

Numerals in Early Greek New Testament Manuscripts:
Text-Critical, Scribal, and Theological Studies

Zachary J. Cole

Doctor of Philosophy in New Testament Language,
Literature and Theology

The University of Edinburgh
2015

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Zachary J. Cole

signature

date

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the phenomenon of numerals as they were written by early New Testament scribes. Chapter 1 briefly introduces the two basic ways that early scribes wrote numerals, either as longhand words or in alphabetic shorthand (e.g., δύο or β), and summarizes the fundamental research question: how did early Christian scribes write numerals and why? The need for such a study is described in chapter 2, which reviews past discussions of the phenomenon of scribal number-writing in New Testament manuscripts. While scholars are aware of the feature and have been eager to draw it into a variety of important discussions, this has been done without any systematic or thorough study of the phenomenon itself. After these introductory chapters, the thesis proceeds in two basic parts: the first isolates the relevant data in question and the second aims to examine those data more fully and from several different angles.

Part one is a systematic examination of all numerals, both cardinal and ordinal, that are extant in New Testament manuscripts dated up through the fifth century CE (II–V/VI). The principal concern is when and where numerical shorthand occurs in these manuscripts. Can we discern a Christian style of number-writing that can be distinguished from contemporary scribal customs, and, if so, what is the nature of that style? One aim is to discern the function of number-writing within individual codices, and so its relation to other codicological and scribal features is also considered. Chapter 3 examines numerals in papyrus witnesses and chapter 4 examines them in majuscules written on parchment.

Part two then comprises a more thorough investigation of some important issues that arose in part one. Chapter 5 approaches the feature of number-writing from the angle of textual genealogy. Did scribes ever mimic the particular number-forms as they were written in their exemplars or did they choose between them at their own leisure? In either case, what implications does this have for our understanding of textual relationships? Chapter 6 takes a brief detour to evaluate a commonly repeated axiom: that, in Greek copies of the Old Testament scriptures, Jewish scribes consistently used longhand numerals and avoided numerical shorthand. I argue that this idea is invalid and has distorted our understanding of the provenance of some early manuscripts. Chapter 7 then considers whether theological reflection ever influenced a scribe's decision to employ numerical shorthand. In the same way that devotional practice seems to lie at the origin of the *nomina sacra*, the group of scribal contractions for divine names and titles, can we detect similar patterns of number-writing that relate to theologically significant concepts and/or referents? I argue that, aside from a handful of isolated yet intriguing examples, no coherent system similar to the *nomina sacra* can be detected—a conclusion that nonetheless sheds a great deal of light on devotional practices among early Christians.

In chapter 8, I describe a hypothesis that seeks to make sense of much of the data observed in part one. In our examination of the numerals in the early manuscripts, four curious features are identified that distinguish Christian scribal practice from that found in other corpora, all relating to numerals (or kinds of numerals) that Christian scribes, as a rule, wrote longhand rather than in shorthand. I argue that this unique adaptation of numerical abbreviation in New Testament

manuscripts reflects an awareness and intentional policy to avoid forms that were potentially ambiguous in the reading of those texts, and especially in their public reading. The final portion, chapter 9, then summarizes the thesis, draws out some implications of the study, and suggests areas in which more research would be potentially fruitful.

LAY ABSTRACT

In the same way that modern English contains two basic ways of expressing numerals, with words such as “two” or with symbols such as “2”, writers of ancient Greek also had two basic number systems at their disposal. Greeks used standard, longhand number-words (δύο = “two”) and corresponding numerals taken from the alphabet (β̄ = 2). In ancient Christian manuscripts, and specifically within copies of scriptural texts, both number systems were used, but they were used unpredictably. This thesis aims to discern what principles, if any, governed Christian scribes’ decisions to use numerical symbols as opposed to longhand words, and whether or not anything in particular can be learned by a systematic examination of the phenomenon.

While chapter 1 introduces the Greek shorthand numeral system, chapter 2 reviews how scholars have misunderstood the phenomenon or drawn faulty conclusions about it. Far from being an irrelevant detail of penmanship, number-writing techniques can help shed enormous light on how scribes went about their work. Chapters 3 and 4 then provide a systematic study of all numbers that are present in New Testament manuscripts dated up through the fifth century CE in order to provide a foundation of hard data. This helps to refine our understanding of individual manuscripts, their composition, production, and relationship to others.

The remaining chapters build upon this systematic analysis of numbers and apply the data several different contexts. For example, chapter 5 asks if the particular ways in which scribes wrote numerals might reveal relationships between other manuscripts. Does, for example, the presence of 5 (rather than “five”) in one text

indicate dependence upon another manuscript also containing a 5 in the same chapter/verse? I argue that there are several instances where such coincidences in specific number-styles plausibly reveals relatedness between manuscripts. Another question concerns a widely held assumption that Jewish scribes would never use numerical shorthand; an axiom that supposedly helps to distinguish between Jewish copies of the Greek Old Testament and those that are Christian. I argue that this is a false distinction based on insufficient evidence; Christian and Jewish scribes may have had more in common than often realized. This bears implications for our understanding of the relationship between the two groups in the early centuries CE.

Chapter 7 aims to identify patterns that might reveal a theological use of numerical symbols by scribes. Scholars are aware, for instance, of a widespread scribal pattern that uses contractions for divine names such as Lord, God, Jesus, and Christ, but keeps non-sacred names written in full (called the *nomina sacra*). Does the same ever happen with numerical symbols? I argue that this might occur in isolated instances, where, for example, the symbol 12 is used for Jesus's disciples and "twelve" is used for other referents (twelve years, for example), but, for the most part, such patterns are very hard to find. This probably indicates the relative importance that names and titles had for early Christians over against that of numerals and it demonstrates what sorts of theological concepts took root earlier and lasted longer within those communities.

A final chapter then seeks to make sense of some curious patterns observed in our analysis. While Christian scribes seem to have used numerical symbols unpredictably, there are some interesting similarities shared by nearly all our manuscripts; for example, no scribe ever employs the symbol form of the number

“one” ($\bar{\alpha}$ in Greek)—the most frequently occurring number in the New Testament. I argue that the unifying reason for these curious similarities are a shared concern to make manuscripts easy to read aloud and less prone to ambiguity. This confirms what scholars have observed in other features, namely, that early Christians intended their books to be read aloud in the context of Christian worship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I still recall when Dr. Daniel B. Wallace—my principal supervisor in seminary—suggested I investigate “a topic that may seem a bit bizarre and insignificant.” Such is, I suppose, the nature of many doctoral theses, but it is to him that I owe the basic idea for this project. I am grateful for his guidance especially in that early stage.

Sincere thanks are due to my doctoral supervisor, Prof. Paul Foster, both for his initial excitement about my research and for his much-needed help all along the way. My second supervisor, Prof. Larry Hurtado, also deserves my gratitude. His feedback made this a far better thesis than it otherwise would have been. I must also say that the post-graduate community at New College turned out to be a warm, richly engaging, and intellectually stimulating context for doctoral work; I am quite sad to leave it.

Especially formative for me were the years I spent as an undergraduate at Palm Beach Atlantic University learning Greek and Hebrew. During that time, I benefited enormously from the faculty in the School of Ministry: Dr. Randy Richards, Dr. Karelynn Ayayo, Dr. Nathan Lane, and Dr. Bernie Cueto, to name a few.

I cannot list all those to whom I am indebted, but here are some more. I wish to express heartfelt appreciation for my parents, Tim and Michele. Dad introduced me to textual criticism at a young age (may the conversations continue!), and Mom, in her gentle way and at key moments, helped push me to achieve more than I had thought I could. But most of all, my wife, Kayla, deserves unparalleled recognition, not only for leaving sunny Florida (for Scotland of all places!), but also for her devotion, patience, and support during the course of this program. (It would have been no fun without you anyway.) Finally, I am ever thankful for our girls, Fiona and Ivy, to whom I dedicate this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	i
Lay Abstract.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Table of Contents.....	xi
Abbreviations.....	xiii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: History of Research.....	15
PART ONE: THE DATA	
Chapter 3: Internal Profiles of Papyri.....	49
Chapter 4: Internal Profiles of Majuscules.....	103
PART TWO: STUDIES	
Chapter 5: External Analysis: Selected Comparisons.....	161
Chapter 6: Numerals in Manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament.....	183
Chapter 7: Theological Orthography and the Possibility of <i>Numeri Sacri</i>	211
Chapter 8: Numerals and the Dynamics of Public Reading.....	247
Chapter 9: Conclusions.....	283
Bibliography.....	291

ABBREVIATIONS

For journal abbreviations and abbreviations of other standard works I have followed Billie Jean Collins et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2014). For editions of papyri and majuscles I have generally followed the abbreviations given in John F. Oates et al., eds., *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 5th ed., BASPSup 9 (Oakville, CT: American Society of Papyrologists, 2001). An online version is available at <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>. For manuscript sigla, I follow the NA²⁸. Abbreviations not contained in the aforementioned resources are the following:

<i>BBC</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Bezan Club</i>
CSNTM	Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (http://csntm.org/)
ESCJ	Études sur le christianisme et le judaïsme
IBSBSup	Institute of Biblical Studies Bulletin Supplement
INTF	Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/)
LXX/OG	Septuagint/Old Greek
NA ²⁸	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , Nestle-Aland 28th ed.
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
UMSHS	University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Why Numerals?

The present thesis is intended to provide a thorough investigation of a somewhat obscure but nevertheless important feature of NT manuscripts: numerals as they were written by scribes.¹ Similar to modern-day English, writers of Koine Greek could employ two different styles of numbering, longhand number-words such as δύο and alphabetic shorthand such as β̄. That early Christian scribes made use of the shorthand system within the texts of Scriptural manuscripts is well known to scholars, but what is not known is the precise nature of that system, nor the principles (if any) that governed its seemingly random usage.

The reader might reasonably ask what justifies a full-scale study of such a minor and seemingly trivial subject as NT numerals. The answer is simply that the issue of scribal number-writing techniques has been drawn into many scholarly discussions pertaining to a variety of topics. For example, numerals and numerical abbreviations have been involved in scholarly debates about the *nomina sacra* and their origins, the distinctions between Christian and Jewish scribal techniques, the social context and training of early Christian copyists, the causes of textual corruptions, the genealogy and textual relationships, the aural/oral dictation theory of manuscripts, the date of some codices, the codicology and production of some manuscripts, as well as others (see the following chapter for more details).

¹ In what follows, I use the terms *numeral* and *number* interchangeably. The terms *longhand* and *plene* denote numerals written out as full words (e.g., δύο), while *shorthand*, *abbreviation*, or *symbol* denote alphabetic numerals (e.g., β̄).

Scholars have thus discussed numerals and numeral writing in Christian manuscripts on repeated occasions, yet they have done so apart from any thorough analysis of the feature itself: no descriptive survey has yet been attempted. In fact, most scholars have relied on the handful of remarks made by Colin H. Roberts, who is without doubt to be thanked for numerous valuable contributions, but whose understanding of numerals in manuscripts was unfortunately incomplete and not based on thorough (or at least widespread) observation. Some imprecise remarks of his in particular have contributed to more than one misunderstanding about the scribal treatment of numbers, and no critical analysis has provided occasion to check these errors.

What is needed, therefore, is an inductive analysis of the scribal technique of number-writing within NT manuscripts. Only a systematic examination of the data will permit us to isolate what Christian scribes would or would not do as it relates to numerals, which will determine how (in)accurately numerals have been used in the discussions briefly mentioned above. The primary even if broad research question that drives this thesis is therefore *how did NT scribes typically write numerals and why?* Several other questions are closely connected to this general inquiry, however, such as:

- (1) What is the precise nature of the alphabetic numeral system utilized by NT scribes?
- (2) What similarities and differences exist between the numeral techniques NT scribes and their extra-biblical contemporaries?
- (3) What principles, if any, would govern a scribe's use of numerical shorthand?
- (4) Did scribes mimic numeral forms in their exemplars or exercise freedom in choosing number-style?
- (5) Can numerical symbols be used to detect relationships between witnesses?
- (6) Were numerical symbols ever handled in a way analogous to the *nomina sacra*?
- (7) How did numerical shorthand affect the act of publicly reading a text?

Rather than advancing one unified proposition concerning number-writing techniques in early NT manuscripts, this thesis seeks to isolate the phenomenon itself and examine it from a variety of angles. Such an approach is intended to shed light not just on the feature alone but also on its relation to several other contexts, and thereby add to our knowledge of ancient Christians and their books.

1.2 Greek Alphabetic Numerals

The system of numerical shorthand found in NT manuscripts is simple and can be summarized briefly. In addition to longhand number-words (εἰς/μία/έν, δύο, τρεῖς, etc.), writers of Koine Greek employed the so-called Milesian system of numerals.² This method of numbering employed the letters of the alphabet as numerals.³ Specifically, the alphabet was divided into three groups—with some additional characters—and used to represent ones (1–9), tens (10–90), and hundreds (100–900).

The Milesian system contains three additional characters.⁴ First, ζ̄ (= 6) is usually called *digamma* or *stigma*, although in antiquity it was referred to as γαβέξ/γαμέξ. In our manuscripts it is fairly rare (most scribes tended to use the longhand ἑξ), but when it appears it sometimes takes the form ζ̄, which is undifferentiated from a lunate *sigma* (= 200). The second additional character is ϖ̄ (=

² The Milesian system was a vast methodological improvement over acrophonic numerals, which functioned like Roman numerals. See Christoph Riedweg, “Number,” in BNP 9:880–93. See also Marcus N. Tod, “The Greek Numeral Notation,” *ABSA* 18 (1911/12): 98–132; Marcus N. Tod, “Three Greek Numeral Systems,” *JHS* 33 (1913): 27–34; Marcus N. Tod, “Further Notes on the Greek Acrophonic Numerals,” *ABSA* 28 (1926/27): 141–57; and Marcus N. Tod, “The Greek Acrophonic Numerals,” *ABSA* 37 (1936/37): 236–58.

³ Marcus N. Tod, “The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica,” *ABSA* 45 (1950): 126–39. For a recent summary, see Rodney Ast and Julia Lougovaya, “The Art of Isopsephism in the Greco-Roman World,” in *Ägyptische Magie und ihre Umwelt*, ed. Andrea Jördens (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 82–98. Another good summary, especially of larger numbers, is W. F. Richardson, “The Greek Number System,” *Prudentia* 9 (1977): 15–26.

⁴ On these three characters, see A. N. Jannaris, “The *Digamma*, *Koppa*, and *Sampi* as Numerals in Greek,” *CQ* 1 (1907): 37–40.

90), called *koppa*, which sometimes resembles the Coptic letter *fai* (ϣ).⁵ Finally, there is $\overline{\lambda}$ (= 900), called *sampi* or παρακύϊσμα, which occurs nowhere in the manuscripts we examine here (see table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Alphabetic Numerals					
$\overline{\alpha}$	1	$\overline{\iota}$	10	$\overline{\rho}$	100
$\overline{\beta}$	2	$\overline{\kappa}$	20	$\overline{\varsigma}$	200
$\overline{\gamma}$	3	$\overline{\lambda}$	30	$\overline{\tau}$	300
$\overline{\delta}$	4	$\overline{\mu}$	40	$\overline{\upsilon}$	400
$\overline{\varepsilon}$	5	$\overline{\nu}$	50	$\overline{\phi}$	500
$\overline{\varsigma}/\overline{\varsigma}$	6	$\overline{\xi}$	60	$\overline{\chi}$	600
$\overline{\zeta}$	7	$\overline{\omicron}$	70	$\overline{\psi}$	700
$\overline{\eta}$	8	$\overline{\pi}$	80	$\overline{\omega}$	800
$\overline{\theta}$	9	$\overline{\varphi}$	90	$\overline{\lambda}$	900

Compound numerals are created by simply adjoining multiple figures, nearly always in descending order (e.g., $\overline{\rho\nu\gamma}$ = 153).⁶

Alphabetic numerals were most often written with a supralinear stroke above (e.g., $\overline{\alpha}$), but not always. In contexts where the letter is unambiguously functioning as a numeral, such as in pagination, *stichoi* totals, running titles, and Eusebian canons, numerals are often unaccompanied by the overstrike. On rare occasions one will find numerals in the body texts of manuscripts that lack overstrikes.

Values in the thousands are indicated by a superscripted curl atop (or immediately prior to) the character in question ($\dot{\gamma}$ or $\gamma' = 3,000$), or by a preceding

⁵ See Jannaris, “The *Digamma*, *Koppa*, and *Sampi*,” 38–39, who argues that the origin of $\overline{\varphi}$ was in the fusing of a *theta* atop an *iota*, indicating $9 \times 10 = 90$.

⁶ Sometimes, although rarely, numerals appear in ascending order, e.g., $\overline{\alpha\kappa}$ (= 21). See James. A Notopoulos, “Notes on Athenian Inscriptions of the Empire Period,” *AJP* 69 (1948): 415–19, and Tod, “The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica,” 129. In the present survey of NT manuscripts, I found only one single instance of this ascending order; it is (of course) found in Codex Bezae (D 05): $\overline{\beta\iota}$ (= 12; Luke 8:43).

oblique stroke ($\gamma = 3,000$).⁷ The latter method is found predominantly in manuscripts from the fourth century and later.⁸ Both methods are relatively rare in NT papyri, but they occur on occasion. Where these appear in our manuscripts, I alternate between the curl and the oblique strike based on what better represents the actual appearance of the stroke as the individual scribe wrote it. Particularly important is the use of what I call “hybrid” abbreviations, which combine a longhand element with a shorthand one: e.g., $\overline{\zeta} \chi \lambda \iota \alpha \delta \epsilon \varsigma$ (= 7,000). These are more common in our manuscripts than the full abbreviations for values in the thousands.

It is instructive to compare when and where numerical abbreviations occur in ancient texts. The practice is ubiquitous in Greek documentary papyri—a broad genre encompassing a range of workaday texts such as receipts, contracts, tax registers, letters, memoranda, lists, government records, and so on. In such documents, numeral figures are used for dates, monetary values, titles, and virtually every conceivable kind of number, but not always consistently or predictably; scribes often fluctuated between longhand and shorthand forms.

In contrast, well-executed copies of Graeco-Roman literature typically do not contain numerical shorthand in their body texts. Papyrologist Eric Turner once observed that he had never seen alphabetic numerals used as a replacement for longhand numbers in a well-copied literary manuscript except for a single unpublished papyrus manuscript.⁹ This does not mean that they were never employed

⁷ See Viktor E. Gardthausen, *Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und im byzantinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 2 of *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Veit, 1913), 370. See also Colin H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands: 350 B.C.–A.D. 400* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), 24.

⁸ H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum for the Trustees, 1938), 62–64, though we will revisit this later.

⁹ Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed., rev. P. J. Parsons, IBSBSup 46 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 15.

at all, for numeral abbreviations were quite useful for such things as denoting changes of speakers in works of drama, items in lists, and titles.¹⁰ But where numbers occur within the body text of a Greek literary manuscript, these were consistently written longhand by scribes. The avoidance of numerical shorthand in the body texts of literature seems to be a feature of professional quality.

Similar to this is Jewish literature. In existing copies of Hebrew Scripture, regardless of date, numerals are written out longhand.¹¹ While this generalization accurately describes the witnesses that are currently extant, there is evidence that this was not a consistently applied rule in actual practice. In particular, scholars have observed scribal errors in Jewish manuscripts that are best explained as misreadings of abbreviations, and in particular numerical abbreviations.¹² When it comes to Jewish copies of the Septuagint/Old Greek (LXX/OG), the consensus view is that scribes avoided using numerical shorthand and only used full number-words. Those manuscripts of the LXX/OG that can be identified as Christian in origin, however, regularly include use of numerical abbreviations. We will have occasion to revisit this view in due course, but this helps to set the context for what we find in Christian manuscripts.

The widespread use of numerical shorthand in early NT manuscripts has, therefore, been seen as an important contrast to the scribal practices in Jewish

¹⁰ See, for example, the manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* discussed by Aubrey Diller, "Incipient Errors in Manuscripts," *TAPS* 67 (1936): 232–39. There are also good examples of how such numerals could be the cause of textual corruptions.

¹¹ Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. rev. and expanded (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 238.

¹² See, for example, G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing: From Pictograph to Alphabet*, newly rev. S. A. Hopkins, Schweich Lectures 1944 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1976), 270; G. R. Driver, "Abbreviations in the Massoretic Text," *Text* 1 (1960): 112–31; and G. R. Driver, "Once Again Abbreviations," *Text* 4 (1964): 76–94.

Scriptural manuscripts and well-copied Graeco-Roman literature. Scholars have understood this feature to be a significant link between Christian manuscripts and documentary papyri—suggesting that early Christian copyists were accustomed to making documents, not copies of literature. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that numerical abbreviations were eventually disused in the Constantinian era, when manuscripts increased in scribal quality and professional production.¹³

Such are the basic outlines of the practice. It will be our task to examine the numerals in NT manuscripts in greater detail and draw out any implications that may arise from our observations.

1.3 Method, Scope, and Limitations

1.3.1 What Constitutes a Numeral?

In our attempt to examine precisely how Christian scribes wrote numbers, we will restrict our investigation in some important ways. For instance, the question as to what actually qualifies as a numeral is significant. The most obvious candidate is the grammatical category of cardinal numbers: εἰς/μία/έν, δύο, τρεῖς, and so on. Ordinal numbers—πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος, etc.—are less obvious but nonetheless properly considered numerals. Beyond these two categories, Koine Greek contains a variety of words that are numerical in nature even if not proper numbers. For example, numerical adverbs such as τρίς (“three times”) are fairly common in the NT, as are

¹³ One wonders if this eventual disuse of numerical shorthand is related—or at least analogous—to the phenomenon of Atticism, the second-century revival of Attic style and grammatical sensibilities that seems to have led some NT scribes to alter the text in accordance with Attic standards. See G. D. Kilpatrick, “Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament,” in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze*, ed. J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, and F. Mussner (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1963), 125–37; and J. Keith Elliott, “The Atticist Grammarians,” in *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism*, EFN 3 (Cordoba: Ediciones el Almendro, 1992), 65–77. Or, it may simply be part of a more general progression in terms of production quality.

compound words with a numerical element.¹⁴ While the Milesian system was quite flexible with regard to the range of terms that could be shortened, we restrict our examination to cardinals and ordinals.¹⁵ The reason for this limitation is that these are the only two categories of number-words that appear as abbreviations in the NT manuscripts under investigation; they therefore provide the most fertile ground for comparison.

1.3.2 Numerals in the Body Text

It is also necessary to state that our concern is only with numerals as they were written in the body text of NT manuscripts, not as they appear in paratextual features such as running titles, *stichoi* totals, page numeration, and so on.

Where scribal corrections are present, the following rule of thumb has been followed: corrections made by the original copyist (*in scribendo*, *prima manus*) or by a contemporaneous hand (*diorthotes*) are always considered, but those made by subsequent hands have been ignored unless otherwise specified. The issue of corrections is more relevant for some manuscripts than others, and so further details will be provided where appropriate.

1.3.3 Date Range

In order to gain a clear picture of the Christian practice of number writing, a sizeable body of manuscripts has been chosen. In view are all NT manuscripts, both papyri

¹⁴ For example, Δεκαπόλεως (Matt 4:25), διετοῦς (Matt 2:16), δωδεκάφυλον (Acts 26:7), ἑκατονταετής (Rom 4:19), ἑκατονταπλασίονα (Matt 19:29; Mark 10:30), ἑκατόνταρχος (Matt 8:5, 8, 13; 27:54), μονόφθαλμον (Matt 18:9), τετραάρχης (Matt 14:1), τετραδίσις (Acts 12:4), τετράγωνος (Rev 21:16), τετράμηνος (John 4:35), τετραπλοῦν (Luke 19:8), τετράπους (Acts 10:12; 11:6; Rom 1:23), τριετίαν (Acts 20:31), τρίμηνον (Heb 11:23), τριτέγου (Acts 20:9), ὀκταήμερος (Phil 3:5), and πεντηκοστής (Acts 2:1; 20:16; 1 Cor 16:8); one exception to this will be noted in the section on Codex Bezae (D 05) in chapter 4.

¹⁵ For example, πεντακωμία might be written ἑκωμία; see Nikolaos Gonis, “Abbreviations and Symbols,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 170–78 (173); see also Tod, “The Alphabetic Numeral System,” 126–39.

and majuscules, dated up through the fifth century CE (i.e., II–V/VI).¹⁶ Fragmentary manuscripts in which no numerals remain extant are, of course, not examined. This wide range of data will allow a large-scale comparison of scribal techniques from the earliest available evidence to the rise of the great uncials in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Indeed, the scope of this investigation is somewhat broad in the sense that it encompasses numerals in every book of the NT as found in manuscripts from a wide range of dates. Such an approach admittedly runs the risk of skimming over details that could be discovered in a narrower examination of a smaller data set.

Nevertheless, the principal benefit of a wider view is that it will allow us to observe scribal patterns that span all of our extant witnesses, that is, similarities shared by (virtually) all of our copyists. This will permit us to discern the most important features of the subject and at the same time leave room for others perhaps to dig deeper where more work can be done.

1.3.4 Collection of Data

The reader may be interested to know exactly how the data were collected. The first step was to read through the Greek NT marking each occurrence of a numeral. This was recorded in an electronic database, organized by NT book, listing all cardinal and ordinal numbers and their chapter-verse references. To double-check this database, a concordance of the Greek NT was used to verify the location of each

¹⁶ Dates are taken from Kurt Aland et al., eds., *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed., ANTF 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), updates provided on the website of the Münster Institute for New Testament Textual Research (<http://www.uni-muenster.de/NTTextforschung>).

word.¹⁷ A third check was made with the help of Accordance® Bible software (version 9), which allows searches to be made by grammatical tags such as “Adjective > Cardinal,” and so forth.

These steps, however, only identify locations of numerals in the standard critical text of the Nestle-Aland, not numerals that comprise textual *additions* to our manuscripts. Other kinds of variants, such as omissions and transpositions, are easily detected, but additions are particularly troublesome because there is no predicting when and where a scribe is likely to insert extraneous numerals. Various publications are available to help account for these added words, namely, those that systematically list variants from the expected text.¹⁸ It is possible that some of these have been overlooked; nevertheless, it is doubtful that these additions would substantially alter our overall picture.

With this database of numbers in place, I examined each manuscript at each occurrence (or omission) of a numeral, recording the precise reading for every witness. Photographs were examined for nearly every manuscript in question with only a handful of exceptions, for which the *editiones princepes* were used (all of which are specified in chapters 3 and 4). Two websites were key to this end, the Institute for New Testament Textual Research (INTF) and the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (CSNTM).¹⁹ In a handful of instances, I was able to

¹⁷ Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung und Rechenzentrum der Universität Münster, eds., *Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece von Nestle-Aland, 26. Auflage und zum Greek New Testament, 3rd edition*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987).

¹⁸ For example, James D. Yoder, ed., *Concordance to the Distinctive Greek Text of Codex Bezae*, NTTS 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1961); F. H. A. Scrivener, ed., *A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the Received Text of the New Testament* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co.; London: Bell & Daldy, 1864); Henry A. Sanders, ed., *The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels*, part 1 of *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, UMSHS 9/1 (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 143–247. These three manuscripts were most frequently the culprits of adding extraneous numerals.

¹⁹ INTF: <http://www.uni-muenster.de/NTTextforschung/>; CSNTM: <http://www.csntm.org/>.

inspect manuscripts or portions of manuscripts in person; where applicable, these are explicitly mentioned.²⁰

1.4 Chapter Previews

Chapter 2 seeks to review the scholarly literature on the topic of numerals in NT manuscripts. This will highlight the ways in which numerals have been drawn into scholarly discussions, and at the same time it will reveal several gaps in our current understanding of the subject and identify areas where there is much to learn.

After the literature review, the bulk of the thesis proceeds in two basic parts. Part 1 describes the relevant data and part 2 aims to test these data in a variety of ways.

Chapters 3 and 4 lay out the foundational data that is needed to gain an accurate picture of NT numerals by systematically examining all the extant numerals in our manuscripts. The principal concern is how individual scribes handle numbers, first in the papyri and then in the majuscules. We will also consider other potentially important features in connection with number-writing styles; attention to features such as (but not limited to) changes in scribe, “block mixture” of textual affiliation, and interlinear corrections will reveal something about codex in question and its history. This is the *internal* analysis of manuscripts and their numerals.

With this foundation in place, part 2 proceeds to examine the feature of numerals from a variety of angles. Chapter 5 seeks to view the phenomenon of number-writing *externally*—that is, to trace numbers in particular passages across

²⁰ Fortunately, I was able to examine several folios of P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, and P⁴⁷ at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. Having requested several folios in particular, I was able to verify some of the more troublesome readings in these papyri. I also examined P¹¹⁵ in person at the Sackler Library in Oxford. Many thanks are due to the respective librarians for their patience with me.

several manuscripts. This will involve line-by-line comparison of numbers in manuscripts that overlap in biblical content (such as P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵). I pursue this for two main reasons. First, this will allow us to identify patterns of number-writing (or lack thereof) that extend beyond individual scribes to wider customs or trade practices. Secondly, however, there is some evidence that numerical abbreviations might have sometimes functioned as “visual links” between witnesses. In other words, alphabetic numerals might sometimes have been carried over directly by copyists from their exemplars, meaning that they could have a *genealogical* significance. It will be shown that, in general, numerals are not an effective means by which to detect genealogical relationships between witnesses; at the same time, however, we will see several instances in which groups of manuscripts agree precisely in their particular number-forms at specific locations, suggesting that the wording of shared archetypes can sometimes be inferred.

Chapter 6 examine numerals in manuscripts of the LXX/OG, both Jewish and Christian. It has been claimed—and on several occasions reiterated—that *Christian* copies of the LXX/OG contain shorthand numbers while identifiably *Jewish* ones contain only longhand numbers exclusively. This chapter will simply test that claim. All known manuscripts of the LXX/OG dated up through the third century CE are examined for number-writing style. I will argue—against the dominant view—that the available evidence does not permit us to say with any certainty that this truly is a valid distinction between Christian and Jewish scribes. The implications of this conclusion are then brought to bear upon several manuscripts of disputed origins.

Chapter 7 attempts to detect instances where scribal number-styles were in some way affected by theological reflection. It is known that numerals were used as

“theological tools” in other contexts, such as documentary papyri and inscriptions. Are there any instances in NT manuscripts, I ask, in which we might say that numerical shorthand was used because it either bore some symbolic meaning, held a visual significance, or in any way referred to a concept or person in a manner that the ordinary longhand numbers could not? Are there any similarities in numerals to the more well-known phenomenon of the *nomina sacra*? Several possible instances are examined with external support from early Christian exegesis and from documentary papyri. I argue that the scribal treatment of numerals is most illuminating when held in contrast to the more widespread convention of the *nomina sacra*.

In chapter 8, we aim to study the phenomenon of numerical shorthand as it relates to the public reading of NT manuscripts. An important observation from part 1 is that NT copyists as a group appear to have adopted an incomplete system of numerical abbreviations. Specifically, they use what is essentially the alphabetic numeral system known from documentary papyri but with several curious differences—differences that are both striking and consistent across virtually all of our early manuscripts. I argue that NT copyists took the normal system of numerical abbreviations and intentionally adapted it for optimal use in a context where public reading and clear pronunciation of these codices were priorities.

Chapter 9 then summarizes the thesis, draws out some implications of the study, and suggests areas in which more research would be potentially fruitful.

CHAPTER 2:

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

2.1 Manuscripts as Artifacts

Since the inception of NT textual criticism as a discipline, the primary interest in manuscripts has been in the texts they carry. And rightly so; it is through the comparison of these texts that errors in transmission can be identified and removed.¹ But, within the last few decades, the study of early Christianity has undergone what has been called a “material turn.”² This movement is characterized by a deepening interest in the visual and physical features of manuscripts as artifacts of the development of early Christian culture and theology.

A prime example of this material turn is the consideration given to the codex book format. Two essays that appeared in the *Cambridge History of the Bible*, one by C. H. Roberts and another by T. C. Skeat, were especially formative in drawing attention to the early Christian preference for the codex over the bookroll—the more common book design of the early Roman period. Roberts, for instance, observed that, while both Jewish Scriptures and copies of Graeco-Roman literature were typically written on bookrolls, early Christian evidence points to a “deliberate and almost exclusive choice” of the codex.³ This observation raised a number of

¹ As Günther Zuntz notes, “The plain, primary purpose of [textual] criticism is to establish the right wording” (Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum*, Schweich Lectures 1946 [London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1953; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2007], viii).

² Kim Haines-Eitzen, “The Social History of Early Christian Scribes,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes, 2nd ed., NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 479–95 (486).

³ Colin H. Roberts, “Books in the Graeco-Roman World and in the New Testament,” in *From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. Peter R. Ackroyd and Christopher F. Evans, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge*

questions and invited deeper reflection upon the early Christian community. Both Roberts and Skeat reviewed this and other related features in great detail, offering tremendous insights into the developing “Christian reading culture”⁴ as distinct from its Jewish and pagan counterparts.

Another important physical feature of early Christian manuscripts is the group of reverential contractions employed for sacred names and titles, the *nomina sacra*.⁵ Four names in particular, Ἰησοῦς, χριστός, κύριος, and θεός, were written using abbreviated forms in virtually all of our early Christian manuscripts. So, for example, rather than writing the name Ἰησοῦς out fully, Christian copyists contracted the name by removing letters from the middle of the word: $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$, $\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$, and $\overline{\iota\upsilon}$ (the supralinear stroke signals to the reader the presence of abbreviation). Importantly, this method of abbreviation by contraction stands in contrast to the more prevalent Greek practice of suspension, the removal of letters only from the end of the word in

History of the Bible (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 48–66; T. C. Skeat, “Early Christian Book-Production: Papyri and Manuscripts,” in *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe, vol. 2 of *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 54–79.

⁴ For this term, see Larry W. Hurtado, “The Earliest Evidence of an Emerging Christian Material and Visual Culture: The Codex, the *Nomina Sacra*, and the Staurogram,” in *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson*, ed. Stephen G. Wilson and Michel Desjardins, ESCJ 9 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 271–88, and more recently, Larry W. Hurtado, “Manuscripts and the Sociology of Early Christian Reading,” in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 49–62. See also Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006).

⁵ Some key studies on the *nomina sacra* are the following: Ludwig Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (Munich: Beck, 1907), updated and refined by A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.: The Sources and Some Deductions* (Leiden: Brill, 1959); Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, Schweich Lectures 1977 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979). See also, more recently, Larry W. Hurtado, “The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*: A Proposal,” *JBL* 117 (1998): 655–73; S. D. Charlesworth, “Consensus Standardization in the Systematic Approach to *Nomina Sacra* in Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts,” *Aeg* 86 (2006): 37–68. For an alternative view, see Christopher M. Tuckett, “‘*Nomina Sacra*’: Yes and No?,” in *The Biblical Canons*, ed. J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge, BETL 163 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2003), 431–58 (esp. 445).

question; e.g., $\overline{\text{m}}(\text{covc})$.⁶ Unsurprisingly, the *nomina sacra* have been the focus of lively debate among scholars, not least because of the possibility that this similar scribal treatment stems from a religious veneration of the persons in question. Much more could be said on the topic, but here we simply note that the *nomina sacra* will frequently come into view in our study because of their similarities with abbreviated numerals in appearance, mechanics, and (possibly) in function.

Aside from these studies that address one particular scribal feature, many have analyzed several such features within single manuscripts. The groundbreaking work of H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat on Codex Sinaiticus is perhaps the most well-known example,⁷ but recent years have seen a rapid increase in similar publications. For example, David C. Parker's monograph on Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D 05), titled *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text*, is a landmark publication.⁸ In addition to a study of its text, Parker combined aspects of its palaeographical, orthographical, and codicological elements to shed light on the scribe and history of the manuscript. The success of this study can be seen in the number of similar publications that followed, such as Dirk Jongkind's work on Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲙ 01), Paul Canart's analysis of Codex Vaticanus (B 03), and most recently W. Andrew Smith's study of Codex Alexandrinus (A 02).⁹ A

⁶ Kathleen McNamee, ed., *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*, BASPSup 3 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1981), xi. See also Michael Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East, 200 B.C.–A.D. 1100)* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1940), 21–28. It is worth noting that such suspended forms of the *nomina sacra* do in fact occur in some Christian manuscripts (e.g., P⁴⁵ and Egerton 2 papyrus), but they are not common.

⁷ H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum for the Trustees, 1938).

⁸ David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁹ Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, TS 3/5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007); Paul Canart, "Le Vaticanus graecus 1209: notice paléographique et codicologique," in *Le manuscrit B de la*

cumulative effect these studies have had on the field is the recognition that physical aspects of manuscripts—not simply the texts they carry—are worthy of study in their own right, and they can illuminate a great deal about a manuscript’s history, composition, and role in the ancient Christian worship setting.

The present study fits within this context of investigating the physical and visual features of NT manuscripts, even as the issue of scribal number-writing techniques has not featured prominently in these scholarly discussions. The above studies are important for our purposes, however, because they clearly describe the important elements of the emerging Christian “material and visual culture” of which, as we will see, number writing forms an important part.

2.2 Numerals in New Testament Research

A handful of scholars have seen the potential value in the analysis of scribal number-styles, but, to date, no focused study on the subject in NT manuscripts has been conducted. Discussions of the issue have always been brief, usually imprecise, and rarely systematic; nevertheless, many important observations have been made that invite further research. What follows, therefore, is not intended to be an exhaustive account of every scholarly note involving number-forms in NT manuscripts, but a description of the most significant contributions to our knowledge of the practice.

2.2.1 Pre-modern Studies

Before the modern era, many readers of the NT were aware that numbers, especially when abbreviated, could easily be misunderstood and miscopied by

Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209), ed. Patrick Andrist, HTB 7 (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2009), 19–45; W. Andrew Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*, NTTSD 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

scribes. For example, in discussing a textual variant of Rev 13:18 in which the Number of the Beast was given as 616 rather than the expected 666, Irenaeus (ca. second century) proposed that the variant wording had been caused by the misreading of a poorly written numeral. He suggested that the second letter of $\overline{\chi\zeta\varsigma}$ (= 666) was written in such a way that an inattentive copyist mistook it for $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$ (= 616).¹⁰ Irenaeus states, “I am inclined to think that this has occurred through a scribal error as can happen since the numbers are expressed by letters so that the letter *xi* was expanded into *iota*.”¹¹ Thus, when written as a symbol, the number $\overline{\chi\zeta\varsigma}$ was easily distorted, but, if the number were written longhand (ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ), the same mistake would (presumably) not have been made; and he seems to suggest this sort of error happened with some regularity.

Another interesting example comes from the writings of Jerome (ca. fourth/fifth century), who offered an explanation for the discrepancy between the specific hour of Jesus’s death as recorded in the Gospels of Mark (“the third hour”, 15:25) and John (“the sixth hour”, 19:14). Jerome suggests that Mark’s Gospel originally read “the sixth hour,” just like John’s, but that a copyist had confused the numerals $\overline{\zeta\varsigma}$ (= ἕκτη) for $\overline{\Gamma}$ (= τρίτη) and corrupted the true reading: “The error was on the part of the scribes, for originally in Mark the sixth hour, likewise, was written, but many thought there was a *gamma* instead of an ἐπιδήμιον, the Greek number

¹⁰ See the discussion in J. Neville Birdsall, “Irenaeus and the Number of the Beast: Revelation 13,18,” in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel*, ed. Adelbert Denaux, BETL 161 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 349–59.

¹¹ Birdsall’s translation of Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.30.1 (which might be a later interpolation): “Hoc autem arbitror scriptorum peccatum fuisse, ut solet fieri, quoniam et per litteras numeri ponuntur, facile littera graeca quae sexaginta enuntiat numerum in iota Graecorum litteram expansa” (Birdsall, “Irenaeus and the Number of the Beast,” 352). See also Birdsall on the curious final line, “numerus in iota Graecorum litteram expansa,” which is actually not at all straightforward; how exactly could a *xi* (ξ) “expand” into an *iota* (ι)? The reverse seems more likely. For the text, see Adelin Rousseau, ed., *Irénée de Lyon Contre les Hérésies, Livre 5*, SC 153 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 2:372.

sign.”¹² Jerome’s explanation hinges on the shorthand forms of the ordinal numbers. He takes it as a matter of course that copyists would have both used shorthand for such numbers and confused them often. So, already in the first few centuries of Christianity, readers of NT manuscripts recognized that the particular forms of numbers could at times cause unwanted disruptions in textual transmission, and they appealed to the mechanics of number-writing to account for what they believed to be spurious readings.

2.2.2 Henry A. Sanders

About a century ago Henry A. Sanders made the first substantial examination of scribal number-writing styles in a given manuscript. When Sanders published the *editio princeps* of Codex Washingtonianus (W 032) in 1912, he argued that the codex had been pulled together from several unrelated exemplars.¹³ This was suggested by the manuscript’s curious assortment of disparate textual affinities that effectively resembled a patchwork composition. For example, while he saw that the Gospel of Matthew was Byzantine in textual character (though he used different terminology), the Gospel of John was clearly Alexandrian in text-type; Luke 1:1–8:12 was also essentially Alexandrian, but Luke 8:13–24:53 was Byzantine, and so on. Sanders’s

¹² Translation of “Error scriptorium fuit: et in Marco hora sexta scriptum fuit, sed multi pro ἐπιτήμῳ graeco putaverunt esse *gamma*,” taken from Amy M. Donaldson, “Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings among Greek and Latin Church Fathers” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009), 204–8, 440–47, <https://curate.nd.edu/concern/etds/5712m615k50>. For the text, see Jerome, *Tract. Ps. 77*; D. Germanus Morin, ed., *Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus: sive Homiliae in Psalmos, in Marci Evangelium aliaque Varia Argumenta*, vol. 3 pars 2 of *Anecdota Maredsolana* (Oxford: Parker, 1897), 60. Similar explanations for this problem can be found in the works of Epiphanius, Eusebius, Ammonius of Alexandria, and Theophylact. For more discussion, see Sebastian Bartina, S. J., “Ignotum *episèmon* gabex (cf. PG 85,1512 B) (Io 19,14: hora sexta an hora tertia?),” *VD* 36 (1958): 16–37, and Karl K. Hulley, “Principles of Textual Criticism Known to St. Jerome,” *HSCP* 55 (1944): 87–109 (esp. 95–96).

¹³ Henry A. Sanders, ed., *The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels*, part 1 of *The New Testament Manuscripts in Freer Collection*, UMSHS 9/1 (New York: Macmillan, 1912), esp. 133–39.

key observation was that there were similar changes in *scribal techniques* that accompanied each change in textual affinity. Among these changes in scribal technique were certain forms and frequencies of the *nomina sacra* contractions, the use of paragraph breaks, and, importantly for our study, the use of numerical abbreviations.

Sanders found that the scribe of W consistently avoided using numerical abbreviations in the Byzantine portions of the codex and only used longhand numbers; but, in other portions of the manuscript, such as the two text blocks of Mark's Gospel (1:1–5:30; 5:31–16:20), the scribe was happy to use dozens of numerical abbreviations. Other such distinctions are also evident in the Gospels of John and Luke. These shifts in scribal technique, along with the other features noted above, indicated to Sanders that the scribe had copied numerals over directly from the various exemplars as he found them without altering their form (whether longhand or shorthand). In short, therefore, the shifting preferences of number writing in Codex W could confidently be said to reflect the contents of the source-text(s).

Unfortunately, Sanders did not account for all the relevant data and overlooked many numbers; we will address such quibbles in due course. Still, these omissions do not nullify his argument for the patchwork hypothesis, which remains persuasive and has not (to my knowledge) been surpassed.¹⁴ Thus, one result of Sanders's study is that it was discovered (though not fully appreciated) that number-writing styles, when viewed as an individual scribe's technique, could indicate

¹⁴ In any case, for an alternative and ultimately unpersuasive view of W 032, see Philip Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography and Textual Criticism* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 2005), 84–85.

something about a manuscript's history, and they might suggest how the strictly the copyist followed the exemplar texts. We will, therefore, take care to look for similar patterns in our investigation of other manuscripts.

2.2.3 H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat

A different use of number-styles can be found in the work of H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, librarians in the British Library who published the foundational study of Codex Sinaiticus. Specifically, Milne and Skeat believed that the scribe's number-writing styles were indicative of a particular date of the manuscript's creation, namely, the mid-fourth century. Based on a survey of symbols used for numbers in the thousands in explicitly dated papyri from the fourth-century, they observed that

In the course of the fourth century the old method of representing the figures 1,000–9,000 by the ordinary cardinal numbers for 1–9 with a surmounting curl or crest (e.g. $\overset{\curvearrowright}{A}$ = 1,000, $\overset{\curvearrowright}{B}$ = 2,000, etc.) gradually went out of fashion, the curl being replaced by a simple slanting stroke to the left of the numeral (e.g., 'A, or ,A = 1,000).¹⁵

They concluded that this transition occurred between 338–360 CE. The presence of both methods in Sinaiticus seemed to confirm that the codex was created in this period of transition; Skeat later softened on this stance somewhat.¹⁶ This discussion is only of limited relevance for our study, however, as there are only a handful of numerical abbreviations for values in the thousands in NT manuscripts, and none in Sinaiticus (those observed by Milne and Skeat were in 1 Maccabees). Unfortunately, Milne and Skeat did not devote their attention to the preferences of number writing

¹⁵ Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 62.

¹⁶ "I should like to repeat here that the statistics quoted are only a hasty collection which makes no claim to be exhaustive; another late instance of the use of the older system is BGU 940, of A.D. 398" (T. C. Skeat et al., "Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt Part I: Papyrology [1938]," *JEA* 25 [1938]: 70–93 [86]). Nevertheless, the original argument from *Scribes and Correctors* was affirmed and followed by others such as Colin H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands: 350 B.C.–A.D. 400* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), 24; and by James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 372–73, n. 71.

among the different scribes of Sinaiticus, nor did they observe how numbers are written elsewhere in the codex more generally. As it will be discussed in chapter 4, however, Codex Sinaiticus exhibits a remarkable pattern of numerical abbreviations that invites a close investigation. Still, their argument about the date of Sinaiticus, whether persuasive or not, represents a novel use of scribal number-styles and suggests that a similar method could be used to study other manuscripts.¹⁷

2.2.4 Colin H. Roberts

The published volume of Schweich Lectures given by Colin H. Roberts, titled *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, represents one of the most important examinations of early NT and OT papyri as physical artifacts that illuminate the birth and development of Christianity in Egypt.¹⁸ This study is perhaps most famous for its attention to the *nomina sacra*, which Roberts forcefully argued were uniquely Christian and therefore critical for our understanding of the worship practices of the early church. In another chapter in that publication, titled “Evidence from the Papyri,” Roberts brought into focus many other scribal characteristics of the papyri and their putative sources of origin. Indeed, numerous features of early Christian manuscripts appear to share strong connections to Greek documentary papyri rather than the more formal literary texts. (Broadly speaking, “documents” in this context refers to texts such as private letters, receipts, clerical paperwork,

¹⁷ Another novel use of numerals by Milne and Skeat was to argue for the dictation theory of Codex Sinaiticus from a seemingly inexplicable collocation of four nonsensical numbers and letters in 1 Macc 5:20 ($\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{F}}$), maintaining that the confusion arose due to difficulties in oral dictation (Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 57). This particular argument, however, lies outside our purview; for a response, see Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 251–52, and Zachary J. Cole, “A Paleographical Problem with Milne and Skeat’s Dictation Theory of Codex Sinaiticus,” *JBL* 152 (forthcoming).

¹⁸ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*.

petitions, decrees, orders, accounts, and so on, while “literature” refers mainly to books.¹⁹)

Roberts observed, for example, that Christian scribes often enlarged initial letters and jugged them into the margin in order to denote a sense-unit in the text (called *ekthesis*)—a practice found in documentary papyri but not in copies of Greek literature. Other similar features are informal and semi-cursive scripts, the practice of leaving spaces between words or groups of words, and, quite importantly, the use of abbreviated numerals. All of these observations led Roberts to assert that:

From this survey of the externals of our earliest Christian manuscripts we can conclude that their writing is based, with some changes and with a few exceptions, on the model of the documents, not on that of Greek classical manuscripts nor on that of the Greco-Jewish tradition.²⁰

Thus, the use of abbreviated numbers was one item among many that led to Roberts’s larger point about the scribal quality of early Christian papyri.²¹

Roberts actually credited the papyrologist Eric G. Turner as the first to observe that the number-writing techniques of Christian manuscripts differed from those in Greek literary manuscripts. According to Turner, “I know of only one Greek book manuscript (an unpublished papyrus of Strabo) in which figures are not written out in full, but given in numerical notation.” He went on, “Only if a literary manuscript were treated as a careless private copy or were copied by a Christian

¹⁹ On the considerable overlap between these two styles, see Haines-Eitzen, “The Social History of Early Christian Scribes,” 479–95 (esp. 480–85); Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, xi; and Alan R. Mugridge, “Writing and Writers in Antiquity: Two ‘Spectra’ in Greek Handwriting,” in *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology: Ann Arbor, July 29–August 4, 2007*, ed. T. Gagos (Ann Arbor, MI: Scholarly Publishing Office, The University of Michigan Library, 2010), 573–80.

²⁰ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 20.

²¹ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 13–15. Specifically, the NT papyri he was describing were P⁴, P³², P⁵², P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷, and P⁷⁷, plus some OT and noncanonical papyri.

scribe would one expect to find abbreviations of this kind.”²² No particular study was cited to this effect, but we have no reason to doubt that this is an accurate description of the evidence. The use of numerical shorthand in early Christian manuscripts is therefore reflective of the sub-literary register of scribal activity in which they were produced.

Although Roberts’s general argument about the documentary quality of early Christian manuscripts is not, for our present purposes, in dispute, it is necessary to point out that his discussion of alphabetic numerals was brief and imprecise. Let us examine it in detail. First, Roberts observed that—in some Christian papyri—the use of abbreviated numerals was “not invariable,” meaning that both number systems (longhand and shorthand) were evidently used interchangeably and inconsistently.²³ This observation itself is absolutely correct, but it is accompanied by a perplexing footnote: “[For example], in the Bodmer St. John [= P⁶⁶]; here the scribe with the eccentricity that characterizes him uses both systems, cf. 5:5 with 6:10 or 8:57.” The verses cited by Roberts indeed show that P⁶⁶ contains both longhand and shorthand numbers, but the label of “eccentricity” is rather misleading. As it will be shown in later chapters, *many* early NT manuscripts contain a startling mixture of abbreviations and longhand number-forms. Even a brief examination of P⁴⁵, P⁴⁷, or P¹¹⁵, for example—all of which contain far more variability in number-forms—will reveal that P⁶⁶ is not in the least eccentric in this regard. On the contrary, P⁶⁶ exhibits relatively few deviations from the normal mode of longhand numbers.

²² Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed., rev. P. J. Parsons, IBSBSup 46 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 15.

²³ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 18.

Second, that same footnote continues with another problematic statement: “In the Bodmer Luke/John codex [= P⁷⁵] only the thousands are written out while δύο and τρεῖς are expressed in symbols.” It is unclear if Roberts meant to say that δύο and τρεῖς are *always* or only *sometimes* written as symbols in P⁷⁵, but the former seems to be the implication. Either way, this assertion is also misleading; as we will see in chapter 3, δύο and τρεῖς are written *plene* repeatedly throughout the codex.²⁴

Third, Roberts noted that numerical abbreviations can be found in later codices, namely Vaticanus (B 03) and Sinaiticus (Ⲱ 01), which illustrates how the practices among the papyri persisted for centuries even in manuscripts created outside of Egypt.²⁵ In the case of Sinaiticus, this observation is incisively accurate; this manuscript evidences a liberal use of numerical shorthand. In the case Vaticanus, however, it is necessary to note that—in its NT portion at least—only one exceptional use of a numerical abbreviation is used among the myriad of longhand numbers. This scribal tendency conflicts starkly with what Roberts intimated; on the contrary, it is remarkable how consistently the scribe of Vaticanus avoided using numerical abbreviations.²⁶

Fourth, as quoted above, Roberts observed that the Christian practice of using numerical symbols stands in contrast to that of Jewish manuscripts of the LXX/OG and high quality copies of Greek literature—both of which, as a rule, show numbers written fully. He cited in particular three Greek manuscripts of the OT in which

²⁴ Examples of longhand δύο and its derivatives in P⁷⁵: Luke 5:2; 12:6, 52; 16:13; 17:34, 35; 23:32; 24:4; John 1:37, 40; 11:6; and of τρεῖς: Luke 10:36; 11:5; 12:52; 13:7, 21; John 2:19, 20. See also the internal profile of P⁷⁵ in chapter 3.

²⁵ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 18.

²⁶ Although multiple scribes were involved in the production of Codex Vaticanus, it seems that only one was responsible for the NT portion; see Canart, “Le Vaticanus graecus 1209,” 19–45, and Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 88.

“numbers are regularly written out.”²⁷ Roberts did not cite any publication that dealt with the subject, and we are left to assume that his comment was based on his own examination. This is somewhat unsettling because we have just seen that his comments on the practice in NT manuscripts were at best imprecise and at worst incorrect. Frankly, the three OT papyri he referred to contain a grand total of twenty-two numerals in their extant texts—hardly a representative sample of Jewish scribal practice.²⁸ By comparison, the Chester Beatty papyrus manuscript of Numbers-Deuteronomy (*P.Beatty VI*), generally regarded as Christian in origin, contains well over *three hundred* visible numerals; and this is just papyrus one of many.

Nevertheless, this distinction between scribal styles is important. If Christians alone used numerical abbreviations in their copies of Scripture, two significant implications present themselves: (1) This would reinforce and add to what we know of a distinctive Christian “visual and material culture” that can be distinguished from contemporaries, and (2) it would suggest that numerical abbreviations might be a possible criterion by which one can determine the provenance of Greek copies of the OT, as either Christian or Jewish. Regarding this latter point, one of the notable difficulties in LXX/OG studies is in determining which manuscripts should be classified as Christian and which should be classified as Jewish in origin. And if Roberts was indeed correct about the consistent use of longhand numbers in Jewish

²⁷ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 19. This is cited by Peter M. Head, “The Date of the Magdalen Papyrus of Matthew (*P. Magd. Gr.* 17 = P64): A Response to C. P. Thiede,” *TynBul* 46 (1995): 251–85 (275): “A further important factor is the use in P64 of abbreviated symbols to represent numbers (frag. 3 verso line 2: ιβ for δωδεκα). This is not found in either the Greek literary manuscript tradition or in Jewish manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament (where numbers were written in full), but it is characteristic of early Christian manuscripts from Egypt.”

²⁸ He explicitly cites *P.Fouad* inv. 266 (10 visible numerals), the Qumran Leviticus/4Q119/LXXLev^a (two visible numerals), and the Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (10 visible numerals); for more details, see chapter 6 of this thesis.

manuscripts, scholars might gain an additional tool with which to sort the tangled collection of texts from this period. Accordingly, one chapter of the present study will examine the Greek copies of OT scriptures with a view toward testing to see if this distinction between scribal styles is valid.

Thus, for the most part, Roberts's observations effectively highlight some of the major questions that surround the issue of number-writing, such as its origins in documentary practices, its variable usage among Christian texts, and its apparent absence from Jewish manuscripts of Scripture. It is clear, however, that Roberts only had a limited awareness of this feature in specific manuscripts, and his study suffered from a lack of accuracy in the details. For these reasons many of his assertions will be revisited and refined in later chapters.

2.2.5 David C. Parker

In the detailed investigation of Codex Bezae (D 05) mentioned above, David C. Parker gives a brief examination of the number-writing styles of Bezae's copyist. One of Parker's stated aims in the book is to "explore what can be found out about the ancestors of D, in particular its exemplar, and in examining how the scribe of D worked."²⁹ This entails a close examination of the scribe's orthography, of which numerals and numerical shorthand form a part. The inconsistent use of numerical shorthand in Bezae does not fit into Parker's major arguments about the history of the codex. Parker's main theses are that the text of Acts in D derived from a different exemplar than that of the Gospels (inferred from differences in sense-line arrangements), and that the exemplar for the Gospels was the work of two different scribes working in succession (inferred from changes in orthography). But after an

²⁹ Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 75.

examination of the numerals in D, he concludes, “the numerals present a problem.... I have no explanation for any of this.”³⁰ Indeed, the numerals in Bezae do not seem to conform to any sort of discernible pattern.

It is important to note that such an appeal to number-writing styles in D 05 essentially follows the lead of Sanders in his work on Washingtonianus, in which numerals positively revealed information about the manuscript’s history and exemplar texts. Unlike W, however, D’s use of abbreviations does not appear to either confirm or contradict the Parker’s hypothesis concerning the manuscript’s exemplars.

More can be done in this area, however. First, Parker presents a limited account of the numerals in Bezae; statistics are given for “seven,” “eight,” “ten,” and “twelve,” but there are many other numbers to be observed. Second, we have seen that scribal numbering techniques can be and have been used for more than simply evaluating a scribe’s adherence to exemplar texts. There are, therefore, several questions that could be pursued in greater detail. Why, for instance, does a fifth-century codex such as D contain so many numerical abbreviations when others from that era contain so few, if any at all (e.g., A 02, B 03, C 04)?³¹ Why does the Gospel of John in D exhibit so few abbreviations compared to the other Gospels? Is there a relationship between the use (and nonuse) of abbreviations and Bezae’s arrangement into sense-units rather than full paragraphs? A more thorough investigation of the numerals in D will enable the pursuit of these and other questions.

³⁰ Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 115 (see also 111).

³¹ It is worth noting that Parker posited a slightly earlier date for the creation of D 05, that is, “about the year 400” (Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 281). See also David C. Parker, “The Palaeographical Debate,” in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, ed. David C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux, NTTS 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 329–36.

2.2.6 T. C. Skeat

The subject of numerical abbreviations briefly came into view in T. C. Skeat's reconstruction of the second-century papyrus fragments P⁴, P⁶⁴, and P⁶⁷. In an oft-cited article titled "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?," Skeat argued that these three papyri were originally part of the same manuscript, and, in addition, that they are the remains of the first codex containing all four canonical Gospels.³² This hypothesis, if sound, would be an amazing insight into the text of the NT in the second century. Nevertheless, Skeat's reasoning has been criticized on a number of points, and it is not necessary here to dissect the whole of his argument (though in a later chapter I will offer more comment). What is interesting, however, is how the issue of number-writing styles introduces a degree of doubt into Skeat's argument.

A large part of Skeat's argument rested on his reconstruction of P⁶⁴ (containing parts of Matthew 26), which he used as a template to calculate the space between it and the end of Matthew's Gospel (i.e., chaps. 26–28). Specifically, he offered a hypothetical reconstruction of one full page of P⁶⁴, counted its number of letters per page, then used this (hypothetical) total to calculate how many such pages would be needed to complete the book of Matthew. This led Skeat to conclude that "the remainder of the Gospel would have occupied $10,115/2,267 = 4.46$ leaves, i.e. 4 complete leaves, with the Gospel ending just before the foot of col. 2 of the fifth leaf." He then specified the precise point at which the Gospel ended: "probably about 3 or 4 lines from the foot, leaving enough space for the colophon."³³ Such a fine

³² T. C. Skeat, "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?," *NTS* 43 (1997): 1–34; repr. in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, NovTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 158–92.

³³ Skeat, "The Oldest Manuscript?," 14.

degree of detail was crucial to Skeat's argument because the exact location of Matthew's ending suggested that Luke—which by the same kind of calculation from P⁴ must have begun at the top of column 1 on its leaf—could not have followed immediately; the scribe, he claimed, would not have left two whole empty columns between the end of Matthew and the beginning of Luke. Skeat proposed, therefore, that another Gospel must have originally stood between Matthew and Luke (John?). And since a three Gospel codex would be “unthinkable” (according to Skeat), this must have originally been a four Gospel codex.³⁴

But how did Skeat calculate numerals in the reconstructed text of P⁶⁴, as longhand words or as abbreviations? Although this may seem to be a minor point, Matthew 26–28 contains no fewer than thirty-one numbers, roughly ten per chapter.³⁵ Skeat saw that P⁶⁴ contained a numerical abbreviation (Matt 26:14) and then applied this form for *all* the other numbers in the hypothetical reconstruction of Matthew 26–28: “I have followed the practice of the scribe in writing numbers as numerals [= abbreviations],” and later, “Using the text of NA²⁷ and making allowances for the *nomina sacra* used by the scribe and for numbers written as numerals, I calculate that the remaining portion of the Gospel after the end of the reconstructed leaf contains about 10,115 letters.”³⁶ Again, this level of specificity was crucial for Skeat's argument to work, but was it correct to assume that the scribe would be consistent in abbreviating all numbers? Remarkably, even Skeat admitted his own misgivings about this: “At Matt 26:14 I have printed $\bar{\alpha}$ τὸν $\bar{\iota}\beta$, but I have

³⁴ Skeat, “The Oldest Manuscript?,” 15.

³⁵ That is, thirty-one cardinal and ordinal numbers. Although Skeat does not explicitly say so, it is clear from his reconstruction that he calculated all ordinals as abbreviations (e.g., Matt 26:17; col. 2, ln. 26); see Skeat, “The Oldest Manuscript?,” 12.

³⁶ Skeat, “The Oldest Manuscript?,” 14.

some doubts about this since I believe that scribes, though perfectly happy to use numerals [= abbreviations], disliked aggregations of them.”³⁷ Such skepticism is laudable. As we will see in subsequent chapters, NT scribes were seldom predictable in their choice of number-style, and utmost caution ought to be used when reconstructing texts containing numbers. In spite of his own stated hesitation, however, Skeat dubiously calculated all of the thirty-one numerals as abbreviations rather than full words or a mixture of both, which was without any doubt a serious—and fatal—error. Even a minor alteration in how the numerals are calculated compromises the precise (hypothetical) ending of Matthew, which destroys the crucial link to Luke, and in turn negates the whole argument.

The simple point to be made about this complicated argument is that Skeat’s calculations were overly precise given the uncertainty of scribal number-writing techniques (not to mention the possibility of substantial textual variants from the NA²⁷ text).³⁸ The presence of one abbreviation in P⁶⁴ is not a sufficient basis upon which to make presumptions about every other number in the book. Several of Skeat’s mistakes could have been avoided by a study that clearly outlined typical number-techniques of Christian scribes. For example, the present study will demonstrate that NT scribes did not abbreviate the number “one,” but consistently used the longhand form; this tendency is so reliable that not a single example can be found in any manuscript up through the fifth century. And yet Skeat reconstructed several such numbers in this way in his edition (e.g., Matt 26:14, 21, 22), and calculated several others Matthew 26–28 in this way assuming that they were also

³⁷ Skeat, “The Oldest Manuscript?,” 14.

³⁸ Skeat’s thesis has been criticized on similar grounds by Peter M. Head, “Is P⁴, P⁶⁴ and P⁶⁷ the Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels? A Response to T. C. Skeat,” *NTS* 51 (2005): 450–57.

similarly abbreviated (e.g., 26:40, 47, 69; 27:14, 15, 38 [2x], 48, 63; 28:1). A similar critique can be made of his dubious treatment of ordinal numbers. Hopefully our analysis will allow for other refinements.

2.2.7 Kim Haines-Eitzen

Another scholar who has recognized the importance of numerical abbreviations is Kim Haines-Eitzen. In her monograph on the scribal contexts of early Christian papyri, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature*, Haines-Eitzen draws attention to the use of numerical shorthand as an indication of the social background of copyists of Christian books.³⁹ Her larger concern is to demonstrate that most early Christian copyists were evidently trained in or at least capable of both documentary and literary styles of writing—what she calls scribal “multifunctionality.” The use of alphabetic numerals is one feature among many that indicates Christian scribes were comfortable with and accustomed to a documentary style of writing even though they produced what is essentially a literary hand. Haines-Eitzen has admittedly drawn from the previous work of Roberts and Turner, who laid the important groundwork (see above), but she offers valuable refinements and additions of her own. She notes, for example, that P⁴⁵ and P⁶⁶ show a clear preference for longhand number-forms and only occasionally resort to symbols, while, on the other hand, P⁷⁵ and P⁴⁷ contain regular use of numerical shorthand. Moreover, she suggests the provocative comparison of P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ in their overlapping text of John’s Gospel; the differences between the two are numerous and invite a thorough investigation. Although brief, Haines-Eitzen’s discussion of the

³⁹ Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 66.

practice is important because she cites particular examples of verses in which two (or more) manuscripts differ in their choice of number-style. Comparisons such as this have the potential to reveal points of similarity or diversity in scribal techniques of the early manuscript tradition.⁴⁰

Haines-Eitzen also finds it significant that, whereas many NT papyri contain these documentary features, the same is not true of Jewish manuscripts of the Greek OT or of well-copied manuscripts of Greek literature. Again, this very well might point to and reinforce our conception of a distinctive scribal style that characterized the early Christian “book culture” in contrast to other groups of that era, but a more thorough analysis is required to rely on it as fact.

The larger point made by Haines-Eitzen, that most Christian papyri fit squarely in the overlap between literary and documentary styles, is well taken, but this does not change the fact that several questions remain unanswered. Can the postulation of “documentary influence” adequately account for the presence and frequency of numerical abbreviations that we find in NT manuscripts? This question is worth asking because some comparable scribal features have proven to be deceptive in this regard. The *nomina sacra*, for example, are abbreviations—typically a feature of documentary papyri—yet they are not a pragmatic technique to conserve space; rather, most scholars maintain that they reflect a theological and devotional practice.⁴¹ Similarly, the use of *ekthesis* (projecting initial letters into the margin) and

⁴⁰ A minor correction to a comment made by Haines-Eitzen to the effect that numerical abbreviations occur “in all of our early Christian papyri” is the simple fact that, aside from page numeration, they are not in fact used in several early papyri such as P⁴⁶ and P⁷² (Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 66).

⁴¹ This point has, of course, been contested, however; see, for example, Tuckett, “Nomina Sacra”: Yes and No?,” 431–58.

paragraph breaks are akin to techniques of documentary papyri, but these were intended to denote sense units, facilitate public reading, and enable proper understanding of the text, they do not simply represent unconscious relapses into documentary practice. Furthermore, identical features of text division can be found in Jewish scriptural manuscripts from the Judean Desert, suggesting that the source of influence for Christian scribes was not solely documentary papyri. In much the same way, there are several indications that the use of shorthand numbers is not simply a vestige of documentary techniques. For one, we will see that scribes *occasionally* employ numerical shorthand, but sometimes just once or twice in an entire codex; if the aim was to conserve space, why not abbreviate all or most of the numbers? We will see that most copyists did not abbreviate even the most frequently occurring numerals. In sum, Christian scribes seem to have employed a very restricted version of the alphabetic numeral system. An inductive study of the practice will permit a more nuanced understanding of the subject at hand and its role in the wider context of scribal techniques.

2.2.8 James R. Royse

The subject of number-style appears and reappears on several occasions within James Royse's exhaustive study of the scribal habits of early papyri.⁴² For Royse, "scribal habits" mainly entails the manner in which a copyist handled his or her exemplar text and what changes were made in the process of transcription; he does not focus on the use of abbreviations except insofar as they shed light on the nature and causes of errors. There is, therefore, no systematic analysis of the number-writing habits of these early NT papyri in his study. For Royse, the value of

⁴² Royse, *Scribal Habits*.

numerical shorthand is its occasional utility in explaining the rise of scribal errors (and usually only in the case of singular readings). In John 12:1, for example, the scribe of P⁶⁶ originally wrote $\pi\epsilon\nu|\tau\epsilon$ but quickly corrected it to the expected number $\xi\xi$. To explain this, Royse proposes that the scribe saw $\xi\xi$ in the exemplar and misread it as the numeral $\bar{\epsilon}$ (= 5), perhaps misled by the rough breathing mark or an exaggerated χi . Immediately recognizing the error when trying to make sense of the (now meaningless) letter χi , the scribe deleted the unnecessary letters $\pi\epsilon\nu$ and overwrote $\tau\epsilon$ with $\xi\xi$. This hypothesis in particular is sound and sufficiently explains the rise of the original error,⁴³ but elsewhere Royse appears to stretch the evidence too far. On a number of occasions, for instance, he attempts to explain an error by supposing that a numerical abbreviation stood in the exemplar but the copyist “failed to see [its] meaning.”⁴⁴ This is supposed to account for the glaring omissions of both $\piέντε$ and $δύο$ from Mark 6:41 in P⁴⁵. At first glance this might seem attractive, but an examination of the numbers in P⁴⁵ shows that the scribe himself employs several numerical abbreviations elsewhere in the codex, and both $\piέντε$ and $δύο$ were already written correctly earlier in the immediate context (Mark 6:38), rendering this solution wholly unsatisfactory.

It is certainly legitimate to consider the possibility that variable number forms contributed to specific scribal errors, in fact this is advisable (and has been done since at least the time of Irenaeus), but it is unrealistic to say that early Christian

⁴³ It appears that E. C. Colwell actually proposed this solution prior to Royse; see E. C. Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P45, P66, P75,” in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, NTTS 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 106–24 (115).

⁴⁴ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 134 n. 150; see also 372 and 588 n. 237; the latter example regards the omission of $\delta\kappa\tau\acute{o}$ from 1 Pet 3:20 in P⁷²: “Perhaps this was written as a letter (η), which the scribe did not understand.”

scribes simply did not understand many numerical abbreviations. A more systematized approach to this scribal habit might have allowed a more secure proposal. This is a good example of the need for the present study; an inductive analysis of all manuscripts and their numbers will reveal what specific practices were current in the NT period, which numbers were problematic, and what a typical copyist would have been comfortable or familiar with.⁴⁵

2.2.9 Peter M. Head

In a 2008 publication, Peter M. Head conducts an investigation of the second Gospel in Codex Sinaiticus that includes attention to scribal number-writing style.⁴⁶ Head's larger aim is "to investigate the way in which the Greek text of Mark is presented in Codex Sinaiticus," which involves discussions of quire formation, paragraphing, *nomina sacra*, Eusebian sections, and singular readings. Focusing on the scribe's number-writing techniques, Head notices the changing use of numerical abbreviations and entertains an intriguing possibility of a deliberate scribal pattern of shorthand. The symbol form of twelve ($\overline{\iota\beta}$) is normally used to refer to the disciples (e.g., 3:14, 16; 4:10; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11), except when Judas is present, in which cases the *plene* form is used (e.g., 14:10, 20, 43). Head observes that this would seem to indicate that the copyist reserved the abbreviation for a "positive portrayal of the

⁴⁵ In contrast, Dirk Jongkind recognizes the possibility that a variable number form could lead to a scribal error, but he does not fall into the trap of assuming that the scribe did not understand the form in question: "The age of Anna in Luke 2:37 is given in Sinaiticus as εβδομηκοντα τεσσαρων instead of ογδοηκοντα τεσσαρων. There is no obvious explanation for the origin of this variant. If the exemplar had the numerals written as letters the scribe must have read $\overline{o\delta}$ for $\overline{\pi\delta}$ " (Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 236). See also Bernhard Weiss, *Die Johannes-Apokalypse: Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung*, TU 7/1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1891), 62, who identifies numerals that would have been easily confused.

