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A SURVEY OF TEXTUAL RESEARCHES IN THE GOSPELS  
SINCE WESTCOTT AND HORT

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Faculty of Asbury Theological Seminary  
Wilmore, Kentucky

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Divinity

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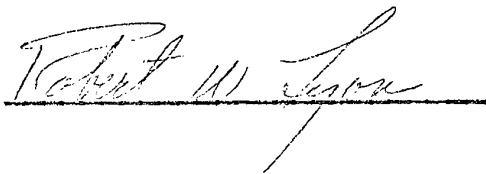
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Carl Eugene Pavey  
May, 1968

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Approved:

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Robert W. Ligon", is written over a horizontal line.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. A HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM SINCE WESTCOTT AND HORT.....	4
A. The Methodology and Results of Westcott and Hort..	4
1. Their materials.....	4
2. Their methodology.....	7
a. Internal evidence of readings.....	8
b. Internal evidence of documents.....	9
c. Internal evidence of groups.....	10
d. Genealogical evidence.....	11
3. Their results.....	13
B. Researches Made Since Westcott and Hort.....	16
1. General studies.....	17
a. Defense of the Textus Receptus.....	17
b. Longior lectio potior.....	19
c. New evidence discovered.....	21
(1) Syriac-Sinaitic.....	22
(2) Freer Gospels.....	23
(3) Codex Koridethi.....	24
2. Researches of B. H. Streeter.....	25
3. Discovery of Papyri evidence.....	31
a. Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri.....	33
b. Bodmer Papyri Library.....	35

CHAPTER	PAGE
4. Recent studies in theory.....	37
a. Value of the versions.....	37
b. Significance of grouping manuscripts.....	43
(1) External evidence.....	45
(2) Internal evidence.....	47
(3) Mediating position.....	49
c. Variants and the history of interpretation.....	54
III. SELECTED VARIANTS IN LUKE.....	58
A. The Extent of the Problem.....	58
B. Western Non-Interpolations.....	60
C. The Eucharistic Words of Jesus: Luke 22:19b-20...67	67
D. Synopsis.....	73
IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	76
A. External Evidence.....	76
B. Internal Evidence.....	80
C. Future Work.....	82
APPENDIX.....	84
I. Collation of ABS against Westcott and Hort in Luke..85	85
II. Chart of Major Supporting Witnesses.....	90
III. Diagram of Streeter's Local Text-Types.....	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	92

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Almost twenty years ago, R. V. G. Tasker wrote that it had become quite certain that the text of Drs. Westcott and Hort could not with any veracity be called The New Testament in the Original Greek.<sup>1</sup> Recently, Dr. Kurt Aland related in a paper, read before the Society of Biblical Literature during the seminar on New Testament Textual Criticism, that in his country every New Testament scholar speaks of Westcott and Hort with a great deal of respect. "Indeed," he commented, "we all have grounds to be indebted to the work of Westcott and Hort."<sup>2</sup> At the same time; however, he intimated his concurrence with Tasker's evaluation of the work of Westcott and Hort on the text of the New Testament.

A. H. McNeile claimed that the theory of Westcott and Hort is of "permanent validity" and "scholarship owes a heavy debt to the two great Cambridge men for their clear

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<sup>1</sup>R. V. G. Tasker, "An Introduction of the MSS of the New Testament," Harvard Theological Review, 41(April, 1948), 73.

<sup>2</sup>Kurt Aland, "The Significance of the Papyri for Progress in New Testament Research," The Bible in Modern Scholarship(Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), p. 325.

grasp and formulation of them."<sup>3</sup> The importance of Westcott and Hort's text rests on the high premium placed on their methodology. A cursory reading of almost any of the Introductions to the field of textual criticism will immediately impress this fact on the reader's mind.<sup>4</sup>

Norman Huffman even longer ago declared that "textual discussions today should probably begin by showing wherein the Neutral text and the theories of Westcott and Hort are inadequate."<sup>5</sup>

The aim of this thesis is to survey the significant textual researches made in the New Testament since the publication of the critical text by Drs. Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort in 1881. The scope of this thesis includes only a survey of the important contributions made and problems raised in the text of the Gospels. The significance of the Gospels themselves justifies such a study. The last century witnessed the limitation of the historical Jesus of the Gospels to the natural realm--Baur, Harnack,

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<sup>3</sup>A. H. McNeile, An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 419.

<sup>4</sup>See the Bibliography for a list of the more important general introductions in English.

<sup>5</sup>Norman Huffman, "Suggestions From the Gospel of Mark For a New Textual Theory," Journal of Biblical Literature, 56(December, 1937), 347.



Strauss, etc. This century has seen a revived interest in the quest for the historical Jesus. However, before sound scholarly work can be done in the life of Christ, the textual critic must do his task.

This thesis is divided into three units of discussion. The first unit is a historical discussion of the research made in the text of the Gospels since Westcott and Hort with special emphasis upon recent research in theory.

The basis for the second unit is the result of collating the new text of the American Bible Society<sup>6</sup> with the text of Westcott and Hort<sup>7</sup> in the Gospel of Luke. The Gospel of Luke has been chosen for at least two reasons. The so-called "Western non-interpolations" found in the last three chapters of Luke have required a new evaluation in the light of the new papyrus evidence. Also, the recently acquired Bodmer Papyri Library contains the earliest witness to the text of the Gospel of Luke--P<sup>75</sup>.

The last unit consists of an assessment of the work done and a few suggestions for future research. It has been thought helpful to include the collation in the appendix.

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<sup>6</sup>B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek: Text (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1886), pp. 114-187.

<sup>7</sup>Kurt Aland and others (eds.), The Greek New Testament (New York: American Bible Society, 1966), pp. 199-320.

## CHAPTER II

### A HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM SINCE WESTCOTT AND HORT

The purpose of the first chapter is to investigate the significant contributions that have been made in the study of the text of the Gospels. The nature of the investigation involves a historical survey of the problems related to the Gospel texts. The material has been broadly divided into two areas: (1) the work of Westcott and Hort and (2) the work since Westcott and Hort. The emphasis of the second division contained in this chapter is on recent textual theory in the light of many new discoveries.

#### A. THE METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS OF WESTCOTT AND HORT

1. Their materials. Before examining Westcott and Hort's principles of textual criticism and the results of their application, a general appraisal of the written evidence available to them is necessary. Westcott and Hort did not describe their available materials in great detail; however, it is possible to identify the materials they utilized with a high degree of confidence. In the preparation of their text, Westcott and Hort disclosed their sources for their materials:

We have deliberately chosen on the whole to rely for documentary evidence on the stores accumulated by our

predecessors...We have no considerable private stores to add to the common stock.

Their documentary materials were classified into three groups of witnesses: (1) extant Greek manuscripts including the Uncials, Minuscules, and Lectionaries, (2) ancient translations of the Greek text, and (3) Patristic quotations from the New Testament. Westcott and Hort reported that the Gospels were extant in nineteen uncial manuscripts in "fair completeness."<sup>9</sup> Besides these fairly complete documents, Westcott and Hort were cognizant of many fragments of the Gospels. Kurt Aland reasoned that:

Westcott and Hort could not have known of more than about 45, because the number of manuscripts cited by Tischendorf in his eighth edition of the Greek New Testament lies within this range.<sup>10</sup>

Aland's suggestive number included the Greek uncial manuscripts not just in the Gospels but comprised the complete New Testament; the number in the Gospels known to Westcott and Hort therefore, can be reduced somewhat.

Westcott and Hort knew of the existence of about 900 to 1000 cursives for the entire New Testament. They were also aware of the existence of about 400 Greek lectionaries of

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<sup>8</sup>B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), pp. 89, 90.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>10</sup>Aland, op. cit., p. 328.

which about eighty per cent contained only Gospel lessons. Westcott and Hort recognized that if we "confine our attention to those sufficiently known to be used regularly as direct evidence," the nominal reckoning would be greatly reduced.<sup>11</sup> The number of cursives sufficiently known to be utilized as a witness was reputed to be about 150.<sup>12</sup> As far as the practical use of Gospel Lectionaries, Westcott and Hort declared that "comparatively few Lectionaries have as yet been collated."<sup>13</sup>

The two Cambridge men classified their ancient versions into three principal groups: Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian. The documentary sources for the Old Latin text were well represented. Westcott and Hort knew of the existence of two manuscripts in the Gospels attesting to the African Latin besides the quotations by Cyprian (ca. 250). Both of them (Codex Palatinus, e; Codex Bobiensis, k) were unfortunately very imperfect. A second known type of Old Latin text was found in Western Europe and was attested in

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<sup>11</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction, p. 76.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

the Gospels by several manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> Westcott and Hort had further isolated another group thought to represent an Old Latin text in Northern Italy. This text was represented by two manuscripts in the Gospels (Codex Brixianus, f; Codex Monacensis, q). Most scholars today are inclined to think that this last group is in reality a witness to the Vulgate rather than an Italian text.

They knew of three Syriac translations of the Gospels: (1) an imperfect copy of the Gospels, (2) a Syriac harmony of the Gospels which had been compiled by Tatian about 150-170, the Diatessaron, and (3) the Harklean Syriac which was a revision made from the Old Syriac.

There were two Egyptian versions that represented the Gospels--the Bohairic or Memphitic and the Sahidic or Thebic. Westcott and Hort mentioned the knowledge of three minor versions--Ethiopic, Armenian, and Gothic which was the work of Ulfilas.

The third group of extant materials known to Westcott and Hort, the early Church Fathers, were employed only to a limited extent.

2. Their methodology. By employing previous collections of variant readings, Westcott and Hort refined the

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<sup>14</sup>Codex Vercellensis, a; Codex Veronensis, b; Codex Colbertinus, c; Codex Corbeiensis, ff; Codex Claromontanus, h; Codex Vindabonensis, i; Codex Dublinensis, r.

textual critical methodology first developed by Johann Jakob Griesbach(1745-1812) and Karl Lachmann(1793-1851), then applied it discriminatingly to the extant documents of the New Testament. Because of the intrinsic value of their theory and its importance as a base for virtually all subsequent work in New Testament textual criticism, a terse summary of their methodology is given. The source for the following discussion is Westcott and Hort's Introduction.

a. Internal evidence of readings. Whenever the textual critic was confronted with a unit-of-variation in the text, the instinctive response was to accept the reading which best fitted contextually the given passage or unit. This was accomplished by considering two kinds of probable evidence--intrinsic and transcriptional.

Intrinsic probability considered the variant readings from the author's point of view and transcriptional probability considered the unit-of variation from the scribe's vantage. When each of the variant readings of the unit seemed acceptable, a phenomenon not uncommon, the import of intrinsic probability was lost and the less subjective transcriptional evidence was called upon. It was less subjective because it was based upon a consideration of certain causes of corruption incident to transcription. Westcott and Hort cautioned against accepting this evidence as truly objective

because it was not always easy to discern which "observed proclivities" may have influenced a scribe. Westcott and Hort related that transcriptional probability was not primarily concerned with the "relative excellence of rival readings," but with the "relative fitness of each for explaining the existence of the other."<sup>15</sup>

In such instances when the two kinds of internal evidence coincided in preference of one reading and there was no likely explanation for the existence of a variant, then other methods had to be appealed to in order to reach a decision.

b. Internal evidence of documents. Westcott and Hort thought the reliability of the witnesses was a more objective criterion than internal probabilities. The first step towards gaining a credulous foundation for constructing the original text of the New Testament was their principle that "knowledge of documents should precede final judgement upon readings."<sup>16</sup>

Documentary evidence involved a threefold process of application. The readings were examined in order to gather materials, then the documents were examined in the light of

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<sup>15</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

this prior investigation. Finally, the readings were re-examined with the aim of making a tentative conclusion in accordance with the documentary authority.

The impossibility of assigning to each document a numerical value in proportion to its excellence vitiated the force of internal evidence of documents applied to reconstructing the text. It was made an impossible task because many documents were transcribed from more than one exemplar. It is now an acknowledged fact that no single manuscript represents a completely homogeneous text.

c. Internal evidence of groups. If it was possible to determine the general value of one document in relation to others, then reasoned Westcott and Hort, it was possible to ascertain the general value of a group of documents in relation to other groups. This principle demonstrated a two-fold augmentation not discernible in the internal evidence of a document. Westcott and Hort argued that the mixture present in a single document could be isolated and examined separately in a family grouping. The second increment of grouping documents was that it clearly exhibited that the mere counting of documents had little validity because it had revealed that a numerically small group could be "good" while a large group could be "bad." This procedure was employed by Westcott and Hort after they had applied the internal



evidence of a document. Chronologically it had been discovered by them after the genealogical evidence.

d. Genealogical evidence. The second great step through the maze of attestation presented by the internal evidence of documents was the genealogical stemma.

All trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history, that is, of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents.<sup>17</sup>

The importance of textual genealogy was obvious when shown that "no multiplication of copies...can give their joint testimony any higher authority than that of the single document from which they sprang."<sup>18</sup> Textual genealogy of documents was chiefly traced by the comparison of their text with each other. Not frequently; however, it can be deduced from certain external sources. Westcott and Hort made the process contingent upon the principle that "identity of reading" implied "identity of origin."<sup>19</sup> Accidental agreement was recognized by Westcott and Hort as a second possibility in the process, but they concluded that the chance that it had happened was relatively small.

The task of tracing textual genealogy of documents

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>18</sup>B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek (New York: Macmillan Company, 1928), p. 545.

<sup>19</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction, p. 46.

was admittedly made complex by the "early and frequent confluence of different lines of descent by mixture" and the "consequent rarity of pure representatives."<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, they confessed that the admixture of the manuscripts was "comparatively seldom productive of real or permanent difficulty in determining what lines of transmission did or did not contain a given reading in ancient times."<sup>21</sup>

The genealogical method applied involved three steps. First, the documentary evidence for a succession of individual variations was compared and analyzed in order to recover the earliest possible ancestor. Next the observations were used to determine the genealogical relations among the documents. The third step applied the results to the interpretation of the documentary evidence for each variant involved.

This third step gave three results. It made possible the removal of a vast number of readings demonstrated to be of late origin. Among the remaining readings, it limited the possible antecedents of the existing amalgamations of documentary witnesses and rendered a judgment upon them anywhere from favorable to tantamount. The third result acknowledged that several interpretations were possible because of the

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<sup>20</sup>Westcott and Hort, Text(1928), p. 545, 546.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 546.

inequalities in the genealogical evidence.

3. Their results. When the manuscripts and other witnesses were examined for family groupings, Westcott and Hort found four major groups which they identified as texts: (1) Syrian Text, (2) Neutral Text, (3) Alexandrian Text, (4) Western Text. While determining textual genealogy, Westcott and Hort recognized that a manuscript may have transmitted one ancient text-type in approximate purity or it may have been directly or indirectly derived by admixture.

What has to be noted is, first, the presence or absence of distinctively Syrian or distinctively Pre-Syrian readings; and secondly, among Pre-Syrian readings, the presence or absence of distinctively Western, or distinctively Alexandrian, or distinctively neutral readings.<sup>22</sup>

Codex Bezae (D) was the best representative of their Western Text-type in the Synoptic Gospels. It was thought to had been written in the fourth century attesting almost assuredly to a second century Greek text in Western Europe. The Italian, European, and African forms of the Old Latin text supplied, in their estimation, a secondary authority for distinctive Western readings and probably belonged to a very early stage of the Western Text.

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 553.

A second Pre-Syrian type of text was located in Codex Vaticanus (B). To Westcott and Hort, Codex B seemed to be entirely free in the Gospels, Acts, and Catholic Epistles from distinctive Western readings. Likewise they were not able to identify any Alexandrian readings in their most valued codex.

Neither of the early streams of innovation (with rare exceptions) has touched it (B) to any appreciable extent.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, they felt quite free in naming this text-type the Neutral Text.

Codex Aleph, a contemporary of B, was almost entirely pre-Syrian and free to a large extent from distinctively Western and Alexandrian readings. Undoubtedly; however, X had undergone more extensive admixture in the Gospels than B. Codex X revealed that it was influenced by both the Western and Alexandrian text, especially in Luke's Gospel, where numerous Western readings were observed.<sup>24</sup>

Westcott and Hort claimed that all the other extant Greek manuscripts possessed either a Syrian text type or a mixed text. The greatest contrast with B, X in the Gospels was Codex Alexandrinus (A). Codex A probably represented a

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<sup>23</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction, p. 150.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

common text of the Gospels utilized in the fourth century. This manuscript represented a Syrian text-type containing frequent Western readings.

The uncial Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus agreed more often with the Syrian text than any other text type, but it combined readings of the Syrian texts in varying proportions. The unfortunately fragmentary codices Borgianus (T) and Zacynthius (E) represented a close affinity to B with very few Western readings. Codex Regius (L), a relatively complete eighth century document of the Gospels, had as its base a non-Western pre-Syrian type of text. Westcott and Hort said concerning L that "no extant MS has preserved so many Alexandrian readings in the Gospel."<sup>25</sup> L had been mixed with some Syrian and late Western elements by a blundering scribe. Codex Sangallensis (Δ) represented in the Gospels an ordinary Syrian text-type with a sparse additive of Alexandrian and Western readings, but in Mark it had been replaced by a mixture of non-Western pre-Syrian text-type much similar to L.

The palimpsest fragments P Q R Z of the Gospels were mixed, but contained a considerable amount of pre-Syrian readings. Other fragmentary manuscripts of the Gospels known to Westcott and Hort (N X ΓΣ K M) contained very few pre-Syrian readings.

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

Once the constituent elements of each principal extant document had been approximately determined, it was possible to ascertain the genealogical relations of a much larger number of readings. True readings were able to be distinguished from false readings in a high proportion of cases on the basis of the characteristics of the several ancient texts.

If a reading in the Gospels was attested by numerous late Greek manuscripts and not by any of the witnesses already mentioned or the Old Latin, the Old Syriac, Coptic, or early Church Fathers before A. D. 250, there was the highest possible assumption that it was distinctively Syrian, and therefore, "to be rejected at once as proved to have a relatively late origin."<sup>26</sup> Westcott and Hort added to this presumption that non-Western readings were preferable to Western, and non-Alexandrian was preferable to Alexandrian.<sup>27</sup> They discovered some notable exceptions to this presumption in the Western non-interpolations.

#### B. RESEARCHES MADE SINCE WESTCOTT AND HORT

The work done by these two Cambridge scholars culminated the struggle for a critical text started some one hundred years earlier by the German scholar Johann Griesbach.

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>27</sup>Westcott and Hort, Text(1928), p. 556.

At the same time they brought about the final dethronement of the Textus Receptus. There were two different responses to their work: (1) rejection resulting in the final defense of the Textus Receptus and (2) acceptance although with various modifications of their theory and results in light of further studies.

1. General studies.

a. Defense of the Textus Receptus. Westcott and Hort's total rejection of the Textus Receptus as the original text did not happen without some strong opposition. The man most responsible for the final defense of the dethroned Textus Receptus was Dean John W. Burgon (1813-1888). Dean Burgon fought his enemy with strong vehemence. His arguments were set forth in a series of three articles written for the London Quarterly Review and subsequently published in a significant volume.<sup>28</sup> Burgon's arguments were basically threefold and centered around the strong conviction that every word of the Sacred Scriptures was dictated by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.<sup>29</sup> Coupled with this domina-

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<sup>28</sup>John W. Burgon, The Revision Revised (London: John Murray, 1883).

<sup>29</sup>George Salmon, Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament (London: John Murray, 1897), p. 2.

ting conviction was his High-Church view that God had providentially guided the transmission of the text without any serious corruption. Consequently, the Textus Receptus which had been accepted by the Church for some 1500 years was regarded as substantially correct.<sup>30</sup>

Secondly, the Dean of Chichester argued unconvincingly against the genealogical method employed by Westcott and Hort. He insisted that the Syrian text was older and intrinsically superior. Based upon this assumption, Burgon argued a third point that the attestation of a few supposedly early manuscripts must not be accepted as superior to the majority. He alleged "without a particle of hesitation" that X B D were "three of the most scandalously corrupt copies extant:-- exhibited the most shamefully mutilated texts which are anywhere to be met with" and had become "the depositories of the largest amount of fabricated readings, ancient blunders, and intentional perversions of truth," which were discoverable in "any known copies of the Word of God."<sup>31</sup>

His argument was based upon his collations of manuscripts A C B X D against the Textus Receptus in 111 (out of 320) pages of a Greek New Testament. His results are shown

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<sup>30</sup>Salmon, loc. cit.

<sup>31</sup>Burgon, op. cit., p. 16.



in the table following:<sup>32</sup>

	A	C	B	X	D
Variations with Textus Receptus	842	1798	2370	3392	4697
Peculiar readings	133	170	197	443	1829

Edward Miller, Burgon's literary executor, carried on his mentor's arguments after his death in 1888, but was soon regarded as inconsequential and injudicious.

b. Longior lectio potior. Albert C. Clark challenged one of the maxims of classical and Biblical textual criticism laid down by Griesbach--brevior lectio potior. Clark was convinced of the falsity of this axiom as the result of his researches in the Latin text of Cicero. He was persuaded that accidental deletion had been a more common transcriptional corruption than intentional interpolation. Clark adjudged that all extant manuscripts were descended from an ancestor written in lines of varying length--such as represented by D.<sup>33</sup> He claimed that there were numerous examples of classical texts involving a variable number of letters in an average line in which the longer text can be explained by the scribes's omission rather than the reverse.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>33</sup>Albert C. Clark, The Primitive Text of the Gospel and Acts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), p. vii.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

The application of his principle, longior lectio potior, to the Gospel texts resulted in a high appreciation of the characteristically longer Western text in opposition to Westcott and Hort's equally high reliance upon the Neutral text. Clark related that the primitive text of the Gospels was not to be discovered in B,  $\lambda'$  or even in the majority as claimed by Burgon, but "in the Western family, i. e. in the ancient versions and Codex Bezae."<sup>35</sup>

Clark's theory found few protagonists and several antagonists. F. G. Kenyon illustrated this opposition when he argued that (1) since the length of lines were always variable, the arithmetical method of counting letters cannot be trusted except in short passages; (2) most variant readings were caused by differences in wording and not by scribal deletions; (3) all sensible deletions cannot be explained by accidental omission; (4) and the narrow columns required by Clark's theory were extremely rare in the early papyri (Cf. Chester Beatty Papyrus--P<sup>45</sup>).<sup>36</sup> Dr. Bruce Metzger argued further that the circumstances for the transcription of

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. vi.

<sup>36</sup>Frederic G. Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible (London: Gerald Duckworth and Company, 1958), p. 231.

Cicero's Verrine orations and the Gospel accounts were quite different.<sup>37</sup>

Some twenty years later, Clark revised his theory from accidental transcriptional deletions to deliberate editorial alterations. Metzger cogently argued that the canon brevior lectio praeferenda est remains valid especially in light of the research into the texts of Iliad and Mahabharata which revealed that scribes and redactors were "reluctant to omit anything from the text of these two epics which had been transmitted to them."<sup>38</sup>

c. New evidence discovered. Success is determined quite largely by the amount and quality of the available materials. Wescott and Hort probably did not have access to more than 50 uncial manuscripts while today Aland has catalogued at least 224 of them.<sup>39</sup> This century has witnessed a significant record of a great number of manuscript finds. Before these discoveries, the witness of Codex B could never be safely rejected.

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<sup>37</sup>Bruce Metzger, The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 162.

<sup>38</sup>Bruce Metzger, "Trends in the Textual Criticism of the Iliad, the Mahabharata, and the New Testament," Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1963), p. 154.

<sup>39</sup>Aland, op. cit., p. 328.

(1) Syriac-Sinaitic. The first in chronological importance and hailed by Harnack the most important testimony for our Gospels was the discovery of the Old Syriac palimpsest at Mt. Sinai in the Convent of St. Catherine in 1892 by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis.<sup>40</sup> Its colophon told that it had lain untouched since 778 in a monastery located in Ma'arrath Mesren near Antioch when the monk, John the Stylite, completed his story of the female saints. Mrs. Lewis discovered that the monk had utilized an ancient copy of the Four Gospels and had washed off its text in order to finish his stories.

Before this important discovery, only one manuscript had been extant attesting to the Old Syriac--a parchment written in a clear hand and edited by William Cureton in 1858. Both were assigned a fifth century date; however, most scholars acknowledged that they preserved a text-type dating between 175-225. The Sinaitic palimpsest represented a slightly earlier text than did the Curetonian parchment.

The significance of this discovery was recognized in the fact that it was the only nearly complete witness of the Old Syriac Version of the Gospels extant and one that had escaped the fate of the Peshitta which had fallen victim to

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<sup>40</sup>Agnes Lewis, "What Have We Gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest," Expository Times 12(November, 1900-01), 56.

the assimilation to the approved Greek text of the day. Mrs. Lewis claimed that its chief virtue was its representation of the Western text and its confirmation of the judgment of Westcott and Hort concerning the Western non-interpolations.<sup>41</sup> This claim now seems premature to many scholars.

