

The Gospel of Matthew in a Sixth-Century Manuscript Family:
Scribal Habits in the Greek Purple Codices 022, 023 and 042

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Doctor of Philosophy

in

New Testament Language, Literature and Theology

The University of Edinburgh

2017

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.

Elijah Michael Hixson

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to assess the extent to which the singular readings of a manuscript reveal the tendencies of the scribe who wrote its text by examining three related Greek manuscripts from the sixth century. The three manuscripts are all luxury copies of the Gospels—purple codices, so named because they are written in silver and gold ink on parchment that has been dyed purple. The manuscripts, Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N 022), Codex Sinopensis (O 023) and Codex Rossanensis (Σ 042), were all copied in the sixth century from a common exemplar. Chapter One introduces the three manuscripts. Chapter Two provides a history of research on scribal habits and singular readings, and it describes the method used in this thesis to determine both the validity of the *singular readings method* and the actual scribal habits of 022, 023 and 042. Chapter Three provides a preliminary assessment of each scribe by comparing scribal features in the passages extant in all three manuscripts. Chapters Four, Five and Six assess the scribal habits of 022, 023 and 042, respectively. In these chapters, perceived scribal habits are measured by a modified *singular readings method* to replicate the situation for each manuscript if it had no extant close relatives—the situation for most early manuscripts. Actual scribal habits are then determined by the places the scribe changed the text of the exemplar. Chapter Seven offers some concluding thoughts about the scribes, their exemplar and the use of singular readings to determine scribal habits. Appendix One presents for the first time an edition of the reconstructed text of the exemplar of 022, 023 and 042, where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant. Appendices Two, Three and Four are full transcriptions of the Gospel of Matthew in 022, 023 and 042, respectively. Appendix Five provides information on singular readings and corrections in 042 where it alone is extant of the three manuscripts. Appendix Six describes the codicological structures of the three manuscripts. Appendix Seven is a transcription and brief discussion of 080, a fragmentary of a purple codex dating to the sixth century. Finally, both 022 and 042 contain a series of secondary corrections made against a second exemplar, and Appendix Eight argues that the scribe of 042 was responsible for these corrections in both manuscripts.

LAY SUMMARY

“Can we recover the original words of the New Testament?” Because no original manuscript survives, textual critics rely on copies and copies of copies to reconstruct the earliest recoverable text. Therefore, it is important to consider the question “how reliable were the copyists?” To know the reliability of the copyists—the scribes—one needs to know what kinds of changes they made to the text and how often they made changes. In short, one needs to know what were the “scribal habits” of particular manuscripts.

In the past fifty years there have been a number of studies devoted to scribal habits. This line of research begins with E. C. Colwell, who developed a method to determine scribal habits in the 1960s, which J. R. Royse refined in 1981. The method works by making two assumptions: 1. The unique readings in a manuscript—the places where that manuscript is the only known manuscript to have a particular reading—are for the most part changes introduced by the scribe who produced that manuscript. 2. Collectively, these “singular readings” (readings found in a *single* manuscript) provide a picture of what kinds of changes the scribe made to the text.

The problem with the method is that it relies on these two unproven assumptions. Without knowing the text that a scribe was looking at when he or she produced a copy, there is no way to know what changes he or she introduced into the copy. Without knowing those changes, there is no way to look for patterns among them in order to determine scribal habits. Without testing the *singular readings method* against a control of some kind, there is no way to know whether or not it really works.

At this point, the sixth-century Greek purple codices of the Gospels become directly relevant for New Testament textual criticism. Three manuscripts have survived that were each copied from the same parent-manuscript, and they each contain text from Matthew’s Gospel. Although the parent-manuscript has not survived, its text can be reconstructed from its three direct copies. From the reconstructed parent-text one can know exactly what changes each of the three scribes introduced into his or her copy. If one knows what changes a scribe made, we can compare those changes to the unique readings as a way to test the *singular reading method*. The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is dual: it aims to determine the scribal habits in the three members of a sixth-century manuscript family, and it aims to determine whether or not the *singular readings method* is a valid method that can reliably determine scribal habits in a Greek New Testament manuscript.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not be possible without the help of a number of people over the years. Help comes in a variety of ways. It can be as simple as sending a copy of an unpublished PhD thesis or as complex as spending hours reading drafts of my chapters and discussing readings and methods. It can be a library who opens its doors to grant access to an unassuming book that happens not to be available in a closer library, or it can be a special collections department who brings out an ancient treasured codex for a young researcher, awestruck that he is finally seeing the precious object with his own eyes. I have tried to keep a list of those individuals and organizations, without whom this thesis would not exist—or if it did, its quality would be far inferior. Inevitably, someone is almost certainly left out, and to you I offer my sincerest apologies. Please forgive me.

The staff of the Centre for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (CSNTM) deserve special mention—specifically, Stratton Ladewig, Rob Marcello, Jacob Peterson and Dan Wallace. Their exhaustive knowledge of manuscripts, of people, and of local customs along with their generosity resulted in this thesis being very much improved. Jacob especially has been helpful to provide a second opinion on many difficult readings. Additionally, I must thank Robert Behra, Christian Förstel, Peter J. Gurry, Didier Lafleur, Marilena Maniaci, Kathleen Maxwell and William Voelkle for generously giving advice or other help that would be otherwise difficult to come by.

Three individuals deserve the highest praise. They have gone above and beyond what I ever would have expected of them, and they are the examples I look up to—not only do they exemplify what it means to be a good scholar, they exemplify what it means to be a good person. One is Paul Foster, my doctoral advisor, whose kindness and generosity are only exceeded by his efficiency and speed at replying to emails. The other two are James R. Royse and Juan Hernández, Jr., two of the most generous scholars I have ever met. Even though my thesis is a critique of ‘their’ method, they have been nothing but supportive and kind over the past few years. I am thankful for their feedback on my writing, their kind treatment of one who would critique the method they used, and their friendship in general.

Of libraries, several have my gratitude. This thesis would not be possible if not for many hours spend in the Special Collections reading room of the National Library of Scotland, pouring over their copy of the facsimile reproduction of Codex Rossanensis (042). Many thanks are also due to María Isabel Molestina-Kurlat and Maria Fredericks of the Morgan Library in New York City, for graciously permitting

me to consult the Morgan leaf of 022 in May 2016. The University of Edinburgh libraries (especially the New College Library) provide excellent resources for such a thesis as this one. Still, aspects of this thesis would not have been possible were it not for access to resources granted by the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford, the Barber Fine Art Library at the University of Birmingham, and Tyndale House, Cambridge. The staff at the University of St. Andrews Library deserve much gratitude for graciously helping out a frantic PhD student in the final days before submission.

Though I have tried to learn the relevant languages as much as I can, I am grateful to a few native speakers who offered help when non-English text was ambiguous: Francesco Arena, Samuel Hildebrandt, Florenc Mene and Alix Rouvinez for Italian, German, Albanian and French, respectively. Francesco and Alix are worthy of double-honour for graciously translating some of my correspondence with international scholars into Italian and French, and I am indebted to them for it.

I am also indebted to the generosity of the Museum of the Bible (Washington D.C.), both for allowing me to be a part of their Scholars' Initiative and for funding my final two years in Edinburgh. This thesis would have suffered in quality had I been forced to finish early and move from Edinburgh, but through their generosity, I was able to stay for a fourth year and take on some fruitful side projects. I am also thankful to my parents, Mike Hixson and Rachel Hayes, for always supporting me, even when I moved with their only granddaughter across an ocean to another continent when she was only six months old. I am especially thankful for Duncan Street Baptist Church in Edinburgh, our church home for these past years. The wonderful people at Duncan Street Baptist Church have made Edinburgh feel like our true home, even though it is so far from where we came.

Finally, I could never have written this thesis if it were not for my wife, Katie. I dedicate this thesis to her. She is its true *sine qua non*. She knows far more about purple codices and singular readings than any normal person should, without her, I doubt I ever would have made it to Edinburgh. I am more thankful to her and for her than she could know, which is still less than she deserves.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AnBib	Analecta Biblica
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BIRHT</i>	<i>Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series latina
<i>CJL</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Linguistics</i>
CollLatomus	Collection Latomus
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica; New Testament Series
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
<i>EChr</i>	<i>Early Christianity</i>
<i>Environ. Sci. Pollut. R.</i>	<i>Environmental Science and Pollution Research</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
Hermeneia	Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
HTB	Histoire du texte biblique
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JChemEd</i>	<i>Journal of Chemical Education</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>MEFR</i>	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie ed d'histoire de l'école français de Rome</i>
MPER Ns	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien, Neue Serie

NA ²⁷	<i>Novum testamentum graece</i> , 27 th ed.
NA ²⁸	<i>Novum testamentum graece</i> , 28 th ed.
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
Pericope	Pericope: Scripture as Written and Read in Antiquity
PG	Patrologia graeca
<i>RHM</i>	<i>Römische historische Mitteilungen</i>
SAAFLS	Studi archeologici, artistici, filologici, letterari e storici
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SD	Studies and Documents
<i>Spectrochim. Acta A</i>	<i>Spectrochimica Acta Part A: Molecular and Biomedical Spectroscopy</i>
StPatr	Studia patristica
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
<i>TC</i>	<i>TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism</i>
TCSt	Text-Critical Studies
TDSA	Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità
TK	Texte und Kommentare
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
TS, Third Series	Texts and Studies, Third Series
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
UBS ³	United Bible Societies' <i>Greek New Testament</i> , 3 rd ed.
UBS ⁴	United Bible Societies' <i>Greek New Testament</i> , 4 th ed.
UBS ⁵	United Bible Societies' <i>Greek New Testament</i> , 5 th ed.
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZWT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

Introduction to Purple Codices and the 022-023-042 Family

“...[F]rom the sixth century there have been preserved several manuscripts of consummate artistry (parchment stained purple, inscribed with silver letters, and illuminated with gold), and yet since they offer nothing more than a Byzantine text—even in the renowned Codex Rossanensis—they are in consequence quite irrelevant for textual criticism.”

—Kurt and Barbara Aland, 1987¹

1.1 Introduction

In a hole in the ground, there lived a codex.²

In the early 1940s, Axis forces invaded the small country of Albania. They came with orders to confiscate all the gold from the Bank of Albania, as well as an ancient codex from the town of Berat. What could be the reason that this manuscript in particular was singled out for Nazi looting? Albania has, after all, no shortage of Greek New Testament manuscripts. This was no ordinary codex, however. This was an ancient *codex purpureus*—a rare purple codex from the sixth century, in which the text of the Gospels was written in silver and gold on parchment that had been dyed purple. Such precious manuscripts were gifts fit for an emperor—or, in the early 1940s, *ein Führer*.

Axis troops came to the Church of St. George in Berat and announced that if the priests did not hand over the purple codex, they would be killed. Six priests came together and prayed to the Icon of the Virgin Mary. They asked forgiveness for what they were about to do. The six priests hid the codex—Codex Beratinus-1 (Tirana, Albanian National Archives Kod. Br. 1; GA Φ 043). They came out to the invading

¹ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 104 (emphasis added). The discipline of New Testament textual criticism has changed much since the Alands made this statement more than thirty years ago.

² Details of these events are based off the official records kept in the National Archives of Albania, reported in Shaban Sinani, “Beratinus-1 - Një Referencë Themelore në Traditën Shkrimeve të Shenjta,” in *Kodikët e Shqipërisë*, ed. Shaban Sinani (Tirana: Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Arkivave, 2003), 243. I am indebted to Florenc Mene for an English translation of this work.

army and announced that they were each willing to swear by the Icon of the Virgin Mary that they had no knowledge about the whereabouts of the codex.

For nearly twenty-five years, Codex Beratinus-1 was missing. Finally in 1967, Albanian researchers removed three stone slabs from the internal façade of the Church of Saint George. Behind the wall, they found a pit in the ground—about 2 meters by 1.5 meters. Hidden in the pit was a single metal box. When researchers opened the box, they found not one, but two purple manuscripts—the sixth-century majuscule Codex Beratinus-1 and the ninth-century minuscule Codex Beratinus-2 (Tirana, Albanian National Archives, Kod. Br. 2; GA 1143).³ Both manuscripts had deteriorated significantly.

These two Albanian treasures are members of a rare class of luxury manuscripts—purple codices. In ancient times, purple was expensive to produce. There were cheaper vegetable-based alternatives available, but the finest and most colourfast purple was Tyrian Purple, extracted from molluscs. C.M. Booker writes, “The scope of this laborious harvest becomes immediately apparent when one takes into consideration the fact that twelve thousand sea-molluscs yielded a mere 1.4 grams of the dye, which was scarcely enough for the trim of a single garment.”⁴ Throughout the ages, the colour purple has retained a certain distinction, but in antiquity purple was the colour of the Emperor.⁵ Legislation restricted the use of “sea-purple” by the end of the fourth century, but alternatives of lesser quality—still expensive—were available to those who could afford them.⁶ By the sixth century, Cassiodorus could write on behalf of King Theodoric of the colour purple, “‘tis a blushing obscurity, an ensanguined blackness, which distinguishes the wearer from all others, and makes it impossible for the human race not to know who is the king.”⁷

³ A brief report is given in Johannes Koder, “Zur Wiederentdeckung Zweier Codices Beratini,” *ByzZ* 65 (1972): 327–328.

⁴ Courtney M. Booker, “The Codex Purpureus and Its Role as an Imago Regis in Late Antiquity,” in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History VIII*, ed. Carl Deroux, CollLatomus 239 (Brussels: Éditions Latomus, 1997), 445. See also P. Friedländer, “Über den Farbstoff des antiken Purpurs aus murex brandaris,” *Berichte der deutschen chemischen Gesellschaft* 42 (1909): 765–770.

⁵ For a treatment of the significance of the colour purple as well as its availability to those outside the ruling class, see Meyer Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity*, CollLatomus 116 (Brussels: Éditions Latomus, 1970), especially 66–67. The distinction of the colour purple can even be seen in the nineteenth century, when London pastor Charles Haddon Spurgeon used purple ink to annotate his sermons for publication. On purple as the colour of the emperor, see Booker, “Codex Purpureus.”

⁶ Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity*, 66–67.

⁷ This quotation comes from Book I, letter 2, “King Theodoric to Theon, *vir sublimis*,” which is a rebuke to Theon because his negligence had impeded the production of purple dye. An English translation of the letter is given in Thomas Hodgkin, ed., *The Letters of Cassiodorus, Being a Condensed Translation of the variae epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator* (London: Henry Frowde, 1886), 143–144.

The earliest reference to the practice of putting gold or silver text on a purple-dyed medium has an imperial context. Around 235 C.E., a female relative of the Roman Emperor Maximinus Thrax gave his son “books of Homer, all purple, written in gold letters” (*libros Homericos omnes purpureos... aureis litteris scriptos*).⁸ Booker documents the imperial associations of the colour purple and argues that if purple is the colour of the emperor, a purple Gospel book on the altar at Mass could have had political significance.⁹ There does seem to be some material evidence of an imperial association with at least one purple Gospel book. The depictions of King David above quotations from the Psalter that accompany miniatures in the sixth-century Codex Sinopensis (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supp. gr. 1286; O 023) bear a striking resemblance to the Ravenna mosaic of Justinian I (c. 482–565) made during his lifetime.

Purple codices from antiquity are not unknown, but the cost of their production makes them rare treasures of the institutions that keep them. They are extant in Greek, Latin and Gothic.¹⁰ Their text is not always biblical, but purple bibles include texts from the Gospels as well as Genesis and Psalms. Lists of purple codices tend to be incomplete, as new discoveries are often made and known items can be easily overlooked. Booker lists fourteen purple codices, but at least eight additions could be made to his list.¹¹ There is a fragmentary Greek codex of Mark from the sixth century, Gregory-Aland 080.¹² The Greek Zurich Psalter (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, RP 1/C 84) from the seventh century is extant. The Vienna Coronation Gospels (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Schatzkammer Inv. XIII 18) in Latin survive from the late eighth century, made for Charlemagne in Aachen. Three Greek manuscripts survive from the ninth century, Empress Theodora’s Codex (St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 53; Gregory-Aland 565), Codex Beratinus-2 and the lectionary 146 (Naples, Cod. Neapol. ex Vind., 2). From the late eleventh/early twelfth century a purple codex of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom survives in the Vatican Library (Vat.gr. 1170). Perhaps the strangest purple

⁸ Booker, “Codex Purpureus,” 453.

⁹ Booker, “Codex Purpureus.”

¹⁰ On the Gothic Codex Argenteus (Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, D G 1), see Geoffrey Bernard Acker, “The Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis: A Codicological Examination” (PhD thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1994). A shorter introduction to the codex may be found in Carla Falluomini, *The Gothic Version of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles: Cultural Background, Transmission and Character*, ANTF 46 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 32–34.

¹¹ Booker, “Codex Purpureus,” 462–465.

¹² Porphyry Uspensky published a pseudo-facsimile of 080 in *Восток христианский Египет и Синай* (St. Petersburg: вь литографіи Прохорова, 1857). For an edition of 080, see Appendix Seven.

manuscript is not a codex at all, but a rotulus scroll at the Vatican (Borg.gr. 27), also containing the Liturgy of John Chrysostom and dating to around the same time as Vat.gr. 1170. The purple sheets that form the scroll were pieced together from other purple manuscripts. Their colours are different shades of purple or dark blue, and one sheet is a palimpsest.¹³

Purple codices, especially purple Gospel codices from the sixth century, are celebrated items of cultural heritage. Despite their deterioration, the two Albanian codices are national treasures. In 2005, they were included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register, and in 2011, the Bank of Albania celebrated Codex Beratinus-1 by minting a commemorative coin featuring a page of the manuscript. In 2015, Italian artist Pino Savoia created a sculpture, *La Macchina armonica*, reproducing several features from the introductory section of Codex Rossanensis that stands in the roundabout at the entrance to Rossano on the Italian road SS 106.¹⁴

If the purple codices are limited to Greek manuscripts of the Gospels in the sixth century, there are five specimens still extant. These are Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N 022), Codex Sinopensis (O 023), Codex Rossanensis (Σ 042), Codex Beratinus-1 (Φ 043) and the fragmentary codex 080. It is from these five codices from the sixth century that the manuscripts of this study were selected.