⁴⁶ Peter M. Head, "The Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus: Textual and Reception-Historical Considerations," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 13 (2008): 1–38, <http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/v13/Head2008.pdf>.

twelve,” and the presence of Judas (as in 14:10–12) with the twelve “somehow contaminates the concept,” resulting in the longhand form.⁴⁷ In the end, Head concedes that there is too little consistency to establish this pattern reliably; the abbreviated form is used, for example, in reference to “twelve years” in 5:42. The alternative conclusion is that the copyist(s) “exercised considerable freedom in relation to the deployment of numerical abbreviations in the text.” This is then confirmed by Head’s examination of other numbers as they occur in Mark: δύο, τρεῖς, τέσσαρες, πέντε, ἕξ, ἑπτά, δέκα, τριάκοντα, ἑξήκοντα, ἑκατόν, which demonstrate “considerable variation” in number-forms. (Head also notes that larger numbers such as διακόσιοι, τριακόσιοι, διςχίλιοι, τετρακισχίλιοι, and πεντακισχίλιοι are consistently longhand.)

Head’s analysis is one of the more thorough studies of the number-writing techniques in a given manuscript of the NT, even as his primary aim in that article is much broader. There are two notable strengths of his study: (1) The systematic treatment of all numbers within a given span (i.e., the Gospel of Mark in Sinaiticus) rather than a handful of numbers, and (2) the sensitivity to referent and context as potentially significant factors in the copyist’s choice of number-style. On the first point (1), we have seen that many previous studies suffer from selectivity and lack of systematization; often only a handful of values are examined and then only some of their occurrences. Without any doubt, this sort of approach will lead to a distorted representation of a scribe’s actual practice. Regarding the latter point (2), the initial hypothesis Head identifies is not confirmed, but that does not mean similar routes will necessarily lead to dead ends. We will see that the scribe of Sinaiticus does

⁴⁷ Head, “The Gospel of Mark,” 14.

indeed reserve numerical symbols for a particular referent, though the pattern in question is not evident in the text of Mark. That is why a study of a scribe's number-writing method should incorporate all numbers in all parts of a given manuscript with an eye toward both referent and context.

2.2.10 Tommy Wasserman

Tommy Wasserman conducts a similar investigation of number-writing styles on a smaller scale. In an essay on the early Greek text of Matthew's Gospel, Wasserman devotes some discussion to a problematic reading involving a number in the fragmentary manuscript P⁴⁵, a third-century witness to the Gospels and Acts.⁴⁸ Scholars have proposed a variety of reconstructions of one line in P⁴⁵ for which only a handful of letters are now extant (Matt 26:15–16; folio 2, recto, line 33). The array of possible reconstructions is due in part to the question of whether the number τριάκοντα was written by the copyist in full or in shorthand (as λ̄). The significance of this seemingly trivial point is its implication for what else could fit on the line in question; if, for instance, the number was written *plene*, there would not be sufficient room for all the expected words (and an omission must be presumed). If, on the other hand, the number was written as an abbreviation, there is evidently no need to propose the omission of a word (e.g., αὐτοῖ, καὶ)—the difference between the two forms totals no less than eight letters.

The key weakness with other attempts at the reconstruction of this line is that the choice between abbreviation and longhand has apparently been made on the basis of intuition or perhaps even convenience; that is, no survey of the practice of

⁴⁸ Tommy Wasserman, "The Early Text of Matthew," in *The Early Text of the New Testament* (Hill and Kruger), 83–107.

number-writing in P⁴⁵ informed the process of reconstruction.⁴⁹ In contrast, Wasserman bases his decision on an investigation of the numbers in P⁴⁵: “My examination shows that the scribe uses either cardinal numbers [= full words?] or numerals [= abbreviations?] for the numbers 12, 15, 18, 40, and 72, so the question is open.”⁵⁰ Further, this statement is accompanied by a footnote detailing the number-forms of P⁴⁵ with specific verse references. In the end, Wasserman’s caution is laudable here. He is certainly correct to note that the scribe of P⁴⁵ used both number-systems, and the number “twelve” in particular occurs as both a symbol and full word, so any reconstruction would be pure conjecture. It is a wonder that the previous scholars who proposed readings here did not conduct (or at least they failed to mention) similar examinations of numbers in P⁴⁵ to justify their decisions. Again, this is admittedly a minor point, but it reveals how a thorough study of these scribal practices can refine our reconstructions, strengthen our transcriptions, and avoid pronouncements of certainty where there are insufficient grounds for it.

2.2.11 Numerical Shorthand in Chronological Development

Another important issue related to the use of numerals in NT manuscripts is that of chronological development. At some point Christian scribes stopped using numerical shorthand as a substitute for number-words. When and how did this actually happen? Since, of course, alphabetic numerals and documentary-style writing seem to go hand in hand, it is usually assumed that when this register of scribal style fell into

⁴⁹ It appears that one other scholar, Augustus Merk, made a similar survey, though it seems to have been incomplete; see Augustus Merk, S. J., “Codex Evangeliorum et Actuum ex Collectione Papyrorum Chester Beatty,” in *Miscellanea Biblica*, ed. Pontifical Biblical Institute (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1934), 2:375–406 (378). For references to other reconstructions, see Wasserman, “The Early Text of Matthew,” 92, as well as the discussion in chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁵⁰ Wasserman, “The Early Text of Matthew,” 92.

disuse—during the rise of the formal bookhand in NT manuscripts—so did numerical abbreviations.⁵¹ This would mean that within calligraphic productions such as Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus we should find an absence of—or at least a decline in—the use of numerical shorthand. It has already been hinted above, however, that this is not entirely true. We will, therefore, attempt to track the chronological development of the practice and identify any relationship it might have with documentary and reformed documentary styles of writing.

2.3 Numerals Outside the New Testament

Finally, we should make note of extra-biblical sources that indicate Christian use of and interest in numerical shorthand. In particular, scholars have recognized that abbreviated numerals are a significant—even if mysterious—feature of Christian documentary papyri from Egypt. Specifically, it has long been known that in private letters of correspondence and in other similar documents, Christians employed a host of ciphers, monograms, crosses, *nomina sacra*, and symbolic numbers to express a variety of things. A prime example is the numeral 99, written $\overline{\phi\theta}$, which appears in several texts as a cryptic symbol for the word “amen.” This is an example of isopsephy, the practice of adding up the numerical value of the letters in a word (equivalent to Hebrew *gematria*). As David Martinez explains its presence in *P.Oxy. XXXI 2601* in the *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*:

The word “amen” is written in cryptogram form, $\phi\theta$, that is, the numeral 99, the numerical value of the letters of the word spelled in full ($\alpha = 1 + \mu = 40 + \eta = 8$

⁵¹ See, for instance, John S. Kloppenborg, “Literate Media in Early Christ Groups: The Creation of a Christian Book Culture,” *J ECS* 22 (2014): 21–59 (24–25): “In contrast to the earlier Christian papyri that will be discussed below, the great fourth-century uncial codices, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, have all the characteristics of the elite book: written *scripta continua* in a careful and consistent bookhand, with no ligatures or documentary characteristics...”

+ v = 50). This isopsephism, like the obscure $\chi\mu\gamma$, becomes part of a stock of cryptograms and symbols that increasingly appear in fourth-century or later Christian documents, frequently at the beginning and end.⁵²

The precise function of these numerals in documents is debated. They could be expressions of piety, esoteric marks of solidarity with other believers, or perhaps apotropaic symbols used to ward off evil. Whatever the intended purpose these numbers might have had, however, it is agreed that they are distinctively Christian in nature. This is confirmed by the fact that they are usually accompanied by other distinguishing marks of Christian faith: e.g., *nomina sacra*, Christian names, crosses, acrostics, and monotheistic phraseology. Indeed, some have described the cryptogram $\overline{\phi\theta}$ for amen as “exclusive to Christians.”⁵³

What is particularly important for our study is that this practice of isopsephy always entails the numerical shorthand for 99 rather than the longhand form $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\nu\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$. Unsurprisingly, the abbreviated forms of numbers lend themselves more readily to isopsephistic connections than do longhand number-words. Thus, for early Christians in Egypt, there was a special significance attached, not simply to the value of a number, but especially to the specific *abbreviated* form in which that number was written.

⁵² David Martinez, “The Papyri and Early Christianity,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 590–622 (607). For more information on $\phi\theta$, $\chi\mu\gamma$, and others, see *NewDocs* 8:156–72 (§§14–15); S. R. Llewelyn, “ $\Sigma\Delta$, A Christian Isopsephism?,” *ZPE* 109 (1995): 125–27. See also the recent studies of Christian documentary papyri: AnneMarie Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, HTS 60 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), esp. 221–26; and Lincoln H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus*, NTTSD 39 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), esp. 36–85; Malcolm Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri*, *Studia antiqua Australiensia* 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), esp. 114–17. For more information of isopsephy in general, see Rodney Ast and Julia Lougovaya, “The Art of Isopsephism in the Greco-Roman World,” in *Ägyptische Magie und ihre Umwelt*, ed. Andrea Jördens (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 82–98.

⁵³ E. A. Judge and S. R. Pickering, “Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt to the Mid-Fourth Century,” *JAC* 20 (1977): 47–71 (69); see similar comments in Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 114, and Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord*, 107, 111, 149, and 219.

Equally as relevant is another more recent discovery of Christian graffiti from Asian Minor. Recent archaeological discovery of a Roman basilica in the ancient city of Smyrna has uncovered a wealth of textual evidence in the form of graffiti dating as early as the first quarter of the second century CE.⁵⁴ The graffiti were discovered written on and incised into layers of plaster covering foundational columns in the basement of the basilica, and their contents relate to a wide swath of social contexts and subjects. One graffito in particular is identifiably Christian and makes use of isopsephy. It reads: ιϙόψηφα | κύριος ω | πίctic ω (“Equal in value: lord, 800; faith, 800”). The author here highlights the isopsephistic connection between the words *lord* and *faith*, perhaps suggesting that it is none other than “the Lord” that one should entrust one’s faith in. In any case, this inscription again confirms that Christians were engaged in numerical exegesis and highlighting numerical connections at a remarkably early date. Even more important, however, is the fact that the location of the discovery demonstrates that this numerical interest was not isolated to Egypt but it was geographically widespread; there is, therefore, a strong likelihood that this same fascination bore itself out on the pages of NT scriptures.

As the focus of this study is on Christian literary manuscripts (i.e., copies of the NT), characteristics of documentary papyri and graffiti are only of indirect relevance and will not be a major area of investigation, though we will revisit the practice of isopsephy in a later chapter. Still, the presence of these isopsephisms in Christian documents and graffiti raises important questions about Christian literary

⁵⁴ Roger S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East*, Sather Classical Lectures 69 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 7–26. I leave aside the issue of dating, which is perhaps debatable. Bagnall identifies an inscription dated to 125/6 CE on the uppermost layer of plaster on Bay 16, while the Christian inscription in question occurs in the next layer under on Pier 100.

texts. If numerals, and specifically abbreviated numerals, formed such a theologically significant role in Christian graffiti, letters, prayers, and even commercial receipts,⁵⁵ is it not conceivable that they could have served a similar role in Christian scriptural texts? Other scribal symbols and forms such as the *nomina sacra*, staurograms (✠), and christograms (✝) do occur in Christian literary and documentary texts, and have been recognized to be significant,⁵⁶ but no particular consideration has been given to the potentially symbolic use of numerical-abbreviations in early copies of the NT. This is all the more surprising when we recognize the enormous amount of numbers in Christian scriptures.

We will see that this is in fact a difficult question to answer. How can one determine that the use of a numerical symbol was theologically rather than practically motivated (or even *motivated* at all)? Such difficulties should not prevent us from at least taking a close look at the practice in early manuscripts to see what patterns might emerge.

2.4 Conclusion

This survey has highlighted the major scholarly contributions to our understanding of ancient Christian number-writing techniques. By way of summary and reflection, it is worth outlining the variety of ways in which number-techniques have been studied:

⁵⁵ For example, *P.Mich.* VI 378, a fourth-century list of payments received at a public granary, begins on the first line with a cross, an acrostic, and an isopsephism: ✠ χμγ ρθ (ln. 1). For further discussion, see chapter 7 of the present thesis.

⁵⁶ On staurograms and christograms in early Christian manuscripts, see Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 135–54.

- (1) As sources of textual corruption
- (2) As visual indicators of a manuscript's history and genealogy
- (3) As clues to a manuscript's date of creation
- (4) As a vestige of documentary scribal practice
- (5) As a feature of a particular scribe's style/preference
- (6) As theological symbols in documentary papyri and inscriptions

This is an impressive list of ways in which number-writing techniques can be a fruitful line of inquiry. Nevertheless, the critical commentary provided throughout this chapter confirms that there is much room for improvement, refinement, and clarification. To that end, we will begin our investigation in the following chapter with an examination of numbers in the papyri.

PART ONE:

THE DATA

CHAPTER 3:

INTERNAL PROFILES OF PAPYRI

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we saw that numerals have been drawn into a variety of discussions about early Christians and their texts, and that, despite this awareness of the phenomenon, no studies have focused directly on the issue of scribal number-writing. The purpose of this and the following chapter is to survey inductively how NT scribes chose to write numbers and provide a foundation for what follows. To this end, we will isolate the number-writing techniques within individual NT manuscripts, giving primary attention to when, where, and how often our scribes employ numerical shorthand compared to longhand forms.

The following survey will identify each cardinal and ordinal number written in the body text of NT manuscripts through the fifth century. Note again that cardinal and ordinal numbers are considered, but numerical adverbs (e.g., ἑπτάκις = “seven times”) and other numerical terms are not in view; such were indeed abbreviated in the wider Graeco-Roman world, but they are consistently longhand in our manuscripts. Nor are numerals outside the text (e.g., *stichoi* totals, pagination, Eusebian apparatus, etc.) in view here.

In all but one instance I was able to examine photographs of the papyri in question to examine the numerals (one folio of P⁵); in this case, the *editio princeps* was followed.¹ For all others, manuscript images were checked against published

¹ For manuscript photographs, see the INTF website (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>), which also provides manuscript transcriptions, and that of CSNTM (www.csntm.org).

transcriptions of the papyri, and I make note of discrepancies between them where relevant.

3.2 Major Papyri

First we examine the most substantial papyri from our period: P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, P⁴⁷, P⁶⁶, P⁷², P⁷⁵, and P¹¹⁵.

3.2.1 P⁴⁵

3.2.1.1 *Cardinal Numbers*

P⁴⁵ is a third-century papyrus containing portions of the four Gospels and Acts. The great majority of its cardinal numbers are given in longhand form, with only a handful of exceptions (see table 3.1).²

Table 3.1. Cardinal Numbers in P ⁴⁵		
Value	Longhand Forms	Shorthand Forms
1	Matt 25:45; 26:14, 21, 22; Mark 9:5; 11:29; Luke 9:33 (3x); 10:42; 12:6, 27, 52; 13:10; 14:18; John 10:16 (2x), 41; 11:49, 50, 52; Acts 4:32; 8:24; 11:28	
2	Matt 20:24; 26:2; Mark 6:38; Luke 9:30, 32; 10:35; 12:6, 52 (2x); Acts 9:38	
3	Mark 9:5; Luke 9:33; 10:36; 12:52 (2x); 13:21; Acts 7:20	
4	Acts 10:11; 11:5; 12:4	
5	Mark 6:38; Luke 12:6, 52; 14:19	
6	Luke 13:14	
7	Mark 8:20	
8	Luke 9:28	
12	Matt 26:14, 20; Mark 6:43; John 11:9	Mark 8:19
15	John 11:18	
18		Luke 13:11, 16
40		Acts 7:36
70		Luke 10:17
200	Mark 6:37	
4,000	Mark 8:20	
5,000	Mark 6:44; 8:19	
10,000	Luke 14:31 ([δέκα χε]ιλιασιν)	

² For the text of P⁴⁵, see Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *The Gospels and Acts, Text*, vol. 2 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1933). For plates, see Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *The Gospels and Acts, Plates*, vol. 2 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1934).

As the table indicates, most cardinal numbers in P⁴⁵ were written longhand. Only values between “twelve” and “seventy” are given in symbol form, and the scribe inconsistently handled these. For example, “fifteen” falls within this range but was written longhand (John 11:18); also, “twelve” is represented with longhand and shorthand forms: $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ (Mark 8:19) and $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ (Matt 26:14, etc.). The number “one” ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha/\acute{\epsilon}\nu$) is the most frequently occurring number, occurring twenty-four times, but it is never abbreviated. There are several values in the thousands, but these were not abbreviated (e.g., $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\kappa\iota\varsigma\chi\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ in Mark 6:44; 8:19; and $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\varsigma\chi\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in 8:20), even though the method of doing so was rather simple.³ In all, only five numbers are given in abbreviated form: $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ (Mark 8:19), $\overline{\text{ιη}}$ (Luke 13:11, 16), $\overline{\mu}$ (Acts 7:36), and $\overline{\omicron}$ (Luke 10:17), and they are evenly spread across the five books of P⁴⁵ and not concentrated in any one particular area.

There is no clear reason why these numbers in particular were abbreviated. Two of the five fall at the end of their respective lines (Mark 8:19; Luke 10:17), which gives the impression that they were employed for their benefit of creating an even margin. But this can only account for these two. The referents of the numbers seem not to have been a factor of their abbreviation; for instance, the longhand $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ and the abbreviated $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ are both used to refer to twelve baskets picked up after the feeding of the 5,000 (Mark 6:44; 8:19). In terms of grammatical categories, all the numbers given in abbreviated forms are in the accusative case with the exception of $\overline{\omicron}$ (Luke 10:17, nominative), though many other numbers occur in the

³ Simple decoration added to the appropriate numeral could indicate thousands, e.g., $\text{'}\epsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}$, or $/\epsilon$ = 5,000. See Viktor E. Gardthausen, *Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und im byzantinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 2 of *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Veit, 1913), 370. See also Colin H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands: 350 B.C.–A.D. 400* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), 24.

accusative case but are longhand (e.g., δύο in Matt 26:2; Mark 6:38; Luke 9:32; 10:35; and Acts 9:38; πέντε in Luke 14:19; ἑπτα in Mark 8:20a; and τετρακισχιλιους in Mark 8:20). Importantly, however, all abbreviated numbers in P⁴⁵ stand for indeclinable adjectives, meaning that the number-words do not have inflected forms (as opposed to δύναι, etc.). This similarity notwithstanding, there is no obvious reason why these numbers and no others were given in shorthand.

The dual use of ιη for “eighteen” (Luke 13:11, 16) deserves special comment, as it bears an exact visual likeness to the unique form of *nomen sacrum* employed in P⁴⁵ for the name Ἰησοῦς. That is, whereas in most other early NT manuscripts the typical *nomen sacrum* form for Ἰησοῦς involves the first and last letters of the name (e.g., ις), P⁴⁵ famously employs the first two letters only (i.e., ιη); the result is that the name of Jesus and the number eighteen in P⁴⁵ are visually identical. One suspects that the scribe could have employed this abbreviation precisely because of its visual similarity to the contracted name of Jesus, rather than for the simple practicality of trimming the text here. This particular instance and others like it, however, will be treated in more detail later in chapter 7.

3.2.1.2 Ordinal Numbers

All ordinal numbers in P⁴⁵ are longhand. For example, πρῶτος and its inflected forms appear fully (Matt 20:27; Mark 7:27; Luke 9:59, 61; 11:38; 12:1; 13:30 [2x]; 14:28, 31; 17:25; Acts 11:26; 13:50) as well as δεύτερος and its forms (Acts 10:15; 11:9).

3.2.1.3 Problematic Readings

Especially problematic is the original wording of P⁴⁵ in Matt 26:15, due primarily to the possible use of a symbol for the number “thirty.” This question is important

because if the numeral were written fully there would be insufficient space for all the expected words, and it would therefore seem probable that the scribe omitted something from this line. Hans Gerstinger originally reconstructed this verse using the longhand form $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ without comment, which—given the limited space in the lacuna—creates a line that is several letters too long.⁴ Alternatively, Augustus Merk proposed that the number was written as a symbol (i.e., $\overline{\lambda}$), though he did so without a clear rationale.⁵ Kyoung Shik Min prints the longhand form accompanied by a question mark, ultimately pleading ignorance,⁶ and, similarly, Tommy Wasserman accepts both as being possible based on his observation that the copyist's number-writing habits were inconsistent.⁷ Indeed, as we have seen, there is no way to be certain about this reconstruction due to the scribe's unpredictable technique; Wasserman and Min are correct to leave the question open.

The precise reading at Luke 10:17 is also a matter of debate. Frederic Kenyon, who initially edited the manuscript, transcribed it as $\overline{o\beta}$ (= 72), giving no indication

⁴ Hans Gerstinger, “Ein Fragment des Chester Beatty-Evangelienkodex in der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Pap. graec. Vindob. 31974),” *Aeg* 13 (1933): 67–72 (71). This is followed by Comfort and Barrett without comment (Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, eds., *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, corr. and enlarged [Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 2001], 164). On the issue of space, see Kyoung Shik Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung des Matthäusevangeliums (bis zum 3./4. Jh.): Edition und Untersuchung*, ANTF 34 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 115 n. 8: “Wir lassen die Lücke der Zeile offen, da die Rekonstruktion der Zeile sehr problematisch ist. Der Ausgangstext ist ungefähr um 5 bzw. 8 Buchstaben zu lang. Es ist also hier möglich, dass entweder $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota$ oder $\kappa\alpha\iota$ sogar beides ausgelassen war.... Daher ist es besser, die Lücke der Zeile offen zu lassen und in dieser Lücke keine mögliche Variante des Papyrus aufzunehmen.”

⁵ Augustus Merk, S. J., “Codex Evangeliorum et Actuum ex Collectione Papyrorum Chester Beatty,” in *Miscellanea Biblica*, ed. Pontifical Biblical Institute (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1934), 2:375–406; note especially the incorrect observation that “Numeri plerumque scribuntur literis numeralibus” (p. 378). Günther Zuntz follows Merk in his *commentary*, but prints the longhand form in his actual *reconstruction* with a footnote (Günther Zuntz, “Reconstruction of one Leaf of the Chester Beatty Papyrus of the Gospels and Acts (P⁴⁵),” *CdE* 26 [1951]: 191–211 [201, 209]). James Royse accepts Zuntz's proposal of the shorthand form; see James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 113.

⁶ Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung*, 115 n. 8.

⁷ Tommy Wasserman, “The Early Text of Matthew,” in *The Earliest Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 83–107 (93).

that there was any doubt about the reading.⁸ Colin Roberts, on the other hand, read $\overline{\text{os}}$ (= 76), “as evidenced by the photograph and confirmed on the original.”⁹ Yet another value was seen by Bruce Metzger, who, correcting both Kenyon and Roberts, was able to examine the papyrus “under natural and artificial light” and proposed $\overline{\text{o}}$ (= 70).¹⁰ According to Metzger, what looked to Kenyon like a *beta* and to Roberts like a *digamma* was in fact a dipole (>), “which scribes would use occasionally in order to bring an otherwise short line even with the right-hand margin of the column.”¹¹ I was fortunate enough to examine this folio in person with the aid of a magnifying glass (and all three proposals in mind), and, although the fragmentary state of the manuscript prevents absolute certainty, my opinion is that Metzger’s proposal of $\overline{\text{o}}$ /70 is superior.¹²

Two additional readings should be noted. Kenyon proposed two reconstructions in the *editio princeps* that are ultimately doubtful. Instead of $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$ in John 11:6 he proposed the abbreviation $\overline{\beta}$, and in place of $\xi\xi$ in Acts 11:12 he proposed the abbreviation $\overline{\varsigma}$ (= 6), without commenting on either.¹³ Both are dubious.

⁸ Kenyon, *The Gospels and Acts, Text*, 17. Comfort and Barrett follow this (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 176).

⁹ Colin H. Roberts, “An Early Papyrus of the First Gospel,” *HTR* 66 (1953): 233–37 (236 n. 14).

¹⁰ Bruce M. Metzger, “Seventy or Seventy-two Disciples?,” *NTS* 5 (1959): 299–306 (299); repr. Bruce M. Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian*, NTTS 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 67–76 (67–68).

¹¹ Metzger, “Seventy or Seventy-two?,” 299 (= 68 in Brill reprint).

¹² For high resolution photographs, see CSNTM. Unfortunately, this results in a different value than that found in P⁷⁵. The reading 72 was recently maintained by Thomas J. Kraus, “From ‘Text-critical Methodology’ to ‘Manuscripts as Artefacts’: A Tribute to Larry W. Hurtado,” in *Mark, Manuscripts, and Monotheism: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado*, ed. Chris Keith and Dieter R. Roth, LNTS 528 (London: T & T Clark, 2015): 79–98 (94), though it is not clear that Kraus is aware of the debate.

¹³ Kenyon, *Gospels and Acts, Text*, 32 and 43. The IGNTP volume of John reconstruct $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$ longhand; W. J. Elliott and D. C. Parker, eds., *The Papyri*, vol. 1 of *The New Testament in Greek*, 4: *The Gospel according to St. John*, ed. The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, NTTS 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 61.

Where these two values occur elsewhere in P⁴⁵, they are consistently longhand.

There is thus no indication within the papyrus that symbol forms should be more likely than full ones.

A final feature to note about P⁴⁵ is its tendency to omit numerals. For example, in the feeding the 5,000 narrative, the scribe omits πέντε (Mark 6:41a), δύο (6:41b), and a four-word phrase containing two more numbers, κατὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα (6:40)—all of which are classified as singular readings.¹⁴ Whether the scribe intentionally deleted these or accidentally overlooked them is a matter of debate,¹⁵ but from what we have seen above, it is unlikely that the omissions were occasioned by the scribe simply misunderstanding shorthand numerals in the exemplar. The scribe employed them in the text with a frequency that suggests they were well understood. Nevertheless, this tendency to remove numerals forms a distinct feature of the scribal character of P⁴⁵.

3.2.1.4 Summary of P⁴⁵

The clear scribal preference in P⁴⁵ was to write numbers out as full words and to avoid alphabetic numerals, although there are a handful of exceptions. Of eighty-one numbers extant in P⁴⁵ (including fifteen ordinals), only five are abbreviated and these fall between the values of “twelve” and “seventy.” This inconsistency renders the reconstruction of some portions of P⁴⁵ extremely difficult, and great caution ought to

¹⁴ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 134.

¹⁵ For example, Hoskier called these omissions “‘the shorter text’ with a vengeance” (Herman C. Hoskier, “Some Study of P⁴⁵ with Special Reference to the Bezan Text,” *BBC* 12 [1937]: 51–57 [53]). J. Keith Elliott seems to suggest that these were probably accidental (J. Keith Elliott, “Singular Readings in the Gospel Text of P⁴⁵,” in *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels: The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P⁴⁵*, ed. Charles Horton [London: T & T Clark, 2004], 122–31 [125]). See also Barbara Aland, “The Significance of the Chester Beatty Papyri in Early Church History,” in Horton, *The Earliest Gospels*, 108–21 (esp. 113).

be used in these places. In addition, several notable omissions suggest that either the scribe intentionally removed some numbers, or that copying them posed some difficulty.

3.2.2 P⁴⁶

3.2.2.1 Cardinal Numbers

P⁴⁶ is a manuscript of Paul's letters dated ca. 200 CE.¹⁶ Every extant cardinal number is given longhand (see table 3.2):

Table 3.2. Cardinal Numbers in P ⁴⁶	
Value	Longhand Forms
1	Rom 5:18 (2x), 19 (2x); 9:10; 12:4, 5 (2x); 1 Cor 3:8; 4:6 (2x); 6:16 (2x), 17; 8:4, 6; 9:24; 10:8, 17 (3x); 11:5; 12:11, 12 (2x), 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 26; 14:27, 31; 16:2; 2 Cor 5:14; 11:24; Gal 3:20 (2x); 4:22 (2x), 24; 5:14; Eph 2:14, 15, 16, 18; 4:4 (3x), 5 (3x), 6, 7, 16; 5:31, 33; Phil 1:27; 2:2; 3:13; Col 4:6; Heb 10:12, 14; 11:12; 12:16
2	1 Cor 6:16; 14:27, 29; 2 Cor 13:1; Gal 4:22, 24; Eph 2:15; 5:31; Phil 1:23; Heb 6:18; 10:28
3	1 Cor 13:13; 14:27, 29; 2 Cor 13:1; Gal 1:18; Heb 10:28
5	1 Cor 14:9
7	Heb 11:30
14	2 Cor 12:2; Gal 2:1
15	Gal 1:18
40	2 Cor 11:24; Heb 3:10, 17
430	Gal 3:17
7,000	Rom 11:4
23,000	1 Cor 10:8

No alphabetic numerals appear in the body text of P⁴⁶, and this is not for lack of opportunity. The number “one” appears no less than sixty-five times, always as a longhand word. Larger numbers, including values in the thousands, are also regularly written *plene*.

¹⁶ For the text of P⁴⁶, see Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Supplement: Pauline Epistles, Text*, vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1936). This replaced an earlier edition, Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Pauline Epistles and Revelation, Text*, vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1934). The Michigan leaves were also published by Henry A. Sanders, ed., *A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul*, UMSHS 38 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1935). For plates, see Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Supplement: Pauline Epistles, Plates*, vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1937).

3.2.2.2 Ordinal Numbers

In addition to this consistency in cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers in P⁴⁶ are all given in longhand form as well. For example, πρῶτος and its inflected forms occur twenty times (Rom 10:19; 15:24; 1 Cor 12:28; 14:30; 15:3, 45, 46, 47; 2 Cor 8:5; Eph 6:2; Phil 1:5; Heb 7:2; 8:7, 13; 9:1, 6, 8, 15, 18; 10:9); δεύτερος and its forms occur eight times (1 Cor 12:28; 15:47; 2 Cor 13:2; Heb 8:7; 9:3, 7, 28; 10:9); τρίτος and its forms occur five times (1 Cor 12:28; 15:4; 2 Cor 12:2, 14; 13:1); and δέκατος and its forms occur four times (Heb 7:2, 4, 8, 9).¹⁷

3.2.2.3 Problematic Readings

There is one problematic reading related to a number in P⁴⁶. In the *editio princeps*, Kenyon proposed a reconstruction of 1 Cor 15:6 with the abbreviation [ϕ] standing for πεντακοσίαις (= “five hundred”).¹⁸ It is not clear why the abbreviated form would be necessary or even probable here, especially given that P⁴⁶ contains no visible numerical abbreviations elsewhere (aside from page numbers, etc.¹⁹). Also included in Kenyon’s reconstruction, just one line above [ϕ], is the longhand [δωδεκα] (15:5), but no justification is provided for this either. In reality, both numbers could easily have been written in either style. As a point of comparison, Comfort and Barrett offer

¹⁷ One ordinal is reconstructed: [δευτεραν] (2 Cor 1:15). Numerical adverbs are also longhand (2 Cor 11:24, 25 [2x]; 12:8; Phil 4:16).

¹⁸ Kenyon, *Supplement: Pauline Epistles, Text*, 86. In regards to numerals, the editions of Kenyon and Sanders differ only at one point, where Sanders reconstructs a few lines containing the number [ενο] (Gal 3:16), whereas Kenyon does not (Sanders, *A Third-Century Papyrus*, 103).

¹⁹ It is worth noting that P⁴⁶ does contain number-symbols for page numeration and superscripted titles (e.g., πρὸς κορινθίους α and πρὸς κορινθίους β), but these cannot be ascribed to the primary scribe; most scholars recognize these features as belonging to later hand. See Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum*, Schweich Lectures 1946 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1953; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2007), 253, and Sanders, *A Third-Century Papyrus*, 15.

a reconstruction in which both numbers are longhand and no text is lost.²⁰ But whether or not these abbreviations were ever used within the body text of P⁴⁶, however, is uncertain, and so it is probably safest in both instances to withhold judgment.

3.2.2.4 Summary of P⁴⁶

In all, P⁴⁶ contains no visible instances of numerical abbreviations within its body text; all cardinal and ordinal numbers are consistently written in full.

3.2.3 P⁴⁷

This third-century manuscript of Revelation exhibits remarkable freedom in number-writing techniques. It is worth noting at the outset that P⁴⁷ bears a scribal hand of a decidedly lower register than those of other comparable papyri (especially, e.g., P⁴⁵ and P⁷⁵). Given the connection that we have noted between Greek documentary papyri and abbreviations, it may well be that the quality of script in P⁴⁷ is an important factor in understanding the unique number-writing techniques that were employed.²¹

3.2.3.1 Cardinal Numbers

The scribe of P⁴⁷ exhibits a notable preference for abbreviated cardinal numbers over longhand ones.²² Out of forty-one visible cardinal numbers, no less than twenty-nine are abbreviated and only twelve are longhand (see table 3.3).

²⁰ Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 277.

²¹ See the connection made between a lower scribal register and the use of abbreviations in Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. rev. and enlarged P. J. Parsons, IBSBSup 46 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 15.

²² For the text of P⁴⁷, see Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Pauline Epistles and Revelation, Text*, vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1934). For plates, see Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Revelation, Plates*, vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1936).

Table 3.3. Cardinal Numbers in P ⁴⁷		
<i>Value</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>	<i>Shorthand Forms</i>
1	9:12, 13; 13:3; 17:1	
2	9:12; 12:14	13:11
3	11:11; 16:13, 19	9:18; 11:9
4		9:15; 14:3; 15:7
5		9:10
7	15:1	{10:4}; 12:3 (2x); 15:1, 6 (2x), 7 (2x), 8; 17:1 (2x)
10		12:3
12		11:10; 12:1
24		11:16
42		11:2; 13:5
666		13:18
7,000		11:13 (= χειλιαδεσ ζ)
1,260?		12:6
1,600	14:20	
144,000		14:1, 3 (ρμδ χειλιαδεσ)
200 million	9:16	

The table clearly shows the scribe's inclination to employ abbreviated numbers over against longhand number-words. In fact, P⁴⁷ is notable in that there are *more* abbreviated numbers than those written longhand—which is true of no other manuscript in this study. All occurrences of the number “one” are longhand, but above that, the copyist used abbreviations liberally.

There seems to be no predictable patterns of numerical abbreviation in P⁴⁷. For instance, from a purely mechanical point of view, most abbreviations evidently were not employed simply to fit the text into the end of a line; of the twenty-nine abbreviated cardinal numerals in P⁴⁷, only three can be found at the end of their lines (χειλιαδεσ ζ in Rev 11:13; ζ in 15:6b; and ζ in 17:1a). Alternatively, if we consider numbers and their grammatical categories, abbreviations are used for all cases: for instance, nominative (9:15; 10:4; 11:10, 16; 15:8), accusative (9:10; 11:9; 12:3 [3x]; 13:11; 15:1, 7c), dative (15:7b), and genitive (9:18; 12:1; 14:3a; 15:7a; 17:1b). Moreover, some inflected words are abbreviated (τριῶν, 9:18; τεσσαράων, 14:3;

τεττάρων 15:7). And finally, particular referents of the numbers do not seem to have been an important factor; for example, the identical phrase πληγας ζ̄/επτα (“seven plagues” [fem. acc.]) is written in both styles (15:1, 6), as is ζ̄/τρις ημερας (“three days” [fem. acc.], 11:9, 11).

The single occurrence of the longhand form of ἐπτά rather than the shorthand appears in Rev 15:1. Initially, it seemed reasonable to infer that the scribe’s use of the longhand form was attributable to its position at the beginning of the line, as a measure to ensure clarity. This explanation, however, is obviated by the later occurrence of the name number written as ζ̄ at the very beginning of its line (15:7b). Scribal freedom seems to be the rule.

Two notable features in P⁴⁷ should be underscored. The first concerns numbers in the thousands. The copyist used longhand forms (χειλιων εξα|κοσιων, 14:20), full abbreviations ($\sqrt{ac}\bar{\zeta}$ [?], 12:6),²³ and a mixture of the two in a sort of hybrid abbreviation: e.g., χειλιαδεσ ζ̄ = 7,000 (11:13), ρμδ̄ χειλιαδεσ = 144,000 (14:1, 3). This latter style retains the χίλιοι element. Nevertheless, the more economical and expected style is the full abbreviation (e.g., $\sqrt{ac}\bar{\zeta}$), which is common in the Milesian system.²⁴ This tendency to use symbols for values in the thousands stands in contrast to what is found in other NT manuscripts, nearly all of which use longhand forms.

Secondly, it is rather significant to reiterate that the number “one,” even with only four extant instances (9:12, 13; 13:3; 17:1), was always written longhand in P⁴⁷. On the one hand, this is a surprising departure from a clear preference for abbreviation, given the surplus of numerical shorthand in P⁴⁷. On the other hand,

²³ Kenyon actually transcribes a different numeral here, which is discussed in more detail below. See Kenyon, *Pauline Epistles and Revelation, Text*, 24.

²⁴ See Gardthausen, *Die Schrift*, 370.

however, it will be shown that not a single NT manuscript surveyed here contains an abbreviated form for the number “one” (its high frequency in the NT notwithstanding), and thus P⁴⁷ evidently shares in that commonality.

On one occasion a numeral (apparently) lacks the supralinear stroke: an initially omitted ἐπτά is added supralinearly by the first hand as the symbol ζ but without the signature stroke above (10:4).

3.2.3.2 Ordinal Numbers

In addition to this frequent use of abbreviated forms for cardinal values, there is a similar usage of abbreviations for ordinal numbers (see table 3.4). This is rare in NT manuscripts but not beyond the capability of the alphabetic numeral system.²⁵

Table 3.4. Ordinal Numbers in P ⁴⁷		
Value	Longhand Forms	Shorthand Forms
First	13:12 (2x); 16:2	
Second	11:14	14:8; 16:3
Third	11:14; 12:4*; 14:9	9:15*; 16:4
Fourth		16:8
Sixth		9:13, 14; 16:12
Seventh		10:7; 11:15
Tenth	11:13	

In all, P⁴⁷ contains eight longhand ordinal numbers and ten abbreviated ordinals. Very few NT papyri use numerical shorthand for ordinals, and certainly no other NT manuscript surveyed here exhibits *more* abbreviated ordinals than longhand. Again, however, there appears to be no obvious reason for the scribe’s choice of abbreviations. Ordinals of most grammatical cases are abbreviated: nominative (11:15; 14:8; 16:3, 4, 8, 12), dative (9:14), and genitive (10:7); the only

²⁵ The acrophonic number system did not use abbreviations for ordinal numbers as did the alphabetic system such as we find in the NT papyri; see B. H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2005), 60.

ordinal number in the accusative case extant in P⁴⁷ is the longhand το | πρῶτον (13:12).

Two ordinals are marked by an asterisk (*) in the table. These designate instances in which ordinals are actually functioning as fractions. For example, in 12:4, το τρίτον means “a third,” and on one occasion the same fraction is given in abbreviated form: $\bar{\gamma}$ (9:15). Similar abbreviations for fractions are attested in other texts outside the NT.²⁶ The word for “half” (ἡμίονος), however, is not an ordinal form and is always longhand in P⁴⁷ (11:11; 12:14).

3.2.3.3 Problematic Readings

Kenyon originally transcribed the numeral in 11:10 as οἱ προφητα[ι] οἱ β̄ (“the two prophets”), but this seems to be incorrect. As observed by Royse, there is clearly another stroke preceding the *beta*, over which the supralinear stroke extends.²⁷ Close inspection of photographs—and personal examination of the folio itself—confirm that Royse is right to identify the stroke as an *iota*, meaning that the reading should be οἱ προφητα[ι] οἱ ιβ̄ (“the *twelve* prophets”).²⁸ Unfortunately, the first reference to the prophets is lost (11:3), even as the supralinear stroke is plainly visible.²⁹

Subsequent references are also lost (αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι, 11:4). These

²⁶ Ulrich Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, part 1 of *Historischer Teil*, vol. 1 of *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), xlvi. For other ways fractions could be represented, see Karl Menninger, *Number Words and Number Symbols: A Cultural History of Numbers*, trans. Paul Broneer (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969), 270–71. See also McLean, *An Introduction*, 62–63.

²⁷ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 386.

²⁸ Comfort and Barrett also acknowledge the presence of the stroke, although they consider it a “colon-shaped mark” (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 340). Personal inspection of the folio, however, allowed me to confirm Royse’s observation that it is in fact an *iota* that has lost some papyrus fibers in the middle of the stroke, resulting in a “colon-shaped mark.” The placement of the overstrike adds considerable weight to this revised reading.

²⁹ The presence of the *beta* in Rev 11:3 is fairly certain due to the faint traces of ink, but fragmentation makes it impossible to determine if an *iota* preceded it.

would potentially show that the “twelve” in 11:10 is either an isolated scribal error or an alternative reading otherwise unattested.

An especially difficult reading due to deterioration is the numeral in 12:6. Kenyon originally proposed $\overline{\rho\varsigma\xi}$, which is essentially a nonsense reading. The awkward numeral combination of $\overline{\rho}$ (= 100), $\overline{\varsigma}$ (= 200), and $\overline{\xi}$ (= 60) could technically total 360, but it is not a standard collocation; written correctly, 360 is $\overline{\tau\xi}$.³⁰ To be sure, the first character appears to have a descending tail similar to a *rho*, but this does not seem to me to be the most likely reading. Another option is that the numeral is $\overline{\alpha\varsigma\xi}$, and what appeared to Kenyon as a *rho* was in fact the oblique stroke denoting thousands. This conforms to the majority reading and is followed by Comfort and Barrett, although Royse follows Kenyon.³¹ Royse’s reason for doing so traces back to Milne and Skeat, who argued that the latter method of denoting thousands was not *en vogue* until the mid-fourth century (which they used to date the production of Codex Sinaiticus).³² Specifically, the older method, $\gamma = 3,000$, was gradually replaced by a newer method, γ or $/\gamma = 3,000$, in the fourth century, the evidence for which came mainly from documentary papyri. On the other hand, Skeat later relaxed his view on this issue, admitting that his collection of evidence was “hasty” and not at all exhaustive.³³ It seems that this uncertainty should at least reinstate $\overline{\alpha\varsigma\xi}$ as a

³⁰ The non-descending order of numerals occurred occasionally in inscriptions; see, for example, Marcus N. Tod, “The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica,” *ABSA* 45 (1950): 129. But the repetition of two numbers in the hundreds, as Kenyon proposed, is certainly unprecedented among the NT witnesses.

³¹ Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 343; Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 372–73 n. 71. Lagrange also followed Kenyon; see M.-J. Lagrange, “Les papyrus Chester Beatty pour les Épîtres de S. Paul et l’Apocalypse,” *RB* 43 (1934): 481–93 (489).

³² H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum for the Trustees, 1938), 62–64.

³³ “I should like to repeat here that the statistics quoted are only a hasty collection which makes no claim to be exhaustive; another late instance of the use of the older system is BGU 940, of A.D. 398”

possible (if not probable) transcription of P⁴⁷. This makes the best sense of the visible ink strokes and is, after all, the expected wording (1,260). Nevertheless, caution is in order.

Although not a problematic reading *per se*, the numeral in Rev 11:2 shows that transcribing numbers often posed problems. The scribe originally wrote \bar{c} (which could be either a *sigma* or a *stigma/digamma*—the scribe did not differentiate), which was immediately corrected and overwritten with $\mu\bar{\beta}$, but no attempt was made to erase the \bar{c} . It does not seem likely that, as Comfort and Barrett suggest, “ $\bar{c}\bar{\beta}$ was changed to $\mu\bar{\beta}$.”³⁴ The wide gap between the \bar{c} and the $\bar{\beta}$ seems to indicate that a *sigma* alone was written and then corrected. It is not clear, however, what caused the error.

3.2.3.4 Summary of P⁴⁷

The scribal preference for number writing in P⁴⁷ was to employ numerical shorthand instead of full number-words, although this is not totally consistent. Unlike most other substantial papyri surveyed here, numerical abbreviations are used more often than longhand forms, and for virtually all values above “one.” The degree to which P⁴⁷ exhibits these features makes it the most unique among the major papyri in terms of number-writing habits. This is most likely related to two factors: (1) the documentary style of script and (2) the sheer amount of numbers in the book.³⁵ These

(T. C. Skeat et al., “Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt Part I: Papyrology [1938],” *JEA* 25 [1938]: 70–93 [86]). Milne and Skeat also admitted “most printed editions of papyri ... are unreliable on this point,” regarding the specific diacritical mark used by scribes (Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 63).

³⁴ Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 339. Royse has offered an alternative explanation for the reading (see Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 366).

³⁵ In the eight fragmentary chapters of P⁴⁷ there are no less than 59 visible numbers (= 7.4 per chapter), while in the approximate 80 chapters of the Pauline corpus in P⁴⁶ there are 130 numbers (= 1.6 per chapter), in the 20 chapters of P⁶⁶ there are 83 numbers (= 4.2 per chapter).

factors do not explain the unpredictable use of number-writing systems in P⁴⁷, but they certainly help describe some of the idiosyncrasies of this text. That being said, it is clear that the scribe often had difficulty in deciphering and writing numbers (e.g., omissions and substitutions).

3.2.4 P⁶⁶

P⁶⁶ is a third-century manuscript of John's Gospel that contains a fairly consistent use of longhand number forms.³⁶

3.2.4.1 Cardinal Numbers

Nearly all the cardinal numbers in P⁶⁶ were written longhand (see table 3.5).

Table 3.5. Cardinal Numbers in P ⁶⁶		
Value	Longhand Forms	Shorthand Forms
1	John 1:40; 3:27; 6:8, 70, 71; 7:21, 50; 8:28, 41; 9:25; 10:16 (2x), 30; 11:49, 50, 52; 12:2, 4; 13:21, 23; 17:22 (2x), 23; 18:26, 39; 20:1, 7, 12	
2	1:35, 37, 40; 2:6; 4:40, 43; 6:9; 8:17; 11:6; 19:18; 20:4, 12	
3	2:6, 19, 20	
4	11:17 ³⁷	
5	4:18; 5:2; 6:9; 12:1*	
6	2:6; {12:1}	
12	6:67, 71; 11:9	6:70
15	11:18	
38		5:5
46	2:20	
50	8:57	
100	19:39	
200	6:7; 21:8	
300	12:5	
5,000	6:10	

³⁶ For the text of P⁶⁶, see Victor Martin, ed., *Papyrus Bodmer II: Evangile de Jean chap. 1–14* (Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1956); Victor Martin, ed., *Papyrus Bodmer II, Supplément: Evangile de Jean chap. 14–21* (Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1958); Victor Martin and John W. B. Barns, eds., *Papyrus Bodmer II, Supplément: Evangile de Jean chap. 14–21: Nouvelle édition augmentée et corrigée* (Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1962); John W. B. Barns, “Bodmer Papyrus II: Some Corrections and Remarks,” *Mus* 75 (1962): 327–29; Kurt Aland, “Neue Neutestamentliche Papyri III,” *NTS* 20 (1974): 357–81 (esp. 376–81).

³⁷ An additional instance of the number “four” is listed in the 1962 edition: [τετσε]||ρϛ (John 19:23). I omit it here because images of the papyrus suggest that this reading is not entirely certain.

As the table indicates, the scribe of P⁶⁶ preferred longhand forms to numerical symbols. The scribe consistently wrote longhand numbers for smaller values (twenty-nine instances of the number “one”) and those in the hundreds and thousands.³⁸ Only two numerical abbreviations were used (John 5:5; 6:70). There is no apparent reason why these two numbers and no others were abbreviated in P⁶⁶. For instance, the referent of the number seems not to have been a factor in number-style: the abbreviation for “twelve” was used to refer to the twelve disciples (6:70), but elsewhere the number is given in longhand form twice for the same referent (6:67, 71). Furthermore, the abbreviated form $\overline{\lambda\eta}$ is used to refer to a length of years (5:5), but elsewhere, the length of fifty years is written longhand (8:57). Neither does grammatical case seem to have been a factor in number-style. On the one hand, both abbreviations in P⁶⁶ are in the accusative case; on the other hand, however, longhand forms were used for a variety of values in the accusative case: $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (John 2:6; 4:40, 43; 6:9; 11:6), $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (2:6), $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$ (4:18; 6:9), $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ (19:39). Practicality and space conservation seem not to have been a concern: neither abbreviation occurs at the end of the respective lines of text, and in fact, $\overline{\lambda\eta}$ stands at the beginning of its line. Perhaps the reason for their presence is simply that these numeral abbreviations were in the scribe’s exemplar and were copied directly over.³⁹

³⁸ The “one” in 17:11 was probably written as a correction in the margin but it is not visible due to fragmentation. Note the insertion mark above the $\mu\omicron\iota$ (and see Elliott and Parker, *Papyri*, 365).

³⁹ P⁶⁶ is known to contain block mixture of textual affinities, but these seem to be unrelated to the use of abbreviations. For example, the text of chapters 1–5 is closest to Alexandrian witnesses (i.e., P⁷⁵, B, and C), that of chapters 6–7 shows “Western” influence (i.e., from D 05), and that of 8–21 shows Byzantine influence; but the two numerical abbreviations fall in two different blocks. See Gordon D. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II (P⁶⁶): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics*, SD 34 (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1968), 35.

The asterisked reference in the table (12:1*) refers to an instance in which the scribe initially wrote a numeral, and then altered it to a different value, denoted by {12:1}; see below for a more thorough explanation. I have listed both for the simple reason that the two iterations should be considered scribal acts of “number-writing.”

One minor note can be made about the number in 5:5. The scribe originally transposed the phrase $\overline{\lambda\eta}$ $\epsilon\tau\eta$ to $\epsilon\tau\eta$ $\overline{\lambda\eta}$ and then corrected it (with transposition marks).⁴⁰ This transposition could be related to a short leap due to the similar endings of $\epsilon\tau\eta$ and $\overline{\lambda\eta}$, suggesting that the scribe’s exemplar might well have contained the same numerical abbreviation (importantly, P⁷⁵ has an abbreviation here as well). Yet, another explanation might be more compelling. Evidently, some scribes would intentionally transpose numbers and the units they modify when employing shorthand numerals (e.g., $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$ $\xi\tau\eta \rightarrow \xi\tau\eta$ $\overline{\beta}$). This technique is generally not found among our NT papyri, but it occurs as a consistent feature in related manuscripts, such as *P.Beatty IV* (Rahlfs 961), a fourth-century copy of Genesis—and nearly always with the term $\xi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (“year”).⁴¹ Such a tendency could have given rise to the initial transposition. We could suppose that the scribe of P⁶⁶ (or that of the exemplar) created the transposition according to a (perhaps unconscious) habit similar to that of *P.Beatty VI*, and reference to a second exemplar led to its correction. More evidence would be needed to make a confident decision here, but

⁴⁰ The IGNTP John volume identifies this correction as the work of the original scribe: P^{66*c} (Elliott and Parker, *Papyri*, 176).

⁴¹ Albert Pietersma, ed., *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri IV and V: A New Edition with Text-Critical Analysis*, Am.Stud.Pap. 16 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1976), 115. See also Albert Pietersma, “A Textual-Critical Study of Genesis Papyri 961 and 962” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1970). A brief survey of the feature in documentary papyri from Oxyrhynchus revealed no clear patterns, though a full investigation is a desideratum.

this principle might help illuminate similar numeral-unit transpositions elsewhere in the NT (e.g., Mark 14:5; Luke 5:2; 10:35; Gal 1:18; Rev 14:8).

Colin Roberts, in observing the numbers in P⁶⁶, remarked: “Here the scribe with the eccentricity that characterizes him uses both systems, cf. 5:5 with 6:10 or 8:57.”⁴² Roberts rightly pointed out that P⁶⁶ contains two numerical abbreviations, but it should be sufficiently clear that the description of “eccentricity” is somewhat misleading. The number-writing techniques found in P⁴⁵, P⁴⁷, and, as we will see, in P⁷⁵ are far more “eccentric” than that of P⁶⁶. That is to say, the scribe’s technique may not have been rigidly consistent, but it was not necessarily eccentric.

3.2.4.2 Ordinal Numbers

Several ordinal numbers are also extant in P⁶⁶ and all are given longhand form: πρῶτος (e.g., 1:15, 30, 41; 2:10, 11⁴³; 7:51; 10:40; 12:16; 15:18; 18:13; 19:39; 20:8); δεύτερος (John 3:4; 4:54; 9:24); τρίτος (2:1); ἔκτος (4:6; 19:14); ἑβδομος (4:52); δέκατος (1:39). Kurt Aland listed the ordinal value πρῶ[του] (19:32) in his newly found fragments, but photographs were not available to verify this.⁴⁴

3.2.4.3 Problematic Numbers

In John 12:1, the scribe originally wrote πε̅τε ημερων (“five days”) and subsequently corrected it to εξ. There is some debate about how this error initially arose, whether it was introduced by the scribe of P⁶⁶ misreading a numeral in the exemplar, or whether it simply represents a tradition of reading “five” instead of “six.” Boismard, for example, suggested the latter option, that “five” represents not a

⁴² Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, Schweich Lectures 1977 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979), 18.

⁴³ The original reading is πρωτην, which was marked with deletion dots and corrected to αρχην.

⁴⁴ Aland, “Neue Papyri III,” 378; cf. Elliott and Parker, *Papyri*, 397. In addition, numerical adverbs in P⁶⁶ are also longhand (e.g., 13:38).

scribal slip but a variant tradition.⁴⁵ Alternatively, however, Colwell persuasively argued for the former, that the scribe saw ξξ and mistook the *epsilon* + “bold rough breathing” mark as the shorthand form of πέντε (i.e., ε̄); he then realized his error trying to make sense of the xi.⁴⁶ Royse follows this argument and explains it in the following way: “The scribe misread the ε of εξ as a numeral (i.e., as ε’), represented it as a word (πε̄|τε), then apparently caught his error when he tried to understand the ξ. He then marked πε̄ for deletion, wrote εξ over τε, and continued with ημερων.”⁴⁷ One can indeed clearly see that the scribe originally wrote the longhand πε̄|τε and altered it to εξ. If Colwell and Royse’s rehearsal of events is accurate, it is interesting to note that the scribe *thought* the exemplar contained an abbreviated form of πέντε (i.e., ε̄) but chose to write it longhand. This might indicate that the scribe was attempting (perhaps with limited effort) to standardize the number writing in the papyrus and remove many of the abbreviated forms. Such a scenario could shed light on the dramatically different number-writing technique found in P⁷⁵. In any case, this is another instance where a number has apparently caused trouble for a copyist (either that of P⁶⁶ or an earlier one).

3.2.4.4 Summary of P⁶⁶

To summarize the number-technique of P⁶⁶, the preferred method was longhand for cardinal and ordinal numbers, but rarely, abbreviations occur for mid-range values

⁴⁵ M.-É. Boismard, review of *Papyrus Bodmer II, Supplément: Evangile de Jean chap. 14–21. Nouvelle édition augmentée et corrigée*, by Victor Martin and John W. B. Barns, *RB* 70 (1963): 120–33 (128): “Il est possible enfin que le comput de cinq jours (au lieu de six) concernant l’onction à Béthanie (XII, 1) représente une tradition ancienne.”

⁴⁶ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 115.

⁴⁷ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 430.

(“twelve” and “thirty-eight”). In addition, there are a few instances in which the scribe evidently had difficulty transcribing numbers from the exemplar text.

3.2.5. P⁷²

3.2.5.1 Cardinal Numbers

P⁷² is a third- or fourth-century manuscript of 1–2 Peter and Jude that was written in a rather rough and untrained scribal hand. There are only four visible cardinal numbers present in P⁷², and they are all longhand (see table 3.6).⁴⁸

Table 3.6. Cardinal Numbers in P ⁷²	
Value	Longhand Forms
1	2 Pet 3:8 (3x)
1,000	2 Pet 3:8

3.2.5.2 Ordinal Numbers

All ordinal numbers in present in P⁷² are likewise longhand: πρῶτος (1 Pet 4:17; 2 Pet 1:20; 2:20; 3:3), δεύτερος (2 Pet 3:1; Jude 5), εβδομοος (Jude 14), and ογδοον (2 Pet 2:5).

3.2.5.2 Problematic Numbers

A couple omissions involving numerals should be mentioned. First is the omission of ὀκτώ from 1 Peter 3:20b: κηβωτου εις ην | ολιγοι τουτο εστιν [*om.* ὀκτώ] ψυχαι διεωθη|σαν δι υδατος (“the ark, in which a few, that is, [eight] persons, were saved through water”). This seems to be a simple case of careless omission. It is tempting to speculate that the cause could be traced to how the number was written in the exemplar. The accidental omission of a word such as ὀκτώ is certainly possible, but

⁴⁸ For the text of P⁷², see Michel Testuz, ed., *Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX: VII: Epître de Jude, VIII: Les deux Epîtres de Pierre, IX: Les Psaumes 33 et 34* (Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959); see also Klaus Junack and Winfried Grunewald, eds., *Die Katholischen Briefe*, vol. 1 of *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*, ANTF 6 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986). On the scribal hand of P⁷², see Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX*, 15 and 29; and Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 549.

Secondly, there is another omission shared only by $\aleph 01$ in 2 Peter 3:8b: $\sigma\tau\iota$ $\mu\iota\alpha$ $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ \parallel $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\eta$ [*om.* $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta$] $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\mu\iota\alpha$ (“that with the Lord one day is as a thousand years, [and a thousand years] as one day”). This omission is almost certainly due to a leap from same to same: $\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\eta$. This means that the omission probably does not tell us anything about how the scribe understood or transcribed numbers, since the error would probably have been made regardless of how the number was written in the exemplar.

Within the body text of P⁷², the scribe only employed longhand forms for both cardinal and ordinal numbers. This is somewhat surprising, given that the hand of P⁷² is notoriously sloppy and on the low end even of the documentary classification. Outside of NT texts, it is typically in these informal hands and in documentary papyri that one finds number abbreviations used.⁵⁰ Regardless, the copyist was aware of and able to use numerical abbreviations, as the page numbers and book titles indicate. Given the omission in 1 Pet 3:20, however, it may have been the case that the scribe had some difficulty in reading and/or transcribing them.

⁵⁰ See the discussion in Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 15.

3.2.6. P⁷⁵

P⁷⁵ is a manuscript of Luke and John dated to the third century that contains an impressive display of abbreviated numerals.⁵¹

3.2.6.1 Cardinal Numbers

P⁷⁵ contains nearly fifty abbreviated cardinal numerals (see table 3.7).

Table 3.7. Cardinal Numbers in P ⁷⁵		
Value	Longhand Forms	Shorthand Forms
2	Luke 5:2; 12:6, 52; 16:13; 17:34, 35; 23:32; 24:4, 13; John 1:37, 40; 11:6	Luke 9:16, 32; 10:1, 35; 12:52; 15:11; John 1:35; 2:6; 4:40, 43; 6:9
3	Luke 10:36; 11:5; 12:52; 13:7, 21; John 2:19, 20	Luke 9:33; 12:52; John 2:6
4	John 11:17	
5	Luke 14:19	Luke 12:6, 52; 16:28; John 4:18; 5:2; 6:9, 13
6	Luke 13:14; John 2:6	
7		Luke 11:26
8		Luke 9:28
10	Luke 15:8; 17:12	
11		Luke 24:9, 33
12	John 11:9	Luke 6:13; 8:42; 9:1, 12; 22:30, 47; John 6:13, 67, 70
15	John 11:18	
18		Luke 13:4, 11
30		John 6:19
38		John 5:5
40		Luke 4:2
46		John 2:20 (μ̄ και ἑξ)
50	Luke 16:6; John 8:57	Luke 9:14
60		Luke 24:13
72		Luke 10:1, 17
80	Luke 16:7	
99		Luke 15:4, 7
100	Luke 16:6	Luke 15:4; 16:7
300	John 12:5	
5,000	John 6:10	
10,000	Luke 14:31	
20,000	Luke 14:31	

⁵¹ For the text, see Victor Martin and Rodolphe Kasser, eds., *XIV: Evangile de Luc chap. 3–24*, vol. 1 of *Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV: Evangiles de Luc et Jean* (Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961); Victor Martin and Rodolphe Kasser, eds., *XV: Evangile de Jean chap. 1–15*, vol. 2 of *Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV: Evangiles de Luc et Jean* (Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961).

The value “one” is not listed in the above table for the sake of clarity, but every extant instance of the number is longhand, without exception. This is a remarkable degree of consistency toward the use of longhand forms, including no less than fifty occurrences of the number.⁵²

Nearly all of the above have been verified with photographs of the manuscript.⁵³ Furthermore, there are several instances where the *editio princeps* contains reconstructed numbers that are nearly certain:⁵⁴

- (1) τω[ν ιβ] ητις ουκ ῑσχυεν απ ουδε (Luke 8:43)
- (2) ο κατανας ῑδου [ιη ε]τη ουκ εδει λυ (Luke 13:16)
- (3) Ϙς σταδιου[ς κε] η λ̄ (John 6:19)
- (4) εις [εκ] των [ιβ] και μετα ταυτα (John 6:71)

In each of these instances, the numerals can be rather safely reconstructed because the lacunae are so small. The addition of these four abbreviations does little to change the overall picture of the number-writing techniques in P⁷⁵.

What could account for such varied usage of abbreviations in P⁷⁵? There may be some indication that grammatical case had an effect upon number-style. Consider, for example, Luke 12:52, which reads: ε̄|̄κονται γαρ απο του νυν ε̄· εν ενι οι|κω διαμεμερικμενοι γ̄ επι δῡκιν | και β̄ επι τρῑκιν·. That is, the numbers “three” and “two” are written twice in this verse, once abbreviated and once longhand each. Evidently

⁵² Luke 5:3; 8:22; 9:33 (3x); 10:42; 11:46; 12:6, 27, 52; 13:10; 14:18; 15:4, 7, 8, 10, 15, 19, 26; 16:5, 13 (2x), 17; 17:15, 22, 34 (2x), 35; 18:10; 22:47, 50, 59; 23:39; 24:1, 18; John 1:3, 40; 3:27; 6:22, 70, 71; 7:21, 50; 8:41; 9:25; 10:16 (2x), 30; 11:52; 15:5. Additionally, the word ε̄ις is not visible in John 12:4, but the breathing mark is still plainly visible.

⁵³ In two instances, I am relying on the *editio princeps* in lieu of photographs: μ̄ (Luke 4:2) and ιβ̄ (Luke 6:13). Others are recorded in the transcription but I have omitted them because they are no longer visible in photographs: ιβ̄ (Luke 9:17), [δ]ῡ[ο] (Luke 18:10), and [διακοι]Ϙγ (John 6:7). And finally, very little ink is visible for the occurrence of ιβ̄ in John 6:67, but I have retained it in the table above because those traces are consistent with the numeral.

⁵⁴ On the other hand, several reconstructed numbers proposed by Comfort and Barrett are simply speculative: e.g., Luke 7:41a, 41b, 41c; 8:2; 9:3, 13a, 13b; 9:14a; 17:2, 17a, 17b; John 12:1.

the scribe wrote the numbers in the nominative case as abbreviations while the numbers in oblique cases (here, the dative) were spelled out fully.

Although these examples suggest a distinction between abbreviated nominative cases and longhand oblique cases (esp. dative), this pattern does not hold elsewhere in the codex. In fact, there are several examples of abbreviations standing for numbers in the dative (e.g., $\overline{\rho\theta}$ Luke 15:7; $\overline{\iota\alpha}$ 24:9; $\overline{\mu}$ καὶ ἐξ John 2:20; $\overline{\iota\beta}$ 6:67), in the genitive (e.g., $\overline{\iota\beta}$ Luke 8:42), and scores for those in the accusative cases (e.g., $\overline{\iota\beta}$ Luke 6:13; 9:1; 22:30; John 6:13, 70; $\overline{\nu}$ Luke 9:14; $\overline{\beta}$ Luke 9:16, 32; 10:1, 35; 15:11; John 2:6; 4:40, 43; 6:9, etc.). A more likely explanation for the distinction made in Luke 12:52 relates not strictly to grammatical case but to inflection. That is, $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ and $\tau\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ were written longhand not because they are datives (necessarily), but because they have declinable forms. Elsewhere, “two” is abbreviated several times (Luke 9:16, 32; 10:1, 35; 12:52; 15:11; John 1:35; 2:6; 4:40, 43; 6:9), but never for the inflected form $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota/\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$, in which cases the longhand is used (Luke 12:52; 16:13).⁵⁵ Similarly, the number three is abbreviated only when standing for the lexical form $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Luke 9:33; 12:52a; John 2:6), but as an inflected form the longhand is used exclusively: for instance, $\tau\rho\iota\omega\nu$ (Luke 10:36, genitive), $\tau\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ (Luke 12:52b; John 2:19, 20, dative), and $\tau\rho\iota\alpha$ (Luke 13:7, 21, accusative). The tendency, therefore, seems to be to avoid using symbols where they could be potentially ambiguous with respect to their exact referent ($\overline{\beta}$ = $\delta\upsilon\acute{o}$ or $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota$?).

In a later chapter we will have occasion to explore this distinction in greater detail and determine how consistent it is, but for now we can simply observe that the

⁵⁵ The declension of $\delta\upsilon\acute{o}$ is as follows: $\delta\upsilon\acute{o}$ (nom.), $\delta\upsilon\acute{o}$ (acc.), $\delta\upsilon\acute{o}$ (gen.), $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota(v)$ (dat.).

scribe of P⁷⁵ exercised great freedom in number-writing, and it is rarely obvious why shorthand was chosen over longhand forms where these occur.⁵⁶

Another observation is in order. Although the numerical abbreviations are somewhat evenly spread throughout the manuscript, there are a few blocks that extend for a chapter or more in which only longhand numbers are used: for instance, Luke 13:14–15:3; 17:12–18:10; John 6:71–12:16. This might suggest that the technique was being employed simply to constrict the text to fit into a desired space where the scribe felt the need, thus indicating the space-saving function of the abbreviations. They could, on the other hand, reflect the contents of the exemplar(s). More information would be needed, however, to determine this.

3.2.6.2 Ordinal Numbers

Although P⁷⁵ contains an unusually high amount of numerical abbreviations, there are no abbreviations for ordinal numbers; this feature sets it apart from P⁴⁷. All the visible ordinals in P⁷⁵ are given in their longhand forms (see table 3.8):⁵⁷

Table 3.8. Ordinal Numbers in P ⁷⁵	
<i>Value</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>
First	Luke 6:42; 9:59, 61; 10:5; 11:26, 38; 12:1; 13:30 (2x); 14:18, 28, 31; 15:22; 16:5; 17:25; John 1:15, 30, 41; 2:10; 7:51; 10:40
Second	Luke 12:38; John 3:4; 4:54; 9:24
Third	Luke 9:22; 12:38; 13:32; 23:22; 24:7, 21, 46; John 2:1
Sixth	Luke 23:44; John 4:6
Seventh	John 4:52
Ninth	Luke 23:44
Tenth	John 1:39

⁵⁶ A different explanation of Luke 12:52 was given by T. C. Skeat: “I believe that scribes, though perfectly happy to use numerals [= abbreviations], disliked aggregations of them.” See T. C. Skeat, “The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?,” *NTS* 43 (1997): 14; repr. in J. Keith Elliott, ed., *The Collected Writings of T. C. Skeat*, NovTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 158–92 (171).

⁵⁷ One ordinal is reconstructed: [πρῶτον] (John 12:16), and numerical adverbs are longhand (Luke 18:12; 22:34, 61).

3.2.6.3 Problematic Numbers

The *editio princeps* suggests that at Luke 10:1, P⁷⁵ reads [ανα]|| β̄, but given the fragmentary state of the papyrus, this reading is not entirely certain.⁵⁸ The text could be reconstructed as [ανα β̄]|| β̄ or perhaps [ανα δυο]|| β̄. Given the uncertainty, the NA²⁸ is correct to withhold P⁷⁵ as support for either reading at this point.

3.2.6.4 Summary of P⁷⁵

P⁷⁵ exhibits a marked tendency to employ abbreviated numbers, though never for “one,” for values above one hundred, or for ordinal numbers. The scribe seems to avoid employing numerical shorthand in place of numbers that are grammatical inflected (e.g., τριῶν). Thus, uninflected cardinal values between “two” and “one hundred” are commonly, though not consistently, abbreviated by the copyist.

3.2.7 P¹¹⁵

Although badly mutilated, P¹¹⁵ is a third- or fourth-century papyrus of Revelation consisting of fragments of nine leaves.⁵⁹

3.2.7.1 Cardinal Numbers

Most of the cardinal numbers still visible in P¹¹⁵ were written in shorthand (see table 3.9). In addition to the cardinal numbers listed in the table, there are two more that are nearly certain due to the visibility of supralinear strokes that indicate the use of abbreviations. In Rev 15:7 the overstrike of [δ̄] (= τεσσαράκων) is visible, and in 12:1 the left end of an overstrike of [ῑβ] (= δώδεκα) is visible.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Martin and Kasser, *Évangile de Luc*, 72; this is followed by Comfort and Barrett (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 528).

⁵⁹ For the text of P¹¹⁵, see *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4499.10–35.

⁶⁰ Cf. *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4499.32 n. 208 and 35 n. 418.

Table 3.9. Cardinal Numbers in P ¹¹⁵		
Value	Longhand	Shorthand
1	13:3 ⁶¹	
2	12:14	
7		10:3; 15:6
42		11:2
616		13:18
2,600		14:20

3.2.7.2 Ordinal Numbers

There are only a handful of visible ordinal numbers in P¹¹⁵, and with one exception they were written longhand (see table 3.10).

Table 3.10. Ordinal Numbers in P ¹¹⁵		
Value	Longhand	Shorthand
First	13:12	
Second	11:14 ⁶²	
Third	{8:7}, 11, 12 ⁶³	8:7 [*]

The one exceptional use of an abbreviation for an ordinal was subsequently corrected to a longhand form. Specifically, in 8:7 the scribe originally wrote $\bar{\gamma}$ in place of τρίτον (in the phrase τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων), denoted in the table by curved braces ({8:7}), but this abbreviation was corrected to τρι[τ]ο[ν]: the *gamma* was modified into a *tau*, a compressed *rho* + *iota* added, and τον was written above the line.⁶⁴ Further, the abbreviation here was used for an ordinal functioning as a fraction: τὸ τρίτον $\bar{\gamma}$ τῶν δένδρων (“a third of the trees”); this was not abnormal in documentary

⁶¹ This reading is somewhat tenuous; only part of the final stroke of a *nu* is now visible: [μῆ]ν (13:3).

⁶² This reading of the *editio princeps* is not certain but the visible traces of ink seem to be consistent with the final *alpha* in [δευτε]α (11:14).

⁶³ This reading in the *editio princeps* is discerned on a very slender basis: τ[ριτον] (8:12). Images show only slight traces of ink that are nevertheless consistent with the initial *tau*.

⁶⁴ *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4499.27 n. 13. Note Comfort and Barrett’s comment: “γ (= 3) was changed to τρι[τ]ο[ν] by a corrector” (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 667 n. a).

papyri⁶⁵ ($\bar{\gamma} = 1/3$ can also be seen once in P⁴⁷ in Rev 9:15). It is possible that the use of numerical-abbreviation for a fraction was seen to be potentially confusing.⁶⁶

3.2.7.3 Reconstructed Numbers

The *editio princeps* of P¹¹⁵ contains many reconstructed numbers, most of which are in symbol form, and this deserves comment. There are thirty-three cardinal numbers reconstructed by the editor and fourteen reconstructed ordinals.⁶⁷ It would not be practical to examine each reconstruction in the transcription, but this particular manuscript is a good example of the difficulties present when attempting to reconstruct lost text, especially when that text contains many numbers. One need only to read the transcriptional notes in the editor's publication to see how often numerals complicate the reconstruction of missing text: phrases such as "There would perhaps be room ... if πεμπτος were written γ'," are commonplace. Many cardinal numbers can be reasonably reconstructed as abbreviations, given the evident scribal preference, but it is clear that no scribe is entirely predictable. Such uncertainty significantly increases the measure of doubt about a host of reconstructions and calls for great caution.