(2) Freer Gospels. Apart from the papyri, the most notable addition to the manuscript tradition was a group of four vellum manuscripts purchased in Cairo, Egypt, by Charles L. Freer in 1906.<sup>42</sup> The Freer documents are now residing in the Freer Art Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. Of these, Codex Washingtonensis (W), dated in the late fourth or early fifth century, was the most important. The arrangement of the Gospels in W was identical with that found in D (Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark).

Most scholars have considered the importance of this codex in its variegated text. Mark 1:1-5:30 witnessed to a text very close to the Old Latin while the remaining chapters of Mark resembled a Caesarean type of text. Its editor, H. A. Sanders discovered that Luke was also divided into two distinct text-types (Luke 1:1-8:12, Alexandrian; Luke 8:13-24:53, Byzantine). He found that Matthew contained a text approxi-

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>42</sup>F. G. Kenyon, The Bible and Archaeology (New York: Harper and Brothers, (1940)), p. 257.

mating the Byzantine standard and John 5:12-21:35 witnessing to the Alexandrian text. John 1:1-5:11 comprised a mixed text including Alexandrian readings and a few Western readings. Sanders offered, in explanation of this phenomenon, that its ancestor was a composite book composed of several rolls of the Gospels which had been preserved in the time of Diocletian's persecution.

(3) Codex Koridethi. This manuscript was discovered in a remote valley in the Caucasian Mountains where "it had long been a kind of village fetish."<sup>43</sup> Earlier it had belonged to a monastery at Koridethi located at the eastern end of the Black Sea. It was not until 1913 that its complete text became available to textual scholars. Dr. Blake alleged that the scribe was a Georgian who had been familiar with the Coptic script and ignorant of Greek.<sup>44</sup> The manuscript is probably to be dated in the ninth century and is presently located in Tiflis, the capital of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia.

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<sup>43</sup>B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins (New York: MacMillan Company, 1925), p. 79.

<sup>44</sup>Kirsopp Lake and R. P. Blake, "The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex," Harvard Theological Review 16(July, 1923), 283.

The importance of this discovery was not in its date or text-type because it suffered greatly by the hands of the Byzantine standard. Streeter called attention to the fact that  $\theta$  provided the missing link that had prevented scholars from recognizing the real connection between certain cursives.<sup>45</sup> Kirsopp Lake was credited as advancing the first great step in demonstrating that connection. Lake made the exciting discovery that  $\theta$  and the following cursives, family 1, family 13, 28, 565, and 700, formed a single family.<sup>46</sup> Streeter added other members to this family and gave it the name--Caesarean.

2. Researches of B. H. Streeter. In any discussion of a history of the problem of textual criticism of the Gospels, the contributions of B. H. Streeter will be made familiar. The distinctive themes applicable for this study are his views regarding the local texts and the Caesarean text.

Canon Streeter recognized that the great number of newly found manuscripts and their diversities created a problem for the textual critic. He isolated three problems to be resolved: (1) the manuscripts dated between the second and

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<sup>45</sup>Streeter, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>46</sup>Lake and Blake, op. cit., p. 275.

fifth century, whose great divergencies needed to be explained, (2) the genesis of the Byzantine standard and how it usurped acceptance over the other texts, (3) and as nearly as possible the reconstruction of the authentic text of the authors.<sup>47</sup> This last problem had been and continues to be the primary perspective of most textual critics (exceptions will be mentioned later).

Streeter's theory was not wholly new, but a refinement of Westcott and Hort's methodology in the light of the acquisition of new documentary evidence. Streeter cited manuscripts B and X as witnesses of a contemporary local text extant in Alexandria; consequently, rejected Hort's unreal "Neutral Text."<sup>48</sup> However, he concurred with Westcott and Hort that B was the best representative of the text-type.

Hort and Griesbach had lumped together under the name "Western" several distinct local texts which were separated by Streeter. He disliked the huge grouping and located all the witnesses into two distinct geographical areas--Eastern and Western. The Eastern text was found to exist in Antioch and Caesarea. Italy and Carthage were isolated as the local site for the Western text (see diagram in Appendix III).

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<sup>47</sup>Streeter, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 32.



Streeter was persuaded that the recently discovered documents could aid in giving a fairly clear concept of the various text-types current about 230 in Alexandria, Caesarea, Antioch, Italy-Gaul, and Carthage.<sup>49</sup>

Streeter next investigated the Sitz im Leben which gave rise to the local texts and the nature of that process of progressive correction into a standard with the Byzantine text. The Canon of Hereford Cathedral (1915-1934) accepted the revision made by Lucian of Antioch (ca. 300) as the base for the Byzantine text.<sup>50</sup> Henceforth, all copies of manuscripts were converged into this standard slowly resulting in a mixed text. Only those manuscripts existing in isolated monasteries escaped this standardization. Streeter observed that this phenomenon occurred not only to the current manuscripts, but also to the early Fathers. This process of standardization led Streeter to postulate a canon of high importance:

Of MSS, whether Greek or Latin, later than the fifth century, only those readings need be noted which differ from the standard text.<sup>51</sup>

At the same time, Streeter cautioned against being deluded that a manuscript's value depended upon its age. He noted

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

that the superiority of a manuscript depended upon its pedigree.<sup>52</sup>

In order to establish the original text, the locality of the various texts had to be first discovered. Streeter suggested that the clue to establishing the locality of each text was found in the great Versions. The evidence that the Greek texts were translated into the respective languages at Rome and Alexandria was conclusive. However, it was not so conclusive that the Old Syriac represented the Greek text current in Antioch; nevertheless, Streeter argued to include Antioch as the respective center.<sup>53</sup>

Next Streeter occupied himself with the texts of these great centers. He found that manuscripts B X L are close to the Coptic versions, thus they represented a text current in Alexandria. One problem involved with a local text at Alexandria was the presence of Western readings in some of the manuscripts including some of the Sahidic manuscripts. Streeter concluded that B is the best representative of the text and that at a very early date, a Western text was cir-

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 74, 75.

culated in Egypt. One excellent example was Clement of Alexandria who has many infused Western readings. Streeter argued cogently that Clement came to Egypt from Rome and was influenced by his Roman training.<sup>54</sup>

He discovered that Jerome's Vulgate played the same role in standardizing the Latin manuscripts in the West as the Byzantine text standard did with the Greek manuscripts. Streeter found two distinct types among the old Latin manuscripts. He called one African Latin because its text is akin to Cyprian, the African Bishop ca. 250. Dr. Sanday demonstrated that the text of k is almost identical with that used in Carthage by Cyprian.<sup>55</sup> The other type which he identified was the European Latin or Italic. The African Latin has many readings agreeing with B X against the European Latin. The European Latin represented a text furthest removed from B.<sup>56</sup>

Greek was used in Rome for about two centuries, then it died out gradually in favor of Latin. Two of the early Greek Fathers in Rome (Justin, Marcion) used a text very close to the Old Latin. Probably, the Greek text in Rome was superseded by the Latin about 230 A. D. Further, there were prob-

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

ably two translations made which are now represented by k and b. Codex D is practically the sole representative of the Greek text used in Rome. Streeter found that W in Mark 1-5:30 represented a text close to e.

Streeter further cited scanty evidence to support the existence of a text close to D in Ephesus. Streeter tentatively concluded that the African Latin represented a translation of an older Roman text, and D and the European Latin were derived from Ephesus and Rome.<sup>57</sup>

New studies indicated that the Old Syriac did not represent a Western text, but an Eastern text. Earlier it was thought that Eusebius of Caesarea (325) and the Syr-Cur. were witnesses to the Western text, but since the discovery of the Syr-Sin. manuscript, this idea has been revised. The Syr-Sin. was thought by Burkitt and Streeter to have been translated from a Greek text current in Antioch and was influenced somewhat by Tatian's Diatessaron which represented a Western text.<sup>58</sup> The Syr-Sin. is simply too divergent from the Diatessaron to be a witness to the Western text. Thus, Streeter suggested that the Syr-Sin. represents the

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

text which was current in Antioch around 200 A. D. It must be said that the evidence is not strong.

Streeter's identification of the Caesarean text has previously been mentioned. He described the text as equidistant between the Alexandrian and the Western text. He found further that family  $\Theta$  had striking additions against the Textus Receptus and was supported by the Old Syriac, D, and the Old Latin. Further, Streeter concluded that the longer omissions in family  $\Theta$  nearly always supported the shorter reading with B and Syr-Sin.<sup>59</sup>

Origen's text was very important evidence for Streeter in determining the origin of this new text-type. Streeter found that Origen used an Alexandrian text of Mark in his early books of his Commentary on John and a mixed text in the later books. After citing various lines of evidence, Streeter concluded that family  $\Theta$  represented the text which Origen found already in existence in Caesarea in 231 A. D.<sup>60</sup>

3. Discovery of Papyri evidence. H. H. Oliver interpreted the papyri as highly valued sources for the New Testament text because "it is generally believed that the original

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 84, 85.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

New Testament books were written on papyrus and that papyri generally antedate the oldest uncial MSS."<sup>61</sup> The word papyrus was not even mentioned by Westcott and Hort.<sup>62</sup> Kurt Aland related that today there is a knowledge of nearly eighty New Testament papyri of which seventy-five have been published since 1900.<sup>63</sup>

The new papyrus evidence has decisively moved the date of text established by Westcott and Hort earlier some 150 years. Nearly twenty-five papyri have been dated in the third century. In regard to the Gospels, twelve papyri, dated before the fourth century, contain fragments of Matthew; Mark, 1; Luke, 4; John, 11.<sup>64</sup> An objection to these figures was that the oldest document does not necessarily contain the best text.

Some papyri are evidently more significant in their date and content than others. The two most important papyri acquisitions were the Chester Beatty papyrus in 1930-31 and the Bibliotheca Bodmer of Geneva in 1955-56.

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<sup>61</sup>Harold H. Oliver, "Present Trends in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," Journal of Bible and Religion 30(October, 1962), 309.

<sup>62</sup>Aland, op. cit., p. 326.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 326, 327.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 332.

a. Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. The first great acquisition chronologically was made by Sir Chester Beatty and consisted of twelve manuscripts in Egypt. Sir Beatty was quite confident that the papyri came from the Fayum area in Egypt. F. G. Kenyon edited the papyri with introductions and descriptions of the text. Our concern is with the papyrus containing the Gospels and Acts and given the siglum P<sup>45</sup> by E. von Dobschutz who had the keeping of the generally accepted registers of the New Testament manuscripts.<sup>65</sup> Kenyon thought the papyrus originally comprised about 220 pages with approximately thirty-nine lines to a page. Kenyon dated P<sup>45</sup> in the first half of the third century. Extant are parts of 60 pages distributed in this way: Matthew, 4; John, 4; Mark, 12; Luke, 14; Acts, 26. P<sup>45</sup> witnessed to a Greek text of the Gospels at least one-hundred years earlier than B or X. Its confirmation of the essential soundness of the already existing texts was the most important conclusion reached. Kenyon affirmed, "No important omissions or additions of passages, and no variations affect vital facts or doctrines."<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>F. G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible: General Introduction (London: Emery Walker Limited, 1963), p. 6.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

Aland was of the opinion that the early papyri introduced a new stage in New Testament textual studies by demonstrating the existence of several divergent forms in circulation at about the same time and in the same locality.<sup>67</sup> P<sup>45</sup> clearly illustrated the burgeoning of this new stage.

Aland commented that one of the more important results of this new stage has been the revision of Westcott and Hort's judgment of Western non-interpolations as authoritative.<sup>68</sup> The Beatty papyrus was eagerly examined in order to shed light upon the debate that arose around the importance of the Western text. At the heart of the debate was the fact that the Western text-type attested to a text earlier than the Alexandrian text-type. Kenyon was not so presumptuous as to think that he had the final verdict on the debate, but he did make some valuable claims. He concluded generally that P<sup>45</sup> did not attest definitely to the Alexandrian or the Western text. He discovered its nearest affinities with Streeter's Caesarean text.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Aland, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>F. G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible: Gospels and Acts: Text (London: Emery Walker Limited, 1933), p. xviii.



A second general conclusion was a revision of Streeter's idea of the origin of the Caesarean text. Kenyon argued that "the occurrence of this type of text in a manuscript from Egypt contemporaneous with, or at latest not much later than, Origen seems to show that the text did not take its rise at Caesarea, but existed already in Egypt."<sup>70</sup>

Thirdly, P<sup>45</sup> confirmed Streeter's view against Westcott and Hort that the idea of a single "Western" text must be abandoned. A fourth general conclusion reached by Kenyon was that B represented a recension rather than a text of "continuous unaltered tradition."<sup>71</sup> This idea has been revised by Kurt Aland and others and will be discussed more in length in the following section.

b. Bodmer Papyri Library. Floyd Filson listed the Bodmer papyri with the Dead Sea Scrolls as among the most remarkable finds in archaeological history.<sup>72</sup> The two papyri under consideration are the Bodmer Papyrus II which contains John virtually complete except for the last seven chapters and was dated about 200. It was assigned the siglum P<sup>66</sup> by Aland.

