U	(TOTAL 1)		
218	1	U	MT	MT	U
GROUP 63		MT-E-MT-om	(TOTAL 1)		
219	1	MT	E	MT	om
GROUP 64		U-E-E-MT	(TOTAL 2)		
220	1	U	E	E	MT
221	1	U	E	E	MT2
GROUP 65		U-MT-MT-E	(TOTAL 2)		
222	1	U	MT	MT	E
223	1	U	MT2	MT	E
GROUP 66		U-MT-E-MT	(TOTAL 1)		
224	1	U	MT	E	MT
GROUP 67		U-E-MT-U	(TOTAL 1)		
225	1	U	E	MT	U

E = Egyptian text
MT = Majority (Byzantine) text
U = unique reading within the four mss
... = unreadable text (lacunae)
[] = absence of text
om = omitted text

An index of the 1,370 variants collected for this paper is available for download at:
www.lmf12.wordpress.com

CHART 4. THE EVIDENCE FOR A SPLIT TEXT-TYPE AMONG THE EGYPTIAN WITNESSES:
 ⲓ66, ⲓ75, CODEX VATICANUS AND CODEX SINAITICUS IN JOHN 1-7

GROUP	TOTAL	ⲓ66	SIN	VAT	ⲓ75	ⲓ66	SIN	VAT	ⲓ75	GROUP	TOTAL
01	140	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	01	140
04	12	[]	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	02	1
30	16	MT	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	03	10
08	2	U	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	05	7
07	2	E	U	E	E	E	E	E	E	12	8
09	4	[]	U	E	E	E	E	E	E	13	11
39	40	MT	MT	E	E	E	E	E	E	14	74
25	6	[]	MT	E	E	E	E	E	E	17	1
11	59	E	MT	E	E	E	E	E	E	62	1
64	2	U	MT	E	E	E	E	E	E	67	1
57	1	MT	MT	om	om	om	om	om	om	58	1
61	1	[]	MT®	om	om	om	om	om	om	11	59
05	7	E	E	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	20	5
20	5	E	MT	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	21	10
66	1	U	MT	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	22	1
32	8	MT	E	E	E	E	E	E	MT	26	16
29	1	MT	U	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	27	10
06	1	[]	E	E	E	E	E	E	MT	28	126
44	7	[]	MT	E	E	E	E	E	MT	64	2
42	80	MT	MT	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	66	1
67	1	U	U	MT	E	E	E	E	MT	30	16
26	16	E	MT	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	31	3
12	8	E	E	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	32	8
35	7	MT	E	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	33	231
63	1	MT	om	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	34	21
45	5	[]	MT	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	35	7
46	51	MT	MT	E	MT	E	E	E	MT	36	1
47	3	MT	MT	MT	U	U	U	U	U	54	1
17	1	E	E	MT	U	U	U	U	U	63	1
50	2	MT	MT	MT	om	om	om	om	om	59	1
36	1	MT	E	MT	om	om	om	om	om	55	3
02	1	E	E	E	om	om	om	om	om	57	1
40	2	MT	MT	E	om	om	om	om	om	29	1
22	1	E	MT	E	U	U	U	U	U	MT	=5
24	2	[]	MT	E	U	U	U	U	U	E	=5
58	1	om	om	om	MT®	MT®	MT®	MT®	MT®	U	=5
38	1	=5	E	=5	=5	=5	=5	=5	=5	E	=5
43	1	MT	=5	E	=5	=5	=5	=5	=5	E	=5
56	5	[]	MT	MT	...	...	...	...	...	MT	MT
51	31	MT	MT	MT	...	...	...	...	...	MT	MT
27	10	E	MT	MT	...	...	...	...	...	E	MT
49	5	MT	MT	MT	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	E
59	1	MT	U	MT	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	E
34	21	MT	E	MT	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	E
13	11	E	E	MT	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	E
37	6	[]	E	E	MT	...	...	...	...	[ ]	E
03	10	E	E	E	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	E
31	3	MT	E	E	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	MT
10	1	[]	E	E	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	MT
41	12	MT	MT	E	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	MT®
21	10	E	MT	E	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	om
23	1	[]	MT	E	...	...	...	...	...	[ ]	om
52	43	[]	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	MT
60	2	[]	U	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
48	232	MT(ϕ)	MT(®)	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
14	74	E	E	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
19	1	E	U	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
55	3	MT	U	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
62	1	U	U	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
65	2	U	E	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
28	126	E	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
33	231	MT	E	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
54	1	MT	om	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
18	1	E	=5	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
53	1	...	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
15	1	...	E	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U
16	24	[]	E	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	MT	[]	U

THIS CHART HIGHLIGHTS THE SPLIT IN THE EGYPTIAN TEXT-TYPE. ON THE ONE SIDE ARE ⲓ66 AND SINAITICUS, AND ON THE OTHER SIDE ARE ⲓ75 AND VATICANUS. THE 140 NON-MAJORITY TEXT VARIANTS IN GROUP 1 ARE COMMON TO THE FOUR EGYPTIAN SOURCES, AND ARE THE EARLIEST DEPARTURES FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXT

IMPORTANT OBSERVATIONS

WHEN VATICANUS SPLITS FROM ⲓ75, ONE OF THESE TWO SOURCES WILL BE A WITNESS TO THE MAJORITY TEXT. THERE ARE ONLY A FEW CASES WHERE THIS IS NOT SO. VATICANUS AGREES WITH THE MAJORITY TEXT 96 TIMES WHEN ⲓ75 DEVIATES FROM THE MT, BUT ⲓ75 AGREES WITH THE MAJORITY TEXT 110 TIMES WHEN VATICANUS DEVIATES FROM THE MT

WHEN SINAITICUS SPLITS FROM ⲓ66, ONE OF THESE TWO SOURCES WILL BE A WITNESS TO THE MAJORITY TEXT. THERE ARE ONLY A FEW CASES WHERE THIS IS NOT SO. SINAITICUS AGREES WITH THE MAJORITY TEXT 230 TIMES WHEN ⲓ66 DEVIATES FROM THE MT, BUT ⲓ66 AGREES WITH THE MAJORITY TEXT 294 TIMES WHEN SINAITICUS DEVIATES FROM THE MT