3.2.7.4 Problematic Readings

The final *epsilon* of a longhand πέντε might be visible in 9:10, though this is uncertain. The editor does not reconstruct the text here, but gives]ξ επ αυτω̄ (the

⁶⁵ Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, xlvī.

⁶⁶ Hoskier lists one other manuscript with a shorthand numeral here for τρίτον: 210 = GA 1719 (Herman C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse* [London: Bernard Quaritch, 1929], 2:222). For Gregory-Aland equivalents to Hoskier's manuscript identifications, see J. Keith Elliott, "Manuscripts of the Book of Revelation Collated by H. C. Hoskier," *JTS* 40 (1989): 100–11.

⁶⁷ Many numerals are reconstructed in the following instances: e.g., Rev 5:8 (2x); 6:6 (2x); 8:6 (2x), 7 (2x), 8, 12 (4x), 13 (2x); 9:12 (2x), 13 (3x), 14 (2x), 15 (2x); 10:4; 11:3 (2x), 4 (2x), 11:9, 10, 11, 13 (2x), 14, 15; 12:3 (3x), 4; 13:11; 14:3 (2x); 15:6, 7 (2x) (*P.Oxy.* LXVI 4499). Comfort and Barrett contain even more, ultimately more speculative, reconstructions: e.g., Rev 2:1; 6:5 (2x); 8:8, 9 (2x), 10 (2x); 9:1, 5, 18 (2x); 10:7; 11:16; 12:6; 13:1 (3x), 12; 15:1 (2x).

clear absence of an overstrike confirms that the *epsilon* is not the abbreviated form of five, i.e., $\overline{\epsilon}$).⁶⁸ The expected wording at this point is $\mu\eta\nu\alpha\varsigma \pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon \xi\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$ (9:10b–11a) and so the *epsilon* could only be part of $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$ if the verb $\xi\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\nu$ was either transposed or omitted altogether—neither of which should be assumed. The presence of the *epsilon*, therefore, is difficult to explain.

At 14:20, the copyist appears to use the numerical symbol $\overline{\beta\chi}$. The editor represents it as $\overline{\beta\chi}$, due to the fact that the *beta* is most likely standing for 2,000.⁶⁹ As we have seen, letters such as *beta* could be used for thousands in the alphabetic numeral system (e.g., $\overline{\beta}$),⁷⁰ but this technique is somewhat rare NT codices. What is actually written in P¹¹⁵, however, is not entirely straightforward (see figure 3.1):

Figure 3.1. P¹¹⁵ – Rev 14:20



The characters $\overline{\beta}$ and $\overline{\chi}$ are fairly certain, but it is not clear if the circle on the top left of the *beta* ($\overline{\beta}$) is functioning as the thousands marker, nor is it likely that this mark is from the hand of the original scribe. What appear to be faint traces of ink directly above the *beta* might be the remnants of some kind of apostrophe indicating thousands, and the slightly lighter circle to the left might be a later scribal insertion

⁶⁸ Compare with $[\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu]\tau\epsilon$ given by Lincoln H. Blumell and Thomas A. Wayment, eds., *Christian Oxyrhynchus: Texts, Documents, and Sources* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2015), 146.

⁶⁹ Followed by Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 677.

⁷⁰ See Gardthausen, *Die Schrift*, 370; see also Colin Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, 24.

intended to highlight that $\overline{\beta}$ is functioning as 2,000. If indeed the *beta* is being used to notate thousands, this would be a rare usage of the “full form” among the manuscripts surveyed here; most other cases of numbers in the thousands in these texts are either completely longhand or in a hybrid form (e.g., $\overline{\rho\mu\delta}$ $\chi\lambda\iota\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma$), though the full abbreviation does sometimes occur in NT manuscripts. The value of the number in this case would be 2,600 ($^{\circ}\beta = 2,000$; $\chi = 600$), while most manuscripts read 1,600. In fact, this reading is otherwise virtually unattested, with the sole exception of a marginal note in one later minuscule.⁷¹

David Parker has suggested another option that he himself finds unlikely: that the $\overline{\chi}$ is being used here for 1,000, as it was often used in inscriptions (i.e., $\overline{\beta\chi} = 2 \times 1,000 = 2,000$).⁷² This, however, would be the only such occurrence among NT papyri surveyed here. Parker also notes that, as the papyrus is shorn off after the $\overline{\chi}$, we cannot be sure there was not another numeral (or two) immediately following. In the end, however, 2,600 seems to be the best option since this “full abbreviation” for thousands does occur elsewhere in NT manuscripts.⁷³

There is a rather famous issue at 13:18, where P¹¹⁵ reads $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$ (= 616) while most other manuscripts, including P⁴⁷, have 666. The value in P¹¹⁵ is shared by C 04. Note, however, that the forms of the *sigma* and *digamma* are not distinguished in P¹¹⁵, and so the abbreviation was written thus: $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$. As this wording is clear, there is not much that needs commenting here, except for the fact that scholars have argued

⁷¹ GA 456/Hoskier 75 (tenth century) contains the expected wording in the text ($\overline{\alpha\chi} = 1,600$) but with a marginal note that reads $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\omicron} \overline{\beta}$ (“in others 2,000”). See images at the INTF website.

⁷² David C. Parker, “A New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Revelation: P¹¹⁵ (P. Oxy. 4499),” *NTS* 46 (2000): 159–74 (160).

⁷³ This is followed by J. Keith Elliott, “Recently Discovered New Testament Papyri and their Significance for Textual Criticism,” in *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context*, ed. Claire Clivaz and Jean Zumstein, BETL 242 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 89–108 (102).

that the textual variation is most likely related to the slight distinction between $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$ and $\overline{\chi\zeta\varsigma}$, while the longhand forms were less likely to be confused: i.e., ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἑξ versus ἑξακόσιοι δέκα ἑξ.⁷⁴ (Another strange feature, though one that is ultimately uncertain, is the presence of $\overline{\eta}$ or $\overline{\eta}$ or $\overline{\eta}$ prior to the numeral.)

A final uncertain reading is in 14:1, where the editor transcribes $[\overline{\rho\mu\delta}$ $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\delta\epsilon]$ (= 144,000). This is the most probable reading, but I have refrained from listing it above because the wording is simply not verifiable. Photographs show that the letter identified as *sigma* is a mere speck of ink that is far from certain.

3.2.7.5 Summary of P¹¹⁵

The scribe of P¹¹⁵ evidences a clear preference for the abbreviation of cardinal numbers (though evidently not for the number “one”), and one ordinal number was (at least initially) written shorthand as well. Several textual problems involving numbers suggest that this text transmits distinctive textual traditions or that the scribe had some difficulty with transcribing numbers.

3.3 Fragmentary Papyri

Now we turn to the fragmentary papyri of the first five centuries. Some of these papyri do not have any extant numbers in them, but only have reconstructed numbers; these are denoted by an asterisk (*). In general, I have followed the transcriptions given by the respective editors of the papyri,⁷⁵ but on some

⁷⁴ As observed by Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 676. For other variants here, see Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*, 2:364.

⁷⁵ In addition to the editions cited below, the following resources were referenced: Elliott and Parker, *Papyri*; K. Junack, E. Güting, U. Nimtz, and K. Witte, eds., *Röm., 1. Kor., 2. Kor.*, Part 1 of *Die paulinischen Briefe*, vol. 2 of *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*, ANTF 12 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989); and K. Wachtel and K. Witte, eds., *Gal, Eph, Phil, Kol, 1 u. 2 Thess, 1 u 2. Tim, Tit*,

occasions—where examination of photographs reveals discrepancies—I provide a new transcription; such instances are cited explicitly.⁷⁶

3.3.1 P¹

Three cardinal numbers are extant in P¹. All three are abbreviated: $\overline{\iota\delta}$ (Matt 1:17 [3x]). Although the original publication presented all three as fully visible, deterioration in the papyrus has led editors to indicate the partial visibility or loss of some of the relevant letters.⁷⁷ There is, however, no doubt that shorthand forms were used here.

3.3.2 P⁴

Three cardinal numbers are extant in P⁴, two of which are abbreviations: $\overline{\lambda}$ (Luke 3:23) and $\overline{\mu}$ (Luke 4:2). The third was given by the original editor as $[\delta\upsilon]\phi$ (Luke 3:11), but available images of the papyrus now suggest that the entire word ought to be placed in brackets: $[\delta\upsilon\phi]$.⁷⁸ The presence of abbreviated numbers in this papyrus is possibly significant given the high register of scribal hand and professional quality with which it was produced.

Phlm, Hebr, Part 2 of *Die paulinischen Briefe*, vol. 2 of *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*, ANTF 22 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994).

⁷⁶ I use underdots (e.g., $\underset{\cdot}{\alpha}$) to indicate letters that are partially visible but probable.

⁷⁷ In the original publication of P¹, Grenfell and Hunt record each numeral as fully visible (*P.Oxy.* I 2.4–7), as did Carl Wessely, ed., *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus*, PO 4/2 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1908), 144 [50], and Ellwood M. Schofield, “The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament” (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Clinton, NJ, 1936), 91. Comfort and Barrett add a dot under the *delta* of the third numeral, indicating partial visibility (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 41). Min’s transcription is more cautious, showing $\overline{\iota\delta}$, $\overline{\iota\phi}$ and $[\iota\delta]$ respectively (Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung*, 62–64).

⁷⁸ Jean Merell, “Nouveaux fragments du papyrus IV,” *RB* 47 (1938): 5–22. Note how the more recent transcription provided by the INTF website encloses the entire word in brackets. Comfort and Barrett actually reconstruct an abbreviated form here: $[\phi \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu \beta] \chi\iota\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\varsigma$ (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 58).

3.3.3 P⁵

Five cardinal numbers are extant in P⁵, all are longhand: [δ]υο (John 1:35), δυο (1:37), [δ]υο (1:40), δυο (20:12), and δω[δεκα] (20:24).⁷⁹ Three cardinal numbers are reconstructed by the editor: [ενα] (20:12 [2x]) and [εις] (20:24), as well as two ordinal numbers: [πρωτος] (1:30) and [δεκατη] (1:39).⁸⁰

3.3.4 P⁶

One cardinal number is extant in P⁶, it is longhand: εν (John 11:52).⁸¹ The present writer would add some caution here due to the faded state of the ink, but there is no doubt that the numeral is longhand: εν (11:52).⁸² Three more are reconstructed by the editor: [δυο] (11:6) and [εις] (11:49, 50).

3.3.5 P⁷

One cardinal number is extant in P⁷, it is longhand: τεσ|σερακοντα (Luke 4:2).⁸³

3.3.6 P⁸

P⁸ contains three extant cardinal numbers, all longhand: μυα (Acts 4:32), εις (4:32), and τριων (5:7). Two cardinal numbers are reconstructed by the editor: [δωδεκα] (6:2) and [επτα] (6:3); although possible, neither reconstruction can be confirmed.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ *P.Oxy.* II 208.1–8, and *P.Oxy.* XV 1781.8–12. Scholars have subsequently added underdots: [δ]υο (John 1:35), δυο (1:37) (Elliott and Parker, *Papyri*, 29); [δ]υο (John 1:35), δυο (1:37) (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 75); [δ]υο (1:35), δυο (1:37) (Schofield, “The Papyrus Fragments,” 113–14). But no numerals are substantially affected.

⁸⁰ For P⁵, I was unable to view photographs of folio 3 and have relied on transcriptions.

⁸¹ Friedrich Rösch, *Bruchstücke des ersten Clemensbriefes nach dem achmimischen Papyrus der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek* (Strasbourg: Schlesier & Schweikhardt, 1910), 119–60.

⁸² The *nu* is written with an underdot in the IGNTP transcription (Elliott and Parker, *Papyri*, 39).

⁸³ Kurt Aland, “Neue Neutestamentliche Papyri,” *NTS* 3 (1956–57): 261–86 (263).

⁸⁴ C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), 3:1086–90.

3.3.7 P¹³

P¹³ contains three visible cardinal numbers, all longhand: τεσσαρακον[τα] (Heb 3:10) and τεσσαρακοντα (3:17, *sic*), μια (10:14).⁸⁵ Two longhand ordinal numbers are visible, [εβδομ]ης (4:4) and [εβ]δομη (4:4), and a third is likely but only scant traces of ink are now visible: [πρωτ]ον (10:9). Several other numbers must be reconstructed: [δευτερον] (10:9), [μιν] (10:12), [ενoc] (11:12), [επτα] (11:30), and [μιαc] (12:16).

3.3.8 P^{15+16*}

No numbers are extant in P¹⁵⁺¹⁶, although the editor has reconstructed one longhand cardinal: [εν] (Phil 3:13).⁸⁶

3.3.9 P^{17*}

No numbers are extant in P¹⁷, although the editor has reconstructed one longhand ordinal: [πρωτη] (Heb 9:18).⁸⁷

3.3.10 P¹⁸

P¹⁸ contains one extant cardinal number, and it is longhand: επτα (Rev 1:4).⁸⁸ One cardinal number is reconstructed by the editor: [επτα] (1:4).

3.3.11 P¹⁹

One cardinal number is given as partially visible by the editor of P¹⁹: [εν]α (Matt 10:42). Photographs of the papyrus reveal, however, that this may be overly

⁸⁵ *P.Oxy.* IV 657.36–48 and *PSI* XII 1292.209–10. Although the *editio princeps* reads τεσσαρακοντα (Heb 3:17), the INTF website has τεσσαρακοντα, Schofield had τεσσαρακοντα (Schofield, “The Papyrus Fragments,” 162), and Comfort and Barrett have τεσσαρακοντα (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 86). Examination of photographs leads me to side with INTF in seeing only one *sigma*. For a photograph of the Florence fragment, see <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;12;1292>.

⁸⁶ *P.Oxy.* VII 1008.4–8 and *P.Oxy.* VII 1009.8–11.

⁸⁷ *P.Oxy.* VIII 1078.11–13.

⁸⁸ *P.Oxy.* VIII 1079.13–14. I concur with the INTF website transcription which adds the underdot to the *tau*.

confident—only a slight trace of ink is now visible. The editor has reconstructed another numeral: [δωδεκα] (11:1); on the basis of line length, this seems reasonable.⁸⁹

3.3.12 P²⁴

Two numbers are extant in P²⁴: an abbreviated cardinal number, ζ (Rev 5:6), and a longhand ordinal number, τεταρτ[ου] (6:7). The presence of other numbers in the immediate context—which may or may not have been abbreviated—makes the reconstruction of the fragment complicated; caution is in order here.⁹⁰

3.3.13 P²⁵

Three cardinal numbers are extant in P²⁵, and all are longhand: δυο (Matt 19:5), μίαν (19:5), and δυ|ο (19:6).⁹¹ One more can be confidently reconstructed: [μια] (19:6).

3.3.14 P²⁸

P²⁸ contains three visible cardinal numbers, and all are longhand: πεντε (John 6:9), [πεντακισ]χιλει[o]ι (6:10), and εικοσι π[εντε] (6:19).⁹² The particular form πεντακισχιλειοι (6:10) is somewhat uncertain, since scribes often wrote hybrid forms such as ἐχιλιοι, but such is not likely in this instance due to the length of the line. In

⁸⁹ *P.Oxy.* IX 1170.7–9. Schofield gives the same transcription of the [εϛ]α (Matt 10:42) (Schofield, “The Papyrus Fragments,” 188).

⁹⁰ Grenfell and Hunt refrained from giving a reconstruction, but noted that τεσσαρων and τρεῖς were very likely shortened (*P.Oxy.* X 1230.18–19). The INTF website reconstruction puts all reconstructed numbers in abbreviated form, though Comfort and Barrett proceed with slightly more caution and do not give a reconstruction (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 115).

⁹¹ Otto Stegmüller, “Ein Bruchstück aus dem griechischen Diatessaron (P. 16388),” *ZNW* 37 (1938): 223–29. Underdots have been added by INTF website (δϛ|ο), but there is no doubt this is the longhand form.

⁹² *P.Oxy.* XIII 1596.8–10. Underdots are variously added by IGNTF (Elliott and Parker, *Papyri*, 44–45), Comfort and Barrett (*Text of the Earliest*, 123), Schofield (“The Papyrus Fragments,” 225), and Blumell and Wayment (*Christian Oxyrhynchus*, 101), but no substantial changes are implied.

addition, the editor reconstructs three more cardinal numbers: [δυο] (6:9), [τριακοντα] (6:19), and [εν] (6:22).⁹³

3.3.15 P^{30*}

No numerals are visible in P³⁰, but one ordinal is reasonably reconstructed: [πρωτον] (1 Thess 4:16).⁹⁴

3.3.16 P³⁵

There are four visible numbers in P³⁵. Three are longhand: δυο (Matt 25:22), [δ]υο (25:22), and δυ[ο] (25:22), while one is abbreviated: $\overline{\epsilon}$ (25:15).⁹⁵ As shown in the *editio princeps*, there is clearly a horizontal stroke below this last numeral in addition to the expected supralinear stroke: $\overline{\epsilon}$.⁹⁶ If this “underline” is in fact being used in conjunction with the overstrike, this is the first and only such numeral demarcation in all manuscripts under examination; the typical mark for numerals is the overstrike, occasionally accompanied by medial dots. It is likely, however, that what appears to be an “under-strike” is actually the overstrike for a numeral on the following line, which is now lacunose. The lost text, if similar to that in NA²⁸, would contain two numbers, [Ϟ̅ δὲ *δύο*, Ϟ̅ δὲ *ἔν*, ἐκάττω] (25:15), both of which could have been abbreviated.⁹⁷ Only scant traces of ink from the tops of the lost letters are visible,

⁹³ I mention P²⁹ (*P.Oxy.* XIII 1597:10–12) at this point simply to point out that the compound term δωδεκαφυλον is partially visible, and its numerical component is clearly given longhand: δωδεκ[αφυλον] (Acts 26:7). One ordinal is also reconstructed: [πρωτον] (26:20).

⁹⁴ *P.Oxy.* XIII 1598.12–14.

⁹⁵ Min adds the following underdots: δυο, [δ]υο, and δυ[ο], respectively (Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung*, 74).

⁹⁶ *PSI* I 1.1–2. Min’s transcription does not show the sublinear bar but his facsimile does (Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung*, 74 and 82, respectively). Schofield, however, does print the underline (Schofield, “The Papyrus Fragments,” 255).

⁹⁷ If the *ἐν* were abbreviated (= $\overline{\alpha}$), it would be the first and only such occurrence in the manuscripts surveyed.

making several text reconstructions possible; certainty about how the numbers were written on this line is impossible.

3.3.17 P³⁷

There are five extant cardinal numbers in P³⁷. Three of these are longhand: εἰς (Matt 26:21), [μῑ]αυ (26:40), and εἰς (26:51)⁹⁸; and two are abbreviated: ιβ̄ (26:20, 47).⁹⁹

There are two reconstructed cardinal numbers [δυο] (26:37) and [εἰς] (26:47). There is one visible ordinal: δευτε[ρου] (26:42).

Furthermore, the editor hypothesized that P³⁷ lacks the phrase ἐκ τρίτου (26:44) along with several other witnesses (A 02, C 04, D 05, etc.) due to the length of lines, and most scholars follow this.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, P³⁷ is listed in NA²⁸ in support of the omission of the phrase. It is at least possible, however, that the phrase was not omitted, only it was given in abbreviated form: ἐκ γ̄.¹⁰¹ Given that the scribe is known to employ numerical abbreviations (ιβ̄, 26:20, 47), P³⁷ should perhaps be

⁹⁸ Only the extreme tops of εἰς (26:51) are now visible, and even these are difficult to decipher. It is clear, however, that no supralinear stroke is present, confirming that a shorthand numeral was not used here.

⁹⁹ As the *editio princeps* indicates, the presence of a supralinear bar is not certain in 26:20, due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript; although, one can clearly be seen over the same numeral form in 26:47. See Henry A. Sanders, “An Early Papyrus Fragment of the Gospel of Matthew in the Michigan Collection,” *HTR* 19 (1926): 215–26 (esp. 224–26). See also Sanders’ transcription, *P.Mich.* III 137.9–14. Min’s transcription has an overstrike above both numerals (Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung*, 83 and 87); Comfort and Barrett print the overstrike but admit that it is not visible (Comfort and Barrett, *The Earliest Text*, 141 n. a).

¹⁰⁰ See the INTF website, Comfort and Barrett (*Text of the Earliest*, 143), and Schofield (“The Papyrus Fragments,” 265).

¹⁰¹ τρίτος is represented by a symbol in P⁴⁷ (e.g., Rev 9:15; 16:4). Furthermore, by my count the average number of letters per line on the verso is about 43, ranging from 38–48 per line. The line without ἐκ τρίτου would total 42; accordingly, the presence of the abbreviated phrase ἐκ γ̄ is at least possible.

removed from support of this reading or at least be listed as P^{37vid} (= *ut videtur*), indicating lack of certainty.¹⁰²

3.3.18 P³⁹

There is one partially visible cardinal number in P³⁹ and it is longhand: δυ[[ο] (John 8:17).¹⁰³

3.3.19 P^{40*}

There are no visible numbers in P⁴⁰, but one cardinal is reconstructed by the editor: [εις] (Rom 3:30).¹⁰⁴

3.3.20 P⁴⁸

There is one extant cardinal number in P⁴⁸ and it is abbreviated: μ̄ (Acts 23:13).¹⁰⁵

3.3.21 P⁵⁰

There are two extant ordinal numbers in P⁵⁰, both longhand: τεταρτης (Acts 10:30) and εννατην (10:30).¹⁰⁶

3.3.22 P^{51*}

There are no extant numbers in P⁵¹, but the editor has reconstructed two cardinal numbers: the abbreviated [ιε] (Gal 1:18), which seems to be likely on the basis of line length, and the longhand [τρια] (Gal 1:18).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Another minor note is that in 26:22, P³⁷ is reconstructed as ηρξαντο [λεγειν εκα|ς]τος αυτων, according to some witnesses (e.g., A 02, K 017, W 032, Γ 036, Δ 037, etc.), although it is possible that it contained a numeral: ηρξαντο λεγειν εις εκατος αυτων (cf. P^{45vid}, D 05, Θ 038, f¹³). It is not listed in support of any particular reading here in NA²⁸.

¹⁰³ P.Oxy. XV 1780.7–8.

¹⁰⁴ P.Bad. IV 57.28–31 and Junack et al., *Röm.*, 41–47, 75–80.

¹⁰⁵ PSI X 1165.112–18.

¹⁰⁶ Carl H. Kraeling, “P⁵⁰: Two Selections from Acts,” in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*, ed. Robert P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes K. Lake (London: Christophers, 1937), 163–72. See also P.Yale I 3.15–21.

¹⁰⁷ P.Oxy. XVIII 2157.1–3. Cf. Blumell and Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus*, 199: [ιε] (1:18).

3.3.23 P⁵³

In P⁵³, one cardinal number is clearly visible, μᾶν (Matt 26:40), and another is given by the editor as δ[υο] (26:37). Regarding the latter, however, photographs reveal that only scant traces of the *delta* can now be detected.¹⁰⁸ One longhand cardinal is reconstructed: [δυο] (Acts 9:38).

3.3.24 P⁵⁶

There are two partially visible numbers in P⁵⁶: πρῶτο[ν] (Acts 1:1) and δυο (1:10).¹⁰⁹ One can be reconstructed with some confidence: [τεσσακοντα] (1:3).

3.3.25 P^{64 + 67}

One cardinal number is partially visible in P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷: [ι]β (Matt 26:14).¹¹⁰ Only the bottom half of the *beta* is visible, but no alternative readings have been put forward that posit a different letter here.¹¹¹ An overstrike is not visible. The reconstruction of

¹⁰⁸ Henry A. Sanders, “A Third Century Papyrus of Matthew and Acts,” in Casey, Lake, and Lake, *Quantulacumque*, 151–61. Min here adds some caution to both words: i.e., δ[υο], and μᾶν (Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung*, 154–55); though, Comfort and Barrett give the same readings as the *editio princeps* (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 369–73). A numerical adverb is also partially visible: [τ]ρεῖς (Matt 26:34).

¹⁰⁹ P. Sanz, ed., *Biblica, Väterschriften und Verwandtes*, vol. 1 of *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhaltes*, MPER N.S. IV (Baden bei Wien: Rohrer, 1946), 65–66 (§39). A portion was published separately in Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter, “Acts of the Apostles 1,1–5 and 1,7–11,” in *Wiener Papyri: Als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer (P. Harrauer)*, ed. B. Palme (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2001), 7–14.

¹¹⁰ For the text of P⁶⁴, see Colin H. Roberts, “An Early Papyrus of the First Gospel,” *HTR* 46 (1953): 233–37. And for P⁶⁷, which is widely regarded as part of the same codex, see Ramón Roca-Puig, *Un Papiro griego del Evangelio de San Mateo*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Grafos, 1962). See also Ramón Roca-Puig, “P. Barc. Inv. N. 1 (Mt. III, 9, 15; V, 20–22, 25–28),” in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, 3 vols. (Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1956–57), 2:87–96, and Ramón Roca-Puig, “Nueva publicación del papiro número uno de Barcelona,” *Helmantica* 12 (1961): 103–22.

¹¹¹ Colin Roberts transcribed the numeral without an overstrike or underdot: [ι]β (Roberts, “An Early Papyrus,” 236). Carsten Thiede’s transcription also lacks the bar, but correctly adds a dot underneath the beta, as the upper half of the letter is not visible (Carsten Thiede, “Papyrus Magdalen 17 [Gregory-Aland P⁶⁴]: A Reappraisal,” *ZPE* 105 [1995]: 13–20 [20]), although the reprinted version in *TynBul* appears to lack the dot; see Carsten Thiede, “Papyrus Magdalen 17 (Gregory-Aland P⁶⁴): A Reappraisal,” *TynBul* 46 (1995): 29–42 (41). For the response to Thiede, see Peter Head, “The Date of the Magdalen Papyrus of Matthew (*P. Magd. Gr.* 17 = P⁶⁴): A Response to C. P. Thiede,” *TynBul* 46 (1995): 251–85. Head likewise prints the underdot and no overstrike. Rather freely, Skeat added the overstrike, lost the underdot, and added surrounding medial points (i.e., ι̣β̣) as is the practice

[$\bar{\alpha}$ | $\tau\omega\nu$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}$] given by T. C. Skeat is dubious given the absence of such wording (i.e., abbreviated “one”) from any extant NT manuscript examined here.¹¹²

3.3.26 P^{65*}

There are no extant numbers in P⁶⁵, but one cardinal is reconstructed by the editor:

[$\epsilon\nu\alpha$] (1 Thess 2:11).¹¹³

3.3.27 P^{69*}

Although there are no visible numbers in P⁶⁹, it is very likely on the basis of line length that it contained the abbreviated cardinal for “twelve” and the numeral “one”: [$\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\omega\nu$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}$] (Luke 22:47).¹¹⁴ Another issue deserves comment. In a lacunose portion of 22:59 (verso, line 3), there does not seem to be enough space for the expected wording $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$, and editors have proposed different solutions. The original editor posited the omission of $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$: $\acute{\omega}\varsigma[\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\chi\upsilon]$, though this is not required; the original wording is uncertain.¹¹⁵

3.3.28 P⁸⁶

P⁸⁶ contains one ordinal number: $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (Matt 5:24).¹¹⁶

elsewhere in the codex; see Skeat, “The Oldest Manuscript?,” 12. And Min has [$\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}$] (Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung*, 168). In any case, although the letter is only partially visible and the use of an overstrike and medial dots are uncertain, the numeral itself is not to be doubted.

¹¹² T. C. Skeat, “The Oldest Manuscript?,” 12; repr., *The Collected Writings of T. C. Skeat* (ed. Elliott), 170. Comfort and Barrett follow this wording (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 68).

¹¹³ *PSI* XIV 1373.5–7.

¹¹⁴ This is how the original editor reconstructed the fragment (*P.Oxy.* XXIV 2383.2), and no change was made in the more recent transcription by Thomas Wayment, “A New Transcription of P. Oxy. 2383 (P⁶⁹),” *NovT* 50 (2008): 351–57. But see [$\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\omega\nu$ $\delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$] in Blumell and Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus*, 38–41.

¹¹⁵ *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2383.3, which is followed by Wayment (Wayment, “A New Transcription,” 352). The INTF website transcription contains the unlikely $\acute{\omega}\varsigma[\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \bar{\alpha}\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\iota\varsigma]$ (i.e., $\bar{\alpha} = \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$). Comfort and Barrett posit the omission of only $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 472).

¹¹⁶ Ch. Charalambakis, D. Hagedorn, D. Kaimakis, and L. Thüngen, “Vier literarische Papyri de Kölner Sammlung,” *ZPE* 14 (1974): 29–40 (37–40).

3.3.29 P⁸⁸

P⁸⁸ contains two extant cardinal numbers. The presence of $\xi\iota\varsigma$ (Mark 2:7) is clear, but the second numeral is now hardly discernible due to fragmentation, $\tau[\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\rho\omega\nu]$ (2:3), though the original editor was able to see more: $\tau[\epsilon\kappa\kappa]\alpha\rho\omega\nu$.¹¹⁷

3.3.30 P^{90*}

There are no visible numbers in P⁹⁰, but one is reconstructed by the editor: $[\epsilon\nu\alpha]$ (John 18:39).¹¹⁸

3.3.31 P^{91*}

There are no visible numbers in P⁹¹, but one longhand ordinal is reconstructed by the editor: $[\epsilon\nu\alpha\tau\eta\nu]$ (Acts 3:1).¹¹⁹

3.3.32 P⁹⁸

Two cardinal numbers are visible in P⁹⁸, and both are shorthand: ζ (Rev 1:20), and ζ (1:20); the presence of supralinear strokes must be inferred due to fragmentation of the papyrus.¹²⁰ One letter of a third numeral is suggested by the editor's transcription, $\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma \xi[$ (1:16), that is, $\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma \xi[\pi\tau\alpha]$. Photographs of the

¹¹⁷ Sergio Daris, "Papiri letterari dell'Università Cattolica di Milano," *Aeg* 52 (1972): 67–118 (80–88).

¹¹⁸ *P.Oxy.* L 3523.3–8.

¹¹⁹ Claudio Gallazzi, "P. Mil. Vogl. Inv. 1224: Novum Testamentum, Act. 2,30–7 E 2,46–3,2," *BASP* 19 (1982): 39–43. See also S. R. Pickering, "P. Macquarie Inv. 360 (+ P.Mil.Vogl. Inv. 1224): Acta Apostolorum 2.30–37, 2.46–3.2," *ZPE* 65 (1986): 76–78.

¹²⁰ The manuscript's editor notes that that the first of these two abbreviations is a "difficult reading," as the horizontal strokes of the *zeta* are not totally visible; see Dieter Hagedorn, "P.IFAO II 31: Johannesapokalypse 1,13–20," *ZPE* 92 (1992): 243–47 (247). The *editio princeps* of P⁹⁸ is technically Guy Wagner, ed., *Papyrus grecs de l'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Bibliothèque d'Étude, 1971), 2:47–48 (§31), who, not recognizing its text, termed it a "list of objects." Compare the two transcriptions of P⁹⁸:

<i>Loc.</i>	<i>Wagner (1971)</i>	<i>Hagedorn (1992)</i>
1:16/ln. 7	$\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \dots (.) \epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma . [$	$\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma \xi[$
1:20/ln. 18	$. \lambda\upsilon\chi\chi\omicron\varsigma [$	$\zeta \lambda\upsilon\chi\chi\epsilon\iota[\alpha]c [$
1:20/ln. 19	$\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta \mu . \omicron[$	$\zeta \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\omicron\nu \epsilon\iota[$

manuscript are not clearly in favor of this reading; Comfort and Barrett, in fact, posit αστερες [ζ].

In addition, Hagedorn proposed the unlikely reconstruction of $\bar{\alpha}$ in place of $\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (1:17), citing for support the fact that P⁴⁷ frequently uses alphabetic numerals.¹²¹ This suggestion is most unlikely since no papyri (or parchment manuscripts) surveyed here use $\bar{\alpha}$ to stand for $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\varsigma/\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha/\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and certainly not for the ordinal $\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (not even P⁴⁷).

3.3.33 P¹⁰⁰

There is one longhand cardinal number in P¹⁰⁰, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (James 4:12),¹²² and one ordinal, $\pi\rho\omega[[\tau\omicron\nu]$ (3:17).

3.3.34 P¹⁰¹

One cardinal number is visible in P¹⁰¹, and it is abbreviated: $\bar{\mu}$ (Matt 4:2). In addition, although it is no longer visible, another cardinal number can be confidently reconstructed given the length of the lines: $[\bar{\mu}]$ (Matt 4:2).¹²³

3.3.35 P^{104*}

P¹⁰⁴ contains no extant numbers, but the longhand ordinal $[\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu]$ (Matt 21:36) has been reconstructed.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Hagedorn, “P.IFAO II 31,” 247. Comfort and Barrett, however, do not follow this suggestion and print $[\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma]$ without comment (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 631).

¹²² *P.Oxy.* LXV 4449.20–25.

¹²³ See the reconstruction by J. David Thomas, ed., *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4401.2–4. See also the reconstruction of Comfort and Barrett (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 638). In addition, Peter Head observes that the numeral stands for $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ without comment on the second number; see Peter M. Head, “Some Recently Published NT Papyri from Oxyrhynchus: An Overview and Preliminary Assessment,” *TynBul* 51 (2000): 1–16 (8).

¹²⁴ *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4404.7–9. Min gives the same reconstruction (Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung*, 234).

3.3.36 P^{105*}

There are no visible numbers in P¹⁰⁵, but one longhand cardinal has been reconstructed by the editor: [τρεις] (Matt 27:63). There is, however, slight uncertainty about the editor's reconstruction of lines 5–6 (27:63–64):

[νoc ο πλανος] ειπεν επι [ζων μετα]
[τρεις ημερας] εγειρομα[ι κελευσον]

On the basis of line length, the editor opts against the reading of D 05, which contains οτι between ζων and μετα. It is at least possible, however, that τρεις was written as the abbreviation (i.e., $\bar{\gamma}$), thus allowing room for the οτι (no variant is listed here in NA²⁸).¹²⁵ This is, of course, only one possibility.

3.3.37 P¹⁰⁶

In P¹⁰⁶ there is one visible cardinal number, δυο (John 1:40), and two visible ordinal numbers, πρω[τ]ος (1:30) and πρω[τ]ο[ν] (1:41).¹²⁶

3.3.38 P¹⁰⁷

One cardinal number is extant in P¹⁰⁷: εν (John 17:11).¹²⁷

3.3.39 P^{108*}

No numbers are visible in P¹⁰⁸, but one cardinal is reconstructed by the editor: [εν] (John 17:23).¹²⁸

¹²⁵ P.Oxy. LXIV 4406.12–13; specifically, D 05 and 157 have οτι between ζων and μετα.

¹²⁶ P.Oxy. LXV 4445.11–14. Comfort and Barrett reconstruct several other numbers, e.g., [δυο] (John 1:35, 37), [δεκατη] (1:39), and [εις] (1:40) (Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest*, 646); all are impossible to verify.

¹²⁷ P.Oxy. LXV 4446.14–16.

¹²⁸ P.Oxy. LXV 4447.16–18.

3.3.40 P^{109*}

No numbers are visible in P¹⁰⁹, but one cardinal is reconstructed by the editor: [εν] (John 21:25).¹²⁹

3.3.41 P^{111*}

The editor of P¹¹¹ reconstructs two cardinal numbers; one is abbreviated: [ι] (Luke 17:12), and the other is longhand: [μια] (17:22). The former is a possible reconstruction but certainty is impossible given the fragmentary state of the papyrus. Others have, in fact, reconstructed the same number as longhand.¹³⁰

3.3.42 P¹¹⁹

The original editor recorded one cardinal number as partially visible, ξ[ις] (John 1:40), but the *epsilon* is now difficult to discern in photographs of the papyrus.¹³¹ Another is reconstructed: [δυο] (1:40). In addition, there is one partially visible ordinal number, and it is longhand: [δε]κατη (1:39). One ordinal is reconstructed: [πρωτον] (1:41).

3.3.43 P¹²⁰

There is one extant longhand cardinal number in P¹²⁰: δυο (John 1:37); the editor reconstructs another: [δυο] (1:35).¹³²

3.3.44 P^{121*}

No numbers are visible in P¹²¹, but the editor has reconstructed one cardinal: [δυο] (John 19:18).¹³³

¹²⁹ P.Oxy. LXV 4448.19–20.

¹³⁰ P.Oxy. LXVI 4495.3–5. For reconstructions of the longhand form, see the INTF website, Comfort and Barrett (*Text of the Earliest*, 659), and Blumell and Wayment (*Christian Oxyrhynchus*, 41–43).

¹³¹ P.Oxy. LXXI 4803.2–6; cf. ε[ις] (1:40) in Blumell and Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus*, 72.

¹³² P.Oxy. LXXI 4804.6–9.

3.3.45 P¹²²

One abbreviated cardinal number is visible in P¹²²: $\overline{\rho\nu\gamma}$ (John 21:11). The supralinear bar, in fact, is only visible over the first character due to fragmentation of the papyrus (i.e., $\overline{\rho\nu\gamma}$), but there is no doubt that the latter two characters form part of the numerical abbreviation.¹³⁴ There is also a reconstructed ordinal: [τρίτον] (John 21:14).

3.3.46 P¹²³

In P¹²³ there is one partially visible cardinal number, $\pi\epsilon[\nu\tau\alpha][[\kappa\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron]]$ (1 Cor 15:6), although only the very tops of the letters remain (the editor is more confident about identifying letters here). Another is reconstructed: [δωδεκά] (15:5). One ordinal number is partially visible: $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\iota[c]$ (15:3). The editor posited traces of another, [τρίτ]η (15:4), but this is not discernible from images of the papyrus.¹³⁵

3.3.47 P¹²⁷

Two cardinal numbers are visible in P¹²⁷, one is abbreviated, $\overline{\mu}$ (Acts 10:41), and one is longhand, $\tau\rho\iota\alpha$ (17:2). One longhand ordinal number is hardly visible: $\pi\rho\omega|\tau\omega\nu$ (17:4).

Importantly, the numeral $\overline{\mu}$ (= τεσσαράκοντα) in 10:41 occurs within a phrase not found in the Alexandrian textual tradition (ἡμερᾶς τεσσαράκοντα), but is found in a couple Greek witnesses (D 05, E 08) and versions (it, sa, mae, sy^{h**}), along with other variations.¹³⁶ This numeral in particular is written in shorthand in both P¹²⁷ and

¹³³ P.Oxy. LXXI 4805.9–11.

¹³⁴ P.Oxy. LXXI 4806.11–14.

¹³⁵ P.Oxy. LXXII 4844.1–3. Cf. $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\iota[c]$ (Blumell and Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus*, 178).

¹³⁶ P.Oxy. LXXIV 4968.1–45.

D 05, the two earliest witnesses to the phrase. (For more discussion on this, see chapter 5, section 5.7.1)

3.4 Observations and Summary

3.4.1 Diversity of Numbers in the Papyri

The preceding analysis has shown that there is considerable diversity in the number-writing techniques of the early NT papyri. This is seen clearly in two ways: (1) There are great differences between the number-writing techniques of different scribes (that of P⁴⁶ and P⁴⁷, for example), and (2) individual scribes were often inconsistent in their choice of number-style, even with multiple iterations of the same values.

Furthermore, manuscripts with overlapping text, such as P⁶⁶ and the John portion of P⁷⁵, clearly indicate that scribes did not adhere to a rigid standard of number-writing techniques. Copyists evidently felt free to vary their use of numeral styles. Diversity is also evident in the way that various classes of numbers that are handled; for instance, in P⁷⁵, only cardinal numbers are abbreviated, while in P⁴⁷, cardinal *and* ordinal numbers are abbreviated. We should also note that numerical shorthand also appears where it is not expected (e.g., manuscripts written in literary hands) and it often *does not appear* where it could be expected (e.g., manuscripts written in documentary hands).

3.4.2 Uniformity of Numbers in the Papyri

In spite of these considerable differences in the styles of number writing in early papyri, there are some notable similarities that can be observed.

(1) First, every extant instance of εἰς/μία/ἓν (“one”) is longhand, even as it is by far the most frequently occurring number in the NT. This defies coincidence. We might suppose that these words are always written out because—being only two or

three letters in length—they require no shortening, yet it would then be curious to find δύο so frequently abbreviated.¹³⁷

(2) Another similarity is the avoidance of number symbols for values in the thousands, which are nearly always written in full. Papyri of Revelation, however, are exceptions to this (e.g., P⁴⁷ and P¹¹⁵). The same also applies to ordinal numbers, which are consistently given as longhand forms in our papyri, with the exceptions of P⁴⁷ and P¹¹⁵.

(3) Beyond these similarities, it appears that the use of numerical symbols is essentially unpredictable. Yet it is evident that particular numbers were more likely to be represented by alphabetic numerals than others; for example, the numbers τεσσαράκοντα and δώδεκα are abbreviated with great frequency across a range of witnesses. There is also some indication that scribes would avoid using numerical symbols for words that are declinable (e.g., τριῶν), but this tendency will need further investigation to be confirmed.

(4) A final observation to be made from these data is the tendency for certain books or groups of books to be treated in the same way by scribes. Consider, for example, the papyri of Paul and Hebrews that contain visible numbers (i.e., P¹³, P⁴⁶, and P¹²³), none of these contain any numerical abbreviations.¹³⁸ Granted, this is a small set of data compared to the papyri we have for say, Matthew's Gospel, but it is still significant that the number-writing techniques in them are consistent all the way

¹³⁷ εἰς/μία/ἑν is used with surprising frequency (*nearly ninety times*), however, in the *P. Beatty VI Numbers* papyrus (e.g., 6:11 [2x], 7:13, 19, 20, 21 [3x], 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33 [2x], 34, 37 [2x], 38, 39 [3x], 40; 28:11, 15, 21, 27, etc.)—which is most likely a Christian copy; Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Numbers and Deuteronomy, Text*, vol. 5 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1935), see also chapter 6 of this thesis.

¹³⁸ There is, of course, P⁵¹, for which an abbreviated number has been reconstructed.

through. This is also true for the two manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles, P⁷² and P¹⁰⁰, which contain only longhand numbers, though, again, this is admittedly a small sample of data. Such a tendency to avoid abbreviations could be compared with the papyri of the Gospels and Acts. In these manuscripts, numerical abbreviations are found frequently, though never exclusively, for cardinal numbers ranging from “two” to “one hundred” (not, however, for ordinals). Manuscripts of Revelation, on the other hand, evidence a far more frequent and flexible employment of numerical abbreviations. These observations evidently suggest that scribes employed different number-writing techniques within particular books and/or groups of books.

3.4.3 Syntax of Numerals

One important observation that must be made concerns the use of numerical shorthand and Greek syntax. Generally, our copyists employed numerical abbreviations as a direct substitute for longhand words without any change to word order. This marks a clear difference from other comparable scribal techniques. For example, the *P.Beatty IV* (Rahlfs 961), a fourth-century papyrus manuscript of Genesis, reveals a consistent pattern of transposing word order when employing numerical shorthand (e.g., δύο ἔτη → ἔτη β̄).¹³⁹ This tendency might help to illuminate the nature of textual variants that involve transpositions between numerals and units.

¹³⁹ Albert Pietersma, ed., *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri IV and V: A New Edition with Text-Critical Analysis*, Am.Stud.Pap. 16 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1976), 115. See also Albert Pietersma, “A Textual-Critical Study of Genesis Papyri 961 and 962” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1970). But the same tendency is not found in the *P.Beatty V* Genesis (Rahlfs 962).

3.4.4 Chronological Development

Tracking a chronological development of scribal number writing is methodologically problematic for several reasons, not least of which is that manuscript dates are only approximate and often disputed. The nature of paleography is such that scholars will disagree on the precise window of dates to which a given manuscript belongs.¹⁴⁰

Even more problematic is that, in their fragmentary state, it is impossible to say whether or not a given papyrus once contained numerical shorthand. We have seen that most scribes were inconsistent (and therefore unpredictable) in their choice of number-style, which means that the presence of one or two longhand numerals is not a sufficient basis upon which to presume a scribal preference in the rest of a codex.

In any case, however, it is clear that the practice of employing numerical abbreviations is discernible in a wide range of dates:

- II: P⁹⁸
- III: P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, P⁴⁷, P⁴⁸, P⁶⁶, P⁷⁵, P¹⁰¹
- III/IV: P³⁷, P⁷²
- IV: P²⁴, P³⁵
- IV/V: P¹²²
- V: P¹²⁷

The large number of papyri containing numerical shorthand in the third century is occasioned simply by the relative surplus of textual evidence from that era. Thus, at present, the data do not indicate any sort of chronological development with the practice.

¹⁴⁰ See, for instance, the data collected in Pasquale Orsini and Willy Clarysse, “Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Palaeography,” *ETL* 88 (2012): 443–74.

3.4.5 Reconstructions

We have also seen that, given the high degree of inconsistency among the number-writing techniques of the papyri, many textual reconstructions turn out to be questionable. It is exceedingly difficult to predict how a scribe *would have written* numbers, especially when they display inconsistency in the extant portions of text. It is dangerous for editors to propose an abbreviated number-form in order to reconstruct the text without omissions or transpositions—much like a “safety valve”; but these situations require caution more than anything. Reconstruction of numerals is problematic even in manuscripts that seem to contain a clear pattern of number-style (e.g., P⁴⁶), given those manuscripts that contain only a couple exceptions (e.g., P⁶⁶ and P⁴⁵).¹⁴¹

3.5 Conclusion

With a systematic study of all the numerals in our early NT papyri, we have the beginnings of a foundation upon which to build. It is hoped that we can now begin to describe the nature of the number-writing techniques used by the early Christian scribes and refine our understanding of the transmission of the NT text. Along the way we have added valuable data to our understanding of individual scribes and their techniques. One immediate benefit of this information is the ability to reevaluate the

¹⁴¹ As an example, we could take Skeat’s reconstruction of P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷, which—on the basis of what we have observed here—contains multiple problems; see Skeat, “The Oldest Manuscript?,” 1–34. In his reconstructed folio of Matt 26, Skeat posited three instances of $\bar{\alpha}$ standing for $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha/\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ (Matt 26:14, 21, 22) and another standing for $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta$ —all of which are most certainly incorrect. There is an even greater problem when we consider Skeat’s larger aim, which was to reconstruct the precise ending of Matthew’s Gospel in the original codex of P⁶⁴: “just before the foot of col. 2 of the fifth leaf—probably about 3 or 4 lines from the foot” (pg. 14). This was crucial to his argument that P⁴ was originally part of P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷. Yet Skeat calculated *every* numeral between Matt 26:33 and 28:20 as if they were numerical symbols (see pg. 14); and there are no less than thirty-three numerals in those verses. Given what we have seen with scribal treatments of numbers, this was a serious mistake. Calculating those thirty-three numerals as longhand words (or a mixture of shorthand and longhand) would easily compromise Skeat’s over-precise ending of Matthew, thereby obviating any arguments about how P⁴ is originally related, and in turn compromising any supposed relationship between P⁴ and P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷.

relative strengths and weaknesses of manuscript editions and reconstructions as it concerns numerals. Furthermore, our examination has uncovered multiple questions and issues that will require further testing and development. But before we can address these it is necessary to survey our other major body of data: the majuscules. It is to these that we now turn.

CHAPTER 4:

INTERNAL PROFILES OF MAJUSCULES

4.1 Major Majuscules

This chapter continues the internal analysis of scribal number-writing techniques in NT manuscripts begun in chapter 3. As we turn from the papyri to parchment manuscripts, minor changes in method are necessary. The same temporal window applies (II–V/VI), but in surveying the major uncials such as Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus, some of which contain the (near) complete texts of the NT, it would be impractical and unhelpful to cite explicitly every occurrence of a numeral as was done with the papyri. Accordingly, for the major parchment witnesses only those numbers given in abbreviated form will be listed fully and the others will simply be summarized. Within the fragmentary majuscules, however, every numeral will be listed explicitly.¹

Three manuscripts in particular will require more in-depth analysis than others. Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲙ 01), Codex Bezae (D 05), and Codex Washingtonianus (W 032) each contain quite complicated and surprising scribal patterns of number writing that cannot be easily summarized. Therefore, in addition to discussing the specifics of their numeral techniques, we will examine possible relationships to other important codicological features such as *nomina sacra*, paragraph breaks, irregularities in quire formation, and orthography.

¹ One early majuscule has been omitted from this discussion, GA 062, of which the available photographs were illegible and for which I was unable to find a published transcription.

4.1.1 Codex Sinaiticus – ⲁ 01

We begin with Codex Sinaiticus (ⲁ 01), a complete copy of the NT from the fourth-century.² A distinctive problem with Sinaiticus is the mass of corrections made to its text. Many such corrections were made contemporaneously with the initial act of copying (*in scribendo*) or immediately after (by the *diorthotes*), but others were made much later, *circa* the seventh century. Unless otherwise stated, the latter category has been ignored, and, where contemporaneous corrections are present, both these and the original reading are considered.³

4.1.1.1 Cardinal Numbers

Sinaiticus contains more than a few numerical abbreviations in its NT portion. Below are listed all occurrences of numerical abbreviations in ⲁ 01 and corresponding longhand forms used elsewhere (see table 4.1); where there is no longhand form of a given value, this is noted by a dash (–).

² For images of Codex Sinaiticus, see the website (<http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/>). For the printed text, see C. Tischendorf, ed., *Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum: sive Novum Testamentum cum Epistula Barnabae et Fragmentis Pastoris ex Codice Sinaitico* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1863). See also F. H. A. Scrivener, ed., *A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the Received Text of the New Testament: To which is Prefixed a Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co.; London: Bell & Daldy, 1864), which consistently lists all occurrences of numerical abbreviations in the collation.

³ In particular, the NA²⁸ siglum ⲁ² generally corresponds to the so-called C correctors of the seventh century as does “ca” on the Codex Sinaiticus website (<http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/>), while ⲁ¹, S1, A, B, and D refer to contemporaneous hands. For an explanation of the website’s use of sigla, see David C. Parker, “The Transcription and Reconstruction of Codex Sinaiticus,” in *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*, ed. Scot McKendrick et al. (London: British Library; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2015), 279–93. And on the correctors in general, see Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, TS 3/5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007), 9–18; and H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum for the Trustees, 1938), 40–50.

Table 4.1. Cardinals in \aleph 01					
Value		Shorthand Forms		Longhand Forms	
2	7x	Matt 14:19; 21:1, 28, 31; 26:60; 27:21; Mark 6:41	123x	Matt 4:18, 21; 5:41; 6:24; 18:16; 26:37; Mark 9:47, etc.	
3	6x	Matt 12:40; 15:32; 18:20; Mark 9:5; Rev 21:13 (2x)	60x	Matt 13:33; 17:4; Rev 11:9, etc.	
4	3x	Matt 24:31; Mark 2:3; Rev 7:1	26x	John 11:17; Acts 21:23; 27:29, etc.	
5	1x	Matt 14:19	33x	Matt 14:17; 25:15, 20; Rev 9:10, etc.	
7	5x	Matt 16:10; Mark 8:5, 6; 12:20; Luke 2:36	80x	Matt 12:45; Luke 20:31; Rev 5:6, etc.	
12	28x	Matt 10:1, 2, 5; 11:1; 19:28 (2x); 20:17; 26:14, 20, 47; Mark 3:14, 16; 4:10; 5:42; 6:7, 43; 8:19; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; Luke 2:42; 1 Cor 15:5; Rev 21:12 (2x), 14 (2x), 21; 22:2	33x	Matt 9:20; 14:20; 26:53; Mark 5:25; 14:17; Luke 8:1, 42, 43; 9:1; 18:31; John 6:67, 70; Acts 6:2; 7:8; 19:7; James 1:1; Rev 12:1, etc.	
14	3x	Matt 1:17 (3x)	2x	2 Cor 12:2; Gal 2:1	
30	9x	Matt 13:8, 23; 26:15; 27:3, 5, 9; Mark 4:8, 20; Luke 3:23	1x	John 6:19	
40	2x	Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2	13x	Matt 4:2 (2x), Acts 4:22; etc.	
50	1x	Mark 6:40	5x	Luke 16:6; John 8:57, etc.	
60	3x	Matt 13:23; Mark 4:8, 20	2x	Matt 13:8; 1 Tim 5:9	
100	3x	Matt 13:23; Mark 4:8, 20	8x	Matt 13:8; 18:12, 28, etc.	
144	1x	Rev 21:17 (εκατο̅ μδ̅)	—		

Cardinal numbers written in abbreviated form in \aleph fall between the values of 2–144, and each value occurs elsewhere in the codex in longhand form at least once except for 144. The number “one” is always written longhand, and there are no less than 338 of such instances.⁴ The most frequently abbreviated cardinal value is “twelve,” written in symbol form twenty-eight times (and in two additional instances from a seventh-century corrector), followed by thirty (9x), and two (7x). Many numbers, however, are given only in their longhand forms: e.g., ἕξ (10x), ὀκτώ (6x), ἐννέα (1x), δέκα (23x), ἑνδεκα (5x), δεκαπέντε (3x), δεκαοκτώ (3x), εἴκοσι (1x), εἴκοσι τέσσαρες (5x), εἴκοσι πέντε (1x), τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ (1x), τεσσαράκοντα δύο (2x),

⁴ This total includes instances in which numerals were omitted and supplied by a contemporaneous hand (Matt 9:18; Luke 12:25, 52; 17:35; 23:17) and original readings that were subsequently altered or deleted by later hands (Mark 12:20; Rev 7:13b), but not where the numeral is introduced by a later corrector (John 1:3; 6:70; 17:22; 1 Cor 12:12c, 26; Gal 3:28; Phil 2:2; Rev 9:13; 15:7).

τεσσεράκοντα ἑξ (1x), ἑβδομήκοντα (3x), ἑβδομήκοντα τέσσαρες (1x), ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε (1x), ὀγδοήκοντα (1x), ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα (4x), ἑκατόν εἴκοσι (1x), ἑκατόν ἑξήκοντα (1x), ἑκατόν πενήκοντα τρεῖς (1x), διακόσιοι (5x), διακόσιοι ἑβδομήκοντα ἑξ (1x), τριακόσιοι (2x), τετρακόσιοι (2x), τετρακόσιοι καὶ τριάκοντα (1x), τετρακόσιοι καὶ πενήκοντα (1x), πεντακόσιοι (2x), and ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἑξ (1x).⁵

Values in the thousands are consistently written longhand: e.g., χίλιοι (7x), διςχίλιοι (1x), τριςχίλιοι (2x), τετρακισχίλιοι (5x), πεντακισχίλιοι (6x), ἑπτακισχίλιοι/χιλιάς ἑπτά (2x), δέκα χιλιάς (1x), δώδεκα χιλιάς (11x), εἴκοσι χιλιάς (1x), εἴκοσι τρεῖς χιλιάς (1x), χίλιοι διακόσιοι (1x), χίλιοι διακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα (2x), ἑκατόν τεσσεράκοντα χιλιάς (1x), ἑκατόν τεσσεράκοντα μίαν χιλιάς (1x), ἑκατόν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάς.⁶ There is evidence that this consistency reflects a deliberate choice to avoid numerical shorthand. At Rev 14:3, for example, the scribe mistakenly wrote εκατον τεσσερακο̅|τα μιαν χιλιαδες, substituting μιαν for τέσσαρες —a singular reading, corrected in the seventh century, and doubtless a misreading of a shorthand form: PMΔXIIIAΔΕΣ → PMΔXIIIAΔΕΣ.⁷

An interesting pattern seems to characterize the scribe's writing of the number “twelve” in Matthew. Specifically, every time the number refers to the disciples of Jesus in the first Gospel, it is given in symbol form (ιβ̅), but when it refers to years

⁵ These examples have been given in their lexical forms.

⁶ We might also note the longhand forms of μυριαδας πεν|τε = 50,000 (Acts 19:19) and δυο μυρια|δων μυριαδας = 2 myriads/200 million (Rev 9:16).

⁷ On the singular status of the reading, see Juan Hernández Jr., *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse: The Singular Readings of Codex Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi*, WUNT 2/218 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 85, 205. The explanation of a confusion between *alpha* and *delta* was posited by Bernhard Weiss, *Die Johannes-Apokalypse: Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung*, TU 7/1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1891), 62.

(9:20), baskets (14:20), and legions of angels (26:53), it is written longhand (δῶδεκα). This pattern is not entirely consistent, however, as it is abbreviated twice in 19:28 when referring to twelve thrones and twelve tribes of Israel (καθησечθe και αυ|τοι επι ιβ̄ θρονουc | κρινοντες τac ιβ̄ | φυλαc του ιηλ̄). Given the context, however, these referents might be so closely linked with the disciples themselves that they were given the same scribal treatment, thus maintaining the distinction between ιβ̄ and δῶδεκα.

This pattern is significant because it mirrors the practice that is found with the *nomina sacra*—the scribal contractions of sacred names.⁸ Even in the earliest Christian manuscripts, divine names such as Ἰησοῦc, χριστός, κύριoc, and θεός were regularly contracted (e.g., ιc, χc, κc, θc), while non-sacral counterparts such as “gods” and “lords” were often not.⁹ Could a similar practice be found in the use of ιβ̄ for Jesus’s disciples? We will return to this issue in chapter 7 and explore it in greater detail, but it is sufficient to note for now that the same pattern is not found in any other books of the codex outside of Matthew, except in the lists of witnesses of the resurrected Jesus in 1 Cor 15:5, where it is given in symbol form. Nevertheless, for now we can tentatively suggest that if indeed there were a scribal practice of reserving the abbreviation ιβ̄ for Jesus’ disciples, it was present only in the exemplar for Matthew and the scribe of \aleph had no interest in continuing its use elsewhere.

⁸ Scholarly literature on the *nomina sacra* is now copious; for an excellent summary of the data and scholarship, see Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 95–134.

⁹ For examples of this distinction in Sinaiticus, see Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 62–84; and for the same in Alexandrinus, see W. Andrew Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*, NTTSD 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 219–25.

Abbreviated numbers in \aleph tend not to stand for inflected forms. For example, the number “two” is abbreviated with some regularity, but only when standing for the lexical form δύο (e.g., Matt 14:19; 21:1, 28, 31; 26:60; 27:21; Mark 6:41b); when, in contrast, the word is inflected, as in δυčí(v), the longhand form is invariably used (e.g., Matt 6:24; 22:40; Luke 12:52a; 16:13, etc.). Similarly, with the number “three,” abbreviated forms are used for τρεῖς (Matt 12:40; 15:32; 18:20; Mark 9:5; Rev 21:13b, 13c), but when declined, as in τριῶν, τρία, τριčíν, the longhand is always used (e.g., Matt 13:33; 18:16; 26:61; 27:40; Mark 14:58; 15:29; Luke 4:25; 10:36; 12:52b; 13:7, 21; John 2:19, etc.). There are some exceptions to this tendency, however, particularly when an inflected form of the number “four” (e.g., τεccάρων) is represented by a numerical symbol (e.g., Matt 24:31; Mark 2:3; Rev 7:1a).

Beyond this, however, there seem to be few predictable patterns that govern the use of number-style in \aleph . A clear example is a comparison of the numbers in the Parable of the Sower in the Gospel of Matthew (see table 4.2):

Table 4.2. Parable of the Sower in \aleph 01	
<i>Matt 13:8b</i>	<i>Matt 13:23b</i>
καρπον ο μεν ε	εις ος δη καρπο
κατον ο δε εξηκο	φορι και ποιει ο
τα ο δε λ̄ ο εχων	μεν ρ̄ ο δε ξ̄ ο δε λ̄
ωτα ακουετω	αλλην παραβολη

These are the same numbers (one hundred, sixty, and thirty) in the same order with the exact same referents, given in the same grammatical case and genders, but the scribe used different number-styles in the two iterations. (It is worth pointing out that the parallel verses in Mark have all of the numbers shorthand [Mark 4:8, 20]). This particular example from Matthew shows that there are simply no obvious external

principles that govern the use or non-use of a numerical abbreviation in **§**. It is impossible to predict when and where the scribe would employ numerical shorthand.

A detailed look at the number “seven” further confirms this observation. The following table lists each occurrence of the number seven in the book of Mark (see table 4.3); “position” refers to the placement of the word or letter on its given line of text:

Table 4.3. “Seven” in § 01 – Mark				
<i>Loc.</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Referent</i>	<i>Gender/Case</i>	<i>Position</i>
8:5	ζ	loaves	masc./acc.	end
8:6	·ζ·	loaves	masc./acc.	middle
8:8	επτα	baskets	fem./acc.	beginning
8:20a	επτα	loaves	masc./acc.	near end
8:20b	επτα	baskets	fem./gen.	end
12:20	·ζ·	brothers	masc./nom.	beginning
12:22	ε πτα	brothers	masc./nom.	split
12:23	επτα	brothers	masc./nom.	middle

Referent seems not to have been a factor in the scribe’s decision to abbreviate: both forms of the number are used in reference to loaves (ζ, Mark 8:5; επτα, 8:20a), as well as in reference to brothers (·ζ·, 12:20; επτα, 12:22). Furthermore, grammatical case and gender seem to be unrelated to the number-style: as a masculine nominative, “seven” is given in both shorthand (12:20) and longhand forms for brothers (12:22, 23). Placement of the number in the line of text seems not to have been a major factor in the scribe’s decision to abbreviate or not. Once the scribe employs an abbreviation at the very end of the line, which has the effect of rounding off the row of text and allowing a new word to begin the following row (8:5). But once the scribe did not take such an opportunity, and effectively divided the word precisely where an abbreviation would have been convenient (ε|πτα, 12:22; see also Matt 22:25). Elsewhere, however, we can see some sort of a decision, as in 8:6,

where the scribe initially wrote ε (of ἐπτά?), which was deleted and followed by ζ̄; though, no motivation is obvious here. A final observation is that there is no real correspondence of number-forms in parallel passages; that is, the numbers are written in different styles (ἐπτά/ζ̄, Matt 16:10//Mark 8:20; Matt 22:25//Mark 12:20). Again, even with a general idea of the scribe's preferred method of number-writing, one simply cannot predict when or where it will appear in the text. This conclusion can be more or less confirmed when we observe a more obvious pattern to the use of number-style in ⲁ, but first it is necessary to address the writing of ordinal numbers.

4.1.1.2 Ordinal Numbers

Nearly all the ordinal numbers in ⲁ are written longhand. There are, however, eleven exceptions to this rule. Almost all occur in the text of Revelation, and ten occur within the span of two verses (see table 4.4):

Table 4.4. Ordinals in ⲁ 01				
Value	Abbreviated Form	Longhand Form		
Second	1x {John 21:16}	40x	Mark 12:31, etc.	
Third	1x Rev 21:19	55x	Acts 2:15, etc.	
Fourth	1x Rev 21:19	9x	Rev 4:7, etc.	
Fifth	1x Rev 21:20	2x	Rev 9:1; 16:10	
Sixth	1x Rev 21:20	13x	John 4:6, etc.	
Seventh	1x Rev 21:20	8x	Heb 4:4, etc.	
Eighth	1x Rev 21:20	3x	Luke 1:59, etc.	
Ninth	1x Rev 21:20	9x	Mark 15:34, etc.	
Tenth	1x Rev 21:20	6x	Heb 7:8, etc.	
Eleventh	1x Rev 21:20	2x	Matt 20:6, 9	
Twelfth	1x Rev 21:20	—		

The most frequently occurring ordinal numbers are πρῶτος (“first”) and δεύτερος (“second”); πρῶτος occurs 150x and δεύτερος occurs 40x, all of which are longhand with one exception: at John 21:16, the phrase τὸ β̄ (= τὸ δεύτερον) is written as a marginal correction contemporaneous with the original copying (by

S1).¹⁰ Nearly all the other ordinals in Sinaiticus are also longhand, save for the exceptions listed above. Thus, aside from the marginal correction in John 21:16, the only abbreviated ordinals that came from the first hand of \aleph are found within two consecutive verses in a sequence of consecutive ordinals (Rev 21:19–20). These abbreviations therefore represent isolated exceptions to the otherwise normal scribal preference of using longhand forms for ordinals. Note that other lists of consecutive ordinals are not treated this way; see, for example, $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ – $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu$ (Rev 4:7) and $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ – $\xi\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (16:2–12). What could account for these exceptions?

Interestingly, this portion of Revelation in \aleph contains an anomaly in quire formation, a feature that may be related to the sudden use of abbreviated ordinals. Whereas the typical quire in \aleph is composed of four sheets folded in half (thus comprising eight leaves), quire 90, which contains the end of Revelation and beginning of Barnabas (Rev 20:10–22:21 and Barn. 1:1–14:4), is composed of only *three* sheets (thus comprising six leaves). This is followed by quire 91, which is a single sheet quire (comprising two leaves) that contains the ending of Barnabas. The reason for the irregularity in makeup of quires 90 and 91 is not obvious, and multiple explanations are possible. Dirk Jongkind has argued that this irregular quire formation is most likely due to an error related to space restrictions that led to the removal of one whole sheet from quire 90.¹¹ In short, it appears that the scribe miscalculated the space required to write the end of Revelation and the whole of

¹⁰ Two other abbreviated ordinals occur as interlinear corrections by a seventh-century hand (Rev 6:9; 16:17). For a recent study of the corrections in Revelation, see Juan Hernández Jr., “The Creation of a Fourth-Century Witness to the Andreas Text Type: A Misreading in the Apocalypse’s Textual History,” *NTS* 60 (2014): 106–20. The total of ordinals includes instances in which a numeral was deleted by a contemporaneous hand (e.g., John 2:11). For other examples, see $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omega$ (Luke 3:1), $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\eta$ (Acts 27:27, 33).

¹¹ See Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 48–51.

Barnabas, which is followed by the Shepherd of Hermas on a new quire.¹² Jongkind postulates that the scribe realized the space problem only after he had begun to copy the second folio of the first quire, which he then removed in order to recopy with fewer blank columns (after the end of Rev), thereby fitting more text into the quire. A full discussion is not possible here, but it is significant that the ten abbreviated ordinals of Rev 21:19–20 all occur on the verso of the first sheet of quire 90—which is immediately prior to the sheet that was removed. The sudden increase in numerical shorthand seems to indicate that the scribe, approaching the transition from Revelation to Barnabas, foresaw this difficulty in writing the full amount necessary and took measures to trim the text. To do this, the copyist departed from the typical style of number writing and employed several abbreviations for cardinal *and* ordinal numbers. The technique alone did not solve the problem, however, and the second sheet still had to be removed.

Another minor detail fits this hypothesis. When writing the numeral $\bar{\theta}$ (Rev 21:20), the scribe initially wrote ϵ —the first letter of the longhand form $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ —which was then rubbed out and followed by the abbreviated form $\bar{\theta}$. We might suppose that the scribe began to write $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and quickly altered it to the abbreviated form in order to conserve the much-needed space. This would confirm that the use of numerical shorthand was deliberate and not simply carried over from an exemplar.

This, of course, is speculative, but there is no other observable motivation for the scribe to have suddenly changed the otherwise consistent manner of writing ordinals (note also the abbreviated cardinals in this context as well; e.g., Rev 21:12

¹² Dirk Jongkind, “One Codex, Three Scribes, and Many Books: Struggles with Space in *Codex Sinaiticus*,” in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas, TENTS 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 121–35; see also Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 48–51.

[2x], 13 [2x], 14 [2x], 17, 21). This sudden reuse of numerical abbreviations supports Jongkind’s explanation for the irregular quire formation, and, in general, confirms his observation that “no single, fixed procedure was followed in the production of *Sinaiticus*. The way in which the writing of the main text was divided up between the three scribes seems to betray a number of *ad hoc* decisions and attempts to cover up previous mistakes.”¹³

4.1.1.3 Cardinals and Ordinals Together

As hinted above, the whole of Codex \aleph contains a discernible pattern of number-writing style (see table 4.5):

Table 4.5. All Numbers in \aleph 01		
<i>Book</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>	<i>Abbreviated Forms</i>
Matt	193	33
Mark	117	24
Luke	180	4
John	102	{1}
Paul	188	1
Acts+Cath	156	0
Rev	222	20

The table shows that, as the codex progresses, numerical abbreviations are employed with decreasing frequency. The low frequency of abbreviated number forms in John, Paul’s Epistles, Acts, and the Catholic Epistles is certainly not due to the lack of opportunity; several hundred numbers are present in these books, and nearly all are longhand. This decreasing frequency of usage is not found in any other NT manuscript under investigation here.

What accounts for this pattern of abbreviations? Scholars hold that multiple scribes are responsible for Codex Sinaiticus—could the different scribes have created

¹³ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 57. Later, he describes “a low level of standardisation in regard to the production and composition of this large codex” (59).

this inconsistent use of abbreviations? This is unlikely. First, almost without exception, one scribe was responsible for the NT portion of Sinaiticus: Scribe A.¹⁴ Secondly, the few places in the NT where a different scribe was at work show no significant variation in number-writing techniques; these are the replacement sheets that were penned by a different copyist (Scribe D), but none contains any clear differences in number-style.¹⁵ In any case, these brief sections of text cannot account for the overall picture of the declining use of numerical abbreviations.

Also significant is the fact that no change in number-writing is evident where scholars have identified block mixture of different textual affiliations. Specifically, the text of John from 1:1–8:38 has been observed to be more “Western” in character than the expected Alexandrian, yet no change in numerals accompanies this mixture.¹⁶ This is significant in light of what we will find with other comparable majuscules (most notably Codex Washingtonianus, W 032).

Although the precise reason for the diminishing usage is not immediately obvious, the most straightforward proposal is that the scribe initially aimed at conserving space but gradually ceased doing so. Numerical shorthand can clearly trim the length of a text by no small degree, and it is reasonable to suppose that its use (or non-use) reflects a conscious decision of the scribe. The exception to this overall pattern—as noted above—is immediately prior to the transition from

¹⁴ See Jongkind, *Scribal Hands*, 39–44. There has been disagreement about how many scribes produced Codex Sinaiticus, for a recent defense of four over three, see Amy Myshrall, “The Presence of a Fourth Scribe?,” in *Codex Sinaiticus* (McKendrick, et al.), 139–48.

¹⁵ The replacement sheets are folio 74.2 (Matt 16:9–18:12), folio 74.7 (Matt 24:36–25:21), folio 76.4–5 (Mark 14:54–Luke 1:56), folio 84.3 (1 Thess 2:14–5:28), folio 84.6 (Heb 4:16–8:1), and folio 89.1 (Rev 1:1–5); see Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 40–41; and Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 29.

¹⁶ See Gordon D. Fee, “Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: a Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships,” *NTS* 15 (1968–69): 23–44.

Revelation to Barnabas, where several abbreviations were employed, and there may have been a codicological difficulty that required space-saving techniques. To test this tentative proposal of diminishing usage, we should briefly examine some other scribal features that might serve to corroborate or contradict our suspicion. Jongkind's thorough study of the codex provides several valuable points of comparison. In particular, he analyzes the style and frequency of *nomina sacra*, ligatures (joined letters), and text-divisions among the different scribes. We might suppose that if the copyist employed numerical shorthand for the purpose of saving space or constricting the text, we should see similar patterns with these related scribal features. Unfortunately, however, matters are not so simple. On the whole, Jongkind found that the scribe responsible for most of the NT portion did not, in fact, employ these features in any discernible patterns.¹⁷

Let us consider, for instance, the frequency of paragraph breaks. The scribe created a paragraph break by simply leaving a portion of a line blank and beginning again on the following line. This effectively results in "expanding" the text, while the effect of *not using* paragraph breaks results in more letters per line, column, page, etc. Let us suppose for the moment that if the scribe were attempting to conserve space, he could simultaneously use numerical abbreviations (thereby shortening words) and avoid using paragraph breaks (thereby eliminating wasted lines). Yet this is precisely what is not found in, for example, John's Gospel, in which there is an absence of numerical shorthand *and* a low frequency of text-divisions—which would, at least theoretically, cancel each other out.¹⁸ Furthermore, in the Gospels we

¹⁷ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 127–29.