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<sup>70</sup>Kenyon, Chester Beatty Papyri: General Introduction, p. 16.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Floyd Filson, "The Bodmer Papyri," The Biblical Archaeologist 22(May, 1959), 48.

Papyrus XIV-XV which included eighteen chapters of Luke and the first fifteen chapters of John is the most important for the Gospels among this excellent find and is known as P<sup>75</sup>. Victor Martin edited and published P<sup>66</sup> in 1956 and Martin with Rodophe Kasser edited and published P<sup>75</sup> in 1961. P<sup>75</sup> was dated by its editors between 175-225. Because it is presently the oldest extensive papyrus of the New Testament and the earliest extant copy of the Gospel of Luke it has been claimed by many the most significant manuscript of the New Testament.

The value of P<sup>66</sup> was that it confirmed observations made in relation to P<sup>45</sup>. P<sup>75</sup> was considered valuable because it opened a new door of research. Even prior to Westcott and Hort textual scholarship has been convinced that various recensions of the New Testament were made in the fourth century from which were derived our known text-types. This assumption led to the positing of a term now disliked by many--mixed text. Aland, who has done much work in this area, argued that "it is impossible to speak of mixed texts before recensions have been made."<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Aland, op. cit., p. 335.

P<sup>75</sup> clearly militated against any presumption of a fourth century recension in Egypt because it had close affinities with B.<sup>74</sup> The scribes of B and X were transcribing a text already extant rather than establishing a new text-type. On the other hand, Aland did not preclude the existence of certain text-types. He allowed for the existence of only two text-types and these only after the fourth century--Alexandrian, Byzantine.<sup>75</sup> The papyri dated prior to the fourth century are not to be fitted into distinct text-types. The very existence of these papyri in one region with their divergencies argued against the positing of any text-type prior to the fourth century. Aland entreated that the idea of various text-types had lost its raison d' être.<sup>76</sup>

#### 4. Recent studies in theory.

a. Value of the versions. Recently, A. F. J. Klijn claimed that the ancient versions are of limited value in reconstructing the original Greek text.

For the establishment of the original text, only the Greek text is of worth. The versions can serve as "aids" in determining whether, in specific cases, a Greek variant rose through the influence of the translations.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 336.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 337.

<sup>77</sup>A. F. J. Klijn, "Value of the Versions for the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," Bible Translator 8 (July, 1957), 130.

Earlier Bruce Metzger adjudged, "There are signs; however, of a turn in the tide."<sup>78</sup> Dr. Metzger expressed cautiously his value of the ancient versions when he described the comparison of the knowledge of the versions today with the knowledge of Westcott and Hort as "both encouraging and embarrassing."<sup>79</sup> Klijn acknowledged the value of the ancient versions while at the same time he realistically directed attention to certain features of some of the ancient versions that seriously impede their usefulness. On the other hand, Allen Wikgren reflected the generally accepted opinion that in spite of the limitations, the value of the versions has become well attested for a restoration of the early text of the Gospels.<sup>80</sup>

Presently, the value of the ancient versions is primarily twofold. With certain limitations, they attest to Greek texts around 200 A. D. Secondly, in view of current methodological trends emphasizing rational or internal

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<sup>78</sup>Bruce Metzger, "The Evidence of the Versions for the Text of the New Testament," New Testament Manuscript Studies, eds. M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 25.

<sup>79</sup>Bruce Metzger, "Recent Contributions to the Study of the Ancient Versions of the New Testament," The Bible in Modern Scholarship, ed. J. Philip Hyatt (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), p. 347.

<sup>80</sup>Allen Wikgren, "The Use of the Versions in New Testament Textual Criticism," Journal of Biblical Literature 67 (June, 1948), 136.

evidence in determining the true text, the "versional readings are enjoying an enhanced significance."<sup>81</sup>

Klijn raised three primary objections to the use of the ancient versions in restoring the original text. First, he pointed out that the extant ancient translations of the Greek are known only from manuscripts no earlier than the fourth century. He thought that the origin of the Old Syriac was to be traced back between 150-200 A. D.; however, the Syriac-Sinaitic and Syriac-Cureton dated as fourth or fifth century manuscripts. Therefore, he cautioned that when a versional reading has the support of an early Church Greek author of about 200 A. D. "may we assume that we are dealing with a variant which was found in the Greek text of about this period."<sup>82</sup>

His second objection was that in the versions it is quite possible that literal translations are not involved; rather, and more likely, their origin comprised interpretive translations--targumim.<sup>83</sup> The evidence which Klijn cited

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<sup>81</sup>Allen P. Wikgren, "The Citation of Versional Evidence in an Apparatus Criticus," New Testament Manuscript Studies, eds. Parvis and Wikgren (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 96.

<sup>82</sup>Klijn, Bible Translator 8(1957), 128.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

for this second objection was based upon the assumption that the ancient versions primarily represented a fourth century text rather than a second and third century text. Contrary to this assumption is the opinion assumed by most textual scholars that the extant fourth century manuscripts of the old versions (eg. Syr-Sin.) reflect a late second or early third century text. However, Klijn's objections are relevant and should be considered more in detail by present writers in textual criticism. Added to this is the problem of editing reliable critical texts of the ancient versions. This is a very needed task that rests on the shoulders of current textual critics. When this is done, the debate revolving about the value of the versions can better be resolved.

In order to amplify this problem, the Old Syriac and Coptic versions will be briefly considered. The Old Syriac is preserved today in two manuscripts alone, neither of which is complete. They have already been referred to: (1) Syriac-Curetonian, and (2) Syriac-Sinaitic.

Arthur Vööbus recently announced that his past thirty years of research on Vetus Syra: New Materials for the History of the Old Syriac Version of the Gospels is reaching com-

pletion.<sup>84</sup> This work is long overdue and will render valuable guides. Meanwhile, the debate revolving about Burkitt's edited text and Lewis' edited text remains.

The examination of the text of the Old Syriac generally rendered the conclusion that the text of the Syr-Sin. is slightly earlier than the Syr-Cur. Examination further revealed that there exist several harmonistic combinations between the Old Syriac and the Diatessaron. In fact, Vööbus pointed out that the Old Syriac texts contain readings only attested by the Diatessaron. A debate has grown up concerning the interdependence of the Old Syriac and the Diatessaron. Many have argued that chronologically the Old Syriac text came after Tatian's work and therefore is dependent upon it and several others have argued for a pre-Tatianic text-form. Both Vööbus and Klijn have strongly suggested that Tatian, and he alone, has influenced the Syriac text. However, the extent of influence cannot be determined at this stage for two reasons: (1) lack of knowledge concerning the two texts, and (2) the newly growing opinion that the Diatessaron was

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<sup>84</sup>Cited by Bruce Metzger, The Bible in Modern Scholarship, p. 355.

influenced by the existence of another tetraevangelium.<sup>85</sup>

Klijn argues that the two extant Old Syriac manuscripts represent not "the" old Syriac text, but rather a "great number of variant readings belonging to the old Syriac."<sup>86</sup>

Discussion concerning the text-types of the Old Syriac are still divided. There are those who maintained that it was definitely a Western text-type while others called attention to the many distinct Western readings that it does not support; especially, the Syr<sup>s</sup>. Metzger raised the possibility that the old Syriac could be a witness to the "Eastern non-interpolations" in its shorter readings.<sup>87</sup>

During the early Christian era, the Old Egyptian language acquired several different dialectical forms. Sahidic prevailed from Thebes to the South and Bohairic in Lower Egypt around the Delta. Several intermediate dialects developed along with these. The New Testament text is complete in Bohairic and almost complete in Sahidic. Bohairic later became the official language for the Coptic Church. Most scholars

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<sup>85</sup>A. F. J. Klijn, "A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts (1949-59)," Novum Testamentum 3 (January, 1959), 13.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>87</sup>Metzger, New Testament Manuscript Studies, p. 30.



believed that the Sahidic version originated in the third or fourth century and the Bohairic somewhat later. The dates of the two versions are still being investigated.

The text of the Sahidic version revealed textually a complex picture in the Gospels containing both Western and Alexandrian elements.<sup>88</sup> It has some affinity with P<sup>45</sup>. Generally; however, it is nearer B and X than D.

Both Burkitt and Nestle cited L and Cyril of Alexandria as representing a text very near to the Bohairic Version. Generally, it has fewer Western elements than the Sahidic.

George Horner is credited with the definitive work on the critical edition of the Coptic texts; however, these are old and need to be revised.<sup>89</sup>

b. Significance of grouping manuscripts. Already mentioned had been the grouping of manuscripts into texts by Hort and others. There has been a further grouping of certain manuscripts into "Families" such as Family 1 and Family 13. Von Soden classified his manuscripts into "text-types" and

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<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>89</sup>Cf. The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, Otherwise called Memphitic or Bohairic 4 vols. (Oxford: 1898-1905).

Cf. The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic 7 vols. (Oxford: 1911-24).

sub-groups of these types. Recent scholarship has asked the significance of groupings of New Testament manuscripts. E. C. Colwell has expressed an opinion as to their significance by considering three alternatives that have been suggested. The first group praised the significance of grouping while a second and opposite group saw no value in it. A third position was defended by Colwell as a mediating one that involved a "more careful and controlled use of manuscript groups."<sup>90</sup>

It will be observed that the underlying assumption for three groups has been that the original text can be approximated. The aim of textual criticism is to detect as far as human skill is able all corruptions to the text and remove them. This perspective assumed that textual criticism is primarily a negative and secondary discipline, secondary, "since it comes into play only where the text transmitted by the existing documents appears to be in error"; and negative, "because its final aim is virtually nothing more than the detection and rejection of error."<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>E. C. Colwell, "The Significance of Grouping of New Testament Manuscripts," New Testament Studies 4 (January, 1958), 79. This periodical here after referred to as NT St.

<sup>91</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction, pp. 2, 3.

(1) External evidence. The first group referred to by Colwell are those who attempted a reconstruction of the original text on the basis of grouping manuscripts. This century has witnessed many exponents of this view. It need not be said that Westcott and Hort are excellent examples. Usually, those who regarded manuscript grouping of supreme importance ended up making claims for one group or text-type. Burgon and Miller preferred Westcott and Hort's "Syrian" Text in contrast to their almost complete reliance upon their "Neutral Text" (non-interpolations).

Hort's convincing arguments for the genealogical method expressed a heavy reliance upon the objective use of manuscript groups. However, Colwell has ably pointed out in an excellent article that Westcott and Hort never really applied the method nor did their followers.<sup>92</sup> All of their illustrations of the method were hypothetical reconstructions. Westcott and Hort relied principally upon internal evidence of Documents or Groups and secondarily upon the Genealogical method.<sup>93</sup> Westcott and Hort acknowledged at least two

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<sup>92</sup>E. C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and its Limitations," Journal of Biblical Literature 66(June, 1947), 109. This periodical here after referred to as JBL.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

limitations in using their method. Textual genealogy can trace the family tree to the last two branches, but it can never make the last leap.<sup>94</sup> The second admitted limitation is the presence of mixture in the manuscripts. Their hypothetical stemma assumed no mixture, but they realized the almost universal presence of it. Their paramount error was assuming that one Text escaped mixture--Neutral. They made their judgment primarily on the basis of eight conflate readings. Any text free of these conflate readings was free of mixture.<sup>95</sup> Their failure to realize that no document is "homogeneous enough to justify judgment on the basis of part of its readings for the rest of its readings" was unfortunate.<sup>96</sup>

A. C. Clark preferred the "Western Text" in favor of Hort's Neutral text, but it is regrettable that he wrote before the discovery of the papyri. The papyri clearly illustrated that the length of lines greatly varied and followed no definite pattern as he suggested.

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<sup>94</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction, p. 56f.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>96</sup>Colwell, NTSt 4(January, 1958), 76.

B. H. Streeter, building on Hort's methodology, and concurring with the pronounced unimportance of the Byzantine text, reconstructed a new Text-type (Caesarean) on the basis of recorded variants with the Byzantine standard. This limitation to the variants with the Textus Receptus distorted somewhat the real kinship among the manuscripts.<sup>97</sup>

Many more examples of those who praised highly the canon of manuscript grouping in order to reconstruct the text of the Gospels can be enumerated. However, these already mentioned must suffice.