The primary interest in the sixth-century Greek purple codices for this study is their close textual relationship.¹⁵ Three of them, 022, 023 and 042, are all copies of the same exemplar, and as such, they are the subjects of this work. These three siblings are not the only extant New Testament manuscripts with such a close relationship, but they are the earliest.¹⁶ This close relationship allows the text of their common exemplar to be reconstructed where at least two of them are extant. By comparing the text of the copy to that of the exemplar, it is not only possible to arrive at a more precise understanding of the scribal habits at work in the purple codices, but it is even possible to determine the extent to which the *singular readings method* can give an accurate assessment of scribal habits.¹⁷

¹³ On Borg.gr.27, see Guglielmo Cavallo, "Between Byzantium and Rome: Manuscripts from Southern Italy," in *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors: 843–1261*, ed. Olenka Z. Pevny, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2000), 149.

¹⁴ Samantha Tarantino, "Macchina armonica," *L'Eco dello Jonio*, July 25, 2015.

¹⁵ From what remains of 080, it seems clear that it does not share the same close relationship with 022, 023 and 042. 043 is closely related to 022, 023 and 042, but it does not share the same immediate relationship with them.

¹⁶ Duplicate copies of literary works are rare, but a number of duplicates survive among documentary papyri. See Bruce E. Nielsen, "A Catalog of Duplicate Papyri," *ZPE* 129 (2000): 187–214.

¹⁷ This method is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

1.2 **Brief Descriptions of 022, 023 and 042**

Before addressing the *singular readings method*, it is necessary to make a few remarks about each manuscript. Their respective *editiones principes* have adequate discussions for most matters, but it is useful to include a summary here.

1.2.1

Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N 022)

Size (mm)	288 x 337 / at least 290 x 340 ¹⁸
Columns	2
Lines/Column	16 ¹⁹
Sheets/Gathering	5 ²⁰
Gathering numbers	Upper left corner
Ink	Silver text Gold (certain <i>nomina sacra</i>) Gold marginal <i>titloi</i>
Scribal hand	Biblical majuscule (all)
Miniatures	None extant ²¹

¹⁸ The measurements are given in Eric G. Turner (*The Typology of the Early Codex* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977], 26) and Agamemnon Tselikas (“Η Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου Πάτρου καὶ Πορφυρὸς Κώδικας τῶν Εὐαγγελίων,” in *Ὁ Πορφυρὸς Κώδιξ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων Πάτμου καὶ Πετροπόλεως: Πανομοιότυπη ἔκδοση*, ed. Agamemnon Tselikas [Athens: Miletos, 2002], 26). H.S. Cronin estimated that “Perhaps 34 by 29 cm. would not be wide of the mark” in *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus: The Text of Codex N of the Gospels Edited with an Introduction and an Appendix*, TS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), xxxvi. There is additional evidence that the manuscript has been trimmed on all three edges. On St. Petersburg f. 74v, there is a patch in the lower margin taken from the lower margin of the now-lost folio preceding St. Petersburg f. 11. The lower margin on St. Petersburg f. 74v is 38.2 mm, but the lower margin preserved on the patch is 62.0 mm (measurements taken from the facsimile; though these numbers might not be accurate to the manuscript, they are accurate with respect to each other, which is sufficient for the point that the manuscript had been trimmed). Cronin mentions that St. Petersburg f. 173 was trimmed on the side based on a marginal correction that has been partially trimmed away, but the same phenomenon occurs on St. Petersburg f. 104, and a marginal comment has been partially trimmed away on Patmos f. 8v. As to the upper margin, part of the marginal *titlos* has been trimmed away on St. Petersburg f. 14r. At the top of Athens r, the word *λιπαζονται* was written, but a patch was applied, partially covering the word. The manuscript was then trimmed, cutting through both the patch and the extant letters of *λιπαζονται*.

¹⁹ Agamemnon Tselikas lists the small number of exceptions in “Η Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου Πάτρου καὶ Πορφυρὸς Κώδικας τῶν Εὐαγγελίων,” 27. Only three folios have other than 16 lines per column: St. Petersburg f. 67 (Luke 9:13–20) has only 15 lines per column on both columns of both sides, and Patmos ff. 28–29 (Mark 14:41–60) have 17 lines per column on all columns. The final ruling lines are visible on St. Petersburg f. 67, and there is a correction in the first line of the second column, so it appears that the scribe probably began column 2 by mistake and maintained 15 lines per column for the whole folio for aesthetic purposes. The two Patmos leaves appear to have been ruled for 17 lines.

²⁰ See the chart of the codicological reconstruction of 022 in Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xxx–xxxī. Cronin shows that *quiniones* comprise the majority of 022, but gatherings of fewer sheets were used at the ends of each Gospel, as well as twice within Luke’s Gospel. *Kephalaia* lists for each Gospel were included as the last folio(s) of the gathering preceding the beginning of the respective Gospel. Though Matthew’s Gospel begins with what would have been the first numbered gathering, there would have been at least one unnumbered gathering of material before Matthew’s Gospel, which would have contained the *kephalaia* list for Matthew, Eusebius’ *Epistula ad Carpianum* and the Eusebian canon tables. It is possible that this lost introductory section contained miniatures. Cronin himself concluded that 022 would have had at least one or two additional gatherings preceding Matthew, appealing to 042 as evidence of the practice, in *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xxv.

²¹ It is impossible to know with certainty whether 022 contained in-text miniatures due to its mutilated state, but it is reasonable to assume it did not. Each folio of 022 contained approximately the same amount of text as a folio of 023, and while five miniatures survive on 43(44) extant folios of 023, none survive on all the folios of 022. Additionally, twenty-

Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (022) is an incomplete manuscript containing portions of all four gospels. Presently, 022 is spread across eight or nine different collections:

- St. Petersburg; Russian National Library, Gr. 537, 182 folios
- Patmos; Monastery of Johannes Theologos, no. 67, 33 folios
- Vatican City; Vatican Library, Vat. Gr. 2305, six folios
- London; British Library, Cotton Titus C. XV, four folios
- Vienna; Österreich Nationalbibliothek, Theol. gr. 31, two folios
- Athens; Byzantine Museum, Frg. 21, one folio
- Thessaloniki; Museum of Byzantine Culture, Byz. Ms. 1, one folio
- New York; Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M. 874, one folio
-
- Formerly Lerma, Alessandria, Italy, Private collection of A. Spinola, s.n., one folio²²

There are at least five different numbering systems present in the manuscript: ancient gathering numbers, notes of medieval origin that the codex was in collections of fifty folios each, more recent gathering numbers in the Johannine sections as well as modern pagination and foliation. Cronin gave an excellent discussion of the numbering systems in 1899 and reconstructed a history of the manuscript based on these numbers.²³ In summary, Cronin believed that the manuscript was dismembered roughly around the twelfth century and that this dismemberment resulted in the loss of most of the folios that are no longer extant. The six Vatican folios were first mentioned between 1594 and 1600, though they could have been given as a gift to Pope Innocent VIII from Charlotte Lusignan of Cyprus in 1485.²⁴ Folios in other

nine consecutive folios of Luke are preserved and twenty-three consecutive folios of John; if miniatures in 022 were spaced out in the text and conveniently lost (removed) from 022, one would expect at least one of them to survive in these two long, consecutive portions of 022.

²² The present whereabouts of the folio containing John 3:14–21 are unknown. The folio was formerly in the possession of the Spinola family in Lerma, Italy, but D.C. Parker notes that it was sold in 2003 (*An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008], 43–44). The leaf was published in Giuseppe Cozza-Luzi, “Evangelii Ioannaei fragmentum in membrana purpurea argenteis aureisque litteris descripta,” in *Novae patrum bibliothecae, tom. x, par. III* (Rome: Typis Sacri Consilii Propagando Christiano Nomini, 1905), 21–28. A microfilm of the folio is available at the Virtual Manuscript Room of the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (ntvnr.uni-muenster.de [accessed 20 July 2017]).

²³ Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xv–xxiii.

²⁴ Cronin traces the gift to Catherine Cornaro, who was Queen of Cyprus from 1474 until she abdicated in 1489, in *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xxii. Cronin’s states that Catherine also gave another gift to Pope Innocent VIII, Vat. Gr. 1208, “which is kept in the same case.” Vat. Gr. 1208 (GA 1843) is a luxurious copy of the Acts and Epistles written in with gold letters, though not on purple parchment. Cronin is mistaken about Vat. Gr. 1208, however. It was indeed given to Pope Innocent VIII, but by Charlotte Lusignan, the former Queen of Cyprus and half-sister of Catherine’s late husband James II. An inscription on the first folio

collections emerged periodically, including three folios that have surfaced since Cronin's 1899 work. By 1899, Cronin noted that four folios were missing based on differences in the modern foliation and pagination. Three of these folios have since resurfaced in Greece. These are the folios in Athens, Thessaloniki and New York.²⁵ Only one of the recently lost folios is still missing. This leaf would come directly between St. Petersburg ff. 57 and 58, containing the text of Luke 4:26–36.²⁶

In three collections, leaves of 022 are or were formerly bound with other manuscripts. The Vatican folios were formerly joined to Vat. Lat. 3785.²⁷ The Vienna folios are with the famous Vienna Genesis, a sixth-century purple codex that contains illuminations on every page.²⁸ The four folios at the British Library are

of Vat. Gr. 1208 reads, "Dono ex Carlotta di Cipro" (http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1208 accessed 20 July 2017). Charlotte Lusignan was the daughter of Helena Palaiologina, who gave refuge to Constantinopolitan monks in Cyprus (who probably brought manuscripts with them) following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning suggest that Charlotte donated at least two manuscripts, Vat. Gr. 1158 (GA 140) and 1208, to Pope Innocent VIII at her formal abdication as queen on 25 February 1485, in *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, DOS 30; *Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus* 18 (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1993), 20–21. Holly S. Hurlburt notes that Charlotte continued to use the title Queen of Cyprus throughout her life, in *Daughter of Venice: Caterina Corner, Queen of Cyprus and Woman of the Renaissance* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2015), 28. That 022 was previously bound to Vat. Lat. 3785 would explain why it lacks any inscription about its donor.

²⁵ The Morgan leaf in New York was acquired in Greece. In a report to the fellows of the Morgan Library, Frederick B. Adams mentions that Stanley Rypins found the leaf "in the possession of a schoolteacher in a rural town" while "travelling in the eastern Mediterranean countries" ("A Sixth-Century Purple Gospel Leaf," in *Seventh Annual Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library* [New York: Spiral Press, 1957], 12). According to the curatorial description of the leaf at the Morgan Library (available at <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0874a.pdf>, accessed 25 September 2017), the leaf was purchased in Athens.

²⁶ It is my prediction that, should another single folio of 022 resurface, it will be this one. If it resurfaces, I expect it to surface in Greece (or at least with a connection to Greece), and I expect it to have creases from having been folded once vertically and probably twice horizontally, as each of the other three folios, as well as St. Petersburg f. 96, which was also once separated from the rest of the codex, have similar creases. I would be happy for the leaf to resurface and prove my prediction incorrect, but I bury it here in a footnote for the record. On St. Petersburg f. 96, see Albert L. Long, "A New Purple Codex," *The Independent*, April 23, 1896.

²⁷ Mentioned in Johann Martin Augustin Scholz, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1830), 44. The words "Cod. Vatic. Latin. no. 3785" are still visible in the upper left corner of the inside of the front cover in the images posted at http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.2305 (accessed 19 July 2017).

²⁸ For the colour facsimile, see Otto Mazal, ed., *Wiener Genesis: Purpurpergamenthandschrift aus dem 6. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1980). The two Vienna folios of 022 were most recently edited in Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter, *New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Editions: Texts*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter, MPER Ns 29 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2008), 149–157. However, Porter and Porter have been criticised for their inaccuracies in the volume as a whole. A significant textual shortcoming in their treatment of 059 (=0215) was rectified in Dirk Jongkind, "Short Note: 059 (0215) and Mark 15:28," *TC* 19 (2014): 1–3. See also the review by Amphiloichios Papatomas, "Review of New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Editions," *BASP* 48 (2011):

bound with a papyrus fragment that was unidentified until relatively recently. In a 2000 article in *Scriptorium*, Robert Babcock identified the fragment as the oldest extant copy of Gregory the Great's *Forty Homilies on the Gospel*, possibly written during Gregory's lifetime.²⁹

The biblical text is written with a thick-nibbed pen in biblical majuscule. In general, vertical strokes are thick and horizontal strokes are thin. Round letters are almost always formed with a counter-clockwise stroke followed by a clock-wise stroke; for o and θ, these two strokes are approximately the same length (Ϟ and ϙ), but for c and ε, the clockwise stroke is small and often not connected to the rest of the letter (Ϟ and ϙ). There are usually long descenders on ρ and υ, and the arms of κ usually do not touch the vertical. However, many letters are inconsistent. The scribe writes α in both two-stroke (ϛ and Ϝ) and three-stroke (ϛ, Ϝ and ϝ) forms. The oblique of ν usually attaches to the middle of the first vertical, but occasionally it attaches to the top. The Ϟ of μ is usually thin, but it can be thick. The Ϟ of λ can connect at the top of ϛ or in the middle. The scribe is inconsistent regarding serifs on the horizontal of δ. Cavallo and Maehler mention that the second scribe of the Vienna Genesis (also Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Theol. gr. 31) is also inconsistent in this regard, and they attribute this phenomenon to an archaizing tendency of this scribe, and that these "archaizing letter forms ... may be explained basically as imitations of models of the iii or iv century."³⁰

The scribe used a thin-nibbed pen for the Eusebian apparatus, the *kephalaia* list to Luke³¹ and the marginal *titloi*. These sections, too, are written in the same hand (biblical majuscule) but smaller. The marginal kephalaia numbers are written in silver ink, but the marginal titloi are written in gold. There are a few corrections throughout the manuscript written in silver ink with a thin-nibbed pen in upright pointed majuscule, but a different scribe made these corrections at the time of production.³² The scribe of 022 seems limited to biblical majuscule and does not give

255–258. D.C. Parker offers more severe criticism of inaccuracy in "Review of New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments. New Editions, I: Text; II: Plates," *JEH* 60 (2009): 747–49.

²⁹ Robert G. Babcock, "A Papyrus Codex of Gregory the Great's *Forty Homilies on the Gospels* (London, Cotton Titus C. XV)," *Scriptorium* 54 (2000): 280–89. A century earlier, Cronin wrote, "[the leaves] are bound with another vellum leaf in which is framed a small piece of papyrus. The papyrus however gives no clue to the history of the leaves and as a matter of fact has nothing to do with them," in *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xxii.

³⁰ G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*, University of London Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin Supplement 47 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 66.

³¹ Fragments of the *kephalaia* list for Luke's Gospel were used as patches on St. Petersburg ff. 2, 64 and 73. Cronin gives their text in *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xxv–xxvi.

³² See Appendix Eight.

evidence of training in another scribal hand.

1.2.2 *Codex Sinopensis (O 023)*

Size (mm)	250 x 300 ³³
Columns	1
Lines/Column	16; 15 on pages with miniatures
Sheets/Gathering	6
Gathering numbers	Lower left corner
Ink	Gold (all)
Scribal hand	Biblical majuscule (text) Biblical majuscule (LXX excerpts) Hybrid of biblical majuscule and upright pointed majuscule (marginal <i>titloi</i>)
Miniatures	5; one each in the lower margins of ff. 10v, 11r, 15r, 29r and 30v.

Forty-three folios of 023 of approximately 144 folios of Matthew's Gospel survive, and these are kept in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) under the catalogue number supplément grec 1286. It is unclear whether 023 originally contained more than a single gospel. Captain Jean de la Teille, a French military officer, acquired 43 folios of the codex in December 1899 from an elderly woman in what is now Sinop, Turkey.³⁴ Shortly thereafter, the codex came into the custody of the BnF, and Henri Omont published its *editio princeps*, which includes a pseudo-facsimile of each page.³⁵ Omont also published two shorter, earlier notices of the manuscript.³⁶

Shortly thereafter, Prof. D. Ainaloff of the University of Kazan acquired a 44th folio of 023, which he donated to a gymnasium in Mariupol. Ainaloff sent photographs of this folio to Omont, who published its text with a pseudo-facsimile in

³³ Charles Astruc and Marie-Louise Concasty, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Troisième partie, Le supplément grec. Tome III, n° 901-1371 / Bibliothèque nationale, Département des manuscrits* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1960), 544.

³⁴ Henri Omont, "Manuscrit grec de l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu, en lettres onciales d'or sur parchemin pourpré, récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale," *Journal des savants*, 1900, 280.

³⁵ Henri Omont, "Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec de l'Évangile de saint Matthieu, en onciales d'or sur parchemin pourpré et orné de miniatures, conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale (no. 1286 du Supplément grec)," in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 36 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1901), 599–676.