¹⁸ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 262.

find great fluctuation in the use of text-division and no discernible pattern that could be matched with the steady decrease in numerical abbreviation. That said, however, there are two interesting points of coincidence between these two features. Paul's letters, and particularly Romans, contains the most frequent usage of paragraph breaks and only one numerical abbreviation, while the book of Revelation contains the fewest paragraph breaks in the codex and many numerical abbreviations near the end.¹⁹ The former example could be seen as a concerted effort to expand the text (with fewer abbreviations and more blank lines), and the latter could be seen as an effort to cram more text into the allotted space (with more abbreviations and fewer blank lines). Nevertheless, these two minor agreements are not a sufficient basis upon which to conclude that the two features are intimately related or used in concert; outside of Romans and Revelation there is not great coincidence of such features and, particularly within the Gospels, the scribe appears to have fluctuated greatly in paragraphing without any pattern.

The *nomina sacra* also show mixed results. Here I reproduce data presented in Jongkind's study that compares the occurrences of contracted forms and *plene* forms of certain words. Three words in particular are of special note: *ἄνθρωπος*, *οὐρανός*, and *υἱός* (see table 4.6):²⁰

Table 4.6. <i>Nomina Sacra</i> in § 01												
	Matt		Mark		Luke		John		Paul		Rev	
Scribe A	NS	<i>pl.</i>	NS	<i>pl.</i>	NS	<i>pl.</i>	NS	<i>pl.</i>	NS	<i>pl.</i>	NS	<i>pl.</i>
ἄνθρωπος	79	10	33	14	7	90	2	58	15	122	18	7
οὐρανός	36	30	4	10	1	34	1	18	-	29	40	10
υἱός	40	17	24	2	38	21	36	14	11	24	2	3

¹⁹ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 98.

²⁰ Table taken from Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 257.

With the first word, ἀνθρώπος, there is a noticeable similarity to the use of numerical abbreviations. In Matt and Mark there is a high frequency of contracted forms of ἀνθρώπος, about 88 per cent and 70 per cent of the time respectively, while in Luke-John-Paul, the tendency reverses to a clear preference for longhand forms—much the same with numerical abbreviations. And in Revelation, the ratio is more balanced, as it is with numerals. A similar pattern is found with οὐρανός, though to a lesser degree, which likewise has a much higher frequency of contraction in Matt and Mark compared to Luke-John-Paul (though the ratio in Mark does not fit perfectly); and again, in Revelation, the use of contracted forms increases. With the final term, υἱός, the pattern is again noticeable, but not perfectly aligned with the pattern of number-writing. The frequency of contraction in Matt and Mark fits the expected pattern, but no shift is discernible in Luke and John as was observable with the other two terms. The frequency of contraction does not diminish significantly until the Pauline letters, where the *plene* form of υἱός occurs twice as often as the shortened form, and with Revelation, no significant change is observable. There is, therefore, a general—but not strict—similarity in the pattern we found with numerical abbreviations, which is the increasing tendency to avoid shorthand forms as the codex progresses until Revelation, when the feature resurfaces. It is therefore not entirely clear if these features are related, nor is it obvious that the scribe was following any sort of pattern with either.

Before moving on, we should take note of the number-writing techniques that occur in the books that follow Revelation. The last two books in Sinaiticus are the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. An investigation of the numerals in these books reveals important data. On the one hand, there is nothing immediately

surprising about the numerals in these books: “ones” are consistently given longhand, as are ordinal numbers and values in the thousands. On the other hand, however, it is curious that roughly a dozen numerals were written in shorthand: e.g., $\bar{\gamma}$ (Barn. 9:7), $\bar{\zeta}$ (Barn. 15:5), $\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}$ (Barn. 8:3 [2x]; Herm. 94:1, 2), $\bar{\lambda}$ (Herm. 23:1), $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$ (Herm. 92:4), $\bar{\mu}$ (Barn. 4:7 [2x]; 14:2; Herm. 92:4), and $\bar{\rho}$ (Herm. 22:6).²¹ Thus, after the steady decline of numerical shorthand in the early NT books and its sudden reuse near the end of Revelation, Barnabas and Hermas then revert back to frequent use of alphabetic numerals (roughly similar to the frequency of Mark’s Gospel). Different scribes were responsible for transcribing these books: Scribe A penned Barnabas (as well as most of the NT) and Scribe B penned Hermas. However, no significant change with respect to numerals can be observed between the work of these two scribes. It is not clear what accounts for this renewed use of alphabetic numerals.

4.1.1.4 Orthography

Abbreviated numbers in \aleph generally take the expected form: letter and overstrike (e.g., $\bar{\beta}$). At Matt 14:19, however, the way in which shorthand numbers were demarcated is altered. Two numbers are written in Matt 14:19, and both are letters with overstrikes, but they are given additional demarcation of surrounding medial dots: $\cdot\bar{\epsilon}\cdot$ and $\cdot\bar{\beta}\cdot$. The dots were clearly added after the line of text had been written, because they are forced between letters that do not have ample space surrounding them. Why the change? The fact that both of these abbreviations occur at the extreme ends of their lines suggests the reason for their additional demarcation. Usually, the use of a supralinear stroke at the end of a line indicates the *nu*-bar, a common scribal

²¹ References for these books are given in the system used in Michael W. Holmes, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007) and on the Codex Sinaiticus website (<http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/>).

abbreviation for *nu* (e.g., $\pi\bar{\alpha}|\tau\alpha\varsigma = \pi\alpha\nu|\tau\alpha\varsigma$) used frequently in \aleph . The visually similar stroke over the numeral, especially used over *epsilon* at the end of its line, might well have been recognized as ambiguous in meaning. Accordingly, the possible (or actual) confusion was recognized and rectified by supplying additional denotation for shorthand numbers. This supplementary marking is then used with abbreviations frequently (e.g., Matt 15:32; 16:10; 18:20) but by no means exclusively in the rest of the codex (e.g., Matt 19:28b; 20:17; 21:28).

4.1.1.5 Summary of \aleph 01

It seems that with \aleph we have uncovered more questions than answers. The scribe employed numerical shorthand in a curious pattern of diminishing usage and suddenly reverts to its usage near the end of Revelation. No clear connections can be made between the use of alphabetic numerals and other scribal features, which makes it exceedingly difficult to observe any rhyme or reason in the scribe's process. Nevertheless, a few principles are observable: numbers given in abbreviated form fall between "two" and "one hundred" (or slightly higher, e.g., $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\bar{o}|\mu\bar{\delta}$, Rev 21:17), while the number "one," multiple hundreds, and thousands are consistently longhand. Abbreviations are often, but not always, used to round off a line and avoid splitting a word between two lines of text. It is possible that the symbol form for "twelve" in Matthew was reserved for Jesus' disciples, but this pattern is not seen elsewhere in the manuscript (though we will revisit this question); scribal freedom seems to be the underlying principle. The declining usage of numerical symbols is not easy to explain, but its sudden reuse near the end of Revelation is likely related to the irregularity in quire formation that accompanies it.

4.1.2 Codex Alexandrinus (A 02)

4.1.2.1 Cardinal Numbers

Unlike Codex Sinaiticus, the NT portion of Alexandrinus is almost totally consistent in presenting numbers longhand.²² Of the plethora of numbers extant in A, there are just two exceptional uses of numerical abbreviations. Even with these two exceptions, the clear preference in Alexandrinus was to write numerals in their full forms. There are no less than 282 instances of the number “one.” This consistency is especially notable in light of paleographical analysis which identifies the hands of at least three different scribes at work in the NT portion of A; no differences in number-writing are evident in the work of these scribes.²³

Of the two exceptional abbreviations, one is found in Rev 21:17 where $\overline{\delta}$ και [εκ]ατον τεσσαρακοντα stands for ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσαράρων. Even as the numerical value is correct (144), the transposed word order and addition of και suggest that the scribe had difficulty deciphering with the wording of the exemplar. Weiss suggests that the transposition of words and addition of και were the result of the scribe’s desire to conserve space with the abbreviation $\overline{\delta}$.²⁴ This is not a helpful explanation, however. If the scribe wanted to save space, why transpose the numbers and *insert* the unnecessary word και? It would have been perfectly acceptable and far simpler to maintain the normal word order, refrain from adding και, and abbreviate

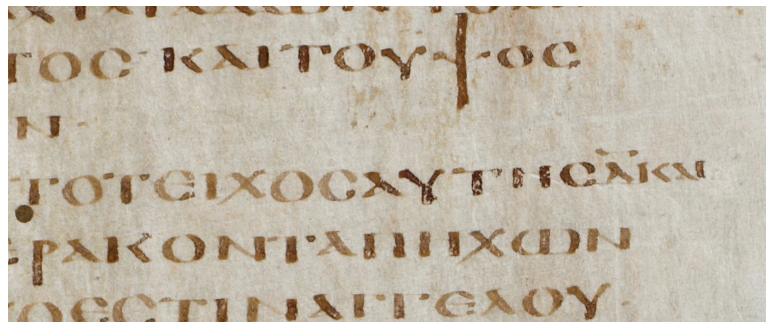
²² For the text of Alexandrinus, see E. Maunde Thompson, ed., *New Testament and Clementine Epistles*, vol. 4 of *Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1879).

²³ Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 182–244. After surveying several views on this issue, Smith concludes that Scribe 1 was responsible for Matthew and Mark, 1 Cor 10:8 through Philippians; Scribe 2 wrote Luke through 1 Cor 10:8; and Scribe 3 wrote Revelation. It is noteworthy, then, that the two exceptional instances of numerical abbreviations in A were both written by Scribe 3.

²⁴ Weiss, *Die Johannes-Apokalypse*, 75.

ἑκατὸν or τεσσεράκοντα. Compare, for example, with the reading of **ⲛ** here: $\overline{\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron}$ | $\overline{\mu\delta}$, which is far more economical than A's wording. A more likely explanation for the reading in A is that the scribe accidentally omitted τεσσάρων and wrote αὐτης | εκατον τεσσαρακοντα πηχων. Immediately realizing the error and, rather than inserting the number interlinearly, the scribe simply added $\overline{\delta}$ και to the end of the previous line where there seemed to be sufficient space. Two observations support this: (1) $\overline{\delta}$ και was written in a script noticeably smaller than the normal hand, and (2) it conspicuously juts out into the inner margin (see figure 4.1):

Figure 4.1. Rev 21:17 in A 02



While this has not yet been recognized as a first-hand correction, there is yet more evidence that this is so.²⁵ Remarkably, the scribe commits almost the *exact* same error of omission earlier in the book. Whereas the expected wording in Rev 7:4 is ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες (144,000), the scribe originally wrote εκατον τεσσαρακοντα χιλιαδες (140,000)—i.e., τέσσαρες was again omitted. The omission was immediately caught and supplied in a smaller hand supralinearly: εκατον τεσσαρακοντα $\overline{\delta}$ χιλιαδες. This means that the only two numerical

²⁵ See Hernández, *Scribal Habits*, 109 n. 60.

abbreviations in the NT portion of A 02 are both inserted corrections necessitated by scribal lapses; they are not the means by which the scribe conserved space.

In neither Rev 7:4 nor 21:17 is it clear that the scribe would have been more likely to omit τέσσαρες/τεσσαράρων from an abbreviated or longhand form (ῥμδ or ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες); both seem equally prone to error. It is thus not certain what was in the scribe's exemplar at these points.

What further confirms that trimming the text was not the motivation for the use of these abbreviated numerals is the myriad of numbers given in longhand form in A. The scribes maintained a rigid preference for longhand forms even when abbreviated symbols would have been particularly convenient. For example, note the several instances in which the scribes wrote δω|δεκα, i.e., the word is split between two lines after the first two characters (e.g., Matt 26:14; Luke 8:43; 22:3, 30; Rev 7:5c). Other numbers are handled similarly: ε| (John 6:9), δε|καπεντε (11:18), ε|να (Acts 2:3), ε|νι (1 Cor 12:13a). To modern eyes at least, these scenarios appear to be ideal occasions for the use of abbreviations in order to round off the line, not only allowing the next line to begin with a new word but also conserving space. This is precisely how many numerical abbreviations are used in other NT manuscripts, but such was evidently not a concern for the scribes of A.

4.1.2.2 Ordinal Numbers

All ordinal numbers in A are longhand without exception.

4.1.2.3 Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers Together

The scribe's consistency in number writing can be seen most clearly when laid out graphically like so (see table 4.7).

Table 4.7. All Numbers in A 02		
<i>Book</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>	<i>Abbreviated Forms</i>
Matt	55	0
Mark	144	0
Luke	188	0
John	97	0
Acts+Cath	157	0
Paul	178	0
Rev	256	2

4.1.2.4 Additional Books

Following the NT books in Alexandrinus are portions of 1 Clement and 2 Clement.

No change in the scribal handling of numerals can be detected in these books. All numbers, both cardinal and ordinal, are given in their longhand forms.²⁶

4.1.2.5 Summary of Alexandrinus

The clear scribal preference for numbers in A 02 was to use longhand forms, and the scribe is almost perfectly consistent in this method. There are only two departures from this otherwise rigid practice in the entire codex, and both seem to have been used as scribal corrections by the original hand.

4.1.3 Codex Vaticanus (B 03)

4.1.3.1 Cardinal Numbers

The NT portion of Codex Vaticanus is almost totally consistent in presenting numbers longhand, with only one isolated exception to this rule.²⁷ Aside from this

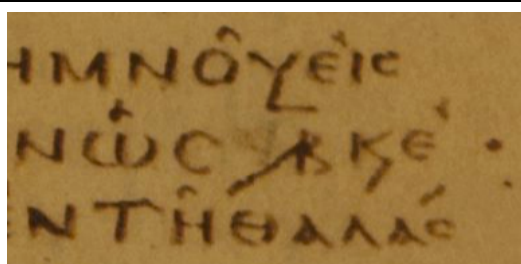
²⁶ For some randomly chosen examples: εἰς/μία/έν (1 Clem 17:4; 32:1; 46:6 [4x], 8 [2x]; 47:6; 2 Clem 12:2, 3 [2x]), δύο (1 Clem 5:4; 47:6; 2 Clem 6:1, 3, 5; 12:2, 3 [2x]), δώδεκα (1 Clem 43:2), τεσσαρακοντα (1 Clem 53:2 [2x]), πεντακοσια (1 Clem 25:2), and εξακοσιας χιλιαδας (1 Clem 43:5). The referencing system used is that of Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*.

²⁷ For the text of Vaticanus, see C. Tischendorf, ed., *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum* (Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1867). Additionally, each number was verified with reference to the facsimile: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecorum Codex Vaticanus B* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1999). Images of the facsimile are available at CSNTM. It is worth pointing out the OT portion of B is not rigorous in using longhand number forms; see, for example, β̄ (Num 29:17, 26), ζ̄ (29:2), ιδ̄ (29:17, 23, 26, 32), and φ̄ (31:39).

one exceptional use of a numerical abbreviation, the scribe of Vaticanus was rigidly consistent in presenting numbers *plene*,²⁸ including no less than 303 instances of the numeral “one,” the most frequently occurring number.²⁹

It is difficult to account for the one exceptional use of a numerical abbreviation. In Mark 5:13, the scribe used the full form abbreviation $\overline{\beta}$ for $\delta\iota\varsigma\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ (= 2,000). There is no obvious reason in the context for this singular usage; the abbreviation falls near the end of its line, but not at its extreme end (it is followed by two characters). There are several conceivable scenarios that could have led to its employment here, but none is entirely persuasive.³⁰ It is sufficient here simply to point out that it appears that the occurrence of $\overline{\beta}$, while not itself a scribal slip, seems to be related to some sort of mistake. Observe from the image that the supralinear stroke clearly extends over an erased letter (see figure 4.2):

Figure 4.2. Mark 5:13 in B 03



²⁸ Although two scribes were probably responsible for copying Vaticanus, only one produced the NT portion; see Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 87–90; see also Paul Canart, “Le *Vaticanus graecus* 1209: notice paléographique et codicologique,” in *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*, ed. Patrick Andrist, HTB 7 (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2009), 19–45.

²⁹ I have included in this count three instances in which the numeral seems to be accented by a later hand as a preposition (ἐν) rather than a numeral (ἐν) (Mark 4:8 [3x]).

³⁰ Supposing that the erased character between $\omega\varsigma$ and $\overline{\beta}$ is an *iota*, the scribe of Vaticanus might have originally written $\overline{\iota\beta}$ through a misreading of $\overline{\beta}$ in the exemplar (and then corrected it). And yet, this explanation does not account for why the scribe was willing to write the abbreviation $\overline{\iota\beta}$ in the first place. Another possibility is that the exemplar contained $\omega\varsigma\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota\overline{\beta}$ and the scribe of B’s eye jumped to the $\iota\overline{\beta}$. A third possibility is that what looks like an *iota* is actually the backbone of a *beta*.

The (virtual) absence of numerical shorthand in B seems to have been a matter of intentional policy. This can be inferred not just from the almost perfect consistency of longhand number-forms, but also from a telling scribal error. In Acts 27:37, the scribe wrote the phrase *εν τω πλοιω ως εβδομηκοντα εξ* (= 76) rather than the expected *εν τῷ πλοίῳ διακόσιαι ἑβδομήκοντα ἑξ* (= 276). This seemingly strange substitution is understandable if we envision the scribe's exemplar containing the shorthand form: *εντωπλοιωϰσ̄* (= 276). This could have been easily misunderstood as *εντωπλοιωϰσ̄* (= 76), especially if the supralinear stroke was poorly written. Such a mistake would not have been as likely if the number were written fully: *εν τω πλοιω διακοσιαι εβδομηκοντα εξ*. Furthermore, we may reasonably ascribe this mistake to the scribe of B since this reading is properly classified as a singular reading.³¹ The conclusion we may draw from this, therefore, is that the exemplar that stands behind B (at least in Acts) contained numerical abbreviations, but the scribe preferred to write them fully.³²

4.1.3.2 Ordinal Numbers

Without exception, all ordinal numbers in B 03 are longhand.

4.1.3.3 Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers Together

A total of all numbers, both cardinal and ordinal, helps to display the scribe's impressive consistency (see table 4.8).

³¹ Singular status for this reading was determined by the apparatuses of NA²⁸; C. Tischendorf, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 8th ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1869–72); and H. von Soden, ed., *Text mit Apparat*, Part 2 of *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1913).

³² Another singular reading involving a numeral in B 03 is the omission of *τρῆς* from Acts 10:19, resulting in the (still sensible) phrase *ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες ζητοῦντές σε*. It is conceivable that the scribe would be more likely to overlook a numerical abbreviation ($\overline{\gamma}/\overline{\Gamma}$) rather than a full word such as *τρῆς*. Other explanations are possible, of course.

Table 4.8. All Numbers in B 03		
<i>Book</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>	<i>Abbreviated Forms</i>
Matt	223	0
Mark	136	1
Luke	184	0
John	109	0
Acts+Cath	157	0
Paul	156	0

4.1.3.4 Summary of Vaticanus

As Vaticanus contains only one numerical abbreviation, the clear scribal preference was to write numbers in longhand form. This makes it the earliest example (fourth century) of a NT majuscule manuscript that consistently avoids using numerical shorthand, and we are able to discern from a telling scribal error that this was not a matter of chance, but it was an intentional policy.

4.1.4 Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (C 04)

4.1.4.1 Cardinal Numbers

Ephraemi Rescriptus is totally consistent in presenting all cardinal numbers in longhand form.³³ Large portions of the manuscript are lost, however, and no assumptions can be made about the number-style in those leaves; codices A 02 and B 03, for instance, both contain exceptions to an otherwise strict consistency. Nevertheless, every visible number in C 04 is longhand. The most frequently occurring cardinal number in C is εἰς/μία/έν, and this occurs no less than 193 times.

³³ For the published text of Ephraemi, see C. Tischendorf, ed., *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus: sive Fragmenta Novi Testamenti e Codice Graeco Parisiensi Celeberrimo Quinti ut videtur post Christum Seculi* (Leipzig: Bernh. Tauchnitz, 1843), and corrections in R. W. Lyon, “A Re-examination of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus,” *NTS* 5 (1958–59): 260–72. Each number, with a handful of exceptions that are no longer visible, was verified using the images available at the INTF website. The following numerals could not be verified by examining manuscript images and were checked with a transcription: ετερω/{δευτερω} (Matt 21:30), τριων (Mark 14:58), δευτερου (14:72), ενα (15:6), ενoc (Luke 10:42), {εν} (John 17:21), πρωτους (Acts 27:43), δωδεκα (James 1:1), ενoc (Rom 5:18b), εις (1 Cor 4:6), δυο (6:16), εν (6:17; 12:19, 20), χιλίων εξακοσιών (Rev 14:20), and τεσσαρα (19:4).

4.1.4.2 Ordinal Numbers

All ordinal numbers in C 04 are likewise longhand.

4.1.4.3 Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers Together

It is not certain how many copyists were responsible for the NT portion of Codex C 04, but it is possible that there were at least two.³⁴ This is significant because there are no observable changes in scribal technique of number writing at any point in the extant portions of the codex (see table 4.9).

Table 4.9. All Numbers in C 04		
<i>Book</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>	<i>Abbreviated Forms</i>
Matt	143	0
Mark	122	0
Luke	66	0
John	47	0
Acts+Cath	93	0
Paul	117	0
Rev	126	0

4.1.4.4 Summary of Ephraemi Rescriptus

The scribal preference for numbers in C 04 was to use longhand forms exclusively, although there may have been exceptions to this in the lost portions.

4.1.5 Codex Bezae (D 05)

4.1.5.1 Cardinal Numbers

Codex Bezae (D 05) contains far more abbreviated numbers than any other comparable majuscule manuscript, a noteworthy feature considering that it contains only the Gospels and Acts.³⁵ Below are listed all the cardinal numbers that appear in

³⁴ For a brief discussion, see Lyon, “A Re-examination,” 264–65.

³⁵ For the published text of D 05, see F. H. A. Scrivener, ed., *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, Being and Exact Copy, in Ordinary Type, of the Celebrated Uncial Graeco-Latin Manuscript of the Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1864), and the corrections in David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 287–99.

abbreviated forms in D 05 as well as representative examples of their longhand counterparts; where no longhand forms occur in D an n-dash (–) is used.³⁶ Note that numerals in the supplementary leaves (Matt 3:7–16; Mark 16:15–20; John 18:14–20:13) are not included (see table 4.10).

As the table indicates, Codex Bezae contains abbreviations for a wide range of values. Shorthand numerals are given for values anywhere between 2–5,000, a far greater variety than \aleph or most papyri. The number “one” is never abbreviated; this includes no less than 196 instances of the number. Several numbers are given only in longhand form: ἑξ (7x), ὀκτώ (3x), ἐννέα (1x), δεκαπέντε (1x), εἴκοσι (1x), εἴκοσι πέντε (1x), τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ (1x), πεντήκοντα (6x), ὀγδοήκοντα (1x), διακόσιοι (3x), and πεντακόσιοι (1x).

Nearly all values in the thousands are longhand: διςχίλιοι (1x), τριςχίλιοι (1x), τετρακισχίλιοι (5x), δέκα χιλιάς (1x), and εἴκοσι χιλιάς (1x).³⁷ Two exceptions are noted above: once the “full form” is used for five thousand, ,ε̄ (Mark 6:44), and once a hybrid form is used for the same value, χιλιαδεσ ,ε̄ (Acts 4:4).

As in \aleph , there is a tendency for inflected number forms to be written longhand in D. Inflected forms of the number “two” are always written in full (e.g., Matt 22:40; Luke 12:52a; 16:13; Acts 12:6b; 21:33) and abbreviations consistently stand for the lexical form δύο (e.g., Matt 25:15; Mark 6:7, 9, 41 [2x]; 9:43, 45, 47; 10:8 [2x]; 11:1; 14:1; 15:27, 38). The same is generally true of the number “three,” as symbols can be used for lexical forms (e.g., Matt 15:32; Mark 9:5, 31; Acts 11:11;

³⁶ A special problem with the text of Bezae is its many extraneous additions, often containing numerals. Identifying these was significantly aided by James D. Yoder, ed., *Concordance to the Distinctive Greek Text of Codex Bezae*, NTTs 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1961), which lists every word in the text of Bezae not present in Westcott and Hort’s edition of the Greek New Testament.

³⁷ Further, we might add μυριάδας πέντε (*sic*) = 50,000 (Acts 19:19).

19:8; 20:3), but the longhand is used for inflected forms (e.g., Matt 13:33; 18:16; 26:61; 27:40; Mark 14:58; Luke 4:25; 12:52b; 13:7, 21, etc.).

Table 4.10. Cardinals in D 05

<i>Value</i>		<i>Shorthand Forms</i>		<i>Longhand Forms</i>
2	14x	Matt 25:15; Mark 6:7, 9, 41 (2x); 9:43, 45, 47; 10:8 (2x); 11:1; 14:1; 15:27, 38	87x	Matt 4:18, 21; Mark 12:42, etc.
3	8x	Matt 15:32; Mark 9:5, 31; 15:29; Acts 5:7; 11:11; 19:8; 20:3	32x	Luke 11:5, etc.
4	1x	Mark 13:27	6x	John 11:17, etc.
5	7x	Matt 25:15, 16; Mark 6:38, 41 (2x); 8:19; Acts 19:9	25x	Luke 1:24, etc.
7	14x	Matt 15:36, 37; Mark 8:5, 6, 8, 20 (2x); 12:20, 22, 23; 16:9; Luke 8:2; Acts 6:3; 12:10	14x	Acts 20:6, etc.
10	1x	Mark 10:41	11x	Luke 17:12, 17, etc.
11	1x	Luke 24:33	3x	Mark 16:14, etc.
12	39x	Matt 10:1, 2, 5; 14:20; 19:28; 20:17; 26:14, 20, 47, 53; Mark 3:14; 5:25, 42; 6:7, 43; 8:19; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; 14:10, 17, 20, 43; Luke 2:42; 6:13; 8:1, 42, 43; 9:1; 18:31; 22:3, 30 (2x), 47; John 6:70; 20:24; Acts 1:26; 6:2; 7:8	10x	Matt 11:1; Luke 9:12, etc.
18	2x	Luke 13:11, 16	1x	Luke 13:4
30	6x	Matt 13:8, 23; 26:15; Mark 4:8, 20; Luke 3:23	1x	John 6:19
40	8x	Matt 4:2; Mark 1:13; Acts 4:22; 7:30, 36, 42; 10:41; 13:21	3x	Luke 4:2, etc.
60	4x	Matt 13:8, 23; Mark 4:8, 20	1x	Luke 24:13
72	2x	Luke 10:1, 17	—	
75	1x	Acts 7:14	—	
84	1x	Luke 2:37	—	
99	1x	Matt 18:13	3x	Matt 18:12, etc.
100	6x	Matt 13:8, 23; 18:28; Mark 4:8, 20; 6:40	4x	Luke 15:4; 16:6, etc.
120	1x	Acts 1:15	—	
153	1x	John 21:11	—	
300	1x	Mark 14:5	1x	John 12:5
400	2x	Acts 7:6	1x	Acts 5:36
450	1x	Acts 13:20	—	
5,000	2x	Mark 6:44 (·,ε̄); Acts 4:4 (χιλιαδες ·ε̄)	5x	Matt 14:21, etc.

Beyond this, there are no clear patterns that govern the usage of abbreviated or longhand number forms in D. For example, within the Gospel of Matthew, the number “two” occurs forty times, and it appears in longhand form in no less than thirty-nine of those occurrences.³⁸ There is thus one abbreviated form of “two” in

³⁸ See, e.g., Matt 4:18, 21; 5:41; 9:27, 28; 10:10, 29; 14:17, 19; 18:8 (2x), 9, 16 (2x), 19, 20; 19:5, 6; 20:21, 24, 30; 21:1, 28, 31; 22:40; 24:40, 41; 25:17 (2x), 22 (3x); 26:2, 37, 60; 27:21, 38, 51.

Matthew (25:15); but this particular instance of the number is completely unremarkable. Grammatically, it is a neuter accusative that refers to *τάλαντα* given to a steward, but the same number with the exact same grammatical categories and referent occurs twice in 25:17 and both are longhand. Furthermore, the sense-line in which the abbreviation occurs is comparatively short; it was clearly not used to trim the length of the line.

A look at the number “twelve” in Bezae also reveals the same unpredictability. The value occurs in Matthew thirteen times and is abbreviated in all but three of those occurrences; but no substantive difference (in referent, grammatical properties, etc.) can be observed between those three longhand forms and the ten that are abbreviated. In contrast, the Gospel of John contains four occurrences of the number longhand and two shorthand. In Luke, “twelve” occurs thirteen times, eleven abbreviations and two longhand forms. In Mark, all thirteen occurrences of “twelve” are abbreviated. Finally, in Acts, three abbreviations for “twelve” are used and one longhand is used. No patterns related to referent or grammatical properties are discernible in these books, and only occasionally do the numerals appear necessary to fit the text into their sense-lines. In all, therefore, scribal freedom seems to be the principle factor in number-style.

4.1.5.2 Ordinal Numbers

Most ordinal numbers are longhand in D 05. There are a handful of exceptions to this, however (see table 4.11).

Table 4.11. Ordinals in D 05				
<i>Value</i>		<i>Shorthand Forms</i>		<i>Longhand Forms</i>
Third	2x	Mark 15:25; Acts 2:15	19x	Luke 13:32, etc.
Sixth	1x	Mark 15:33	6x	John 4:6, etc.
Ninth	1x	Mark 15:33	7x	Mark 15:34, etc.

4.1.5.3 Orthography

On one occasion, a numerical abbreviation is given in non-descending order: i.e., $\overline{\beta\iota}$ [= $\overline{\iota\beta}$] (Luke 8:43). This order can be found in other ancient texts, although it was decidedly less common than the typical descending order, and no other examples are found among the NT manuscripts under investigation here.⁴⁰

³⁹ In Acts 2:15, $\bar{\gamma}$ occurs twice for $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta$, though the second iteration is part of a later correction (Corrector A), so it is not counted here.

131

number. The same occurs again in 13:18, where $\epsilon\eta \cdot \bar{\mu}$ is written for τεσσαρακονταετη.⁴¹

4.1.5.4 Cardinals and Ordinals Together

The table below displays the total of numbers, both cardinal and ordinal, in D (see table 4.12). It is structured in accordance with the arrangement of Gospels found in Bezae known as the Western order.

Table 4.12. All Numbers in D 05		
<i>Book</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>	<i>Abbreviated Forms</i>
Matt	185	26
John	69	3
Luke	175	19
Mark	78	57
Acts	68	21

Taking all numbers in the text of D into account, we can see that the scribe wrote numerals in full more often than in abbreviated form, at a rate of roughly five to one. Even still, Bezae contains more numerical abbreviations in its text than any other NT manuscript studied here. Again, this feature is all the more significant given the fact that the codex only contains the canonical Gospels and Acts.

As was mentioned in chapter 2, David Parker gave some consideration to the number-writing techniques in Bezae, ending with a negative conclusion: “the numerals present a problem.... I have no explanation for any of this.”⁴² Parker’s hypothesis concerning the ancestors of D was essentially twofold: (1) Two exemplars were used, one for the Gospels and another for Acts (based on differences

⁴¹ Although I have not cited these for other manuscripts, D 05 is the only one surveyed here that contains abbreviations at these points.

⁴² Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 115 (see also 111). For a summary of important results, see David C. Parker, “Codex Bezae: The Manuscript as Past, Present and Future,” in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*, ed. Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. O’Sullivan (London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2003), 43–50.

in sense-line arrangements), and (2) the exemplar for the Gospels was the work of two different scribes working in succession (based on changes in orthography). Regarding the latter point, Parker observed that differences in the scribe's orthography indicate two main groups: Matt + Mark + John 1–5 on the one hand and John 5–21 + Luke on the other. This suggests that the order of the Gospels in D's exemplar was Matt-Mark-John-Luke, and that the second scribe picked up the task of copying at John 5 (which is roughly halfway through the codex), at which point changes in orthography are discernible.

As Parker himself observed, the changes in number-writing techniques in Bezae do not correspond to these groupings.⁴³ In contrast, when we examine the numerals in D, two different groups emerge: Matt-Mark-Luke-Acts on the one hand (with frequent abbreviations) and John by itself (with very infrequent abbreviations). Further distinctions are possible. In Matthew and Mark, for example, the scribe used shorthand for a wide range of values: as low as “two” and “three” and as high as “one hundred” (as well as many values between). In contrast, however, in the texts of Luke and Acts, lower values tend to be given only in longhand; the lowest abbreviated value in Luke is “seven.” In Acts this tendency is slightly less pronounced, as there are a few exceptional instances of the abbreviated form for “three” and “five.” But the practice in Acts does not distinguish itself in any meaningful way—in spite of the hypothesis that it was unrelated to D's exemplar of the Gospels. But while these observations do not dovetail with Parker's arguments, neither do they pose any real problem for them; in many ways they are complementary.

⁴³ Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 111.

For instance, the uniqueness of John in D is a recurring observation. Parker notes several eccentricities in this Gospel, such as the use of the apostrophe after the name Αβρααμ and the high frequency of contracted forms of πατήρ. We can also now add the clear (though not total) preference against numerical shorthand; this was not obvious from Parker's presentation of the numeral-related data, but it is another curious distinction with the scribal technique in this Gospel. It is possible that these differences reflect characteristics of the text of John as it circulated prior to its incorporation into D's exemplar for the Gospels. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for such a strange departure from the scribe's normal mode of transcription.

Perhaps a more important factor in the scribal preference of number writing is the fairly obvious issue of D's arrangement into sense-lines. Whereas the texts of other uncials and papyri were arranged into justified columns, the text of D 05 as well as the Latin side d 5 were arranged into short phrases divided by sense. This results in left-hand justification and an inconsistent right-hand vertical line. It would be reasonable to suppose, then, that numerical shorthand functioned for the scribe as a way to trim the text, if necessary, into manageable sense-lines and to maintain correspondence between the Greek and Latin sides. This does not explain every use of a numerical abbreviation, but, as we will see shortly, the copyist certainly seems to have been aware of this practical function.

4.1.5.5 Numerals in the Latin Column

At this point we should examine the numerals in the Latin portion of Bezae. Broadly put, there is a striking degree of correspondence between the particular numeral forms of the Greek and Latin columns of Bezae. All told, there are over 650 points of perfect agreement in number-style between the two columns. This similarity is

remarkable given the unpredictability of numerals in the Greek side that we have seen, and it helps to confirm the close relationship between the two columns that previous studies have posited.

The Greek and Latin columns disagree in number-style in forty-four instances, where one column contains numerical shorthand and the other has the full form. The great majority of these disagreements entail an abbreviation in the Greek not in the Latin; in only six instances is it the reverse.

Very often it appears that the discrepancy in number-form is related to the scribe's space-saving measures. So, for example, in Matt 9:20, the Greek column contains the longhand form δωδεκα in a sense-line of average length, while the Latin contains the Roman numeral ·XII· in a cramped sense-line that nearly runs into the margin. In other words, the shorthand form was utilized to trim the Latin text into a single sense-line, while there was no such need for constriction in the Greek side. Other examples are frequent (Mark 6:7; 8:9; 9:31, 47; Luke 22:3; John 6:70), but one in particular duly confirms our suspicion. In Luke 15:7, the two columns read the following (see table 4.13):

Table 4.13. Luke 15:7 in D 05 / d 5	
μετανοουντι η επι ενενηκοντα	<i>paenitentiam agenti quam super ·XC·</i>
εννεα δικαιοις οτινεις ουκ εχουσι	<i>nouem iustis qui non habent</i>

As the comparison shows, the Greek column has the full number form (ενενηκοντα | εννεα = ninety-nine) split between two sense-lines. The Latin side, in contrast, contains a composite form: ·XC· | *nouem* (“90-nine”). A glance at the two columns immediately reveals that the first line is comparatively longer on the Latin side than the Greek, and the shorthand ·XC· served as a convenient substitute for the longhand

counterpart *nonaginta*—a far longer word that would have required the copyist to either run the text into the margin or wrap the text onto the following line.

But economy was not the sole motivation here. If such were the case, the entire number would have been written as the Roman numeral *·XC UIII·* as it appears elsewhere (see Matt 18:12, 13). Rather, correspondence between the Greek and Latin columns seems to have been equally as important to the scribe. Once the partial abbreviation *·XC·* was employed, the scribe began again on the following line with the rest of the number in longhand form so that it would mirror the Greek side, even as the result was an idiosyncratic hybrid of a Roman numeral and a number word.⁴⁴ So, the shorthand numeral was useful for two related scribal techniques: constricting the text and maintaining correspondence between the Greek and Latin columns.

One major factor contributing to the differences of number-form between the two columns relates to smaller numbers. Specifically, the Latin side almost never contains abbreviations for values “two” and “three,” while these are often given in shorthand in the Greek side. This accounts for no less than eighteen of the forty-four discrepancies (e.g., Matt 15:32; 25:15; Mark 6:9, 41b; 9:31, 43, 45; 10:8 [2x], etc.). A similar difference concerns the handling of ordinal numbers. As noted above, four ordinals are abbreviated in the Greek text of Bezae, but they are never so handled in the Latin text (Mark 15:25, 33 [2x]; Acts 2:15). In later chapter (chapter 8), we will return to this specific point about smaller numbers and ordinals in the Latin column of Bezae, and I will offer a hypothesis that seeks to make sense of this tendency. For

⁴⁴ There are several examples of hybrid abbreviations involving a digit and a value in the thousands (e.g., *ε̄ χιλιοι*), but I am not aware of any other instances such as this one involving a digit and a tens value in Codex Bezae.

our purposes here, however, it is sufficient simply to identify what constitutes the differences between the two columns.

A few discrepancies between the columns stem from a difference in Latin idiom, where, for example, the single word *biduum* corresponds to $\cdot\bar{\beta}\cdot$ ημερᾶς (Mark 14:1).⁴⁵ But many of the discrepancies are inexplicable (e.g., Matt 4:2; 15:36; 18:28; 25:16, etc.). They might simply trace back to differences in their respective exemplars. To summarize, then, we can say that the remarkable agreement in numbering styles between the two columns of Bezae confirms previous observations about the close relationship between these texts,⁴⁶ and the comparatively few differences we found help to illustrate two aspects of the scribe's work: (1) the practical function of abbreviations in saving space, and (2) the desire to maintain correspondence between the Greek and Latin sense-lines.⁴⁷

4.1.5.6 Summary of Bezae

To summarize, Bezae contains regular use of numerical abbreviations, though never for “one” and rarely for numbers in the thousands and ordinals. The recurring use of alphabetic shorthand for numbers in D is often (though not always) related to its arrangement of sense-lines. By using symbols, the scribe could trim the text into its sense-lines and maintain a correspondence between the Greek and Latin columns.

⁴⁵ Another example is *per uinos* (= *binos*), which corresponds to $\alpha\alpha\cdot\bar{\beta}\cdot$ (Mark 6:7).

⁴⁶ See Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 248, who offers a nuanced version of this basic summary: d is “a translation from a Greek text similar to, but by no means identical with, its present companion.”

⁴⁷ A more detailed comparison of the numerals in the two columns could be rich in value. For instance, I find it highly suspicious that, of the “inexplicable” differences in number-style (where space and idiom cannot account for the differences), there are seven in Matthew and five in Mark, but none at all in John, Luke, or Acts. Surely this must reveal something about the different relationships between the Greek and Latin texts of each of these books.

4.1.6 Codex Washingtonianus (W 032)

Codex W does not lend itself to generalizations about scribal techniques due its unique block mixture of disparate textual affinities.⁴⁸ Specifically, the text of Matthew is considered Byzantine in text-type, John 1:1–5:11 is Alexandrian/Western, John 5:12–21:25 is Alexandrian, Luke 1:1–8:12 is Alexandrian, Luke 8:13–24:53 is Byzantine, Mark 1:1–5:30 is Western, and Mark 5:31–16:20 is akin to P⁴⁵ (rather than Caesarean, as it was once thought).⁴⁹ The original editor of the manuscript observed this block mixture, though he used different terminology to describe the textual clusters, and he likened this textual stratification of the codex to a patchwork composition. Although the codex is from the hand of one copyist (except for John 1:1–5:11, noted as W^s), these blocks of text contain noticeably distinct text-types and scribal features. It is necessary to make note of this heterogeneous makeup because, as it will be discussed more fully below, each block of text bears its own distinct scribal preference for number-writing style. First, however, we will examine the overall usage of abbreviated cardinals. Note that numerals in the supplementary quire of John (W^s) are not in view unless otherwise noted.

4.1.6.1 Cardinal Numbers

Below are all abbreviated cardinals in W (except W^s) and corresponding longhand forms; where no such longhand forms occur an n-dash (–) is used (see table 4.14).

⁴⁸ For a collation of W, see Henry A. Sanders, ed., *The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels*, part 1 of *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, UMSHS 9/1 (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 143–247, and on the issue of block mixture see pages 41–133. For the photographic facsimile, see Henry A. Sanders, ed., *Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Freer Collection* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan, 1912).

⁴⁹ Cf. Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 80.

Values abbreviated in W 032 fall between 7–300, most of which have longhand counterparts elsewhere in the codex. Some numbers are given only in longhand form: δύο (88x), τρεῖς (26x), τέσσαρες (4x), πέντε (27x), ἕξ (5x), ὀκτώ (3x), ἑννέα (1x), δέκα (12x), ἑνδεκα (3x), δεκαοκτώ (3x), δεκαπέντε (1x), ἑβδομήκοντα (2x), ὀγδοήκοντα (1x), ἑκατόν πενήκοντα τρεῖς (1x), διακόσιοι (2x), and πεντακόσιοι (1x).

Table 4.14. Cardinals in Washingtonianus W 032				
Value	Shorthand Forms			Longhand Forms
7	8x	Mark 8:6, 8, 20 (2x); 12:22, 23; Luke 2:36; 8:2	16x	Luke 11:26, etc.
12	13x	Mark 3:14; 5:25, 42; 6:7, 43; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; 14:10, 17, 20, 43; 16:14	33x	Luke 9:12, etc.
14	2x	Matt 1:17 (2x)	1x	Matt 1:17
25	1x	John 6:19	—	
30	4x	Mark 4:8, 20; Luke 3:23; John 6:19	5x	Matt 26:15, etc.
40	2x	Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2	2x	Matt 4:2, etc.
50	1x	Mark 6:40	4x	John 8:57, etc.
60	2x	Mark 4:8, 20	3x	Luke 24:13, etc.
84	1x	Luke 2:37	—	
99	2x	Luke 15:4, 7	2x	Matt 18:12, 13
100	4x	Mark 4:8, 20; 6:37, 40	8x	Luke 15:4, etc.
300	1x	Mark 14:5	1x	John 12:5

Furthermore, numbers in the thousands are consistently written longhand: διςχίλιοι (1x), τετρακισχίλιοι (4x), πεντακισχίλιοι (6x), δέκα χιλιάς (1x), and εἴκοσι χιλιάς (1x).

No clear patterns emerge in W between numerals and their referents, placement in line, or grammatical cases. Although, as in **8** and **D**, the scribe seems to have avoided abbreviations for inflected number forms. Numbers that have inflected forms such as δύο, τρεῖς, and τέσσαρες are consistently longhand, regardless of their grammatical case, and indeclinable numbers are abbreviated freely: e.g., ἐπτά, δώδεκα, τριάκοντα, τεσσεράκοντα, πενήκοντα, εξήκοντα, and ἑκατόν (see chart

above for examples). There are two exceptions to this trend. The inflected compound number ὀγδοήκοντα τεσσαράρων is abbreviated to $\overline{\pi\delta}$ (Luke 2:37), and the genitive τριακοσίων is also abbreviated (Mark 14:5). On the whole, however, abbreviations are only used for number-words that are indeclinable.

4.1.6.2 Ordinal Numbers

All ordinals in W are written longhand (with some exceptions in W^s).

4.1.6.3 Cardinals and Ordinals Together

Considering cardinals and ordinals together, W contains quite a few abbreviated numbers (see table 4.15):

Table 4.15. All Numbers in W 032		
<i>Book</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>	<i>Abbreviated Forms</i>
Matt	219	2
John	77	2
Luke	175	7
Mark	102	30

This summary, however, obscures a more important pattern of number-writing style in W. Specifically, a look at numbers as they relate to the block mixture in W is necessary because of their implications for the relationship of the scribe to the exemplar and the number-forms found in it.

As noted above, each text block in W contains a distinct scribal preference for number writing. For example, Matthew is Byzantine in text throughout; every number in the text of Matthew is written longhand, with just two exceptions from among over two hundred numbers (Matt 1:17, 2x). The next block of text is the replacement quire (W^s), John 1:1–5:11, and it is Alexandrian/Western in textual affinity. It contains a surprisingly high density of numerical abbreviations; out of

twenty-six numbers, ten are given in abbreviated form (= 38% abbreviated).⁵⁰ After this shift in John's Gospel (5:12–21:25) the text is Alexandrian and remains nearly consistent in avoiding abbreviated numbers; just two abbreviations are found compared to the seventy-seven longhand (= 3% abbreviated).

The Gospel of Luke also contains a shift in text type. The first eight chapters (1:1–8:12) exhibit several abbreviations, five out of thirty-two numbers (= 16% abbreviated). The rest of Luke, however, is distinctly Byzantine in textual affinity, and it contains only two numerical abbreviations (= 1%) compared to the plethora of longhand forms (= 99%). Mark 1:1–5:30 in W is nearest to the Western textual cluster (or D text), and, out of nineteen numbers, nine are abbreviated (= 47% abbreviated). The rest of Mark (5:31–16:20) is similar to P⁴⁵ in textual character, and it too contains many numerical abbreviations, but not nearly as many; there are twenty-one abbreviations compared to ninety-two longhand forms (19%–81%). This information can be summarized like so (see table 4.16):

Table 4.16. Percentages of Number-Styles in W 032		
<i>Text Block</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>	<i>Abbreviated Forms</i>
Matt 1:1–28:28	219 = 99%	2 = 1%
*John 1:1–5:11 ^{supp}	16 = 62%	10 = 38%
John 5:12–21:25	77 = 97%	2 = 3%
Luke 1:1–8:12	27 = 84%	5 = 16%
Luke 8:13–24:53	148 = 99%	2 = 1%
Mark 1:1–5:30	10 = 53%	9 = 47%
Mark 5:31–16:20	92 = 81%	21 = 19%

In other words, scholars have observed heterogeneous textual affinities in W, and each of these blocks contains a distinct frequency of numerical shorthand.

⁵⁰ I am at a loss as to Sanders's comment about the first quire of John: "Numerals are always given by the letters except once, though the letters had been used but once in Matthew, viz. in the first chapter" (Henry A. Sanders, "Age and Ancient Home of the Biblical Manuscripts in the Freer Collection," *AJA* 13 [1909]: 130–41 [133]).

Byzantine portions tend to avoid abbreviations (Matthew and Luke 8:13–24:53), while those portions with elements of Western or P⁴⁵-text include both number-styles (Mark 1:1–5:30; 5:31–16:20).⁵¹

It is highly significant that numerical shorthand is not the only feature to exhibit radical changes throughout the codex. The manuscript's editor, Henry Sanders, observed similar changes in other scribal features such as *nomina sacra*, punctuation, paragraphing, diacriticals, and orthography that correspond precisely with the noted shifts in textual affinity. It is unlikely that these changes in scribal techniques were introduced independently by the copyist, but, more likely, they reflect the contents of the source text(s)—either a “patchwork” codex (as Sanders argued) or multiple fragmentary (and otherwise unrelated) exemplars. In other words, the shifting techniques of number writing in W most likely reflect not scribal caprice but close adherence to the unique contents of the exemplar texts. This much was argued by Sanders originally, although a more thorough analysis of the numerals in W has helped confirm it.⁵² This bears two noteworthy implications: (1) the scribe, at least in this respect, aimed at producing a close copy of the available source text(s),⁵³ and (2) it is likely that other scribes similarly mimicked the precise number-forms of their exemplars, suggesting that numerals might be an important factor of manuscript genealogy.

⁵¹ For more discussion, see Zachary J. Cole, “Evaluating Scribal Freedom and Fidelity: Number-Writing Techniques in Codex Washingtonianus (W 032),” *BASP* 52 (2015): 225–38. A few numbers have been added to the table that appears in the article; I since identified a handful of numerals.

⁵² Sanders did not account for all the numerals in W. He counted one abbreviation in John 5:12–21:25 where I count two, six in Luke where I count seven, and nineteen in Mark where I count thirty; see Sanders, “Age and Ancient Home,” 134. See also related comments above.

⁵³ The opposite has been stated elsewhere; see Philip Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography and Textual Criticism* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 2005), 84–85.

4.1.6.4 *Summary of Washingtonianus*

It is difficult to generalize the number-writing technique of W because of its heterogeneous composition. Each text block contains a different usage of numerical abbreviations. On the other hand, however, since the patterns of number-style shift in each textual block, this is probably an indication that the scribe simply copied numerals over directly from the Vorlage(n). This close adherence to the exemplar(s) would account for the shifting styles of numbers we find in different portions of the manuscript. Aside from this particular question, there are some general tendencies found throughout the codex: the number “one” is always longhand, and only values between 7–300 are ever given in abbreviated form, and there is great inconsistency with these.

4.2 Fragmentary Majuscules

As we turn to the fragmentary majuscules, we once again will cite explicitly each occurrence of a number. For a handful of witnesses, no decipherable photographs were available for examination, and the *editiones principes* have been relied upon (I 016, T 029, 048, 0219, 0242, 0254, and 0321).⁵⁴ Again, an asterisk (*) accompanies those manuscripts in which numerals are reconstructed but no longer extant.

4.2.1 I 016

Twelve cardinal numbers are extant in 016 and all are longhand (see table 4.17):

⁵⁴ Furthermore, I was unable to locate any decipherable photographs or published transcription for GA 062, so it has been omitted from discussion.

Table 4.17. Cardinals in I 016		
Value	Longhand Forms	
1	5x	Gal 3:16; Eph 5:33; Col 3:15; 1 Tim 5:9; Heb 12:16
2	4x	2 Cor 13:1; Gal 4:22; Phil 1:23; Heb 10:28
3	1x	2 Cor 13:1
14	1x	Gal 2:1
60	1x	1 Tim 5:9

In addition, the editor reconstructs fourteen cardinals, all longhand: [εἰς/μία/έν] (1 Cor 12:14; 16:2; Gal 4:22 [2x]; Eph 2:15, 16, 18; Phil 3:13; 1 Thess 5:11 [2x]), [δύο] (Eph 2:15; 1 Tim 5:19), [τρεῖς] (Heb 10:28; 1 Tim 5:19). In terms of ordinal numbers, there are several extant, all longhand: πρῶτος (1 Cor 12:28; 1 Thess 4:16; 1 Tim 2:1, 13; Heb 9:1, 2, 18), δευτερος (Heb 8:7; 9:3), [τρι]τον (2 Cor 13:1), εβδομος (Heb 4:4 [2x]), δεκατος (Heb 7:8, 9). Finally, several ordinals have been reconstructed (e.g., 1 Cor 12:28; 15:3; 2 Cor 12:14; 13:2; Heb 7:2; 8:7).⁵⁵

4.2.2 Q 026

Twenty-two cardinal numbers are extant in 026, and all are longhand (see table 4.18):

Table 4.18. Cardinals in Q 026		
Value	Longhand Forms	
1	13x	Luke 4:40; 5:3; 12:25, 27; 15:15, 19, 26 (ε να); 17:35; 18:10; 20:1, 3; 23:39; John 12:4
2	6x	Luke 5:2; 17:35; 18:10; 21:2; 22:38; 23:32
12	2x	Luke 6:13; 22:30 (δω δεκα)
300	1x	John 12:5

⁵⁵ Henry A. Sanders, ed., *The Washington Manuscript of the Epistles of Paul*, part 2 of *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, UMSHS 9/2 (New York: Macmillan, 1918). A new transcription has been made on the basis of recent photographs using multi-spectral imaging (though no numerals are substantially affected), Justin Soderquist, “A New Edition of Codex I (016): The Washington Manuscript of the Epistles of Paul” (M.A. thesis, Trinity Western University, 2014), https://www.twu.ca/library/theses/271835_pdf_262939_663817EA-D595-11E3-9D86-08412E1BA5B1_%20Soderquist_j.pdf.

Six ordinal numbers are also extant, and all are longhand: πρῶτος (Luke 15:22; John 12:16), δευτέρα (Luke 12:38), τρίτος (Luke 12:38; 20:12), ἐκτὴ (Luke 23:44), and ἐνάτης (Luke 23:44).⁵⁶

4.2.3 T 029

Twelve cardinal numbers are extant in 029, and all are longhand (see table 4.19):

Table 4.19. Cardinals in T 029		
Value	Longhand Forms	
1	5x	Luke 22:47, 50, 59; John 7:21, 50
2	2x	Luke 22:38; John 8:17
5	1x	John 5:2
12	3x	Luke 22:30, 47; John 6:67
38	1x	John 5:5

Three ordinal numbers are also extant: πρῶτον (John 7:51), δευτερον (John 4:54), and εβδομην (John 4:52).⁵⁷

4.2.4 048

Thirty-two cardinal numbers are extant in 048 and all are longhand (see table 4.20).⁵⁸

All ordinal numbers in 048 are longhand: πρῶτος and its derivatives (Acts 26:20;

⁵⁶ C. Tischendorf, ed., *Fragmenta, Origenianae Octateuchi Editionis*, vol. 3 of *Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1860), 263–90. In addition, there are two adverbial numbers visible: δὲ (Luke 18:12) and τρεῖς [i.e., τρίς] (Luke 22:34).

⁵⁷ For the Rome portions (T 029), see P. J. Balestri, ed., *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 3 of *Sacrorum Biblitorum Fragmenta Copto-sahidica Musei Borgiani* (Rome: S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1904), 202–18, 234–60; for the Paris portions (0113 + 0125 + 0139), see M. É. Amélineau, ed., *Notice des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. 34/2 of *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1895), 399–402, 404–5, 406–7. Note that the New York portions are not published and so have not been examined; these would contain two cardinals and one ordinal. In addition the numbers above, two numerical adverbs are visible: τρεῖς (Luke 22:34, 61).

⁵⁸ For the text of 048, see Dale Eldon Heath, “The Text of Manuscript Gregory 048 (Vatican Greek 2061)” (Ph.D. diss., Taylor University, 1965). Images of the manuscript are available on the INTF website, but I have relied mostly on Heath’s transcription due to the illegibility of the palimpsest.

28:7, 17; 1 Cor 12:28; 1 Tim 5:12; 2 Tim 2:6; 2 Pet 2:20; 3:3; 1 John 4:19), δευτερος (1 Cor 12:28; 2 Pet 3:1), and τριτος (1 Cor 12:28).⁵⁹

Table 4.20. Cardinals in 048

Value	Longhand Forms
1	13x Acts 28:13, 25; Rom 15:6; 1 Cor 12:26; 14:31; 2 Cor 5:14; Eph 5:31 (2x), ⁶⁰ 33; 1 Tim 5:9; Heb 12:16; 2 Pet 3:8 (2x)
2	4x Eph 5:31 (2x); Phil 1:23; 1 Tim 5:19
3	9x Acts 28:7, 11, 12, 15, 17; 1 Cor 13:13 ⁶¹ ; 1 Tim 5:19; James 5:17; 1 John 5:7 ⁶²
5	1x 1 Cor 14:19
7	1x Acts 28:14 (ε πτα)
60	1x 1 Tim 5:9
500	1x 1 Cor 15:6
1,000	2x 2 Peter 3:8 (2x)

4.2.5 058

There are two visible cardinal numbers in 058 and both are longhand: δυο (Matt 18:19) [ε]|πτα (18:22). In addition, while C. R. Gregory reconstructed the longhand cardinal [εκατον] (18:28), an alternative reconstruction was offered by Carl Wessely, who proposed the abbreviated form of the number: [ρ].⁶³ The latter might well be the better reconstruction. Compare the following transcriptions (see table 4.21, ln. 2):

⁵⁹ In addition, other numerical terms appear: [δω]δεκαφυλον (Acts 26:7), δευτερεοι (Acts 28:13), and μυ|ρια|ςιν (Heb 12:22).

⁶⁰ The repetition of both μυα(v) and δυο in Eph 5:31 occur in an otherwise unattested addition in 048: μυαν] + ω|ςτε [| ε|ςιν δυο α| [| μυα' (Heath, "Gregory 048," 117, 254); it is not listed in the NA²⁸ apparatus. It seems to be a harmonization to the wording of Jesus's pronouncement on the same subject: ὥςτε οὐκέτι εἰςιν δύο ἀλλὰ καρξ μία (Matt 19:6; cf. Mark 10:8).

⁶¹ It is probable that in Heath's transcription, the line []ρ[]ς []ε| [(f. 198 v, col. 2; 1 Cor 14:26–33) contains the longhand τρε|ς (1 Cor 14:29), but I have not listed it here due to the uncertainty; see Heath, "Gregory 048," 83.

⁶² This instance (1 John 5:7) of the numeral τρε|ς is fairly tenuous: [| ε|ς (Heath, "Gregory 048," 208). Examination of images, however, seems to confirm the identity of the *sigma*.

⁶³ C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900), 1:72–73. See also Carl Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts*, vol. 3 of *Stud.Pal. XII* (Leipzig: Avenarius, 1912; repr., Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1966), 244 (§189). In addition, two numerical adverbs are partially visible: [ε|πτα]κις (18:22) [εβδο]|μηκ[ο]ντα[κις] (18:22).

Table 4.21. Matt 18:28 in 058	
Gregory (1900)	Wessely (1912)
[οφειλε]ναυ	[]ναυ
[τωεκατονδ]ηναρια	[τωρ̄δη]ναρια
[και κρ]ατηςαc	[καικρ]ατηςαc
[α]υτονεπνι >	[α]υτονεπνι >

Wessely's reconstruction is probably correct in proposing the abbreviated number-form because it makes better sense of the second line; this was a commonly abbreviated number. Images of the manuscript confirm that this line is not at all overloaded in the way that Gregory's transcription requires.

4.2.6 059 + 0215

Three cardinal numbers are visible in 059 and all are longhand: ενα (Mark 15:27), ξνα (15:27), and τριςιν (15:29). Two numerals have been reconstructed. First, [δυο] (15:27) appears likely, but the shorthand form might also be possible given the length of the line. Second, [εic] (15:36) is posited by Wessely, but this seems to be pure conjecture given the textual variation at this point; for instance, why not τic with Ϡ, B, L, Δ, Ψ, ℞? Two ordinal numbers are also visible and both are longhand: ενατης (15:33) and ενατη (15:34).⁶⁴

4.2.7 067

Four cardinal numbers are visible in 067 and all are longhand: πε̄τε (Matt 14:19), δυο (14:19), πεντακic|χιλιοι (14:21) and [μ]ια (Mark 14:66).⁶⁵

⁶⁴ For 059, see Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, 1:73–74; and Wessely, *Griechische und koptische*, 3:243 (§186); for 0215, see Peter Sanz, ed. *Biblica, Vaterschriften und Verwandtes*, vol. 1 of *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhalts*, MPER N. S. IV (Baden bei Wien: Rohrer, 1946), 57–58 (§34).

⁶⁵ C. Tischendorf, ed., *Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta*, vol. 1 of *Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1855), 3–20. Note that a portion of 067 (Matt 24:37–25:1, 32–45; 26:31–45) is now considered a distinct manuscript, identified as 0321; see *K-Liste* on the INTF website and Pasquale Orsini, *Manoscritti in Maiuscola Biblica: Materiali per Un Aggiornamento*, Edizioni dell'Università Degli Studi Di Cassino, Collana Scientifica/Studi Archeologici, Artistica, Filologici,

4.2.8 068

There is one cardinal number in 068: εἰς (John 13:23).⁶⁶

4.2.9 069

There is one cardinal number in 069: δώδεκα (Mark 11:11).⁶⁷

4.2.10 076

There is one cardinal number visible in 076: ἐνδ[εκα] (Acts 2:14). The original editor also transcribed one ordinal, τριτ[η] (2:15), but I was unable to decipher this line from available photographs.⁶⁸

4.2.11 088

Two cardinal numbers are visible in 088: μίαν (1 Cor 16:2) and μίας (Tit 1:6).⁶⁹

4.2.12 0162

Three cardinal numbers are visible in 0162, two are longhand and one is a mixed abbreviation: [τ]ριτίῳ (John 2:19), μ̄ καὶ ἑξ (2:20), and τριτίῳ (2:20).⁷⁰

4.2.13 0165

One cardinal number is visible in 0165 and it is longhand: χειλιαδὲς π[εν]τε (Acts 4:4). This was transcribed as χειλιάδ[ε]ς π[εν]τ[ε] by the original editor.⁷¹ Although

Filosofici, Letterari E Storici 7 (Rome: Ed. Univ. degli Studi di Cassino, 2005), 296. Note also that its date is not certain; compare, for instance, the sixth-century date listed in NA²⁸ with the fifth-century date given in the *K-Liste*. It is retained for the sake of completeness.

⁶⁶ C. Tischendorf, ed., *Fragmenta Evangelii Lucae et Libri Genesis*, vol. 2 of *Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1857), 311–12.

⁶⁷ *P.Oxy.* I 3.7.

⁶⁸ *P.Amh.* I 8.41–43.

⁶⁹ Tischendorf, *Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta*, 45–48.

⁷⁰ *P.Oxy.* VI 847.4–5. The numerals in question are transcribed by the original editor without any underdots; see also U. B. Schmid, W. J. Elliott and D. C. Parker, eds., *The Majuscules*, vol. 2 of *The New Testament in Greek*, 4: *The Gospel According to St. John*, ed. The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 132. See also Lincoln H. Blumell and Thomas A. Wayment, eds., *Christian Oxyrhynchus: Texts, Documents, and Sources* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2015), 99: [τ]ριτίῳ (2:19), μ̄ καὶ ἑξ (2:20), and τριτίῳ (2:20).

the parchment is badly deteriorated at πῆ[ντε], the letters are clear enough to rule out the use of a shorthand numeral. There is also an ordinal: πρωτο⁷¹ (3:26).

4.2.14 0169

One ordinal number is visible in 0169 and it is longhand: πρωτη (Rev 4:1).⁷²

4.2.15 0171

One cardinal number is visible in 0171: εις (Luke 22:50). Three more are reasonably reconstructed: [δυο] (Matt 10:29), [εν] (10:29), and [εις] (Luke 22:47).⁷³

4.2.16 0176

There is one cardinal number in 0176 and it is longhand: τετρα[κο|ς]ια και τριακοντα (Gal 3:17). Two more are reconstructed: [ενος] (3:16) and [εις] (3:20).⁷⁴

4.2.17 0181

Two cardinal numbers are visible in 0181, one is abbreviated and one is longhand: οβ (Luke 10:1) and δυο (10:1).⁷⁵ In addition, three numerical adverbs are visible: πρωτον (Luke 9:59, 61; 10:5).

The appearance of the numerical abbreviation οβ in 10:1 is noticeably different from the rest of the writing. While the *omicron* more or less assumes its standard form, the *beta* is markedly smaller than its typical form both in width and height. In addition, the supralinear bar is shortened, only just stretching over the right vertical of the *omicron* (see figure 4.3).

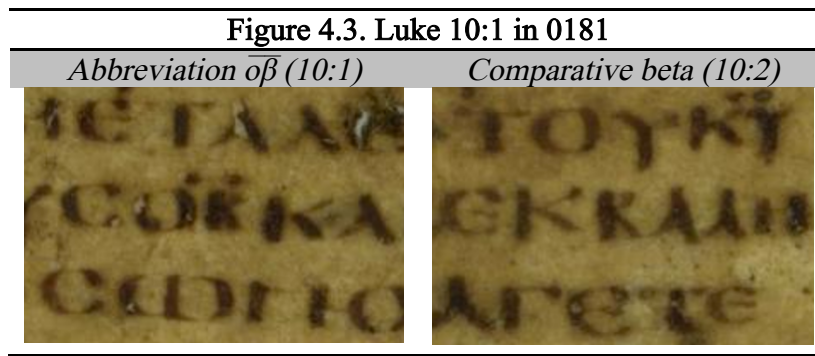
⁷¹ Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, 3:1368–71.

⁷² *P.Oxy.* VIII 1080.14–16.

⁷³ For the Luke portions, see *PSI* I 2.2–4 and *PSI* II 124.22–25; and for the Matt portion, see Kurt Treu, “Neue neutestamentliche Fragmente der Berliner Papyrussammlung,” *APF* 18 (1966): 23–28 (25–28).

⁷⁴ *PSI* II 251.108–10.

⁷⁵ Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte*, 241–42 (§185).



The atypical appearance of the numeral is not easy to explain; it may have been intended by the scribe to help signal the presence of an abbreviation.

4.2.18 0182

Two cardinal numbers are visible in 0182 and both are longhand: [πεν]τε (Luke 19:18) and πεντε (19:19). One ordinal number was transcribed by the editor, although it is no longer visible in available photographs: δ[ε]υ[τερος] (19:18).⁷⁶

4.2.19 0188*

No numbers are visible in 0188, but one has been reconstructed by the editor: [δω]δεκα] (Mark 11:11). This is, however, impossible to verify.⁷⁷

4.2.20 0189*

No numbers are visible in 0189, but [τριων] (Acts 5:7) has been reconstructed.⁷⁸

4.2.21 0201

Three cardinal numbers are transcribed in the *editio princeps* of 0201 and they are longhand: εν (1 Cor 12:12b, 13b) and δ[υο] (14:29). Only one of these is now visible in available photographs, however: εν (12:13b). Three are reconstructed by W. E.

⁷⁶ Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte*, 244 (§188).

⁷⁷ A. H. Saloni, "Die griechischen Handschriftenfragmente des Neuen Testaments in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin," *ZNW* 26 (1927): 97–119 (100–2).

⁷⁸ Saloni, "Die griechischen Handschriftenfragmente," 116–19.

Crum and H. I. Bell, the original editors: [εν] (12:11), [ενι] (12:13a), and [δυο] (14:27).⁷⁹ A more recent edition offers two more reconstructions: [τρεις] (14:27) and “(εἰς)” (14:27, curved brackets indicating the editor’s confidence) where Crum and Bell have μερ]ος[.

Difficulty in the reconstruction of this manuscript has led to the proposal of a numerical abbreviation. Uncertain that there was enough space in the line in 12:13, Crum and Bell suggested that either the preposition ἐν was omitted or that ἐνί was abbreviated: [εν ᾱ πνι].⁸⁰ By way of comparison, however, Güting manages to reconstruct the text without an omission or abbreviation.

4.2.22 0207

There are seven visible cardinal numbers in 0207; four are abbreviated: ε̄ (Rev 9:5, 10),⁸¹ δ̄ (Rev 9:14, 15); three are longhand: μια (9:12), δυο (9:12), μιαν (9:13). There is one ordinal number and it is longhand: εκτος (9:13).⁸²

4.2.23 0217

There are two visible cardinal numbers in 0217 and both are longhand: εἰς (John 12:2) and [τριακοσι]|ων (12:5). Two others have been reconstructed: [εξ] (12:1) and [εἰς] (12:4).⁸³

⁷⁹ W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell, eds., *Wadi Sarga: Coptic and Greek Texts from the Excavations undertaken by the Byzantine Research Account*, vol. 3 of *Coptica: Consilio et Impensis Instituti Rask-Oerstediani edita* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel–Nordisk, 1922), 32–42; and, more recently, Eberhard Güting, “Neuedition der Pergamentfragmente London Brit. Libr. Pap. 2240 aus dem Wadi Sarga mit neutestamentlichem Text,” *ZPE* 75 (1988): 97–114. Also note that in 1 Cor 12:9, 0201 reads αὐτῷ (with Ⲙ C³ D F G etc.) in place of ἐνί.

⁸⁰ Crum and Bell, *Wadi Sarga*, 39 n. 72.

⁸¹ The occurrence of ε̄ in Rev 9:5 is difficult to discern because this side of the parchment is extremely faded.

⁸² *PSIX* 1166.118–20. Note that 0207 is a witness to the text without τεσσαρων in 9:13 (with P⁴⁷, A, 1611, 2057, etc.) or ἑκτῷ in 9:14 (with A).

⁸³ Sanz, *Biblica*, 61–63 (§37).

4.2.24 0218

One cardinal number is visible in 0218 and it is longhand: [τρια]|κοϛ[ιων] (John 12:5). One more can be reasonably reconstructed: [ειc] (12:2).⁸⁴

4.2.25 0219

One number is partially visible in 0219: ει[c] (Rom 3:30),⁸⁵ though here I am relying on the printed edition and could not verify with a photograph of the manuscript.

4.2.26 0221

There are two partially visible cardinal numbers in 0221: [εvo]c (Rom 5:17a) and ε|[voc] (5:17b). Two more can be reconstructed: [εvoc] (5:17c, 19b).⁸⁶

4.2.27 0226

One ordinal is partially visible in 0226: [πρ]ωτον (1 Thess 4:16).⁸⁷

4.2.28 0231

There is one partially visible cardinal number in 0231: τριακο[ντα] (Matt 27:3).⁸⁸

4.2.29 0240

One cardinal number is visible in 0240: μι|ac (Tit 1:6).⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Sanz, *Biblica*, 63–64 (§38).

⁸⁵ This number is not recorded in the *editio princeps* (Sanz, *Biblica*, 69 [§42]), but rather in a second fragment which was subsequently identified as part of 0219; see Kurt Treu, “Papyri und Majuskeln,” in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of his sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. J. K. Elliott, NovTSup 44 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 373–86 (384–86).

⁸⁶ Sanz, *Biblica*, 70–72 (§43).

⁸⁷ Sanz, *Biblica*, 82–83 (§48).

⁸⁸ *P.Ant.* I 11.23–24. There is also one reconstructed numerical adverb: [τρις] (26:75).

⁸⁹ Giorgi Zereteli, “Un palimpseste grec du V^e siècle sur parchemin (Epist. ad Fit. [*sic*] 1. 4–6, 7–9),” *Académie royale Belgique: Bulletin de la classe des lettres* V^e sér. 18 (1932): 427–32 (note that the title of the publication should have read: “Epist. ad Tit.”). I was unable to verify this reading with photographs and have relied on the transcription.

4.2.30 0242

One cardinal number is partially visible in 0242. At Matt 13:33, the editor gives [τρι]α,⁹⁰ though this is difficult to discern in available photographs; a more cautious reading would perhaps be [τρι]α.

4.2.31 0244

One cardinal number is visible in 0244: τεσσαρσι (Acts 12:4).⁹¹

4.2.32 0254

One cardinal number is transcribed in the edition of 0254: ε|vi (Gal 5:14),⁹² though I am unable to discern this from the available photographs.

4.2.33 0274

There are seven cardinal numbers visible in 0274 and all are longhand: εic (Mark 10:17, 18), εν (9:37; 10:21), δυο (9:45, 47), and δωδεκα (9:35).⁹³ Two more can be reasonably reconstructed on the basis of line length: [τετρακιςχιλιοι] (8:9) and [τρεις] (9:31). One longhand ordinal number is visible: πρω|τος (9:35).