(2) Internal evidence. Concurrently with those preferring external evidence were those vigorously repudiating it in favor of internal evidence of readings. Lagrange attacked the use of a stemma and advocated la critique rationnelle. Colwell summarized Lagrange's position and concluded that he ultimately championed a "best manuscript" of one text-type.<sup>98</sup> This group is better represented today than it was in the early part of the century. Oliver suggested two possible reasons for the rise of its popularity. The lack of certainty in regard to the traditional "Texts" with the rela-

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<sup>97</sup>Colwell, NTSt 4(January, 1958), 76.

<sup>98</sup>Colwell, JBL 66(June, 1947), 129.

tive importance in restoring the true text is the most crucial one that he mentioned.<sup>99</sup> The second reported by Oliver is the fact that no single manuscript or text-type "has a monopoly on the true text."<sup>100</sup>

The relevant principles of the eclectic school was ably characterized by G. D. Kilpatrick in a discussion concerning the text of the Gospels. Kilpatrick noted that the important point of the eclectic method is that "the decision rests ultimately with the criteria as distinct from the manuscripts," and that the criteria must determine the value of the manuscripts.<sup>101</sup> When the criteria are uncertain or absent, then after the criteria have been applied elsewhere and reveal the value of the manuscript, the manuscripts have the last vote.

The criteria are variable with each eclectic scholar. Some have employed the criterion of style in the Gospels while others have utilized language or the documentary hypothesis. F. C. Burkett is an example of an eclectic who has argued for many Western readings as a result of employing the criterion

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<sup>99</sup>Oliver, op. cit.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

<sup>101</sup>G. D. Kilpatrick, "Western Text and Original Text in the Gospels and Acts," Journal of Theological Studies 44(April, 1943), 25.

of the documentary hypothesis in the Synoptic Gospels. C. H. Turner accepted many Western readings in Mark on the basis that the readings were in accord with Mark's style and language. Kilpatrick concluded that the original text can best be reconstructed by employing a "rigorous eclecticism" and though the Alexandrian text is our best, "all the early types and witnesses contribute something of value, and none can be rejected."<sup>102</sup>

(3) Mediating position. The above two groups represent those who have strongly advocated a Text-type in favor of another and those who vehemently repudiated all efforts at manuscript groupings. Most scholars today fall into a third mediating position. There is value in grouping manuscripts but at the same time their limitations must be kept in mind. E. C. Colwell, an advocate of this position, has made some valuable suggestions for procedure.<sup>103</sup> His suggestions will be discussed as representative. Most of his suggestions are not novel with him, but represent the sound results of combined scholarship in textual theory. (1) Colwell concurred with Westcott and Hort that the first step begins with care-

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>103</sup>Colwell, NTSt 4 (January, 1958), 79-93.

fully distinguishing the various kinds of groups. A study of manuscripts is the Ansatz in procedure. The identification of the members in a Text-type is determined by a group of manuscripts agreeing against other groups in two ways. Few agreements that are unique to the group are necessary. In order to ascertain the existence of a Text-type, a second criterion employed is "the agreement of a group of manuscripts in a large majority of the total readings where the manuscript evidence is divided."<sup>104</sup> This assumed the heterogeneity of every manuscript and ordained that each manuscript should be positioned in that group in which the particular manuscript's dominant element is primary. Colwell summarily suggested four kinds of classification: (1) Family, (2) Tribe, (3) Sub-Text-type, (4) Text-type. The family is the smallest unit and its genealogy can be clearly established in order that its text might be reconstructed. Family grouping is the highest demonstration of Hort's genealogical method and is the only group that can be defined by it.

(2) The second and third suggestions of Colwell are inter-related and will be discussed together. All efforts to reconstruct a text-type should be dismissed and recog-

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., 80.



nized that the text-type involves a process. This suggestion has been demonstrated in the past 20 years by the research done in the "Western text." Klijn announced that one of the main results gained by such research is "that textual critics have become aware of the fact that the development of texts is usually supposed to be a gradual one" rather than radical recensions as once believed.<sup>105</sup> A second result gained is that the only method to be used in determining the original text is the eclectic method. The papyri finds are further demonstrations of this idea. F. C. Burkitt's examination of P<sup>45</sup> led him to conclude that "it is easier...to reconstruct the original than some half-way house like the 'neutral' or the 'Caesarean' text, that contains some corruptions but not all."<sup>106</sup> James E. Baikie concluded in his M. Litt. degree at Cambridge that the Caesarean text "in a measure at least is really a Textual Process."<sup>107</sup> A result that both Streeter and Tasker failed to reach. This concept of textual process shows that the earliest witnesses will not be the purest representative

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<sup>105</sup>Klijn, Novum-Testamentum 3(January, 1959), 3.

<sup>106</sup>F. C. Burkitt, "The Chester Beatty Papyri," Journal of Theological Studies 34(October, 1933), 367.

<sup>107</sup>Bruce Metzger, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospels," Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism ed. Metzger(Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1963), p. 59.

of the Text-type, but will be the forerunners of its group. Perhaps the Western text was the first group recognized to be a process. It was implicitly recognized by some even before the decisive papyri discoveries in 1930-31.

(3) A further suggestion by Colwell was to study simultaneously both variants and Text-types and explore the nature of the tension "between value judgment...and identification of a manuscript as part of a group."<sup>108</sup> The grouping of manuscripts is concerned with something objective and quantitative. After the grouping has been done, the concern for quality and not quantity becomes dominant. Colwell argued with Zuntz against Hort and Klijn that the old maxim 'agreement in a variation from the original shows a common ancestry' is an applicable canon to the study of Text-types. This was based upon the assumption that the quality of an individual reading can be assessed.

(4) Because the New Testament canon does not reflect a single manuscript tradition, Colwell suggested that Text-types be studied "book by book or section by section."<sup>109</sup> This means that the Gospels be studied separately and not as a unit. He cited as evidence for this phenomenon the Freer

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<sup>108</sup>Colwell, NTSt 4(January, 1958), 87.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

Gospels. Connected with this suggestion was the suggestion that Luke should be given priority in the Gospels for the study of text-types.<sup>110</sup>

(5) The history of the text should begin with the earliest witnesses and work back. Aland concurred with Colwell when he insisted that the term 'mixed text' is a misnomer given to the early papyri. This is writing the history of text backwards.

The last suggestion given by Colwell was the realistic statement that various kinds of groupings reflect different values. Once the archetype of a Family has been established, all its additional members can be virtually ignored. This is not true with other manuscript groupings.

One result of this discussion indicates that any theory which assumes that the original text can be reconstructed by following one group exclusive of all others such as was advocated by Westcott and Hort can not be trusted. Neither can the eclectic method, which decides that the text must be established on the basis of language or style alone, be trusted. Kurt Aland has cogently argued the folly of establishing the original text of the Gospels by using the eclectic criterion of language.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>111</sup>Aland, op. cit., pp. 340-41.

It is rather generally accepted that the principles of textual genealogy cannot be applied to the text of the Gospels. Its value is limited to the reconstruction of family groupings alone.

c. Variants and the history of interpretation.

This preceding discussion was based upon the perspective that the original text of the Gospels is the goal to be achieved. To conclude the discussion of recent research in theory here would overlook the growing and important new perspective in textual criticism. It is now being maintained that the old perspective of searching for the original text is incomplete and inadequate. Donald W. Riddle aptly reflected the new perspective when he wrote:

The legitimate task of Textual criticism is not limited to the recovery of approximately the original form of the documents, to the establishment of the 'best' text, nor to the "elimination of spurious readings." It must be recognized that every significant variant records a religious experience which brought it into being. This means that there are no 'spurious readings'; the various forms of the text are sources for the study of the history of Christianity.<sup>112</sup>

Merrill M. Parvis argued that the old perspective was not so detached and objective as claimed, but was in reality adopting a distinct theological understanding.<sup>113</sup> Nineteenth

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<sup>112</sup>Cited by Oliver, op. cit., p. 310.

century historicism viewed history as something objective and distinct. It was possible to find brute facts. The scholars of the nineteenth century, he contended, were searching for the historical Jesus of the Gospels and eliminated what in the Gospels reflected the interpretation of the Church and retained what they considered bare facts. Parvis reasoned that with this same view of history, the New Testament textual critics sought to find the original text in order to eliminate all the later accretions from the text. It must be understood that Parvis reasoned from the assumption that nineteenth century textual critics were theologians.

The beginning of this century witnessed a new theological climate; thus, making necessary a new aim for textual critics. C. H. Dodd declared that the new theological school "emphasizes the character of the Gospels as religious and not historical documents."<sup>114</sup> It would be naive to assume that this concept represents the concensus of Protestant theology today, but it can be assuredly said that it does reflect a strong group in Protestant theology on the authority of the Bible.

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<sup>113</sup>Merrill M. Parvis, "The Nature and Tasks of New Testament Textual Criticism: An Appraisal," Journal of Religion 2(July, 1952), 170.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p. 171.

At least Parvis concurred that mere facts are meaningless and only the events "that is, the occurrences plus their interpretation," have meaning.<sup>115</sup> This means that the textual critic is not a mere scientist in search for objective facts. He is a theologian at the same time attempting to interpret the New Testament. Even if the textual critic can reconstruct the text, he has only recovered one tradition--the written form.

Parvis questioned, "Why should the fact that one form was reduced to writing have given it authority over other existent forms when all were the product of the understanding and interpretation of the primitive Church?"<sup>116</sup> The assumption was that many forms existed side by side in oral tradition, but one eventually assumed a written form and this written form should not be treated as necessarily more significant. From this Parvis deduced that there exist no "spurious readings." Every reading is really a product of the Church and is significant for interpreting the Scriptures. Obviously, Parvis excluded easily detected scribal corruptions.

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

This assumption implied further that manuscript groupings created beasts that never existed.<sup>117</sup> This calls for the eclectic method to be applied to the text but with a perspective differing from eclectics like Klijn or Kilpatrick.

Form criticism has added impetus to this new attitude. D. W. Riddle was the first to express this insight, but more recently it has been refined by F. C. Grant and M. M. Parvis. They both asserted that parts of the genuine tradition may not have been included when first put in written form, but was added later while oral tradition still overlapped with the written tradition. Form criticism can show that perhaps part of the genuine tradition is considered a corruption by many textual critics.

One of the major reasons for the rise of this school was the admission that intentional corruption was very much a factor in the transmission of the text. C. S. C. Williams and Leon Wright have recently written on this idea. They have demonstrated quite effectively the role of doctrinal motivation in altering the text of the Gospels.<sup>118</sup> Both Williams and Wright represent the older perspective.

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<sup>117</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>118</sup>cf. C. S. C. Williams, Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1951).

Leon Wright, Alterations to the Words of Jesus (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952).

## CHAPTER III

### SELECTED VARIANTS IN LUKE

As the previous chapter reveals, there has been a distinct shift in textual methodology in the Gospels since Westcott and Hort. The superiority of the genealogical method of Westcott and Hort has declined in favor of internal evidence. The purpose of this chapter is to determine as nearly as possible the extent of variation in the critical Gospel texts since Westcott and Hort in light of this trend.

The procedure will be to determine the extent of the problem, then a few variants in the Gospel of Luke will be selected. The Western non-interpolations have been chosen because of the divergent opinions concerning them in light of the papyri finds and the Syr-Sin. manuscript. The Eucharist (Luke 22:19b-20) will be discussed in view of Jeremias' revived judgment concerning it.

#### A. THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

Few textual critics today would agree with Westcott and Hort's classic statement that "substantial variation... can hardly form more than a thousandth part of the entire text."<sup>119</sup> About a hundred years ago, F. H. A. Scrivener

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<sup>119</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction, p. 2.



estimated that the text of the New Testament contained at least 120, 000 variant readings.<sup>120</sup> Benjamin Warfield estimated the number of variants between 180,000 and 200,000.<sup>121</sup> The International Greek New Testament Project (hereinafter... IGNT) estimated about 300,000 variant readings.<sup>122</sup>

In spite of the large number of variant readings, there is a high confidence that the great Christian truths are not affected. Leo Vaganay remarked that "there is not one (variant) affecting the substance of Christian dogma."<sup>123</sup> Sir Frederic Kenyon offered that "no fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith rests on a disputed reading."<sup>124</sup> Dr. J. Harold Greenlee has remarked that "no Christian doctrine hangs upon a debatable text."<sup>125</sup>

The first book being examined by the IGNT Project in order to publish a new and adequate apparatus criticus is

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<sup>120</sup>Kenneth W. Clark, "The Theological Relevance of Textual Variation in Current Criticism of the Greek New Testament," Journal of Biblical Literature 85(March, 1966), 2.

<sup>121</sup>Benjamin Warfield, An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament(New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1895), p. 13.