- E = EGYPTIAN VARIANT
- MT = MAJORITY TEXT
- U = A RARE VARIANT NOTED IN SWANSON'S VOLUME ON JOHN'S GOSPEL
- [] = THERE IS NO EXTANT TEXT
- ... = UNREADABLE TEXT IN ⲓ66 AND ⲓ75
- =5 THIS IS USED WHEN THE ORIGIN OF A READING IS IN DOUBT (I.E. 50-50) AND COULD GO BACK TO AN EGYPTIAN OR A MAJORITY TEXT VARIANT

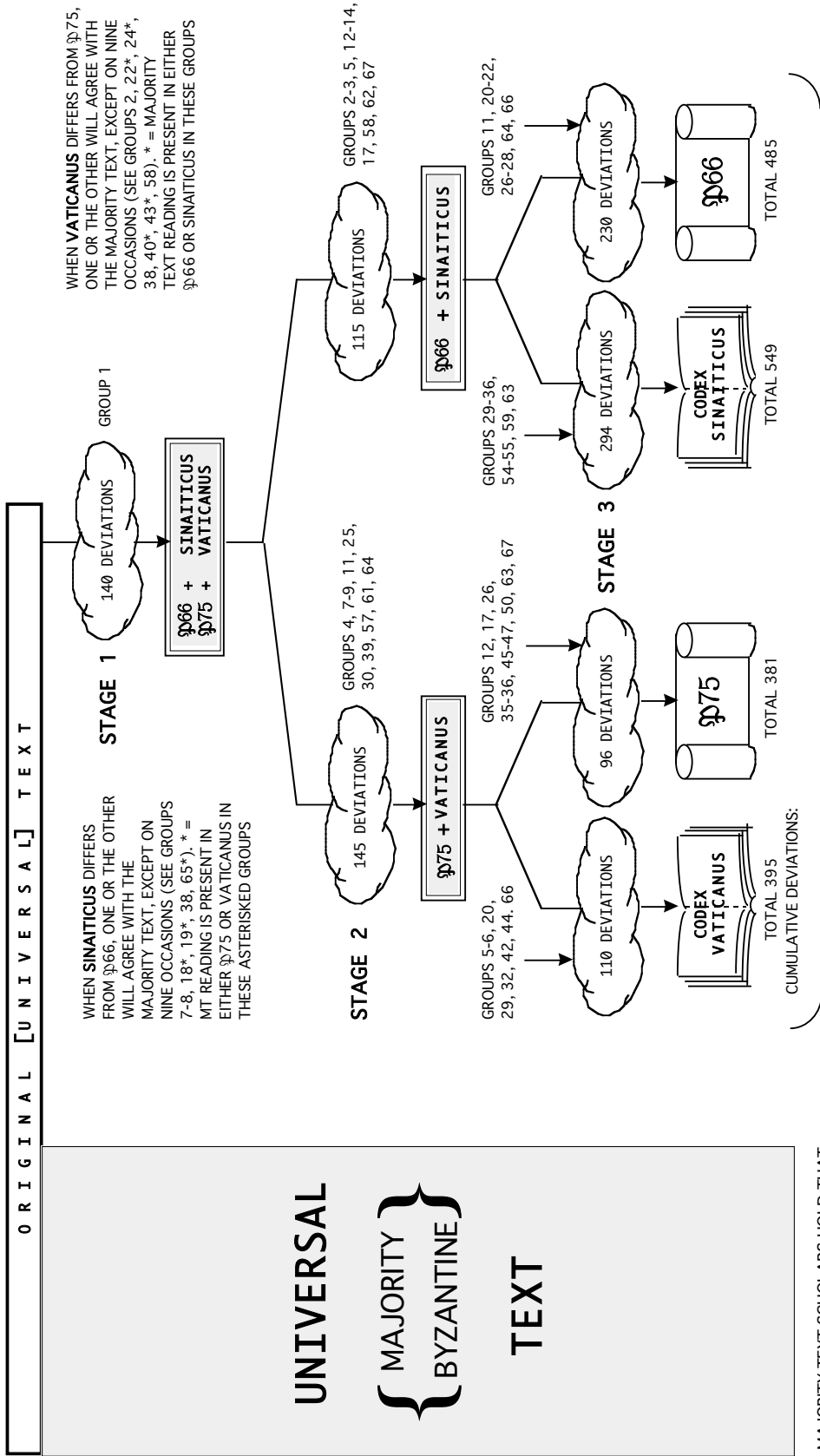
(9 EXCEPTIONS)

THESE BOXED GROUPS DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE EVIDENCE BECAUSE ⲓ75 LACKS THE TEXT OR BOTH AGREE WITH THE MAJORITY TEXT

(9 EXCEPTIONS)

THESE BOXED GROUPS DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE EVIDENCE BECAUSE ⲓ66 LACKS THE TEXT OR BOTH AGREE WITH THE MAJORITY TEXT

GENEALOGY OF THE EGYPTIAN TEXT-TYPE (JOHN 1-7)



MAJORITY TEXT (HORT'S ALTERNATIVE ORIGIN)
 ACCORDING TO HORT THE MAJORITY TEXT WAS ASSEMBLED BY LUCIAN WHO SELECTED VARIANT READINGS ALL OF WHICH ARE FOUND IN EGYPTIAN MANUSCRIPTS AND PAPYRI

MAJORITY TEXT SCHOLARS HOLD THAT THE BYZANTINE TEXT IS A DIRECT COPY OF THE ORIGINAL GREEK WRITINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

The genealogical chart presents two origins for the Majority (universal) text. The simplest is that the Majority text is a direct descendant of the original writings of the New Testament.