4.2.34 0308

One cardinal number is extant in 0308, and it is written shorthand: κδ̄ (Rev 11:16).⁹⁴

4.2.35 0312

One cardinal number is visible in 0312: δυο (Luke 7:18).⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Ramón Roca-Puig, “Un pergamino griego del Evangelio de San Mateo,” *Emerita* 27 (1959): 59–73.

⁹¹ Marie-Luise Lakmann, “Neutestamentliche Texte aus Khirbet Mird: P⁸³ und 0244,” *ETL* 85 (2009): 467–78.

⁹² Kurt Treu, “Ein weiteres Unzialpalimpsest des Galaterbriefes aus Damaskus,” in *Studia Evangelica* 5, ed. F. L. Cross, TU 103 (Berlin: Akademie, 1968), 219–21.

⁹³ J. Martin Plumley and Colin H. Roberts, “An Uncial Text of St. Mark in Greek from Nubia,” *JTS* 27 (1976): 34–45. The editors also transcribe ε[πα] (8:8), but this seems to me to be optimistic; only the extreme bottom edge of this letter is visible.

⁹⁴ *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4500.35–37. It is unclear what the editor means here when referring to the abbreviated number as a “cypher” (pg. 36).

4.2.36 0321

There are seven visible cardinal numbers in 0321: *εἰς* (Matt 24:40), *μία* (24:41b), *δεκά* (25:1), *[ε]νί* (25:40), *ενί* (25:45), *δυο* (26:37), and *μῖαν* (26:40); and two more can be reasonably reconstructed: *[δυο]* (24:40), and *[μία]* (24:41a). There are two visible ordinal numbers: *δευτε|ρου* (26:42) and *τρίτου* (26:44).⁹⁶

4.3 Observations and Summary

4.3.1 Diversity of Numbers in the Majuscules

Much like the papyri, there are several elements of diversity that characterize the number-writing techniques among the majuscules. (1) First, and unsurprisingly, different scribes had different preferences of number writing. (2) Second, individual scribes were inconsistent in their choice of number-forms, often fluctuating between longhand and shorthand forms, even for the same values, and they did so unpredictably.

Other similarities with the papyri are also evident. For one, there is diversity regarding the ways in which particular classes of numbers are handled. For example, in B 03 and D 05, numbers in the thousands were occasionally abbreviated, while *ⲁ* 01 and W 032 contain many abbreviations but never for values in the thousands. Further, D 05 alone abbreviates ordinal numbers.

Another observation concerns Codices A 02 and B 03. The scribes of these two uncials had a clear preference for longhand number-forms, but they were not *totally* consistent in avoiding abbreviations; both contain at least one exception. Thus, even

⁹⁵ Peter M. Head, “Five New Testament Manuscripts: Recently Discovered Fragments in a Private Collection in Cambridge,” *JTS* 59 (2008): 520–45 (530–34).

⁹⁶ Tischendorf, *Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta*, 11–16. In addition, there is one numerical adverb: *τρίς* (Matt 26:34).

among those manuscripts that appear to standardize number-forms, this effort was not completely inflexible, and abbreviations could be used on occasion. Again, scribal freedom seems to be the crucial factor.

4.3.2 Uniformity of Numbers in the Majuscules

There are also some striking similarities to be discerned among the numerals in the majuscules.

(1) First, similar to the papyri, there are no instances of “one” (εἰς/μία/ἓν) being given in abbreviated form. This is noteworthy given the high frequency of the number in the NT; “one” occurs more than any other number in the NT yet it is never shortened. It is also noteworthy in light of the fact that at this number was regularly given in shorthand form in texts outside the NT.

(2) Second, also similar to the papyri is the nearly exclusive avoidance of abbreviations for values in the thousands. There are a total of three exceptions to this, two in D 05 and one in B 03, but values in the thousands are nearly always given in longhand form among the majuscules.

(3) Third, there is also continuity with the papyri regarding numbers that were more likely to be abbreviated than others; that is, if a manuscript contains abbreviations, there are a handful that are more common than others (e.g., τεσσαράκοντα and δώδεκα, etc.).

(4) And fourth, there is a tendency for different NT corpora to contain distinct scribal tendencies of number-writing: for example, the Gospels often contain abbreviated forms (e.g., in Ⲑ, D, and W), epistles do not (with just one exception in Ⲑ), and Revelation often does (e.g., Ⲑ, A, 0207). This is also found in the papyri, but there the pattern is more pronounced. These similarities might be reflective of the

state of these texts in earlier stages of transmission, perhaps when the books (or collections of books) circulated independently.

4.3.3 Syntax of Numerals

Similar to the papyri, the unit-numeral relationship does not change. When numerical shorthand appears, it merely substitutes for the longhand word; scribes did not alter the syntax by transposing the number and unit.

4.3.4 Chronological Development

A surprising observation to be made at this point is that the use of numerical shorthand did not, in fact, cease with the onset of parchment manuscripts, even those of fine quality. There is no question that majuscules such as \mathfrak{N} 01, D 05, and W 032 are the products of professional, well-funded copying projects, and yet these contain surprisingly high frequencies of numerical shorthand—a feature that is generally associated with a lower register of scribal hand. That said, we are able to see outlines of a movement away from the practice as it is found in the papyri. It is in the fourth century majuscule B 03 in particular that we see a sizeable codex with a remarkable degree of consistency in avoiding numerical abbreviations. This is followed by other impressive examples in the fifth century such as A 02 and C 04. It is at this point that the technique begins to disappear from NT manuscripts, though never completely. A brief look at later manuscripts of, say, the sixth and seventh centuries, shows that it can be found occasionally in later centuries.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ I once suspected that there would be a definite cut-off point after which no numerical shorthand was used in NT body texts (which could function as a means by which to date certain manuscripts), but there are too many exceptions to permit such a rule. Especially problematic are the supplementary quire of John in Codex W 032 (W^S), uncials Φ 043, 070, 0187, and 0307, all of which have traces of the practice. This was the subject of my conference presentation, “Numerical Abbreviations and the Date of Codex Washingtonianus (W/032)” (paper presented at the Green Scholars Initiative

We should be reminded that the avoidance of numerical shorthand seems to have been a feature of high-quality scribal work.⁹⁸ It is therefore no coincidence that when Christian manuscripts began to improve in scribal quality and production value, numerical shorthand began to disappear, albeit slowly. The decline of this feature should therefore be seen as one element in the wider movement towards the professional workmanship and material quality of Christian books in the Constantinian era.

4.4 Conclusion

Although used with far less frequency than in the papyri, alphabetic numerals are an important scribal feature of NT manuscripts written on parchment. Close attention to the number-writing styles of our early scribes has allowed remarkable insights into the production and history of many of our codices. In some cases we were able to see how numerals can confirm the hypotheses of other scholars concerning certain manuscripts (such as Sanders with W, and Jongkind with Ϟ), and for others we have uncovered supplementary information (such as Parker with D, etc.). Taking our observations from the papyri and the majuscules combined, we can now see the outlines of a “Christian number-writing technique”: if a NT manuscript contains numerical abbreviations, these will be used primarily (but inconsistently) for cardinal values between 2–100, never for “one,” and only very rarely for ordinals and values

Workshop on Dating Early Papyri and Manuscripts, Oklahoma City, OK, 28 March 2014), the proceedings of which should be published in due course.

⁹⁸ Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed., rev. P. J. Parsons, IBSBSup 46 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 15: “I have never observed in a well-written Greek papyrus manuscript of classical literature (Christian texts being quite different in this respect) the kind of abbreviation postulated by the emenders of such terms as δεκαδραχμιν, Dem. vi 22, into τετραδραχμιν.... But the use of numerical notation and of abbreviations of this kind ... is common in documentary papyri and is found in copies of the sacred scriptures. Only if a literary manuscript were treated as a careless private copy or were copied by a Christian scribe would one expect to find abbreviations of this kind.”

in the thousands. Furthermore, this analysis has allowed us to refine our understanding of many codices, correct some errors, rule out some (now unlikely) possibilities for reconstructions of manuscripts, and get a better sense of what Christian scribes would or would not do as it relates to numerals. In addition to these gain, however, our observations have also raised some key questions that must be addressed, and the aim of part 2 is to pursue these in greater detail.

PART TWO:

STUDIES

CHAPTER 5:

EXTERNAL ANALYSIS: SELECTED COMPARISONS

5.1 Introduction

In part one we identified the different ways in which numerals have been used in discussions about the NT text, and we then conducted a thorough analysis of the relevant data. Aside from adding to our knowledge of the composition and creation of specific manuscripts, this foundational survey has uncovered a handful of issues that need to be pursued in greater detail. One question that has arisen repeatedly in the preceding chapters is the possible connection between numerical symbols and textual genealogy; that is, were alphabetic numerals ever carried over directly by scribes from their exemplars, and, if so, can this reveal anything about a manuscript's genealogy? The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to examine number-writing techniques *externally*, which will involve comparing numerals in specific locations across multiple manuscripts.

Given the wealth of numbers in the NT documents, we will have to be selective. Except for manuscripts of Revelation, the following numbers will be omitted from view: ones, ordinals, and values in the thousands. There is so little (if any) variation with numbers in these categories that comparisons would not be particularly helpful. Furthermore, to simplify the presentation of the data, uncial manuscripts such as A 02, B 03, and C 04 are not usually listed explicitly due to the fact that they almost always contain longhand number-forms. Unless otherwise specified, these witnesses can be assumed to have the longhand numbers in their extant portions.

5.2 Numerical Abbreviations and Textual Genealogy

Two concrete examples suggest that number-styles might be genealogically significant. The first is one we have already seen in tracing the numbers in Codex Washingtonianus (W 032). As described, this manuscript is uniquely variegated in its textual affinities, much like a patchwork composition. Importantly, the number-writing techniques employed by the copyist shift from one text block to another; so, for example, the Alexandrian portion of Luke's Gospel (1:1–8:12) contains repeated usage of numerical shorthand, but when the book shifts in text type to Byzantine (8:13–24:53), the copyists opts for longhand forms. This happens several times within the codex and it suggests that the numerical shorthand was not independently introduced but was copied directly from the various source-texts. If so, then there is an intriguing possibility that numerals could have a similar genealogical significance between other manuscripts as well.

The second example is a group of later manuscripts, the Western Pauline codices. In particular, Codex Augiensis (F 010) and Codex Boernerianus (G 012) are two ninth-century Graeco-Latin diglot manuscripts that share a common ancestor; they might even have been copied from the same exemplar.¹ In any case, there is no doubt that they are related very closely to one another. Remarkably, in terms of number-writing techniques, both F and G are *exactly* the same in their choices of numerical-styles. Both codices predominantly contain longhand number-forms throughout their texts, but there are three exceptions in both F and G at precisely the

¹ For the authoritative work on the Western Paulines, see H. J. Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften*, VL 4 (Freiburg: Herder, 1964). For their texts, see F. H. A. Scrivener, ed., *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis ...* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1859); A. Reichardt, ed., *Der Codex Boernerianus: Der Briefe des Apostels Paulus (Msc. Dresd. A 145b), in Lichtdruck nachgebildet* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1909).

same three locations: “forty” (2 Cor 11:24), “three” (Gal 1:18), and “four-hundred thirty” (Gal 3:17). This threefold agreement in numerical abbreviation almost certainly reflects the contents of their common source-text and therefore confirms a close genealogical relationship between the two codices. Granted, F 010 and G 012 were copied in a later, Latin-speaking milieu and may not be representative of earlier scribal practices; nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that they would be entirely unique in their copying habits either.

There is also some evidence to the contrary. An important study by Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Malcom Choat analyzed the behavior of scribes in producing duplicate copies of Greek documentary papyri.² While there are several points of noteworthy similarities between duplicate copies of documents produced by the same scribes (such as *nu*-bars and line fillers even where the textual layouts differ), in at least one instance there is a numerical symbol in “copy A” that is subsequently written longhand in “copy B.” In such a case one may infer that the exemplar is less influential than the scribe’s individual decision. Even as this illustration arises from the documentary genre rather than the literary, the principle is nonetheless significant for our purposes; it confirms that we should by no means expect that scribes—whether in literary or documentary contexts—always copied abbreviations over directly from their exemplars.³

² Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Malcom Choat, “The Copyist at Work: Scribal Practice in Duplicate Documents,” in *Actes du 26^e Congrès international de papyrologie: Genève, 16–21 août 2010*, ed. P. Schubert, *Recherches et Rencontres* 30 (Geneva: Droz, 2012) 827–34 (esp. 832).

³ Also relevant is David C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 133–41, 259–61, who examines duplicate NT manuscripts and shows that scribes were often selective in what features of an exemplar they chose to mimic.

In the tables that follow, numerals are recorded as they appear in the manuscripts. Shorthand numerals are highlighted in gray to aid in identifying similarities between witnesses. “*Lac.*” denotes lacunose portions, “*var.*” denotes variant wording lacking the numeral in question, and “*omit*” denotes omissions.

5.3 Manuscripts of Matthew

We begin with witnesses of Matthew’s Gospel, in which manuscripts B 03, C 04, and W 032 (with a couple exceptions) are consistent in using longhand forms (A 02 is lacunose until chapter 25); in contrast, \aleph 01 and D 05 contain many numerical abbreviations and can be fruitfully compared. Many fragmentary papyri and uncials exhibit variable practices and these have been included for the sake of comparison.

5.3.1 Matthew Selection 1 (1:17–4:2)

This first selection is a good example of the contrasting scribal treatments of numerals in our early manuscripts. Among the majuscules that contain numerical shorthand (\aleph 01, D 05, and W 032), for example, none are predictable or consistent in doing so. It is also notable that P¹ contains abbreviated forms along with \aleph 01, but with such small selections of evidence, it would be dubious to suppose that these are necessarily related (table 5.1).

Table 5.1. Matthew Selection 1					
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P¹</i>	<i>P¹⁰¹</i>	\aleph 01	D 05	W 032
1:17a	$\overline{\iota\delta}$	<i>lac.</i>	$\overline{\iota\delta}$	<i>lac.</i>	δεκατεσσαρες
1:17b	$\overline{\iota\delta}$	<i>lac.</i>	$\overline{\iota\delta}$	<i>lac.</i>	$\overline{\iota\delta}$
1:17c	$\overline{\iota\delta}$	<i>lac.</i>	$\overline{\iota\delta}$	<i>lac.</i>	$\overline{\iota\delta}$
4:2a	<i>lac.</i>	$\overline{\mu}$	τεσσερακοντα	$\overline{\mu}$	τεσσαρακοντα
4:2b	<i>lac.</i>	$[\overline{\mu}]$	τεσσερακοντα	τεσσαρακοντα	τεσσαρακοντα

5.3.2 Matthew Selections 2 (chaps. 9–11) and 3 (chap. 13)

Together, Selections 2 and 3 illustrate a complicated relationship between \aleph 01 and D 05. On the one hand, the manuscripts show a great deal of agreement in their respective use of numerical shorthand (e.g., Matt 10:1, 2, 5; 13:8c, 23a, 23b, 23c), and in their use of longhand numbers (esp. 9:20). In particular, it is noteworthy that neither copyist abbreviated δώδεκα in 9:20 but both did so in the following three instances (10:1, 2, 5). This is a remarkable pattern of coincidences. On the other hand, however, these two manuscripts also contain several notable differences (11:1; 13:8a, 8b). In any case, the two texts are not known to be related genealogically in any significant sense, and B 03, which is considered to be much closer to \aleph 01, is consistent in using longhand forms. It seems most likely, therefore, that the degree of similarity in numbering is either coincidental or related to a similar scribal preference, but not a common archetype (tables 5.2 and 5.3).

Table 5.2 Matthew Selection 2		
Ref.	\aleph 01	D 05
9:20	δω δεκα	δωδεκα
9:27	δυο	δυο
9:28	δυο	δυο
10:1	ιβ	ιβ
10:2	ιβ	ιβ
10:5	ιβ	ιβ
10:10	δυο	δυο
10:29	δυο	δυο
11:1	ιβ	δωδεκα

Table 5.3 Matthew Selection 3		
Ref.	\aleph 01	D 05
13:8a	ε κατον	ρ
13:8b	εξηκο τα	ξ
13:8c	λ	λ
13:23a	ρ	ρ
13:23b	ξ	ξ
13:23c	λ	λ

5.3.3 Matthew Selection 4 (25:15–22)

An important observation to be made from this selection is that the four numerals extant in P³⁵ agree perfectly in number-form with those in D 05. Nevertheless, these

two manuscripts are not known to be closely related textually, and the text which stands much closer genealogically to P³⁵ is that of \aleph 01, which itself contains all longhand forms (see table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Matthew Selection 4			
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P³⁵</i>	\aleph 01	<i>D</i> 05
25:15a	$\overline{\epsilon}$	πεντε	$\cdot\overline{\epsilon}\cdot$
25:15b	<i>lac.</i>	δυο	$\cdot\overline{\beta}\cdot$
25:16a	<i>lac.</i>	πεντε	πεντε
25:16b	<i>lac.</i>	πεντε	$\cdot\overline{\epsilon}\cdot$
25:22a	[δ]υο	δυο	δυο
25:22b	δυ[ο]	δυο	δυο
25:22c	δυο	δυο	δυο

5.3.4 Matthew Selection 5 (26:14–27:3)

The final selection from Matthew is worth highlighting because several papyri and majuscules are extant here (see table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Matthew Selection 5				
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Various Mss.</i>	<i>P⁴⁵</i>	\aleph 01	<i>D</i> 05
26:14	[ι]β (P ⁶⁴)	δωδε[κα]	$\cdot\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}\cdot$	$\cdot\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}\cdot$
26:15	<i>lac.</i>		$\cdot\overline{\lambda}\cdot$	$\cdot\overline{\lambda}\cdot$
26:20	$\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}$ (P ³⁷)	[δω]δεκα	$\cdot\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}\cdot$	$\cdot\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}\cdot$
26:37	δ[υο] (P ⁵³) δυο (0321)	<i>lac.</i>	δυ ο	δυο
26:47	$\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}$ (P ³⁷)	<i>lac.</i>	$\cdot\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}\cdot$	$\cdot\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}\cdot$
26:53		<i>lac.</i>	δωδε κα	$\cdot\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}\cdot$
26:60		<i>lac.</i>	$\overline{\beta}$	δυο
26:61		<i>lac.</i>	τριω	τρειων
27:3	τριακο[ντα] (0231)	<i>lac.</i>	$\cdot\overline{\lambda}\cdot$	<i>lac.</i>

These additional witnesses confirm the same picture as seen above; they help to illustrate that shorthand was used commonly but not exclusively in early witnesses. Concerning \aleph 01 and D 05 specifically, we again see a complicated relationship; there are several agreements but also some important differences in number-style

(26:53, 60). On the other hand, there are some instances where **ⲛ** and D are joined by earlier witnesses (26:14, 20, 47), suggesting that these particular abbreviations might go back further to an earlier source-text (without implying a close genealogical link), but this is not certain.

5.4 Manuscripts of Mark

In the Gospel of Mark, manuscripts A 02, B 03,⁴ and C 04 are consistent in using longhand forms, but **ⲛ** 01, D 05, and W 032 contain many abbreviations and can be compared. In addition, extant portions of P⁴⁵ offer some important insights as well.

5.4.1 Mark Selection 1 (1:13–5:25)

One important comparison to be made from this first selection concerns D and W, which are regarded as similar in text-type, as W is considered “Western” (or D-text) in Mark 1:1–5:30. Even at first glance, D and W contain a remarkable degree of agreement in their use of numerical shorthand. This similarity would seem to suggest that their shared style of number-writing is indeed genealogically significant, implying that they inherited these symbols from a common archetype. While this is possible, a telling counterpoint is the witness of **ⲛ**, which, though not textually related, contains almost the exact same level of agreement in shorthand (except in 2:3 and 5:25). So, another explanation for this degree of similarity is that early copyists could have been for some reason more willing to employ numerical

⁴ The one exceptional abbreviation in B 03 is in Mark 5:13 ($\overline{\beta}$ = 2,000). I have found only one other manuscript that contains a numerical abbreviation here, namely, minuscule 719, a twelfth-century Gospels manuscript written on paper and containing Theophylact’s commentary. The numeral is written $\beta\acute{o}t$ —meaning (δύσχυλ)οι. Since, however, this manuscript contains other numerical abbreviations elsewhere in its body text (e.g., $\overline{\beta}$, Mark 5:25; $\delta^{\acute{o}t}$, Mark 8:9), it is unlikely that there is in any particular dependence on B 03. For images, see the INTF website.

shorthand in the text of Mark's Gospel, but they were not necessarily dependent on an earlier source for these abbreviations (see table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Mark Selection 1			
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>ⲁ 01</i>	<i>D 05</i>	<i>W 032</i>
1:13	·μ·	·μ·	μ
2:3	·δ·	τεσσαρων	<i>var.</i>
3:14	·ιβ·	·ιβ·	ιβ
3:16	·ιβ·	<i>var.</i>	<i>var.</i>
4:8a	·λ·	·λ·	λ
4:8b	·ξ·	·ξ·	ξ
4:8c	·ρ·	·ρ·	ρ
4:10	·ιβ·	<i>var.</i>	<i>var.</i>
4:20a	·λ·	·λ·	λ
4:20b	·ξ·	·ξ·	ξ
4:20c	·ρ·	·ρ·	ρ
5:25	δω δεκα	·ιβ·	ιβ

5.4.2 Mark Selection 2 (6:37–9:5)

The second selection highlights passages where P⁴⁵ is extant. Importantly, scholars have identified a significant level of textual agreement between P⁴⁵ and Codex W (esp. after 5:31 in W), and so we might expect some correspondence between the number-writing of the two manuscripts.⁵ Nevertheless, the situation is in fact more complex than this (see table 5.7):

⁵ See Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark*, SD 43 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1981). Hurtado's study has been recently supplemented and confirmed Tommy Wasserman, "P⁴⁵ and Codex W in Mark Revisited," in *Mark, Manuscripts, and Monotheism: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado*, ed. Chris Keith and Dieter R. Roth, LNTS 528 (London: T & T Clark, 2015): 130–56. On the other hand, another study has shown that the two manuscripts are less related in Mark 6 than in other chapters; see David Pastorelli, "The Chester Beatty I Papyrus (P⁴⁵) and the Main Greek Manuscripts of Mark 6 and 9: A Classification Based on a New Quantitative Method," in *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context*, ed. Claire Clivaz and Jean Zumstein, BETL 242 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 281–305.

Table 5.7 Mark Selection 2				
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P</i> ⁴⁵	<i>ⲁ 01</i>	<i>D 05</i>	<i>W 032</i>
6:37	[διακοc]ιων	διακοcιων	διακοcιων	ρ̄
6:38a	πεντε	πεντε	·ε̄·	πεντε
6:38b	δυο	δυο	δυ{o}	δυο
6:41a	<i>omit</i>	πε τε	·ε̄·	πεντε
6:41b	<i>omit</i>	δυο	·β̄·	δυο
6:41c	<i>vac.</i>	<i>var.</i>	·ε̄·	πεντε
6:41d	<i>vac.</i>	·β̄·	·β̄·	δυο
6:43	δωδεκα	·ιβ̄·	ιβ̄·	ιβ̄
8:19	ιβ̄·	·ιβ̄·	·ιβ̄·	δωδεκα
8:20	επτα·	επτα	·ζ̄·	ζ̄
9:5	τρεις	·γ̄·	·γ̄·	τρεις

A significant observation to be made about W is that, in the portion that is not “Western” in textual affinity (5:31–16:20), the similarities to D have noticeably decreased. Fewer abbreviations are used in comparison to D, and on one occasion, a symbol is used in W where the longhand is used in D (6:37). As this shift in scribal tendency in W away from D coincides with a shift in textual affinity (toward P⁴⁵), it seems reasonable to infer that the change in number-writing techniques reflects the contents of another textual tradition. And yet, when W is compared to its closest “relative” (P⁴⁵), there is very little agreement of number-styles, and the two never contain an abbreviation at the same location. Where W contains an abbreviation P⁴⁵ contains the longhand (Mark 6:37; 8:20), and, remarkably, the reverse is also true at one point (8:19). Furthermore, the similarities between ⲁ and D (6:41d, 43; 8:19; 9:5) confirm that agreement in number-style is not necessarily due to genealogical relationship. Scribal freedom seems to be the rule.

It is also instructive to observe the threefold agreement of ⲁ, D, and W in reading ιβ̄ at Mark 6:43. Without the witness of P⁴⁵ one might be tempted to suspect that this triple agreement represents the wording of an earlier textual stratum.

Nevertheless, our earliest witness to the text of Mark 6:43 is P⁴⁵, in which the number is given longhand.

5.5 Manuscripts of Luke

In the Gospel of Luke, the three majuscules \aleph 01, D 05, and W 032 offer some instructive points of comparison, and several papyri and fragmentary majuscules add valuable data.

5.5.1 Luke Selection 1 (3:11–4:2)

The first selection from Luke simply shows two numbers in particular that seem to have a long tradition of being represented in symbol form, but even these are not uniform. Shorthand forms for these numbers are found in several papyri and majuscules, but the longhand forms in P⁷ and D confirm that copyists were free to vary their style (see table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Luke Selection 1						
Ref.	P ⁴	P ⁷	P ⁷⁵	\aleph 01	D 05	W 032
3:11	[δυο]	<i>lac.</i>	<i>lac.</i>	δυο	δυο	δυο
3:23	$\bar{\lambda}$	<i>lac.</i>	<i>lac.</i>	$\bar{\lambda}$	$\cdot\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}$
4:2	$\bar{\mu}$	τεσ σερακοντα	$\bar{\mu}$	$\bar{\mu} $	τεσσαρακοντα	$\bar{\mu}$

5.5.2 Luke Selection 2 (9:28–10:17)

Selection 2 is important because it allows the comparison of two substantial papyri, P⁴⁵ and P⁷⁵ (see table 5.9). The combined witness of P⁴⁵ and P⁷⁵ confirm that copyists exercised a great deal of freedom in their usage of abbreviations. This selection also shows the complexity involved in attempting to trace genealogical links through the use of numerical shorthand. No two witnesses contain significant agreement, and even when agreement in number-styles can be observed, this

provides no sure indication of textual relationship.

Table 5.9 Luke Selection 2					
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>0181</i>	<i>P⁷⁵</i>	<i>P⁴⁵</i>	<i>κ 01</i>	<i>D 05</i>
9:28	<i>lac.</i>	ἡ	[οκ]τω	οκτω	οκτω
9:30	<i>lac.</i>	[δυο]	δυο	δυο	δυο
9:32	<i>lac.</i>	β	δυο	δυο	δυο
9:33	<i>lac.</i>	γ	τρεις	τρικ	τρεις
10:1a	οβ	οβ	<i>lac.</i>	εβδομηκοντα	·οβ·
10:1b	δυο	β	<i>lac.</i>	δυ ο	δυο
10:17	<i>lac.</i>	οβ	ο	εβδομηκοντα	·οβ·

5.5.3 Luke Selection 3 (13:4–21)

Importantly, this selection displays the same witnesses (except 0181) in curious agreement of number-style (see table 5.10).

Table 5.10 Luke Selection 3				
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P⁷⁵</i>	<i>P⁴⁵</i>	<i>κ 01</i>	<i>D 05</i>
13:4	ἡ	<i>lac.</i>	δεκα κ οκτω	δεκα οκτω
13:7	τρια	<i>lac.</i>	τρια	τρια
13:11	ἡ	ἡ	δε κα οκτω	·ἡ·
13:14	εξ	εξ	εξ	εξ
13:16	[ἡ]	ἡ	δεκα και οκτω	·ἡ·
13:21	τρια	τρια	τρια	τρια

Without the information provided by the previous selection (Luke Selection 2), we might be tempted to see a special relationship between *P⁴⁵*, *P⁷⁵*, and *D* because of their substantial agreement in numerical abbreviation (e.g., 13:11, 16). But Luke Selection 2 showed the same witnesses in substantial disagreement elsewhere, meaning that no genealogical relationship ought to be inferred. That being said, however, the threefold agreement of these witnesses in the abbreviation of ἡ (Luke 13:14, 16) might actually suggest that this particular abbreviation might extend

further back in the textual tradition and probably predates P⁴⁵ and P⁷⁵, but without implying a *direct* genealogical relationship.

5.6 Manuscripts of John

For the Gospel of John there are two early papyri of substantial length that can be compared fruitfully: P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵.

5.6.1 John Selection 1 (1:35–2:20)

The differences between P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ here are notable, and they further illustrate how copyists were free to vary their style of numbering (table 5.11).

Table 5.11 John Selection 1			
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Various Mss.</i>	<i>P⁶⁶</i>	<i>P⁷⁵</i>
1:35	[δ]υο (P ⁵)	δυο	β̄
1:37	δυο (P ⁵) δυο (P ¹²⁰)	δυο	δυο
1:40	[δ]υο (P ⁵) δυο (P ¹⁰⁶)	δυο	δυο
2:6a		εξ	εξ
2:6b		δυο	β̄
2:6c		τρικ	γ̄
2:19	[τ]ρικιν (0162)	τρικιν	τρι κιν
2:20a	μ̄ και εξ (0162)	τεσσε ρακοντα και εξ	μ̄ και εξ
2:20b	τρικιν (0162)	τρικιν	τρικιν

On the other hand, however, the similarity between P⁷⁵ and majuscule 0162 is striking: both employ a hybrid abbreviation of shorthand + longhand (μ̄ και εξ rather than μ̄ και ς̄) for the first value in 2:20, as well as the longhand for the second (τρικιν). The two witnesses otherwise do show a high degree of similarity in textual affinity, suggesting that they might owe their numbering-style to a common ancestor, but the testimony of 0162 is far too brief to permit certainty.

5.6.2 John Selection 2 (4:18–8:17)

To these early papyri D 05 can be added, which was lacunose for John 1:16–3:26, but now adds a helpful comparison (table 5.12).

Table 5.12 John Selection 2			
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P</i> ⁶⁶	<i>P</i> ⁷⁵	<i>D</i> 05
4:18	πεντε	ε̄	πεντε
4:40	δυο	β̄	δυο
4:43	δυο	β̄	δυο
5:2	πεντε	ε̄	πεντε
5:5	λη̄	λη̄	τριακοντα και οκτω
6:7	διακοσιων	[διακοσι]ων	διακοσιων
6:9a	πεντε	ε̄	πεντε
6:9b	δυο	β̄	δυο
6:13a	lac.	ιβ̄	δωδεκα
6:13b	lac.	ε̄	πεντε
6:19a	lac.	[κε]	εικοσι πεντε
6:19b	lac.	λ̄	τριακοντα
6:67	δωδεκα	ιβ̄	δωδεκα
6:70	ιβ̄	ιβ̄	ιβ̄
6:71	δωδεκα	ιβ̄	δωδεκα
8:17	δυο	β̄	δυο

First, this selection confirms a clear difference in scribal preference between *P*⁶⁶ and *P*⁷⁵. Second, the scribal preference in D seems to have shifted to the use of longhand forms (compared to its text of Matt-Mark-Luke).

A couple numbers in particular are worth singling out. The agreement of number-style between *P*⁶⁶ and *P*⁷⁵ in John 5:5 is striking. The use of an abbreviation in *P*⁷⁵ is not surprising because the scribe employed them frequently, but the use of one in *P*⁶⁶ is notable because elsewhere the papyrus shows clear preference for longhand forms. Could this departure in style indicate that the copyist carried the symbol over from an exemplar? If so, does this suggest that the symbol could be

traced back to a shared archetype of P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵? This is, of course, possible but not verifiable.

Also significant is that the number twelve in John 6:70 is given in abbreviated form by three witness, P⁶⁶, P⁷⁵, and D. Again, the use of abbreviations in P⁶⁶ is rare, and the same is true of D in the Gospel of John. The referent in this context bears no obvious significance (οὐκ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δώδεκα ἐξελεξάμην; καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν εἷς διάβολός ἐστιν); “the twelve” are repeatedly referred to elsewhere in the book, and P⁶⁶ and D otherwise give those occurrences in the longhand form. It is also interesting to observe the placement of these abbreviations in their respective lines of text. In P⁶⁶, $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ falls in the center of its line, not at the end; the same is true of the abbreviation in P⁷⁵; and in D, the abbreviation occurs at the end of a relatively lengthy sense-line, but there is sufficient space for the longhand word. Considering this and the fact that numerical abbreviations are rare in P⁶⁶ and D (only in John), it might well be the case that the symbol traces back to a distant ancestor, but the disparate textual affinities of the witnesses suggests that this is not necessarily required.

5.6.3 John Selection 3 (8:57–12:5)

This selection is important because it shows that individual copyists could drastically vary their chosen numerical styles within single codices. Both P⁷⁵ and D are notable in their heavy use of numerical shorthand elsewhere in their respective texts, but in this stretch from John 8:57 to 12:5 no numerical symbols were used in either, despite the recurring numbers in the passage. It is not clear what accounts for this pattern (see table 5.13).

Table 5.13 John Selection 3				
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Various Mss.</i>	<i>P⁶⁶</i>	<i>P⁷⁵</i>	<i>D 05</i>
8:57		πεντηκοντα	πεντηκοντα	πεντηκοντα
11:6	[δυο] (P ⁶)	[δ]υο	δυο	δυο
11:9	δω[δεκα] (P ⁴⁵)	δωδεκα	[δ]ωδεκα	δωδεκα
11:17		τεσσαρ[εσ]	τεσσαρας	τεσσαρας
11:18	[δε]καπεντε (P ⁴⁵)	δεκαπεντε	δεκαπεντε	δεκαπεντε
12:1		εξ	<i>lac.</i>	εξ
12:5	τριακοσι ων (026) [τριακοσι] ων (0217) [τρια] κοσ[ιων] (0218)	τριακοσιων	τριακοσιων	τριακοσιων

5.7 Manuscripts of Acts

In the Book of Acts, all uncials except for D 05 are consistent in using longhand, but P⁴⁵, as well as other fragmentary witnesses, offer some valuable comparisons.

5.7.1 Acts Selection 1 (7:20–12:4)

In this portion of Acts, Codex D again reverts to the use of numerical shorthand (after mostly longhand in John’s Gospel). Few numbers can be compared between D and P⁴⁵, and the two do not show any great similarity, except for perhaps $\bar{\mu}$ in 7:36 (see table 5.14).

The reading in Acts 10:41 deserves special note. The text of 10:41 in most Greek manuscripts lacks any numeral, but several witnesses contain the added phrase (with some variation): μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν + ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα. This addition is present in P¹²⁷ and D 05, and both have the number in abbreviated form (i.e., $\bar{\mu}$); this could suggest that the symbol itself could have been present the shared source that contained the added phrase, though, it is impossible to be certain.⁶

⁶ On P¹²⁷ and D 05, see Georg Gäbel, “The Text of P¹²⁷ (P.Oxy. 4968) and Its Relationship with the Text of Codex Bezae,” *NovT* 53 (2011): 107–52.

An important comparison can be made by examining the other witnesses in which this addition is found, both Greek and versional: E 08, Old Latin (it), Harklean Syriac (sy^{h**} = asterisked readings from Greek Vorlagen), Sahidic (sa), and Middle Egyptian (mae)—all of which, except for the Old Latin text represented by the Latin column of Bezae (d 5), have longhand forms here.⁷ Thus, whatever might be the particular relationship between these witnesses with respect to the additional phrase “for forty days,” the numerical abbreviation was only used in P¹²⁷, D 05, and d 5.

Table 5.14 Acts Selection 1			
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Various Mss.</i>	<i>P⁴⁵</i>	<i>D 05</i>
7:20		[τρε]ις	τρις
7:29		<i>lac.</i>	δύ{ο}
7:30		<i>lac.</i>	·μ·
7:36		μ	·μ·
7:42		<i>lac.</i>	·μ·
9:38	[δυο] (P ⁵³)	δυο	<i>lac.</i>
10:11		τεσσαρις	<i>lac.</i>
10:41	μ (P ¹²⁷)	<i>lac.</i>	·μ·
11:5		τεσσαρις	τετρας
11:11		<i>lac.</i>	·γ·
11:12		<i>lac.</i>	εξ
12:4	τεσσαρις (0244)	τε[σσαρις]	[τεσσαρις]ν

5.7.2 Acts Selection 2 (23:13)

Selection 2 is included to highlight the fact that an early witness to Acts (third century) may indeed contain an abbreviated numeral, but this is not necessarily repeated in any later codices; D 05 here is lacunose (see table 5.15).

⁷ For E 08 and its Old Latin text e 50, manuscript images were examined at the INTF website. For the Harklean, see J. White, ed., *Actus Apostolorum et Epistolas Catholicas*, vol. 1 of *Actuum Apostolorum et Epistolarum tam Catholicarum quam Paulinarum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1799). For the Sahidic, see G. Horner, ed., *The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 6 of *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922). And for the Middle Egyptian, see Hans-Martin Schenke, ed., *Apostelgeschichte 1,1–15,3 im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Glazier)*, TU 137 (Berlin: Akademie, 1991).

Table 5.15 Acts Selection 2					
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P⁴⁸</i>	<i>ⲁ 01</i>	<i>A 02</i>	<i>B 03</i>	<i>C 04</i>
23:13	μ	τεσσερακοντα	τεσσε ρακοντα	τεσς{α} ρακοντα	τεσσερακοντα

5.8 Pauline Epistles

5.8.1 Pauline Epistles Selection 1 (1 Cor 15:5)

Due to the near perfect consistency of longhand numbers in the Pauline and Catholic Epistles in the early witnesses, very little comparison is needed. The only clear use of a numerical abbreviation in either corpus is in one manuscript at one particular point (see table 5.16):

Table 5.16 Pauline Epistles Selection 1					
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P⁴⁶</i>	<i>P¹²³</i>	<i>ⲁ 01</i>	<i>A 02</i>	<i>B 03</i>
1 Cor 15:5	[δωδεκα]	[δωδεκα]	ιβ	δωδεκα	δωδεκα

In neither P⁴⁶ nor P¹²³ is the precise wording certain, but the reconstructions have been included for the sake of completeness. ⲁ 01 is thus the only certain witness of our period to use an abbreviated numeral in the Pauline letters.

5.8.2 Pauline Epistles Selection 2 (Gal 1:18)

One other abbreviation in Paul's Epistles has been plausibly reconstructed, but contemporary manuscripts are consistently longhand; C 04 is lacunose here (table 5.17).

Table 5.17 Pauline Epistles Selection 2					
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P⁴⁶</i>	<i>P⁵¹</i>	<i>ⲁ 01</i>	<i>A 02</i>	<i>B 03</i>
Gal 1:18	δεκαπεντε	[ιε]	δεκαπεν τε	δεκαπεντε	δεκαπεντε

5.9 Manuscripts of Revelation

For manuscripts of Revelation, ordinals and values in the thousands are listed because these were occasionally abbreviated by scribes. The main early witnesses for this book are \aleph 01, A 02, C 04, P⁴⁷ and P¹¹⁵, plus some fragmentary manuscripts.

5.9.1 Revelation Selections 1 (1:4), 2 (1:20), and 3 (5:6)

The first three selections are included simply to show where some early papyri are extant. Evidently, there is a tendency for papyri of Revelation to contain abbreviated forms, although the uncials seem not to have retained this practice (see tables 5.18, 5.19, and 5.20).

Table 5.18 Revelation Selection 1				
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P</i> ¹⁸	\aleph 01	A 02	C 04
1:4a	[επτα]	επτα	επτα	επτα
1:4b	επτα	επτα	επτα	επτα

Table 5.19 Revelation Selection 2				
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P</i> ⁹⁸	\aleph 01	A 02	C 04
1:20b	ζ	επτα	επτα	επτα
1:20c	ζ	ε πτα	επτα	επτα

Table 5.20 Revelation Selection 3				
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P</i> ²⁴	\aleph 01	A 02	C 04
5:6d	ζ	επτα	omit	vac.

5.9.2 Revelation Selection 4 (9:5–15)

This selection lists where manuscript 0207 is extant; A 02 contains all longhand forms, and C 04 is lacunose (see table 5.21). There are two notable points of correspondence between P⁴⁷ and 0207 with respect to number-style (9:10, 15). But there is a difference in 9:13a, in which an ordinal value is abbreviated by the copyist of P⁴⁷ but is longhand in 0207. In any case, the relationship between the text of 0207 and the P⁴⁷- \aleph group is not especially close, and little can be inferred from this comparison.

Table 5.21 Revelation Selection 4				
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>0207</i>	<i>P⁴⁷</i>	<i>ⲁ01</i>	<i>A 02</i>
9:5	ε	<i>vac.</i>	πε τε	πεντε
9:10	ε	ε	πεντε	πεν τε
9:12	δυο	δυο	δυο	δυο
9:13a	εκτοϥ	ς	εκτοϥ	εκτοϥ
9:13b	<i>omit</i>	<i>omit</i>	<i>omit</i>	<i>omit</i>
9:14a	<i>omit</i>	ς	εκτω	<i>omit</i>
9:14b	δ	<i>omit</i>	τεσσαρεϥ	τεσσαραϥ
9:15	δ	δ	τεσσαρεϥ	τεσσαρεϥ

5.9.3 Revelation Selection 5 (10:3–11:2)

The remaining selections are included to show where the early papyri P⁴⁷, P¹¹⁵ and others are extant; where extant, A 02 and C 04 have longhand forms (table 5.22).⁸

Very little can be compared between our witnesses here in Selection 5, but there are a couple helpful observations. P⁴⁷ and P¹¹⁵ do agree in their use of number style (11:2), but this does not require any sort of genealogical relationship, only a similarity in scribal treatment. It is also instructive to observe how the scribe of ⲁ was resistant to using numerical shorthand even where convenient (10:3, 4b; 11:2), which, as we have seen, contrasts sharply with its increase at the end of the book.

Table 5.22 Revelation Selection 5			
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>P⁴⁷</i>	<i>P¹¹⁵</i>	<i>ⲁ 01</i>
10:3	<i>omit</i>	ζ	ε πτα
10:4a	<i>omit</i>	<i>omit?</i>	επτα
10:4b	{ζ}	<i>lac.</i>	ε πτα
10:7	ζ	<i>lac.</i>	εβδομου
11:2	μβ	μβ	τεσσε ρακοντα δυο

⁸ The *editio princeps* of P¹¹⁵ (P.Oxy. LXVI 4499) contains several reconstructed numerals that I have simply represented as “*lac.*” in order to avoid the impression of certainty.

5.9.4 Revelation Selection 6 (11:16)

The lone visible number in manuscript 0308 is abbreviated as in P⁴⁷, but little in particular can be learned from this given the brevity of the fragment (see table 5.23).

Table 5.23 Revelation Selection 6						
Ref.	0308	P ⁴⁷	P ¹¹⁵	ⲁ 01	A 02	C 04
11:16	ⲕⲔ	ⲕⲔ	<i>vac.</i>	ⲉⲓⲕⲟⲓ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲁⲣⲉⲥ	ⲉⲓⲕⲟⲓ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲁⲣⲉⲥ	ⲉⲓⲕⲟⲓ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲁⲣⲉⲥ

5.9.5 Revelation Selection 7 (13:18–15:6)

This final selection is perhaps the best comparison of P⁴⁷ and P¹¹⁵. Note that, where extant, ⲁ 01, A 02, and C 04 consistently have all longhand forms. None of the following abbreviations, therefore, have left their mark on our later uncials (see table 5.24).

Table 5.24 Revelation Selection 7		
Ref.	P ⁴⁷	P ¹¹⁵
13:18	ⲭⲭⲥ	ⲭⲓⲥ
14:1	ⲣⲙⲔ ⲭⲉⲓⲗⲓⲁⲃⲉⲥ	[ⲣⲙⲔ ⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲃⲉ]ϥ (?)
14:20	ⲭⲉⲓⲗⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲗⲁⲓⲕⲟⲓⲱⲛ	ⲑⲃⲭ
15:1a	ⲫ	<i>lac.</i>
15:1b	[ⲉ]ⲡⲧⲁ	<i>lac.</i>
15:6a	ⲫ	<i>lac.</i>
15:6b	ⲫ	ⲫ

As shown above, the two papyri agree in number-style in several instances (e.g., Rev 13:18; 14:1[?]; 15:6b), but there are important differences as well (e.g., 14:20). This level of disagreement again confirms that scribal use of numerical shorthand is not a significant feature of a manuscript's genealogical tradition; rather, the text of Revelation was simply treated with more abbreviations by copyists than other books.

5.10 Conclusion

More detailed comparison of these witnesses and others (including versions) is possible, but the above selections permit our basic questions to be answered adequately. On the whole, number-writing style appears to be most directly influenced by individual scribal preferences rather than genealogical relationship. Groups or pairs of manuscripts that share relatively close familial relationship often exhibit starkly different number-styles in their overlapping texts (e.g., P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵). At the same time, some manuscript pairs that are textually dissimilar show remarkable agreement in number-writing styles (e.g., Ⲙ 01 and D 05), confirming that their numerical likeness should be attributed to a similar scribal style rather than common ancestry. The conclusion must therefore be that the analysis of number-writing techniques is generally not an effective tool by which to detect or confirm genealogical relationships between NT manuscripts. Number-writing appears to be a feature of individual scribal technique and preference.

That being said, however, there are a handful of number symbols that share significant agreement among early witnesses. These are all the more striking when found in manuscripts that rarely or only occasionally contain abbreviated forms. It is not unreasonable to suspect that these abbreviations might represent the number-forms of a common archetype, without, of course, implying that the witnesses are directly or even closely related. That is, on certain occasions, it may well be that some numerical symbols function as vestiges of earlier stages of the text and, in some cases, representative of distant archetypes; but even these isolated readings cannot be confirmed with certainty.

A final comment is important. Our earlier observation that different NT corpora appear to bear distinct scribal practices of number-writing has been confirmed. Specifically, the witnesses to the books of Mark and Revelation tend to contain far more numerical shorthand than other books, such as Matthew, Luke, and Acts. Furthermore, witnesses to Paul's Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, and to a lesser extent the Gospel of John tend to avoid numerical shorthand altogether. Remarkably, these generalizations hold true across a wide range of manuscripts. Such patterns might be traceable to the time when NT subcollections (or individual books) circulated independently.

CHAPTER 6:

NUMERALS IN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK OLD TESTAMENT

6.1 Introduction

Papyrologist Colin H. Roberts once stated that numerical abbreviations were not used in copies of the Greek OT that can be confidently identified as Jewish. That is, while Christian scribes were evidently willing to utilize numerical shorthand in their copies of Scripture (both of the OT and NT), Roberts observed that, in manuscripts of Jewish origin, “numbers are regularly written out.”¹ This purported difference of scribal technique was subsequently understood by the wider scholarly community as a reliable criterion for distinguishing between Jewish and Christian manuscripts of the Greek OT. In fact, this has been reiterated as a definitive rule on a number of occasions by more than one scholar, and it has affected (for good or ill) the discussion of several OT manuscripts of disputed origins.²

Nevertheless, there are two reasons why this claim ought to be scrutinized. First, Roberts did not cite any particular study that had demonstrated that Jewish scribes categorically avoided numerical shorthand, and so we must infer that this was based on his own observations; this reason alone would invite a more thorough investigation. Second, however, we have seen that Roberts made numerous comments regarding number-writing techniques in NT manuscripts that were

¹ Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, Schweich Lectures 1977 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979), 19.

² For example, Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 66. See also Peter M. Head, “The Date of the Magdalen Papyrus of Matthew (*P. Magd. Gr.* 17 = P64): A Response to C. P. Thiede,” *TynBul* 46 (1995): 251–85 (275). More examples are cited in the discussion below.

imprecise, if not simply incorrect. Were his comments regarding Jewish manuscripts equally as imprecise and/or incorrect?³ The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to test and see if this is a true or false distinction between Jewish and Christian scribal styles. Before doing so, it will be helpful to review some of the other criteria that have been invoked to distinguish Christian and Jewish manuscripts.

6.2 Criteria for Determining Jewish or Christian Origins

A set of criteria for distinguishing between Christian copies of the Greek OT from Jewish ones is desirable because it could allow confident identification of distinct scribal styles and textual groupings; this would allow more accurate pictures of the social and religious aspects of these early groups. Nevertheless, what constitutes legitimate criteria for this distinction is not as clear as one might wish. The older view that tended to draw sharp lines of separation between uniquely Christian scribal practices and uniquely Jewish ones has recently been the object of strong criticism.⁴ For example, in 1973, Kurt Treu leveled a sharp critique of what he considered to be three false criteria hindering an accurate picture of early Graeco-Jewish texts: (1) That all LXX/OG manuscripts of the Common Era must be Christian, as the Jews supposedly abandoned it as a translation; (2) that Jews only used scrolls for their Scriptures, and codices must be Christian; and (3) the use of *nomina sacra* can only

³ A good example of this is the following statement: “In the still earlier [than *P.Fouad Inv. 266*] Rylands Deuteronomy fragment (= H. 57 [*P.Ryl. Gk. 458/Rahlfs 957*]) there is no instance of a numeral” (Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 19 n. 1). As we will see below, however, there is in fact a very clear instance of a numeral in this manuscript.

⁴ In many ways the older view is thought to be present in, for example, Colin H. Roberts, “The Christian Book and the Greek Papyri,” *JTS* 50 (1949): 155–68 (esp. 157–58).

be Christian.⁵ Treu regarded these as false axioms that implied a far greater degree of separation between early Jews and Christians than existed in reality. These misguided notions dispelled, he went on to suggest that many manuscripts that were commonly assumed to be Christian were just as likely to be Jewish in origin (detailed below).

A similar criticism has been voiced more recently by Robert Kraft, who likewise suggests that the original milieu of several early manuscripts should be an “open question” or at least explored in greater detail.⁶ He argues that a rigid application of the older, traditional criteria results in a picture of early Jewish book culture that is too simplistic. For example, he argues that, even among manuscripts from the Judean desert (such as the Dead Sea Scrolls), there is a “range of [scribal] hands and styles” rather than a strict uniformity, and this means that there may have been significant overlap between the scribal styles of Jews and Christians.

Kraft offers a list of the major criteria that have been invoked by previous scholars for this question, and it will be helpful to summarize these here:

- (1) Scroll vs. codex
- (2) Parchment (or leather) vs. papyrus
- (3) Treatment of *nomina sacra*
- (4) Treatment of Tetragrammaton
- (5) Treatment of numbers (longhand or symbol form)
- (6) Use of *scriptio continua* (the absence of spaces between letters/words)
- (7) Assessment of scribal hand/literary style

⁵ Kurt Treu, “Die Bedeutung des Griechischen für die Juden im römischen Reich,” *Kairos* 15 (1973): 123–44. An English translation has been made available online by William Adler and Robert A. Kraft, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/publics/notrak/Treu.htm>.

⁶ Robert A. Kraft, “The ‘Textual Mechanics’ of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments,” in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*, ed. Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. O’Sullivan (London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2003), 51–72 (52–54).

Many objections raised by Treu and Kraft are sound. In fact, some of the criteria listed above are now recognized as patently false. Regarding (2), for example, several Dead Sea Scrolls, which are undeniably Jewish in origin, are papyrus manuscripts; this leaves no room to doubt that Jewish copies of Scripture were written on both materials (as were, in fact, Christian ones). Similarly, regarding (6), while it is true that Christian manuscripts reveal a departure from the unbroken writing of *scriptio continua* with such features as punctuation, word spacing, divisions of sense-units (of “verses” and paragraphs), and enlarged initial letters at the beginnings of lines and phrases, recent studies show that many Jewish biblical manuscripts contain the exact same features (e.g., the Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever⁷); Christian manuscripts are thus not unique in this regard, and so the value of this “criterion” is effectively nil.

Furthermore, some of the above criteria, if not false, are now recognized to have exceptions. For example, regarding (1), it has been assumed that a Greek OT manuscript in codex format must be a Christian one, since Christians preferred this format so strongly; but Treu, as noted above, questioned whether one can assume that Jews *never* used the codex format for biblical texts (perhaps they did so for private use?). A significant example is *P.Oxy. IV 656*, which is widely thought to be Jewish because it contains θεος and κυριος longhand (where Christians would employ *nomina sacra* contractions), yet it is written on a codex. Moreover, it is also not certain that all Jewish scribes categorically avoided any form of *nomina sacra*.

⁷ Emanuel Tov, “Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 125–48, repr. as Appendix 5 in Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 302–15.

For example, *P.Oxy.* VII 1007 (*P.Lit. London* 199/Rahlfs 907) contains an abbreviated form of θεός ($\overline{\theta\varsigma}$) as well as a Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew characters (two *yods* with a strike through them) in place of κύριος; this is possibly an example of a Jewish use of a *nomen sacrum*.

Even with the exceptions noted above, the latter two criteria are widely held to be probable (though not certain) indications of a manuscript's origin. That is, as Emanuel Tov has summarized,

A major criterion, but not the only one, for the Jewish nature of a text is the writing in scrolls ... but this criterion is not always stable.... The Christian nature of Scripture texts can usually be detected by their being written in codex form ... and their abbreviated forms of the divine names.⁸

Thus, if a manuscript of the OT is written in codex format, with Christian forms of the *nomina sacra*, and lacks any Jewish treatment of the Tetragrammaton, it is generally thought to be of a Christian milieu. Accordingly, there is a large body of manuscripts whose origins are more or less agreed upon by scholars.

The particular criterion of scribal number-writing style has not been subjected to this same level of scrutiny. The present chapter aims to provide an analysis of the number-writing techniques in manuscripts that are Jewish, Christian, and those that are in dispute, with a view toward evaluating its legitimacy as such a criterion. Can it be maintained that Christian manuscripts typically abbreviated numbers? If so, how consistently did they do so? Did Jewish copyists strictly avoid them? Can manuscripts of disputed origins add any evidence to this discussion?

⁸ Tov, "Scribal Features," 126. See also Eldon J. Epp, "The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri: 'Not Without Honor Except in their Hometown'?", *JBL* 123 (2004): 5–55 (20); Epp goes on: "Sorting out LXX manuscripts of Jewish origin from those copied by Christians would provide useful information both about the Jewish community at Oxyrhynchus and the Christian community there."

6.3 Method

To provide a sizable, yet manageable, set of data, this investigation is restricted to Greek manuscripts of the OT that are dated from the second century BCE through the third century CE (II BCE–III CE). I have followed the list of manuscripts and their dates given in Rahlfs-Fraenkel⁹ and in the list compiled by Tov.¹⁰ This includes sixty-nine manuscripts (on papyrus, leather, and parchment), though many of these do not contain any visible numerals and are therefore outside our purview.¹¹

After identifying the manuscripts that contain visible numbers in their body texts¹² (either longhand or shorthand), they were divided into three groups. The first group consists of manuscripts of undisputed Jewish origin; this mainly includes those from the Judean desert (e.g., the Dead Sea Scrolls), but also others that are paleographically dated prior to the Christian era. The second group includes manuscripts generally thought to be Christian, most important of which are the Chester Beatty, Schøyen, and Bodmer papyri, but there are others. The third group consists of manuscripts that are of uncertain origin, and those that were once thought to be Christian but have now been called into question; for these disputed manuscripts, I list all that Treu and Kraft have argued to be Jewish or at least an “open question” (omitting, of course, those without any extant numbers).¹³

⁹ Alfred Rahlfs, *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, vol. I/1 of *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, ed. Detlef Fraenkel, *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Supplementum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 512–28.

¹⁰ See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 303–10.

¹¹ Unfortunately, this excludes many manuscripts of contested origins: e.g., *P.Berol.* 17213, *P.Lit.Lond.* 202, *Bodl.Ms.Gr.Bibl.g.* 5, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1075, *P.Oxy.* IX 1166, *P.Oxy.* X 1225, etc.

¹² I thus am not considering page numbers, *stichoi* totals, Psalm identification numbers, etc.

¹³ For more relevant discussions, see Joseph van Haelst, ed., *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Série Papyrologie 1 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).

The aim of each section is to examine all extant numerals in these manuscripts with the hopes of identifying a pattern of scribal technique. It is not my intention here to take issue with the arguments of Treu or Kraft, but only to examine the technique of number-writing in greater detail than has been previously been done with the hope that it might be seen more accurately and perhaps put to use.¹⁴

6.4 Manuscripts of Jewish Origin

We begin with Greek OT manuscripts that are widely held to be Jewish in origin.

The first to be considered are manuscripts discovered in the Judean Desert; the Jewish milieu of these texts is undisputed primarily because of their early date and their discovery amidst other Jewish sectarian documents. There are four such manuscripts that contain visible numbers.¹⁵

(1) 4Q120 or papLXXLev^b (Rahlfs 802) is dated to I BCE and contains two instances of the number “one,” both longhand: $\mu\alpha\nu$ (Lev 4:27) and $[\mu] \iota\alpha\nu$ (5:17). The following are reconstructed: $[\mu\alpha]$ (4:27), $[\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu]$ (5:10), and $[\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma]$ (5:22).¹⁶

(2) 4Q119 or LXXLev^a (Rahlfs 801) is dated to I BCE and contains: $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$ $\upsilon\mu\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\kappa[\alpha\tau\omicron\nu]$ (Lev 26:8) and $[\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu \upsilon\mu\omega\nu \delta\iota\omega\xi\omicron\nu\tau]\alpha\iota \mu\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\delta\alpha\varsigma$ (26:8).¹⁷

¹⁴ Images of the following manuscripts are not as accessible compared to their NT counterparts, so I have mostly relied on their published transcriptions.

¹⁵ For example, the edition of 7Q1/papLXXExod (Rahlfs 805) contains two reconstructed numbers, $[\delta\upsilon\omicron]$ (Exod 28:7) and $[\delta\upsilon\varsigma]$ (28:7), but neither can be confirmed because the manuscript is so fragmentary; see M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, eds., *Les “petites grottes” de Qumrân*, DJD III (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 142–43. Furthermore, no numbers are visible in 7Q2/papEpJer gr (Rahlfs 804), which contains part of the Epistle of Jeremiah (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux, *Les “petites grottes,”* 143), or in 4Q122 or LXXDeut (Rahlfs 819), see P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*, DJD IX (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 195–97.

¹⁶ Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV*, 167–86.

¹⁷ Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV*, 161–65.

(3) 4Q121 or LXXNum (Rahlfs 803) is dated to I BCE and contains: [πε]γτε (Num 3:50) and δυ[o] (3:39?).¹⁸

(4) 8HevXII gr (Rahlfs 943) is dated to I BCE and contains the following: τρεῖς (Jonah 2:1), τρεῖς (2:1), τριω[v] (3:3), [τεσσερ]ακογ[τα] (3:4), επτα (Mic 5:4), οκτω (5:4), [εβδο]μη[κοστον] (Zech 1:12), [τεσσα]ρες (2:3), μιαν (8:21), and δε[κα] (8:23).¹⁹ There are also several numbers that have been reconstructed.²⁰

Four other manuscripts of undisputed Jewish origin contain numbers:

(5) *P.Ryl.Gk.* 458 (Rahlfs 957) is a papyrus roll of Deuteronomy, recognized as Jewish primarily because of its early date of II BCE.²¹ It contains only one visible number, written longhand: τεσσαρακογτα (Deut 25:3).

(6) *P.Fouad Inv.* 266b (Rahlfs 848) is a papyrus roll of Deuteronomy, recognized as Jewish because of its I BCE date and the use of Hebrew characters for the Tetragrammaton (in a second hand).²² It contains the following: μ[ιας] (Deut 18:6), τριτης (19:4), [μια]ν (19:11), εις (19:15), [τεσσα]ρων (22:12), εις (25:5), [ε]ν (25:9), μια (28:7), επτα (28:7), and επτα (31:10).²³

¹⁸ Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV*, 187–94.

¹⁹ Emanuel Tov with the collaboration of R. A. Kraft, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)*, DJD VIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

²⁰ For example, [μιας] (Jonah 3:4), [πρωτη] (Mic 4:8), [τεσσαρες] (Zech 2:10), [τεταρτη] (8:19), [πεμπτη] (8:19), [εβδομη] (8:19), [δεκατη] (8:19), and [μιαν] (8:21).

²¹ Colin H. Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1936). Again, see Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 19 n. 1, for the curious suggestion that this manuscript does not contain a numeral.

²² For a photographic facsimile, see Zaki Aly and Ludwig Koenen, eds., *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy. A Photographic Edition*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 27 (Bonn: Habelt, 1980); the two other Fouad manuscripts do not contain any visible numbers.

²³ A handful of others can be reasonably reconstructed: [μιαν] (Deut 19:5), [δυο] (21:15), [μια] (21:15), and [μια] (21:15); the partially visible επ[ιδεκατον] (26:12) might also be of interest.

(7) *P.Oxy.* L 3522 (Rahlfs 857) is a papyrus roll of Job, regarded as Jewish because of its I CE date and the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew characters.²⁴ Only the following are visible: $\mu\iota[\alpha\nu]$ (Job 42:11), and $\mu\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ [$\tau\epsilon|\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\varsigma\chi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$] (42:12), the latter of which seems quite likely on the basis of line length.

(8) *P.Oxy.* LXV 4443 (Rahlfs 996) is dated to the I/II CE and contains a portion of Esther.²⁵ Jewish origin is likely given its roll format and uncontracted forms of $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (col. 1, ln. 12), $\varsigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\nu$ (col. 1, ln. 29), and $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (col. 2, ln. 5). It contains one partially visible ordinal number: $\delta\omega[\delta]\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (E20/Esth 16:19/8:12s).

In summary, among the manuscripts of the Greek OT that are regarded as Jewish in provenance, there are no visible instances of numerical abbreviations. It must readily be admitted, however, that this is a small pool of data, and in each case we are dealing with very fragmentary witnesses. We will see that, especially in light of the Christian evidence, it is highly unlikely that this provides sufficient evidence to assert that Jewish scribes did not ever employ numerical abbreviations.

6.5 Manuscripts of Christian Origin

The first group of manuscripts widely regarded as Christian in origin belong to the Chester Beatty collection.

(1) *P.Beatty* VI (Rahlfs 963), is a II CE manuscript of Numbers and Deuteronomy.²⁶ It is widely regarded as Christian because of its codex format and its consistent use of Christian *nomina sacra*. The Numbers portion of this papyrus

²⁴ *P.Oxy.* L 3522.1–3.

²⁵ *P.Oxy.* LXV 4443.4–8.

²⁶ For the text of *P.Beatty* VI, see Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Numbers and Deuteronomy, Text*, vol. 5 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1935).

contains a wealth of abbreviated numerals, far too many to list here, though several notable examples can be cited.²⁷ Furthermore, a unique feature of *P.Beatty* VI is its abbreviation of the number “one” ($\bar{\alpha}$), which occurs at least eighty-five times²⁸ (this is a form not found among NT manuscripts). The scribe had an obvious preference for numerical shorthand, though the practice is certainly not invariable.²⁹ All numerical values considered, an examination of the manuscript reveals well over 250 instances of alphabetic abbreviations. The Deuteronomy portion, however, contains twenty-one visible numbers (both cardinal and ordinal) but none are abbreviated, even as the papyrus was written in the same hand as Numbers.³⁰ This is an interesting difference in style, but there are several places in this fragmentary text where the most likely reconstruction includes abbreviated numbers (see table 6.1). For example (here I reproduce Kenyon’s transcriptions):

²⁷ For example, ζ (Num 6:9), β̄ (6:10), ιβ̄ (7:2), ε̄ (7:3), ιβ̄ (7:3), β̄ (7:3), β̄ (7:7), δ̄ (7:7), δ̄ (7:8), η̄ (7:8), λ̄ και ρ̄ (7:13), ο̄ (7:13), ῑ (7:14), β̄ (7:17), ε̄ (7:17 [2x]), λ̄ και ρ̄ (7:19), ο̄ (7:19), ῑ (7:20), β̄ (7:23), ε̄ (7:23 [3x]), γ̄ (7:24), λ̄ και ρ̄ (7:25), ο̄ (7:25), ῑ (7:26), β̄ (7:29), ε̄ (7:29 [3x]), δ̄ (7:30), λ̄ κ[αι ρ̄] (7:31), ο̄ (7:31), ῑ (7:32), β̄ (7:35), ε̄ (7:35 [3x]), ε̄ (7:36), λ̄ και ρ̄ (7:37), ο̄ (7:37), ῑ (7:38), ε̄ (7:41 [3x]), λ̄ κ[αι ῑ ρ̄] (7:43), ο̄ (7:43), ῑ (7:44); though there are dozens more abbreviations. Unfortunately, the text does not overlap with that of the Jewish manuscript 4Q121 (LXXNum; Rahlfs 803) treated above.

²⁸ For example, Num 6:11 (2x), 7:13, 19, 20, 21 (3x), 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33 (2x), 34, 37 (2x), 38, 39 (3x), 40, 43, 45 (2x), 46, 49 (2x), 50, 51 (3x), 55 (2x), 56, 57, 58, 61 (2x), 62, 63, 64, 67 (2x), 69 (2x), 73 (2x), 74, 75 (3x), 76, 79, 81 (3x), 82, 85 (2x); 8:8; 28:11, 15, 27; 29:2 (2x), 3, 9, 11, 13, 14 (2x), 31, 36 (2x), 38. Longhand instances of the number “one”: Num 6:14 (3x), 19 (2x), 7:11, 13, 14, 15 (2x), 16, 19, 25, 27 (2x), 44, 52, 57 (2x), 70, 80, 8:12 (2x); 26:65; 28:4, 12, 13, 14 (2x), 22; 31:49; 36:8. I cannot discern any principle of distinction between these uses.

²⁹ For example, [δε]κα (Num 7:68), δεκα (7:74), δ[υ]ο (28:3) τρια (29:3); many ordinal values are likewise given longhand (see also the longhand “ones” noted above).

³⁰ For example, τεσσαρακοντα (Deut 2:7), εξηκοντα (3:4), δυο (3:8), δυοι (3:21), δεκα (4:13), δυο (4:13), τρεις (4:41), τριτης (4:42), μιαν (4:42), δυο (4:47), τριτην (5:9), τεταρτην (5:9), εξ (5:13), εβδομη (5:14), εις (6:4), επτα (7:1), χειλιας (7:9), δυο (10:1), επιδεκατον (12:17), τριτης (19:4), and [επ]τα (31:10).

Table 6.1. Probable Abbreviations in *P.Beatty VI*

Deut 1:23	[τ]ο ρημ[α και ελαβον εξ] [υμ]ων [ιβ̄] ανδρα]ς ανδρα [ενα κατ]α φυλην και επι
Deut 2:14	[μεν την φαρα]γγα ζα [ρετ λ̄ και η̄] ετη εως [διεπεσεν π]αα γε
Deut 3:11	[μαν εννεα πηχων] το μη [κος αυτης και δ̄] πη [χων το ευρος α]υτης
Deut 29:4	[υμας εν τ]η ερημω ε[τη] [μ̄ ουκ επ]αλαιωθη τα ἱμα [τια ῡ]μων και τα υπο

While these examples cannot be confirmed with certainty, they do seem to be the most likely reconstructions. In any case, there is no question that numerical abbreviations are an important feature of the copyist's treatment of the text of Numbers.

(2) *P.Beatty IX + X* (Rahlfs 967/968), although originally given two catalog numbers, are now regarded as one manuscript containing portions of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther dating to II/III CE.³¹ Christian provenance is considered probable due to its codex format and *nomina sacra* forms for θεός, κύριος, and πνεῦμα. In terms of number-writing techniques, the manuscript contains several abbreviated numerals, but they are not distributed evenly throughout the codex. The remains of Ezekiel contain only two visible numbers, both longhand: τρεις (Ezek 14:16) and τρεις (14:18). The text of Daniel contains a few dozen longhand numbers (both cardinal and ordinal),³² and two are given in shorthand: ρκζ̄ (Dan 6:1/6:2) and ρκζ̄ (6:3/6:4).

³¹ Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, Text*, vol. 7 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1937).

³² For example, τεσσαρας (Dan 3:92), τεταρτου (3:92), οκτωκαιδεκατου (4:1/4:4), τριακον|[τα] (4:12/4:7), μιαν (4:16/4:19), επτα (4:29/32), επτα (4:30c/34), ε[ις] (4:30c/34), τεσσαρες (7:2), εν (7:3), εν (7:3), πρωτον (7:4), ενος (7:5), τρι|[α] (7:5; not “γρι”), χειλειαι | χειλειαδες (7:10), μυρια μυρια|δεσ (7:10), ενα (7:16), τεσσαρες (7:17), [τετ]αρτου (7:19), τε|ταρτου (7:23), τεταρτη (7:23), δεκα (7:24),

Finally, Esther contains several abbreviations for both cardinals and ordinals: $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ (Esth 3:7), $\overline{\text{ιδ}}$ (3:7), $\overline{\text{ρκζ}}$ (13:1/13a), $\overline{\text{ιδ}}$ (13:6/13f), and $\overline{\text{ν}}$ (5:14);³³ and several longhand forms: $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (Esth 2:21), $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (2:23), $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ (3:7), $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ (3:13), $[\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha]\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (3:13), $\delta\epsilon\upsilon|\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ (13:6/13f), $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (13:6/13f), $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ (13:7/13g), $\mu\upsilon\rho\iota\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ (4:7), $\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ (4:11), $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ (15:5/5:1a), and $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (7:9).

(3) *P.Beatty V* (Rahlfs 962), a III CE manuscript of Genesis, is also regarded as Christian in origin.³⁴ This is suggested by the codex format and contracted forms of $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and $\pi\nu\epsilon\delta\mu\alpha$. The scribe of this codex shows a remarkable fluctuation in number-writing technique; there are dozens of numerical abbreviations as well as longhand forms. There are far too many to cite all of them here, but it is worth listing some notable examples of the former³⁵ and of the latter.³⁶

(4) *P.Beatty VII* (Rahlfs 965) is a III CE manuscript of Isaiah.³⁷ Its Christian provenance is suggested by its codex form and the contracted forms of $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$,

$\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ (7:24), $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (7:24), $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (7:24), $\tau\rho\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (8:1), $\pi\rho\omega\tau\eta\upsilon$ (8:1), $\epsilon\nu\alpha$ (8:3), $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ (8:3), $\epsilon\nu$ (8:3), $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\sigma\alpha|\rho\alpha$ (8:8), $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma$ (8:8), $\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (8:9), $\epsilon\nu$ (8:9), $\tau\rho\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (5:7), $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (6:2/6:3), $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (6:2/6:3), $\tau\rho\iota\omega\upsilon$ (6:2/6:3), $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (6:3/6:4), $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (6:5/6:6), $\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ (6:7/6:8), $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (6:8/6:9), $\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ (6:12), $\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$ (6:16/6:17), and $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ (6:16/6:17).

³³ One other abbreviation is reconstructed by Kenyon, but it is uncertain: $[\overline{\text{ιβ}}]$ (Esther 15:5/5:1a).

³⁴ Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Genesis, Text*, vol. 4 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1934). See also the revised edition and analysis, Albert Pietersma, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri IV and V: A New Edition with Text-Critical Analysis*, Am.Stud.Pap. 16 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1976). See also, Albert Pietersma, "A Textual-Critical Study of Genesis Papyri 961 and 962" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1970).

³⁵ For example, $\overline{\text{c}}$ (Gen 32:15 [2x]), $\overline{\text{k}}$ (32:15 [3x]), $\overline{\text{λ}}$ (32:15/16), $\overline{\text{μ}}$ (32:15/16), $\overline{\text{ι}}$ (32:15/16 [2x]), $\overline{\text{ια}}$ (32:22/23) $\overline{\text{υ}}$ (33:1) $\overline{\text{ζ}}$ (41:18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26 [3x], 27 [4x], 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 47), and $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ (42:13).