<sup>122</sup>K. W. Clark, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>123</sup>Leo Vaganay, An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament(London: Sands, 1937), p. 12.

<sup>124</sup>F. G. Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 23.

<sup>125</sup>J. H. Greenlee, An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism(Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964), p. 68.

the Gospel of Luke. For this large task, 300 manuscripts have been collated with the result of a master file including about 25,000 variants.<sup>126</sup> In comparison, there are only 114 variants between the Westcott and Hort text and the American Bible Society text.<sup>127</sup> If orthographic variations between the two texts be included, then at the most there would be less than one per cent of the estimated possible variation. This is highly significant when it is considered that two entirely different methodologies were employed. Already mentioned is the fact that Westcott and Hort relied almost exclusively on one certain group of documents or more specifically, one particular manuscript. Recently, Irving Sparks related that the text of the American Bible Society is an eclectic text.

Starting with the text of Westcott and Hort, the editors compared it with the texts of Tischendorf, von Soden, and more recent editions, leaving their base only when their assessment of the evidence required.<sup>128</sup>

#### B. WESTERN NON-INTERPOLATIONS

Next to the Syrian text, Westcott and Hort repudiated the Western text. On the other hand, they found a few Western

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<sup>126</sup>K. W. Clark, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>127</sup>See Appendix I.

<sup>128</sup>Irving Sparks, "(Review of) The Greek New Testament," Interpretation 22(January, 1968), 94.

readings which they could not doubt to be genuine. These included omissions or non-interpolations of different lengths. Because of their overly high estimate of the Neutral text, they were restrained to call them Neutral interpolations. With a single peculiar exception (Matt. 27:49), the Western non-interpolations were found to exist in the last three chapters of Luke. These omissions were accepted as authentic by the two Cambridge scholars: Luke 22:19b-20; 22:43-44; 23:34; 24:3; 24:6; 24:12; 24:36; 24:40; 24:51; 24:52. In comparison, the editors of the American Bible Society text agreed with Westcott and Hort that the omission of Luke 22:19b-20 and 22:43-44 should be accepted. However, the editors rejected the omissions of the remaining list in favor of the longer reading, and invariably they gave the adopted reading a doubtful rating (C and D).

(a) Luke 23:34:

Reading 1= δ' δέ Ιησοῦς ἔλεγεν, Πάτερ, ὄφεις αὐτοῖς, οὐ γάρ  
οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν

Reading 2= Omit

Alexandrian	Caesarean	Western	Byzantine	Unclass-
X <sup>a</sup> CLAV <sup>33</sup> 892 bo <sup>ms</sup>	F1 (F13) 28 565 700 1071 Arm Geo SyrPal	D <sup>b</sup> It, aur bceff <sup>2</sup> 1 SyrC	A (K) X <sup>II</sup> vg SyrP Eth Byz <sup>14</sup>	0117 0250
P75 B-1241 sa-bo <sup>ms</sup> X <sup>a</sup>	θ	D It, a d SyrS	W	0124 Cyril

Westcott and Hort believed that the documentary distribution suggested that reading 1 was a "Western interpolation of limited range in early times," and should be rejected as spurious. They suggested that it had been adopted in the eclectic texts and was eventually received as genuine by later transcribers.<sup>129</sup> If reading 1 is assumed genuine, Westcott and Hort claimed that no reasonable explanation for its omission is forthcoming:

Wilful excision, on account of the love and forgiveness shown to the Lord's own murderers, is absolutely incredible.<sup>130</sup>

When the Syr-Sin. was discovered, Westcott and Hort's judgment that reading 1 was an early eclectic addition in the West seemed confirmed. When P<sup>75</sup> was discovered, it added support to Westcott and Hort's judgment.

However, there was at least one point where they were vulnerable. Streeter argued that J. R. Harris' suggestion that reading 1 could have been deleted because "some Christian in the second century found it hard to believe that God could or ought to forgive the Jews, since they were the chief instigators in all the persecutions."<sup>131</sup> A second century

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<sup>129</sup>Westcott and Hort, Appendix, p. 71.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid.

<sup>131</sup>Streeter, op. cit., p. 138.

scribe could have reasoned this very easily in light of the fact that Jerusalem had been destroyed twice within seventy years and thousands upon thousands of Jews were massacred.

If Streeter is correct, then reading 1 could have given rise to reading 2. On the other hand, can reading 1 be explained if reading 2 is original? Westcott and Hort argued that a scribe had the propensity to add rather than delete, but would a scribe have appended reading 1. The most common reason for interpolation was harmonization. However, these words are peculiar to Luke (Cf. Jn. 19:23; Mrk. 15:24,27; Matt. 27:35,38).

Because the manuscript distribution is good for both readings, the internal evidence must have sway. In general the shorter reading is to be preferred unless there are good reasons for the scribe's omission. Reading 1 seems best able to explain the rise of the shorter reading for two reasons. First, in the second century in the West, Tatians' Diatessaron was in circulation; therefore, the scribe would have been familiar with the other accounts of this event. It is quite possible that the scribe could have either accidentally or deliberately omitted it due to the influence of the other records. Secondly, it is quite possible, as Streeter suggested that reading 1 was omitted intentionally because of anti-Jewish feelings.

## (b) Luke 24:3:

	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Western	Byzantine	Uncl-
Reading 1	P75 <sup>X</sup> BCL ΔΨ	⊖ F1 F13 28	It aur c	AKW <sup>II</sup> vg	0124
του κυριου	33 892	565 700 Arm	f q	SyrH Eth	Lect.
Ἰησοῦ (ABS)	sa-bo	Geo SyrPal		Byz <sup>14</sup>	
Reading 2		Eusebius	D It, ab		
Omit			d <sub>r</sub> e ff <sup>c</sup> l		
(W=H)			r <sup>1</sup>		
Reading 3	1241 sa <sup>MS</sup>	1071	SyrC,S	SyrP	
του	bo <sup>MS</sup>				
Ἰησοῦ					

Concerning the longer readings, homoioteleuton could possibly explain the rise of reading 3 from reading 1. Equally, reading 1 could have developed from reading 3 due to a doctrinal change. Κυριου could have been added in order to strengthen the verse theologically. On the basis of internal evidence, it is difficult to assess which of the longer readings is to be preferred. However, external evidence strongly supports the acceptance of reading 1. Therefore, reading 1 seems preferable as the longer reading.<sup>132</sup>

Reading 1 has the strong majority support of the Alexandrian, Byzantine, and Caesarean witnesses while reading 2 is the Western reading. It is also significant that reading 1 is supported by a few of the Old Latin manuscripts.

The shorter reading is to be preferred unless there

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<sup>132</sup>ABS text accepts reading 1, but it brackets the word *κυριου*

are transcriptional probabilities for a scribe to have deleted the phrase. Unintentional changes do not seem apparent to explain its omission. Neither does it seem likely that a scribe unintentionally or deliberately added these words due to the influence of parallel passages (Matt. 28:1-10; Mrk. 16:1-8; Jn. 20:1-13).

Quite possible is the explanation that the passage was copied onto a lection and read in the services, then later Christians felt the urgency of adding these words in order to identify the body of their Lord more explicitly. The strongest argument against this is the existence of the longer reading in P<sup>75</sup>, but that is not necessarily decisive.

Even stronger is the probability of a scribe omitting the words because he deemed them to be superfluous. Perhaps the editors of the American Bible Society text departed from Westcott and Hort more on external evidence than internal evidence. It is interesting that the editors of the Revised Standard Version followed Westcott and Hort in preferring the shorter reading.

(c) Luke 24:6:

	Alexandrian/Caesarean/	Western/	Byzantine/	Unclas-
Reading 1	P75, B(C*) C3	Θ F1 F13 28	It, aur f	AK(W) X II vg 063
οὐκ εστίν	L Δ Ψ 33 892	565 700	f q	SyrHP 0124
ωδε, αλλα	1241 sa-bo	1071 Arm	SyrC, S	Eth Lect
ηγεροθη	(bo <sup>ms</sup> )	SyrPal		Byz <sup>14</sup> Diat
(ABS)		Geo <sup>1a</sup>		Epiph

	Alexandrian/Caesarean/	Western/	Byzantine/	Unclass-
Reading 2 ηγερθη				Marcion
Reading 3 ηγερθη εκ νεκρων			It c	
Reading 4 Omit (W-H)	Geo <sup>B</sup>	D It, ab de ff <sup>2</sup> rlq		

Reading 1 is the reading of the Alexandrian, Caesarean and Byzantine texts with good support from the Western grouping. Reading 4 is the reading of the Western text. Readings 2 and 3 can be dismissed on the basis of external evidence. Obviously, reading 1 is to be preferred over reading 4 on the basis of external evidence.

Concerning internal probabilities reading 4 is to be preferred as the shorter reading unless good reasons can be advanced to explain the omission of reading 1. Westcott and Hort suggested that reading 1 was interpolated by a scribe in the early second century in order to assimilate it to the almost identical passages (Matt. 28:6; Mrk. 16:6)<sup>133</sup> Because Matthew was the most popular Gospel, the scribe most likely used it as the prototype for correcting Luke. It is quite possible that reading 1 could have developed inadvertently due to harmonization.

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<sup>133</sup>Westcott and Hort, Appendix, p. 71.



A second possible explanation for the rise of reading 1 is that a scribe felt that the preceding question needed an answer.

On the other hand, there are theological reasons for deleting the longer reading if assumed to be genuine. The body of their Lord Jesus was gone. The two men explained, "He is not here, but he has risen." A bodily resurrection would have presented difficulty to some early groups. Both the Gnostics and the Docetists would have found this longer reading difficult and would have deleted it for that reason. Internal evidence seems equally divided between readings 1 and 4, but external evidence supports reading 1. It seems best that reading 1 be preferred.

#### C. THE EUCHARISTIC WORDS OF JESUS: LUKE 22:19b-20

This variant will be considered not because the two texts disagree, but because of its widespread discussion. This is one of the Western non-interpolations that the editors of the American Bible Society text accept as genuine. Dr. Joachim Jeremias in his first edition of The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (1935) had thought the shorter reading was preferrable, but in his second edition he commented:

I have had to reconsider my views: for instance, I no longer think it possible for reasons of textual criticism to hold that the shorter text of Luke(22:19a) is original.<sup>134</sup>

	Alexandrian/	Caesarean/	Western/	Byzantine/	Unclas-
Reading 1	P75 BCLX	F1 F13 565	It, aur	AKWX IIvg	063
include	T <sup>vid</sup> ΔΨ	700 1071	c,f,q,r <sup>1</sup>	Byz <sup>114</sup>	Lect
vs 19b-20	892 1241	SyrPal			
υπερ υμων	sa-bo	Arm Geo			
το υπερ		θ			
υμων					
ΕΙΧΥΥΥΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ					
Reading 2			D It, a, d		
Omit			ff <sup>2</sup> i, 1	SyrH	
Reading 3			It, b, e		
vs 19a, 17, 18					
Reading 4			SyrC		
vs 19, 17, 18					
Reading 5	bo <sup>ms</sup>			SyrP	132
vs 19, 20					
Reading 6			SyrS		
vs 19, 20a,					
17, 20b, 18					

Reading 1 has the support of the Alexandrian, Caesarean and Byzantine texts and good support from the Old Latin. Reading 2 seems to be the reading of the Western text. The reading of the Alexandrian text if it has good support in other localities is to be preferred on the basis of external evidence.

The reading which best explains the others is to be preferred. The problem revolves around the confusion of the order of the sacraments given--cup, bread, cup. Reading 3 can be explained as arising from reading 2 with the scribe

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<sup>134</sup>Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus trans. A. Ehrhardt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), p. v.

intentionally altering the text to harmonize it with the order in I Cor. 11:24,25; Matt. 26:26-30. Reading 4 can be explained like reading 3 if the addition of 19b by the SyrC can be shown to be independently derived rather than from the longer reading. Reading 6(SyrS) complicates the problem by seemingly supporting the longer reading. The addition of 19b in the SyrC can be explained if it be shown that the SyrS is based upon the shorter reading rather than the longer. Jeremias argued that the SyrS was based upon the SyrC.<sup>135</sup> The words, "This is my body which is for your sakes. Do this in remembrance of me," in the SyrC are derived not from the longer text of Luke, but from I Cor. 11:24. Further, the words: "product of the vine" in the SyrC are probably assimilated from Matt. 26:29.