³⁶ Henri Omont, "Un très ancien manuscrit grec de l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu, récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 44 (1900): 215–18; "Manuscrit grec de l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu."

the same manner as the rest of the manuscript.³⁷ This folio comes directly between folios 21 and 22 at the BnF. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the Mariupol leaf are unknown as of the time of this writing. In 1961, Marcel Richard reported that it had disappeared.³⁸ Kurt Treu confirmed the status of the Mariupol leaf as missing five years later, adding that according to Eugenia Granstrem, it no longer exists.³⁹ The entire manuscript along with the photograph of the Mariupol leaf has been digitised and is available online Gallica, the digital library of the BnF.⁴⁰

There are three numbering systems in 023. The only original system is the single extant gathering number in the lower left corner, $\bar{\eta}$ on f. 19r.⁴¹ The BnF folios have been numbered in black ink in the upper right corners. The codex also has an older, but still modern, foliation. Damage to the upper right corners of pages has resulted in the loss of many of the older foliation numbers. Where reconstruction is possible, it seems that this older foliation was made out of order, and single sheets and bifolios were stacked but not arranged into gatherings—with a few exceptions. Reconstructions of both the original structure of 023 as an update of Cronin’s chart⁴² and also of the modern, pre-BnF structure based on the extant numbers of the older foliation are given in Appendix Six. The outer margins on the final folios of the older system (48 [=BnF f. 18], and the bifolios containing 52 and 53 [= BnF ff. 37/42 and 20/25]) are warped inward. This warping is consistent with heat damage, and it is possible that Codex Sinopensis was saved from a fire. There is evidence of previous binding repairs, and Omont notes that 023 was previously repaired with sheets from a printed Slavic liturgical book and a manuscript account.⁴³

The five surviving miniatures in 023 are well known by art historians. They were reproduced and discussed by André Grabar in 1948.⁴⁴ They are:

³⁷ Henri Omont, “Un nouveau feuillet du Codex Sinopensis de l’Évangile de Saint Matthieu,” *Journal des savants*, 1901, 260–62.

³⁸ Marcel Richard, “Rapport sur une mission d’étude en U.R.S.S. (5 Octobre - 3 Novembre 1960),” *BIRHT* 10 (1961): 56.

³⁹ “Das Blatt in Zdanov [i.e. Mariupol] lt. Mitteilung von Frau E. Granstrem nicht vorhanden,” Kurt Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR: Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan*, TUGAL 91 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966), 361.

⁴⁰ Website: www.gallica.bnf.fr (accessed 31 October 2017).

⁴¹ Both Omont and Cronin note traces of gold ink resembling η in the lower left corner of f. 19r (Omont, “Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec,” 604, n. 1; H. S. Cronin, “Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis,” *JTS* 2 (1901): 593). These traces are not visible on the digital images posted by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Without autopsy, it is impossible to verify the gathering number, but there is no reason to doubt Omont and Cronin regarding these traces of gold ink.

⁴² Cronin, “Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis,” 593.

⁴³ Omont, “Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec,” 601, n. 2.

⁴⁴ André Grabar, *Les Peintures de l’Évangélaire de Sinope (Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Gr.*

- f. 10v The beheading of John the Baptist (Matt. 14:6–12)
- f. 11r The feeding of the 5,000 (Matt. 14:15–21)
- f. 15r The feeding of the 4,000 (Matt. 15:32–38)
- t. 29r The healing of the two blind men (Matt. 20:29–34)
- f. 30v The cursing of the fig tree (Matt. 21:18–20)

Each miniature is flanked by two Old Testament figures offering Greek Old Testament text written inside a black box as if it were a rotulus scroll to accompany the image, and these excerpts were transcribed by Cronin.⁴⁵ Traces of ink from the back box and from the face of one of the Old Testament figures from the miniature on f. 30v was transferred to the facing page, f. 31r, after centuries of close proximity. The same phenomenon can be seen on f. 28v, preserving evidence of the miniature on f. 29r.

Transferred ink can sometimes preserve traces of lost pages, and it seems that there is evidence of three lost miniatures in 023. In the lower right corner of f. 20v, there are ink impressions of the right and lower sides of the black box containing Greek Old Testament excerpts. The text that would be on the lost folio occupies 62 lines of text in 042, not 64 as would be expected.⁴⁶ Because 023 has only 15 lines per page on illuminated pages, an illumination would have resulted in 15+16 lines, equivalent to 62 lines of text in 042. It is highly likely, therefore, that the missing folio between ff. 20 and 21 (containing Matt. 17:24–18:4) had a miniature on its recto. Based on the biblical text that would have been on the folio, the miniature would probably have been a depiction of the miracle of the coin from the mouth of the fish (Matt. 17:27).

1286: Reproduites En Facsimilé ([Paris]: Bibliothèque nationale, 1948).

⁴⁵ Cronin, “Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis,” 599.

⁴⁶ One line of text in 042 is almost exactly the same length of one line of text in 022, and their lines often begin and end at the same letter. Because 023 is single-column, its lines are twice as long but half as many, and by a happy coincidence, one line of text in 023 is usually twice the length of one line of text in 042, often exactly so. Therefore, a typical folio of 023 has 32 lines—16 per side, which would correspond to 64 lines of text in 022 and 042.



Figure 1.1: 023, f. 20v, lower right corner

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

A second lost miniature probably came before f. 26. F. 35 is the final folio of the 9th gathering; it is the second half of a sheet that lacks the first half. However, f. 35 was cut from its first half rather than tearing or wearing out. A clean cut from top to bottom preserves a thin but almost perfectly rectangular strip from the inner margin of its counterpart. This counterpart would have come immediately before f. 26, such that f. 26r would have faced the verso of the lost counterpart to f. 35. The remnants of ink are significantly less clear than on f. 20v, but in the lower margin, what appears to be a faint horizontal line of the right half of the miniature can be seen, as well as a thicker, more noticeable vertical line made of paint. Based on the text, this would probably be the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard.

A third lost miniature was probably on the *verso* of the folio between what are not folios 29 and 30. On f. 30r, there is a lower black line visible below the show-

through from the black text box on f. 30v. Because this line cannot come from f. 30v, it is most likely from the lost folio that once faced it. The text that would have been on the folio suggests that this miniature was a depiction of the Entrance into Jerusalem, an event depicted in 042.

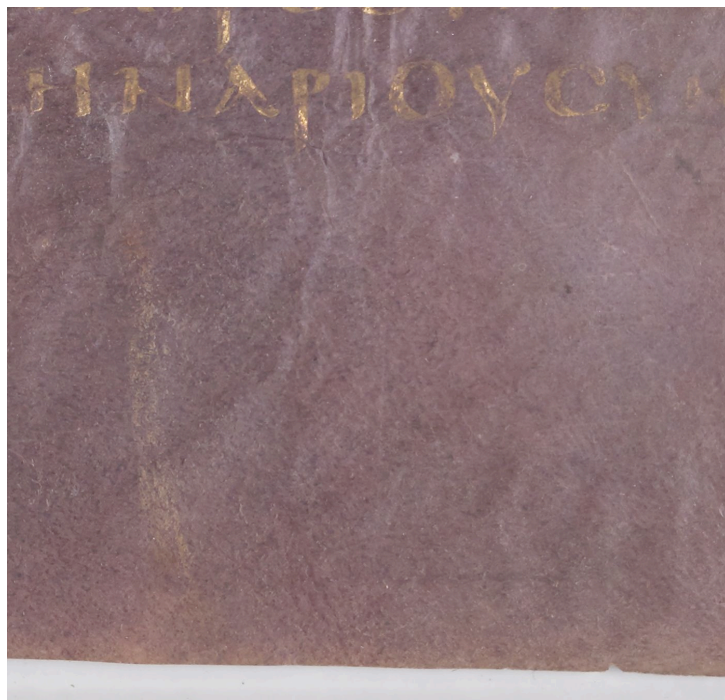


Figure 1.2: 023, f. 26r (b), vertical paint line and horizontal scene outline

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

The biblical text in 023 is written with a thick-nibbed pen in biblical majuscule. Like 022, 023 exhibits a number of inconsistent letter-forms, especially α , δ and the bowl of μ . The curved strokes of round letters are generally thick; they do not always alternate between thick on the sides and thin at the top and bottom. Straight strokes, however, alternate between thick verticals and thin horizontals; the crossbar of θ is often too faint and thin to detect. Where possible, the scribe executed round letters in a single motion, unlike the scribe of 022. The descender of υ is almost always short. The scribe was inconsistent regarding width and height of letters. In general, bilinearity is even, but round letters often appear slightly larger than the letters that precede them, and round strokes can vary in width. The overall impression is one of a well-trained scribe who had some difficulty working with the metallic ink, and that this task is more difficult with curved strokes. The added difficulty due to the non-standard ink makes the accuracy of both the letterforms and of the text in 023 even more remarkable.

The LXX excerpts and marginal *titloi* are written in what could be best described as a hybrid of biblical majuscule and upright pointed majuscule.⁴⁷ Some examples, particularly the LXX excerpts, are clearly closer to biblical majuscule with wide letterforms. However, many of the round letters in the marginal *titloi* are much narrower, and ω in the *titloi* is usually two inverted arches. The hand is clearly in the direction of upright pointed majuscule, but it is also clearly not written with the precision or skill in the hand exhibited in the *Auszeichnungsschrift* of 042.⁴⁸ It is possible that variation in hand—specifically that the LXX excerpts are closer to biblical majuscule and that the *titloi* are closer to upright pointed majuscule—is due to the scribe imitating the hand of the exemplar(s). If that is the case, the variation would be explained by an exemplar with marginal *titloi* written in upright pointed majuscule, and the LXX excerpts were probably selected specifically for 023 to accompany its miniatures and copied from Greek Old Testament manuscripts written in biblical majuscule.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ For a description of upright pointed majuscule, see Edorardo Crisci, “La maiuscola ogivale diritta: Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni,” *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985): 103–145.

⁴⁸ For a brief description of the two hands used in 042, see Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 88.

⁴⁹ The LXX excerpts in 042 originated in this manner, and it is well within the realm of possibility that the LXX excerpts in 023 did also. See Elijah Hixson, “Forty Excerpts from the Greek Old Testament in Codex Rossanensis,” *JTS* 67 (2016): 507–541.

1.2.3 *Codex Rossanensis* (Σ 042)

Size (mm)	250 x 300 ⁵⁰
Columns	2
Lines/Column	20
Sheets/Gathering	5
Gathering numbers	Lower left corner
Ink	Silver Gold (first three lines of each column at the beginning of each Gospel) Carbon black (introductory material) ⁵¹
Scribal hand	Biblical majuscule (text) Hierarchically inferior biblical majuscule (<i>Epistula ad Carpianum</i>) ⁵² Upright pointed majuscule (<i>Auszeichnungsschrift</i>)
Miniatures	Fourteen half-page miniatures in an introductory section before Gathering 1 and an icon of Mark the Evangelist preceding Mark's Gospel ⁵³

Codex Rossanensis is a near-complete manuscript of Matthew and Mark comprising 188 folios. These 188 leaves include twelve folios of additional material—miniatures, *kephalaia* lists, parts of the Eusebian front matter and forty excerpts from the Greek Old Testament. It lacks the last folio of Mark's Gospel, which would have included Mark 16:14–20. The beginning of the Longer Ending of Mark is extant in 042, but the final occurrence of the Eusebian apparatus is at Mark 16:8. A paper leaf is included at the end of the manuscript that provides an index of modern chapter divisions in the manuscript. A modern hand has added modern

⁵⁰ Cavallo writes, "The size is about 300 x 250 mm., with very small size variation from one leaf to other; but evident signs of trimming on the edges of leaves lead us to believe that the original size was wider," in "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, Codices Mirabiles 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 24. Several *titloi* in the upper margin have been trimmed away almost entirely, indicating that 042 was originally taller as well.

⁵¹ Marina Bicchieri, "The Purple Codex Rossanensis: Spectroscopic Characterisation and First Evidence of the Use of the Elderberry Lake in a Sixth Century Manuscript," *Environ. Sci. Pollut. R.* 21 (2014): 14150.

⁵² Cavallo, "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," 26.

⁵³ Otto Kresten and Giancarlo Prato argued that the icon of Mark was a later insertion, in "Die Miniatur des Evangelisten Markus im Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: eine spätere Einfügung," *RHM* 27 (1985): 381–99. However, Marina Bicchieri has shown via scientific testing that it was in fact original to the codex, and the noticeable differences in pigment and colour are due to the invasive restoration undertaken by Nestore Leoni in 1917–19, which damaged pages of the introductory section; Leoni did not subject the icon of Mark to the same treatment, in Bicchieri, "Purple Codex Rossanensis."

chapter and verse notations for Matthew 1; there are none after Matthew 2 begins on p. 24(v). There seems to have once been a second volume containing Luke and John, but it has never been found. It might have been destroyed in a fire at the Cathedral of Rossano Calabro in the seventeenth century.⁵⁴

The earliest record of 042 is from 1846, when Caesare Malpica reported that he had seen it while travelling in 1845.⁵⁵ The codex came to the attention of the world in 1880, however, when Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack published a description of the manuscript.⁵⁶ Their initial publication dealt more with the miniatures in the codex than with its biblical text. Harnack and Gebhardt had produced a quick transcription of the text and had hoped to return to Rossano in order to correct the transcription and produce a full edition of the manuscript, complete with photographs. When Gebhardt returned to Rossano in 1882 to accomplish this task, he was denied permission to see the manuscript on the grounds that the cathedral chapter who had custody of the manuscript intended to publish an *editio princeps*.⁵⁷ Gebhardt did not want to give too many details about his being denied permission to see it, but William Sanday commented, “Considering that this learned body, of some forty-eight persons, did not even know in what language the MS. was written, the prospect of an edition brought out under their auspices is not very encouraging.”⁵⁸ Gebhardt published the *editio princeps* in 1883 based on his admittedly unchecked transcription,⁵⁹ and the edition from the cathedral chapter never materialised. Antonio Muñoz published a full-colour reproduction of the miniatures of 042 in 1907.⁶⁰ Nestore Leoni attempted a restoration of the manuscript in 1917–19, but his methods, thought to be safe at the time, damaged the manuscript.⁶¹

Other than the original gathering numbers, 042 contains only one numbering system. It is not foliated, but it is paginated in the upper outside corners with modern

⁵⁴ Bicchieri, “Purple Codex Rossanensis,” 14147.

⁵⁵ Caesare Malpica, *La Toscana, l’umbria e la magna grecia* (Naples: Andrea Festa, 1846), 313. See also the discussion in Cavallo, “The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol,” 23.

⁵⁶ Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack, *Evangeliorum Codex Graecus Purpureus Rossanensis* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1880).

⁵⁷ Oscar von Gebhardt, “Die Evangelien des Matthaeus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” TUGAL 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1883), iv.

⁵⁸ William Sanday, “The Text of the Codex Rossanensis (Σ),” in *Studia Biblica: Essays in Biblical Archaeology and Criticism and Kindred Subjects by Members of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 106.

⁵⁹ Gebhardt, “Codex Purpureus Rossanensis.”

⁶⁰ Antonio Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano e il frammento sinopense; con XVI tavole in cromofototipia, VII in fototipia e 10 illustrazioni nel testo*. (Rome: Danesi, 1907).

⁶¹ For a scientific investigation of Leoni’s methods, see Bicchieri, “Purple Codex Rossanensis.”

black ink. Throughout this study, page numbers are used, noting in parentheses whether the page is the *recto* or *verso* of the folio. The codex is in remarkable condition, though some of the purple dye has been worn away at the edges of the pages from a reader turning the pages. The pages with the miniatures are the most faded, suggesting that these were the pages most often shown to important visitors.

The scribe of 042 was trained in two scribal hands, described by Cavallo in his article in the commentary volume that accompanies the facsimile and elsewhere by Cavallo and Maehler.⁶² The scribe uses biblical majuscule for the Gospel text and Eusebius' *Epistula ad Carpianum*.⁶³ However, for the *Auszeichnungsschrift*—*kephalaia*, marginal *titloi*, LXX excerpts, captions to miniatures, superscriptions to the Gospels and subscription to Matthew (the subscription to Mark does not survive)—, the scribe used upright pointed majuscule.⁶⁴ In general, the text written in upright pointed majuscule is written with a thin-nibbed pen. It is written with black ink in the introductory gatherings and in silver ink throughout the codex. Cavallo ascribed both hands to the same scribe,⁶⁵ and the subscription to Matthew supports his position.

The biblical majuscule employs broad letters. Vertical strokes are thick, and horizontal strokes are thin. There are long descenders on ρ, υ, ψ and φ, almost without exception. Ψ and φ have equally long ascenders. Ascenders and descenders often intrude into text on the lines above and below the letters from which they stem. Round letters are written in a similar manner to those of 022; a counter-clockwise curve (ϸ) is followed by a shorter clockwise curve starting at the top (Ϸ). The scribe is relatively consistent to write α in two strokes: ϸ then Ϸ, but there are exceptions in which the scribe uses three straight strokes. There are usually prominent serifs on π, τ, γ, υ and especially δ. The scribe of 042 is the most consistent in his or her letterforms of the three scribes with which this study is concerned, but there are elements of inconsistency. The area within the triangle of δ varies, and the size of enlarged, ekthetic letters is irregular. Some are barely larger than letters of a normal size, while others can be as tall as the space of three lines of writing.⁶⁶ Michael McCormick reports that the angles of the left-to-right obliques of α and λ in 042 are

⁶² Cavallo, "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," 25–27; Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 88.

⁶³ See also Guglielmo Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Studi e testi di papirologia editi dall'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» di Firenze 2 (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967), 98–105.

⁶⁴ For a description of this hand, see Crisci, "La maiuscola ogivale diritta." See especially the description of the hand in 042 on pp. 114–15.

⁶⁵ Cavallo, "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," 26.

⁶⁶ Compare κ and ο on p. 267(r), for example.

about 56° and about 54° respectively, but the scribe does not have the precision at that level of scrutiny to accept those measurements as normative throughout the codex.⁶⁷

The upright pointed majuscule is generally written with a thin-nibbed pen. The subscription to Matthew's Gospel is an exception, however. The scribe finished writing the biblical text in biblical majuscule with a thick-nibbed pen and immediately wrote the subscription with the same pen. The upright pointed majuscule is written in a smooth, elegant hand. Round letters are narrow, and the crossbar on θ extends beyond the curve of the letter. Letters ρ and υ have descenders that end in a flourish to the right.

1.2.4 *Inks and Dyes*

Jerome famously described luxury manuscripts in his letter *Ad Eustochium*: “Parchment is dyed with purple hue, gold liquefies into writing, books are covered in jewels, and Christ is dying naked before their doors.”⁶⁸ Jerome's remark comes in the context of his disdain for extravagance; he did not intend it as a scientific description of luxury manuscript production. Still, it should be considered how the inks and dyes used in the production of 022, 023 and 042 were prepared. If the inks were melted metal, the dynamic of writing before the ink hardened could have introduced unique difficulties for the scribe.