The second option is that the Majority (Syrian/Byzantine) text was abstracted from inner Egyptian variants in the fourth century by Lucian. This paper has shown that for John 1-7 virtually every distinctive reading that constitutes the Majority text is to be found among the four Egyptian manuscripts, Π⁶⁶ (AD 200), Π⁷⁵ (AD 300), Vaticanus (mid-4th cent.) and Sinaiticus (mid-4th cent.). This second option would mean that the Majority text had its origin in Egypt, not in Palestine, where the Gospels were written.

Hort proposed that a Lucian-figure brought these distinctive Egyptian variant readings together well before the time of Chrysostom's death in 407, and this was when the Syrian/Byzantine (Majority) text came into existence as a text-type for the first time. It did not exist before AD 300. Just how this Lucian editor was able to achieve this is now beyond recovery. The issue became a matter of faith for Hort. The same presumption governs and controls the Hort-Nestle-Aland Greek text to the present day.

The problem with the Hort–Aland theory is that the genealogy has identified a history of splits in the course of the transmission of the Egyptian texts. The genealogical chart shows that at Stage 1 there are 140 non-Majority text readings (Group 1) common to the 'big four' (Π⁶⁶, Π⁷⁵, Vat. and Sin.), plus a possible further 11 split cases (see the asterisked groups in the Genealogy chart at Stage 1). In place of these 140 non-Majority readings, Lucian must have replaced them with what is now identified as 'Syrian/Byzantine' readings.

At Stage 2 there was a split among the Egyptian manuscripts. Π⁷⁵ (AD 300) and Vaticanus contain the 'Majority text' readings, while Π⁶⁶ (AD 200) and Sinaiticus contain the Hortian (Alexandrian/Egyptian) readings. Then the reverse happened. Π⁶⁶ and Sinaiticus contain the 'Majority text' readings, and Π⁷⁵ and Vaticanus contain the Hortian readings. How did Hort's Lucian editor choose the 'Majority text' readings out of these two, competing, inner Egyptian streams of transmission?

At Stage 3 Π⁶⁶ and Sinaiticus split up. Π⁶⁶ contained the 'Majority text' reading, and Sinaiticus contained the Hortian text. Then the reverse occurred, whereby Sinaiticus contained the 'Majority text' and Π⁶⁶ the Hortian text.

Likewise, Π⁷⁵ and Vaticanus split up. Π⁷⁵ contained the 'Majority text' reading and Vaticanus contained the Hortian text. Then the reverse occurred, whereby Vaticanus contained the 'Majority text' and Π⁷⁵ the Hortian text.

How was Hort's Lucian editor able to identify the 'Majority text' from these four competing streams of transmission, *which were all inner Egyptian variants?*

For the Lucian editor to be able to abstract his 'Majority text' from these Egyptian sources he would have needed exact copies of Π^{66} , Π^{75} , **a** and **B**, as representatives of these inner Egyptian variants, from which to make his choices.

The observation that was made earlier in this paper that wherever a split occurs within a major text-type—and also within sub-texttypes—one party to the split will be a witness to the Universal (Majority) text, holds good in this study of the Egyptian text of John 1–7. Split text-types have been the key to identifying the Majority text as the default text from which all other text-types have descended.

Harry Sturz, working from a different direction, came to the conclusion that the Byzantine text must have existed "before the year A.D. 200, before the time that p^{66} and p^{75} were copied."⁶⁰ Despite the mounting evidence from the Chester Beatty papyri that the Majority (Byzantine) text was contemporary with the Egyptian text, this has had no influence at all on the NA-text. It is still Hort's text with a few changes. In order to defend Hort's Egyptian text, the evidence from the pre-Lucian papyri has had to be turned aside as 'accidental agreements.' However, the evidence from split text-types cannot be so easily turned aside. Regretably, we may have to wait for a new generation of textual scholars to arise who are not so intolerant toward the findings of Harry Sturz, Maurice Robinson, Zane Hodges, and others. There is a tide in the affairs of most subjects, and the Hortian tide will turn one day, with the Majority Text coming in on the next tide for intense, closer scrutiny. The Hortian grip will lose its hold over a younger, computer literate, generation of textual scholars who will not tolerate being shackled to an out-dated, Victorian-era approach to textual studies that was couched in 22-line sentences, and that has led to the paralysis that presently dominates the field of textual studies.

What emerges from this analysis of the variants in John 1–7 is that the Majority (Byzantine) text is the Universal text from which both pairs of Egyptian manuscripts were departing. The MT is the ground, or base text that formed the foundation of the Egyptian texts. It, therefore, pre-dates the emergence of the Egyptian text.

VI. THE CONTINUING INFLUENCE OF HORT ON TEXTUAL STUDIES

The control that Hort's theory has exercised and continues to exercise over the minds of the majority of academically trained textual scholars is hard to explain. It may be the case that the effort to challenge his conclusions required too much effort for the beginner, such that it was easier to follow the crowd, in which case we have a bandwagon situation, or 'nodding-head-

⁶⁰ Sturz, Byzantine Text-type 124.

syndrome' (NHS) dominating textual research. Whatever the reason, Hort was so successful in removing the Byzantine text as an independent text-type and denied that it existed before Codex Vaticanus was written, that no self-respecting textual scholar today dare entertain the idea that the universal Byzantine text could pre-date, or be contemporary with, the Egyptian and Caesarean text-types, or that it could be a strong candidate to represent the universal text that sprang directly from copying the original writings of the New Testament documents. Textual research went into a coma in 1881 and has remained in that state ever since.

Hort's English is replete with tortuous and convoluted sentences. One sentence covers 22 lines of text in his Introduction,⁶¹ or 186 words (see pp. 15-16 of his Introduction); others extend over 14 lines consisting of 127 words (pp. 30-31), 116 words (pp. 21-22); 112 words (p. 48); 111 words (p. 13); 101 words (p. 32); 93 words (p. 24); 88 (p. 27); 87 (p. 9); 82 (p. 25); 81 (p. 47); 80 (pp. 25, 41, 42, 44); 79 (pp. 36, 41); 77 (p. 25); 76 (p. 7); 72 (pp. 20, 29); 70 (p. 47); 68 (p. 33); 66 (p. 21); 64 (p. 34); 61 (p. 37); 60 words, taking up seven lines of text (pp. 14, 44). Despite the Victorian English style the one clear thought that runs through Hort's Introduction is that when the reader is faced with a Byzantine and an Egyptian variant reading, the reader is always to choose the Egyptian reading, even if the rest of the manuscript evidence supports the Byzantine reading. See Bruce M. Metzger's *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: UBS, 1971) for the practical application of Hort's rule.