It is more probable; however, that reading 6 was derived from the longer text because it omits verses 17 and 18. The existence of the shorter text in certain Western manuscripts and the Old Syriac indicates only one text tradition and not two. In another branch of the Western tradition represented by Marcion is found the longer text.<sup>136</sup>

This still leaves unresolved whether reading 1 gave

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<sup>135</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

rise to reading 2 or vice versa. Reading 2 is the shorter text and is preferable unless there are sound explanations for the deletion of the longer text. Reading 1 seems difficult because of the anomaly of two cups. On the other hand, reading 2 seems equally difficult because of the sequence, wine, bread; whereas, the other accounts have the sequence, bread, wine. Quite possibly reading 1 could have been interpolated because the abruptness of 19a calls out for some kind of completion.

A comparison with I Cor. 11:24-25 and Mark 14:22,24 with the longer text shows amazing proximity. It is quite probable, Jeremias suggested, that the "longer version is... a compilation from Paul and Mark."<sup>137</sup> Jeremias added one further argument in support of this which he received from Dibelius. The words τό ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννομένον are clumsily added to Paul's words. In Luke, these words belong to ποτήριον making the text speak of the outpoured cup rather than the outpoured blood. The words should grammatically be placed in the dative to agree with ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου. The suggestion was that these words were borrowed from a passage where αἷμα was in the nominative case (Cf. Mkr. 14:24; Matt. 26:28).<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., pp. 101, 102.

Concerning the style of Luke, Kilpatrick found that Luke used the possessive pronouns ἐμός, etc., pronominally and predicatively, but in verse 19, it is used attributively.<sup>139</sup> Zahn argued that the use of the unexpected article before ποτήριον in verse 20 is explicable from I Cor. 11:24.<sup>140</sup> These considerations and others advanced seem to militate against accepting the longer text as Lukan in style.

A remaining difficulty is how to derive the shorter text from the longer reading. The popular concept, that the shorter reading can be explained as originating due to the exception taken to the two cups, is not adequate. It seems more likely that reading 6 originated from reading 1 on this basis rather than reading 2. If exception to the two cups was taken, the scribe would more probably have omitted verses 17, 18 rather than verses 19b, 20.

G. D. Kilpatrick has suggested one highly probable explanation for the omission of reading 1. A very important concept which underlies the thesis of Kilpatrick, Zahn, Jeremias, etc. is that Luke 22:19-20 is a liturgical formula. It is because of its liturgical nature that Lukan style seems absent. There probably existed a common tradition under-

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<sup>139</sup>G. D. Kilpatrick, "Luke XXII:19b-20," Journal of Theological Studies 47(April, 1946), 51.

<sup>140</sup>Jeremias, op. cit., p. 102.

lying all the accounts (Cf. I Cor. 11:23). Jeremias is certain that it would be better to explain the proximities between the accounts by a reference to liturgical uses.<sup>141</sup> Kilpatrick argued that John used the formula (feeding of the 5000) while complying with the hellenistic tradition "that the actual words of the mysteries should not be made public."<sup>142</sup> Paul described the Last Supper as a commemoration of that great event and implied the continued use of the words. Mark left much unsaid and John entirely dissociated the Eucharist from the Last Supper. The intention of the second century scribe to keep the Eucharist from profanation is the most likely explanation of deleting verses 19b-20.<sup>143</sup> Kilpatrick stated that in Luke 22:19a:

We have a cue which the faithful would know how to supplement, but which would tell the uninitiated little. This explains the abrupt ending of the account at  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$   $\tau\omicron$   $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$   $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ . The abruptness of the ending is deliberate in order to preserve the arcanum of the rite.<sup>144</sup>

If this explanation does not satisfy, reading 2 is preferable on the basis of internal evidence. If it is

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<sup>141</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>142</sup>Kilpatrick, JTS 47(April, 1946), 52.

<sup>143</sup>Jeremias, op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>144</sup>Kilpatrick, JTS 47(April, 1946), 53.

satisfactory, then reading 1 has the support of both external and internal evidence.

#### D. SYNOPSIS

Westcott and Hort's text reflected primarily a B,<sup>X</sup> or Alexandrian text. In a recent collation of P<sup>75</sup> against the Textus Receptus, John Hartley discovered 794 variants.<sup>145</sup> From this investigation, he found that P<sup>75</sup> was supported by B, 685 times; <sup>X</sup>, 530 times; L, 505 times; D, 358 times; Bohairic, 274 times; <sup>Θ</sup>, 238 times. Relating to text-types, he found that the Alexandrian text supported P<sup>75</sup>, 443 times; Western, 172; Caesarean, 71; Byzantine, 6.

Sparks noted that where P<sup>75</sup> is extant in Luke, the editors of the American Bible Society text followed it 81 per cent of the time.<sup>146</sup> In Comparison, he observed that they followed B only 72 per cent of the time. When they departed from P<sup>75</sup>, the editors gave their adopted reading a C or D rating 95 per cent of the time; whereas when they left B, they gave their adopted reading a C or D rating about 80 per cent of the time. Sparks concluded that "clearly P<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>145</sup>John E. Hartley, "Textual Affinities of Papyrus Bodmer XIV(P<sup>75</sup>)" (unpublished B. D. thesis, Asbury Seminary, Wilmore, Ky., 1965), p. 110.

<sup>146</sup>Sparks, op. cit., p. 95.

has outdistanced all competitors in the race for editorial approval."<sup>147</sup>

P<sup>75</sup> has on the whole aided in confirming the text of Westcott and Hort and their high estimate of B. Because of its close affinity with B, P<sup>75</sup> has clearly shown that B did not represent a pure text as Westcott and Hort thought but the result of a careful transmission of a previous text. It is now thought by most scholars that B represents not a new recension in the fourth century, but rather a revision of a selected group of manuscripts such as P<sup>75</sup>. In fact, P<sup>75</sup> has raised the question of whether we can even speak of text-types prior to the fourth century.

This investigator found that when the American Bible Society text varies from Westcott and Hort and where P<sup>75</sup> is extant, P<sup>75</sup> supports the ABS text 48 times and W-H, 32 times (See the chart in Appendix 2). The tabulated results shown in the chart indicate that when the ABS editors were inclined to depart from W-H, they did not really follow one group or document. It was not external factors that influenced the variant, but more probably internal considerations. The one exception seems to be with the Western non-interpolations. Here, they seemed to be guided more by the early text of P<sup>75</sup>. When the ABS text departed from W-H, they

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<sup>147</sup>Ibid.



usually departed from B; this does not reflect a repudiation of B, but rather of the distorted opinion of B held by Westcott and Hort. When the editors varied from Westcott and Hort, they received the overwhelming majority support from the Caesarean and Byzantine texts. Perhaps this indicates two significant trends. First, it seems to confirm the idea that many scholars today do not follow one group or one document to the total deference of others. Secondly, their eclecticism was not applied with blinders toward the significance of grouping manuscripts. The fact that the ABS text is so close to W-H clearly shows that the Alexandrian text is still regarded with the highest respect.

## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In a summary of the researches made in textual criticism of the Gospels since Westcott and Hort, there are two major divisions: (1) reliance upon external evidence, and (2) reliance upon internal evidence. A third division on future work will be included.

#### A. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

Westcott and Hort claimed that the most objective criterion for the evaluation of a reading is the consideration of external evidence. This criterion is still thought to be very important, but not many hold it in such high regard as did Westcott and Hort. There are at least three phenomena that have bearing upon external evidence. Westcott and Hort's genealogical evidence is still considered important. Most scholars opine that witnesses must be weighed and not counted. However, as Colwell has aptly pointed out, because the relative weight of several types of evidence varies for different kinds of variants, there cannot be an involuntary following of the evidence. There exists no neutral texts. The genealogical stemma can be safely established only for the family group. Text-types are only indicative and not final.

A second phenomenon to be considered has been suggested by B. H. Streeter, viz., the geographical distribution of the witnesses that concur in attesting a certain variant. However, Streeter's local texts have been modified by recent discoveries. One must ascertain whether or not documents geographically distant are really independent of each other. Agreements between the SyrS and Codex Bobbiensis, k, may not be geographically distinct, but may be due to the influence of the Diatessaron and represent only one locality.

A third consideration analogous with external evidence involves the date of the document. Due to certain genealogical relations, however, the date of the text exemplified is even more important.

Even though Kurt Aland has claimed that text-types have lost their reason for existence, most scholars still acknowledge their significance. At the same time, they realize that text-types are not recensions as once thought, but each involves a textual process distinct as a group yet which cannot be precisely defined. This process was realized first in the Western and Caesarean text-types, then confirmed by the mass of early papyri. P<sup>75</sup> was the crowning act.

A brief discussion of the current view of local texts terminates this first division. Westcott and Hort's Syrian text has been the subject of much investigation. Because of

the possible confusion between the Syriac versions and this text, the name has been altered to a more preferable title-- Byzantine. More important is the present critical evaluation of this text. Dr. Metzger has suggested that the total rejection of this text needs be at least partially revised.

Both P<sup>45</sup> and P<sup>66</sup> give evidence that the Byzantine text occasionally preserves a reading that dates from the second or third century and for which "there had been no other early witness."<sup>148</sup> The conclusion to be drawn from this statement is that the "general neglect of the Antiochian readings which has been so common among many textual critics is quite unjustified."<sup>149</sup> On the other hand, von Soden's automatic utilization of the Koine text is to be avoided. In the text of Luke, this investigator found that when the editors of the ABS text depart from W-H, they received the support of Codex A 83.3 per cent of the time. However, they did not accept a reading only supported by the Byzantine.

Recent research since Westcott and Hort has indicated that they had been too optimistic in their designation of

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<sup>148</sup>B. M. Metzger, "The Lucianic Recension of the Greek Bible," Chapters In the History of New Testament Textual Criticism (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1963), p. 38.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

a Neutral text. The agreement of B, remains the most highly regarded witness to the New Testament text, but it is quite generally doubted that the text is as pure as Westcott and Hort conceived. Streeter has aided in showing that the Neutral text and the Alexandrian text are the same. In the Gospel of Luke, the ABS text is closer to B, than any other group of manuscripts. The results of this writer's collation reveals that contrary to belief that Westcott and Hort are no longer reliable guides, the ABS text substantially supports Westcott and Hort.

Those who accepted Westcott and Hort's conclusions tended to reject the importance of the Western text. The debate which arose around the Western text shortly after Westcott and Hort has already been mentioned. The origin of the Western text is still shrouded with mystery. Streeter isolated at least two Western traditions. One was centered in Italy and is represented by D, b, a and the other was centered in Carthage and is represented by k and e. A third group has been isolated which claimed the Old Syriac as the major representative.

The Western text is generally believed to be very early and the result of an undisciplined and wild development of transcriptional activity. Textually, a significant trend has been the acceptance that many doctrinal modifications were

freely made by the early scribes.<sup>150</sup> Generally, readings supported only by the Western authorities do not commend themselves.

One of the significant novel developments since Westcott and Hort has been the identification of the Caesarean text. Streeter's contribution has already been mentioned. Since Streeter, P<sup>45</sup> has been included among the witnesses to this group. At the same time, a suggestion was made that the Caesarean text comprised two principal subdivisions. One group was comprised of P<sup>45</sup>, W, Fam. 1, Fam. 13, 28 and the other was comprised of  $\theta$ , 565, and 700. The first group has been called a pre-Caesarean text or Egyptian text and the second formed what is called the Caesarean text proper.

It has also been discovered that the Old Syriac shows some affinity with the Caesarean text. This clearly illustrates that the Caesarean text is the least homogeneous of any of the groups.

#### B. INTERNAL EVIDENCE

The consideration of internal evidence to the disregard

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<sup>150</sup> Luke 22:43-4 is now accepted by many as genuine because of doctrinal reasons for its omission. Why does the divine Christ need strengthening from an angel? Can Christ be in agony?

of dates of witnesses and families of documents is called more specifically eclecticism. Almost all textual scholars have given consideration to internal evidence, but there have been few who have given primary and oftentimes exclusive attention to internal probabilities. Gunther Zuntz has done this in the Pauline Epistles. Those who have applied this method to the Gospels are C. H. Turner and G. D. Kilpatrick.

There have been at least two factors giving impetus to this method. Form criticism has raised the problem of what is genuine. Oral tradition has sometimes preserved the genuine reading while the written tradition has corrupted it. A second factor was the admission that doctrinal alterations were quite frequent in the early centuries. The principle of external evidence has overlooked intentional doctrinal changes as a possible explanation of transcriptional error.

At the heart of this trend is the perspective that there are no spurious readings. Every reading must be examined as an indication of a historical theological interpretation of the Scriptures. Coupled with this is the conviction that the textual critic is both a scientist and an exegete. C. H. Dodd has influenced this school of thought greatly. Even though the eclectic method was applied in editing the new ABS text, it was not done in light of this theological perspective.

The future will have to answer the end result of the debate between exclusive eclecticism and almost exclusive external evidence.