P.Leiden X (late third century) preserves fifteen recipes for “writing in letters of gold or silver.”⁶⁹ Over half of these recipes are not recipes for gold or silver inks, but rather, imitations. In one instance, the recipe indicates, “The very bitter bile of a calf also serves for the color.”⁷⁰ None of the fifteen recipes indicate that molten metal should be used for liquid ink. More recent scientific analysis of purple manuscripts has demonstrated that the inks were indeed made from metallic silver and gold. Maurizio Aceto has led teams in a series of studies that use, among other methods, X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) as a non-invasive analytical technique. In XRF the sample is bombarded with X-rays at differing wavelengths. The technique

⁶⁷ Michael McCormick, “Palaeographical Notes on the Leaves of St. Mark from Louvain (Gregory-Aland 0167),” *Scriptorium* 34 (1980): 245. My own measurements of instances of α on p. 174(v), using the plate in the *Commentarium* volume had a range from 48° to 60°, and measurements of λ revealed a similar range.

⁶⁸ “*Inficitur membrana colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras, gemmis codices vestiuntur et nudus ante fores aerum Christus emoritur.*” The Latin text and this translation are given in H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 45.

⁶⁹ Earle Radcliffe Caley, “The Leyden Papyrus X: An English Translation with Brief Notes,” *JChemEd* 3 (1926): 1150.

⁷⁰ Caley, “Leyden Papyrus X,” 1158.

calculates the wavelengths of X-rays absorbed by the sample by detecting the wavelengths of reflected X-rays. Because metals absorb X-rays at different wavelengths, XRF is able to distinguish among metals in an alloy. Studies have shown that the silver ink of the Vienna Genesis was “made of high purity silver with low amounts of copper” and that the silver ink of the sixth-century Latin Codex Brixianus is “composed of highly pure silver with minor contents of copper and gold.”⁷¹ Aceto, et al., undertook the same analysis on the Vienna Coronation Gospels, a late eighth-century purple codex in Latin.⁷² They found that the gold and silver inks were alloys, each containing both gold and silver as well as trace amounts of copper, lead and mercury.⁷³ The gold used in the miniatures was much more pure, however, at about 92%—the same composition of gold used for the signature on f. 118 of a Demetrios Presbyter, indicating that Demetrios was probably the miniaturist rather than the scribe.⁷⁴ Significantly, Aceto, et al. report that the gold of the miniatures was applied as shell gold: gold that has been ground into a fine powder and mixed with an organic binding agent, consistent with two of the fifteen recipes for writing with gold letters in P.Leiden X.⁷⁵

Marina Bicchieri complemented the studies by Aceto, et al., with her analysis of 042.⁷⁶ Bicchieri found the gold used in both the ink and the miniatures in 042 to be “pure gold containing very small amount [*sic*] of iron and copper” with “no substantial differences in the composition between the gold applied in the decorations and that used as ink.”⁷⁷ The silver ink is made from metallic silver, but it contains copper as well.⁷⁸

It appears that the silver and gold inks were prepared by grinding the precious metals into a powder and mixing them with an organic medium.⁷⁹ This practice has a

⁷¹ Maurizio Aceto et al., “First Analytical Evidences of Precious Colourants on Mediterranean Illuminated Manuscripts,” *Spectrochim. Acta A* 95 (September 2012): 243; Maurizio Aceto et al., “Non-Invasive Investigation on a VI Century Purple Codex from Brescia, Italy,” *Spectrochim. Acta A* 117 (January 3, 2014): 37.

⁷² Maurizio Aceto et al., “Analytical Investigations on the Coronation Gospels Manuscript,” *Spectrochim. Acta A* 171 (January 15, 2017): 213–21.

⁷³ Aceto et al., “Analytical Investigations,” 220.

⁷⁴ Aceto et al., “Analytical Investigations,” 220.

⁷⁵ Aceto et al., “Analytical Investigations,” 220.

⁷⁶ Bicchieri, “Purple Codex Rossanensis.”

⁷⁷ Bicchieri, “Purple Codex Rossanensis,” 14150–14151.

⁷⁸ Bicchieri, “Purple Codex Rossanensis,” 14151.

⁷⁹ John Lowden agrees that the ink was prepared from powdered metal, writing, “Silver, generally in powdered form, was also sometimes used, notably in the sixth century in luxury manuscripts in which the very thin parchment had previously been dyed with purpura (‘purple’) dye-stuff,” in “Book Production,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Robin Cormack, John F. Haldon, and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 466.

wide geographic and chronological span, being documented in third-century Egypt in P.Leiden X and in the court of Charlemagne (768–814) at present-day Aachen in the Vienna Coronation Gospels. Three additional observations support this type of ink. First, upon high magnification, the metallic inks in the codices have a slightly grainy appearance, consistent with ground metal. Second, the gold ink on 023 has rubbed away in many places, leaving a smear of gold glitter on the parchment. Melted metal would result in solid letters that should not rub away in this manner. Third, the extreme heat required to melt silver and gold (and to keep it in a liquid state as it is being used as ink) would damage, if not destroy, the parchment. According to Mayer Gruber, unwritten parchment burns at 359° C, though parchment covered in ink burns at about 450° C.⁸⁰ Pure silver melts at 961.8° C, and although that would be lowered slightly by the addition of copper, the melted alloy would still be hot enough to burn and warp the parchment if applied as liquid ink.⁸¹

The purple dyes have received more attention than the silver and gold inks. It was previously thought that the parchments were dyed with Tyrian Purple, a rich, colourfast dye derived from molluscs.⁸² As recently as 2016, this assumption found its way into poetry. Melissa Range’s sonnet “Tyrian Purple” begins with the lines “Because a parchment plain and pale as sails | doesn’t avail gold ink.” Her brief poem includes a graphic depiction of the harvesting process, references Christ as the “king of the purple page” and ends with a note that the price of the purple was “twelve thousand deaths upon the shores of Tyre.”⁸³ The “twelve thousand deaths” is probably a reference to the number of molluscs required to extract about 1.4 grams of pure Tyrian Purple dye.⁸⁴ With respect to the identification of the purple dye used in 022, 023 and 042, non-destructive scientific analysis can again come to the aid of codicology.

Because the main component of Tyrian Purple is 6,6'-dibromoindigo, testing for bromine is a way to shed some light on the dyes.⁸⁵ Bromine can be present in a sample because of later contamination, so its presence alone is not conclusive, but a lack of bromine would indicate that Tyrian Purple was not used for a given sample.

⁸⁰ Mayer I. Gruber, “Floating Letters,” in *Maven in Blue Jeans: A Festschrift in Honor of Zev Garber*, ed. Steven Leonard Jacobs, Shofar Supplements in Jewish Studies (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2009), 45.

⁸¹ Gold has an even higher melting point at 1,064° C.

⁸² For a brief summary of this line of thought, see Cheryl Porter, “The Identification of Purple in Manuscripts,” *Dyes in History and Archaeology* 21 (2008): 59.

⁸³ Melissa Range, “Tyrian Purple,” in *Scriptorium: Poems* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2016), 20.

⁸⁴ Friedländer, “Über den Farbstoff des antiken Purpurs aus murex brandaris,” 766; Booker, “Codex Purpureus,” 445.

⁸⁵ Aceto et al., “Non-Invasive Investigation on a VI Century Purple Codex,” 35.

In 1977, Robert Fuchs analysed the Morgan leaf of 022 and found that its dye was not Tyrian Purple but was made from lichens.⁸⁶ Shortly thereafter, a small sample of Codex Sinopensis was tested by GC-MS, revealing that its dye also derived from lichens.⁸⁷ Finally, Bicchieri testes several folios of 042 with XRF, Raman spectroscopy and FORS (Fibre Optics Refletance Spectroscopy), concluding that it was dyed with “orchil [a lichen-based dye] prepared in mixture with sodium carbonate.”⁸⁸

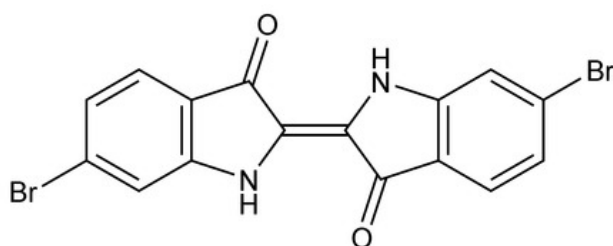


Figure 1.3: 6,6'-dibromoindigo

In summary, it appears that each of the three manuscripts of this study, as far as can be known by the work done on them, have similar, if not identical, inks and dyes. The metallic inks were made by grinding relatively pure silver and gold into powder and mixing it with an organic binding agent. The purple dye derives from lichens; it is not Tyrian Purple. Even lower-quality purple dye was extremely expensive, so a lack of Tyrian Purple does not suggest that these manuscripts were cheap imitations of luxury.

1.2.5 *Date and Provenance*

In 1967, Cavallo located all three manuscripts, along with the Vienna Genesis and Codex Beratinus-1, in the Syrian-Antiochene environment of the sixth century.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Reported in William M. Voelkle, “Codex Caesariensis (Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus),” in *In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000*, ed. Michelle P. Brown (Smithsonian Institution, 2006), 303. Voelkle does not give a reference for Fuchs' analysis, but at the time of his statement, he was in a position of authority to speak on the leaf in question as Head of the Department of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at the Morgan Library.

⁸⁷ Marcel Thomas and Françoise Flieder, “La composition des parchemins pourprés démystifiée par la chromatographie en phase gazeuse,” in *La vie mystérieuse des chefs-d'œuvre: La science au service de l'art*, ed. Madeleine Hours (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1980), 232–233. GC-MS (gas chromatography-mass spectrometry) is a destructive method of analysis, but it only requires a sample that is near-microscopic in size. The sample is usually dissolved in a medium and injected into a long, coiled tube, where it is heated to a gas phase and pushed through by air. Reactivity on the inside of the tube separates the sample into its components, which can identified by the time it takes them to exit the tube and/or by the mass spectrometer at the end of the tube.

⁸⁸ Bicchieri, “Purple Codex Rossanensis,” 14155.

⁸⁹ Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, 98–104.

Edorardo Crisci corroborated the sixth-century date of the purple codices from a different angle. Cavallo's date was based on the palaeography of the biblical majuscule text of all three manuscripts, but Crisci concluded that 042 was written in the sixth century on the basis of the upright pointed majuscule of the *Auszeichnungsschrift*. In his fullest treatment of the date and provenance of 042, Cavallo wrote that the hands of 042 locate the manuscript "back to the full 6th century, without going down to the end of the 6th or to the beginning of the 7th century," but "It is a far more complex problem to try to localize the manuscript."⁹⁰ On the other hand, William Loerke challenged the traditional sixth-century date of the purple codices from an art-historical perspective. Loerke placed 042 in the early seventh century, or the late sixth at the very earliest, based on the crown atop the head of David in the Psalms quotations accompanying the miniatures. The crown in 042 differs from the crown in the same feature of 023. Because the same type of crown appears on coins bearing the image of Phocas in the early seventh century, Loerke dated 042 to the same general era.⁹¹

In their 1987 palaeography handbook, Cavallo and Maehler expanded possible provenance to include Palestine.⁹² Although Cavallo dismissed Loerke's art-historical reasons for dating 042 to the early seventh century, he relied on the judgments of art historians for the Syrian or Palestinian provenance of the purple codices.⁹³ André Grabar traced the miniatures in 023 to a Syrian or Palestinian origin, and Loerke accepted Grabar's judgment as valid.⁹⁴ However, Cavallo ruled out Palestine on a textual basis. The common, Byzantine text presented in the purple codices is not what should have come from Palestine. He wrote, "If we therefore consider the quality of the text of the codex Rossanensis, we can by no means accept the view according to which the manuscript may originate from 'an educated circle,'

⁹⁰ Cavallo, "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," 27.

⁹¹ William C. Loerke, "The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures," in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Codices Mirabiles (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 165–166. Cf. Italo Furlan, who rightly notes the presence of this type of crown as far back as the fourth century, when it was depicted in the *Portrait of the Four Tetrarchs*, originally in Constantinople, in "Introduzione ai codici purpurei," in *La porpora: Realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico*, ed. Oddone Longo (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998), 332.

⁹² Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 88.

⁹³ Cavallo, "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," 29. Francesco Russo also accepts a Syrian provenance on the basis of the illuminations, in "Il codice purpureo di Rossano," *Calabria nobilissima* 2 (1948): 174–77; "Il codice purpureo di Rossano," *Calabria nobilissima* 3 (1949): 190–97.

⁹⁴ Grabar, *Les Peintures de l'Évangélique de Sinope*, 22–26; William C. Loerke, "Sinope Fragment," in *Eerdmans Encyclopedia of Early Christian Art and Archaeology*, ed. Paul Corby Finney, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 507.

viz. from the scriptorium of Caesarea, the main task of which was represented by the critical work on the scriptural text.”⁹⁵ For Cavallo, the only option left is Syria, perhaps Antioch, “since Syria itself does not seem to offer other alternative centres.”⁹⁶

A few recent scholars are reluctant to accept a Syrian provenance without question. Pasquali Orsini tentatively accepts Cavallo’s localisation of the purple codices in Syria, but not without hesitation. Orsini writes that such proposals should be seen as attempts rather than as certain results, and that they should be made with caution.⁹⁷ Helen C. Evans entertains the idea that 022 and 023 were written in Constantinople but cites Codex Brixianus, a sixth-century Latin purple Gospel book written in North Italy—possibly Ravenna⁹⁸—, as proof that Constantinople was not the only city capable of producing such luxury items.⁹⁹ Kathleen Maxwell writes of 023, “This sixth-century purple parchment manuscript is associated with the highest levels of Byzantine patronage and may have been produced for an imperial patron in Constantinople,” though she gives Antioch as an alternative provenance in a footnote.¹⁰⁰ John Lowden also addresses the uncertainty of provenance, writing that “Constantinople and any other major center of production should be borne in mind as plausible alternatives” for the origin of 042.¹⁰¹ Concerning 023, Lowden is more direct: Because Constantinople in the sixth century was “the unquestioned center of religious, political, and economic power,” he writes, the city “must have played a more important role in the production of illustrated biblical manuscripts at this time than most art historians currently accept.”¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Cavallo, “The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol,” 31. Italics original.

⁹⁶ Cavallo, “The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol,” 31. Cavallo ascribes the Syriac Rabbula Gospels, illustrated in 586, to a different, but isolated, part of Syria—one that is not a contender for the provenance of the purple codices.

⁹⁷ Pasquale Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica: materiali per un aggiornamento*, SAAFLS 7 (Cassino: Edizioni dell’Università degli studi di Cassino, 2005), 210.

⁹⁸ Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 53, 216.

⁹⁹ Helen C. Evans, “Leaves from the Purple Vellum Gospels,” in *Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition 7th–9th Century*, ed. Helen C. Evans and Brandie Ratliff (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2012), 41.

¹⁰⁰ Kathleen Maxwell, “The Textual Affiliation of Deluxe Byzantine Gospel Books,” in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016), 39. Klaus Wachtel also ascribes 022 and 042 to a Constantinopolitan provenance in, “The Byzantine Text of the Gospels: Recension or Process?,” Paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, 2009, 2.

¹⁰¹ John Lowden, “The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration,” in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams, Penn State Series in the History of the Book (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 21.

¹⁰² Lowden, “The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration,” 24.

Italo Furlan rejects a Syrian provenance and suggests, again cautiously, that the purple codices originated in Constantinople.¹⁰³ Furlan does not dispute that the miniatures of the purple codices are painted in Syrian style. Rather, he rejects the conclusion that Syrian-style artwork must have been produced in Syria. Furlan mentions that in fourth- and fifth-century Byzantium, style can vary greatly, such that works could be easily misidentified as belonging to a different region, had they not been discovered *in situ*.¹⁰⁴ Even Loerke, who argues for a Syrian provenance, admits that some features in the miniatures of 042 that appear outside Syria: the oxen in the miniature of the cleansing of the temple can be identified as a distinct breed of animal from Syria, but the same breed is depicted in a mosaic in the Basilica of San Vitale, Ravenna.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, the crown and imperial fibula on the depictions of David above the Psalms quotations in 023 are near-exact matches to the crown and fibula on the mosaic of Justinian I in the same basilica. Furlan argues that if Constantinople, as the New Rome, brought in craftsmen and artisans from all parts of the empire as is evidenced by the extant artwork, there is no reason to assume that book production occurred differently. Even if a Syrian miniaturist copied from a Syrian model, the work could easily have been done in Constantinople.

If the miniatures in 023 and 042 do not prove a Syrian provenance, perhaps the text of the codices can shed some light on their possible origin. Recently, Tommy Wasserman and Jennifer Knust have argued that the *pericope adulterae* (John 7:53–8:11) was not present in Gospel books in Constantinople in the sixth century.¹⁰⁶ Knust has demonstrated elsewhere that the “suppression theory” of the *pericope adulterae* falls under “the weight of patristic evidence, ancient philological methods, and appreciation for stories about female sexual sin” and “should be abandoned.”¹⁰⁷ According to Chris Keith, the earliest witness to the pericope is the Didascalia Apostolorum,¹⁰⁸ a third- or at the latest, mid-fourth-century treatise written originally

¹⁰³ Furlan, “Introduzione ai codici purpurei,” 329–337.

¹⁰⁴ Furlan, “Introduzione ai codici purpurei,” 331.

¹⁰⁵ Loerke, “The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures,” 128.

¹⁰⁶ Tommy Wasserman and Jennifer Knust, “The Significance of Liturgy in the Textual Transmission of the Pericope of the Adulteress” (Paper presented at the Tenth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, Birmingham, 20–22 March 2017).