VII. FUTURE WORK ON THE ARCHETYPE OF THE UNIVERSAL (BYZANTINE) TEXT

Maurice Robinson collated 1,389 manuscripts of John's Gospel relating to the *Pericope Adulterae*,⁶² contributing a vital piece of research in this area. However, this study is not typical of the transmission of the text of this Gospel.⁶³ The Gospel as a whole should be the target,

⁶¹ Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Text: Introduction Appendix* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1907).

⁶² There are now 1428 MSS according to Chris Keith, "The Initial Location of the *Pericope Adulterae* in Fourfold Tradition," *Novum Testamentum* 51 (2009) 209-31, esp. p. 214; idem, "Recent and Previous Research on the *Pericope Adulterae* (John 7.53-8.11)," *Currents in Biblical Research* 6 (2008) 377-404.

⁶³ Maurice A. Robinson, "Preliminary Observations." For a defence of the priority of the Byzantine text the same author has produced a number of articles, see "The Case for Byzantine Priority," in *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. by David Alan Black; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002); idem, "Crossing Boundaries in New Testament Criticism: Historical Revisionism

because only in this way can the classification system of von Soden be tested. Hopes were raised when it was announced that John's Gospel as a whole would be subjected to a thorough analysis.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, this vision was limited to a study of just 65 manuscripts, instead of the full 1,389 manuscripts.

Of the 39 chosen manuscripts—using von Soden's classification—20 of them belong to the Kappa text-type (Koine), 17 belong to the Iota text-type (Caesarean), and 2 belong to the Eta (H) text-type (Egyptian). Of the 20 mss in the Koine text-type, 8 belong to Kx, 5 to Kl, 3 to Kr, 3 to Ki, and one to Ka. This small sampling of the different text-types and sub-groups within those text-types, proved too little to test von Soden's classification system in a thoroughly scientific manner. We still have no replacement for von Soden's system.⁶⁵ Bruce Morrill's thesis involved a

and the Case of Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 7 (2002); idem, "Investigating Text-Critical Dichotomy: A Critique of Modern Eclectic Praxis from a Byzantine-Priority Perspective," *Faith and Mission* 16 (Spring 1999) 16-31; idem, "New Testament Textual Criticism: The Case for Byzantine Priority," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 6 (2001); idem, "The Recensional Nature of the Alexandrian Text-Type: A Response to Selected Criticisms of the Byzantine-Priority Theory," *Faith and Mission* 11 (1993 [published 1997, back-dated]); idem, "Two Passages in Mark: A Critical Test for the Byzantine-Priority Hypothesis," *Faith and Mission* 13 (Fall 1996); idem, "In Search of the Alexandrian Archetype: Observations from a Byzantine-Priority Perspective," in *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Lille Colloquium* (July 2000), ed. by Christian B. Amphoux and J. Keith Elliott (Histoire du Texte Biblique 6; Lausanne: Éditions de Zèbre, 2003), pp. 45-67; idem, "The Byzantine of Codex Washingtonianus: A Centenary Retrospective," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, Washington, D. C., November, 2006; idem, "The Long Ending of Mark as Canonical Verity," in *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark* (ed. D. A. Bock; Nashville: Broadman & Holdman, 2008) 40-79.

⁶⁴ The results were published in *The Gospel According to John in the Byzantine Tradition* (ed. by Roderic L. Mullen with Simon Crisp and D. C. Parker; Stuttgart, Germany: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007). Minuscule 35 was used as the base text, a Kr text, which is odd, because this manuscript is not representative of the majority Kx text.

⁶⁵ Hermann Freiherr von Soden, a Berlin pastor, produced *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (4 vols.; Berlin, 1902-1913). He was financed by a wealthy patron, Elsie König. This patronage allowed him to engage about 40 assistants to examine manuscripts throughout Europe and the Near East. He divided this collection into three main groups, H (eta), Hesychian (= Egyptian), I

complete collation of 1,619 Greek minuscule manuscripts, but only for chapter 18 of John's Gospel.⁶⁶

However, Frederik Wisse's 'Profile Method' opens up the possibility of replacing von Soden's classification.⁶⁷ At the heart of von Soden's understanding of the Koine text was his belief that there was a pure K-text, of which the uncials Ω and V were typical examples (so he held). This pure text he called Kl. This text was later twice revised, and these revisions he called Kx and Kr.⁶⁸ Ultimately all intelligent criticism of this kind is subjective. Von Soden is said to have placed f1 in his H^r-group (which is a sub-group of his l-text-type⁶⁹), and f13 in his lⁿ-group. He regarded the Ka-text as a revision of an l-text resulting in Kl, and claimed that it was this text that was used by Theodoret, and by Chrysostom in Luke and John.⁷⁰

(iota) (= Jerusalem = Caesarean), and K, Kappa (= Byzantine, which he divided into 17 sub-groups). He traced these three recensions back to a corrupted 2nd cent. text. He concluded that the Gospels were corrupted by Tatian, and that the Pauline Epistles were corrupted by Marcion. Metzger's assessment of von Soden's methodology is not borne out by his printed text, which is very close to Westcott and Hort's text (Metzger, "The Greek New Testament" 68).

⁶⁶ Bruce Morrill, *A Complete Collation and Analysis of all Greek Manuscripts of John 18* (PhD thesis; University of Birmingham, 2012). He noted that there are 1,757 MSS for Mt; 1,756 for Mk, 1,787 for Lk, and 1,763 for Jn; 742 for Paul's Epistles; 552 for the General Epistles; and 550 for Acts.