³⁶ For example, $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (Gen 31:37), $\epsilon\iota[\kappa\omicron\varsigma\iota]$ (31:41), $\tau\epsilon\tau[\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma\iota\omicron\iota]$ (32:6), $\delta[\upsilon\omicron]$ (32:7), $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (32:8), $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (32:22), $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (33:1), $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (34:25), $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (40:10), $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (40:12 [2x]), $\epsilon\nu\iota$ (41:22), $\epsilon\nu$ (41:25), $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$ (41:26), $[\tau\rho\iota\alpha]\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ (41:46), $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$ (41:48), $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (41:50), $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$ (41:50), $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$ (41:53), $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$ (41:54), $\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (42:11), $[\tau\rho\epsilon\iota]\varsigma$ (42:18), $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ (42:32), $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (42:37). Ordinals are given longhand: $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ (32:9), $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omega$ (32:17), $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon[\rho]\omega$ (32:19), $[\pi\rho\omega]\tau\omega$ (32:19), $\tau\rho\iota\tau\eta$ (34:25), $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ (41:43), $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ (41:52).

³⁷ Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ecclesiasticus, Text*, vol. 6 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Emery Walker, 1937).

and πνεῦμα. Only a handful of numbers are visible among the extant fragments, none of which are shorthand: τριςιν (Isa 16:14), πρωτα (43:18), πρωτον (43:26), πρωτοι (43:27), πρωτος (44:6), and πρωτοις (60:9).³⁸ This is not surprising since all but one of these are ordinal values.

Two important OT papyri are a part of the Schøyen collection, one of Joshua and one of Leviticus.

(5) *P.Schøyen* 2648 (Rahlfs 816), is dated to the II CE. It is written in codex format and contains Christian *nomina sacra*.³⁹ There are only six visible numbers (cardinal and ordinal), and no less than three are given in abbreviated form: πεντε (Josh 10:5), εἰς (10:30), δευτερα (10:32), ε̄ (10:22), ε̄ (10:23), and ε̄ (10:26).⁴⁰

(6) *P.Schøyen* 2649 (Rahlfs 830), also dates to the II CE and might have been written by the same scribe as *P.Schøyen* I 2648.⁴¹ It is in codex form and contains Christian *nomina sacra*. All visible numbers are longhand: τεσσαρων (Lev 11:20), [τεcc]αρων (11:21), τεc|αρεc (11:23), τεccαρω[v] (11:27), τεccαρων (11:42), μι[αν] (12:8), μια[v] (12:8), ενα (13:2), επτα (13:4), εβδομη (13:5), επτα (13:5), εβδομη (13:6), [δυ]ο (23:20), δεκατη (23:27), and εβδομου (23:27).⁴²

(7) *P.Bodm.* XXIV (Rahlfs 2110) is an extensive copy of the Psalter that dates to the II/IV century.⁴³ It is considered Christian in origin primarily because of its codex format and Christian *nomina sacra*. The Psalter as a whole does not contain

³⁸ One more is reconstructed by the editor: [επτα] (Isa 11:15).

³⁹ *P.Schøyen* I 2648.85–127 (§23; ed. Kristin de Troyer).

⁴⁰ Plus one number reconstructed by the manuscript's editor: [πεντε] (Josh 10:16).

⁴¹ *P.Schøyen* II 2649.3–68 (§26; ed. Kristin de Troyer).

⁴² A couple numbers are reconstructed by the editor: [δυο] (Lev 12:8) and [δυο] (12:8). Adverbial numbers are also longhand: e.g., δευτερον (Lev 13:5, 6).

⁴³ Rodolphe Kasser and Michel Testuz, eds., *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV: Psalms XVII–CXVIII* (Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1967).

many numbers compared to other OT books, but of those extant in Bodmer XXIV, two are given in abbreviated form: $\overline{\iota\beta}$ χειλιαδας (59:2), $\overline{\mu}$ (94:10); others are given longhand: $\mu\alpha\nu$ (Psalm 26:4), $\epsilon\nu$ (33:21), $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ (47:1), $\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (52:4), $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (81:7), $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$ (89:4), $\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ (89:10), $\omicron\gamma\delta\omicron\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ (89:10), $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\delta\iota$ (93:1), $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (104:8), $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (105:11), and $\mu\iota\alpha\nu$ (108:13).⁴⁴

There are five remaining manuscripts generally considered to be Christian that are extremely fragmentary, few containing more than a single number.

(8) *P.Oxy.* LXV 4442 (Rahlfs 993) is a III CE fragment of Exodus.⁴⁵ Christian provenance is suggested by the codex format and the use of the Christian *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ (plus the reconstructed use of $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$). One number is visible and it is longhand: $\epsilon\zeta$ (Exod 20:11). Two ordinal numbers can be confidently reconstructed: $[\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\eta]$ (20:12) and $[\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\eta\nu]$ (20:12).

(9) Library of Congress 4082B (Rahlfs 844) is a III CE fragment of Isaiah 23. Christian origin is suggested by codex format and Christian *nomina sacra*. One number is partially visible: $[\acute{\epsilon}\beta\delta\omicron\mu\eta\kappa\omicron]\nu\tau\alpha$ (Isa 23:15).⁴⁶

(10) *P.Egerton* 4 (Rahlfs 971) is a III CE fragment of 2 Chronicles.⁴⁷ Its provenance is suggested by the codex format and Christian *nomina sacra*. It contains one visible number, written longhand: $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$ (2 Chron 24:27).

⁴⁴ One more is reconstructed by the editor: $[\mu\iota\alpha]$ (Psalm 83:11).

⁴⁵ *P.Oxy.* LXV 4442.1–4.

⁴⁶ For the text of Library of Congress 4082B, see B. E. Donovan, “An Isaiah Fragment in the Library of Congress,” *HTR* 61 (1968): 625–29; and for the second fragment found subsequently, AnneMarie Luijendijk, “A New Fragment of LXX Isaiah 23 (Rahlfs-Fraenkel 844),” *BASP* 47 (2010): 33–43. The number in question is found in the fragment published by Luijendijk.

⁴⁷ H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, eds., *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London: Trustees, 1935), 52–55.

(11) *P.Monts./II Inv. 3* (Rahlfs 983) is a fragment of 2 Chronicles and might have originally belonged to the same codex as *P.Egerton 4* (though it is dated to II/III CE).⁴⁸ Its provenance is suggested by the codex format and Christian *nomina sacra*. It contains several examples of abbreviated numerals, e.g., \bar{o} (2 Chron 29:32), $\bar{\rho}$ (29:32), \bar{c} (29:32), $\bar{\chi}$ (29:33), including one that can be confidently restored: $[\bar{\gamma}]$ (29:33). In addition, one ordinal is given in longhand form: $[\delta\epsilon\nu]\tau\epsilon\rho\omega$ (30:2).

In summary, the manuscripts generally regarded as Christian in origin are far more substantial in size and number than their Jewish counterparts, and fortunately they offer a great deal of numeral-related evidence. Perhaps as expected, many of these manuscripts contain abbreviated numerals. No less than seven of the twelve manuscripts treated here show use of numerical shorthand (and seven of eleven if the two fragments of 2 Chronicles belong to the same codex).

We will restrict our observations of these manuscripts until the final group has been analyzed, but a few preliminary thoughts are worth noting here. In general, it is significant to point out that the particular techniques of number-writing found among these manuscripts accords rather closely with what we find among manuscripts of the NT. That is, just as in copies of the NT, these manuscripts exhibit occasional (rather than exclusive) use of numerical abbreviations numbers, but the practice is never predictable. Further, there is a similar tendency for scribes to abbreviate cardinal numbers (though not ordinals), and to retain the longhand forms for values in the

⁴⁸ For the text, see Ramon Roca-Puig, “Un papiro griego del libro segundo de los paralipómenos: Papyrus Barcinonensis, inv. n.º 3,” *Helmantica* 14 (1963): 175–85. See also W. Baars, “Papyrus Barcinonensis, Inv. N.º 3 and Egerton Papyrus 4,” *VT* 15 (1965): 528–29, who identifies this fragment with *P.Egerton 4*.

thousands (except for “hybrid” forms; e.g., $\overline{\iota\beta}$ χειλιαδac).⁴⁹ Finally, much like in NT manuscripts, the number “one” is typically not abbreviated. The one exception to this is *P.Beatty* VI (Numbers-Deuteronomy), which contains literally dozens of these abbreviations for “one.”

It is also worth pointing out that the practice of abbreviating numerals is not as consistent as it is sometimes assumed to be. Not every manuscript contains alphabetic numerals (e.g., *P.Schøyen* 2649), and those that do are not necessarily consistent in this regard (e.g., esp. *P.Beatty* V, VI, and IX + X). These reflections will suffice until we can survey numbers in the disputed manuscripts and then synthesize all the relevant data.

6.6 Manuscripts of Disputed Origin

Here it is not necessary to rehearse the debates about the Christian or Jewish origins of the manuscripts in this group, but it will be helpful to note the basic reasons why these in particular have been disputed.⁵⁰

(1) *P.Yale* I 1 (Rahlfs 814), sometimes called the Yale Genesis, has been variously dated, but likely belongs to at least III CE or earlier.⁵¹ It was originally

⁴⁹ Also in the *P.Beatty* VI codex (Numbers-Deuteronomy): e.g., $\overline{\zeta}$ χειλιαδεc (Num 26:23), $\overline{\lambda}$ χειλιαδεc (26:40), $\overline{\mu}$ χειλιαδεc (26:50), $\overline{\chi}$ χει[λια]δεc (26:51), $\overline{\lambda\beta}$ χειλιαδεc (31:35), $\overline{\tau}$ και $\overline{\lambda}$ χειλ[ια]δεc (31:36), $\overline{\zeta}$ χειλ[ιοι] (31:36), $\overline{\varsigma}$ και $\overline{\lambda}$ χειλιαδεc (31:38), $\overline{\lambda}$ χειλιαδεc και $\overline{\phi}$ (31:39), $\overline{\tau}$ χειλιαδεc $\overline{\lambda}$ χειλιαδεc $\overline{\xi}$ χειλιαδεc και $\overline{\phi}$ (!) (31:43; = 337,500), and $[\overline{\lambda\varsigma}]$ χειλιαδεc (31:44).

⁵⁰ I omit from this discussion *Berlin, Äg.Mus.P.* 11778v (Rahlfs 974), a III CE fragment that contains a portion of Job of disputed origins; rather than a continuous biblical manuscript, it is a magical prayer text that contains a quotation from Job. In any case, it does contain two visible numbers: $\chi\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ (Job 33:23) and $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (33:23).

⁵¹ For the *editio princeps*, see *P.Yale* I 1.3–8. For another (and preferable) edition, see Stephen Emmel, “Greek Biblical Papyri in the Beinecke Library,” *ZPE* 112 (1996): 289–94.

believed to be Christian in origin primarily because of its codex format,⁵² but also because of its informal hand and the use of a numerical abbreviation. The one number in this fragment is the shorthand symbol for 318: $\overline{\tau\eta}$ (Gen 14:14).⁵³

According to Roberts: “With [*P. Yale* 1] it is not just the codex form which points to a Christian origin, but the fact that the numeral 318 is written not in words but in symbols, contrary to the usual practice of Graeco-Jewish manuscripts.”⁵⁴

Nevertheless, no divine names are visible on the fragment (neither *nomina sacra* nor Tetragrammaton), and so the matter is not certain. If it could be established that numerical abbreviations are indeed a reliable indicator of Christian scribal activity, this will be an important manuscript to reevaluate.

(2) *P.Oxy.* VII 1007 (Rahlfs 907), a III CE parchment fragment of Genesis, is particularly contentious.⁵⁵ On the one hand, the manuscript is a codex and contains the (usually Christian) *nomen sacrum* form $\overline{\theta\epsilon}$ for $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. On the other hand, however, the Tetragrammaton is written in paleo-Hebrew characters composed of two *yods* with a horizontal strike through them (instead of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$)—a form found in Jewish coins of II BCE. Three numbers are visible: $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (Gen 2:24), $\mu\iota\alpha\nu$ (2:24), and $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ (Gen 2:25). In addition, one has been reconstructed: [$\delta\upsilon\omicron$] (3:7); the length of the line renders this reconstruction uncertain but likely.

⁵² C. Bradford Welles, “The Yale Genesis Fragment,” *The Yale University Library Gazette* 39 (1964): 1–8 (6); see also Colin H. Roberts, “P. Yale 1 and the Early Christian Book,” in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*, *Am.Stud.Pap.* 1 (New Haven, CN: American Society of Papyrologists, 1966), 25–28 (25).

⁵³ Here I reproduce the transcription given by Emmel, “Greek Biblical Papyri,” 290, against that of the *editio princeps*, which has the entire numeral enclosed in brackets: [$\tau\eta$] (Gen 14:14). Images of the fragment clearly support Emmel’s transcription; see <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/lxxjewpap/PYale1v.jpg>.

⁵⁴ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 78; see also Roberts, “P. Yale 1,” 25–28.

⁵⁵ *P.Oxy.* VII 1007.1–3.

(3) *P.Oxy.* IV 656 (Rahlfs 905) is a II/III CE codex containing four leaves of Genesis.⁵⁶ The origin of this manuscript is disputed because, although it is a codex, the treatment of divine names is ambiguous. First, both θεος and κυριος occur uncontracted in the first hand. Second, at Gen 15:8, where one expects the Tetragrammaton, the original copyist left a blank space which was subsequently filled in by a second hand with κυριε; in other manuscripts one finds the Tetragrammaton written in Hebrew/Aramaic script by a second hand at these blanks (e.g., *P.Fouad* 266b). Third, on two occasions it is possible that the second hand wrote a suspended form κυ instead of κυριος/κυριε (Gen 24:31, 42), though neither is certain (and no supra-linear bars are visible); this is a typically Christian abbreviation. In regards to numbers, only the first letter of one cardinal number is visible, δ[υο] (Gen 19:36), and one has been reconstructed: [ενα] (24:36).⁵⁷

(4) *P.Harr.* II 166 (Rahlfs 896; Birmingham, *Woodbr.Coll.*, *OLRC*, *P.Inv.* 54c) is a III CE manuscript of Exodus.⁵⁸ Its origin is uncertain because, although it is written on a roll, it lacks other earmarks that could help confirm its identity (such as *nomina sacra*). One number is visible, τρεις (Exod 23:14), and one other can be reconstructed with some confidence due to line length: [επτα] (23:15).

(5) *BL P.Inv.Nr.* 230 (Rahlfs 2019; *P.Lond.Lit.* 207) is a III CE manuscript of the Psalms.⁵⁹ Its origin is unclear because, although it is written on a roll, several

⁵⁶ *P.Oxy.* IV 656.28–35.

⁵⁷ Roberts explained that he originally thought *P.Oxy.* IV 656 was Christian because of the codex format, but he subsequently changed his opinion; see Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 76 n. 5.

⁵⁸ *P.Harr.* II 166.1–5 (ed. Manfredo Manfredi).

⁵⁹ No author listed, “An Early Papyrus Fragment of the Greek Psalter,” *The Athenaeum* No. 3489 (Sept. 8, 1894): 319–21.

divine names are contracted: e.g., $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$, $\overline{\alpha\nu\pi\nu}$, and $\overline{\theta\nu}$. In terms of numbers, two occurrences of the number “one” are visible: $\epsilon\nu\omicron$ (Psalm 13:1) and $\epsilon\nu\omicron$ (13:3).⁶⁰

(6) *P.Ant.* I 8 + III 210 (Rahlfs 928) is a III CE manuscript containing portions of Wisdom books. It is a codex and contains Christian *nomina sacra* (e.g., $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron}$, $\overline{\theta\nu}$, $\overline{\theta\eta\varsigma}$, and $[\overline{\kappa}] \overline{\nu}$); nevertheless, Treu argued for Jewish origin because its text showed divergences from the LXX/OG toward the Hebrew. Only one number is visible, $[\pi\rho\omega]\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (Sir 45:20), and two others have been reconstructed: $[\epsilon\nu\iota]$ (Wis 9:20), and $[\epsilon\nu]$ (12:9).⁶¹

(7) *P.Oxy.* XIII 1594 (Rahlfs 990) is a III CE fragment of Tobit. It is a “miniature codex” but contains no instances of the *nomina sacra* and has not been confirmed as a Christian copy.⁶² It contains three extant numbers, two of which are abbreviations: $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Tob 12:15), $\overline{\zeta}$ (12:15), and $\overline{\beta}$ (12:16).

The final two manuscripts of disputed origin are far more lengthy and, as we will see, present us with particular difficulties.

(8) Freer Manuscript V (GA-W) is a III CE copy of the Minor Prophets.⁶³ It is a codex and contains Christian *nomina sacra* (e.g., $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron}$, $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$, etc.), but Treu has argued that the character of its text, which appears to be a pre-Hexaplaric revision moving towards the Hebrew, is suggestive of Jewish influence. In terms of number-writing technique, the scribe almost exclusively used longhand numbers, with dozens of such instances, but there is one visible use of a numerical

⁶⁰ Psalm numbers in this manuscript are abbreviated in form but are not in view here.

⁶¹ *P.Ant.* I 8.2–17 and *P.Ant.* III 210.177–180.

⁶² *P.Oxy.* XIII 1594.1–6.

⁶³ Henry A. Sanders and Carl Schmidt, eds., *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis*, UMSHS 21 (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 1–229 (= part 1).

abbreviation: $\overline{\delta}$ (Zech 6:5).⁶⁴ This manuscript is potentially problematic for whichever group it truly belongs to. If it is Jewish, as Treu argued, it would contain the only example of an abbreviated numeral. If it is Christian, then it is curious that so many other numbers in the manuscript were written longhand.

(9) *P.Berlin G. 2a* (Rahlfs 911; *P.Berlin Fol. 66 I, II*), sometimes called the Berlin Genesis, is a III CE manuscript containing a substantial portion of Genesis.⁶⁵ It is a codex and exhibits a consistent use of *nomina sacra* (e.g., $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$, etc.). Nevertheless, True argued that, like the Freer Minor Prophets codex (GA-W), its text is a pre-Hexaplaric revision towards the Hebrew, and this makes Jewish origin possible. In terms of number-writing style, the manuscript contains scores of longhand numbers, none of which are given in numerical abbreviation.⁶⁶

The consistent use of longhand number-forms in the Berlin Genesis is in fact surprising in light of the presence of many other types of abbreviations in the codex. For example, the scribe frequently used a supralinear stroke as an abbreviation mark

⁶⁴ For example, [τε[cap|cin]v (Amos 1:3), [τ]ρι[cin] (1:11), [τε]ccap[cin] (1:11), τρι[cin] (2:1), τρι||[cin] (2:4), τε[cap|cin] (2:6), τε[cap|cin]ακοντα (2:10), δυο (3:3), δυο (3:12), [τριω]v (4:7), μιαν (4:7), μια (4:7), δυο (4:8), τρεις (4:8), μια[v] (4:8), χειλιοι (5:3), [εκα]τον (5:3), εκατον (5:3), [τε]ccερακοντα (5:25), δεκα (6:9), μια (6:9), εις (7:1), επτα (Micah 5:5/4), οκτω (5:5/4), εις (Obad 11), τρεις (Jonah 2:1), τρει[ς] (2:1), τριων (3:3), μιας (3:4), τρεις (3:4), δωδεκα μυριαδες (4:11), δυο (Hab 3:2), ενα (Zeph 3:9), μια (Hag 1:1), μια (2:1), εικοσι (2:16), δεκα (2:16), πεντηκοντα (2:16), εικοσι (2:16), δυο (Zech 1:8), τεccερα (1:18/2:1), τεccαρας (1:20/2:3), τεccαρα (1:21/2:4), τεcc[α]ρων (2:6/2:10), ενα (3:9), επτα (3:9), μια (3:9), δυο (4:3), μια (4:3), μια (4:3), δυο (4:11), δυο (4:12), δυο (4:12), δυο (4:14), εικοσι (5:2), δεκα (5:2), εικοσι (5:2), δεκα (5:2), μια (5:7), τεccαρα (6:1), δυο (6:1), εβδομηκοντα (7:5), μιαν (8:21), μιας (9:12), εις (10:10), δυο (11:7), μιαν (11:7), τρεις (11:8), ενι (11:8), τριακοντα (11:12), τριακοντα (11:13), δυο (13:8), μιαν (14:7), εις (14:9), εν (14:9), and εις (Mal 2:10). Ordinals are invariably written longhand.

⁶⁵ Sanders and Schmidt, eds., *The Minor Prophets*, 231–430 (= part 2).

⁶⁶ There are far too many to list them all here; some notable cardinal numbers which are extant or partially so: Gen 4:19; 5:4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32; 6:10, 15; 7:2 (2x), 3, 4 (2x), 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17 (2x), 24; 8:6 (2x), 12, 13; 9:19, 23, 28, 29; 11:10, 11, 12, 13 (3x), 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32; 12:4; 14:4, 9 (2x), 14; 16:3, 16; 17:1, 17, 20; 18:6, 24, 26, 28 (4x), 29 (2x), 30 (2x), 31 (2x), 32 (2x); 19:1; 20:16; 24:22; 25:7, 16, 17, 20, 23, 26, 34; 27:9, 45; 29:2, 16, 18, 20, 27, 34; 30:19, 20, 36; 31:7, 23, 33, 37, 38, 41 (5x); 32:7, 8, 15 (4x); 16 (5x), 22 (3x); 33:1 (2x), 13, 19; 34:25. Occurrences of the number “one”: 2:11, 21; 8:13; 10:25; 11:1, 6; 32:9; 33:13; 34:16, 22. Ordinals are invariably written longhand as well; e.g., 14:5, 20; 15:16; 28:22; 29:27; 30:7, 17; 31:2, 5, 22; 32:9, 18, 20 (3x); 33:2; 34:25.

for the omission of single letters and syllables: e.g., $\nu\bar{\kappa}$ = $\nu\kappa\tau\alpha$ (Gen 14:15), $\pi\bar{\lambda}$ = $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\eta\varsigma$ (25:8), and $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ = $\epsilon\pi\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta$ (28:7). The editor identified these kinds of scribal abbreviations as belonging to a “business cursive,” composed mainly of the technique of suspension and to a lesser extent contraction.⁶⁷ Several numbers in the manuscript are affected by this kind of abbreviation, e.g., $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\bar{\tau}\omicron$ (11:10; in the middle of its line), $\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\bar{\omicron}\tau\alpha$ (18:30), and $\delta\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\rho\omicron[v]$ (29:33), but none are actually given in alphabetic numerals. This raises the interesting question of why the copyist would be willing to utilize an abbreviation system so extensively (at least 240 words are so abbreviated) but consistently write out each numeral longhand. Perhaps the repeated use of supralinear strokes for other kinds of abbreviations was thought to render alphabetic numerals too confusing. In fact, some contracted words are essentially indistinguishable from alphabetic numerals aside from context: e.g., $\iota\bar{\delta}$ = $\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$ (or $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\varsigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$?; 29:24), $\bar{\theta}$ = $\theta\eta\varsigma\omega$ (or $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$?; 17:2); this kind of overlap would have undoubtedly caused confusion.

In summary, among the disputed manuscripts, items 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are very fragmentary and contain only longhand numbers. More important for our purposes are items 1, 7, 8, and 9, which either contain clear uses of numerical abbreviations or enough data to raise the question of whether this feature is a helpful criterion. In the least, it is important to point out that because the origins of these manuscripts have been disputed on other grounds (such as *nomina sacra* and/or Tetragrammaton), we can already surmise that the presence of numerical abbreviations cannot function as any kind of decisive indicator one way or another. Before making conclusions about

⁶⁷ Sanders and Schmidt, eds., *The Minor Prophets*, 240.

this analysis, however, it will be most beneficial to synthesize the observations we have made already.

6.7 Synthesis and Implications

6.7.1 Implications for Jewish Manuscripts

The survey of manuscripts that are confidently Jewish in origin produced results that were consistent yet inconclusive. That is to say, up through the third century CE at least, there is not a single instance of an abbreviated numeral being used in the body text of a Greek OT manuscript of undisputed Jewish provenance. However, the data pool is pitifully small. Of eight manuscripts, only two contain more than a handful of visible numbers; these are the Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever and the *P.Fouad Inv. 266b* manuscript of Deuteronomy, which together contain a total of twenty visible or partially visible numbers (plus some reconstructed ones). This is in every sense an inadequate body of evidence with which to work. There are quite literally hundreds of numbers in the Greek books of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy that are not represented by extant Jewish manuscripts, and so the evidence available cannot be considered in any way representative. This skepticism is necessary because of the tendency for copyists to be inconsistent (and therefore unpredictable) in their number-writing techniques has been observed in many, if not most, of the manuscripts examined in this study (both of the OT and NT).

Therefore, without several lengthy manuscripts of the Greek scriptures of clear Jewish origin, it is impossible to identify confidently a pattern of scribal technique related to number-writing. The absence of numerical abbreviations in the

manuscripts that are extant might very well be incidentally caused by the paucity of evidence.

It is also instructive to consider manuscripts that evidently contain a mixture of Christian and Jewish scribal features. For example, *P.Oxy.* VII 1007 (disputed item 2) is a codex and contains a Christian *nomen sacrum* form $\overline{\theta\epsilon\varsigma}$ for $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ and a Jewish Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew characters. Here it is difficult to say in which direction the influence has gone; nevertheless, this example seems to suggest that some copyists used a mixture of Jewish and Christian scribal elements, and it is easy to envision how numerical shorthand could be another one of those elements. Therefore, even if one were able to demonstrate that Jewish copyists usually avoided numerical abbreviations (though the evidence is lacking), it would be impossible to say that occasional mixture of number-styles did not ever occur.

6.7.2 Implications for Christian Manuscripts

Christian manuscripts of the OT constitute a great deal more evidence and allow some confident conclusions. The first and most obvious observation to be made is that numerical abbreviations are clearly an important feature of Christian manuscripts. Out of the twelve manuscripts in this group, no less than seven show clear usage of numerical shorthand. And again, if *P.Egerton* 4 and *P.Monts./II Inv.* 3 (Christian items 10 and 11) belong to the same codex, the ratio increases to seven out of eleven. Moreover, the only Christian manuscripts that do not have clear examples of numerical abbreviations are extremely limited in their available evidence; each is very fragmentary or contains only a handful of visible numbers. The scribes might well have used shorthand elsewhere in the manuscripts.

The second observation to be made, as pointed out above, is that the scribal techniques of number-writing evident among these manuscripts closely resembles what we find among manuscripts of the NT. This similarity is seen primarily in the general avoidance of abbreviated forms for the number “one,” ordinals, and values in the thousands. The Chester Beatty manuscript of Numbers–Deuteronomy seems to be the only exceptional example of the use of abbreviations for the number “one.” Aside from this and the handful of abbreviated ordinals in the Chester Beatty manuscript of Esther (*P.Beatty* IX + X), there is in this regard a striking degree of continuity between the scribal techniques of NT and Christian OT manuscripts.

A third observation is that scribes were unpredictable in their usage of numerical shorthand, often fluctuating between shorthand and longhand; not surprisingly, this also mirrors closely what can be observed in NT manuscripts. More specifically, a scribe who was willing to abbreviate some numbers was evidently not compelled to do so consistently or even frequently within a given manuscript. Even manuscripts such as *P.Beatty* VI (Num-Deut), which contain a surplus of numerical shorthand, do not do so rigidly; rather, copyists employed numerical abbreviations (apparently) as they were felt needed or convenient.

For these reasons, a manuscript should not be discounted as Christian simply because it contains longhand numbers, especially if only one or a handful of numbers are visible.

6.7.3 Implications for Disputed Manuscripts

The preceding analysis allows us to bring new evidence to the problem of manuscripts with disputed origins. First, while it is clear that no specific examples of numerical shorthand can be found among the Greek OT manuscripts of Jewish

origin, we have seen that this does not (and cannot) amount to a prescriptive rule, even though it has been so used. This was stated most clearly by Colin Roberts, but it has since then been repeated on several occasions by different scholars. For instance, this was applied by Roberts to the Yale fragment of Genesis (*P. Yale I 1*) as evidence of Christian origin,⁶⁸ but, in light of the present discussion, this is a dubious line of reasoning. The argument must be made on other grounds.

The issue was also invoked in a similar discussion of the Library of Congress fragments of Isaiah (LoC 4082B; Rahlfs 844). For instance, its editor asks, “Was this a Jewish or Christian copy? On the one hand, writing a number out in full is a scribal feature common to Jewish manuscripts and could thus point to a Jewish milieu. Christian scribes preferred numerical writing.”⁶⁹ In light of the manuscripts examined above, however, this view of number-writing techniques is problematic; there is no justification for the belief that all Christian scribes avoided longhand numbers, nor is it clear that all Christian scribes “preferred numerical writing” (= numerical abbreviation), and even those that did were not consistent. This reasoning is especially problematic when only one number is visible in a given manuscript. Fortunately, the editor of LoC 4082B rightly maintains its Christian origin due to other telling features.

Our observations might also call into question the origin of *P. Oxy. XIII 1594* (Rahlfs 990), the III CE fragment of Tobit. It contains two abbreviated numbers and one longhand. But without any instances of the *nomina sacra*, there does not seem to

⁶⁸ Roberts, “P. Yale 1,” 25–28; Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 78.

⁶⁹ Luijendijk, “A New Fragment,” 36.

be sufficient evidence for viewing it as a Christian copy with certainty. The abbreviated numerals cannot be considered a helpful criterion for this question.

The two lengthy manuscripts of disputed origin, the Chester Beatty Minor Prophets and the Berlin Genesis, are especially noteworthy. If the former is Christian rather than Jewish, then it is a rare example of a substantial manuscript that rigidly avoids the use of numerical shorthand, with only one exceptional use out of a plethora of longhand forms. This would further illustrate how inconsistent copyists were with regard to number-style, and it would confirm the legitimacy of our caution against assuming consistency among the fragmentary remains of Jewish manuscripts. On the other hand, if the manuscript is Jewish, then this would confirm one instance in which a Jewish scribe used an abbreviated number. It remains, however, an open question.

Similarly, if the Berlin Genesis is truly Christian in origin, the lack of any alphabetic numerals would be important. This would also show that manuscripts with consistently longhand numbers are not necessarily Jewish in production. Alternatively, if the manuscript is Jewish in origin, then we would gain the first truly substantial copy of a Greek OT book with a great deal of numbers from a non-Christian milieu. This would then add some weight to the idea that Jewish scribes avoided numerical abbreviations. But, again, the question is inconclusive.

6.8 Conclusion

The most important conclusion to be made from this investigation is that, judging from the evidence up through the third century at least, the presence or absence of numerical abbreviations *cannot* be used as a criterion for determining the Christian or

Jewish origin of a manuscript. It can indeed be shown that this feature is common among Christian OT manuscripts, but there is insufficient evidence to prove the reverse for Jewish manuscripts. Without a body of definitively Jewish manuscripts comparable in number and size to those we have of Christian origin, no confident presumption can be made about a consistent Jewish technique of number-writing.

In addition, we have seen that numerical abbreviations are used with great regularity in Greek OT manuscripts of Christian provenance, and that this practice is closely mirrored by that in NT manuscripts. This investigation confirms, therefore, that the scribal style of number-writing in OT texts is largely in continuity with other Christian Scriptural books. This adds more valuable details to our understanding of early Christian book culture, the techniques employed by the earliest copyists, and the physical and visual realities experienced by the users of these texts.

CHAPTER 7:

THEOLOGICAL ORTHOGRAPHY AND THE POSSIBILITY OF *NUMERI SACRI*

7.1 Introduction

In his 2001 essay titled “Names and Numbers in Early Christianity,” François Bovon highlighted the enormous theological significance names and numbers held in the imaginations of early Christians.¹ Bovon proposed that early Christians used both names and numbers as “theological tools” to unlock hidden, mystical truths about God, creation, history, and eschatology.² One need not look to the Pseudepigrapha, Gnostic tractates, or the metaphorical exegesis of the church fathers to find this numerical and onomastic fascination, the NT itself is replete with names and numbers loaded with theological meaning. Whether it was the salvific name of *Yeshoua* (Matt 1:21), the *renaming* of the disciples (Mark 3:16–17), the name “at which every knee will bow” (Phil 2:10), the prayer “hallowed be thy name” (Matt 6:9), or even the names of prisoners, servants, and evil spirits (e.g., Mark 15:7; John 18:10; Luke 8:30, respectively), to list only a few examples, early Christians writers went out of their way to give characters specific and often symbolic names and titles. Similarly, regarding numerical values, the ominous number of the Beast (Rev 13:18), the symbolic band of twelve disciples (Luke 6:13), Jesus’s forty day fast in the wilderness (Mark 1:13), and John’s overly specific catch of 153 fish (John 21:11)

¹ François Bovon, “Names and Numbers in Early Christianity,” *NTS* 47 (2001): 267–88. For another helpful discussion of number symbolism, see Adela Yarbro Collins, “Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature,” *ANRW* 2.21:2, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 1221–87.

² Bovon, “Names and Numbers,” 267.

immediately come to mind, but no one will deny that the pervasive repetition of values such as “three,” “seven,” “twelve,” and “forty” reflects a deeply-rooted fascination among early Christians with the deeper levels of meaning embedded in numbers.

To illustrate how Christians employed names as “theological tools,” Bovon rightly drew attention to the fact that onomastic interest was so intense and so deeply ingrained in the culture that it manifested itself not just conceptually in literature but even visually in physical copies of Scripture, represented in the form of a scribal custom of devotional abbreviations for divine names.³ These so-called *nomina sacra* were reverential contractions of sacred names and titles, most notably κύριος, θεός, Ἰησοῦς, and χριστός, which are present in virtually all known NT manuscripts from the earliest available evidence onwards.⁴ Certainly there is a great deal of scholarly disagreement about the origin of these contractions, their potential roots in Jewish scribal practice, the qualities that allowed them to be so rapidly and universally accepted, and about their implications for our understanding of early Christian devotion if there are any. Still, the majority view of this practice is that it was a Christian innovation signifying a degree of religious veneration for the referents of the contracted words, effectively resulting in a visual phenomenon within copies of

³ Scholarly literature on the *nomina sacra* is now considerable; only some can be listed here. Early studies include Ludwig Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (Munich: Beck, 1907), updated by A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.: The Sources and Some Deductions* (Leiden: Brill, 1959). A thorough discussion is given by Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, Schweich Lectures 1977 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979); see also, more recently, Larry W. Hurtado, “The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*: A Proposal,” *JBL* 117 (1998): 655–73; and S. D. Charlesworth, “Consensus Standardization in the Systematic Approach to *Nomina Sacra* in Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts,” *Aeg* 86 (2006): 37–68. For a dissenting view, see Christopher M. Tuckett, “‘*Nomina Sacra*’: Yes and No?,” in *The Biblical Canons*, ed. J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge, BETL 163 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2003), 431–58 (esp. 445).

⁴ Some fragmentary manuscripts such as P⁵², for example, do not contain visible *nomina sacra*.

Scripture containing an embedded theological message.⁵ Thus, we might say that early Christian interest in theologically significant names was so fundamental and so widespread that it emerged from the otherwise mundane stratum of scribal orthography.

7.1.1 The Possibility of *Numeri Sacri*

To illustrate how Christians employed numbers as “theological tools,” Bovon offered an impressive array of relevant data concerning numerical values invested with theological importance, particularly in NT texts and in subsequent patristic exegesis, but he did not ask if these numbers were given unique scribal treatment in actual manuscripts as the sacred names were. Thus the question not asked was, “Did early Christian interest in theologically significant numbers, which evidently was also fundamental and widespread, ever manifest itself in physical copies of Scripture as uniquely written numerals?”

At least in theory this is a valid line of inquiry, for just as there were two scribal methods of writing divine names—either in full or by contraction—we have likewise seen two scribal methods of writing numbers (as we have seen): as full words (e.g., δύο) or as alphabetic numerals (e.g., β̄). Indeed, the mechanics of abbreviating numbers were so similar to names that, apart from context, the *nomina sacra* can be at times visually indistinguishable from abbreviated numbers. Both modes of abbreviation involve ordinary Greek characters and a horizontal stroke placed directly above the letters in question. Thus, the scribal mechanics for

⁵ According to Roberts, “[The *nomina sacra*] are a unique device that in the minimum of space provides a summary outline of theology” (Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 47).

signaling a sacred number lay close at hand in a system of numerical abbreviations, the question here is if this possibility was ever exploited.

We have already seen, moreover, that numerals were used in these ways within other corpora by early Christians (see chapter 2). The theological use of isopsephy found in graffiti from Smyrna (“Equal in value: lord, 800; faith, 800”) and the cryptic numerical symbols used in Christian letters from Oxyrhynchus ($\overline{\rho\theta} = \alpha\mu\eta\nu$) illustrate quite clearly how numerical shorthand could be used in unique ways and for theological reasons. The present study, therefore, seeks to explore the terrain where abbreviated numbers and *nomina sacra* might overlap in function within manuscripts of the NT. Can it be shown that number-symbols ever served a theological, devotional, or mystical function analogous to, or at least similarly to, the *nomina sacra*? Were alphabetic numerals ever reserved by copyists for particular referents? Were the reasons for abbreviating numbers ever theological, or were they simply practical? Do any numerical symbols bear a special visual significance over against the longhand word? Did the practice of gematria or isopsephy ever influence a copyists’ number-writing technique? If so, how can we confidently identify a theologically-motivated abbreviation? We might for convenience refer to these possible uses with an analogous epithet *numeri sacri*, though, of course, it is our task to see if any candidates might legitimately populate this category.

7.1.2 Scribes and Readers

Before turning to the manuscripts themselves, a few preliminary remarks are needed. Recent studies show that it was not simply scribes who were active in the transmission and corruption of the NT text, but readers and users of these books were

at least equally able to affect a manuscript's wording.⁶ This is important for our discussion chiefly because one of the criticisms leveled against the majority view of the *nomina sacra* is that those who were actually doing the copying were incapable of or unconcerned with the theological reflection required to invest the supposedly-devotional contractions with any real meaning.⁷ Scribes, it is thought, were simply copying the text in front of them and had no real understanding of the exegetical significance of some of the more cryptic abbreviations such as the *nomina sacra*. In contrast, a scribal convention such as the contraction of commonly occurring names is considered to be a space-saving technique or an economic shorthand rather than a mark of piety.

However, even if we grant the supposition that scribes were completely unaware or incapable of employing reverential abbreviations, which is entirely plausible, it is beside the point.⁸ Whatever power scribes wielded over the form of text contained in our early manuscripts, the owners, users, and readers of those manuscripts wielded certainly as much, if not more. Indeed, it is the committed reader of a book who is likely to observe and attempt to resolve tensions in the text, insert corrections, and add marginal comments, all of which were liable to be moved from the margins into the main text in subsequent iterations of copying. Examples of

⁶ Ulrich Schmid, "Scribes and Variants: Sociology and Typology," in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies?: Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, TS 3/6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 1–23; and Michael W. Holmes, "Codex Bezae as a Recension of the Gospels," in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, ed. David C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux, NTTS 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 123–60 (esp. 147–50).

⁷ Tuckett, "Nomina Sacra," 431–58 (esp. 445).

⁸ A helpful distinction is made here by Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, TS 3/5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007), 83, who says: "The origin and subsequent use of *nomina sacra* is connected with reverential notions, but the use of *nomina sacra* in *Sinaiticus* is not determined solely by reference."

this phenomenon in NT manuscripts have been carefully demonstrated in recent studies that cannot be recounted here, but the point is clear enough.⁹

Furthermore, an illuminating point of comparison is available in the genre briefly alluded to above: Christian documentary papyri. It has long been known that early Christians in Egypt employed a variety of symbols, acrostics, monograms, crucifixes, and indeed cryptic numerals in their private letters, personal notes, amulets, and the like. There is no question that many, if not most, of these features were theologically motivated and used for devotional and apotropaic purposes.¹⁰ In fact, the presence of these features is now used precisely to identify a document as Christian rather than pagan. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to search for similar features in literary texts (i.e., copies of Scripture); such examples of “theological orthography” in documentary papyri provide both precedent and motivation for the present study. In any case, the point worth stressing here is that the discussion that follows requires the possibility that early theological reflection could be and indeed was at times embedded into texts at the orthographical level, that is, within abbreviations, symbols, and other visual features.

7.2 “Twelve”

The first possible *numerus sacer* to be considered concerns a unique scribal treatment of the number “twelve” in the Gospel of Matthew as found in Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲉ 01).

⁹ See, for example, Schmid, “Scribes and Variants,” 14–23; Charles Quarles, “META THN ΕΓΕΡΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ: A Scribal Interpolation in Matthew 27:53?,” *TC* 20 (2015): 1–15, <http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/v20/TC-2015-Quarles.pdf>. That latter, incidentally, opts against the interpolation theory.

¹⁰ See discussion below for examples and references.

In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus’s disciples are frequently referred to by their number. Three times they are referred to as “the twelve disciples [or apostles]” (10:1, 2; 11:1) and five times they are referred to simply as “the twelve” (10:5; 20:17; 26:14, 20, 47).¹¹ In Codex Sinaiticus there seems to be a scribal pattern concerning this numerical value, though to my knowledge, this has not yet actually been observed.¹² Every time the number “twelve” occurs specifically in reference to the disciples of Jesus, it is given in abbreviated form: $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$. In contrast, when the number refers to years (Matt 9:20), baskets of bread (14:20), and legions of angels (26:53), it is given in the normal, longhand form $\delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$. In the eight instances that it refers to Jesus’s disciples, however, it is consistently abbreviated (Matt 10:1, 2, 5; 11:1; 20:17; 26:14, 20, 47). Further, we might also note that when the longhand number “twelve” occurs in reference to “years” (9:20), it is conspicuously split between two lines after two letters, that is, $\delta\omega|\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$. As the abbreviation consists of only two characters ($\overline{\text{ιβ}}$), this would appear to be a convenient location to employ it, by which the copyist could have completed the line of text without dividing the word between two lines. This in fact appears to be how many numerical abbreviations are used both

¹¹ In Matt 20:17 the presence of $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is actually in question; it is absent from Codex Sinaiticus, but is printed in the NA²⁸ in square brackets.

¹² The two most thorough studies of Codex Sinaiticus are H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum for the Trustees, 1938), and Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, neither of which focuses at length on scribal number-writing styles. In contrast, see Peter M. Head, “The Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus: Textual and Reception-Historical Considerations,” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 13 (2008): 1–38 (13–15), <http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/v13/Head2008.pdf>, who sees a tendency in \aleph ’s text of Mark to reserve the abbreviated form of twelve for “positive portrayal[s] of the twelve”—i.e., when Judas is not present, in which cases the longhand form is used. He concludes, however, that the pattern is not consistent enough to be confirmed.

in Sinaiticus elsewhere and in other comparable manuscripts¹³; nevertheless, the longhand form was used.

There are two instances that do not strictly follow this pattern. In Matt 19:28 the manuscript reads: καθησεθε και αυτοι επι ιβ· θρονουc | κρινοντεc τac ιβ | φυλαc του ιηλ. Thus, “twelve thrones” and “twelve tribes” here are written using the abbreviated form. We cannot, however, simply conclude that these two instances break the rule. In the context, the twelve thrones and twelve tribes are so closely associated with the twelve disciples that it could be argued that they are overlapping in meaning. Jesus’s prediction seems to suggest that the twelve disciples will come to represent the twelve tribes as their judges, and “thrones” is simply a metonymy for that judicial authority. It is not difficult to see how the close association of these concepts could lead to their shared scribal treatment. A similar phenomenon is seen to occur with the *nomina sacra*, where, for example, the name of the OT character Joshua is contracted exactly like the name of Jesus in Christian copies of the LXX/OG (e.g., ιc, ιηc), perhaps because this figure was retrospectively understood as a foreshadowing type of the true *Yeshoua*.¹⁴ Thus, it was not uncommon for copyists to contract terms that were considered as closely related to the divine names.

Thus, there seems to be a reliable orthographical pattern established in Matthew’s Gospel of Sinaiticus in which the number “twelve” is always given in symbol form when referring to the disciples and closely related referents, but is given in longhand form for everything else. This is no doubt somewhat of a surprise, for, as

¹³ See in \aleph , for example, $\bar{\gamma}$ (Matt 12:40), $\bar{\epsilon}$ (14:19), $\bar{\beta}$ (14:19), $\bar{\xi}$ (Mark 4:8), $\bar{\rho}$ (4:20), $\bar{\zeta}$ (8:5), and $\bar{\mu}$ (Luke 4:2), all of which occur at the extreme end of their respective lines.

¹⁴ See, for instance, within Sinaiticus: Josh 13:1 (2x); 14:1, 2. For more relevant information, see Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 62–84. In other NT papyri: P⁴⁶ (Heb 4:8), P¹³ (Heb 4:8), and in the OT papyrus P.Schøyen I 2648 (Josh 10:29).

a point of comparison, the term “disciple” (μαθητής) was never included into the corpus of *nomina sacra*, not even in later stages of scribal traditions in which terms such as “mother,” “Jerusalem,” and “Israel” joined ranks with their respective contracted forms. As far as I am aware, there are no *nomen sacrum* forms of μαθητής.

A brief look at the number “twelve” in other comparable manuscripts is instructive. Contemporary uncial manuscripts like Codex Vaticanus (B 03), Ephraemi Rescriptus (C 04), and Alexandrinus (A 02), consistently employ the longhand forms of “twelve” regardless of referent without ever using the abbreviation. Codex Bezae (D 05), on the other hand, does contain several uses of the symbol for “twelve,” and very often for the twelve disciples, but no pattern of distinction is discernible. So, for example, while there are several occurrences that fit the pattern (Matt 10:1, 2, 5; 20:17; 26:14), the longhand form is used four times when referring to the twelve disciples (Matt 11:1; Luke 9:12; John 6:67, 71), and the abbreviated form is used for a variety of referents other than the disciples (baskets of bread, Matt 14:20; Mark 6:43; 8:19; legions of angels, Matt 26:53; and years, Mark 5:25, 42; Luke 2:42; 8:42, 43). Likewise, Codex Washingtonianus (W 032) contains several uses of the abbreviation for twelve, though in no apparent pattern (e.g., Mark 5:25, 42; 6:7, 43). Neither is this pattern discernible in any early papyri of the Gospels.

This distinctive use of $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ for disciples in Sinaiticus appears to be a technique that closely parallels that of the *nomina sacra*, in which an alternative orthographical form is employed for a word specifically when it refers to a particular entity but not when that word refers to others. So, for example, in Sinaiticus we find that the word

“God” is contracted in its typical form of *nomen sacrum* (Θ̅C), except in cases such as John 10:34 and 10:35, in which the plural term “gods” occur twice and the words are written out fully (θεοι, θεουc); the implication is that “I said, you are gods” and “he called them gods” are not contracted because they do not refer to the one true God.¹⁵ So also the number “twelve” is given in an alternative orthographical form depending on its referent.

The glaring difficulty with this pattern, to which mention has already been made, is that there is no question that the practice is confined only to the book of Matthew in one manuscript. Moving to the Gospel of Mark in Sinaiticus, for instance, the pattern completely breaks down, and the Gospels of Luke and John, and the Acts of the Apostles show absolutely no sign of it. So, for example, in Mark the abbreviated form ἰβ̅ is used in reference to twelve years (Mark 5:42) and baskets of bread (6:43; 8:19), and the disciples are referenced using the longhand form several times (14:10, 17, 20, 43). In Luke, John, and Acts, the abbreviation is never used in reference to the disciples. In 1 Cor 15:5, however, when the Apostle Paul lists the witnesses to the resurrected Jesus—Cephas, the twelve disciples, the five hundred brothers, etc.—the number “twelve” is given as an abbreviation and “five hundred” is written longhand. However, even with this isolated occurrence of the symbol in 1 Cor 15:5, the obvious lack of a pattern in Mark, Luke, John, and Acts precludes any claim of consistency.

We are therefore forced to conclude that this pattern with regard to the symbol form of “twelve” was probably not an intentional technique implemented by

¹⁵ For more examples of this distinction in Sinaiticus, see Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 62–84; for the same in Codex Alexandrinus, see W. Andrew Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*, NTTSD 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 219–25.

the copyist of Sinaiticus, otherwise it would have continued in Mark, and so on. Nonetheless, its presence in Matthew is not easy to dismiss, suggesting that it might represent a tradition present in a source-text that ceased to exert influence on the manuscript transmission. Perhaps then this distinction made between the two orthographical forms for “twelve” is suggestive of an experimental venture that simply did not accrue many—or any—followers.¹⁶

7.3 “Eighteen”

One number that is known to have been of considerable theological importance in early Christian thought is “eighteen.” Fixation with this value, however, has deep roots in Jewish thought. For example, O. H. Lehmann has observed that in the Hebrew Scriptures eighteen is the number of times that the name of God is mentioned in Psalm 29, it is the number of times the Tetragrammaton (YHWH) occurs in the Song of Moses (Exod 15:1–18), and the names of the patriarchs occur eighteen times in the Pentateuch. Furthermore, he notes that in the *Manual of Discipline* from Qumran (1QS II 2), the priestly blessing is structured in the unique form of six stanzas of three stresses each, totaling eighteen altogether. Furthermore, in Rabbinic tradition, it was observed that the name of God is mentioned eighteen times in the Shema prayer, Abraham’s wife Keturah had eighteen sons and

¹⁶ An “experimental phase” of *nomina sacra* was suggested by Roberts in reference to the odd forms found in the (probably) second-century Egerton papyrus that failed to catch on: e.g., $\overline{\pi\rho\omicron\phi\alpha\varsigma}$ (= $\overline{\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma}$), $\overline{\mu\omega}$ (= $\mu\omega\ddot{\upsilon}\varsigma\eta\tau\varsigma$) and $\overline{\eta[\varsigma\alpha\varsigma]}$ (= $\overline{\eta\varsigma\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma}$); Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 39.

grandsons (Gen 25:1–6), eighteen commandments are given concerning the Tabernacle, and, moreover, there are eighteen vertebrae in the human body.¹⁷

Eighteen was also of special interest to early Christians. It occurs three times in the NT, all within one chapter of Luke’s Gospel. The first occurrence is used in reference to eighteen people killed by a fallen tower in Siloam (Luke 13:4), and the second and third refer to a span of eighteen years for which a woman was physically oppressed by a spirit of illness with the result that she could not stand upright (13:11, 16). The triple occurrence of the number in this chapter seems to suggest that the number had symbolic value for the Evangelist, but its particular significance is not immediately obvious. In a moment we will examine manuscripts of this particular passage, but there is an important non-canonical text that reveals that the number held deep theological significance for some Christians.

A somewhat famous exposition of the number eighteen is found in the second-century apologetic book *The Epistle of Barnabas*.¹⁸ A major concern in Barnabas is the demonstration that the Jewish Scriptures—when properly interpreted—actually confirm Christianity rather than Judaism to be the true expression of God’s covenant, thereby validating the Jesus movement and its frequent appeal to Jewish roots. To do this, the author offers a creative interpretation of Genesis 14 that hinges on a symbolic reading of the number “eighteen” (Barn. 9:7–9). When Abram’s (Ἀβραάμ/Abraham in Barnabas) nephew Lot is kidnapped and taken north by his captors, the patriarch collects 318 men and leads them on a

¹⁷ O. H. Lehmann, “Number-symbolism as a Vehicle of Religious Experience in the Gospels, Contemporary Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *StPatr* 4, ed. F. L. Cross, TU 79 (Berlin: Akademie, 1961), 2:125–35.

¹⁸ For the text and a brief discussion of its date, see Michael W. Holmes, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007), 370–441.

mission to rescue his captured nephew (Gen 14:12–14). Barnabas maintains that, when rightly understood, the passage refers to Jesus Christ, although he demonstrates this with an exegetical move that requires an imaginative numerical interpretation. Abram, it is said, had “received the teaching of the three letters” (Barn. 9:7)—that is, the alphabetic form of the number 318, which abbreviated is τη: τ (300) + ι (10) + η (8). Since the letter *tau* visually resembles a crucifix, Barnabas sees this as a hidden reference to the crucifixion: “The cross, which is shaped like the T, was destined to convey grace” (9:8). Furthermore, the letters *iota-eta* might total eighteen, but they are also the first two letters of Jesus’s name, and “thus you have ‘Jesus’” (9:8). So, by “reveal[ing] Jesus in the two letters, and the cross in the other one” (9:8), we are made privy to the veiled reference to Jesus Christ.

This is not the only example of early Christian interest in the number eighteen as it relates to the name of Jesus,¹⁹ but it is the best example for two reasons: (1) it is early, *circa* the second century, and therefore it predates most of our earliest NT manuscripts, and (2) the exegesis hinges not simply on the number but on the *abbreviated* written form of the number. That is, the full number-word

¹⁹ Bovon also noted that a connection between the number “eighteen” and Jesus’s name is also made in Book 1 of the Sibylline Oracles, which he dates to the second or third century CE (Bovon, “Names and Numbers,” 282–83). Furthermore, this connection is cited with disapproval in the second century by Irenaeus: “The emission of the Dodecad of the Aeons is indicated [they claim] by the fact that the Lord was twelve years old when He disputed with the teachers of the Law; likewise, by the choice of the apostles. Besides, the other eighteen Aeons were revealed by the fact that after his resurrection from the dead, he is said to have spent eighteen months with his disciples. Likewise, the ten Aeons are pointed out by *iota*, the first letter of his name. For this reason Savior said: ‘*Not one iota or one tittle shall be lost ... till all is accomplished.*’” (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.3.2; trans. Dominic J. Unger, *St. Irenaeus of Lyons Against the Heresies*, ACW 55 (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist, 1992), 1:28 (emphasis Unger’s).

τριακοσίους δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ is less prone to Barnabas's interpretation because the first two letters of Jesus's name are not present as they are in the symbol form $\overline{\tau\eta}$.²⁰

While it does not explicitly say so, this passage from Barnabas seems to be linked to the scribal practice of the *nomina sacra*. This is because one of the early, even if unusual, forms of *nomen sacrum* for the name of Jesus is the suspended $\overline{\eta}$ (in contrast to the more common contraction $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$, $\overline{\iota\omega}$, $\overline{\iota\nu}$), precisely the same form used for the numeral eighteen. Both involve the letters *iota-eta* and a signature stroke directly over. This rare written form for the name of Jesus is used consistently in P⁴⁵, the third-century papyrus codex of the Gospels and Acts, and a few other early Christian texts.²¹ H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat in fact proposed that, in light of this connection made between “eighteen” and the name of Jesus in Barnabas, $\overline{\eta}$ might very well have been the first form of *nomen sacrum*.²² More recent scholars have reiterated and strengthened this view.²³ For our purposes, however, it is unnecessary to establish a causal link between the number “eighteen” and the *nomina sacra*, our interest here is simply to search for traces in early NT manuscripts that the number was treated in special or at least distinct ways, which might indicate a practice parallel to that of the contraction of divine names.

²⁰ It does not actually matter how the number was written in “Barnabas’s copy of Genesis” (assuming he even had one); but see Reidar Hvalvik, “Barnabas 9.7–9 and the Author’s Supposed use of *Gematria*,” *NTS* 33 (1987): 276–82 (279), who thinks that “in Barnabas’ Genesis text the number was written in full.”

²¹ Paap lists five other Christian manuscripts with this form: the Egerton 2 papyrus (= “unknown Gospel”), the Dura fragment (= GA 0212/Diatessaron), *P.Oxy.* VIII 1079 (= P¹⁸), *P.Oxy.* X 1224 (= Gospel of Peter?), and *P.Oxy.* XVII 2070 (= anti-Jewish dialogue); see Paap, *Nomina Sacra*, 107–9.

²² H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, eds., *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London: The Trustees, 1935), 3–4.

²³ See, for example, Hurtado, “The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*,” 655–73.

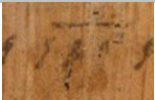
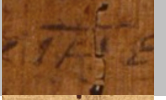

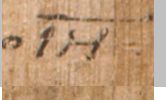

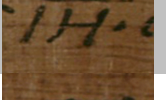
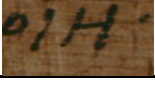
Did the theological reflection found in Barnabas, therefore, ever bear itself out on the pages of early NT manuscripts? A few early manuscripts contain this number in its symbol form. Specifically, P⁷⁵ employs the abbreviated form in each of the three instances (Luke 13:4, 11, 16) and Codex Bezae employs it for two of the three (13:11, 16), though the longhand form is used once. Both of these manuscripts, however, contain scores of other numerical abbreviations and thus the presence of $\overline{\text{in}}$ in them appears to be unremarkable; they are not distinct in any way (see the respective sections in chapters 3 and 4).

A more intriguing pattern is found in P⁴⁵. Unfortunately, the papyrus is not extant for the first instance of the number (Luke 13:4), but the latter two are visible (13:11, 16). Both are given in their abbreviated form $\overline{\text{in}}$. In P⁴⁵ this is significant for two reasons. First, it is notable because elsewhere the copyist shows a clear preference against the use of abbreviated numerals. For example, there are over sixty-five extant cardinal numbers in P⁴⁵ and with only five exceptions, they are all written longhand. Two of these five exceptions are the number “eighteen,” and the other three alphabetic numerals are $\overline{\text{ip}}$ (Mark 8:19), $\overline{\mu}$ (Acts 7:36), and \overline{o} (Luke 10:17). This shows a fairly consistent preference against the use of abbreviated forms with only a handful of exceptions; a good point of contrast is P⁷⁵, which contains dozens of abbreviated numerals. For this reason, the twin occurrences of $\overline{\text{in}}$ stand out and invite the question of why these numbers, and so few others, were given in symbol form.

Secondly, however, the abbreviation of eighteen in P⁴⁵ is conspicuous because of the issue mentioned briefly above, namely, that this is one of the few early Christian manuscripts that contains an unusual form of *nomen sacrum* for the

name of Jesus created by suspension ($\overline{\text{I}\eta}$) rather than contraction. So, in effect, the copyist wrote the name of Jesus in *precisely* the same manner as the symbol form of eighteen, meaning that the two are indistinguishable except in light of their context (see table 7.1).

To articulate the matter succinctly, twice P⁴⁵ contains the number “eighteen” written in contracted form against its scribal preference for number-writing, which creates an identical form to that which is used for the name of Jesus, which itself is a rare form of *nomen sacrum*. Further, the Barnabas passage confirms that the connection between eighteen and the name of Jesus had been made as early as the second century.²⁴

Table 7.1. $\overline{\text{I}\eta}$ in P ⁴⁵		
Term	Location	Form
18	Luke 13:11	
18	Luke 13:16	
Jesus	Mark 9:5	
Jesus	Luke 9:50	
Jesus	Luke 9:62	
Jesus	John 10:34	
Jesus	John 11:9	

²⁴ Although I had already seen this pattern in P⁴⁵, I was pleased to find that it was also identified by Mikeal C. Parsons, “Exegesis ‘By the Numbers’: Numerology and the New Testament,” *PRSt* 35 (2008): 25–43. He suggests, incidentally, that Luke himself intended the connection between the *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\text{I}\eta}$ and the numeral.

It is therefore worth asking if this visual similarity between “eighteen” and the name of Jesus was intentional. If so, we have identified a numeral that appears to share functional overlap with the *nomina sacra*—a visual form of a word bearing an embedded theological message. Perhaps a copyist, or more likely a reader, saw the relationship between the number and the name of Jesus and chose to make that relationship explicit by employing the symbol form of the number.²⁵

Certainly this is only a possibility, for there are other explanations. For instance, the similarity of forms could be the result of simple harmonization to regular usage, meaning that the numeral was abbreviated simply because the copyist was in the habit of suspending the name of Jesus to $\overline{\text{I}\eta}$. This would remove any element of theological intent from the phenomenon.²⁶

Another possible problem with this theory is the presence of another suspended form of *nomen sacrum* in P⁴⁵, namely $\overline{\chi\rho}$ (for $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$; Acts 16:18), suggesting that $\overline{\text{I}\eta}$ is not unique. In fact, the two forms occur together: $\overline{\text{I}\eta} \overline{\chi\rho}$.²⁷ This implies that $\overline{\text{I}\eta}$ was employed by the copyist because of a preference for suspension, not because of a supposed connection to the value “eighteen.”²⁸ While this is indeed

²⁵ Mikeal C. Parsons, *Luke*, Paideia (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 220: “Luke, like other early Christian writers, saw the christological value of the number eighteen. For Luke, eighteen was the appropriate length of time for the woman’s illness, for Christ himself is hidden in the number. Read properly, the reference to “eighteen” would have served as a rhetorical marker that the woman’s time of illness had reached its fullness. The very length of the bent woman’s illness, eighteen years, is the sacred name of Jesus. Despite the nature and length of her illness, or perhaps because of its (!), this woman is revealed by Jesus to be a daughter of Abraham, one who is not a woman of weak character or evil disposition, but rather a woman of courage, who, as the length of her illness reminds us, is reclaimed by Christ. Thus, she takes her rightful place within the family of God as a ‘daughter of Abraham.’”

²⁶ I credit Lonnie Bell with making this suggestion.

²⁷ The phrase $\overline{\text{I}\eta} \overline{\chi\rho}$ also occurs in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1079 = P¹⁸ (Rev 1:5).

²⁸ This objection is raised by Thomas Kraus particularly in reference to the supposed connection between the *nomina sacra* in P⁴⁵ and the numerical significance of $\overline{\text{I}\eta}$ in Barn. 9:7–9; he does not note, however, the numerical abbreviations in Luke 13:11 and 13:16; see Thomas J. Kraus, “*Ad fontes: Gewinn durch die Konsultation von Originalhandschriften am Beispiel von P.Vindob.G 31974*,” *Bib*

a significant point, and too little attention has been given to the use of $\overline{\chi\rho}$ as it relates to the *nomina sacra*, this need not rule out the possibility that $\overline{\eta}$ was seen to have a deeper meaning. The presence of $\overline{\eta}$ $\overline{\chi\rho}$ notwithstanding, the overwhelmingly preferred forms of *nomina sacra* in P⁴⁵ were clearly those of contraction; for example, A. H. R. E. Paap lists thirty-five occurrences of contracted forms of θεός, thirty-five of κύριος, eighteen of πατήρ, twenty-one of υἱός, one of σταυρόν, and even a probable instance of one for χριστιανούς (i.e., [$\chi\rho\alpha$] $\overline{\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma}$)—none of which have any suspended forms in P⁴⁵. In fact, the only suspended *nomen sacrum* in P⁴⁵ aside from $\overline{\eta}$ is the single occurrence of $\overline{\chi\rho}$ in Acts 16:18.

Given, therefore, (1) the early external attestation of theological interest in the number eighteen which requires the visual representation of the abbreviated numeral as a mystical connection with the name of Jesus, and (2) the rare form of *nomen sacrum* for the name of Jesus in P⁴⁵, and (3) the scribe's preferred method of longhand numbers, it is at least conceivable that the numeral was intentionally abbreviated to highlight this connection.

7.4 “Ninety-Nine”

Another number of special interest to many early Christians is ninety-nine. As we saw in chapter 2, a notable example of this interest comes from private letters between Christians in documents discovered in ancient Oxyrhynchus. In no less than

82 (2001): 1–16 (10 n. 39), English reprint in Thomas J. Kraus, “*Ad Fontes: The Benefit of the Consultation of Original Manuscripts as for Instance P. Vindob.G 31974*,” in *Ad Fontes: Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity. Selected Essays*, TENTS 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 25–45 (32 n.39). The same point is made in Thomas J. Kraus, “From ‘Text-critical Methodology’ to ‘Manuscripts as Artefacts’: A Tribute to Larry W. Hurtado,” in *Mark, Manuscripts, and Monotheism: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado*, ed. Chris Keith and Dieter R. Roth, LNTS 528 (London: T & T Clark, 2015): 79–98 (esp. 88–94).

eight documents, many dated to the third and fourth centuries, the number ninety-nine is employed in a curious way. In each, the number is written in symbol form ($\overline{\rho\theta}$) in the opening line or the close of the letter or document as a cipher for ἀμήν.

This is an example of isopsephy, the Greek equivalent of Hebrew gematria.

Isopsephy involves adding up the numerical values of each letter in a given word into a single value, and it often entails connecting this with other words that equal the same numerical value.²⁹ Famously, it was through isopsephy that Suetonius noted that Emperor Nero killed his own mother, as the numerical total of the letters in the name Νερῶν is the exact same as the phrase ἰδίαν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε (“He killed his own mother”).³⁰

In this case, $\rho\theta = 99$, which happens to be the same value as the combined sum of ἀμήν: that is, $\alpha (= 1) + \mu (= 40) + \eta (= 8) + \nu (= 50) = 99$. The documents in which $\rho\theta$ is employed this way are the following:

(1) *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601 (early fourth cent.), letter from Copres to his “sister” Sarapias. It concludes: ἀπ(όδο)ς τῇ ἀδελφῇ π(αρά) Κοπρήτ(ο)ς $\rho\theta$ (ln. 34; “Deliver to my sister, from Copres. 99/Amen.”).

(2) *P.Oxy.* VIII 1162 (fourth cent.), letter of recommendation from priest Leon on behalf of Ammonius. It concludes: ἐρρωθεαι ὑμᾶς [ε]ὕχομε | ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ [θ](ε)ῳ̄.

²⁹ “Words of the same numerical value were associated and the persons, concepts or things to which they pointed were often thought to possess a hidden relationship, e.g., $284 = \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma = \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma = \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$; $781 = \Pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma = \varsigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$; $2443 = \text{Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χρῆςτος} = \gammaένου\varsigma \Delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma, \omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma \kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ” (S. R. Llewelyn, “The Christian Symbol ΧΜΓ, an Acrostic or an Isopsephism?,” in *NewDocs* 8:157 [§14]). See also, more recently, Rodney Ast and Julia Lougovaya, “The Art of Isopsephism in the Greco-Roman World,” in *Ägyptische Magie und ihre Umwelt*, ed. Andrea Jördens (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 82–98.

³⁰ Νέρων ($50 + 5 + 100 + 800 + 50 = 1005$); ἰδίαν ($10 + 4 + 10 + 1 + 50 = 75$) + μητέρα ($40 + 8 + 300 + 5 + 100 + 1 = 454$) + ἀπέκτεινε ($1 + 80 + 5 + 20 + 300 + 5 + 10 + 50 + 5 = 476$) = **1005**. See T. C. Skeat, “A Table of Isopsephisms (P. Oxy. XLV. 3239),” *ZPE* 31 (1978): 45–54 (45).

Ἐμμ(ανουή)λ μάρτ(υς ?), | ρ̄θ. (lns. 13–15; “I pray for your health in the Lord God. Emmanuel is my witness. 99/Amen.”).

(3) *P.Oxy.* LVI 3857 (fourth cent.), letter of recommendation for Germania. Before the final greeting, the body of letter concludes: Ἐμ(μανουή)λ. ρ̄θ. (ln. 13).

(4) *P.Oxy.* LVI 3862 (fourth/fifth cent.), letter from Philoxenus to his family. The first line begins: χμγ † ρ̄θ (ln. 1).³¹

(5) *PSI* XIII 1342 (fourth cent.), letter from two *sitologoi* (directors of a granary) of the village Alabastrinus requesting money from “holy father” anchorite Sabinus. Before the body of the letter, the first line begins: χμγ ρ̄θ (ln. 1).

(6) *SB* XVI 12304 (late third/early fourth cent.), letter of recommendation from “Papas” π(α)π(ᾱς) Heraclitus on behalf of a “brother.” Before the final greeting, the body of the letter concludes: μν̄η̄ ρ̄θ (ln. 13; the meaning of μν̄η̄ here is uncertain).

(7) *P.Mich.* VI 378 (first half of fourth cent.), “List of Payments in Kind,” a daybook of grain received at a public granary. The first line begins, † χμγ ρ̄θ (ln. 1).

(8) *P.Oxy.* VI 925 (fifth/sixth cent.), Christian prayer. The last line concludes: γένοιτο, ρ̄θ (ln. 7; “So be it; 99/Amen.”).³²

As noted in chapter 2, while scholars are agreed as to the definition of ρ̄θ, its intended function is debated. For example, in her study of private Christian letters from Oxyrhynchus, AnneMarie Luijendijk sees the isopsephistic cipher as a mark of piety:

³¹ The meaning of χμγ is not known for certain, but some scholars regard it as an acrostic: χ(ριστὸν) μ(αρία) γ(εννῶ) = “Mary begat Christ.” See Llewelyn, “The Christian Symbol ΧΜΓ,” 156–68 (§14). Further, the editor notes that the cross (†) might actually be a *tau-rho* monogram (Ϡ), but it is obscured.

³² The numeral is used in a similar way in later inscriptions and graffiti in Egypt. See, for example, *SB* IV 7429 (ln. 22), *SB* IV 7488 (ln. 4), *SB* IV 7494 (ln. 9), *SB* IV 7497 (ln. 5), and *SB* IV 7513 (ln. 5), many of which are prayers.

The use of the isopsephy in this letter [*P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601] strikes me as a strong indication of the family's piety. By writing "amen" at the end of his letter, it appears as if Copres concludes a prayer or a part of a liturgy. "Names and Numbers," [François] Bovon concludes, "are a gift from God that express an extralinguistic reality beyond what other words are capable of transmitting." In that light we should interpret *koppa theta* at the end of Copres's letter to his wife as a prayer, a sign of his faith, and a sign that he had arrived safe and sound.³³

Here Luijendijk alludes to the important essay by François Bovon already mentioned above to propose that the cipher $\overline{\theta\theta}$ signifies a degree of Christian devotion.³⁴ Alternatively, it is possible that the number had an apotropaic function, that is, for the purpose of warding off evil.³⁵ On the other hand, Kurt Treu offers a third view, namely that such isopsephisms functioned as covert signals of Christian authenticity between author and addressee, or as "esoterisches Legitimationszeichen."³⁶ Treu argued this about *P.Oxy.* VIII 1162 in particular, which is a letter of recommendation between churches endorsing a fellow Christian. It is easy to envision how such a scenario would benefit from secretive codes of good faith. By including cryptic Christian number-symbols, the author could ensure a

³³ AnneMarie Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, HTS 60 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 221 (see also 226), citing Bovon, "Names and Numbers," 288. Further, the editor of *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601 called it a "sign of special zeal" (*P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601.171).

³⁴ "Names and Numbers in Early Christianity."

³⁵ See, for example, Lincoln H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus*, NTTSD 39 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 47: "Over time however, isopsephy became somewhat common among Christians and all sorts of letter combinations were subsequently developed and even came to be imbued with apotropaic power."

³⁶ Kurt Treu, "Christliche Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe auf Papyrus," in *Zetesis: Album amicorum door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. E. de Strycker Gewoon Hoogleraar aan de Universitaire Faculteiten Sint-Ignatius te Antwerpen ter gelegenheid van zijn vijftenzestigste verjaardag*, ed. Th. Lefevre et al. (Antwerp: Nederlandsche, 1973), 629–36 (634). This view seems to be followed by S. R. Llewelyn, "Christian Letters of Recommendation," in *NewDocs* 8:169–72 (172). Similarly, Malcolm Choat seems to echo this view: "Most such codes fall into the realm of legitimating devices, and indicate the shared beliefs and knowledge of writer and recipient in the case of letters," (Malcolm Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensa* 1 [Turnhout: Brepols, 2006], 116).

degree of fidelity or trustworthiness to the recipient on behalf of the one being recommended. Unfortunately, this does not seem to fit the context of some of the other documents (e.g., letters between family members, a grain receipt, a personal prayer). But, of course, $\overline{\rho\theta}$ may have served more than one function.