¹⁰⁷ Jennifer Knust, “‘Taking Away From’: Patristic Evidence and the Omission of the Pericope Adulterae from John’s Gospel,” in *The Pericope of the Adulteress in Contemporary Research*, ed. David Alan Black and Jacob N. Cerone, LNTS 551 (London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 87–88.

¹⁰⁸ Chris Keith, *The Pericope Adulterae, the Gospel of John, and the Literacy of Jesus*, NTTSD 38 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 207–8.

in Greek, in Syria.¹⁰⁹ Given the later popularity of the passage, especially in the Byzantine textual tradition, one would expect it to be present two or three centuries later in deluxe Gospel books with an early Byzantine text produced there. Of the 022-023-042 family, only 022 contains John's Gospel, but on St. Petersburg. f. 146r, the text of 022 proceeds smoothly from John 7:52 directly to 8:12 without any text from 7:53–8:11. There is no evidence that the exemplar of 022-023-042 contained the *pericope adulterae*.

The *pericope adulterae*, missing in 022, was known in Antioch in the third century but was absent from manuscripts in Constantinople in the sixth century. The multi-cultural environment in Constantinople in the sixth century explains how Syrian style of art could be produced outside of Syria, and Syrian oxen in the Ravenna mosaics are an example of this phenomenon. Purple parchment and precious metal inks seem to suggest an imperial association. Christopher de Hamel, writing on the Vienna Coronation Gospels, affirms the imperial connotations of purple parchment and states that the practice of writing such luxury books “probably survived into Charlemagne's time through its use in Constantinople.”¹¹⁰ Indeed, such lavish Gospel books are fully consistent with Justinian's programme of church building. Procopius describes the extravagance of the furnishings of Justinian's rebuilt Hagia Sophia in Constantinople:

Furthermore, concerning the treasures of this church—the vessels of gold and silver and the works in precious stones, which the Emperor Justinian has dedicated here—it is impossible to give a precise account of them all. But I shall allow my readers to form a judgment by a single example. That part of the shrine which is especially sacred, where only priests may enter, which they call the Inner Sanctuary (θυσιαστήριον), is embellished with forty thousand pounds' weight of silver (*Buildings* I. i. 64–65).¹¹¹

The contemporary writer John Malalas also describes a church dedication in 562 CE, a few months before the rededication of Hagia Sophia, “In the month of August of the 10th indiction there occurred the dedication of the church of the Holy Martyr Theodora, near the bridge. At the emperor's command the money dealers put on a

¹⁰⁹ Alistair Stewart-Sykes, “Didascalia Apostolorum,” in *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Christianity*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino, vol. 1 (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014), 709.

¹¹⁰ Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1986), 46.

¹¹¹ H.B. Dewing, ed., *Procopius VII: Buildings*, LCL 343 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940), 25–27. Regarding problems with Procopius, see Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London: Duckworth, 1985). See especially the discussion of the *Buildings* in pp. 84–112.

display with lavish illuminations.”¹¹² The church has not survived, and the brief description, “lavish illuminations” would fit a number of possibilities. Regardless of the precise meaning of this phrase, it does indicate the kind of church building program in which these luxury codices—two of which have extant illuminations—would be most at home. It seems most likely, therefore, that the purple codices 022, 032 and 042, and by extension, 043 and possibly the Vienna Genesis, were produced in Constantinople, during or shortly after the reign of Justinian I (527–565), possibly as gifts to churches he built.¹¹³

1.3 History of Research on the Purple Manuscripts as a Family

1.3.1 Early Discussions

The modern history of 022-023-042 as a family begins with the many parts of 022, the first of the three codices to be noticed in scholarly circles. In 1670, Peter Lambeck described the two Vienna leaves of 022 at the end of a description of the Vienna Genesis.¹¹⁴ The four leaves in London were the next to be known by scholars. In 1751, Johann Jakob Wettstein knew of these six leaves, but he did not conclude that they were all from the same manuscript. On the first page of his Prolegomena, he mentions two fragmentary purple codices that are both ancient, “*Londini unum, Viennae alterum.*”¹¹⁵ Wettstein gave the London leaves the siglum I and the Vienna leaves the siglum N.¹¹⁶ By 1830, Johann Martin Augustin Scholz added the Vatican leaves with the siglum Γ.¹¹⁷ The three parts of 022 would finally

¹¹² *Chron.* 18.137; translated in Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott, eds., *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, Byzantine Australiensia 4 (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), 300–301.

¹¹³ If the codices were produced earlier in the sixth century, they could still have a Constantinopolitan origin through Anicia Juliana. Though she is known primarily for commissioning the Vienna Dioscurides in 512 CE (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Med. gr. 1 Han), she also spent a considerable fortune building and restoring churches in Constantinople. For a brief description of her life, see Mario Spinelli, “Anicia Juliana,” in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014), 129–130. On her church building efforts, including the account of her spending much of her private fortune to construct a golden roof for the Church of St. Polyeuktos, see Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, “Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople,” *DOP* 15 (1961): 243–247.

¹¹⁴ Peter Lambeck, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, vol. 4 (Vienna: Matthew Cosmerovius, 1670), 15. Lambeck quoted Jerome’s preface to Job in this discussion, beginning a long tradition of quoting Jerome’s derogatory remarks about purple codices when writing about them.

¹¹⁵ “One in London, the other in Vienna,” in Johann Jakob Wettstein, *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη: Novum Testamentum Graecum*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Dommeriana, 1751), 1.

¹¹⁶ Wettstein, *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη*, 1:40–41.

¹¹⁷ Scholz, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 1:44.

be recognised as parts of the same manuscript in 1846, by Tischendorf.¹¹⁸ When Louis Duchesne published the thirty-three Patmos leaves of 022 in 1876, he identified them as part of the same manuscript to which the Vienna, London and Vatican leaves of 022 belonged.¹¹⁹

1.3.2 ***The Discovery of 042 and its Relationship with 022 (1879–1885)***

In 1880, Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack published a description of 042.¹²⁰ Although the bulk of the work discussed the miniatures of 042, Gebhardt and Harnack made the textual connection to the leaves of 022 known at the time. They remark, “Ganz überraschend aber ist die Uebereinstimmung des Codex Rossanensis [042] mit dem einzigen bisher bekannt gewordenen Purpurcodex der Evangelien, N [022].”¹²¹ After very briefly considering some peculiar readings shared by both 022 and 042 and dismissing the possibility that either was copied from the other, they concluded that both 022 and 042 must be direct copies of the same source.¹²²

Three years later, Gebhardt published the editio princeps of the text of Codex Rossanensis.¹²³ The text was based on the collation he and Harnack made in 1879 when they first examined the manuscript, and his confidence of the close relationship between 022 and 042 was even stronger after a more detailed examination of the text of 042.¹²⁴ After listing readings in which 022 and 042 agree, either alone or with only a few other manuscripts, Gebhardt concluded: “Aus dieser grossen Zahl übereinstimmender Lesarten ergibt sich, dass die beiden Purpurcodices ihrer gemeinsamen Quelle sehr nahe stehen, und nichts steht der Annahme entgegen, dass sie unmittelbar aus derselben Vorlage abgeschrieben sind.”¹²⁵ Two years later, William Sanday would repeat Gebhardt’s conclusion on the relationship between 022 and 042, adding that it was “not uncertain” and that Gebhardt “justly infers that the two MSS. are near descendants of the same common exemplar.”¹²⁶

¹¹⁸ Constantine von Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita, sive, Reliquiae antiquissimae textus Novi Testamenti Graeci ex novem plus mille annorum codicibus per Europam dispersis* (Leipzig: Bernh. Tauchnitz, 1846), 10–12.

¹¹⁹ L. Duchesne, “Fragments de l’évangile selon saint Marc,” in *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, Third Series, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876), 386.

¹²⁰ Gebhardt and Harnack, *Evangeliorum Codex Graecus Purpureus Rossanensis*.

¹²¹ Gebhardt and Harnack, *Evangeliorum Codex Graecus Purpureus Rossanensis*, xx.

¹²² Gebhardt and Harnack, *Evangeliorum Codex Graecus Purpureus Rossanensis*, xx–xxi.

¹²³ Gebhardt, “Codex Purpureus Rossanensis.”

¹²⁴ Gebhardt recounts the reasons why no second collation was made during the intervening years in “Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” iii–v.

¹²⁵ Gebhardt, “Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” xlvi.

¹²⁶ Sanday, “The Text of the Codex Rossanensis (Σ),” 111.

1.3.3 **Pierre Batiffol and Codex Beratinus-1 (043) (1885–1886)**

Soon after the discovery of 042, another purple majuscule manuscript was discovered in Albania, and French scholar Pierre Batiffol was sent to investigate it. Batiffol first published a description of 043¹²⁷ and later published an expanded version—the *editio princeps* of its text.¹²⁸ In his *editio princeps*, Batiffol first looked to the similarities among the trio of Greek purple majuscules to establish not a textual relationship, but one of common age.¹²⁹ Batiffol noticed that 043 had a similar text not only to 022 and 042, but also to the minuscules 13, 69, 124 and 346, noting particularly the “non-Syrian element” (“l’élément non syrien”) common to the group of manuscripts. Batiffol suggested that this common element “probably originated from a common type” that influenced them “directly or indirectly,”¹³⁰ but he did not overtly suggest that 043 was copied from the same exemplar as either 022 or 042.

When Gebhardt reviewed Batiffol’s initial work on 043, he disagreed with Batiffol’s assessment of the age of 043, but agreed that it was very similar in script, layout and text.¹³¹ George Stokes simply remarked that 043 was a “similar manuscript” to 042; it is likely, however, that Stokes’ remark referred only to the appearance of the manuscripts, not to their texts.¹³² By the following decade, a consensus began to emerge: 043 is similar to 022 and 042 in text and appearance, but it is not a third member of the group.

1.3.4 **H.S. Cronin, and the St. Petersburg Leaves of 022 (1886–1899)**

In 1886, 182 additional leaves of 022 became available, including fifty leaves

¹²⁷ Pierre Batiffol, “Evangeliorvm codex Graecvs pvrpvrevs Beratinvs φ,” *MEFR* 5 (1885): 358–76.

¹²⁸ Pierre Batiffol, *Les manuscrits grecs de Bérat D’Albanie: et le Codex Purpureus Φ*, Extrait des archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886).

¹²⁹ Batiffol, *Les manuscrits Grecs de Bérat D’Albanie*, 1886, 23–26.

¹³⁰ “L’on pourrait dire que certaines rencontres de Φ avec N, ou Σ, ou 13-69-124-346, proviennent probablement d’un type commun dont à un moment donné, directement ou indirectement, ils auront subi l’influence,” Batiffol, *Les manuscrits Grecs de Bérat D’Albanie*, 1886, 34.

¹³¹ Oscar von Gebhardt, “Review of ‘Evangeliorum codex Graecus purpureus Beratinus Φ’ by Pierre Batiffol,” *TLZ* 10 (1885): 602–3.

¹³² George Thomas Stokes, “A New Biblical Manuscript,” *The Expositor* Third Series, 3 (1886): 78–80 Stokes does not seem too concerned with accuracy. He reports that both manuscripts were written in gold, despite the fact that silver is the prominent ink used in both 042 and 043. Additionally, he reports that 043 “belonged originally to a monastery in Patmos.” There is a note in Modern Greek that attests to the presence of a Purple gospels manuscript in Patmos, but that note most likely refers to 022, not 043.

containing text from Matthew and Mark.¹³³ The Sarumsahly Codex, as the leaves were called at the time, took its name from its residence in Sarumsahly, a small village near Serres, Greece.¹³⁴ In 1892, “a young Cappadocian Greek” gave Albert L. Long f. 96 of the manuscript (Luke 18:14–23), allowing him to keep it for a few days.¹³⁵ In keeping with the wishes of the village, the young man hoped that Long’s examination of the single leaf would arouse interest and secure a buyer for the whole manuscript. The village hoped to use their profit to build a school. By examining this single leaf, Long recognized that he was likely dealing with the same manuscript of which the 45 known leaves in Patmos, London, Rome and Vienne were a part. However, he was unable to verify his suspicions on the basis of a single leaf. Since Long was only given access to a single leaf of Luke 18, he was unable to make a comparison of 022 with 042. The codex was finally purchased in 1896 by Tsar Nicholas II and moved to St. Petersburg, where it acquired the name “Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus.” H.S. Cronin was then allowed to examine the manuscript and to produce a full edition of all of the parts of it known at that time.¹³⁶

Cronin confirmed the similarity of 043 to 022 and 042 while denying a close relationship of 043 with the other two purple codices. He wrote: “[043] is a manuscript of about the same date as N and the Codex Rossanensis (Σ). It is written on purple vellum in silver characters, and accordingly presents a similar appearance, though it offers a different text.”¹³⁷ On the other hand, Cronin was very clear about the close relationship between 022 and 042. In his reconstruction of the number of leaves missing from Matthew and Mark in 022, Cronin used the text of 042 to calculate the length of the missing pages rather than the *textus receptus*.¹³⁸ After examining sixty-three places where 022 and 042 were in sole agreement against all other known manuscripts, eighty-four places where 022 and 042 agreed only with a few other manuscripts, 151 differences between 022 and 042 and sixty-three corrections among the two manuscripts, Cronin concluded firmly that the two manuscripts must be “siblings.” Importantly, Cronin also showed that differences between the two manuscripts proved that neither could be a copy of the other.

¹³³ Hartwell D. Grissell, “An Uncial Greek Codex Of The Gospels,” *The Times*, May 11, 1896, The Times Digital Archive. Grissell wrote to the editor of The Times that the codex “has been on sale for many years. It was first brought under my notice as long ago in 1886 by my friend Professor Giovannopoli, who offered to obtain it for me, and he estimated its value at £1,000.”

¹³⁴ Sarumsahly was renamed Pentapoli in 1927.

¹³⁵ Long, “A New Purple Codex.”

¹³⁶ Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*.

¹³⁷ Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xviii.

¹³⁸ Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xxvi.

If we take this evidence in connexion with the fact that both manuscripts are purple manuscripts and that workshops from which such éditions de luxe would issue would necessarily be limited in number, it is most difficult not to believe that both proceeded from the same workshop and were copied from the same original. The alternative of course presents itself that one manuscript was copied directly from the other. It is not, however, at all probable in itself that a manuscript of the nature of either N or Σ would be used as a copy, and the occurrence of certain words in each manuscript which do not appear in the other may fairly be urged as a direct argument against such a supposition.¹³⁹

Cronin's work solidified the consensus: 022 and 042 were copied from the same exemplar.

1.3.5 ***Codex Sinopensis (023): The Third Member of the Family (1899-1901)***

A third codex copied from the same exemplar came to scholarly attention in 1900. In December 1899, French Captain Jean de la Taille purchased forty-three leaves of an illuminated manuscript written in gold ink on purple parchment from an elderly woman in Sinop, Turkey.¹⁴⁰ Henri Omont quickly produced several publications on the manuscript, catalogued as supp. gr. 1286 at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. From his first publication, a brief note, Omont noted the similarity of the text of 023 with that of 022, stating, "Le texte, autant qu'un rapide examen a permis de s'en assurer, paraît se rapprocher particulièrement du célèbre manuscrit N des Évangiles."¹⁴¹ Others had mentioned the existence of other purple manuscripts such as the Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. theol. gr. 31) or the Zurich Psalter (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, RP 1), but Omont was the first editor since Tischendorf to make the connection to 080.¹⁴² Omont refrained from making any definitive statement that 023 was copied from the same exemplar as 022 and 042, but he did strongly suggest such a relationship.¹⁴³ One year

¹³⁹ Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, liii. Cronin then lists thirty-eight places where the differing texts of the two codices where both are extant support his argument that both derive from a common exemplar—seventeen places where 022 has text that 042 lacks and twenty-one places where 042 has text that 022 lacks.

¹⁴⁰ Omont, "Un très ancien manuscrit grec de l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu," 216; Omont, "Manuscrit grec de l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu," 280; Omont, "Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec," 599.

¹⁴¹ Omont, "Un très ancien manuscrit grec de l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu," 216–17; Omont repeats the same remark, verbatim, in "Manuscrit grec de l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu," 282.

¹⁴² Omont, "Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec," 600, n.4.

¹⁴³ Omont did state the very close relationship 023 has with 042; he wrote, "C'est une recension apparentée de très près, si même elle n'est pas tout à fait identique, à celle des Évangiles de

later, a forty-fourth leaf of 023 resurfaced, but Omont did not comment on the relationship among the purple codices in his edition of that leaf.¹⁴⁴

An anonymous writer for *The Athenaeum* was not so reserved in demarcating groups of manuscripts. In a review of Omont's "Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec de l'Évangile de saint Matthieu," the writer states emphatically that 023 is part of a group of manuscripts that includes 043, but it appears the anonymous writer's judgment was based on the appearance of the manuscripts, not on their respective texts.¹⁴⁵ The anonymous writer also notes the similarity of 023 to 080, stating, "[I]t will be worth the while of some Russian scholar to make sure that they [i.e. the two leaves of 080] are not actually part of the Sinopensis."¹⁴⁶ More interesting, however, is the way the anonymous writer describes the close relationship of 023 to 042. Codex 023 had not yet received its designation as "O" in 1901, so the anonymous writer to *The Athenaeum* refers to it as Σ^b , as if it were a copy of 042.¹⁴⁷

Around the same time that Omont was publishing his work(s) on 023, Cronin was able to examine the manuscript and to publish some of his conclusions. In an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Cronin focused on the close relationship among the three purple codices.¹⁴⁸ Cronin remarked that the text of 023 "bears the closest possible resemblance to that of the Codex Rossanensis (Σ) and to that of N where the latter exists," but added that because of this close relationship, 023 has very little critical value—"the importance of the newly discovered manuscript must be secondary."¹⁴⁹ Developing on the textual similarities of 022 and 042,¹⁵⁰ Cronin used the text of 023 to further solidify the close relationship between the other two purple codices. He concluded emphatically that the textual similarities between 023 and 042 "can only mean that [023] is the third of a trio, each member of which was made directly from the same original."¹⁵¹ Cronin even went so far as to say that 023 is the best member of that trio. Assuming that where there is variation among 022-023-042, the reading in the exemplar is the one attested by two of the three

Rossano," in "Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec," 608.