⁶⁷ See also Paul R. McReynolds, "The Claremont Profile Method and the Grouping of Byzantine New Testament Manuscripts" (PhD. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1968).

⁶⁸ See Lake, Blake, and New, "The Caesarean Text" 339, 342. To identify Kx MSS von Soden used Mt 21-22; Mk 10-11; Lk 7-8, and Jn 6-7, as his test passages (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte I. Teil: Untersuchungen. I. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911), I/2, 775. Wisse used Luke chaps 1, 10, and 20, to compile his groups (*Profile Method* 92).

⁶⁹ See the helpful guide to using von Soden's classification system in Kirsopp Lake, *Professor H. Von Soden's Treatment of the Text of the Gospels* (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze, 1908) 1-36, esp. p. 9 (this is a reprint from RTP 4 [1908-1909] 201-217, 277-95), and Wisse, *Profile Method* 9-18. Von Soden's sign for the text-type l (Greek capital letter iota) stands for 'Jerusalem' (see Nestle's 23rd edition of *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1956) 68-9).

⁷⁰ For the 30 MSS in this group, plus Codex Alexandrinus, see Lake, Blake, and New, "The Caesarean Text" 343. They regard the following MSS as a close sub-group of the Ka-text: 1318

We urgently need a root-and-branch approach to textual studies. In 1853 Scrivener saw the issue plainly but complained that the time had not yet come because 'nine-tenths at least of our materials are most imperfectly known.'⁷¹ Then came the valuable work of von Soden.

If von Soden had not produced his critical apparatuses, there would be no authoritative Majority text today. Von Soden is to be commended for kick-starting a fresh attempt to scale the mountain of evidence that had accumulated up to his day. Grateful as all Majority text scholars are to von Soden for identifying the Koine text, he under-estimated its significance in his quest to follow through the ideas of Griesbach and Lachmann, who had imposed their theories on the evidence. A new vision is required.

Von Soden's work should be laid to one side and a fresh, computerised collation should be made of every extant manuscript of the four Gospels, and the early versions, with the same intensity and perseverance that completed the human genome quest so successfully.⁷² Only in this way will scholars be able to do the genealogical work of reducing the raw data to specific lines of transmission, resulting, one would expect, in the confirmation of the four distinct text-types already identified, but with the bonus that their exact sub-groupings would be fully

1313 1219 1220 1200 1223 and 1346. If these MSS represent a split Ka-family, they should be investigated as a parallel to the Caesarean split. Von Soden regarded the following as a sub-group of the Ka-text: A K Π 1500 1346 72 1219+489 1478 1079 1816 178 265. Swanson has collated A K and Π, which belong to this Ka-text.

⁷¹ Scrivener, *Full and Exact Collation* lxxiii. Wisse realized that when every manuscript of a single epistle of the NT is collated in full then there would be no need for his 'profile method' (*Profile Method* 117). Both W. J. Elliott and M. A. Robinson have urged a full collation of all MSS as the ideal; see W. J. Elliott, "The Need for an Accurate and Comprehensive Collation of All Known Greek NT Manuscripts with Their Individual Variants noted *in pleno*," in J. K. Elliott (ed.), *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick*. Supplements to *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 44 (Leiden: Brill, 1976) 137-43; and M. A. Robinson, *Preliminary Observations*" 57-9. However, if the scholarly world remains convinced that they have arrived at the original text, in the shape of the NA 28th edition, then there is no incentive to pour money and resources into collating the 'late' Byzantine text.

⁷² In Hellenistic Greek neuter plural nouns take a 3rd pers. sing. verb. At Lk 8:33 the verb should be *ejsh'lqen* (as TR), and not *ejsh'lqon* as H-F and R-P have it, following von Soden's main text and apparatus, which is likely wrong in this instance, and at Mk 5:13, where TR has (inconsistently) *ejsh'lqon(!)*, and Vat. has *ejsh'lqen(!)*.

delineated.⁷³ Surely there is no quest more important for the spiritual health of the world, never mind the Church of God, than to recover the exact wording of the Spirit's communications to the inspired writers of the New Testament documents.

1. *Obstacles in the way.* The AV/KJV has been fiercely defended by evangelicals since Hort's day. Few realise that, for example, in four or five passages in Romans and Galatians Erasmus assimilated his Greek to the Vulgate.⁷⁴ James D. Price has noted over 1,500 places in the *Textus Receptus* where the Greek text differs from the Majority (Byzantine) text.⁷⁵ He has listed 253 of these which directly affect the sense. The breakdown of this figure is: Gospels 63x, Acts 27x, Pauline (inc. Hebrews) 37x, Catholic Epistles 20x, Revelation 106x. Of these 253 differences, 97 are

⁷³ A fresh attempt to identify groups and sub-groups in Luke has been published by Wisse. It would be surprising if the largest grouping of Kx manuscripts, totalling 508 in Wisse's study (413 were available to von Soden) should not contain a few sub-groups, out of the 1385 MSS profiled by Wisse, given that all manuscripts, of all text-types, are descended from a single source document, and *all* are subject to human errors. Von Soden suspected Kx could be subdivided (see *Die Schriften I/2*, 713). Wisse has now subdivided Kx into 29 sub-groups (p. 95). Wisse confirmed that 228 of von Soden's Kx MSS are Kx MSS. He took 185 of von Soden's Kx MSS and reclassified them as non-Kx MSS, which he distributed under 39 other classifications. He took 199 of von Soden's non-Kx MSS and reclassified them as Kx MSS. This reclassifying of von Soden's stock of MSS could tip the ratio balance in many of his split witness decisions. Wisse has added 71 more Kx MSS not available to von Soden. On the Kr MSS, Wisse confirmed that 147 of von Soden's Kr MSS are Kr MSS. He altered 15 of von Soden's Kr MSS to non-Kr status, and he reclassified 5 of von Soden's non-Kr MSS to Kr status. Wisse has added 38 new Kr MSS which were not available to von Soden. Kl and Ki are merged under Kx. In all, Wisse profiled 1116 MSS. See Wisse, *The Profile Method* chap. V.