### C. FUTURE WORK

The methodological problem in textual criticism of the Gospels is still unsolved. However, there are incentives to plow the field. The papyrus discoveries have both answered old problems and opened up new problems.

One problem that needs to be investigated further is the value of the ancient versions. Before this can be resolved, there is a great need for new and accurate critical editions of the ancient versions. After this is accomplished, the texts can be more accurately assessed. Klijn's objections need be further investigated.

The pre-Caesarean text needs to be further investigated in the Gospels. Most of the research has been done in the Gospel of Mark. Still unresolved is the origin of the Caesarean text. Does it represent a distinct text or is it a correction of the Western text by the Alexandrian?

The history of the text is still being written and revised. In writing the history, does one work from the late manuscripts back as Westcott and Hort did or begin with the earliest witnesses and work up to the present as Colwell



suggested? Can we really speak of text-types prior to the fourth century?

Another area of investigation is the perspective of textual criticism. Are those who stress that the textual critic is both scientist and exegete more accurate than the old school which emphasized textual criticism as a negative and secondary discipline?

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

The following is a collation of the Gospel of Luke in the Greek New Testament (New York: American Bible Society, 1966) against the text of Westcott and Hort (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1886). The reading given first is the text recorded in Westcott and Hort.

## LUKE:

- 1:15 κυριου ) (του) κυριου  
 1:17 Ηλεια ) Ηλιου  
 2:12 σημειον ) το σημειον  
 2:35 σου ) add (δε)  
 2:48 ζητουμεν) εζητουμεν  
 2:52 τη σοφια) εν τη σοφια  
 3:3 πασαν) add (την)  
 3:33 του Αδμειν του Αρνει) του Αμιναδαβ του Αδμιν του Αρνι  
 4:17 ανοιξασ) αναπτυξασ  
 4:25 ουρανοσ) add επι  
 4:41 κραζοντα) κραυγαζοντα  
 5:2 πλοια δυο) δυο πλοια  
 5:12 ιδων δε) και ιδων  
 5:39 βλητεον) add (και)  
 6:3 αυτου) add (οντεσ)  
 6:26 καλωσ υμασ) υμασ καλωσ  
 6:36 καθωσ) add (και)

7:19 ετερον) αλλον  
 7:33 εσθων) εσθιων  
 7:39 (ο) προφητησ) προφητησ  
 8:26 Γερασηνων) Γεργεσηνων  
 8:29 απο) υπο  
 8:43 ητισ) add (ιατροισ προσαναλωσασα ολον τον βιον)  
 9:2 ιασθαι) add (τους ασθενεισ)  
 9:3 μητε δυο) μητε (ανα) δυο  
 9:9 ο Ηρωδησ) Ηρωδησ  
 9:13 φαγειν υμεισ) υμεισ φαγειν  
 9:18 οι οχλοι λεγουσιν) λεγουσιν οι οχλοι  
 9:28 οκτω) add (και)  
 9:49 Ιωανησ) (ο) Ιωαννησ  
 9:50. Ιησουσ) ο Ιησουσ  
 9:59 ο δε ειπεν) add (κυριε)  
 9:59 προτον απελθοντι) απελθοντι προτον  
 9:62 (προσ αυτον) ) omit  
 10:15 καταβηση) καταβιβασθηση  
 10:21 ηγαλλιασατο) add (εν)  
 10:22 αν) εαν  
 10:27 ολησ) add τησ  
 10:32 Λευειτησ) add (γενομενοσ)  
 10:35 δυο δηναρια εδωκεν) εδωκεν δυο δηναρια  
 10:38 εισ την οικιαν) omit

10:40 ειπον) ειπε  
 10:42 ολιγων δε εστιν χρεια η ενος) ενος δε εστιν χρεια  
 11:2 ελθατω) ελθετω  
 11:10 ανοιγησεται) ανοιγεται  
 11:11 τον πατερα αιτησει) αιτησει τον πατερα  
 11:11 μν αντι ιχθυος) και αντι ιχθυος  
 11:14 δαιμονιον) (και αυτο ην)  
 11:20 θεου εγω) θεου  
 11:24 (τοτε) ) omit  
 11:25 (σχολαζοντα) ) omit  
 11:30 ο Ιωνασ) Ιωνασ  
 12:17 αυτω) εαυτω  
 12:20 αιτουσιν) απαιτουσιν  
 12:21 αυτω) εαυτω  
 12:22 αυτου) omit  
 12:22 υμων)omit  
 12:39 εγρηγορησεν αν και ουκ) ουκ αν  
 12:54 ιδητε) ιδητε (την)  
 13:5 μετανοησητε) μετανοητε  
 13:7 εκκοφον)add ουν  
 13:15 απαγων) απαγαγων  
 13:21 εκρυψεν) ενεκρυψεν  
 13:27 οιδα) add υμας  
 13:35 εωσ) add ,ηξει οτε

14:32 ερωτα προσ) ερωτα τα προσ  
 15:13 παντα) απαντα  
 15:21 ποιησον με ωσ ενα των μισθιων σου) omitt  
 16:12 ημετερον) υμετερον  
 17:12 απηνητησαν) add αυτω  
 17:12 ανεστησαν) εστησαν  
 17:24 ανθρωπου) add (εν τη ημερα αυτου)  
 18:4 μετα ταυτα δε) μετα δε ταυτα  
 18:10 εις) ο εις  
 18:11 ταυτα προσ εαυτον) προσ εαυτον ταυτα  
 18:12 αποδεκατευω) αποδεκατω  
 18:13 εαυτου) αυτου  
 18:24 Ιησουσ) add (περιλυπον γενομενον)  
 18:25 εισελθειν) διελθειν  
 18:30 λαβη) απολαβη  
 18:40 Ιησουσ) ο Ιησουσ  
 19:13 πραγμαευσασθαι) πραγματευσασθε  
 19:36 εαυτων) αυτων  
 20:9 Ανθρωποσ) add (τισ)  
 20:27 λεγοντεσ) αντιλεγοντεσ  
 20:44 αυτον κυριον) κυριον αυτον  
 20:45 μαθηταισ) add (αυτου)  
 21:6 ωδε) omitt  
 21:11 λοιμοι και λιμοι) λιμοι και λοιμοι  
 21:19 κτησεσθε) κτησασθε  
 21:24 (και εσονται) ) omitt

21:35 επεισελευσεται γαρ) γαρ επελευσεται  
 22:7 αζυμων) add (εν)  
 22:18 υμιν) add οτι  
 22:30 καθησθε) καθησεσθε  
 23:2 αυτον) εαυτον  
 23:11 αυτον) add (και)  
 23:28 αυτασ) add (ο)  
 23:31 ει εν) add τω  
 23:34 αριστερων) ο δε...ποιουσιν  
 23:42 εις την βασιλειαν) εν τη βασιλεια  
 23:45 του ηλιου εκλειποντοσ) του ηλιου εκιποντοσ  
 23:50 υπαρχων) (και)  
 24:3 σωμα) add του κυριου Ιησου  
 24:6 νεκρων) add (ουκ...ηγερθη)  
 24:12 omit ) include (ο δε...γεγονοσ)  
 24:32 ην) add (εν ημιν)  
 24:36 μεσω αυτων) add (και...υμιν)  
 24:40 omit ) include (και...ποδοσ)  
 24:47 εις) και  
 24:49 εξαποστελλω) αποστελλω  
 24:50 αυτουσ) add εξω  
 24:51 αυτων) add (και...ουρανον)  
 24:52 αυτοί) add (προσκυνησαντεσ αυτον)

## APPENDIX II

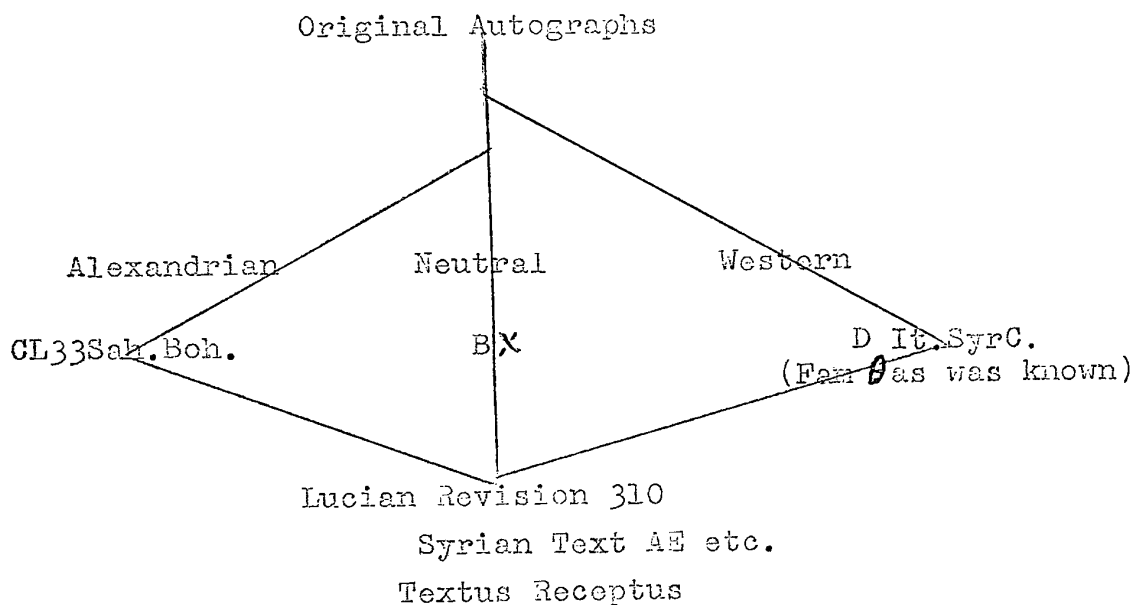
The following chart illustrates the frequency with which each major manuscript, family, or version supports the W-H text and the ABS text where the two differ in the Gospel of Luke.

MANUSCRIPT	SUPPORTS W-H	SUPPORTS ABS
P <sup>75</sup>	32	48
P <sup>45</sup>	7	18
X	39	58
B	94	20
C	17	31
L	48	47
D	39	44
W	14	38
Ø	19	57
A	15	75
Fam. 1	19	32
Fam. 13	20	85
SyrS	23	20
SyrC	16	22
33	25	24
Boh.	30	28
Sah.	29	23
Geo.	13	27
Arm.	21	29

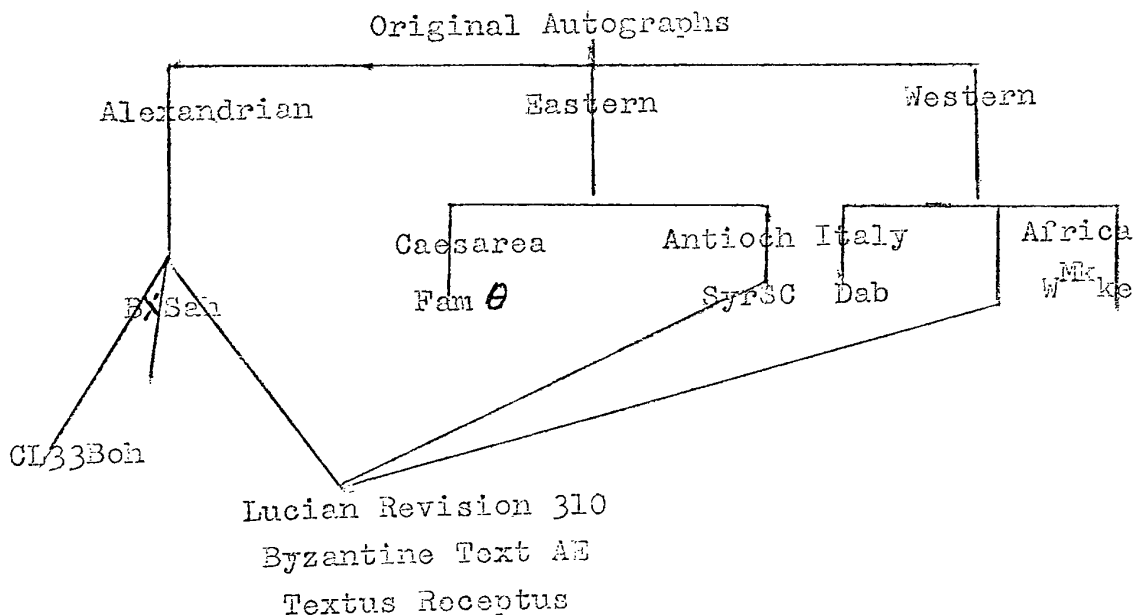


APPENDIX III

A. WESTCOTT AND HORT'S THEORY



B. STREETER'S THEORY OF "LOCAL TEXTS"



\*Taken from B.H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, p. 26.

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