¹⁴⁴ Omont, "Un nouveau feuillet du Codex Sinopensis de l'Évangile de Saint Matthieu."

¹⁴⁵ "[T]he new MS. falls into a familiar and well-defined group of éditions de luxe of the Gospels, such as roused the wrath of St. Jerome for their costly ostentation," in Anonymous, "A New Greek MS. of St. Matthew," *The Athenaeum*, August 17, 1901, 214.

¹⁴⁶ Anonymous, "A New Greek MS. of St. Matthew," 214–15.

¹⁴⁷ Anonymous, "A New Greek MS. of St. Matthew," 214–15.

¹⁴⁸ Cronin, "Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis," especially 590.

¹⁴⁹ Cronin, "Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis," 595–96.

¹⁵⁰ "Of the immediate common ancestry of N and Σ there is already hardly room for doubt," Cronin, "Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis," 596.

¹⁵¹ Cronin, "Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis," 596.

manuscripts, Cronin notes that only twice do 022 and 042 agree against 023, while 023 agrees with either one against the other eight times each.¹⁵²

While Omont did mention the similarity of 023 to 080—unlike the other sixth-century purple codices, 023 and 080 are written entirely in gold letters—Cronin considered whether they might be portions of the same manuscript. Cronin admitted that he had not seen 080 or the facsimile given by Porphyry Uspenski,¹⁵³ but did calculate that a single leaf of 080 would contain much more text than a single leaf of 023.¹⁵⁴ The fragments of 023 and 080 could not be parts of the same manuscript, and Cronin did not entertain any suggestion that 080 constituted the last remnant of the fourth member of a quartet.

1.3.6 *Hermann von Soden and a Family of Purple Codices: The I^r Group (1911-1913)*

By 1911, all five of the sixth-century purple codices had been edited and published. Hermann von Soden classified them together as the I^r group. He gave them the following designations: ε17 (043), ε18 (042), ε19 (022), ε20 (080) and ε21 (023).¹⁵⁵ Soden wrote that textual considerations led to this inclusion of 043 with the other four purple codices. He writes, “Die einzigen uns z. Z. bekannten sogenannten Purpur-Evv-codd 17 [=042] 18 [=042] 19 [=022] 20 [=080] 21 [=023] repräsentieren zweifellos einen gemeinsamen Texttypus.”¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, Soden did consider 022-023-042 to be especially close. He refers to them as “duplicates” and as “the three brothers.”¹⁵⁷ Soden admitted that 080 was too fragmentary to permit any decisive conclusions on its relationship to the rest of the I^r group, and while 043 was similar to 022-023-042, it was distinctly more developed in the direction of the so-called Byzantine text, Soden’s *K*-texte.¹⁵⁸

1.3.7 *Stanley Rypins and the Two New Leaves of 022 (1956)*

Stanley Rypins came across a folio of 022 while travelling in the vicinity of Greece, and he acquired it for the Morgan Library in 1955.¹⁵⁹ Rypins published the

¹⁵² Cronin, “Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis,” 596–97.

¹⁵³ Found in Uspensky, *Восток христианский Египет и Синай*.

¹⁵⁴ Cronin, “Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis,” 598.

¹⁵⁵ See his full discussion in Hermann von Soden, ed., *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911), 1245–1259.

¹⁵⁶ Soden, *Die Schriften*, 1:1245.

¹⁵⁷ Soden, *Die Schriften*, 1:1245-1246.

¹⁵⁸ Soden, *Die Schriften*, 1:1246.

¹⁵⁹ Adams, “A Sixth-Century Purple Gospel Leaf,” 12.

folio, along with the folio at the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, the following year.¹⁶⁰ These two folios were two of the four folios reported recently missing by Cronin in his edition of 022.¹⁶¹ Rypins affirmed the close relationship of 022, 023 and 042, writing that “their consanguinity [is] sufficiently indicated by their common transmission of identical scribal errors and textual unorthodoxies.”¹⁶² Improving on previous scholarship concerned only with the biblical text of the manuscripts, Rypins appeals to errors in the Eusebian apparatus shared by 022 and 023 as evidence of their relationship. Based on a few shared readings with 043, however, Rypins arrived at the conclusion that it, too, was part of the “quartet of purple Gospels [derived] from a single and none too orthodox ancestor.”¹⁶³

1.3.8 *Jean Gribomont and the 042 Commentarium (1987)*

In 1987, a commentary volume was released to accompany the outstanding 1985 reproduction of 042,¹⁶⁴ The *Commentarium* includes three articles printed in both Italian and English translations concerning the palaeography and materiality of 042, its miniatures and its biblical text.¹⁶⁵ Jean Gribomont’s article on the text of 042 offers a number of corrections to Gebhardt’s 1883 edition. With respect to the relationship of the purple codices, Gribomont writes that “the codices NO are twins of Σ; I have mentioned them occasionally, in order to explain some hesitations of the scribe of Σ.”¹⁶⁶ Gribomont builds on the work of Cronin and Gebhardt to assert that 022-023-042 constitute a distinct group and used readings of 022 and 023 to resolve some difficulties about the text of their common exemplar. He remarks that the reading of the exemplar might not be the majority reading; it is possible that the scribe changed unfamiliar readings found in the exemplar to more familiar readings as the text was copied.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁰ Stanley Rypins, “Two Inedited Leaves of Codex N,” *JBL* 75 (1956): 27–39.

¹⁶¹ Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xx.

¹⁶² Rypins, “Two Inedited Leaves of Codex N,” 30.

¹⁶³ Rypins, “Two Inedited Leaves of Codex N,” 31.

¹⁶⁴ *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Rossano Calabro, Museo dell’Arcivescovado: Facsimile, Codices Mirabiles 1; Codices Selecti 81** (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1985); Guglielmo Cavallo, Jean Gribomont, and William C. Loerke, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Rossano Calabro, Museo dell’Arcivescovado: Commentarium, Codices Mirabiles 1; Codices Selecti 81* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987).

¹⁶⁵ Cavallo, “The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol”; Loerke, “The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures”; Jean Gribomont, “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, Codices Mirabiles 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 193–211.

¹⁶⁶ Gribomont, “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 193.

¹⁶⁷ Gribomont, “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 197.

1.4 Do 022, 023 and 042 Constitute a Family?

One problem with previous assessments of the sixth-century Greek purple codices as a family is that they have all been based, at least in part, on transcriptions and editions, not on examinations of the manuscripts themselves. Both the editions of Gebhardt and of Cronin ignore page formatting (i.e. line breaks), orthographic variants and *nomina sacra*, and Gebhardt's edition is based on a collation that he was unable to double-check for accuracy.¹⁶⁸ Later analyses of the 022-023-042 group used these imperfect editions. Even Gribomont admitted that his knowledge of 023 came only from Legg's apparatus, which has been criticised for inaccuracy.¹⁶⁹ In contrast, this study is based on facsimile editions, reproductions and high-resolution digital images of the manuscripts, as well as autopsy examinations, where possible.¹⁷⁰ Matthew's Gospel was transcribed and double-checked for each manuscript based on these sources, deferring to previous editions only after the manuscript itself had been consulted via these images, and usually only for difficult sections.¹⁷¹

The *Text und Textwert* (henceforth *TuT*) volumes are generally unhelpful with regard to the purple codices. One significant problem with *TuT* is that it does not include 023 at all. Because *TuT* is based on test passages, it does not notice several minor agreements between 022 and 042. The stronger tendency of 042 to harmonise to parallel passages leads to 022 and 042 to be classified in different groups in the *TuT* Matthew volume: 022 is classified as Byzantine, but 042 and 043 are among the 202 manuscripts that differ from the majority text in more than 10% of test passages.¹⁷² The *TuT* volume on Mark fares better; there, 022 and 042 are

¹⁶⁸ Gebhardt, "Codex Purpureus Rossanensis," iii–iv; Gribomont, "The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," 193.

¹⁶⁹ Gribomont, "The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," 196. See, for example, G.D. Kilpatrick's note on Legg's edition of Mark, in "The Oxford Greek New Testament," *JTS* 43 (1942): 30–34.

¹⁷⁰ I was graciously allowed to examine the Morgan leaf of 022 during May 2016. My initial research on 023 was based on Omont's pseudo-facsimile, supplemented with Grabar's reproduction of the illuminated pages, as well as the microfilm at the Virtual Manuscript Room of the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (ntvmr.uni-muenster.de [accessed 3 August 2017]) but the entire transcription and work based on it was re-checked when the BnF put excellent images online at Gallica, their digital library (gallica.bnf.fr [accessed 3 August 2017]).

¹⁷¹ Because the transcriptions were made in this way, I have not prepared a list of errata for previous editions. There are a number of errors, especially in Gebhardt's edition of 042, but differences between the new transcriptions given in this study and previous editions are mentioned only when necessary.

¹⁷² Kurt Aland, Barbara Aland, and Klaus Wachtel, eds., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: IV. Die synoptischen Evangelien: 2. Das Matthäusevangelium*, ANTF 28 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003), 22–23.

deemed closely related, agreeing in 84/88 test passages.¹⁷³ A closer look at the manuscripts is required to determine an immediate relationship.

Despite minor inaccuracies stemming from imperfect editions, previous scholarship has been correct to recognise that 022, 023 and 042 stem from the same exemplar. In the extant portions of Matthew's Gospel, there are twenty-three family readings—readings that 042 shares with 022 and/or 023 that do not occur in even one other manuscript.¹⁷⁴ These twenty-three readings are not even shared by 043.¹⁷⁵ Rypins was correct to refer to two instances in which the Eusebian apparatus of 022 and 023 agree, apparently in error, but there are an additional twelve places where the Eusebian apparatus of the extant members of the 022-023-042 family agree with each other against the NA²⁸.¹⁷⁶ Additionally, the purple dye and inks seem to have similar, if not identical compositions.

If one accepts that 022, 023 and 042 constitute a family, one still has to consider whether they were each copied from a common exemplar or if one of them was the exemplar for another member of the family. Data from later chapters in this study can shed light on this aspect of the relationship, but in summary, each manuscript has at least one feature that excludes it from being an exemplar for the other two. For 022, it is orthography.¹⁷⁷ This scribe is much more likely to interchange between ι and ει than either of the other two scribes. In over 50 places where all three codices are extant, 023 and 042 agree against 022 in such interchanges. For 023 or 042 to have been copied from 022, both scribes would have had to make systematic orthographic revisions to the text. For 042, the biblical text is the aspect that renders it a copy, not an exemplar.¹⁷⁸ In seventy places where at least one of its siblings is extant, the scribe of 042 made a change to the text, and twenty-

¹⁷³ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, eds., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: IV. Die synoptischen Evangelien: 2. Das Markusevangelium: 1:1. Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*, ANTF 26 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), 45.

¹⁷⁴ These readings are most easily identified as the asterisked singular/family readings in Chapter Six. These 'family readings' have no other attestation in Tichendorf's 8th edition, Soden, Legg, Swanson or the NA²⁸.

¹⁷⁵ Based on a collation with Batiffol, *Les manuscrits Grecs de Bérat D'Albanie*, 1886. At present, 043 is badly damaged. In a few cases, it was possible through images of 043 to verify Batiffol's text of 043 where it differed from that of 022-023-042.

¹⁷⁶ Rypins, "Two Inedited Leaves of Codex N," 30. The twelve places are at Matt. 7:13, 12:24, 13:12, 14:23, 15:29, 17:19, 20:24, 20:28, 21:17, 21:21, 23:8 and 23:25. At 7:13, 042 has 55/4, whereas 022 and 023 have 55/1, but the visual similarity of α and δ in the script of the Eusebian apparatus explains this difference. Still, the exemplar must have differed from the reading in the NA²⁸, 55/5.

¹⁷⁷ I discuss the orthography of each manuscript in more detail in Chapter Three; see the summary at 3.5.1.

¹⁷⁸ I discuss the textual changes in 042 in Chapter Six.

five of these changes are singular to 042. If one of the three manuscripts were the exemplar for the other two, it would have to be 023, whose scribe was careful and conservative. Still, the layout of 023 renders this relationship impossible.¹⁷⁹ The scribe of 023 likely simplified the layout of the exemplar by removing most of the minor unit divisions. Though it is clear that the scribe of 042 added unit divisions, there are around fifty instances where all three manuscripts are extant in which 022 and 042 have ekthesis to mark a new unit of text, agreeing against 023. In summary, 022 cannot be the exemplar because the orthography of 023 and 042 is too regular, 042 cannot be the exemplar because the text of 022 and 023 lacks the changes and idiosyncrasies of 042, and 023 cannot be the exemplar because it cannot explain the shared features in layout of 022 and 042.

Finally, it is helpful to mention two corrections that point to a common exemplar. The first concerns all three manuscripts at Matt. 14:1. Each manuscript has a different reading. 023 has τετρααρχης and 042 has τετραρχης, both of which are acceptable forms. 022, however has a correction. Originally, the scribe wrote τεταρχης, but he or she corrected it by adding a small ρ above the line, τετ^ραρχης. The three readings could be explained if the exemplar was in error, omitting one syllable. The exemplar of the exemplar (“A” in Figure 5) probably had τετρααρχης, and the exemplar itself (“B” in Figure 5) would have had the reading of the uncorrected text of 022, τεταρχης, having omitted the syllable, -ρα-. The scribe of 023 seems to have been especially skilled, so the full-fix back to τετρααρχης seems reasonable. The scribe of 042 copied the corrected text of the exemplar, and the scribe of 022 copied the uncorrected text letter-for-letter before incorporating the correction.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ I discuss unit delimitation in each manuscript in more detail in Chapter Three; see the summary at **3.5.2**.

¹⁸⁰ See also the discussion “Hiatus in Word-Composition,” in F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), §124 (p. 67).

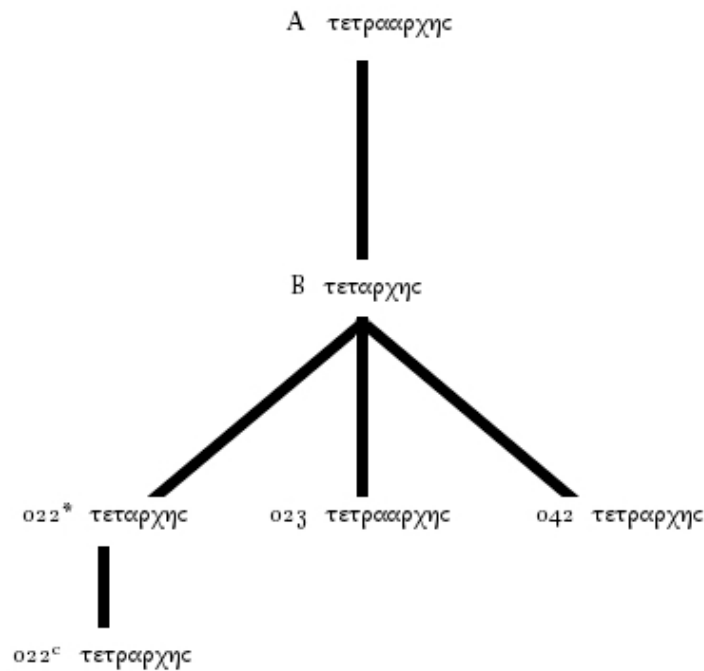


Figure 1.4: Stemma of the 022-023-042 family and its exemplar(s) for the correction at Matt. 14:1

The other correction is at Mark 9:17. Only 022 and 042 are extant here, but both have corrections. Gribomont traces the readings of 022 and 042 to an error in the exemplar.¹⁸¹ The scribe of 022 has $\bar{\pi}\nu\alpha$ ααλον corrected to $\bar{\pi}\nu\alpha$ α^λαλον, and the scribe of 042 has $\bar{\pi}\nu\alpha$ αλαλον corrected to the incorrect reading $\bar{\pi}\nu\alpha$ λαλον (or $\bar{\pi}\nu$ αλαλον). It seems that the exemplar had either $\bar{\pi}\nu\alpha\alpha\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ (022*) or $\bar{\pi}\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ (042¹). The letterforms for α and λ can be nearly identical and would be easily confused as the correct reading has a series of five similar letters there. The scribe of 022 copied the exemplar letter-for-letter, saw the error and corrected it. The scribe of 042, on the other hand, copied the sense of the text, saw that he or she did not have the same number of similar letters as the exemplar and erased one.

1.5 Conclusion

Because the purple codices 022, 023 and 042 are copies of the same exemplar, they are of unique interest to the study of the transmission of the New Testament. Where at least two are extant, it is possible to reconstruct the text of their lost exemplar. From there, one can see what tendencies the scribes had while

¹⁸¹ Gribomont, “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 194.

producing their copies. More broadly, one can use the relationship of these three manuscripts to assess whether the common method used to determine scribal habits succeeds or fails: the *singular readings method*.

Method and Methodology

“The first step towards obtaining a sure foundation is a consistent application of the principle that KNOWLEDGE OF DOCUMENTS SHOULD PRECEDE FINAL JUDGMENT UPON READINGS.”

–Fenton John Anthony Hort, 1881¹

2.1 Singular Readings Method: A Brief History

There has been much interest in recent years in the study of scribal habits through singular readings. Consequently, there have been many adequate histories of research written.² Rather than repeat the process here, I give only a brief history of research covering three major contributors to the development of the *singular readings method*, F.J.A. Hort, E.C. Colwell, and James R. Royse.³ Other scholars relevant to the study of singular readings in Greek New Testament manuscripts are discussed thematically later in this chapter.

2.1.1 F.J.A. Hort

The use of “singular readings” to assess the habits of a scribe has its roots in F.J.A. Hort’s *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek*.⁴ In his *Introduction*, Hort famously put forth the “first step towards obtaining a sure foundation” in New Testament textual criticism: “Knowledge of documents should precede final judgment upon readings.”⁵ One way by which Hort proposed to gain this necessary knowledge of documents was to assess the peculiarities of the scribe

¹ *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), 31, emphasis original.