⁷⁴ C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (1909. 927. The AV follows the Vulgate at Acts 19:20 and Heb 10:23.

⁷⁵ My own research noted that there are 477 differences between the TR and the MT in Matthew alone, of which 117 affect the English translation, as there are 18 omissions and 33 additions (19 words added in Mt 27:35). Daniel B. Wallace claims there are 1,838 differences between the 1st edition of Hodges and Farstad's Majority Text and the TR (Oxford 1825 ed.), "The Majority Text Theory: History, Methods, and Critique," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. by Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995) 297-320, esp. notes 28, 45.

additions in the TR (37 of them in the Book of Revelation).⁷⁶ In the same work, James Price lists 82 places in the OT where the AV has not followed the Hebrew text. It follows the Vulgate alone 14 times, the Septuagint alone 11x, the agreement of LXX and Vulgate 43x, plus other cases (Appendix 1-1). In another place he gives a further list of 146 cases where the AV rejected the Hebrew text in favour of other versions. Here again, the AV follows the Vulgate alone 20x, the Septuagint alone 8x, the agreement of LXX and Vulgate 17x, the agreement of Targum and Vulgate 11x, plus other cases (see Appendix 1-2). These 228 cases where the AV has deviated from the Hebrew text are a blot on its reputation of being a ‘faithful’ translation. Even the AV New Testament shows the influence of the Latin Vulgate in a handful of places.⁷⁷ Knowledge of the deficiencies of the AV/KJV is the first step to its replacement, and that replacement should start with a replacement of its underlying Greek text with the Majority text.

VIII. WHY SHOULD CONSERVATIVE SCHOLARS BE SUSPICIOUS OF THE EGYPTIAN TEXT?

Wisse could write, “In the last one hundred years this group has taken the place of the TR in that its text is assumed to be relatively pure and the closest approximation to the originals.”⁷⁸ He was referring to von Soden’s H-text (Hesychius), which comprises a core group of nine manuscripts (a B L Ψ 33 565 579 892 1241), a number which can increase to 15 in some Gospels. These comprise the Alexandrian text-type, or Hort’s Neutral text, better known to conservative-evangelicals as the Egyptian text-type. One reason why the claim that the Egyptian text is the nearest thing to the original text of the New Testament writings should be rejected, is that it is a minority, discontinued, and discarded, local text. Also, there are four glaring errors in the Egyptian text that should alert all conservative-evangelical ministers of the Gospel to this text-type’s unreliability.

⁷⁶ Price, *King James Onlyism* Appendix H.

⁷⁷ I am grateful to Dr Graham Thomason (Tadworth, Surrey) for these examples. James Price noted that in Mark 7:3 AV ‘oft’ is from the Vulgate *crebro*; Jn 10:16 ‘fold’ from *ovile*; John 11:19 ‘to Martha’ from *ad Martham*; Acts 19:20 ‘the word of God’ from *verbum Dei*; Ephesians 2:1 ‘dead in trespasses and sins’ from *mortui in delictis et peccatis vestris*; Ephesians 4:18 ‘blindness of their heart’ *caecitatem cordis iposrum*; 2 Timothy 1:18 ‘he ministered unto me’ from *ministravit mihi*; Romans 9:19 ‘hath resisted’ from *restitit*; Acts 8:11 ‘because . . . he had bewitched’ from *quod . . . dementasset eos*; and 2 Timothy 4:15 ‘he hath withstood’ from *restitit*.

⁷⁸ Wisse, Profile Method 91.

First, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus have transported part of John 19:34 into Matthew 27:49. Their addition, which appears to have come from memory as the Greek words are in a slightly different order, reads: “Now another taking a spear he plunged *it* into his side and out came water and blood.” What betrays this addition as a blunder is the position where it was added in Matthew’s narrative. In John, it occurs *after* Jesus is dead, and the spear thrust was to make sure Jesus was dead. But in the Egyptian text of Matthew, it is added at a point where Jesus *was still alive*. Fortunately, the united Caesarean and the united Byzantine streams of transmission, plus Codex Alexandrinus, never became contaminated with this historical blunder. It entered the exemplar behind the united Egyptian text and stayed in that stream for many centuries. Support for the *aB faux pas* includes C L U 5 871 1010 1011 1557 1300^c 1566 2126 2585 2622l 26* 176* 1701* 2766*. A slight variant on this same addition (‘blood and water,’ instead of ‘water and blood’) has twenty more manuscripts, including Γ 036 48 67 115 160 364 782 1392 1448 1555 2117 2139 2283 2328 2586 2680 2787 127* 1789* and 2437*. The blunder even entered some of the versions.⁷⁹

The second glaring error in the Egyptian text occurs in Luke 4:44, where ‘Galilee’ was replaced with ‘Judaea’ in the united Egyptian text, resulting in Jesus conducting two major preaching tours in two places at the same time! NA28 and UBS3 are committed to following this historical blunder due to the yoke that Westcott & Hort placed on the neck of all textual critics, namely, that where B is supported by *a*, then their combined witness cannot be overruled by any other evidence (unless there is an obvious scribal error). It is a case of ‘our Johnny is in step and all the others are out of step with him.’ Unfortunately, in Π⁷⁵ only the first and last letters are extant, and the reading is: Ι.....C. If the first letter was, in fact, Γ and not Ι, then Γ.....C could have read ΓΑΛΗΛΑΙΑC in Π⁷⁵.