Whatever the intended purpose of such isopsephisms such as $\overline{\rho\theta}$ and $\chi\mu\gamma$ might have been, it is clear that they are distinctively Christian. Luijendijk, for instance, refers to such uses of numerals in conjunction with *nomina sacra* as “markers of Christian identity” and “specific Christian scribal practice.”³⁷ Also, in Lincoln Blumell’s 2012 study of Christian documentary evidence from Oxyrhynchus, *Lettered Christians*, the following are listed as being “markers of Christian identity within letters”: Christian names, crosses and monograms, *nomina sacra*, monotheistic terminology and phraseology, familial language and the use of $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, and isopsephisms and acrostics.³⁸ Others describe the use of $\overline{\rho\theta}$ as a cryptogram “exclusive to Christians.”³⁹ The symbolic usage of numerical abbreviations by early believers was thus so common that it is now seen as indicative of a document’s Christian authorship.

The link between the number ninety-nine and the word amen is not, however, confined to Egyptian documentary papyri; as early as the second century, in fact, Irenaeus knew of and disapprovingly commented on this specious interpretation of Marcosian heretics, who tended to make much of numerical symbolism:

³⁷ Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord*, 107, 111, 149, and 219.

³⁸ Blumell, *Lettered Christians*, 36–85 (esp. 46).

³⁹ E. A. Judge and S. R. Pickering, “Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt to the Mid-Fourth Century,” *JAC* 20 (1977): 47–71 (69). See also Malcolm Choat: “Their [symbols, isopsephisms, and acrostics] use provides an unquestionable indicator of a Christian presence in its widest sense” (Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 114).

Accordingly, when the numbers that are left over—namely, nine in reference to the coins [Luke 15:8–10] and eleven in reference to the sheep [Luke 15:3–7]—are multiplied by each other, the number ninety-nine is the result, because nine multiplied by eleven makes ninety-nine. And for this reason, they say ‘Amen’ contains this same number.⁴⁰

This interpretive connection, whether deemed by Irenaeus to be orthodox or not, can thus be firmly placed in the second century.

The key point to be made here is the importance of the numerical abbreviation as opposed to the longhand form of the number. Every time the value ninety-nine occurs as a Christian greeting within the Oxyrhynchus documents, it is written as an abbreviation ($\overline{\rho\theta}$), not a longhand number-word ($\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\nu\nu\epsilon\alpha$). This is unsurprising as the latter form does not easily lend itself to the exploits of isopsephy, and was therefore not used for such.

Turning now to NT manuscripts, there are several that contain the numerical abbreviation for ninety-nine, but only one demands our close attention. While both P⁷⁵ and D 05 employ the symbol in question, both contain many other abbreviated numbers; this suggests that they were employed simply because the copyists regularly used numerical shorthand, not out of a special treatment of this particular number. But one manuscript in particular is worth a closer look. As we saw in chapter 4, the text of Luke in Codex Washingtonianus is split in textual affinity: 1:1–8:12 is Alexandrian in text-type and 8:13–24:53 is Byzantine.⁴¹ In the Byzantine portion specifically, 150 numbers occur (both cardinal and ordinal), and all are

⁴⁰ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.16.1; trans. Unger, ACW, 1:69 (edits are Unger’s).

⁴¹ For the discussion of the variegated text of Washingtonianus, see Henry A. Sanders, ed., *The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels*, part 1 of *The New Testament Manuscripts in Freer Collection*, UMSHS 9/1 (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 133–39.

longhand, except for the two instances of “ninety-nine” in Luke 15:4, 7.⁴² Moreover, both of these abbreviations occur, incidentally, in the middle of their respective lines of text. In other words, this portion of W shows a clear preference against the use of abbreviations, the only two exceptions being $\overline{\rho\theta}$ in Luke 15:4, 7.

Is this an instance in which early Christian interest in the symbol $\overline{\rho\theta}$ has influenced the scribal treatment of the number? It might easily be countered that the number-word in question is rather lengthy, ἐνενήκοντα ἑννέα, a total of fifteen letters, and the copyist is simply conserving valuable parchment. On the contrary, however, many other numbers of comparable lengths are present in the text of Luke and not any of those were abbreviated. For example, πεντακοσια (7:41), πεντηκοντα (7:41; 9:14; 16:6), πεντακειχειλιοι (9:14; sixteen letters), εβδομηκοντα (10:1, 17), δεκαοκτω (13:4, 11, 16), δεκα χειλιασιν (14:31), εικοσι χειλιαδων (14:31; fifteen letters), ογδοηκοντα (16:7), and εξηκοντα (24:13) are all written longhand. So, why these two and no others?

There is in fact no way to determine if this use of numerical abbreviations was theologically motivated. It is entirely possible that, at some point, early Christian readers and manuscript-users who were aware of the custom of using $\overline{\rho\theta}$ as a cipher for ἀμήν saw the number in Luke 15 and sought to highlight that connection by intentionally using the abbreviated form.⁴³ This simple orthographical change would unlock a deeper meaning to the text that was already present but potentially obscured

⁴² Sanders does make note of these two abbreviations in Luke, but does not make any suggestions about the possible isopsephism (Sanders, *The Washington Manuscript*, 10–11).

⁴³ For instance (and admitting that this is purely speculative), this could have been taken to suggest that, even in the perilous loss of one sheep, God’s providential oversight protected the safety of the flock; the implicit presence of *amen* seems to confirm that both the single stray sheep as well as the ninety-nine are secure even amidst apparent danger.

by the longhand form. One benefit of this explanation is that it might to help explain the reason for what appears to be scribal inconsistency. If a copyist regularly wrote numbers in full within a manuscript and broke from that pattern only twice with the same number, it is conceivable (though not necessary) that this was a conscious decision rather than simple capriciousness. And when this exceptional departure from an otherwise standard consistency occurs with a number that is known to have been of theological interest, the chances seem to increase. This is, however, all that can be said; for, without other evidence there is no way to verify that it is anything more than a pragmatic abbreviation. And furthermore, Washingtonianus would be the only NT manuscript that seems to contain this exceptional treatment.

7.5 “Fourteen”

The number “fourteen” occurs a total of five times in the NT, and three of these occurrences are in a single location (Matt 1:17). At the close of the genealogy of Jesus in Matthew’s Gospel, the evangelist states, “So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations; and from David to the deportation to Babylon, fourteen generations; and from the deportation to Babylon to the Messiah, fourteen generations.”⁴⁴ The value fourteen thus functions as the structural principle by which the genealogy was constructed. Scholars are more or less agreed that this value is employed rhetorically rather than as a statement of historical fact, since not only did Matthew omit several generations from the list, the final section of the genealogy (from Babylon to Jesus) only contains *thirteen* names rather than fourteen.

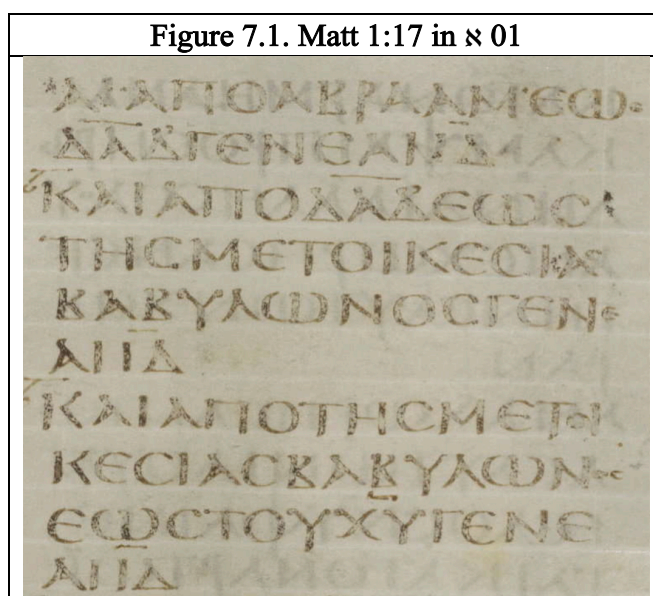
⁴⁴ NA²⁸: *πᾶσαι οὖν αἱ γενεαὶ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως Δαυὶδ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, καὶ ἀπὸ Δαυὶδ ἕως τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος ἕως τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες.*

If the number of generations between Abraham and Jesus was not actually three sets of fourteen, the question then arises, “Why did Matthew choose to use fourteen?” It is not inconceivable that the evangelist chose to order the genealogy according to sets of fourteen because the value was in some way symbolic. Along these lines, one explanation that has been offered appeals to the numerical value of the Hebrew word for the name of David (דוד), which, when added together, equals fourteen: ד (4) + ו (6) + ד (4) = 14. Such a genealogical schematic would underscore the Davidic, and thus the royal, nature of Jesus’s ancestry, demonstrating for the readers the providential ordering of the true King’s arrival. A difficulty with this viewpoint is that, judging from his OT citations, Matthew typically draws from the Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures rather than the Hebrew, and the Greek spelling of David (δαυὶδ) does not total fourteen, but 419.⁴⁵ It is also likely that the spelling of the name David current in the time of the NT was דוד (= 24), as it is in the Qumran texts, which would also compromise the connection to the value “fourteen.” Furthermore, since this putative key of David’s name/number is not explicitly stated by Matthew, it is doubtful that the audience would be able to adduce such a subtle use of gematria. The only certain instance of gematria/isopsephy in the NT is in Rev 13:18, where the author overtly states that the “number of the Beast” is an isopsephistic cipher that must be calculated: ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου (“Let anyone with understanding calculate the number of the beast”). But no such instruction is given by Matthew.

Whatever the reason for the use of fourteen here, several early NT

⁴⁵ δαυὶδ = 4 + 1 + 400 + 10 + 4 = 419.

manuscripts appear to mark it as distinct. For example, in Codex Sinaiticus, each of the three occurrences in Matt 1:17 are written as numerical abbreviations ($\overline{\iota\delta}$), but the two occurrences in 2 Cor 12:2 and Gal 2:1, in which the number refers to spans of years, are given in the normal, longhand form ($\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\alpha\omega\nu$). Interestingly, while the first instance of $\overline{\iota\delta}$ in Matt 1:17 falls near the end of its line of text, the second and third abbreviations fall near the beginning of their lines and are followed by significant blank spaces that equate to paragraph breaks. Both spaces appear to be of sufficient length to accommodate the whole word, but the symbols were nevertheless employed (see figure 7.1). Is it possible that these three instances of fourteen (1:17) were abbreviated because they are connected so closely with Jesus (viz. his genealogy) and the other two are not because they concern the life of the Apostle Paul? Probably not. Many other numbers in Sinaiticus are similarly abbreviated, and these three numerical symbols do not seem to carry sufficient weight to be considered unique or intentional uses of numerical shorthand; they could simply be practical abbreviations. Moreover, our observation of \aleph 's larger pattern of diminishing usage of numerical shorthand suggests this solution is unlikely.



In another early manuscript, P¹, the abbreviated form is used three times in Matt 1:17 (no spaces follow the numerals). Unfortunately, these are the only three numbers extant in this fragmentary papyrus, and so it is unclear if this is standard or exceptional for the copyist. Finally, Codex W 032 contains the first instance in Matt 1:17 longhand, but the second and third are given in symbol form.⁴⁶ This pattern is especially notable in W because of the scribe's clear preference against numerical shorthand in Matthew's Gospel. These are in fact the only two alphabetic numerals employed in the whole of the Gospel. Furthermore, similar to Codex Sinaiticus, W contains blank spaces that equate to paragraph breaks after the second and third uses of the numerals, though here they are not spacious enough to accommodate the full word δεκατέσσαρες. Comparable uncials such as B 03 and C 04 adhere to their consistency in using the longhand forms here.

The following table summarizes these and other relevant data (see table 7.2):

Table 7.2. "Fourteen" in Early NT Manuscripts					
MS	Matt 1:17a	Matt 1:17b	Matt 1:17c	2 Cor 12:2	Gal 2:1
P ¹	ιδ	ιδ	ιδ	—	—
P ⁴⁶	—	—	—	δεκατεσσαρων	δεκατεσ αρων
ⲁ 01	ιδ	ιδ	ιδ	δεκατεσσαρων	δεκατεσ αρων
A 02	—	—	—	—	δεκατεσσαρων
B 03	δεκατεσσαρες	δεκατεσσαρες	δεκατεσ αρες	δεκατεσσαρων	δεκατεσ αρων
C 04	δε κατεσσαρες	δεκατεσσαρες	δεκατεσ αρες	—	δεκατεσσαρων
D 05	—	—	—	—	—
I 016	—	—	—	—	[δεκα]τεσσα [ρων]
W 032	δεκατεσσαρες	ιδ	ιδ	—	—

It is not clear, however, how this particular abbreviated numeral would function differently from the longhand form. For example, in the case of ιη in P⁴⁵,

⁴⁶ A similar pattern is observable elsewhere in W 032. It seems that where a value is repeated several times in a context, the first is given longhand and those that follow are abbreviated. Perhaps the initial *plene* form establishes the numeral and those that follow are less prone to misunderstanding. See, for example, επτα (Mark 8:5), followed by ζ (8:6, 8, 20 [2x]); also επτα (Mark 12:20) followed by ζ (12:22, 23).

there is (1) a connection to the name of Jesus (Ἰησοῦς) that does not exist with the longhand form, and (2) a visual similarity with the *nomen sacrum* for Jesus's name, which also would not exist with the longhand form. But what is unique about $\overline{\iota\delta}$ over against δεκατέσσαρες? There does seem to be a slight visual likeness between the numeral $\overline{\iota\delta}$ and the contracted form of the name David, written $\overline{\delta\alpha\delta}$, which might have led the copyist (or reader) to opt for the shorthand form (see figure 7.1, lns. 2, 3).⁴⁷ The purpose could have been to highlight the relationship between David and “fourteen,” which in turn highlights the royal lineage of Jesus. This would, however, only apply to Codex Sinaiticus, as P¹ and W 032 have the name David written in full. Also lacking in the case of “fourteen” is external testimony from early Christian sources of exegetical and theological significance being applied to the number. Without any such additional information, the most likely conclusion is that the number “fourteen” did not invite scribal treatment similar to that for the *nomina sacra*, and thus the abbreviations were not theologically motivated.

7.6 666/616

Another possible *numerus sacer* concerns the so-called number of the beast in Rev 13:18. There is, to be sure, a wealth of scholarly literature on this particular number, some more scholarly than others, but the relevant information can be summarized fairly succinctly. In the Seer's prophetic vision of the Beast who would come to deceive the earth, the reader is exhorted: ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ

⁴⁷ Traube suggested that the name David was originally abbreviated as a transliteration of the Hebrew form (דָּוִד) = $\overline{\delta\iota\delta}$ —which indeed would bear an undeniable similarity to the numeral $\overline{\iota\delta}$ —but he gave no specific examples of this form in any manuscripts, nor have any surfaced since his time (Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, 47, 104–5).

θηρίου (“Let anyone with understanding calculate the number of the beast.”). The verb ψηφισάτω is that which is used in other texts when referring specifically to isopsephistic calculation.⁴⁸ The Elder goes on: ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν, καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ (“For it is the number of a person. Its number is six hundred sixty-six.”).

This is another instance where scholars have proposed that the ancient practice of gematria should be involved. The Beast has been identified with “Nero Caesar,” because, when transliterated into Hebrew as נרון קסר, the added total is 666: נ (200) + ס (60) + ק (100) + ו (50) + ו (6) + נ (200) + נ (50). A strength of this view is that it seems to account for the early variant reading 616 (as in P¹¹⁵ and C 04), which can be reached by simply removing the final *nun* from the name Nero (666 – 50 = 616). The validity of this particular solution, however, is not our concern here.

In two early papyri of Revelation, this number is given in symbol form: $\overline{\chi\xi\varsigma}$ (= 666) in P⁴⁷ and $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$ (= 616) in P¹¹⁵ (Rev 13:18).⁴⁹ There are no indications, in either case, that the numeral was treated as unique. Both papyri contain dozens of abbreviated number forms and it is not clear how this one in particular functioned differently. True, abbreviated forms lend themselves more readily to isopsephistic calculations as we have seen, but this still would not require us to view these numerals as theologically-motivated abbreviations. Moreover, the uncial manuscripts from our period (א 01, A 02, C 04) consistently give the number in longhand form.

⁴⁸ See LSJ, s.v. ψηφίζω I.2, 2022.

⁴⁹ In both manuscripts, however, the final character *digamma/stigma* is written exactly like a lunate *sigma*: $\overline{\chi\xi\varsigma}$ (= 666) and $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$ (= 616). See also below.

There has been one suggestion about this number, however, that, if accepted, might qualify it as a *numerus sacer*. One scholar has proposed that the variant value 616 originated as an intentional change aimed at mimicking the visual form of the name Jesus Christ. In 2007, Peter Williams observed that the numerical form of 616, which in P¹¹⁵ is $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$, bears an eerily similar visual resemblance to the contracted forms of Christ and Jesus, which are $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ and $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$, respectively. This is possible only because, in P¹¹⁵ (and in P⁴⁷), the letter *stigma/digamma* (ς) is not distinguished from the lunate *sigma* (ς), resulting in the following appearance of the numeral: $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$. Unfortunately, no such *nomina sacra* are visible in the papyrus, and so it cannot be confirmed that the forms $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ ($\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$) and $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ ($\iota\eta\varsigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) were used as opposed to their longer counterparts $\overline{\chi\rho\varsigma}$ and $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$:

Nevertheless, even if longer forms were used elsewhere in the manuscript, readers would probably have been struck by the visual resemblance of the number to common designations of Jesus. We must therefore consider whether the number as written in P¹¹⁵ could be a deliberate mimicking of the appearance of these *nomina sacra*.⁵⁰

In other words, the symbol form of the numeral was chosen in order to express a theological point at the level of scribal orthography (which would parallel the function of the *nomina sacra*).

This proposal is not without problems; what would motivate one to alter the number of the beast to more *closely* resemble the name of Jesus Christ? Elsewhere, there seems to have been the opposite tendency, namely, to alter names away from resembling Jesus. For example, although the external evidence is slim, the earliest reading in Matt 27:16–17 seems to be that the full name of Barabbas the “notorious prisoner” was “Jesus Barabbas” ($\iota\eta\varsigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \text{Βαραββᾱν}$). Even though this is the more

⁵⁰ Peter J. Williams, “P¹¹⁵ and the Number of the Beast,” *TynBul* 58 (2007): 151–53 (153).

likely wording, most known Greek witnesses lack the first name Ἰησοῦν, however, which probably shows the desire to disassociate the two; as Origen maintained: “in the whole range of scriptures we know that no one who is a sinner [is called] Jesus.”⁵¹ On the other hand, however, it is possible that the change to $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$ was made to contrast the characters of the Beast and Jesus. Scholars have observed that the description of the Beast seems to be an intentionally ironic parody of the Lamb (cf. 5:6), a literary device that speaks of the counterfeit nature of the Beast.⁵² A change to $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$ could then be intended to draw a closer connection (through visual similarity) between the Beast and the Lamb, which further highlights their stark comparison. In any case however, on account of the high frequency of numerical abbreviations elsewhere in P⁴⁷ and P¹¹⁵, there is not much that suggests either $\overline{\chi\xi\varsigma}$ or $\overline{\chi\iota\varsigma}$ were used as *numeri sacri*.

7.7 “Forty”

Finally, another number that is known to have symbolic value within Christian Scriptures is “forty.” It occurs repeatedly in the OT, referring to the days and nights of the rain that brought the flood (Gen 7:4, 12), the days and nights Moses spent on Sinai (Exod 34:28), the days and nights Elijah travelled to Horeb (1 Kings 19:8), and the days approaching David’s battle with Goliath (1 Sam 17:16). It refers to the years Israel wandered in the desert (Num 32:13; Deut 2:7), the years of David’s reign (1 Kings 2:11), and the years of Solomon’s reign (11:42), to cite merely a few. This

⁵¹ Cited in Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 56.

⁵² G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 707.

repetition of the number was clearly important to the NT writers, who, for example, record that Jesus fasted in the wilderness for forty days (Matt 4:2, who adds “forty nights”; Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2) and was seen after his resurrection for at least forty days before ascending (Acts 1:3). It occurs in several NT books, most frequently in Acts, and almost always referring to a length of time, usually days or years.

The number “forty” is also one of the most frequently abbreviated values among our early NT manuscripts. For example, the value in Mark 1:13 is given as the symbol $\bar{\mu}$ by \aleph , D, and W; in Luke 4:2, it is given as a symbol by \aleph , W, P⁴, and P⁷⁵; and it is abbreviated elsewhere in P¹⁰¹ (Matt 4:2a and [4:2b]), P⁴⁵ (Acts 7:36), P¹²⁷ (10:41), and P⁴⁸ (23:13). In D alone the number is abbreviated no less than eight times (Matt 4:2a; Mark 1:13; Acts 4:22; 7:30, 36, 42; 10:41; 13:21) compared to the longhand form which occurs only three times (Matt 4:2b; Luke 4:2; Acts 1:3).

Observe how the value is written in early manuscripts (see table 7.3). Note that, where extant, uncials A 02, B 03, and C 04 consistently have longhand forms.

Table 7.3. “Forty” in Early NT Manuscripts			
<i>Loc.</i>	<i>Referent</i>	<i>τεσσαρακοντα</i>	$\bar{\mu}$
Matt 4:2a	Days in wilderness	\aleph W	D P ¹⁰¹
Matt 4:2b	Nights in wilderness	\aleph D W	[P ¹⁰¹]
Mark 1:13	Days in wilderness	—	\aleph D W
Luke 4:2	Days in wilderness	D P ⁷	\aleph W P ⁴ P ⁷⁵
Acts 1:3	Days	\aleph D	
Acts 4:22	Years old	\aleph	D
Acts 7:30	Years	\aleph	D
Acts 7:36	Years	\aleph	D P ⁴⁵
Acts 7:42	Years	\aleph	D
Acts 10:41	Days	—	D P ¹²⁷
Acts 13:21	Years	\aleph	D
Acts 23:13	Conspiracy	\aleph	P ⁴⁸
Acts 23:21	Conspiracy	\aleph	—
2 Cor 11:24	Lashes	\aleph P ⁴⁶	—
Heb 3:10	Years	\aleph P ¹³ P ⁴⁶	—
Heb 3:17	Years	\aleph P ¹³ P ⁴⁶	—

A comparison of Sinaiticus and Bezae is instructive here. In terms of length, these two are the most substantial manuscripts of the group, and so one is able to observe larger trends in number-writing styles. But neither manuscript offers anything predictable. For example, the values in Matt 4:2a//Mark 1:13//Luke 4:2 all refer to the same thing (days in the wilderness), yet neither manuscript is consistent; both alternate between longhand and shorthand forms for the same numeral. Furthermore, it is impossible to judge the nature of abbreviations in fragmentary papyri that do not allow internal comparison (P⁴, P⁴⁸, P¹⁰¹, and P¹²⁷). Its abbreviation in P⁴⁵ is interesting, given the rarity of shorthand in this papyrus, but no particular significance of this use of the number is evident (Acts 7:36; years Israel spent in the wilderness). In P⁷⁵ the abbreviation is simply one among many. Likewise in W, the abbreviations occur within text blocks that contain many other abbreviated forms (Mark 1:1–5:30; Luke 1:1–8:12).

There was, no doubt, significant theological interest in the number “forty” outside the NT in patristic literature, but none (as far as I know) concerns the specific written forms of the number. So, although the numeral “forty” was undoubtedly vested with considerable theological symbolism by the earliest Christians, this did not have any noticeable effect on scribal orthography of the number, at least one that is evident in a consistent pattern. Perhaps the best explanation for its high frequency of abbreviation is obvious: it was a frequently recurring number and scribes felt free to shorten it.

7.8 Conclusion

Of the numbers studied here, only a handful give the impression that “theological orthography” contributed to their abbreviation. First, there seems to be a consistent pattern for the number “twelve” in Matthew’s Gospel of Codex Sinaiticus, however brief it may be. Similarly, the coincidental agreement between the numeral “eighteen” and the rare *nomen sacrum* for the name of Jesus in P⁴⁵ suggest that there was a degree of intentionality in its usage. Thirdly, the treatment of the number “ninety-nine” in Christian documentary papyri suggests that the lone abbreviation of that value in Luke 8:13–24:53 of W 032 could have been an intentional echo of $\overline{\rho\theta}$ “amen.” The remaining examples of “fourteen,” 666/616, and “forty” either lack external testimony of theological interest in the number-symbol or they lack the internal signs of scribal intentionality, to which we must conclude that their abbreviated forms were simply pragmatic, not theological, in nature.

Unsurprisingly, it is difficult to determine scribal motivations. Out of the plethora of abbreviated numbers in our early NT manuscripts, very few patterns that resemble the *nomina sacra* are evident. Even those few patterns that seem to be present are ultimately uncertain; each entails significant reservations, and there are no unquestionable examples of a *numerus sacer*. It is thus not undeniably clear that *numeri sacri* is a legitimate category of early Christian scribal practices within literary manuscripts.

Although this is more or less a negative conclusion, that theological interest in numbers did not typically manifest itself on the scribal level within NT manuscripts, we are nonetheless provided with valuable information about early Christian devotional practices. Specifically, the concept of alphabetic numerals can

function now as a reference point by which to evaluate the significance of the more commonly occurring *nomina sacra*, which heretofore have had no real object of comparison. So, in the case the divine names, virtually every manuscript contains them, from the earliest available evidence onward, and while there is a certain degree of dissimilarity in the specific forms and contractions that were employed, there is undeniably a broad stream of consistency that unites our manuscripts in this reverential treatment of sacred names and titles.

But as we have seen, the same cannot be said of numbers. Despite the fact that an analogous orthographical system of number-words and their respective abbreviations existed in Koine Greek, both of which were comfortably used by many NT copyists, they were never developed into a coherent system by which particular forms were reserved for particular referents, except perhaps in one or two instances in a handful of manuscripts. No number in particular was written as a symbol in all or even most of the texts we find, rather, every candidate examined here is either a debatable or plainly unqualified recipient of the term *numerus sacer*. Thus, while there is certainly no doubt that theological interest in numerical values was alive and well among early Christians, it seems reasonable to conclude that, judging from the impact observable on physical copies of Scripture, appreciation for divine names and titles and their theological implications took root earlier, appealed to much wider circles, and ultimately lay closer to what is the center of what was distinctively Christian.

CHAPTER 8:

NUMERALS AND THE MECHANICS OF PUBLIC READING

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1 The Hypothesis

One of the more curious observations that have arisen from this examination of early Christian number-writing techniques is the markedly restricted application of the alphabetic numerical system. That is, the NT manuscripts that contain abbreviated numerals in their body texts exhibit only a limited expression of numerical shorthand compared to the far wider practice evident in documentary papyri. This selective usage is surprising when we consider that scholars have been eager to show that the practice itself was adopted directly from documentary papyri. This link may be a real one, but the assumption of wholesale borrowing has obscured several notable differences between the two groups of texts. The key differences in number-writing styles of NT manuscripts are the avoidance of abbreviated forms for (1) the number “one”, (2) ordinal numbers, (3) inflected number-words, and (4) values in the thousands¹—all of which are commonly abbreviated in documentary papyri from the Graeco-Roman world.² These four tendencies have been noted repeatedly in previous chapters, but my aim here is to explore these patterns in more detail and offer an explanation for why early NT manuscripts share these similarities.

¹ Technically, all four of these categories are related to grammatical inflection (as it will be shown), but is nevertheless helpful to distinguish between them and take them separately.

² There are other differences as well. For example, in documentary papyri, one finds compound words abbreviated using alphabetic numerals, such as πεντακωμία written as ἑκωμια. The NT manuscripts studied here do not contain such abbreviations, even as compound words are found all throughout the NT. See Nikolaos Gonis, “Abbreviations and Symbols,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 170–78 (173). The exception to this is in Bezae: μετης (Acts 7:23; 13:18).

In this chapter, I argue that the unifying factor that best explains the presence of this unique use of alphabetic abbreviations is the concern to produce manuscripts that can be read aloud in public with minimal ambiguity. Numbers whose correct aural pronunciation would be obscured or rendered ambiguous by abbreviation were almost always written in longhand form, despite the apparent temptation of economy, because the overriding concern in the production of these codices was clarity in public reading. Fortunately, there are several other features in early Christian manuscripts which are best explained in this way, and, as we will see, scribal number-writing habits fits squarely in that context.

8.1.2 Public Reading of Christian Books and “Reader’s Aids”

In recent decades, the study of NT manuscripts as physical artifacts has produced a better understanding of the function of these texts in the context of early Christian worship. Specifically, scholars have observed in early Christian papyri a variety of scribal features that are most likely attempts to facilitate public reading, and, importantly, these features are noticeably absent from well-copied manuscripts of Graeco-Roman literature. While the literary bookroll presented the would-be reader with several obvious challenges, particularly the absence of such things as word division, punctuation, accents, and paragraph breaks,³ Christian codices demonstrate a variety of concrete attempts to overcome those challenges with what has been broadly called “reader’s aids.”

William Johnson provides a fitting summary of Graeco-Roman literary manuscripts:

³ See William A. Johnson, “Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity,” *AJP* 121 (2000): 593–627.

The product seems, to the modern eye, something almost more akin to an art object than a book; and, with its lack of word spaces and punctuation, the ancient book roll is, to the modern perception, spectacularly, even bewilderingly, impractical and inefficient as a reading tool. But that the ancient reading and writing systems interacted without strain is indisputable: so stable was this idea of the literary book, that with only small variations it prevailed for at least seven hundred years in the Greek tradition.⁴

Unlike these inscrutable books, however, early Christian manuscripts evidence a variety of features aimed at assisting the reader.⁵ So, for example, whereas professionally copied books of Greek literature were written in *scriptio continua*⁶—without spaces between letters or words—Christian manuscripts contain several techniques intended to break up the text into comprehensible sections. For example, *ekthesis* describes an initial letter that has been projected into the left-hand margin used to indicate a new unit or section of text; these can be found in Greek poetical texts, marking new sections or poems, and in lists and commentaries signaling new entries. A similar effect was achieved by leaving a blank space in the text. Alternatively, instead of blank spaces, some copyists extended strokes from final letters to function as “line-fillers” (such as the middle stroke of an *epsilon* or a horizontal stroke of a lunate *sigma*). Importantly, these features are common in many early Christian manuscripts, and they appear to reflect the intention to aid readers in dividing the text correctly.

One feature that actually does appear with some frequency in Graeco-Roman literary bookrolls is the *paragraphus*—a horizontal stroke placed between lines of

⁴ Johnson, “Toward a Sociology,” 609–10.

⁵ This discussion draws heavily from Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed., rev. P. J. Parsons, IBSBSup 46 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 8–12, and Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 1–24.

⁶ Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 7.

text usually near or in the left-hand margin. Its function in prose texts may well have been to facilitate reading, but in dramatic texts it indicates a change of speaker, and in documents it marks different sections of a letter, account, or law code.⁷ Christian codices, however, exhibit a variety of other such marks. For example, other forms of punctuation include the dicolon (:), high stop (·), and middle stop (·), which alternated in exact function but generally equated to modern punctuation marks such as full stops, commas, and semicolons (though their precise meanings varied). Turner describes other “lectional aids” such as the apostrophe (’), diastole (,) and diaeresis (”), all of which were used to facilitate proper pronunciation and separation of vowels. Copyists also used accents and breathing marks, but inconsistently. All of these are rare in literary texts, but they are present with marked frequency in many of our early NT manuscripts.

Papyrologist Colin H. Roberts is usually credited with being the first to draw out the implications of the fact that these features can be found in many early Christian papyri. He argued that the high frequency of such reader’s aids in early Christian codices was important for two basic reasons: (1) They link Christian manuscripts with documentary papyri, from which Christian copyists borrowed many of these features,⁸ and (2) they illustrate the fact that Christian codices were intended to be read and used in corporate worship.⁹ As we have seen previously,

⁷ William A. Johnson, “The Function of the Paragraphus in Greek Literary Prose Texts,” *ZPE* 100 (1994): 65–68.

⁸ Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, Schweich Lectures 1977 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979), 20–21.

⁹ “The frequent employment of lectional aids points to a conclusion already reached on other grounds, that most of these texts were intended for church use, to be read in public” (Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief*, 22). See also Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1995), 74–75, 203–41.

Roberts' first point can no longer be taken for granted; recent papyrological studies now point to Jewish scribal practices as a major context from which Christian copyists borrowed (and perhaps, over time, vice versa). In fact, many of the Dead Sea Scrolls and manuscripts discovered in the Judean desert contain precisely the same sorts of scribal features, such as divisions of verses, sections, *paragraphoi*, and *ekthesis*.¹⁰ Nevertheless, this does not mean that documentary papyri are irrelevant, for there is some undeniable overlap between the two scribal styles. Most notably for our present purposes, it will be shown that NT scribes appear to have inherited the practice of abbreviating numbers from documentary papyri—an observation made by Roberts himself.¹¹ Nevertheless, it will be necessary to qualify this statement because, as we have seen, they did not borrow the system wholesale, rather they adapted the practice with several important differences.

This brings us to Roberts' second point—that Christian manuscripts were intended to be read aloud in the context of corporate worship. Subsequent research in this area has confirmed and strengthened this perspective. The work of Larry W. Hurtado is especially noteworthy in this regard, for, in addition to the features detailed above, Hurtado has shown that the physical layouts of Christian manuscripts reflect the aim to create readable texts; they often contain, for example, wide margins, generous spacing between lines, and large, clearly-written letters.¹² When

¹⁰ Emanuel Tov, "Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 125–48, repr. as Appendix 5 in Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 302–15.

¹¹ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief*, 18–19.

¹² See, for example, Larry W. Hurtado, "Early Christian Manuscripts as Artifacts," in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, LSTS 70 (London: T & T Clark, 2009), 66–81 (esp. 77–81). And especially Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest*

compared with pagan literary manuscripts of comparable dimensions, they often contain fewer letters per line and lines per page. This is not to suggest that every early NT manuscript has all or even most of such reader's aids; some do not. Nevertheless, these lectional aids are certainly widespread to a significant degree among our early NT papyri.¹³ Again, it seems that the best explanation for the presence of these features is that they reflect an effort to make manuscripts that can more easily be read aloud, and probably in public. Indeed, no better account for the presence of these features has been offered.

One recent study, however, has challenged this understanding. Specifically, Dan Nässelqvist has argued that scribal features such as the *nomina sacra* and numerical shorthand in particular would have presented readers with formidable difficulties, and that scholars such as Hurtado have exaggerated the degree to which Christian scribes "aided" the reading of their texts (though it should be said that Hurtado in particular does not consider the *nomina sacra* or numerical shorthand themselves to be reader's aids).¹⁴ Nässelqvist states: "With regard to abbreviations, early Christian manuscripts presented inexperienced readers with more obstacles

Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 155–89. See also Larry W. Hurtado, "Manuscripts and the Sociology of Early Christian Reading," in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. C. E. Hill and M. J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 49–62 (esp. 57–59); Larry W. Hurtado, "Oral Fixation in New Testament Studies?: 'Orality', 'Performance' and Reading Texts in Early Christianity," *NTS* 60 (2014): 321–40 (esp. 336–39); Larry W. Hurtado, "The 'Meta-Data' of Earliest Christian Manuscripts," in *Identity and Interaction in the Ancient Mediterranean: Jews, Christians and Others. Essays in Honor of Stephen G. Wilson*, ed. Zeba A. Crook and Philip A. Harland (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2007), 149–63.

¹³ One scholar has argued that it is possible to correlate a manuscript's public/private use with that manuscript's relative concentration of reader's aids (which are further identified with "controlled" and "uncontrolled" copying contexts); see Scott D. Charlesworth, "Public and Private – Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts," in *Jewish and Christian Scripture* (Evans and Zacharias), 148–75. There is, in my opinion, insufficient evidence to support this view.

¹⁴ See Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 177–85. This could have been better clarified by Nässelqvist.

than non-Christian literary manuscripts from the same era in terms of performing a faultless public reading, even after extensive preparations by the would-be lector.”¹⁵ To support this countering assessment, Nässelqvist cites five specific forms that could represent either a *nomen sacrum* or a numeral depending on context: $\overline{\iota\eta}$ (18 or $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma}$), $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ (16 or $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma}$), $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ (25 or $\overline{\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon}$), $\overline{\upsilon\nu}$ (450 or $\overline{\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu}$), $\overline{\chi\nu}$ (650 or $\overline{\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu}$).¹⁶ In such cases, the would-be reader needs “extensive preparation and familiarity with Christian manuscript conventions” in order to decide which is correct, a number or a name. Certainly, while such ambiguity is possible (though only three of the five numbers actually occur in NT books), Nässelqvist overstates his case. This handful of potentially vague forms is vastly outweighed by the enormous quantity of forms that were strictly avoided by virtually all of our scribes to maintain clarity in public reading. That is, what Nässelqvist’s treatment lacks is any consideration of grammatical inflection as it relates to abbreviations.¹⁷ We will see, however, that sustained attention to the numerals given as abbreviations as it relates to formal declension reveals that Christian copyists avoided a great deal of confusion by intentionally avoiding shorthand that would be ambiguous. The result is that, contra Nässelqvist, scribal number-writing techniques should indeed be understood within the context of lectional aids and the larger effort by early copyists to produce easily readable books.

¹⁵ Dan Nässelqvist, *Public Reading in Early Christianity: Lectors, Manuscripts, and Sound in the Oral Delivery of John 1–4*, NovTSup 163 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 38.

¹⁶ Nässelqvist also points to the presence of shorthand and longhand numerals standing side by side as ambiguous in nature (pgs. 44, 54), though I fail to see the logic here.

¹⁷ To be fair, Nässelqvist’s study is restricted to P⁴⁶, P⁶⁶, and P⁷⁵—a limitation that would prevent observation of the larger patterns evident here.

8.2 The Avoidance of Abbreviations of the Number “One”

The most consistent pattern of scribal number-writing techniques in early NT manuscripts concerns the treatment of the number “one.” As observed earlier in this thesis (chapters 3 and 4 especially), no NT manuscript from the first five centuries contains a single example of the number “one”—whether cardinal or ordinal—in abbreviated form.¹⁸ This degree of consistency is especially noteworthy because “one” is by far the most frequently occurring value in the whole of the NT. A computer-generated search of the NA²⁷ returns no less than 345 occurrences of the cardinal number εἶς/μία/ἓν, followed by δύο, which occurs 135 times. This policy of avoiding the abbreviation for “one” is also surprising in light of Graeco-Roman documentary papyri, in which this particular abbreviation is notably common.¹⁹ Furthermore, although Greek literary texts do not typically employ numerical abbreviations, annotations and notes written in the margins by later hands routinely do so, and the numeral $\bar{\alpha}$ often appears in these.²⁰ So, if NT copyists were willing to borrow the alphabetic numeral system for their texts, why did they rigidly avoid abbreviation of the most frequently occurring value?

¹⁸ It is worth stating that the same cannot be said of manuscripts of the Greek OT; there is one exception: *P.Beatty* VI (Numbers-Deuteronomy) contains many instances of the abbreviation $\bar{\alpha}$ (= 1). The only explanation I can offer for this exceptional case, assuming that this copy was intended for actual use, is that the need to manage a plethora of numbers (the number “one” occurs over 180 times in LXX-Numbers) overrode the desire for clarity in abbreviation.

¹⁹ Some randomly selected examples of $\bar{\alpha}$ standing for εἶς/μία/ἓν from the Oxyrhynchus papyri are the following: *P.Oxy.* I 35 (ln. 9), *P.Oxy.* I 45 (ln. 20), *P.Oxy.* I 55 (ln. 16), *P.Oxy.* I 68 (ln. 38), *P.Oxy.* I 108 (lns. 5, 10, 13, *et passim*), *P.Oxy.* I 109 (lns. 2, 5, 7, *et passim*), *P.Oxy.* I 113 (ln. 31), *P.Oxy.* I 115 (ln. 12), *P.Oxy.* I 146 (ln. 3), *P.Oxy.* IV 710 (lns. 3, 4), *P.Oxy.* IX 1211 (ln. 4), *P.Oxy.* IX 1212 (ln. 7), *P.Oxy.* X 1283 (lns. 17, 21), *P.Oxy.* X 1288 (lns. 8, 11), *P.Oxy.* X 1289 (lns. 7, 9), and *P.Oxy.* X 1290 (lns. 2, 3). It is used in these instances for items in lists and accounts, dimensions of land, duration of years, and dates.

²⁰ Kathleen McNamee, ed., *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, Am.Stud.Pap. 45 (Oxford: Oxbow Books for the American Society of Papyrologists, 2007), 131, 133, 224, 276, 280 (for more examples, see the helpful index of such on pg. 562).

I suggest that the answer to this question lies in the inherent ambiguity of the symbol $\bar{\alpha}$. Specifically, the number “one” in Greek bears a multiplicity of grammatical forms, with a unique spelling for each gender and most grammatical cases; functionally, there are nine distinct forms that can be used (some forms overlap).²¹ In contrast, most number-words are indeclinable, meaning that they have only one possible form, regardless of gender or case: e.g., πέντε, δέκα, δώδεκα, and τεσσαράκοντα, etc. Accordingly, the abbreviation $\bar{\alpha}$ could potentially stand for nine different cardinal number forms, and the oral pronunciation of the symbol is therefore highly ambiguous. For instance, what should the would-be lector say aloud when faced with the abbreviation $\bar{\alpha}$: εἶς, ἕνα, ἐνός, ἐνί, etc.? Furthermore, this only considers cardinal forms; the ambiguity increases dramatically when we add ordinal forms and all their inflections—all of which also would be represented by the alphabetic numeral $\bar{\alpha}$. This use in particular commonly occurs in documentary papyri and inscriptions.²² The obvious difficulty posed by this ambiguity is that there is no clear indication about what particular word ought to be pronounced when read aloud. In sum, the symbol $\bar{\alpha}$ could stand for literally dozens of distinct words.

It will be helpful to examine this pattern in particular manuscripts. The copyist of P⁴⁵, for example, occasionally employed abbreviated forms for cardinal numbers, e.g., $\bar{\iota}\beta$ (Mark 8:19), $\bar{\iota}\eta$ (Luke 13:11, 16); $\bar{\mu}$ (Acts 7:36), and \bar{o} (Luke 10:17), but in writing the most frequently recurring number, εἶς/μία/έν, every extant occurrence is

²¹ That is, εἶς (ἕνα, ἐνός, ἐνί), μία (μία, μιᾶς, μιᾷ), and έν (έν, ἐνός, ἐνί).

²² See Marcus N. Tod, “The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica,” *ABSA* 45 (1950): 126–39 (132–33).

longhand (totaling twenty-four instances).²³ Similarly, the scribe of P⁶⁶ used a couple of abbreviated numbers ($\overline{\iota\beta}$, John 6:70; $\overline{\lambda}$ και $\overline{\eta}$, 5:5), but never did so for the number “one,”²⁴ of which there are twenty-eight extant occurrences. The copyists of P⁴⁶ and P⁷² consistently wrote all numbers longhand, including $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha/\acute{\epsilon}\nu$.²⁵

It is especially telling that this same trend is observed in manuscripts that exhibit a marked preference for numerical shorthand rather than occasional usage. P⁷⁵, for example, contains nearly fifty abbreviated numbers, for values ranging between “two” and “one hundred.” However, even with this remarkable willingness to use alphabetic numerals, the most frequently occurring value is “one” and it is never given in shorthand form.²⁶ The same is true of P⁴⁷ and P¹¹⁵, both of which also contain clear scribal preferences for numerical symbols, though not a single instance can be found for the number “one.”²⁷

Turning to majuscule manuscripts, the same trend can be seen quite clearly. Manuscripts such as Codex Alexandrinus (A 02), Vaticanus (B 03), and Ephraemi-Rescriptus (C 04) are (virtually) consistent in using only longhand forms for numbers, and not a single instance of “one” is abbreviated; again, this comprises hundreds of instances of the number in each manuscript. Three lengthy majuscule

²³ E.g., Matt 25:45; 26:14, 21, 22; Mark 9:5; 11:29; Luke 9:33 (3x); 10:42; 12:6, 27, 52; 13:10; 14:18; John 10:16 (2x), 41; 11:49, 50, 52; Acts 4:32; 8:24; 11:28.

²⁴ E.g., John 1:40; 3:27; 6:8, 70, 71; 7:21, 50; 8:28, 41; 9:25; 10:16 (2x), 30; 11:49, 50, 52; 12:2, 4; 13:21, 23; 17:22 (2x), 23; 18:26, 39; 20:1, 7, 12.

²⁵ In P⁴⁶: Rom 5:18 (2x), 19 (2x); 9:10; 12:4, 5 (2x); 1 Cor 3:8; 4:6 (2x); 6:16 (2x), 17; 8:4, 6; 9:24; 10:8, 17 (3x); 11:5; 12:11, 12 (2x), 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 26; 14:27, 31; 16:2; 2 Cor 5:14; 11:24; Gal 3:20 (2x); 4:22 (2x), 24; 5:14; Eph 2:14, 15, 16, 18; 4:4 (3x), 5 (3x), 6, 7, 16; 5:31, 33; Phil 1:27; 2:2; 3:13; Col 4:6; Heb 10:12, 14; 11:12; 12:16. And in P⁷²: 2 Pet 3:8 (3x).

²⁶ E.g., Luke 5:3; 8:22; 9:33 (3x); 10:42; 11:46; 12:6, 27, 52; 13:10; 14:18; 15:4, 7, 8, 10, 15, 19, 26; 16:5, 13 (2x), 17; 17:15, 22, 34 (2x), 35; 18:10; 22:47, 50, 59; 23:39; 24:1, 18; John 1:3, 40; 3:27; 6:22, 70, 71; 7:21, 50; 8:41; 9:25; 10:16 (2x), 30; 11:52; 15:5.

²⁷ For P⁴⁷: Rev 9:12, 13; 13:3; 17:1; and for P¹¹⁵: Rev 13:3.

manuscripts in particular contain a significant scribal willingness to use alphabetic numerals. Again, however, none of the three contains any instances of $\bar{\alpha}$ being used for $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha/\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in their body texts. First, the scribe of Codex Sinaiticus (S 01) used numerical shorthand often, on roughly fifty occasions, but every occurrence of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha/\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ is longhand.²⁸ The same is true of Codex Washingtonianus (W 032), which contains about thirty instances of numerical shorthand; every instance of the number “one” is longhand. Codex Bezae (D 05) shows the most frequent usage of numerical shorthand out of the majuscule manuscripts, roughly one hundred instances. Nevertheless, every instance of the number $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha/\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ is written out fully.

It is also worth examining some of the fragmentary manuscripts that exhibit numerical abbreviations. P³⁷, for example, contains two uses of the abbreviation $\bar{\iota}\beta$ for $\delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ (Matt 26:20, 47), but three instances of the number “one” that are all longhand (26:21, 40, 51). Majuscule 0207 contains several numeral abbreviations, $\bar{\epsilon}$ (Rev 9:5, 10) and $\bar{\delta}$ (9:14, 15), but the two instances of the number “one” are longhand: $\mu\iota\alpha$ (9:12) and $\mu\iota\alpha\nu$ (9:13).

Is it possible that the number $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha/\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ is never abbreviated simply because it is such a short word (two or three letters) that it requires no further shortening?

Although tempting, this explanation is unsatisfactory in light of the frequent abbreviation of the number $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$, which is likewise only three characters in length.

For example, Codex Bezae contains thirteen such abbreviations for $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$,²⁹ Codex

²⁸ There are far too many instances of the number “one” in S, so here I simply list references some from the book of Matthew, in which the most numerical shorthand is present for other values: Matt 5:18 (2x), 19, 29, 30, 36, 41; 6:24 (2x), 27, 29; 8:19; {9:18}; 10:29, 42; 12:11; 13:46; 16:14; 17:4 (3x); 18:5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 16, 24, 28; 19:5, 6, 16, 17; 20:12, 13, 21 (2x); 21:19, 24; 22:35; 23:8, 9, 10, 15; 24:40 (2x), 41 (2x); 25:15, 18, 24, 40, 45; 26:14, 21, 22, 40, 47, 51, 69; 27:14, 15, 38 (2x), 48; 28:1.

²⁹ Matt 25:15; Mark 6:7, 9, 41 (2x); 9:43, 45, 47; 10:8; 11:1; 14:1; 15:27, 38.

Sinaiticus contains seven,³⁰ and P⁷⁵ contains eleven.³¹ If length of the word was the only factor, why did so many copyists bother with shortening δύο? We would also be left to wonder why values in the thousands, which are consistently lengthy words, were only abbreviated on the rarest of occasions; we will return to this latter topic shortly. In sum, there is an astonishing degree of consistency in this avoidance of shorthand for “one”—a degree of consistency that simply defies coincidence and reflects an intentional technique of early scribes.

8.3 The Avoidance of Abbreviations of Ordinal Numbers

A similar trend can be seen, although slightly less consistently, in the scribal treatment of ordinal numbers. As we saw in the first chapter, one of the key differences between the alphabetic numeral system compared to the acrophonic system is the treatment of ordinal values.³² The latter system did not allow ordinal values to be represented by numerical symbols. In contrast, alphabetic numerals were used equally for cardinal and ordinal numbers, which can be seen quite clearly, for example, in the frequent use of number symbols to express dates in papyrus documents.³³

The avoidance of abbreviated forms for ordinal numbers is can be explained by the fact that they would be ambiguous in the context of pronounced reading. As noted above, most cardinal numbers are grammatically indeclinable, but all ordinal

³⁰ Matt 14:19; 21:1, 28, 31; 26:60; 27:21; Mark 6:41.

³¹ Luke 9:16, 32; 10:1, 35; 12:52; 15:11; John 1:35; 2:6; 4:40, 43; 6:9.

³² See especially Tod, “The Alphabetic Numeral System,” 132–33.

³³ This is ubiquitous in documents, but, to offer a couple randomly chosen examples, *P.Oxy.* I 68 (131 CE) closes with a signature and date: Ἐπεὶ ᾧ (ln. 38) = “*Epiphi* 1st”; or, for example, *P.Oxy.* II 296 (first cent. CE) closes with: (ἔτους) α, μηνὸς Φαμε(νὸθ) κη (ln. 9) = “1st year, *Phamenoth* 28th.”

numbers are fully inflected, as all other adjectives: e.g., πρῶτος (-του, -τω, -τον + plurals), δεύτερος (-ρου, -ρω, -ρον + plurals), τρίτος (-του, -τω, -τον + plurals), etc. Thus, unless an ordinal is prefaced by an article that marks gender, number, and case (which are frequently lacking³⁴), the exact meaning of an abbreviated ordinal is ambiguous, especially in the context of public reading. I suggest that it is precisely this ambiguity that accounts for the extreme rarity of abbreviated ordinals in NT codices.

Turning to particular manuscripts, we find very few that contain any abbreviated ordinals, and those that do exhibit very few examples. For instance, no abbreviated ordinal numbers occur in P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, P⁶⁶, P⁷², or P⁷⁵,³⁵ neither do they occur in the majuscules A 02, B 03, C 04, or W 032.³⁶ A search of NA²⁷ returns no less than 248 ordinals in the text of the NT. This consistency among so many substantial witnesses at so many occurrences of ordinals is remarkable and cannot be mere coincidence; rather, it reflects a deliberate avoidance of numerical shorthand for ordinal values.

There are a handful of manuscripts that do contain abbreviated ordinals, and the details are worth exploring here. In each case, however, the use of abbreviations

³⁴ There are numerous anarthrous ordinal numbers in, for example, the Gospel of Matthew: e.g., Matt 10:2; 14:25; 19:30 (2x); 20:3, 5 (2x); 22:39; 26:42, 44; 27:45 (2x).

³⁵ See the longhand examples in P⁴⁵: πρῶτος (Matt 20:27; Mark 7:27; Luke 9:59, 61; 11:38; 12:1; 13:30 [2x]; 14:28, 31; Acts 11:26; 13:50); δεύτερος (Acts 10:15; 11:9); in P⁴⁶: πρῶτος (Rom 10:19; 15:24; 1 Cor 12:28; 14:30; 15:3, 45, 46, 47; 2 Cor 8:5; Eph 6:2; Phil 1:5; Heb 7:2; 8:7, 13; 9:1, 6, 8, 15, 18; 10:9); δεύτερος (1 Cor 12:28; 15:47; 2 Cor 13:2; Heb 8:7; 9:3, 7, 28; 10:9); τρίτος (1 Cor 12:28; 15:4; 2 Cor 12:2, 14; 13:1); δέκατος (Heb 7:2, 4, 8, 9); in P⁶⁶: see John 1:15, 30, 39, 41; 2:1, 10, 11; 3:4; 4:6, 52, 54; 7:51; 9:24; 12:16; 15:18; 18:13; 19:14, 32, 39; 20:8; in P⁷² (2 Pet 2:5, 20; 3:1; Jude 5, 14); in P⁷⁵: πρῶτος (Luke 6:42; 9:59, 61; 10:5; 11:26, 38; 12:1; 13:30 (2x); 14:18, 28, 31; 15:22; 16:5; 17:25; John 1:15, 30, 41; 2:10; 7:51; 10:40), δεύτερος (Luke 12:38; John 3:4; 4:54; 9:24), τρίτος (Luke 9:22; 12:38; 13:32; 23:22; 24:7, 21, 46; John 2:1), ἕκτος and higher (Luke 23:44 [2x]; John 1:39; 4:6, 52).

³⁶ There are far too many instances of ordinal numbers in the lengthy majuscules and they cannot be listed here; see chapter 4 for some examples.

for ordinal values are clearly exceptions to otherwise consistent habits of using longhand forms. First is Codex Sinaiticus. The clear preference in Sinaiticus is to write ordinals longhand. This is the case with all the ordinal numbers in Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Paul (+ Hebrews), and the Catholic Letters. This amounts to roughly 250 instances of longhand forms. There is one passage, however, in which the scribe employed abbreviated forms for ordinal values.³⁷ This passage is Rev 21:19–20, which contains the ordinal numbers “first,” “second,” “third,” all the way to “twelfth.” In Sinaiticus, the first two of this sequence are longhand, then τρίτος through δωδέκατος are shorthand, totaling ten such abbreviations. The particular reason for the sudden use of shorthand is not entirely clear, but—as we saw in chapter 4—it might be related to a felt need to conserve space as the scribe was approaching the end of a quire (the frequency of abbreviated cardinal values also dramatically increases in this chapter). In any case, whatever the precise reason for the scribe’s change in number-writing technique, there are ten abbreviated forms for ordinal values here compared to a couple *hundred* longhand forms elsewhere in the codex. There are simply too many longhand ordinals in the whole of the codex to list, though in Revelation alone there are roughly sixty-five such longhand instances. It should also be pointed out that the abbreviated forms in Rev 21:19–20 occur immediately after two longhand numbers, which in a sense alert the reader that a sequence has been initiated, and so the abbreviations that follow are thereby rendered less ambiguous. In sum, Codex Sinaiticus contains ten abbreviated ordinals and roughly 300 longhand forms.

³⁷ I do not count two instances in which a later hand has added an ordinal in abbreviated form (Rev 6:9; 16:17).

Codex Bezae is comparable. The scribe almost exclusively used longhand forms for ordinal values, but there are four exceptions. Twice $\bar{\gamma}$ is used for τρίτη (Mark 15:25; Acts 2:15),³⁸ once $\bar{\varsigma}$ for ἑκτης (Mark 15:33), and once $\bar{\theta}$ for ἐνάτης (15:33). In each case the number refers to an hour of the day. This is opposed to fifteen occurrences of τρίτος longhand (Matt 20:3, 19; 22:26; 27:64; Mark 14:41; Luke 12:38; 13:32; 18:33; 20:12, 31; 24:7, 21, 46; Acts 10:30, 40), six of ἑκτος (Matt 20:5; 27:45; Luke 1:26, 36; 23:44; John 4:6), and five of ἐνάτος (Matt 20:5; 27:45; Luke 23:44; Acts 3:1; 10:30). Moreover, all occurrences of πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τέταρτος, πέμπτος, ἑβδομος, ὄγδοος, ἐνδέκατος and πεντεκαίδεκατος are all longhand (over 125 occurrences).³⁹

P¹¹⁵ is also an interesting manuscript in this regard. There are only a handful of ordinal numbers visible in this fragmentary text, and most are longhand. So, for example, among those that are visible or partially so: [π]ρωτου (Rev 13:12), [δευτερ]α (11:14), [τρι]τον (8:11), and τ[ριτον] (8:12). There is one instance of an abbreviated ordinal; in 8:7, $\bar{\gamma}$ stands for τρίτον. However, the abbreviation has been corrected and the symbol has been altered to the full word, transcribed by the editor as τρι[τ]ο[v]. Specifically, the original *gamma* ($\bar{\gamma}$) was modified into a *tau*, the letters *rho* + *iota* were added, and τον was added above the line. Importantly, this might be an indication that an abbreviated ordinal was considered ambiguous or in some way

³⁸ There is an additional use of $\bar{\gamma}$ for τρίτη in Acts 2:15, but it is part of a later correction.

³⁹ See, e.g., πρῶτος (Matt 5:24; 10:2; 12:29, 45; 13:30; 17:10, 27; 19:30 [2x]; 20:8, 10, 16 [2x], 27; 21:28, 36; 22:25, 38; 23:36; 26:17, 64; Mark 3:27; 4:28; 6:21; 7:27; 9:11, 12; 10:31 [2x], 44; 12:20, 28, 29, 30; 13:10; 14:12; 16:9 [2x]; Luke 2:2; 6:14, 42; 9:59, 61; 10:5; 11:26, 38; 12:1; 13:30 [2x]; 14:18, 28, 31; 15:22; 16:5; 17:25; 19:16, 47; 20:29; 21:9; John 1:15; 7:50, 51; 8:7; 10:40; 12:16; 15:18; 18:13; Acts 1:1; 2:14; 7:12; 11:26; 12:10; 13:33, 46, 50; 15:14; 17:4; 20:7, 18); δεύτερος (Matt 22:26, 39; 26:42; Mark 12:21, 31; 14:72; Luke 12:38; 20:30; John 4:54; 9:24; 21:16; Acts 7:13; 10:15; 12:10); τέταρτος (Matt 14:25; Mark 6:48); πέμπτος (Acts 20:6); ἑβδομος (John 4:52; Acts 21:27); ὄγδοος (Luke 1:59; Acts 7:8); ἐνδέκατος (Matt 20:6, 9); πεντεκαίδεκατος (Luke 3:1).

inappropriate by a reader or manuscript user. So, the only extant numerical abbreviation for an ordinal in P¹¹⁵ has been altered into a longhand form.

In contrast to these manuscripts is P⁴⁷. The copyists of this papyrus shows a marked willingness to use abbreviated forms for ordinals; even here, however, the practice is not invariable. The following table (table 8.1) summarizes the practice in P⁴⁷.

Table 8.1. Ordinal Numbers in P⁴⁷		
<i>Value</i>	<i>Longhand Forms</i>	<i>Shorthand Forms</i>
First	13:12 (2x); 16:2	
Second	11:14	14:8; 16:3
Third	11:14; 12:4; 14:9	9:15; 16:4
Fourth		16:8
Sixth		9:13; 14; 16:12
Seventh		10:7; 11:15
Tenth	11:13	

There are thus more shorthand ordinals in P⁴⁷ than longhand. It is not entirely clear why P⁴⁷ would exhibit such a different number-writing technique than other manuscripts. It might well be due to the simple fact that John's Apocalypse contains so many numbers that early scribes sought to conserve space in this manner. It is also important that in the case of P⁴⁷ we approach what is essentially a documentary scribal hand, and perhaps it should not be surprising to find more documentary elements. In any case, P⁴⁷ is the lone manuscript that exhibits no real avoidance of abbreviated forms for ordinal numbers, in effect the exception that illustrates the rule.

Before moving on, it is worth examining some fragmentary manuscripts; without exception, they demonstrate the same principle. In P²⁴, two numbers are visible: cardinal number ἑπτά is abbreviated to ζ (Rev 5:6), while the ordinal number τεταρτ[ου] is written longhand (6:7). Similarly, as already mentioned, P³⁷ contains

two instances of the abbreviation $\overline{\iota\beta}$ for the cardinal δώδεκα (Matt 26:20, 47) and one visible ordinal: δευτε[ρου] (26:42). P¹²⁷ contains the abbreviated form $\overline{\mu}$ standing for the cardinal number τεσσαράκοντα (Acts 10:41) but retained the longhand form for the ordinal πρω[των] (17:4). Finally, as noted above, majuscule 0207 contains four numeral abbreviations for cardinal numbers, $\overline{\epsilon}$ (Rev 9:5, 10) and $\overline{\delta}$ (9:14, 15), but the one visible ordinal number is longhand: εκτος (9:13). No abbreviated ordinals are found in any of the fragmentary manuscripts of this period.

8.4 The Avoidance of Abbreviations of Inflected Forms

Another number-writing trend evident among early NT manuscripts is the tendency for numbers in grammatically inflected forms to be written longhand. This is similar to the avoidance of abbreviations for the number “one” and ordinals since these too bear several inflected forms, but some notable differences make it helpful to treat them separately. As we will see, this pattern does not relate exactly to grammatical case, for most numbers are indeclinable and do not have unique forms for individual cases. Rather, the rule is that numbers in inflected forms are almost always written longhand by NT scribes. Like the previous pattern related to ordinals, there are a handful of exceptions to this overall tendency, but there are enough notable examples to demonstrate that this is a distinct tendency among early NT manuscripts.

Before examining the data, we should consider the striking comparison of the *nomina sacra*. This body of abbreviations is routinely employed for inflected forms in our manuscripts without any great ambiguity. How? Because the scribal mechanism use for the *nomina sacra* was that of contraction: e.g., $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma \rightarrow \overline{\chi\varsigma}$. Unlike suspended words (e.g., $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma \rightarrow \overline{\chi\rho}$) and numerical symbols ($\delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha \rightarrow \overline{\iota\beta}$),

contracted words retain their final letters, which can clearly mark grammatical case.

To some degree, therefore, we can see how the *nomina sacra* were able to be used far more readily and flexibly than numerical shorthand.

8.4.1 P⁴⁵ and P⁶⁶

As noted above, the abbreviated forms in P⁴⁵ are the following: $\overline{\iota\beta}$ = δώδεκα (Mark 8:19), $\overline{\iota\eta}$ = δεκαοκτώ/δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ (Luke 13:11, 16); $\overline{\mu}$ = τεσσαράκοντα (Acts 7:36), and $\overline{\omicron}$ = ἑβδομήκοντα (Luke 10:17). Importantly, in each case the words in question are indeclinable adjectives; that is, the spelling does not change regardless of the grammatical case or gender. The same is true of the numerals in P⁶⁶. The abbreviated numbers are: $\overline{\iota\beta}$ = δώδεκα (John 6:70) and $\overline{\lambda}$ καὶ $\overline{\eta}$ = τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ (5:5)—neither of which differ from the nominative forms. There is thus no ambiguity in these numerical symbols; they can only be pronounced one way.⁴⁰

8.4.2 P⁷⁵

This pattern is clearly pronounced in P⁷⁵. The number “two” is abbreviated several times (Luke 9:16, 32; 10:1, 35; 12:52b; 15:11; John 1:35; 2:6; 4:40, 43; 6:9), but importantly never for the inflected form δυεῖς(v), in which cases the longhand is used (Luke 12:52a; 16:13).⁴¹ This pattern is also seen with the number “three.” It occurs in abbreviated form sometimes, but only when it is standing for the lexical form τρεῖς (Luke 9:33; 12:52a; John 2:6). When, however, the spelling differs from this expected form, the longhand is used exclusively: e.g., τριων (Luke 10:36, genitive), τριεῖς (Luke 12:52b; John 2:19, 20, dative), and τρια (Luke 13:7, 21, accusative).

⁴⁰ Of course, there are alternative forms such as δώδεκα/δεκαδύο, but they have the exact same meaning.

⁴¹ The declension of δύο is as follows: δύο (nom.), δύο (acc.), δύο (gen.), δυεῖς(v) (dat.).

This principle is all the more striking when we observe longhand and shorthand together in the same sentence. For example:

- (1) ε|κονται γαρ απο του νυν $\bar{\epsilon}$ εν ενι ο|κω διαμεμερισμενοι $\bar{\gamma}$ επι δυ|ιν | και $\bar{\beta}$ επι τρι|ιν· (Luke 12:52)
- (2) $\bar{\mu}$ και $\bar{\epsilon}\zeta$ ετε|ιν οικοδομη|θη ο ναος ουτος και κοι εν τρι|ιν ημε|ραις εγερει| αυτον· (John 2:20)

In the first example, the phenomenon occurs twice, once with $\bar{\beta}$ [= δύο] and δυ|ιν and once with $\bar{\gamma}$ [= τρεῖς] and τρι|ιν (note also the longhand form of “one”: ενι). And in the second example, $\bar{\mu}$ και $\bar{\epsilon}\zeta$ stands for the indeclinable τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ, while the following number τρι|ιν is given longhand; importantly, both numbers are dative forms, but only the first is indeclinable, and therefore spelled identically in all cases.

Furthermore, the number “five,” which is indeclinable, is freely abbreviated in P⁷⁵ (e.g., Luke 12:6, 52; 16:28; John 4:18; 5:2; 6:9, 13), while the number “four,” which has several distinct forms for oblique cases, is longhand when it occurs (John 11:17, τεσσαρας).

It must be reiterated that the pattern is not based simply on grammatical case, for several numbers in oblique cases are abbreviated in P⁷⁵. The important factor is if a number has a distinct inflected form in a particular case or gender. So, for example, τρεῖς in Luke 9:33 is grammatically feminine and accusative, but its form is indistinguishable from the nominative masculine form, and so the scribe can (and did) abbreviate it without any ambiguity. The same principle applies higher numbers in P⁷⁵, the oblique cases of δώδεκα (Luke 6:13, accusative), τριάκοντα (John 6:19, accusative), τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ (John 5:5, accusative), τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ (John 2:20, dative), πενήκοντα (Luke 9:14, accusative), ἑξήκοντα (Luke 24:13, accusative) ἑνενήκοντα ἑννέα (Luke 15:4, accusative; 15:7, dative), and ἑκατόν

(Luke 15:4; 16:7, accusative) are all indeclinable, and so they are abbreviated by the copyist of P⁷⁵ without risk of ambiguity.

Further confirmation of this principle is seen in the fact that words for numbers “two-hundred” and higher are declinable and inflected. Yet the copyist avoided the potential ambiguity by writing fully those that occur in declined forms: e.g., διακοσιων (John 6:7, genitive of διακόσιοι) and τριακοσιων (John 12:5, genitive of τριακόσιοι).

Compound numbers such as ἑβδομήκοντα δύο are also by nature potentially ambiguous because the second digit could easily be inflected (e.g., ἑβδομήκοντα δυόιν). However, when these compound numbers are abbreviated in P⁷⁵, they always stand for unambiguous forms: e.g., οβ̄ (Luke 10:1, 17, for ἑβδομήκοντα δύο), λη̄ (John 5:5, for indeclinable τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ), and μ̄ καῑ ἑξ̄ (2:20, for indeclinable τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑξ̄).

In other words, the copyist of P⁷⁵ consistently avoided using numerical abbreviations for numbers in inflected forms, but freely abbreviated those in the nominative case or those without inflected spellings. The fact that this pattern is repeated for δύο, τρεῖς, τέσσαρες, and for values above “two hundred” confirms that it is no mere coincidence. It seems that the motivation for this policy is that numerical abbreviations by their nature conceal the inflected spellings of declined substantives, and the correct pronunciation of those words is then not immediately obvious. This would suggest that the practice of numerical shorthand had been intentionally adapted for the purpose of clarity in pronunciation and reading.

8.4.3 P⁴⁷

With P⁴⁷ this pattern is present but not as clearly defined. Three instances of the number “two” occur, once it is abbreviated (Rev 13:11) and twice it is longhand (9:12; 12:14), but no abbreviations stand for declined forms. With the number “three,” it occurs in longhand form as the inflected τρια (Rev 16:13, 19), which fits the pattern, but once the abbreviation $\bar{\gamma}$ stands for the inflected τριῶν (9:18). One might suppose that the sense of the word is still ascertainable from the context, since it occurs in the phrase τῶν $\bar{\gamma}$ πληγῶν. Even so, this does not fit the pattern we have seen thus far with the other papyri. Furthermore, the number “four” occurs several times in abbreviated form; once in the nominative: οἱ $\bar{\delta}$ ἀγγέλοι (Rev 9:15); and twice in the inflected genitive: [τ]ῶν $\bar{\delta}$ ζῶων (14:3), and τῶν $\bar{\delta}$ ἐδῶκαν (15:7). The latter two cases therefore do not follow the pattern. Again, however, it is notable that, in both these two cases, the sense is still discernible from the context provided by the article and/or substantive; that is, the reader might be made aware of the proper pronunciation by the preceding article τῶν (thus, τεσσαρῶν).

Regarding forms that are indeclinable in P⁴⁷, numbers are freely abbreviated: e.g., πέντε (9:10), ἑπτὰ ({10:4}; 12:3 [2x]; 15:1, 6 [2x], 7 [2x], 8; 17:1 [2x]), δέκα (12:3), and δώδεκα (12:1). With higher numbers, $\bar{\mu\beta}$ occurs twice for τεσσεράκοντα καὶ δύο (11:2; 13:5, accusative), $\bar{\kappa\delta}$ stands for εἴκοσι τέσσαρες (11:16, nominative), and $\bar{\chi\zeta\varsigma}$ (or rather $\bar{\chi\zeta\varsigma}$) stands for ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἑξ (13:18, nominative)—all of which are identical to the lexical form and therefore unambiguous in abbreviation. In sum, P⁴⁷ contains three instances of numerical symbols for inflected forms.

8.4.4 Codex Sinaiticus

This pattern is also evident in Codex Sinaiticus. With the number “two,” several abbreviations are used, but only for the lexical form δύο (e.g., Matt 14:19; 21:1, 28, 31; 26:60; 27:21; Mark 6:41); when the declined form δυοί(ν) is used, it is always written longhand (Matt 6:24; 22:40; Luke 12:52; 16:13, etc.). The pattern is also perfectly consistent with the number “three.” It is abbreviated several times, always standing for the form τρεῖς (Matt 12:40; 15:32; 18:20; Mark 9:5; Rev 21:13 [2x]), but where an inflected form occurs (τριῶν, τρία, τρισί(ν)), it is consistently written fully (e.g., Matt 13:33; 18:16; 26:61; 27:40; Mark 14:58; 15:29; Luke 4:25; 10:36; 12:52; 13:7, 21; John 2:19, 20, etc.).

Although the rule is consistent with δύο and τρεῖς, there are a handful of exceptions with the number “four.” The shorthand symbol is used three times for declined forms: ἐκ τῶν ᾠδῶν ἀνεμῶν (Matt 24:31, τεσσάρων), αἰρομε|νον ὑπο ᾠδῶν καὶ μη|δυναμενοι (Mark 2:3, τεσσάρων), and ἵδον ᾠδῶν ἀγγέλους (Rev 7:1, τέσσαρας). This is evidently problematic; whereas in the first instance the sense of the word is readily ascertained from the context of the article and substantive, the same is clearly not true of the latter two examples. In any case, the number itself is usually longhand in Sinaiticus (e.g., Mark 13:27; John 11:17; 19:23; Acts 10:11; 11:5; 12:4; 21:9, 23; 27:29; Rev 4:6, 8, etc.).

Other declinable forms fit the pattern. For example, “fourteen” occurs in the nominative three times and is abbreviated each time (Matt 1:17 [3x]), but twice when it occurs in the genitive (δεκατεσσάρων), it is given longhand both times (2 Cor 12:2; Gal 2:1).