² For recent summaries of scribal habits research, see Edgar Battad Ebojo, “A Scribe and His Manuscript: An Investigation into the Scribal Habits of Papyrus 46 (P. Chester Beatty II - P. Mich. Inv. 6238).” (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014), 33–51 and Gregory Scott Paulson, “Scribal Habits in Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Ephraemi, Bezae, and Washingtonianus in the Gospel of Matthew” (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2013), 6–11.

³ Recently, Peter Malik adopted a similar method of covering the history of research on singular readings. For his fuller treatment of Hort, Colwell and Royse (with attention to Royse’s discussion of P⁴⁷) than the brief discussion I give here, see *P. Beatty III (P⁴⁷): The Codex, Its Scribe, and Its Text*, NTTSD 52 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 102–115.

⁴ Hort, *Introduction*.

⁵ Hort, *Introduction*, 31.

by analysing singular readings—readings without attestation in any other known manuscript.⁶

Hort distinguished two classes of singular readings present in manuscripts. The most valuable class of singular readings is the group of readings transmitted from the ancestral text of the manuscript, but there is a second class of singular readings as well. This second class constitutes what Hort called “individualisms . . . originating with the scribe or one of his immediate predecessors.”⁷ These scribal “individualisms” could be simple mistakes of copying, or they could be intentional changes to the text. Concerning the class of singular reading to which a given reading belongs, Hort wrote, “Complete discrimination is of course impossible in the absence of exemplar or exemplars.”⁸ However, if there are enough simple mistakes in a manuscript, one could “form an estimate of the degree of general accuracy attained by the scribe of a given document, and also of the kinds of mistakes to which he was prone.”⁹

Hort applied his idea to Codex Vaticanus and determined that the scribe¹⁰ was neither exceptionally good nor exceptionally bad, though he or she is guilty of the occasional accidental omission.¹¹ Hort also concluded that the scribe is very likely to harmonize, “chiefly between neighbouring clauses or verses, occasionally between parallel passages,” that transpositions are occasional, and that the scribe almost never paraphrases the text.¹² In general, the scribe appears have “a patient and rather dull or mechanical type of transcription,” while being “guiltless of ingenuity or other untimely activity of brain.”¹³

2.1.2 ***E.C. Colwell***

Hort’s manner of assessing the scribe of Vaticanus laid the foundation for E.C. Colwell’s watershed study of scribal habits through singular readings, such that

⁶ Hort, *Introduction*, 230–39.

⁷ Hort, *Introduction*, 232.

⁸ Hort, *Introduction*, 232.

⁹ Hort, *Introduction*, 232.

¹⁰ In his analysis of the singular readings of Codex Vaticanus, Hort wrote simply of “the scribe of B” without reference to multiple scribes.

¹¹ A number of those so-called omissions, Hort maintained, are better referred to as “non-interpolations.” If additions crept in over the centuries, one would expect the later Majority Text to be an expanded text. Any manuscript with an earlier text would naturally be shorter, because it, being closer to the autographs, would have fewer additions (interpolations). These “non-interpolations” are not places where Codex Vaticanus has omitted text; they are places where later manuscripts have added material to an originally shorter text, which is preserved in Codex Vaticanus. Hort, *Introduction*, 233–235.

¹² Hort, *Introduction*, 237.

¹³ Hort, *Introduction*, 237.

Colwell began with the words, “The dead hand of Fenton John Anthony Hort lies heavy upon us.”¹⁴ In his influential paper, “Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text,” Colwell attempted to improve the discipline of New Testament textual criticism by addressing transcriptional probability. Although scholars have the external evidence of manuscripts, textual decisions need to take into account both external manuscript evidence and internal transcriptional evidence. “A careful study of what scribes actually did, with a resultant catalogue of readings produced by scribes, is essential for textual criticism,” he wrote.¹⁵ Colwell then provided such a study, using the singular readings of P⁴⁵, P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ as his pool of data.

Colwell operated under the assumption that singular readings in manuscripts are scribal creations, writing:

Since in most readings the student cannot determine whether or not the scribe copied or originated the reading, this study is restricted to singular readings (readings without other manuscript support) *on the assumption* that these readings are the creation of the scribe.¹⁶

Colwell used consistently only Tischendorf’s apparatus to isolate singular readings.¹⁷ He never explicitly stated that wrongly-included “inherited” singular readings present in his analysis would balance out wrongly-excluded scribal creations; nevertheless, Colwell did hint that such a balance should be the case. “It is true that some witnesses unknown to Tischendorf may support some of these [singular] readings, but it is also highly probable that many readings with minor support in Tischendorf are scribal creations,”¹⁸ he wrote.

Colwell concluded that the scribe of P⁷⁵ was the most careful copyist of the three scribes of his study, at times copying letter-by-letter.¹⁹ The scribe of P⁴⁵, on the other hand, was very free to reproduce his or her exemplar thought-for-thought but

¹⁴ Ernest Cadman Colwell, “Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text,” in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. J. Philip Hyatt (100th Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Nashville; New York: Abingdon Press, 1965), 370–89. This study was later reprinted as “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger, NTS 9 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 106–24. Citations from Colwell are taken from the reprinted version, but the text is unchanged from its first publication.

¹⁵ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 107.

¹⁶ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 108, emphasis mine.

¹⁷ Colwell wrote, “Where the support of more recent finds was known, the reading was eliminated from our list; but no rigorous effort was made to go beyond the evidence of Tischendorf’s apparatus,” in “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 109.

¹⁸ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 108–9.

¹⁹ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 117.

copied “with great freedom—harmonizing, smoothing out, substituting almost whimsically.”²⁰ The scribe of P⁶⁶ was “careless and ineffective.” He or she copied by syllable and made a large number of errors.²¹ Although Colwell would later be criticised for his conclusions about scribes copying by letter and by syllable, he was the first scholar to develop a method in order to give the question of scribal habits a systematic approach.²²

2.1.3 **James R. Royse**

In spite of Colwell’s pioneering work, the architect of the refined *singular readings method* is James R. Royse. In 1981, Royse completed his second doctoral dissertation, titled “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri.”²³ Royse spent over twenty-five years revising his dissertation into its published form.²⁴ In the work, Royse analysed P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, P⁴⁷, P⁶⁶, P⁷² and P⁷⁵. He applied exhaustive criteria to determine the singularity of a variant, and his method is a vast improvement over that of Colwell. Unlike Colwell, Royse dealt with “sub-singular readings.” These readings are singular according to Tischendorf but have minor support according to other critical apparatuses, and Royse considered them independent scribal creations, not genetically related to each other and only coincidentally non-singular.²⁵ Royse also dealt with first-hand corrections, and unlike Colwell, Royse based his study on the corrected text of the manuscript. Royse also distinguished between significant and insignificant singular readings.²⁶ Orthographic and nonsense singular readings can be helpful, but they do not reveal any information about meaningful changes to the text. Consequently, Royse considered them insignificant and analysed them

²⁰ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 117.

²¹ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 117–118.

²² On Colwell’s assessment on scribes copying by letter and by syllable, see Klaus Junack, “Abschreibpraktiken und Schreibergewohnheiten in ihrer Auswirkung auf die Textüberlieferung,” in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 277–95 and Dirk Jongkind, “Singular Readings in Sinaiticus: The Possible, the Impossible, and the Nature of Copying,” 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, Third Series 6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 35–54.

²³ James R. Royse, “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri” (ThD thesis, Graduate Theological Union, 1981). Royse’s first doctoral dissertation is “Some Investigations into Ramified Set Theory” (PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1969).

²⁴ James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

²⁵ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 67, 94, though on p. 67, Royse does admit that there is a possibility that some asterisked readings can have a genetic relationship with the manuscript being studied.

²⁶ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 91.

separately.²⁷

Through his study, Royse presented more nuanced understandings of the scribes of P⁴⁵, P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ than Colwell, and he extended that understanding to three more papyri. One of the most significant aspects of Royse's work however, is his negative conclusion about Griesbach's canon, *lectio brevior potior*—the shorter reading is preferred.²⁸ In all six of the papyri Royse included in his study, the scribes appear more likely to omit than to add.²⁹ A number of later studies have confirmed Royse's findings.³⁰ If scribal omission is more likely than scribal addition, should the shorter reading be preferred? Royse suggested not, but he offered some qualifications to his solution. The longer reading is to be preferred unless it “appears, on external grounds, to be late,” is due to harmonisation of some kind, or is due to “an attempt at grammatical improvement.”³¹ Although Royse's conclusions have been criticised because Griesbach's canon is too often “viewed in a simplistic fashion” without allowing Griesbach's own qualifications to permit longer readings, Royse has succeeded in bringing to light other factors that lead to scribe-created shorter readings.³²

Royse's work was well-received, even in its dissertation form.³³ Of the published monograph, Juan Hernández, Jr. says, “[T]his is a work of *singular* importance—extraordinary for its immense learning, comprehensive scope and painstaking detail. But perhaps more importantly, Royse's work is an exemplar for all who aspire to do justice to the study of scribal habits.”³⁴ Peter Head remarks that “I have searched long and hard and have found only one typo,” though the work

²⁷ For a fuller comparison of Royse's work with that of Colwell, see Juan Hernández Jr. et al., “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri: Papers from the 2008 SBL Panel Review Session,” *TC* 17 (2012): 4–6.

²⁸ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 705–736; cf. Johann Jakob Griesbach, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece: Textum ad fidem codicum versionum et patrum recensuit et lectionis varietatem adjecit*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (London: Elmsly, 1796), lx–lxi.

²⁹ See a summary table in *Scribal Habits*, 719.

³⁰ For a discussion of the early tendency to omit rather than to add and of the implications of Royse's work and that of other scholars for the priority of the shorter reading, see Eldon J. Epp, “Traditional ‘Canons’ of New Testament Textual Criticism: Their Value, Validity, and Viability—Or Lack Thereof,” in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes, TCSt 8 (Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 106–116.

³¹ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 735.

³² Epp, “Traditional ‘Canons’ of New Testament Textual Criticism,” 115; see also Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, TS, Third Series 5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007), 138–139.

³³ The number of works on scribal habits written between 1981 and 2008 cited in this chapter supports this claim.

³⁴ Hernández et al., “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri,” 1, emphasis original.

exceeds 1,000 pages.³⁵ Building on the early work of Hort and Colwell, Royse's exhaustive detail and masterful development of the *singular readings method* provides a sure foundation for later scribal habits research.

2.2 Criticisms of the *Singular Readings Method*

Since Colwell and Royse, a number of scholars in recent years have utilised various versions of the *singular readings method* in their research. Despite the popularity of the method, it is not without its critics. The major criticisms can be divided into four categories: comprehensiveness, impracticality, the definition of "singular," and the uncertainty of scribal activity. The following section is a discussion of these criticisms.

2.2.1 Comprehensiveness

In her 2002 essay, "Kriterien zur Beurteilung kleinerer Papyrusfragmente des Neuen Testaments,"³⁶ Barbara Aland claims that the *singular readings method* is not sufficiently comprehensive to determine scribal habits. By considering only the singular readings, the *singular readings method* bases its conclusions about a scribe on a small part of the data, which in its entirety would include non-singular readings and possibly even other features. Kyoung Shik Min follows Aland, asking whether singular readings alone are sufficient to reveal characteristics of a manuscript.³⁷ In a different manner, Edgar Ebojo raises this criticism in his 2014 University of Birmingham doctoral thesis.³⁸ After giving a number of critiques of the *singular readings method* outlined below, Ebojo concludes,

Habits imply "recurrence and frequency," not necessarily "uniqueness." Scribal habits are everything *in* the manuscript that betray the proclivities and practices of the scribe who produced that particular manuscript, inclusive of all the technical stages of its production, and maybe extended to its recoverable immediate reception history.³⁹

³⁵ Hernández et al., "Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri," 13.

³⁶ Barbara Aland, "Kriterien zur Beurteilung kleinerer Papyrusfragmente des Neuen Testaments," in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel*, ed. Adelbert Denaux, BETL 161 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 1–13.

³⁷ "Nun stellt sich die Frage, ob wir etwa nur mit Singulärlesarten die Charaktere von Papyri erkennen können," in Kyoung Shik Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung des Matthäusevangeliums (bis zum 3./4. Jh.): Edition und Untersuchung*, ANTF 34 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2005), 36.

³⁸ "A Scribe and His Manuscript."

³⁹ Ebojo, "A Scribe and His Manuscript," 50. Emphasis original.

2.2.2 *Impracticality*

In addition to her reservations concerning the use of the *singular readings method* based on its comprehensiveness (or rather, lack thereof), Aland views it as impractical. Because it measures only extant singular readings, it “is applicable only to extensive papyri.” Min echoes Aland in this criticism.⁴⁰ Aland is correct that it is impossible to study a single fragmentary manuscript on the basis of singular readings alone, but Peter M. Head has used the method to analyse fragmentary manuscripts collectively. First, Head subjected fourteen early fragmentary papyri of the synoptic Gospels to the *singular readings method*.⁴¹ Although he admitted that the *method* is unsuitable for individual fragmentary papyri, Head’s study of the papyri as a collection resulted in the same conclusions as those of Royse: “omission is more common than addition,” “scribes often harmonised texts” and scribes “frequently transposed words into a new order.”⁴² Fourteen years later, Head published a “belated sequel” to his study on the early fragmentary papyri of the synoptic Gospels, this time on the early fragmentary papyri of John.⁴³ Again, Head’s results were consistent with those of Royse.

2.2.3 *The Definition of “Singular”*

Some critics point to the varying definition of the term “singular” as a cause of concern for the method. How does one determine accurately the “singularity” of a reading? A reading might only appear to be singular, having attestation in manuscripts yet to be studied. A minority reading today might have been the majority reading in the past—or at least an otherwise-attested reading. Furthermore, it is difficult to incorporate versional and patristic evidence to determine whether a reading is singular.

The first challenge to the term “singular” is that a reading might be singular at one time, but later discoveries or other analyses could reveal other manuscripts that share the reading. E.C. Colwell and E.W. Tune mention this possibility in their essay on evaluating textual variants.⁴⁴ J.K. Elliott also voices his concern over the term “singular” for this reason, writing “it may be argued [that] today’s singular

⁴⁰ Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung des Matthäusevangeliums (bis zum 3./4. Jh.)*, 35.

⁴¹ Peter M. Head, “Observations on Early Papyri of the Synoptic Gospels, Especially on the ‘Scribal Habits,’” *Bib* 71 (1990): 240–47.

⁴² Head, “Observations on Early Papyri,” 246.

⁴³ Peter M. Head, “The Habits of New Testament Copyists: Singular Readings in the Early Fragmentary Papyri of John,” *Bib* 85 (2004): 399.

⁴⁴ Ernest Cadman Colwell and Ernest W. Tune, “Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings,” in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, NTTS 9 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 104.

reading could tomorrow turn into a reading shared by other recently read manuscripts.”⁴⁵ Juan Hernández, Jr. illustrates the point using Bernhard Weiss’s 1891 publication, *Die Johannes-Apokalypse*.⁴⁶ Hernández writes, “With the passage of time and the availability of fresh MS evidence (as well as additional apparatuses), many of Weiss’s singular readings are found to have support in other Greek MSS, thus rendering them non-singular.”⁴⁷ Moreover, David Parker gives a more concrete example of this problem in his review of Royse’s monograph.⁴⁸ Parker lists four readings deemed by Royse to be singular to P⁷² in Jude (in vv. 11, 15, 16 and 25) that have other manuscript attestation according to Tommy Wasserman’s work on the manuscripts and text of Jude.⁴⁹ Finally, Edgar Ebojo illustrates this problem by comparing the number of singular readings in P⁴⁶ in Royse’s dissertation to the number of the same readings in the monograph published 25 years later—the number decreases by 29 readings.⁵⁰

A second challenge to the definition of the term “singular” reading appeals to the unknown. A reading that is now singular to a particular manuscript might not have always been singular. Hernández mentions this possibility in his study of singular readings in the Apocalypse.⁵¹ A number of other scholars also posit this challenge, including Barbara Aland, J.K. Elliott, Maurice Robinson and David Parker.⁵² Gregory Paulson echoes this challenge, drawing on Aland, Robinson and

⁴⁵ J.K. 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, JSNTSup 258 (London; New York: T & T Clark International, 2010), 123.

⁴⁶ Bernhard Weiss, *Die Johannes-Apokalypse: Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung*, TUGAL, 7.1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1891).

⁴⁷ Juan Hernández Jr., *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse: The Singular Readings of Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi*, WUNT 2.218 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2006), 52.

⁴⁸ D.C. Parker, “Review of James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*,” *BASP* 46 (2009): 256.

⁴⁹ Tommy Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission*, ConBNT 43 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2006). Royse lists 33 total singular readings in Jude in P⁷² in *Scribal Habits*, 580.

⁵⁰ Ebojo, “A Scribe and His Manuscript,” 45; Ebojo also mentions Hugh Houghton, who voices the same concern about new transcriptions reducing the number of singular readings, in “Recent Developments in New Testament Textual Criticism,” *EChr* 2 (2011): 256–257.

⁵¹ Hernández writes, “We also entertain the possibility that some of our singulars may be ‘original’ (and therefore not ‘created’ readings), due to the Apocalypse’s poor preservation and peculiar textual history,” in *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences*, 47.

⁵² Barbara Aland, “The Significance of the Chester Beatty Papyri in Early Church History,” 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, JSNTSup 258 (London; New York: T & T Clark International, 2010), 110, n. 12; Elliott, “Singular Readings in the Gospel Text of P⁴⁵,” 123; Maurice A. Robinson, “Rule 9, Isolated Variants, and the ‘Test-Tube’ Nature of the NA²⁷/UBS⁴ Text: A Byzantine-Priority Perspective,” in

Elliott,⁵³ and Edgar Ebojo gives the same criticism, drawing on Elliott and Parker.⁵⁴ Additionally, evidence from the patristic period confirms the existence of readings once common in the manuscript tradition but now rare or lost entirely.