The fact that Π⁷⁵ (III cent.) is listed in NA28 in support of the blunder shows that either the error goes back two-hundred years before Ba, or that the reading ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑC was indistinct in the

⁷⁹ See Abidan Paul Shah, “The Alexandrian Presumption of Authenticity Regarding the Matthew 27:49 Addition,” in *Digging for the Truth—Collected Essays Regarding the Byzantine Text of the Greek New Testament. A Festschrift in Honor of Maurice A. Robinson* (eds. Mark Billington and Peter Streitenberger; Norden, Germany: Focus Your Mission KG, 2014) 92-99, see p. 94 n 14, and p. 96 for the versional evidence (Latin, Syriac, Coptic Middle Egyptian, Ethiopic, and the Old Church Slavonic).

exemplar behind Ba, just as it now is in Π⁷⁵, and the scribe misread Γ.....C as Ι.....C and supplied the missing Greek letters himself. So that instead of writing 'Galilee' he wrote 'Judea.'⁸⁰

The parallel passage in Mark 1:39 shows that Jesus was in Galilee, not Judea, and all four text-types are agreed on this reading. The only text-type where this blunder is found is in the local, Egyptian text. Apart from these obvious blunders, there are over 200 instances in the four Gospels where the Egyptian text has omitted words due to a phenomenon known as *homoioteleuton* ('similar ending').⁸¹ This clerical error occurs when the same word occurs nearby and the scribe's eye shifts forward to the same or similar word, resulting in an omission. The sheer volume of these clerical errors in the Egyptian text suggests that it goes back to an early, sloppy copy, or to a copy made by a scribe who had an (Attic) eye for eliminating redundancies or verbosity, as determined by his linguistic sensibilities. There is also some evidence that the copy from which Vaticanus was made, was made from an old, worn or faded copy, which was unreadable in places. In these instances the scribe had to guess what the text read.

The third glaring error in the Egyptian text occurs in Acts 25:6, where the Majority text reads, ΔΙΑΤΡΙΨΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΠΛΕΙΟΥΣ Η ΔΕΚΑ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣ 'and having tarried among them more [H] than ten days' The Egyptian texts and NA28 read: ΔΙΑΤΡΙΨΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΟΥ ΠΛΕΙΟΥΣ ΟΚΤΩ Η ΔΕΚΑ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣ. Two words (underlined) have been added to the Majority text, so that it now reads, 'and having tarried among them no more than eight or ten days, . . .' The text should read 'more than ten days,' because in Greek, letters are also numbers if they have a bar above them. In this case the bar was over a capital Greek Ι, which

⁸⁰ A similar scenario may account for the doctrinally confused reading 'the only begotten God' in Jn 1:18. If we assume the exemplar was damaged, the scribe was left to guess what the reading was, and he naturally went for a *doctrinal* reading that strongly favoured the full deity of Jesus. The unified agreement of the Caesarean and the Byzantine text-types guarantees that the original reading was 'the only begotten son.' A disintegrating manuscript may account for the Egyptian reading of ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ for ΔΟΞΑΝΤΕΣ at Jn 11:31, if the first four letters were indistinct.

⁸¹ A list of 215 cases were first posted by me on <tc-list@rosetta.reltech.org> on 23 September, 2001. See also L. K. Loimaranta, "The Gospel of Matthew: Is a Shorter Text Preferable to a Longer One? A Statistical Approach," in J. Neusner, ed., *Approaches to Ancient Judaism, Volume X* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 171-87. He noted that 'The Alexandrian manuscripts a and B, and with them the texts of W/H and UBS, are characterised by a great number of omissions of all lengths . . . [and that] The great majority of these omissions are obviously caused by scribes' negligence' (p. 179).

is 10, but because I is so thin the bar must have extended to cover part of the preceding letter, which is H, and H with a bar over it is 8. The Greek text was written in uncial letters as follows:

ΠΛΕΙΟΥΣΗΚΑΤΑΒΑΣ A capital Greek I with a bar over it is 10.
A capital Greek H with a bar over it is 8.

The scribe did not know how to read his text, so he wrote '8 or 10'! But to make grammatical sense, he also had to add οὐ 'not' to his text. All the manuscripts in Swanson *Acts* volume⁸² follow the faulty reading of '8 or 10' except the Byzantine manuscripts. This is conclusive proof that all the Egyptian manuscripts are all descended from a single, faulty copy. This includes Π⁷⁴ a B A C E 104 614 1505 1611 2412 2495 33 69 81 323 945 1739 1891 1175 (MS 69 is a Caesarean manuscript in the Gospels). The Egyptian manuscripts say the time Festus spent in Jerusalem was a maximum of ten days; the Byzantine manuscripts say it was a minimum of ten days. Who is factually correct?

A fourth error occurs in Romans 16:5 where Epenetus is said to be the firstfruits of Asia (ΑΣΙΑΣ), whereas the majority of MSS state that it was Achaia (ΑΧΑΙΑΣ). The household of Stephanus was also among the first converts in Achaia (1 Cor 16:15), and Epenetus may well have been a surviving member of this household. Epenetus cannot have been the firstfruits (literally, 'from the first') of Asia *and* Achaia. Which of these text-types is right?

1. *Block mixture*. A feature that can affect the identification of a manuscript's sub-group is the presence of blocks of other text-types. This occurs when a MS has lost some leaves, or a whole quire, and the missing text has been supplied using a manuscript with a different text-type. Colwell has documented a number of MSS that exhibit this feature, including Ψ, Δ, L, 579, 1241, and W in Matthew.⁸³ This feature will affect the classification of these MSS.