Numbers that lack declinable forms are freely abbreviated: ἑπτά (Matt 16:10; Mark 8:5, 6; 12:20; Luke 2:36), δώδεκα (Matt 10:1, 2, 5; 11:1; 19:28 [2x]; 20:17; 26:14, 20, 47; Mark 3:14, 16; 4:10; 5:42; 6:7, 43; 8:19; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; Luke 2:42; 1 Cor 15:5; Rev 21:12 [2x], 14 [2x], 21; 22:2), τριάκοντα (Matt 13:8, 23; 26:15; 27:3, 5, 9; Mark 4:8, 20; Luke 3:23), τεσσαράκοντα (Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2), πεντήκοντα (Mark 6:40), ἑξήκοντα (Matt 13:23; Mark 4:8, 20), and ἑκατόν (Matt 13:23; Mark 4:8, 20). In sum, the pattern in Sinaiticus is clearly observable but with only three instances of abbreviated forms for inflected numbers.

8.4.5 Codex Bezae

The pattern is almost perfectly consistent in Codex Bezae. The number “two” is abbreviated many times in Codex Bezae, but always for the lexical form δύο (e.g., Matt 25:15; Mark 6:7, 9, 41 [2x]; 9:43, 45, 47; 10:8 [2x]; 11:1; 14:1; 15:27, 38). When the declined form δυοί(v) is used, it is always written longhand (Matt 22:40; Luke 12:52; 16:13; Acts 12:6; 21:33). With the number “three,” several abbreviations occur in Bezae, and most stand for the lexical form τρεῖς (Matt 15:32; Mark 9:5, 31; Acts 11:11; 19:8; 20:3). There are, however, two exceptions: καὶ οἰκοδομῶν ᾗ [τριῶν] ἡμερῶν (Mark 15:29), and ὡς ὅρων ᾗ [τριῶν] διαστημα (Acts 5:7). In both cases the sense of the abbreviation can be understood from the contexts, both of which contain declined substantives. The number “four” is nearly always longhand, except for in one instance where the abbreviation stands for a declined genitive: ἐκ τῶν ᾗ [τεσσάρων] ἀνεμῶν (Mark 13:27), but, for the most part, this number is given longhand (e.g., John 11:17; Acts 11:5; 12:4; 21:23).

Indeclinable numbers are abbreviated freely: e.g., ἑπτά (Matt 15:36, {37}; Mark 8:5, 6, 8, 20 [2x]; 12:20, 22, 23; 16:9; Luke 8:2; Acts 6:3; 12:10), δώδεκα

(Matt 10:1, 2, 5; 14:20; 19:28; 20:17; 26:14, 20, 47, 53; Mark 3:14; 5:25, 42; 6:7, 43; 8:19; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; 14:10, 17, 20, 43; Luke 2:42; 6:13; 8:1, 42, 43; 9:1; 18:31; 22:3, 30 [2x], 47; John 6:70; 20:24; Acts 1:26; 6:2; 7:8), τριάκοντα (Matt 13:8, 23; 26:15; Mark 4:8, 20; Luke 3:23), τεσσαράκοντα (Matt 4:2; Mark 1:13; Acts 4:22; 7:30, 36, 42; 10:41; 13:21), ἑξήκοντα (Matt 13:8, 23; Mark 4:8, 20), and ἑκατόν (Matt 13:8, 23; 18:28; Mark 4:8, 20; 6:40), including others. The pattern in Bezae is therefore almost perfectly consistent, with only three abbreviated forms for inflected numbers.

8.4.6 Codex Washingtonianus

In all, Codex W contains a few dozen alphabetic numerals, but they are very rarely used for declinable numbers. The following numbers are abbreviated freely in W, none of which have declinable forms: ἑπτὰ (Mark 8:6, 8, 20 [2x]; 12:22, 23; Luke 2:36; 8:2), δώδεκα (Mark 3:14; 5:25, 42; 6:7, 43; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; 14:10, 17, 20, 43; 16:14), τριάκοντα (Mark 4:8, 20; Luke 3:23; John 6:19), τεσσαράκοντα (Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2), πενήκοντα (Mark 6:40), ἑξήκοντα (Mark 4:8, 20), and ἑκατόν (Mark 4:8, 20; 6:37, 40).

There are two instances in W where an abbreviation is used for potentially ambiguous numbers. The first is the abbreviation of ὀγδοήκοντα τεσσαρών (genitive of ὀγδοήκοντα τέσσαρες), though its meaning is suggested by the context: χηρα ως ετων πδ (Luke 2:37). The second is the abbreviation of τριακοσίων (genitive of τριακόσιοι), though its meaning is also helped by the context: επανω δη|ναριων τ (Mark 14:5); elsewhere the number occurs longhand (John 12:5).

8.4.7 Fragmentary Manuscripts

Fragmentary manuscripts, both papyrus and parchment, fit the same exact pattern we have seen for the previous manuscripts. P¹, for instance, contains three visible instances of the numerical abbreviation for δεκατέσσαρες ($\overline{\iota\delta}$), which is in the nominative case each time (Matt 1:17). In P⁴, the two visible abbreviations stand for indeclinable numbers: $\overline{\lambda}$ for τριάκοντα (Luke 3:23, genitive) and $\overline{\mu}$ for τεσσαράκοντα (Luke 4:2, accusative). In P³⁵, the three instances of δύο are all longhand (Matt 25:22 [3x]), and the indeclinable πέντε is abbreviated to $\overline{\varepsilon}$ (25:15, accusative). The only visible number in P⁴⁸ is the abbreviated form $\overline{\mu}$ standing for τεσσαράκοντα (Acts 23:13; nominative). The only visible number in P⁶⁴ is the abbreviated form [ι]β standing for indeclinable δώδεκα (Matt 26:14, genitive). The two visible numbers in P⁹⁸ are abbreviations for the indeclinable ἑπτά (Rev 1:20a, accusative; 1:20b, nominative). The only visible number in P¹⁰¹ is the abbreviated form $\overline{\mu}$ standing for the indeclinable τεσσαράκοντα (Matt 4:2, accusative). The copyist of P¹²⁷ abbreviated τεσσαράκοντα to $\overline{\mu}$ (Acts 10:41, accusative) but retained the longhand form for the declined form τρία (17:2, accusative of τρεῖς). In other words, no exceptions to the pattern are found among these papyri.

Only a handful of numbers are visible in the fragmentary remains of P¹¹⁵, but they also abide by the same principle we have seen thus far. So, the single instance of the number δύο is longhand (Rev 12:14), and numbers that lack declinable forms are freely abbreviated: $\overline{\zeta}$ [ἑπτά] (10:3; 15:6) and $\overline{\mu\beta}$ [τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο] (11:2). On the other hand, in P¹²², the abbreviation of the number ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα τριῶν to $\overline{\rho\nu\gamma}$ (John 21:11) is potentially ambiguous since the final digit is a genitival form.

The number is, however, given some context: ἰχθύων μεγάλων ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα τριῶν.

Fragmentary majuscules confirm the same pattern as well. Though no longer visible, the most likely reconstruction of 058 includes the abbreviated form $\overline{[\rho]}$ for the indeclinable ἑκατόν (Matt 18:28). Three numbers are present in 0162: the indeclinable compound τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ is abbreviated to $\overline{\mu}$ καὶ ἕξ (John 2:20), while two instances of the declined τριςιν are written longhand (John 2:19, 20, dative of τρεῖς). The abbreviated form $\overline{o\beta}$ in 0181 stands for the nominative form of ἑβδομήκοντα δύο (Luke 10:1). Majuscule 0207 has two abbreviations for the indeclinable πέντε (Rev 9:5, 10), and two abbreviations for τέσσαρες ($\overline{\delta}$), once a nominative form (9:15), and once a declined form: τοὺς $\overline{\delta}$ ἀγγέλους (9:14, for accusative τέσσαρας)—in which context is provided. The abbreviation $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ in 0308 stands for a nominative form (Rev 11:16, εἴκοσι τέσσαρες).

To summarize, there are a few instances of alphabetic numerals standing for inflected number forms (e.g., a handful in P⁴⁷, Ⲙ, D, W, P¹²², and 0207), but the overwhelming majority of numbers in early NT manuscripts conform to the pattern we have described. This avoidance of abbreviations for inflected forms is thus not as rigid as that of abbreviations for “one,” but the tendency is nevertheless unmistakable and hardly coincidental.

8.5 The Avoidance of Abbreviations of Values in the Thousands

The fourth and final trend to be considered in greater detail is the avoidance of abbreviated forms for values in the thousands. This is one of the more striking tendencies to observe in light of the fact that numbers in the thousands generally

have lengthy words (e.g., πεντακισχίλιοι, δώδεκα χιλιάδες), which one might suppose scribes would be eager to shorten. But it is also surprising because the abbreviation of these values occurs routinely in documentary papyri.⁴²

An interesting phenomenon that helps to confirm the existence of this tendency is the use of “hybrid” abbreviations—combinations of longhand and shorthand forms: e.g., $\overline{\epsilon}$ χιλιοι (= 5,000). This style of abbreviation occurs with notable frequency in our NT manuscripts. The more economic procedure (and the more common one in documentary papyri) is the fully abbreviated form: $\overline{\epsilon}$ (= 5,000). All that is needed to signal thousands is a preceding oblique stroke to the numeral.⁴³ It seems that the most likely reason why Christian copyists would avoid the full abbreviations and opt for this hybrid form was to prevent ambiguity in pronunciation. First, the simple writing of $\overline{\beta}$ or β , for example, could be easily mistaken for $\overline{\beta}$ or $\overline{\iota\beta}$ (cf. B 03 at Mark 5:25[!]). Second, and more importantly, the terms χιλιάς/χίλιοι are fully declinable, with a great variety of possible forms depending on the context. For example: πεντακισχίλιοι (Matt 14:21), πεντακισχιλίων (Matt 16:9), πεντακισχιλίων (Mark 8:19), δέκα χιλιάς (Luke 14:31), εἴκοσι χιλιάδων (Luke 14:31), χιλιάδες πέντε (Acts 4:4), δώδεκα χιλιάδες (Rev 7:5), χιλιάς διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα (Rev 12:6), and χιλίων ἑξακοσίων (Rev 14:20), etc. Symbols representing such words would be prone to ambiguity and easily misread in the attempt to read aloud.

⁴² A handful of randomly selected examples from documentary papyri are the following: *P.Oxy.* I 85 (ln. 17), *P.Oxy.* II 242 (lns. 28, 34), *P.Oxy.* II 243 (ln. 42), *P.Oxy.* II 271 (ln. 18), *P.Oxy.* II 290 (ln. 21), *P.Oxy.* II 298 (ln. 4), *P.Oxy.* III 512 (lns. 6, 7), and *P.Oxy.* III 522 (lns. 2, 3, 12, *et passim*), *P.Oxy.* X 1288 (lns. 14, 30), *P.Oxy.* X 1289 (ln. 10, *et passim*). In each instance just cited, full abbreviations are used (e.g., $\overline{\alpha}$) rather than hybrid forms (e.g., χειλιαδες ζ).

⁴³ A curl resting atop a letter has the same effect.

8.5.1 Papyri

All the visible numbers in the thousands in P⁴⁵ are longhand: πεντακικχειλιοι (Mark 6:44), πεντακικχειλιους (Mark 8:19) and τετρακικχειλιους (Mark 8:20).⁴⁴ The same is true of the thousands in P⁴⁶: επτακικχειλιους (Rom 11:4), εικοσι τρεις χειλιαδες (1 Cor 10:8), and τετρα|κοσια και τριακοντα (Gal 3:17). The one present in P⁶⁶ is longhand: πεντα|κικχ{ε}ιλοι (John 6:10). One is visible in P⁷²: χιλια (2 Pet 3:8). All are longhand in P⁷⁵: δεκα χειλιασιν (Luke 14:31), εικοσι χιλιαδων (Luke 14:31), and πεντακικχειλιοι (John 6:10).⁴⁵

P⁴⁷ contains two longhand forms: χειλιων εξα|κοσιων (= 1,600, Rev 14:20) and δυ[o]| μυριαδες μυριαδων (= 200 million; 9:16).⁴⁶ Several hybrid forms: e.g., χειλιαδες ζ| (= 7,000, Rev 11:13), ρμδ χειλιαδες (= 144,000, 14:1, 3). And one possible instance of a full abbreviation: /αζξ (= 1,260, 12:6), though the actual wording is uncertain, as we have seen.⁴⁷ Given the copyist's prevalent willingness to use numerical shorthand elsewhere, these longhand and hybrid forms are significant.

There are no certain forms for values in the thousands in P¹¹⁵, but on one occasion it is possible that the scribe wrote °βχ (= 2,600, Rev 14:20),⁴⁸ which would qualify as a full abbreviation. Elsewhere, however, there is a hint that a hybrid form

⁴⁴ One more is not totally visible: [δεκα χε]ιλιασιν (Luke 14:31); of course, it is possible that δέκα was abbreviated in a hybrid form: [ι χε]ιλιασιν.

⁴⁵ Note that this number was only partially visible until new fragments of the papyrus were identified, see Marie-Luise Lakmann, "Papyrus Bodmer XIV-VI (P75): neue Fragmente," *MH* 64 (2007): 22–41 (esp. 27).

⁴⁶ Literally "twenty thousands of ten thousands."

⁴⁷ See chapter 3, and for more discussion, see James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 372–73 n. 71

⁴⁸ See David Parker, "A New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Revelation: P¹¹⁵ (P. Oxy. 4499)," *NTS* 46 (2000): 159–74 (164).

was employed, though only a single letter is partially visible: $\overline{\rho\mu\delta}$ χειλιαδε]ς (14:1),⁴⁹ so certainty is impossible.

8.5.2 Majuscules

In Codex Sinaiticus thousands are consistently written longhand:

- χιλιοι/-λια/χιλιαδες/-δων (2 Peter 3:8; Rev 5:11 [2x]; 20:3, 4, 6, 7)
- διςχιλιοι (Mark 5:13)
- τριςχιλιοι/-λαιοι (John 6:10; Acts 2:41)
- τετρακιςχιλιοι/-λιων/-λιους (Matt 15:38; 16:10; Mark 8:9, 20; Acts 21:38)
- πεντακιςχιλιοι/-λιων/-λιους/χιλιαδες πεντε (Matt 14:21; 16:9; Mark 6:44; 8:19; Luke 9:14; Acts 4:4)
- επτακιςχιλιους/χιλιαδες επτα (Rom 11:4; Rev 11:13)
- δεκα χιλιασιν (Luke 14:31)
- δωδεκα χ(ε)ιλιαδες/-δων (Rev 7:5 [2x], 6 [3x], 7 [2x], 8 [3x]; 21:16)
- εικοσι χειλιαδων (Luke 14:31)
- εικοσι τρις χιλιαδες (1 Cor 10:8)
- χιλιας διακοσιας εξηκοντα (Rev 11:3; 12:6)
- χιλίων διακοσιών (Rev 14:20)
- εκατον τεσσερακοντα τεσσαρες χιλιαδες (Rev 7:4; 14:1, 3)⁵⁰

This amounts to forty-three instances of values in the thousands written longhand in Sinaiticus without a single occurrence of an abbreviated form. This is particularly significant in \aleph because we have seen that the scribe was evidently willing to utilize numerical shorthand elsewhere (on roughly fifty occasions). But none of these values in the thousands are given in shorthand; this cannot be a coincidence.

The same technique characterizes the scribal habits of Codex A 02. Of forty-three occurrences of values in the thousands, none is given in abbreviated form.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Of course, this could also be a full longhand form (ἐκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες), though, given the scribe's tendency to abbreviate elsewhere and length of the line, I find this possibility unlikely.

⁵⁰ There are some slight variations on this exact value within Sinaiticus, but all three are written longhand.

This fact is perhaps less surprising in Alexandrinus because the scribe does not use numerical abbreviations in the body text elsewhere. There is one instance in A of a partial abbreviation: εκατον τεσσαρακοντα $\overline{\delta}$ χιλιαδες (Rev 7:4). This appears to be similar to the technique of hybrid abbreviations we have seen elsewhere, but this is not truly what the scribe has done. The alphabetic numeral $\overline{\delta}$ is in fact a first hand correction of an omitted word via interlinear addition. Thus, the abbreviation appears to be used not out of preference but out of necessity. It is also worth noting that the omitted number is τέσσαρες, rather than an inflected form, which can be unambiguously represented by the alphabetic numeral.

Similarly, Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (C 04) contains thirty-three instances of values in the thousands, and all are written in longhand forms.⁵² The same is also true of Codex Washingtonianus (W 032), which contains thirteen instances of numbers in the thousands and all are written longhand.⁵³

Two majuscule manuscripts contain an exception to this trend, one instance in each. First, and most surprisingly, Codex Vaticanus (B 03) contains a full abbreviation for the number 2,000: $\overline{\beta}$ (= δισχίλιοι, Mark 5:13). This is surprising not only because every other instance of a number in the thousands is longhand (nineteen occurrences⁵⁴), but also because the scribe otherwise rigidly avoids numerical abbreviations for any values whatsoever; this is the only number in the entire NT that

⁵¹ E.g., Mark 5:13; 6:44; 8:9, 19, 20; Luke 9:14; 14:31 (2x); John 6:10; Acts 2:41; 4:4; 21:38; Rom 11:4; 1 Cor 10:8; 2 Peter 3:8 (2x); Rev 5:11 (2x); 7:5 (3x), 6 (3x), 7 (3x), 8 (3x); 11:3, 13; 12:6; 14:1, 3, 20; 20:2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 21:16.

⁵² E.g., Matt 14:21; 15:38; 16:9, 10; Mark 5:13; 8:9, 19, 20; Luke 9:14; Acts 2:41; Rom 11:4; 1 Cor 10:8; 2 Pet 3:8 (2x); Rev 7:4, 5 (3x), 6 (3x), 7 (3x), 8 (3x); 11:3, 13; 12:6; 14:1, 3, 20.

⁵³ E.g., Matt 14:21; 15:38; 16:9, 10; Mark 5:13; 6:44; 8:9, 19, 20; Luke 9:14; 14:31 (2x); John 6:10.

⁵⁴ Matt 14:21; 15:38; 16:9, 10; Mark 6:44; 8:9, 19, 20; Luke 9:14; 14:31 (2x); John 6:10; Acts 2:41; 4:4; 21:38; Rom 11:4; 1 Cor 10:8; 2 Pet 3:8 (2x).

is abbreviated. Importantly, the form that $\overline{\beta}$ stands for is the nominative διςχίλιοι, which is the lexical form, and so the symbol is unambiguous with regard to its referent.

As we have seen previously, Codex Bezae (D 05) exhibits a clear scribal preference for abbreviated number forms with values above two. This does not, however, apply to most values in the thousands; fourteen occurrences are written out longhand.⁵⁵ There are two exceptions to this. Once, the scribe uses the full abbreviation $\overline{\epsilon}$ in place of πεντακισχίλιοι (Mark 6:44). The second is a hybrid abbreviation χιλιαδεσ $\overline{\epsilon}$ (Acts 4:4).

To summarize, there are only two clear instances in which any early NT manuscripts contain a fully abbreviated form for a value in the thousands (plus two other possible instances). The vast majority of all such numbers were given in longhand form or in hybrid form, in which the grammatically inflected portion of the word is made explicit. Again, as this tendency recurs throughout all of our early manuscripts, it cannot be mere coincidence; rather, we see a pattern that calls for an explanation.

8.6 The Latin Text of Bezae

A final case study will help confirm our hypothesis before moving to our conclusion. Let us recall for a moment an issue dealt with briefly in chapter 4: the Latin column of Codex Bezae. There we saw that there is a remarkable degree of agreement between the specific number-forms used in the Greek and Latin texts of this diglot

⁵⁵ Matt 14:21; 15:38; 16:9, 10; Mark 5:13; 8:9, 19, 20; Luke 9:14; 14:31 (2x); John 6:10; Acts 2:41; 21:38.

manuscript. When the Greek column contains an alphabetic numeral, the Latin side usually follows suit. There are, however, several points of difference between the two sides, namely forty-four points of disagreement to be exact. We saw that some of these differences are related to factors such as the need to conserve space, the need to maintain correspondence between the sense-lines, and the use of Latin idioms. However, a remarkable number of differences relate directly to our topic at hand. No less than eighteen of the forty-four differences are instances in which the Greek side contains an abbreviation for the numbers “two” or “three” and the Latin has the longhand form. This is highly suggestive.

Put simply, the Latin column avoids abbreviations for the numerals “two” and “three” because these words in Latin are fully declinable, and more so than in Greek. Greek has two possible forms of “two” (δύο and δυό[ν]), but Latin has several: *duo* (nom.) *duos* (acc.), *duorum* (gen.), and *duobus* (dat./abl.) in the masculine and neuter genders, and *duae* (nom.), *duas* (acc.), *duarum* (gen.), and *duabus* (dat./abl.) in the feminine. And with unique forms for the neuter gender, *tres* has even more possible forms than *duo*. It is this greater degree of ambiguity in Latin that accounts for the many discrepancies between the two columns. See, for example, Matt 15:32; 25:15; Mark 6:9, 41; 9:31, 43, 45, 47; 10:8 [2x]; 11:1; 15:25, 27, 38; Acts 5:7; 11:11; 19:8; and 20:3. In each instance, the Greek column contains the numerical abbreviation β̄ or γ̄ and the corresponding Latin has a longhand form of “two” or “three.” This remarkable comparison between the two columns of Bezae, therefore, helps to confirm our hypothesis about the necessities of oral pronunciation and clarity in reading. Scribes did not simply insert numerical shorthand on a whim,

but care was taken to avoid potentially confusing abbreviations and maximize the functionality of the texts they were copying.

8.7 Implications

Before arriving at our final conclusion, it will be helpful to offer a preliminary synthesis of the preceding observations. We have seen that although many Christian scribes often employed numerical abbreviations in their texts, they did so in a distinctively restricted way, only using alphabetic symbols for a limited set of number forms. These restrictions are the following: avoidance of abbreviating

- (1) the number “one,”
- (2) ordinal values,
- (3) inflected forms, and
- (4) values in the thousands.

Some manuscripts contain a handful of exceptions to one or more of these tendencies, but on a broad scale these patterns are indisputable. I argue that the best explanation for these trends is that they reflect a use of the alphabetic numeral system that has been intentionally adapted to avoid ambiguities inherent in such symbols, most likely for the larger purpose of public reading.

If this hypothesis is accepted, it can then be used to inform our understanding of certain witnesses. That is, we might reasonably ask about the implications of a manuscript that does indeed contain several or many numerical abbreviations that could be deemed ambiguous in public reading. Could this be an indication that that manuscript was not used, or at least intended to be used, as a publicly read text?

Several manuscripts examined here contain exceptions to one or more of the four principles we outlined, such as $\text{N } 01$ and $\text{D } 05$, but the exceptions in these witnesses are so few and isolated that they do little to outweigh the overwhelming consistency

elsewhere. It is in P⁴⁷ that we find repeated exceptions to three of the four principles highlighted here (though not any for the εἰς/μία/ἕν principle): it contains symbols for ordinals (Rev 9:13, 14, 15; 10:7; 11:15; 14:8; 16:3, 4, 8, 12), a few inflected cardinal forms (9:18; 14:3; 15:7), and a full abbreviation for a value in the thousands (12:6). It should also be noted, however, where P⁴⁷ *does* abide by the principles: some ordinals are longhand (Rev 11:13, 14 [2x]; 12:4; 13:12 [2x]; 14:9; 16:2), as are some inflected cardinals (16:13, 19), and some values in the thousands are either fully longhand (14:20) or given in a hybrid form that leaves the inflected portion longhand (e.g., χεῖλιαδεϛ ζ̄, 11:13; also 14:1, 3). The key point to be made, however, is that no consistent effort has been made to minimize ambiguity as it relates to numeral shorthand; its employment seems to be more or less haphazard.

It is worth asking if these features of P⁴⁷ are indicative of the manuscript's intended function. Do these observations suggest that P⁴⁷ was created to be a “private” codex, or at least that its purpose was not to be read in corporate worship? (Whether it was *actually* used in that capacity is another question.) I think this conclusion is quite likely, given the startling degree of consistency in the four principles we have seen in so many early manuscripts. Nevertheless, we should hesitate to pass such a judgment on these grounds alone; the numerals in P⁴⁷ must be seen within a wider context of scribal hand, codex dimensions, lectional aids, and so on—a discussion that would extend beyond our current focus.

8.7 Conclusion

Although we have seen a handful of exceptions here and there, the earliest NT manuscripts all exhibit four curious tendencies in number-writing techniques that

contrast starkly with those of documentary papyri. These tendencies are the general avoidance of abbreviated forms for numbers that would be potentially ambiguous, specifically in regard to how those numbers ought to be pronounced. The common factor that unifies these four trends is the potential ambiguity inherent in the abbreviation of “one,” ordinals, inflected forms, and values in the thousands. It is not at all likely that these four trends are present in all of our early codices merely by coincidence. They much more likely reflect an intentional adaptation of the alphabetic numeral system that was geared toward ease of reading and pronunciation.⁵⁶ It is therefore correct but imprecise to say that the practice of numerical abbreviation was borrowed from documentary papyri; Christian copyists did not employ it blindly, but consciously adapted the practice to suit the needs of their communities.

Therefore, in spite of at least one recent argument to the contrary,⁵⁷ number-writing techniques should be understood within the wider framework of reader’s aids in early Christian manuscripts. This is not to say that the inclusion of numerical abbreviations is itself a reader’s aid, for such abbreviations do not actually facilitate reading. Rather, it is more accurate to say that the unique adaptation of the scribal practice of numerical abbreviation in NT manuscripts reflects an awareness and intentional policy to avoid forms that were potentially ambiguous in the reading of those texts, and especially in their public reading. This helps both to confirm the view that these manuscripts were in fact used for reading in Christian worship and to

⁵⁶ This hypothesis seems more likely than that offered by T. C. Skeat: “I believe that scribes, though perfectly happy to use numerals [= abbreviations], disliked aggregations of them.” See T. C. Skeat, “The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?,” *NTS* 43 (1997): 14; repr. in J. Keith Elliott, ed., *The Collected Writings of T. C. Skeat*, NovTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 158–92 (171).

⁵⁷ Nässelqvist, *Public Reading*.

better clarify the ways in which early copyists borrowed and adapted scribal styles from the wider Graeco-Roman world for specifically Christian ends.

CHAPTER 9:

CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Review of Part One

We began with the question, “how did NT scribes typically write numerals and why?,” and we have since covered a great deal of terrain. Let us briefly review the crucial points of our analysis, summarize our findings, and draw together the implications of the preceding research.

Chapter 2 was a summary of research dealing with NT numerals as they appear in actual manuscripts. It was shown that the scribal habits of number-writing is a topic that has been drawn into a variety of scholarly discussions, but this has been done without any inductive or widespread study of the feature itself. Thus, the particular discussions that have involved the topic of scribal number-writing habits—the origin of the *nomina sacra*, the social context and training of early scribes, the history of certain codices, to name a few—have done so without a firm foundation that is grounded upon a detailed examination of numerals as they were written by scribes. We thus identified several gaps in our knowledge and highlighted the key questions that we should address in our investigation.

Chapters 3 and 4 provided that foundation by systematically analyzing every number in Greek NT manuscripts dated up through the fifth century. This inductive method allowed us to clear away some unhelpful assumptions, to isolate the precise nature of the system as used by Christian scribes, and to correlate the number-writing techniques of individual scribes with other codicological and textual features. Most of all, we were able to identify the outlines of a “Christian number-writing

technique” that could be distinguished from contemporary scribal styles, such as that of documentary papyri and Graeco-Roman literary texts. And yet, what is particularly fascinating about general technique is that, in many ways, no two manuscripts were found to be quite alike in their treatment of numerals. In other words, within the broad outlines of the Christian numbering style, the specific details of number writing are as unique as the scribes themselves. More specifically, scribes who were willing to abbreviate some numbers were evidently not compelled to do so *consistently* or even *frequently*. Very few principles are evident that governed the usage of numerical shorthand, and it is usually impossible to tell why a given copyist has used (or not used) abbreviations.

Since number-writing methods were to some degree unique to individual scribes, close attention to such details permitted some valuable insights into the production and history of some codices. In some manuscripts, we were able to confirm (or at least corroborate) the hypotheses of other scholars, such as the errors and codicological irregularities of Codex Sinaiticus, as well as the patchwork nature of Codex Washingtonianus. In some cases, we gained a more detailed understanding of how that scribe went about his or her work and what techniques were either embraced or avoided, as in our examinations of P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵. For other manuscripts, we uncovered data that were not readily applicable to current hypotheses, but that nonetheless invited deeper reflection into issues of codicology, book production, and manuscript history, as with Codex Bezae. Future studies of both these and other manuscripts would do well to incorporate number-related data as an important component of scribal technique.

Three manuscripts in particular seem to invite further analysis. The strange pattern we saw in Codex Sinaiticus, in which the frequency numerical shorthand gradually decreases as the codex progresses, begs for an explanation. We were unable, however, to discern similar patterns in other scribal features that could corroborate any sensible explanation for this diminishing rate of usage. We also have Codex Bezae—that perennially baffling manuscript. Its high density of numerical shorthand is abnormal for its era and resistant to easy explanation. There is some evidence that numerals were used to trim the text into comprehensible sense-lines (rather than wrapping the text onto the next line) and to maintain a correspondence between the Latin and Greek texts. While these two principles mark a definite increase in our knowledge of that manuscript’s production, they account for only a percentage of the total abbreviated numerals. Another manuscript that might reasonably be revisited is P¹¹⁵. What complicates any reconstruction of this manuscript, in addition to its extremely fragmentary state, is a repeated observation we have made throughout this study: scribes are frustratingly unpredictable in their use of number-style. The problem is multiplied exponentially in the text of John’s Apocalypse, where numerals are the most frequent. It might be worth the effort to attempt a new critical edition and reconstruction based on some of the principles that we have observed here regarding a generally “Christian” numbering style.

We were also able to see some distinction in practice between the papyri and majuscules. That distinction seems to be one of degree rather than kind; it is not as though the practice of numerical abbreviation ceased completely in the parchment manuscripts, it only gradually fell out of fashion (with some notable exceptions). The effort to eradicate such abbreviations is seen most clearly in uncial such as Codex

Vaticanus and Codex Alexandrinus, but even in these there are occasional instances of numerical shorthand.

These early chapters also allowed us to identify weaknesses in past attempts to edit and reconstruct portions of manuscripts. Specifically, our examination of a broadly Christian style of number-writing provided grounds to question some dubious suggestions about the likely wording in lost portions of text, at times to confirm earlier suspicions, and also to posit caution where certainty was unwarranted (e.g., P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, P⁴⁷, P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷, P⁹⁸, P¹¹⁵, etc.).

9.2 Review of Part Two

Our analysis in part one uncovered five issues that invited deeper examination. In each case, we have been able to answer a specific question and thus offer some contributions to the wider study of the early NT text.

First, in chapter 5, we examined the issue of number writing as a feature of textual genealogy, asking if manuscripts bear “visual links” with one another. We saw that, on a broad scale, the answer must be in the negative. Few manuscripts showed significant overlap—in terms of specific number-style—with other witnesses over the course of several verses, much less chapters. Specific textual clusters or text-types, however loosely or tightly these are to be defined, simply did not reflect uniform or even similar patterns of numerals across lengthy stretches of text. That being said, however, we did see several points at which there was notable agreement between witnesses at isolated occurrences of numerals. These coincidences of number-style are not likely to be random or unconnected; they probably show at least some sort of relationship, even if it is only a distant one that traces back to common archetypes (not necessarily direct dependence). This allows—at times—light to be

shed on the contents of some manuscript archetypes and the scribal techniques that characterized them.

There is perhaps more that can be done in a similar vein. We have noted that numerals seem to be an important genealogical feature of Codex W and some later witnesses such as Codices F 010 and G 012. One possibility would be an analysis of numerals in witnesses to John's Apocalypse. Herman Hoskier's exhaustive collation of the manuscripts known to him lists specifics of scribal number-forms, and a relatively simple test could explore this issue in greater detail. His detailed descriptions of manuscript families would provide a straightforward point of departure.

In chapter 6 we took a brief detour from NT manuscripts and examined the numerals in contemporary copies of the OT. This helped provide a larger context by which to evaluate our findings in part one, and, fortunately, significant conclusions were attainable. First, it was found that in Christian copies of OT books the number-writing techniques did not differ substantially from those found in NT manuscripts, with one exceptional papyrus (*P.Beatty* VI). The broad outlines of a "Christian number-writing style" as distinguished from that in documentary papyri still held. Second, and perhaps more importantly, it was shown that there is no real evidence that Jewish scribes categorically avoided the use of numerical shorthand, contrary to the consensus view. The pool of data that constitutes Jewish copies of the Greek OT was found to be pitifully small, containing no more than twenty or so numerals, and thus no serious case could be made about such distinctions between Christian and Jewish scribes. This calls into question the decisions that some scholars have made as it concerns the criteria by which to judge between the Christian or Jewish

provenance of a manuscript (e.g., *P. Yale I* 1, LoC 4082B). Barring the discovery of some lengthy manuscripts of Jewish origin that prove otherwise, scribal numbering-writing technique can no longer be considered a valid criterion distinguishing between Jewish and Christian manuscripts; the decision must be made on other grounds. Roberts's dictum is thus untenable.

A further implication of this discovery is that it corroborates the hypotheses of scholars such as Kurt Treu and Robert Kraft, who (in their own ways) have argued that the early scribal "schools" of Jews and Christians were not hermetically separated from one another, but that they shared a great deal in terms of technique and practice. This area also invites further exploration. As scholars have begun to recognize a growing degree of similarities in scribal mechanics and book production between Jews and Christians, we are led to wonder what are the resulting implications (if any) for our understanding of the two groups and their interrelationship?

Another desideratum is a typology of number-writing in documentary papyri. Aside from the broad generalizations made by papyrologists, this thesis has based its understanding of numerals in the documents on just a few limited, unsystematic studies. A more thorough analysis of number-writing in this genre would be an achievement in its own right, but it would also provide valuable context for our understanding of early Christian and Jewish manuscripts.

The primary question pursued in chapter 7 was if numerals were ever treated in a similar way as the *nomina sacra*. This possibility was suggested by the commonplace occurrence of "*numeri sacri*" in extra-NT sources such as documentary papyri from Oxyrhynchus and Christian graffiti. Several intriguing

possibilities within NT manuscripts were identified, but the inescapable conclusion was that no traces of any coherent system analogous to the *nomina sacra* could be detected to a significant degree. Scribes were more or less unpredictable and unconcerned with distinguishing sacred and non-sacred numerals through abbreviations. This is not terribly surprising. Such a pattern would more than likely have been identified by scholars previously if it were present in many codices. This is not to say, of course, that numerals were *never* affected by some sort of exegetical or theological reflection. There are several instances where this seems likely, if not probable, especially given the external attestation from our other sources (such as documentary papyri and graffiti). Crucially, what is lacking is a coherent system that extends beyond single numerals in isolated manuscripts. Yet it should be recognized how this sheds helpful light on the patterns that *are* identifiable, that is, the *nomina sacra*. It is easy to forget how significant this practice is because there is almost nothing to compare it to. Yet we find it in all of our manuscripts and with a great level of consistency, while in most manuscripts numerals are not given a similar consideration. This surely sheds light on early Christian worship as it relates to the names of God and the manner in which they were expressed. It also invites further reflection on the distinctions between these two categories for early believers: what about names and titles invited such a ubiquitous system of scribal treatment, and why did the same not happen with numerals?

Our final substantive chapter offered a theory that attempted to make sense of the unpredictable nature of the number-writing styles in our manuscripts. What seems to best account for the seemingly odd collection of numerical shorthand in our codices is the pragmatic need to read these texts in a public setting. Four trends

observed in part one suggest this: the strict avoidance of abbreviations for the number “one,” and the nearly total avoidance of abbreviations for ordinals, inflected forms, and values in the thousands. These four trends are so consistent across nearly all the manuscripts analyzed that it is impossible to escape the conclusion that it was a matter of intentional policy. I argue that the function of these four rules was to eliminate the presence of ambiguous abbreviations that could stand for a variety of forms when spoken aloud (e.g., $\bar{\alpha} = \epsilon\hat{\iota}\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\alpha}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, etc.). Beyond these four categories, scribes were more or less free to abbreviate at will, either where it was felt to be convenient or where the symbols were borrowed directly from their exemplars—though deciding which is nearly always difficult. Scribal numbering-style ought therefore to be understood within the context of “reader’s aids” (though not reader’s aids *themselves*); they reflect conscious decisions to maximize readability and clarity in the process of public reading. This helps to confirm and add some color to our understanding of the function of texts within the early Christian worship environment. Scriptural manuscripts were not—at least at first—relics and items of veneration themselves, they were functional objects that were made to be used, and used specifically to read aloud the words of the OT and NT.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aland, Barbara. "The Significance of the Chester Beatty Papyri in Early Church History." Pages 108–121 in *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels: The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P⁴⁵*. Edited by Charles Horton. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Aland, Kurt and Barbara Aland et al., eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 28th rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
- Aland, Kurt, Michael Welte, Beate Köster, and Klaus Junack, eds. *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*. 2nd ed. ANTF 1. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994.
- Aland, Kurt. "Neue Neutestamentliche Papyri." *NTS* 3 (1956–57): 261–86.
- . "Neue Neutestamentliche Papyri III." *NTS* 20 (1974): 357–81.
- Aly, Zaki, and Ludwig Koenen, eds. *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy. A Photographic Edition*. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 27. Bonn: Habelt, 1980.
- "An Early Papyrus Fragment of the Greek Psalter." *The Athenaeum* No. 3489 (Sept. 8, 1894): 319–21.
- Amélineau, M. É., ed. *Notice des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. 34/2 of *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1895.
- Ast, Rodney, and Julia Lougovaya. "The Art of Isopsephism in the Greco-Roman World." Pages 82–98 in *Ägyptische Magie und ihre Umwelt*. Edited by Andrea Jördens. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015.
- Avi-Yonah, Michael. *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East, 200 B.C.–A.D. 1100)*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1940.
- Baillet, M., J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, eds. *Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân*. DJD III. Oxford: Clarendon, 1962.
- Bagnall, Roger S. *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East*. Sather Classical Lectures 69. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- Balestri, P. J., ed. *Novum Testamentum*. Vol. 3 of *Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani*. Rome: S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1904.

- Barns, John W. B. "Bodmer Papyrus II: Some Corrections and Remarks." *Mus* 75 (1962): 327–29.
- Bartina, Sebastian, S. J., "Ignotum *episèmon* gabex (cf. PG 85,1512 B) (Io 19,14: hora sexta an hora tertia?)." *VD* 36 (1958): 16–37.
- Baars, W. "Papyrus Barcinonensis, Inv. N° 3 and Egerton Papyrus 4." *VT* 15 (1965): 528–29.
- Beale, G. K. *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGNTC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999.
- Bell, H. I., and T. C. Skeat, eds. *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri*. London: Trustees, 1935.
- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, eds. *Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecorum Codex Vaticanus B*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1999.
- Bilabel, Friedrich, ed. *Griechische Papyri (Urkunden, Briefe, Schreibtafeln, Ostraka, etc.)*. Vol. 4 of *Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1924.
- Birdsall, J. Neville. "Irenaeus and the Number of the Beast: Revelation 13,18." Pages 349–60 in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel*. Edited by Adelbert Denaux. BETL 161. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.
- Blumell, Lincoln H. *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus*. NTTSD 39. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Blumell, Lincoln H. and Thomas A. Wayment, eds. *Christian Oxyrhynchus: Texts, Documents, and Sources*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2015.
- Boismard, M.-É. Review of *Papyrus Bodmer II, Supplément: Evangile de Jean chap. 14–21. Nouvelle édition augmentée et corrigée*, by Victor Martin and John W. B. Barns. *RB* 70 (1963): 120–33.
- Bovon, François. "Names and Numbers in Early Christianity." *NTS* 47 (2001): 267–88.
- Canart, Paul. "Le *Vaticanus graecus* 1209: notice paléographique et codicologique." Pages 19–45 in *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*. Edited by Patrick Andrist. HTB 7. Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2009.
- Cavallo, Guglielmo, and Herwig Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.
- Charalambakis, Ch., D. Hagedorn, D. Kaimakis, and L. Thüngen. "Vier literarische Papyri de Kölner Sammlung." *ZPE* 14 (1974): 29–40.

- Charlesworth, S. D. "Consensus Standardization in the Systematic Approach to *Nomina Sacra* in Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts." *Aeg* 86 (2006): 37–68.
- . "Public and Private – Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts," Pages 148–75 in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias. LSTS 70. London: T & T Clark, 2009.
- Choat, Malcolm. *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri*. Studia Antiqua Australiensia 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.
- Cole, Zachary J. "Numerical Abbreviations and the Date of Codex Washingtonianus (W/032)." Paper presented at the Green Scholars Initiative Workshop on Dating Early Papyri and Manuscripts. Oklahoma City, OK, 28 March 2014.
- . "Evaluating Scribal Freedom and Fidelity: Number-Writing Techniques in Codex Washingtonianus (W 032)." *BASP* 52 (2015): 225–38.
- Coles, R. A., and M. Manfredi, P. J. Slijpesteijn, and A. S. Brown. *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham*. Vol. 2. Stud.Amst. XXVI. Zutphen: Terra, 1985.
- Collins, Adela Yarbro. "Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature." Pages 1221–87 in *ANRW* 2:21:2. Edited by Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984.
- Colwell, E. C. "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P45, P66, P75." Pages 106–24 in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. NTTS 9. Leiden: Brill, 1969.
- Comfort, Philip. *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography and Textual Criticism*. Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 2005.
- Comfort, Philip W., and David P. Barrett, eds. *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*. Corr. and enlarged. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 2001.
- Crum, W. E., and H. I. Bell, eds. *Wadi Sarga: Coptic and Greek Texts from the Excavations undertaken by the Byzantine Research Account*. Vol. 3 of *Coptica: Consilio et Impensis Instituti Rask-Oerstediani edita*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel–Nordisk, 1922.
- Daris, Sergio. "Papiri letterari dell'Università Cattolica di Milano." *Aeg* 52 (1972): 67–118.
- Diller, Aubrey. "Incipient Errors in Manuscripts." *TAPS* 67 (1936): 232–39.

- Donaldson, Amy M. "Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings among Greek and Latin Church Fathers." Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009. <https://curate.nd.edu/concern/etds/5712m615k50>.
- Donovan, B. E. "An Isaiah Fragment in the Library of Congress." *HTR* 61 (1968): 625–29.
- Driver, G. R. "Abbreviations in the Massoretic Text." *Text* 1 (1960): 112–131.
- . "Once Again Abbreviations." *Text* 4 (1964): 76–94.
- . *Semitic Writing: From Pictograph to Alphabet*. Newly rev. S. A. Hopkins. Schweich Lectures 1944. London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1976.
- Elliott, J. Keith. "Manuscripts of the Book of Revelation Collated by H. C. Hoskier," *JTS* 40 (1989): 100–11.
- . "The Atticist Grammarians." Pages 65–77 in *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism*. EFN 3. Cordoba: Ediciones el Almendro, 1992.
- . "Singular Readings in the Gospel Text of P⁴⁵." Pages 122–31 in *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels: The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P⁴⁵*. Edited by Charles Horton. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- . "Recently Discovered New Testament Papyri and their Significance for Textual Criticism." Pages 89–108 in *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context*. Edited by Claire Clivaz and Jean Zumstein. BETL 242. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.
- Elliott, W. J., and D. C. Parker, eds. *The Papyri*. Vol. 1 of *The New Testament in Greek, 4: The Gospel according to St. John*. Edited by The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project. NTTS 20. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Emmel, Stephen. "Greek Biblical Papyri in the Beinecke Library." *ZPE* 112 (1996): 289–94.
- Epp, Eldon J. "The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri: 'Not Without Honor Except in their Hometown'?" *JBL* 123 (2004): 5–55.
- Fee, Gordon D. *Papyrus Bodmer II (P⁶⁶): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics*. SD 34. Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1968.
- . "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: a Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships." *NTS* 15 (1968–69): 23–44.
- Frede, H. J. *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften*. VL 4. Freiburg: Herder, 1964.

- Gäbel, Georg. "The Text of P¹²⁷ (P.Oxy. 4968) and Its Relationship with the Text of Codex Bezae." *NovT* 53 (2011): 107–52.
- Gallazzi, Claudio. "P. Mil. Vogl. Inv. 1224: Novum Testamentum, Act. 2,30–37 E 2,46–3,2." *BASP* 19 (1982): 39–43.
- Gamble, Harry Y. *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts*. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Gardthausen, Viktor E. *Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und im byzantinischen Mittelalter*. Vol. 2 of *Griechische Palaeographie*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Veit, 1913.
- Gerstinger, Hans. "Ein Fragment des Chester Beatty-Evangelienkodex in der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Pap. graec. Vindob. 31974)." *Aeg* 13 (1933): 67–72.
- Gonis, Nikolaos. "Abbreviations and Symbols," Pages 170–78 in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Edited by Roger S. Bagnall. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Gregory, Caspar René. *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*. 3 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900–1909.
- Grenfell, B. P., and A. S. Hunt et al., eds. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. 75 vols. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1898–2010.
- , eds. *The Amherst Papyri, Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A. at Didlington Hall, Norfolk*. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1900–1901.
- Haelst, Joseph van, ed. *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*. Série Papyrologie 1. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976.
- Hagedorn, Dieter. "P.IFAO II 31: Johannesapokalypse 1,13–20." *ZPE* 92 (1992): 243–47.
- Haines-Eitzen, Kim. *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . "The Social History of Early Christian Scribes." Pages 479–95 in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*. Edited by B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes. 2nd ed. NTTSD 42. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Head, Peter M. "The Date of the Magdalen Papyrus of Matthew (*P. Magd. Gr.* 17 = P64): A Response to C. P. Thiede." *TynBul* 46 (1995): 251–85.
- . "Some Recently Published NT Papyri from Oxyrhynchus: An Overview and Preliminary Assessment." *TynBul* 51 (2000): 1–16.

- . “The Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus: Textual and Reception-Historical Considerations.” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 13 (2008): 1–38. <http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/v13/Head2008.pdf>.
- . “Five New Testament Manuscripts: Recently Discovered Fragments in a Private Collection in Cambridge.” *JTS* 59 (2008): 530–34.
- Heath, Dale Eldon. “The Text of Manuscript Gregory 048 (Vatican Greek 2061).” Ph.D. diss., Taylor University, 1965.
- Hernández, Juan, Jr. *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse: The Singular Readings of Codex Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi*. WUNT 2/218. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006.
- Hernández, Juan, Jr. “The Creation of a Fourth-Century Witness to the Andreas Text Type: A Misreading in the Apocalypse’s Textual History.” *NTS* 60 (2014): 106–20.
- Holmes, Michael W. “Codex Bezae as a Recension of the Gospels,” Pages 123–60 in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*. Edited by D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- , ed. *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*. 3rd ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007.
- Horsely, Greg H. R., and Stephen Llewelyn, eds. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. North Ryde, NSW: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981–.
- Horner, G., ed. *The Acts of the Apostles*. Vol. 6 of *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1922.
- Hoskier, Herman C. *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*. 2 vols. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1929.
- . “Some Study of P⁴⁵ with Special Reference to the Bezan Text.” *BBC* 12 (1937): 51–57.
- Hulley, Karl K. “Principles of Textual Criticism Known to St. Jerome.” *HSCP* 55 (1944): 87–109.
- Hurtado, Larry W. *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark*. SD 43. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1981.
- . “The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*: A Proposal.” *JBL* 117 (1998): 655–73.

- . “The Earliest Evidence of an Emerging Christian Material and Visual Culture: The Codex, the *Nomina Sacra*, and the Staurogram.” Pages 271–88 in *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson*. Edited by Stephen G. Wilson and Michel Desjardins. ESCJ 9. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000.
- . *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006.
- . “The ‘Meta-Data’ of Earliest Christian Manuscripts.” Pages 149–63 in *Identity and Interaction in the Ancient Mediterranean: Jews, Christians and Others. Essays in Honor of Stephen G. Wilson*. Edited by Zeba A. Crook and Philip A. Harland. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2007.
- . “Early Christian Manuscripts as Artifacts.” Pages 66–81 in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias. LSTS 70. London: T & T Clark, 2009.
- . “Manuscripts and the Sociology of Early Christian Reading.” Pages 49–62 in *The Early Text of the New Testament*. Edited by Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- . “Oral Fixation in New Testament Studies?: ‘Orality’, ‘Performance’ and Reading Texts in Early Christianity.” *NTS* 60 (2014): 321–40.
- Hvalvik, Reidar. “Barnabas 9.7–9 and the Author’s Supposed use of *Gematria*.” *NTS* 33 (1987): 276–82.
- Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung and Rechenzentrum der Universität Münster, eds. *Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece von Nestle-Aland, 26. Auflage und zum Greek New Testament, 3rd edition*. 3rd ed. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987.
- Jannaris, A. N. “The *Digamma*, *Koppa*, and *Sampi* as Numerals in Greek.” *CQ* 1 (1907): 37–40.
- Johnson, William A. “The Function of the Paragraphus in Greek Literary Prose Texts.” *ZPE* 100 (1994): 65–68.
- . “Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity.” *AJP* 121 (2000): 593–627.
- Jongkind, Dirk. “One Codex, Three Scribes, and Many Books: Struggles with Space in *Codex Sinaiticus*.” Pages 121–35 in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*. Edited by Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas. TENTS 2. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- . *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*. TS 3/5. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007.

- Judge, E. A. and S. R. Pickering. "Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt to the Mid-Fourth Century." *JAC* 20 (1977): 47–71.
- Junack, Klaus and Winfried Grunewald, eds. *Die Katholischen Briefe*. Vol. 1 of *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*. ANTF 6. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986.
- Junack, K., E. Güting, U. Nimtz, and K. Witte, eds. *Röm., 1. Kor., 2. Kor.* Part 1 of *Die paulinischen Briefe*. Vol. 2 of *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*. ANTF 12. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989.
- Kasser, Rodolphe, and Michel Testuz, eds. *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV: Psalms XVII–CXVIII*. Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1967.
- Kenyon, Frederic G., ed. *The Gospels and Acts, Text*. Vol. 2 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1933.
- , ed. *The Gospels and Acts, Plates*. Vol. 2 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1934.
- , ed. *Pauline Epistles and Revelation, Text*. Vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1934.
- , ed. *Genesis, Text*. Vol. 4 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1934.
- , ed. *Numbers and Deuteronomy, Text*. Vol. 5 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1935.
- , ed. *Supplement: Pauline Epistles, Text*. Vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1936.
- , ed. *Revelation, Plates*. Vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1936.
- , ed. *Supplement: Pauline Epistles, Plates*. Vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1937.
- , ed. *Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ecclesiasticus, Text*. Vol. 6 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1937.
- , ed. *Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, Text*. Vol. 7 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Emery Walker, 1937.
- Kilpatrick, G. D. "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament." Pages 125–37 in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze*. Edited by J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, and F. Mussner. Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1963.
- Kloppenborg, John S. "Literate Media in Early Christ Groups: The Creation of a Christian Book Culture," *J ECS* 22 (2014): 21–59.

- Kraeling, Carl H. "P⁵⁰: Two Selections from Acts." Pages 163–72 in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*. Edited by Robert P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes K. Lake. London: Christophers, 1937.
- Kraft, Robert A. "The 'Textual Mechanics' of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments." Pages 51–72 in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*. Edited by Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. O'Sullivan. London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2003.
- Kraus, Thomas J. "Ad fontes: Gewinn durch die Konsultation von Originalhandschriften am Beispiel von *P. Vindob. G 31974*." *Bib* 82 (2001): 1–16.
- . "Ad Fontes: The Benefit of the Consultation of Original Manuscripts as for Instance *P. Vindob. G 31974*." Pages 25–45 in *Ad Fontes: Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity. Selected Essays*. TENT 3. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- . "From 'Text-critical Methodology' to 'Manuscripts as Artefacts': A Tribute to Larry W. Hurtado." Pages 79–98 in *Mark, Manuscripts, and Monotheism: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado*. Edited by Chris Keith and Dieter R. Roth. LNTS 528. London: T & T Clark, 2015.
- Lagrange, M.-J. "Les papyrus Chester Beatty pour les Épîtres de S. Paul et l'Apocalypse." *RB* 43 (1934): 481–93.
- Lakmann, Marie-Luise. "Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV (P⁷⁵): Neue Fragmente." *MH* 64 (2007): 22–41.
- . "Neutestamentliche Texte aus Khirbet Mird: P⁸³ und 0244." *ETL* 85 (2009): 467–78.
- Lehmann, O. H. "Number-symbolism as a Vehicle of Religious Experience in the Gospels, Contemporary Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 125–35 in *StPatr* 4/2. Edited by F. L. Cross. TU 79. Berlin: Akademie, 1961.
- Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Llewelyn, S. R. "ΣΔ, A Christian Isopsephism?" *ZPE* 109 (1995): 125–27.
- Luijendijk, AnneMarie. *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. HTS 60. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- . "A New Fragment of LXX Isaiah 23 (Rahlfs-Fraenkel 844)." *BASP* 47 (2010): 33–43.
- Lyon, R. W. "A Re-examination of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus." *NTS* 5 (1958–59): 260–72.

- Martin, Victor, ed. *Papyrus Bodmer II: Evangile de Jean chap. 1–14*. Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1956.
- , ed. *Papyrus Bodmer II, Supplément: Evangile de Jean chap. 14–21*. Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1958.
- Martin, Victor and John W. B. Barns, eds. *Papyrus Bodmer II, Supplément: Evangile de Jean chap. 14–21. Nouvelle édition augmentée et corrigée*. Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1962.
- Martin, Victor and Rodolphe Kasser, eds. *XIV: Evangile de Luc chap. 3–24*. Vol. 1 of *Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV: Evangiles de Luc et Jean*. Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961.
- , eds. *XV: Evangile de Jean chap. 1–15*. Vol. 2 of *Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV: Evangiles de Luc et Jean*. Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961.
- Martinez, David. “The Papyri and Early Christianity.” Pages 591–622 in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Edited by Roger S. Bagnall. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- McLean, B. H. *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2005.
- McNamee, Kathleen, ed. *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*. BASPSup 3. Chico, CA: Scholars, 1981.
- , ed. *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. 45. Oxford: Oxbow Books for the American Society of Papyrologists, 2007.
- Menninger, Karl. *Number Words and Number Symbols: A Cultural History of Numbers*. Translated by Paul Broneer. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969.
- Merk, Augustus, S. J. “Codex Evangeliorum et Actuum ex Collectione Papyrorum Chester Beatty.” Pages 375–406 in *Miscellanea Biblica*. Edited by Pontifical Biblical Institute. Vol. 2. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1934.
- Merrell, Jean. “Nouveaux fragments du papyrus IV.” *RB* 47 (1938): 5–22.
- Metzger, Bruce M. “Seventy or Seventy-two Disciples?” *NTS* 5 (1959): 299–306. Repr., pages 67–76 in *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian*. NTTS 8. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- . *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.
- Metzger, Bruce M., and Bart D. Ehrman. *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

- Milne, H. J. M. and T. C. Skeat. *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*. London: British Museum for the Trustees, 1938.
- Min, Kyoung Shik. *Die früheste Überlieferung des Matthäusevangeliums (bis zum 3./4. Jh.): Edition und Untersuchung*. ANTF 34. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- Morin, D. Germanus, ed. *Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus: sive Homiliae in Psalmos, in Marci Evangelium aliaque Varia Argumenta*. Vol. 3 pars 2 of *Anecdota Maredsolana*. Oxford: Parker, 1897.
- Mugridge, Alan R. "Writing and Writers in Antiquity: Two 'Spectra' in Greek Handwriting," Pages 573–80 in *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology: Ann Arbor, July 29–August 4, 2007*. Edited by T. Gagos. Ann Arbor, MI: Scholarly Publishing Office, The University of Michigan Library, 2010.
- Myshrall, Amy. "The Presence of a Fourth Scribe?" Pages 139–48 in *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*. Edited by Scot McKendrick, David C. Parker, Amy Myshrall, and Cillian O'Hogan. London: British Library; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2015.
- Nässelqvist, Dan. *Public Reading in Early Christianity: Lectors, Manuscripts, and Sound in the Oral Delivery of John 1–4*. NovTSup 163. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Notopoulos, James. A. "Notes on Athenian Inscriptions of the Empire Period." *AJP* 69 (1948): 415–19.
- Oates, J. F., A. E. Samuel and C. B. Welles, eds. *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*. Am.Stud.Pap. 2. New Haven, CN: American Society of Papyrologists, 1967.
- Orsini, Pasquale. *Manoscritti in Maiuscola Biblica: Materiali per Un Aggiornamento*. Edizioni dell'Università Degli Studi Di Cassino, Collana Scientifica/Studi Archeologici, Artistica, Filologici, Filosofici, Letterari E Storici 7. Rome: Ed. Univ. degli Studi di Cassino, 2005.
- Orsini, Pasquale, and Willy Clarysse. "Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Palaeography." *ETL* 88 (2012): 443–74.
- Paap, A. H. R. E. *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.: The Sources and Some Deductions*. Leiden: Brill, 1959.
- Parker, David C. *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- . "The Palaeographical Debate." Pages 329–36 in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*. Edited by D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux. NTTS 22. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

- . “A New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Revelation: P¹¹⁵ (P. Oxy. 4499).” *NTS* 46 (2000): 159–74.
- . “Codex Bezae: The Manuscript as Past, Present and Future.” Pages 43–50 in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*. Edited by Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. O’Sullivan. London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2003.
- . *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Parsons, Mikeal C. “Exegesis ‘By the Numbers’: Numerology and the New Testament.” *PRSt* 35 (2008): 25–43.
- Parsons, Mikeal C. *Luke*. Paideia. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015.
- Pastorelli, David. “The *Chester Beatty* I Papyrus (P⁴⁵) and the Main Greek Manuscripts of Mark 6 and 9: A Classification Based on a New Quantitative Method.” Pages 281–305 in *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context*. Edited by Claire Clivaz and Jean Zumstein. BETL 242. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.
- Pickering, S. R. “P. Macquarie Inv. 360 (+ P.Mil.Vogl. Inv. 1224): Acta Apostolorum 2.30–37, 2.46–3.2.” *ZPE* 65 (1986): 76–78.
- Pietersma, Albert. “A Textual-Critical Study of Genesis Papyri 961 and 962.” Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1970.
- , ed. *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri IV and V: A New Edition with Text-Critical Analysis*. Am.Stud.Pap. 16. Toronto: Hakkert, 1976.
- Pintaudi Rosario, ed. *Papyri Graece Schøyen (PSchøyen I)*. Papyrologica Florentina 35. Florence: Gonnelli, 2005.
- , ed. *Papyri Graece Schøyen (PSchøyen II): Essays and Texts in Honour of Martin Schøyen*. Papyrologica Florentina 40. Florence: Gonnelli, 2010.
- Plumley, J. Martin, and Colin H. Roberts. “An Uncial Text of St. Mark in Greek from Nubia.” *JTS* 27 (1976): 34–45.
- Porter, Stanley E., and Wendy J. Porter, “Acts of the Apostles 1,1–5 and 1,7–11.” Pages 7–14 in *Wiener Papyri als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer (P. Harrauer)*. Edited by B. Palme. Vienna: Holzhausen, 2001.
- Priesigke, F., F. Bilabel, E. Kiessling, and H. A. Rupprecht, eds. *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. 26 vols. Strassburg et al.: K. J. Trübner et al. 1915–2008.
- Quarles, Charles. “META THN ΕΓΕΡΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ: A Scribal Interpolation in Matthew 27:53?” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 20 (2015): 1–15. <http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/v20/TC-2015-Quarles.pdf>.

- Rahlfs, Alfred. *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*. Vol. I/1 of *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. Edited by Detlef Fraenkel. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Supplementum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.
- Reichardt, A., ed. *Der Codex Boernerianus: Der Briefe des Apostels Paulus (Msc. Dresd. A 145b), in Lichtdruck nachgebildet*. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1909.
- Riedweg, Christoph. "Number." BNP 9:880–93.
- Roberts, Colin H. *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1936.
- . "The Christian Book and the Greek Papyri." *JTS* 50 (1949): 155–68.
- , ed. *The Antinoopolis Papyri*. 3 vols. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1950–67.
- . "An Early Papyrus of the First Gospel." *HTR* 66 (1953): 233–37.
- . *Greek Literary Hands: 350 B.C.–A.D. 400*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1956.
- . "P. Yale 1 and the Early Christian Book." Pages 25–28 in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*. Am.Stud.Pap. 1. New Haven, CN: American Society of Papyrologists, 1966.
- . "Books in the Graeco-Roman World and in the New Testament." Pages 48–66 in *From the Beginnings to Jerome*. Edited by Peter R. Ackroyd and Christopher F. Evans. Vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- . *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*. Schweich Lectures 1977. London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979.
- Roca-Puig, Ramón. "P. Barc. Inv. N. 1 (Mt. III, 9, 15; V, 20–22, 25–28)." Pages 87–96 in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*. Vol. 2. Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1957.
- . "Un pergamino griego del Evangelio de San Mateo." *Emerita* 27 (1959): 59–73.
- . "Nueva publicación del papiro número uno de Barcelona." *Helmantica* 12 (1961): 103–22.
- . *Un Papiro griego del Evangelio de San Mateo*. 2nd ed. Barcelona: Grafos, 1962.
- . "Un papiro griego del libro segundo de los paralipómenos: Papyrus Barcinonensis, inv. n.º 3." *Helmantica* 14 (1963): 175–85.

- Rösch, Friedrich. *Bruchstücke des ersten Clemensbriefes nach dem achmimischen Papyrus der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek*. Strasbourg: Schlesier & Schweikhardt, 1910.
- Rousseau, Adelin, ed. *Irénee de Lyon Contre les Hérésies, Livre 5*. 2 vols. SC 153. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1969.
- Royse, James R. *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*. NTTSD 36. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Salonius, Aarne H. "Die griechischen Handschriftenfragmente des Neuen Testaments in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin." *ZNW* 26 (1927): 97–119.
- Sanders, Henry A. "An Early Papyrus Fragment of the Gospel of Matthew in the Michigan Collection." *HTR* 19 (1926): 215–26.
- , ed. *The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels*. Part 1 of *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*. UMSHS 9/1. New York: Macmillan, 1912.
- , ed. *Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Freer Collection*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan, 1912.
- , ed. *The Washington Manuscript of the Epistles of Paul*. Part 2 of *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*. UMSHS 9/2. New York: Macmillan, 1918.
- , ed. *A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul*. UMSHS 38. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1935.
- . "A Third Century Papyrus of Matthew and Acts." Pages 151–61 in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*. Edited by Robert P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes K. Lake. London: Christophers, 1937.
- Sanders, Henry A., and Carl Schmidt, eds. *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis*. UMSHS 21. New York: Macmillan, 1927.
- Sanz, Peter, ed. *Biblica, Väterschriften und Verwandtes*. Vol. 1 of *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhaltes*. MPER N.S. IV. Baden bei Wien: Rohrer, 1946.
- Schenke, Hans-Martin, ed. *Apostelgeschichte 1,1–15,3 im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Glazier)*. TU 137. Berlin: Akademie, 1991.

- Schmid, Ulrich. "Scribes and Variants: Sociology and Typology." Pages 1–23 in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. Edited by H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker. TS 3/6. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008.
- Schmid, U. B., W. J. Elliott, and D. C. Parker, eds. *The Majuscles*. Vol. 2 of *The New Testament in Greek, 4: The Gospel According to St. John*. Edited by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Schofield, Ellwood M. "The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament." Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Clinton, NJ, 1936.
- Scrivener, F. H. A., ed. *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis ...* Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1859.
- , ed. *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, Being an Exact Copy, in Ordinary Type, of the Celebrated Uncial Graeco-Latin Manuscript of the Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles*. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1864.
- , ed. *A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the Received Text of the New Testament*. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co. London: Bell & Daldy, 1864.
- Skeat, T. C. et al. "Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt Part I: Papyrology (1938)." *JEA* 25 (1938): 70–93.
- . "Early Christian Book-Production: Papyri and Manuscripts." Pages 54–79 in *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*. Edited by G. W. H. Lampe. Vol. 2 of *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- . "A Table of Isopsephisms (P. Oxy. XLV. 3239)." *ZPE* 31 (1978): 45–54.
- . "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?," *NTS* 43 (1997): 1–34.
- . "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?" Pages 158–92 in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*. Edited by J. Keith Elliott. NovTSup 113. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Skehan, P. W., E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, eds. *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*. DJD IX. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.
- Smith, W. Andrew. *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*. NTTSD 48. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

- Soderquist, Justin. "A New Edition of Codex I (016): The Washington Manuscript of the Epistles of Paul." M.A. thesis, Trinity Western University, 2014.
https://www.twu.ca/library/theses/271835_pdf_262939_663817EA-D595-11E3-9D86-08412E1BA5B1_%20Soderquist_j.pdf.
- Stegmüller, Otto. "Ein Bruchstück aus dem griechischen Diatessaron (P. 16388)." *ZNW* 37 (1938): 223–29.
- Testuz, Michel, ed. *Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX: VII: Epître de Jude, VIII: Les deux Epîtres de Pierre, IX: Les Psaumes 33 et 34*. Cologne-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959.
- Thiede, Carsten. "Papyrus Magdalen 17 (Gregory-Aland P⁶⁴): A Reappraisal." *ZPE* 105 (1995): 13–20. Repr., *TynBul* 46 (1995): 29–42.
- Thompson, E. Maunde, ed. *New Testament and Clementine Epistles*. Vol. 4 of *Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1879.
- Tischendorf, C., ed. *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus: sive Fragmenta Novi Testamenti e Codice Graeco Parisiensi Celeberrimo Quinti ut videtur post Christum Seculi*. Leipzig: Bernh. Tauchnitz, 1843.
- , ed. *Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta*. Vol. 1 of *Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1855.
- , ed. *Fragmenta Evangelii Lucae et Libri Genesis*. Vol. 2 of *Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1857.
- , ed. *Fragmenta, Origenianae Octateuchi Editionis*. Vol. 3 of *Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1860.
- , ed. *Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum: sive Novum Testamentum cum Epistula Barnabae et Fragmentis Pastoris ex Codice Sinaitico*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1863.
- , ed. *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*. Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1867.
- Tod, Marcus N. "The Greek Numeral Notation." *ABSA* 18 (1911/12): 98–132.
- . "Three Greek Numeral Systems." *JHS* 33 (1913): 27–34.
- . "Further Notes on the Greek Acrophonic Numerals." *ABSA* 28 (1926/27): 141–57.
- . "The Greek Acrophonic Numerals." *ABSA* 37 (1936/37): 236–58.
- . "The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica." *ABSA* 45 (1950): 126–39.

- Tov, Emanuel, with the collaboration of R. A. Kraft. *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Hever (8HevXIIgr)*. DJD VIII. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- Tov, Emanuel. "Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture," Pages 125–48 in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. Edited by Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- . *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*. STDJ 54. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- . *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. 3rd ed. rev. and expanded. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012.
- Traube, Ludwig. *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung*. Munich: Beck, 1907.
- Treu, Kurt. "Neue neutestamentliche Fragmente der Berliner Papyrussammlung." *APF* 18 (1966): 25–28.
- . "Ein weiteres Unzialpalimpsest des Galaterbriefes aus Damaskus." Pages 219–21 in *Studia Evangelica* 5. Edited by F. L. Cross. TU 103. Berlin: Akademie, 1968.
- . "Die Bedeutung des Griechischen für die Juden im römischen Reich." *Kairos* (NF) 15 (1973): 123–44.
- . "Christliche Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe auf Papyrus." Pages 629–36 in *Zetesis: Album amicorum door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. E. de Strycker Gewoon Hoogleraar aan de Universitaire Faculteiten Sint-Ignatius te Antwerpen ter gelegenheid van zijn vijfenzestigste verjaardag*. Edited by Th. Lefevre et al. Antwerp: Nederlandsche, 1973.
- . "Papyri und Majuskeln," Pages 373–86 in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of his sixty-fifth Birthday*. Edited by J. Keith Elliott. NovTSup 44. Leiden: Brill, 1976.
- Tuckett, Christopher M. "'Nomina Sacra': Yes and No?" Pages 431–58 in *The Biblical Canons*. Edited by J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge. BETL 163. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2003.
- Turner, Eric G. *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. 2nd ed. rev. P. J. Parsons. IBSBSup 46. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987.
- Unger, Dominic J. *St. Irenaeus of Lyons Against the Heresies*. Vol. 1. ACW 55. Mahwah, NJ, NY: Paulist, 1992.

- Vitelli, G., and M. Norsa et al. *Papiri greci e latini (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papyri greci e latini in Egitto)*. 15 vols. Florence: 1912–1979.
- Wachtel, K., and K. Witte, eds. *Gal, Eph, Phil, Kol, 1 u. 2 Thess, 1 u 2. Tim, Tit, Phlm, Hebr.* Part 2 of *Die paulinischen Briefe*. Vol. 2 of *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*. ANTF 22. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994.
- Wagner, Guy, ed. *Papyrus grecs de l’Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale*. Vol. 2. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Bibliothèque d’Étude, 1971.
- Wasserman, Tommy. “The Early Text of Matthew.” Pages 83–107 in *The Early Text of the New Testament*. Edited by Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- . “P⁴⁵ and Codex W in Mark Revisited.” Pages 130–56 in *Mark, Manuscripts, and Monotheism: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado*. Edited by Chris Keith and Dieter R. Roth. LNTS 528. London: T & T Clark, 2015.
- Wayment, Thomas. “A New Transcription of P. Oxy. 2383 (P⁶⁹).” *NovT* 50 (2008): 351–57.
- Weiss, Bernhard. *Die Johannes-Apokalypse: Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung*. TU 7/1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1891.
- Welles, C. Bradford. “The Yale Genesis Fragment.” *The Yale University Library Gazette* 39 (1964): 1–8.
- Wessely, Carl, ed. *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus*. PO 4/2. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1908.
- , ed. *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts*. Vol. 3 of *Stud.Pal.* 12. Leipzig: Avenarius, 1912. Repr., Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1966.
- White, J., ed. *Actus Apostolorum et Epistolas Catholicas*. Vol. 1 of *Actuum Apostolorum et Epistolarum tam Catholicarum quam Paulinarum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1799.
- Wilcken, Ulrich. *Grundzüge*. Part 1 of *Historischer Teil*. Vol. 1 of *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. Repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963.
- Williams, Peter. “P¹¹⁵ and the Number of the Beast.” *TynBul* 58 (2007): 151–53.
- Winter, J. G., ed. *Miscellaneous Papyri*. Vol. 3 of *Michigan Papyri*. Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1936.
- Yoder, James D., ed. *Concordance to the Distinctive Greek Text of Codex Bezae*. NTTS 2. Leiden: Brill, 1961.

Zereteli, Giorgi. "Un palimpseste grec du V^e siècle sur parchemin (Epist. ad Fit. [*sic*] 1. 4–6, 7–9)." *Académie royale Belgique: Bulletin de la classe des lettres* V^e sér. 18 (1932): 427–32.

Zuntz, Günther. *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum*. Schweich Lectures 1946. London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1953. Repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2007.

———. "Reconstruction of one Leaf of the Chester Beatty Papyrus of the Gospels and Acts (P⁴⁵)." *CdE* 26 (1951): 191–211.