2. *The need for greater transparency in the presentation of textual evidence*

Wisse has exposed the bias against citing Byzantine MSS in the critical apparatus of UBS¹. He noted that although the major Byzantine MSS are listed for the edition, namely, FGHMRS UVYΛΩ 047 and 0211, they were never actually cited in the gospel of Luke. E and Q were only

⁸² Reuben J. Swanson (ed.), *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: The Acts of the Apostles* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

⁸³ E. C. Colwell, "The Significance of Grouping" 89; idem, "The Complex Character of the Late Byzantine Text of the Gospels," *JBL* 54 (1935) 211-21; idem, *Four Gospels in Karahissar*. In this MS (Gregory's 574) the text-type changes eight times. Swanson's Gospel volumes show up these block mixtures very clearly when the data is transferred into a graphic format.

cited once and Γ only twice. His comment was, 'These MSS were probably considered too "Byzantine" in character to be included.' He pointed out that A, C, and W are, in certain parts, witnesses to the Byzantine text. On the general inadequacies of the UBS apparatus Wisse should be consulted.⁸⁴

God did not send his word from heaven like jig-saw pieces which men on earth were to assemble as best they could. His word came in distinct units of revelation, in the form of complete books and complete epistles, and were transmitted as single, but complete units of literature, and these were copied out as single, complete units, so they should be studied and assessed as single, complete units, not cut up into tiny segments in a 'scissors-and-paste' reasoned eclectic approach. The four text-types should be traced back to their respective parent (or 'Adamic') text, warts and all (including their respective historical blunders) *and kept distinct*. That is as far as textual criticism can go in that direction. There should be no mixing of the resultant four texts to produce a 'supra text' or 'master text,' from which they all descended. This would be to create an 'Adamic' text that never existed. All that is required in a textual apparatus is to record the reading of each of the four text-types *with their sub-groups*. Listing individual MSS is irrelevant if their witness is already given under their text-type notation. With regard to the Gospel of Luke, Wisse has suggested that the text of each of his sixteen categories (B K^r K^x M27 M106 Λ Π^a Π^b 1 13 16 22^a 22^b 291 1167 1216 and 1519) should be represented when there is a major difference among the witnesses.⁸⁵ This is the only way forward to achieve objectivity.

APPLICATION

It has been demonstrated in this paper that whenever a text-type has an internal split, one party to the split will retain a text that is a common denominator in all such splits. That common denominator text happens to be the Universal (Koine) text *every time* (this does not exclude the handful of times where all the text-types go their own way). It is not the distinctive Western or the distinctive Caesarean text-types that provide the alternative readings in these split text-type situations, and yet the Western and the Caesarean text-types are considered to pre-date the Byzantine text by hundreds of years. Why were these text-types not used as alternative readings in the earliest Egyptian papyri? Why is it that the Byzantine text-type is always the alternative reading in these splits?

⁸⁴ Wisse, *Profile Method* 135-140. For an opposite viewpoint, see Günter Zuntz, "The Byzantine Text in New Testament Criticism," *JTS* 43 (1942) 25-30.

⁸⁵ Wisse, *Profile Method* 126-33.

The Koine or Byzantine text (as presently abstracted from the apparatus of von Soden's work) is the text that constitutes the 'common denominator text' that is *always* carried by one party to the split in any of the text-types, or their sub-groups and families, bar a few exceptions.

Consequently, the single criterion to follow in order to identify the autograph text in any dispute among the competing text-types and sub-groups is to identify the majority reading among the members of these split sub-groups. The reading that is common across *all* the sub-groups of all the text-types is the autograph text, *irrespective of the early date of any one manuscript*, because the date of a manuscript is irrelevant to the purity of its text.

It is recommended that a textual apparatus should not contain any references to individual manuscripts, no matter how old they are, but that the evidence should begin at the sub-group level, and the text-type that each sub-group belongs to should be identified.

Frederik Wisse's Claremont Profile Method has shown the way in which all sub-groups of the main text-types can be identified for any of the New Testament writings. I endorse the sixteen sub-groups that he has identified for the Gospel of Luke as an improvement over von Soden's classification, and recommend that a future critical apparatus for this Gospel should give the evidence of each of these sixteen sub-groups because they represent the most comprehensive presentation of the evidence for and against any reading in an unbiased presentation. With a majority reading comes authority; and with authority comes assurance.

It is important that the presentation of the evidence should be kept separate from any theory about the transmission of the text. That can come later. The separation of text from theory will allow the evidence a greater, louder, and more dominating voice in the debate among textual scholars than has hitherto been allowed, and that can only be a good thing. Let the evidence, not the theory, drive the debate.

One practical result of this paper would be to remove the quest from the hands of man to determine what were the original words. Textual criticism should no longer be an art but a pure science. The multiple copies that have been faithfully transmitted ensure that what the Holy Spirit caused to be written for the Church can never be lost. Split text-types and split sub-groups, were inevitable outcomes when the task of transmission was handed over to Christian men to forward to each new generation. The original text is fully recoverable using textual science alone. The art of being artful has no place in such a scientific pursuit.

The Spirit's text will be found to be free from historical blunders. In this respect the Universal (Koine) text is the only text-type that is free of such blunders, and on this ground alone its endorsement and recommendation is to be welcomed. It is time for the despised and rejected Koine text to come in out of the cold, and to be warmly embraced by the Bride of Christ once

again and be restored to the place of uncontested honor that she once enjoyed in the lives of the faithful in the days of the apostles.

Just as all families of nations upon the earth are descended from one sinless, spotless pair of human beings, so all families of text-types are descended from one perfect, spotless, unblemished original text of the New Testament writings. In the course of time warts, blemishes, and transmitted and inherited defects and mutations affected both sources. Despite the 'warts and all' that disfigure the face of all manuscripts and all text-types, this paper has uncovered a textual tool that can recover the unblemished text of the original NT writings, by carefully noting what happens when textual family groups split up. The common denominator in all such splits is the Universal (Byzantine) text, not the Western or the Caesarean texts, or a third option. This means that although we do not have any complete manuscript of the Universal (Byzantine) text older than Vaticanus or Sinaiticus, these two codices, nonetheless, become unwitting witnesses to the existence of the Universal (Byzantine) text at the point where they split. The same goes for all second- and third-century papyri (such as Π^{45} Π^{46} Π^{47} Π^{66} Π^{72} Π^{45}), each of which becomes an unwitting and unlikely witness to the same Universal (Byzantine) text when placed in their genealogical line of descent.

In the hands of evangelical textual criticism, this tool will open up a new vista and enable conservative scholars to take the lead in a new, fresh era of textual studies. The acceptance of the Universal (Byzantine) text as a crucial player and a text-type in its own right, pre-dating the Egyptian and Caesarean text-types, will free up textual studies, and be the means of bringing the long, dark night of Hortian domination to an end.

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