A famous example of this phenomenon is the Freer Logion in Codex Washingtonianus (W 032).⁵⁵ At Mark 16:14, 032 contains an addition in which the disciples defend themselves to the risen Jesus, who has just rebuked them for their unbelief, and Jesus' response to them. The addition is not found in any other manuscript of Mark, so it would be correctly classified as a singular reading. However, one cannot suppose that the scribe of 032 composed the pericope.⁵⁶ Jerome quoted the first part of the Freer Logion in Latin, though with a few textual differences, in *Adv. Pelag.* 2.15, stating that it is found "in certain copies and in the best Greek codices."⁵⁷ Although the Freer Logion qualifies as a singular reading by Royse's definition, its presence in 032 certainly does not contribute anything to the knowledge of scribal habits of 032, except that it is in 032 because the scribe of 032 copied it from his or her exemplar. Among other examples including the Freer Logion, Bruce Metzger cites the singular substitution of ἀπατω with ἀπει in Codex Bezae (D 05) as a now-singular reading that was once widely attested in the manuscript tradition according to patristic evidence.⁵⁸ Amy Donaldson expands on Metzger's discussion and adds several variants to Metzger's list of readings discussed by the early fathers that are rare or unknown in the Greek manuscript tradition.⁵⁹

A third challenge appeals to the existence of variants in versional and patristic sources that are unattested in Greek New Testament manuscripts. Although

Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Mark J. Boda (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 55, n. 95; Parker, "Review of James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*," 256.

⁵³ Paulson, "Scribal Habits in Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Ephraemi, Bezae, and Washingtonianus in the Gospel of Matthew," 15–18.

⁵⁴ Ebojo, "A Scribe and His Manuscript," 49.

⁵⁵ For a fuller discussion of the Freer Logion, see Caspar René Gregory, *Das Freer-Logion* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1908), and William L Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 606–611.

⁵⁶ Larry W. Hurtado does not include the Freer Logion in his list of "Significant Sense Changes" in 032, in *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark*, SD 43 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 77, n. 18.

⁵⁷ "In quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime Graecis codicibus," in Claudio Moreschini, ed., *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera. Pars III, 2, Opera polemica. Dialogus adversus Pelagianos*, CCSL 80 (Turnholti [Turnhout, Belgium]: Brepols, 1990).

⁵⁸ Bruce M. Metzger, "The Practice of Textual Criticism Among the Church Fathers," *StPatr* 12 (1975): 345.

⁵⁹ Amy M. Donaldson, "Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings Among Greek and Latin Church Fathers" (PhD thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2009), 317–319.

Günther Zuntz is not criticizing the *singular readings method*, he does argue that once-common readings could be lost from the Greek manuscript tradition.⁶⁰ Eldon J. Epp argues, “Logic would seem to require” that some singular Greek readings with Old Latin or Old Syriac support are not “really singular readings in any final sense of that term.”⁶¹ Both Larry Hurtado and later, Juan Hernández, Jr. limit their respective studies to readings that have neither Greek nor versional support.⁶² Admittedly, versional support can be difficult. Hugh Houghton summarizes the difficulty with which one can glean Greek readings from Latin manuscripts:

. . . [U]nlike the Harklean version of the Syriac, the Latin translation of the New Testament is not a word-for-word equivalent which can easily be retroverted to reconstruct its Greek source. Instead, a single Latin form may be used to render a number of different Greek words or constructions, while multiple Latin versions may derive from an identical Greek text.⁶³

2.2.4 *The Uncertainty of Scribal Activity*

Finally, a few scholars criticise the *singular readings method* because singular readings are not necessarily created by the scribe, but some non-singular readings almost certainly were. Hort took for granted that singular readings could be relics of a lost exemplar, writing, “The singular readings of a document may always be due either to inheritance from a more or less remote ancestry . . . or to quite recent corruption.”⁶⁴ Hort continued, stressing the need to distinguish between types of singular. If one desires to determine the earlier text behind what lay in a particular manuscript, one must “sift away as far as possible those other singular readings which are mere individualisms, so to speak, originating with the scribe or one of his immediate predecessors.”⁶⁵ Colwell acknowledged the possibility of inherited singular readings, but he treated them as unproblematic. An analysis of singular readings would include some inherited singulars, but it would also include non-

⁶⁰ Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition Upon the Corpus Paulinum*, 1946 Schweich Lectures (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 84. Zuntz gives three examples (in Heb. 2:9, Rom. 5:17 and Phil 3:14), in which there is scant if any Greek evidence for a variant, but the variant does show up in patristic testimony.

⁶¹ Eldon J. Epp, “Toward the Clarification of the Term ‘Textual Variant,’” 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), 163. Ebojo also discusses Epp’s comments on readings singular in Greek manuscripts but with versional support in “A Scribe and His Manuscript,” 46.

⁶² Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology*, 69, n. 9; Hernández, *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences*, 52.

⁶³ H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 143. For specific examples illustrating this difficulty, see pp. 143–153 in Houghton’s monograph.

⁶⁴ Hort, *Introduction*, 231–232.

⁶⁵ Hort, *Introduction*, 232.

singular scribal activity. According to Colwell, the two sources of error should balance each other out.⁶⁶

Garrick Allen explores the possibility of inherited singular readings in his 2016 *JBL* article on singular readings in the Apocalypse in Codex Alexandrinus.⁶⁷ Allen constructs a “typology of singular readings” that includes the possibility of a single manuscript preserving “the reading in the initial copy or *Urtext*.”⁶⁸ Although Allen does not consider the possibility of inherited singular readings that do not go back to the initial text, his comments do reflect the problem that singular readings in a given manuscript are not, in total, creations of the manuscript’s scribe. Allen’s study represents the problem well. He allows for the theoretical possibility of inherited singular readings, but Allen ascribes two exegetically significant singular readings at Rev. 11:4 and 14:9 to the scribe of the Apocalypse in Codex Alexandrinus without considering the possibility that one or both examples could derive from the exemplar, not the scribe.

In both his dissertation and his published monograph, Royse discusses the problem of scribal uncertainty at length.⁶⁹ Royse poses a thought experiment to assess the validity of the singular readings method in light of the “complex-scribe”—the full number of scribes in the history of a manuscript’s transmission, ending with the actual scribe responsible for the manuscript. If the actual scribes of two unrelated manuscripts, which Royse designates as *a* and *x*, were equally prone to omit, a study of both manuscripts might indicate that the scribe of *a* is twice as likely to omit than the scribe of *x*. This “incorrect” understanding of the scribe of *a* would be because *a* is two generations removed from its *Vorlage*, whereas *x* is only one generation removed from its *Vorlage*. Royse contends that such results are not only to be expected but desired, for they still show the tendencies of a manuscript from its *Vorlage*, even though the method includes some intermediate states of transmission. By studying singular readings, Royse argues that a manuscript can be compared with its most recent ancestor that did not influence the larger tradition of transmission, and thus, the relative accuracy of each intermediate [actual] scribe is “irrelevant to such evaluation.”⁷⁰ To Royse, it matters not if the scribe of the manuscript created a given singular reading or if the reading derives from a scribe of one of the manuscript’s

⁶⁶ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 108–109.

⁶⁷ Garrick V. Allen, “The Apocalypse in Codex Alexandrinus: Exegetical Reasoning and Singular Readings in New Testament Greek Manuscripts,” *JBL* 135 (2016): 859–880.

⁶⁸ Allen, “Apocalypse in Codex Alexandrinus,” 863.

⁶⁹ Royse, “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri,” 36–43; *Scribal Habits*, 51–56.

⁷⁰ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 53.

ancestors. Regardless of who made the singular readings, they still show how the manuscript is unique.

In spite of his discussion of complex scribes and actual scribes, Royse settles the matter practically. Royse deserves to be quoted in full:

In what follows, consequently, I will speak of a manuscript's "scribe" in the ordinary way, that is, meaning the person who actually wrote the manuscript. Discussions of the scribe's handwriting or corrections, for instance, will obviously refer to this one person. And most of the singulars should, without doubt, be attributed to this person. However, in the discussions of patterns of errors, particularly those readings that are later termed "significant singulars," it should be kept in mind as a theoretical possibility that these patterns are in fact the results of the activity of a complex scribe. This hypothesis, though, seems too unlikely for our six papyri to warrant our continually burdening our terminology with explicit references to it.⁷¹

Following Royse, Hernández acknowledges the probability of inherited singular readings, writing, "Some [singular readings], no doubt, were already in the exemplar or exemplars of the scribes."⁷² More recently, Peter Malik has revisited the singular readings of P⁴⁷ as a window to the activity of its scribe, though his analysis of P⁴⁷ is much more comprehensive than merely a discussion of its singular readings.⁷³ Malik acknowledges that singular readings do not preserve every scribal change and that they include a number of inherited readings in all probability. Because the actual activity of the scribe is thus uncertain, he considers that an analysis of singular readings can yield "an approximation of the scribe's copying behaviour rather than an absolute account thereof."⁷⁴ Royse, Hernández and Malik each agree that a study of singular readings is beneficial to studies of individual manuscripts, even if they do not reflect the exact scribal habits of [actual] scribes.

Unfortunately, the terminology used in the discussion ("scribal habits," "scribal tendencies," "the scribe was more likely to..." etc.) perpetuates the problem of associating singular readings with the activity of the actual copyist of a manuscript, even if practitioners of the method acknowledge that singular readings are not necessarily the work of that scribe, such as Royse's concept of the "complex scribe." Hugh A.G. Houghton refers to the problem of scribal uncertainty as

⁷¹ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 55.

⁷² Juan Hernández Jr., "Scribal Tendencies in the Apocalypse: Starting the Conversation," in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, SSEJC 13/LSTS 70 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 252.

⁷³ Malik, *P. Beatty III (P⁴⁷)*, 102–173.

⁷⁴ Malik, *P. Beatty III (P⁴⁷)*, 167.

“methodological issue,” explaining, “given the gaps in our knowledge of the tradition, the presence of a particular form in the first-hand text of a given manuscript cannot necessarily be ascribed to the copyist’s choosing but may have been inherited from the exemplar.”⁷⁵ Holger Strutwolf is likewise among those who find it problematic to consider singular readings to indicate the work of a scribe.⁷⁶ Ebojo, too, voices this criticism, adding, in the case of copying by dictation, a singular reading could even be “spawned by the oral reading of the *lector* and not by the copying scribe.”⁷⁷

One of the more vocal critics of the singular readings method is, ironically, one of its own practitioners. Dirk Jongkind brings the charge of scribal uncertainty against the method in multiple publications.⁷⁸ The fundamental problem of the method is as Colwell acknowledged: the method errs on two fronts—it wrongly includes singular readings inherited from the exemplar, and it wrongly excludes non-singular scribal creations.⁷⁹ In response to Royse’s position that the method evaluates the complex-scribe, and thus is still useful in the study of manuscripts, Jongkind writes:

If the purpose is to describe the tendencies as they exist in a manuscript, which is what Royse’s discussion in this section seems to imply, then there is no reason why one should exclude non-singular readings. If, on the other hand, one’s aim is to describe the copying technique and scribal habits of an individual scribe, one must make a better case for the notion of why the singular reading reflects the work of an individual.⁸⁰

Jongkind does agree that the method in general “delivers indeed what it promises: a window on the activity of the scribes of the manuscript,” but, “a not

⁷⁵ Houghton, “Recent Developments,” 256. On p. 257, Houghton adds, “Only the study of corrections and other annotations provides firm evidence for the intervention of individuals.”

⁷⁶ Holger Strutwolf, “Scribal Practices and the Transmission of Biblical Texts: New Insights from the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method,” in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Judith H. Newman, SBLRBS 69 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 141–147. Strutwolf’s objection to the *singular reading method* is a combination of two of the objections presented here. He uses the definition of ‘singular’ to illustrate the problem by giving examples of readings previously considered singular that are now known to occur in multiple manuscripts. Such instances are evidence that singular readings do not necessarily reflect the work of the scribe of the manuscript in which they occur.

⁷⁷ Ebojo, “A Scribe and His Manuscript,” 48, emphasis original.

⁷⁸ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 137; “Singular Readings in Sinaiticus,” 37–38; Hernández et al., “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri,” 14–15.

⁷⁹ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 141.

⁸⁰ Hernández et al., “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri,” 15.

inconsiderable number of scribal creations” are wrongly excluded from such a study.⁸¹

The question that remains, however, is how large and transparent that window might be. If a number of readings are wrongly included and a number of readings are wrongly excluded, does the *singular readings method* give a clear picture of a scribe’s habits or a distorted one? If it were merely a question of numbers, one might reasonably assume that the picture is clear. If five readings are wrongly included and six readings are wrongly excluded, one is left with roughly the same number of readings, presumably resulting in a similar analysis. However, the type of those wrongly included and excluded readings matters just as much, if not more than their number. If five *additions* are wrongly included and six *omissions* are wrongly excluded, the two fronts of error do not balance each other out—they exacerbate the problem.

David Parker illustrates the problem of scribal uncertainty by highlighting the difficulty with which one can distinguish between the work of a scribe and the work of his or her predecessors. Parker does not name the *singular readings method* directly at first, but he does offer criticism of the concept of determining scribal habits at all. Parker concludes, “[T]he method [of determining scribal habits] only works if we can be sure that the habits of the scribe are different from those of the exemplar, and of earlier copies.”⁸² In other words, the measured scribal habits of a given manuscript might be in fact the scribal habits of that manuscript’s exemplar. Codex Washingtonianus (W 032) seems to be an example of a manuscript that exhibits primarily the scribal habits of its exemplar(s) rather than of its scribe in at least one aspect. As Zachary J. Cole has demonstrated, “each block of text [in 032] is characterized not only by a particular text-type, but also by a different scribal preference of number-writing.”⁸³ If the scribe of 032 preserved even the number-writing techniques of his or her exemplar(s), it could well be the case that he or she also preserved the scribal habits of the exemplar(s).

⁸¹ Jongkind, “Singular Readings in Sinaiticus,” 44.

⁸² D.C. Parker, “Scribal Tendencies and the Mechanics of Book Production,” in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS, Third Series 6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 174.

⁸³ Zachary J. Cole, “Evaluating Scribal Freedom and Fidelity: Number-Writing Techniques in Codex Washintonianus (W 032),” *BASP* 52 (2015): 237.

2.3 Alternative and Parallel Methods for Assessing Scribal Habits

2.3.1 Deviations from the *Ausgangstext*

One alternative to the *singular readings method* is to measure a manuscript's deviations from an assumed *Ausgangstext*, of which, the Nestle-Aland text is taken to be representative. This method embraces the complex-scribe of the manuscript and minimises its actual scribe, but it has the advantage of taking non-singular variations into account. Kurt Aland first proposed this method, not as a way to study scribal habits, but as a way to classify small manuscripts.⁸⁴ Still, Aland used the method to imply something about the complex-scribe at the very least; the method is the basis for the Alands' categorisation of early fragmentary papyri as having a "strict" text, a "normal" text," or a "free" text.⁸⁵ Later, Barbara Aland would return to this method, modifying it to reveal not only the quality of the text, but also the quality of its transmission.⁸⁶ In addition to deviations from the Nestle-Aland text, Aland also considers changes that are in "correspondence with a particular tradition," as well as whether a papyrus has a normal number of errors, or a high number of changes due either to negligence or to editorial intervention.⁸⁷ A manuscript with many changes from the assumed *Ausgangstext* shared by other manuscripts but few singular readings or obvious clerical errors would have a "free" text but a "strict" transmission. Likewise, a manuscript whose variants are nearly all singular or obvious clerical errors would have a "strict" text but a "free" transmission. This method is used by Kyoung Shik Min and Tommy Wasserman in their respective studies on early manuscripts of Matthew's Gospel.⁸⁸ More recently, Brice C. Jones

⁸⁴ Kurt Aland, "Der neue 'Standard-Text' in seinem Verhältnis zu den frühen Papyri und Majuskeln," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 257–75.

⁸⁵ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 95.

⁸⁶ B. Aland, "Kriterien zur Beurteilung kleinerer Papyrusfragmente des Neuen Testaments." Aland's treatment does not exclude mention of singular readings, but her analysis is based primarily on deviations from the Nestle-Aland text.

⁸⁷ "Die Toleranzbreite der Fehler eines Papyrus muß bestimmt werden. Dabei können zunächst die Kategorien 'feste' Überlieferungsweise bei weitgehender Übereinstimmung mit einer bestimmten Tradition, 'normale' Überlieferungsweise bei normaler Fehleranzahl, 'freie' Überlieferungsweise aufgrund von Nachlässigkeit und 'freie' Überlieferungsweise aufgrund von editorischen Eingriffen angewandt werden," in "Kriterien zur Beurteilung kleinerer Papyrusfragmente des Neuen Testaments," 2.

⁸⁸ Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung des Matthäusevangeliums (bis zum 3./4. Jh.)*; Tommy Wasserman, "The Early Text of Matthew," in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 83–107.

uses this method in his study of Greek amulets containing New Testament texts.⁸⁹

Apart from the development of this method in the work of Kurt and Barbara Aland, Moisés Silva uses deviations from the assumed “original text” to assess early Greek witnesses of Galatians.⁹⁰ Silva admits that singular readings and “singular readings that are obvious errors” can shed light on scribal habits.⁹¹ Still, Silva’s goal is not limited to a study of scribal habits, but “to determine, at least in broad strokes, the ways in which the Greek manuscripts depart from the original.”⁹² For that reason, Silva uses the UBS³ (= NA²⁶) as representative of the “original text” of Galatians and collates P⁴⁶, 01, 02 and 03, calculating their deviations from the original text.⁹³ Silva never claims that his method replaces the singular readings method as a way to study the habits of individual scribes. He references Royse’s dissertation as an example of how singular readings reveal scribal habits, but adds, “. . . if we want to know the profile of a manuscript (which includes the variations introduced by its scribe as well as the ones he simply transfers from his master copy), all of the variants should be taken into account.”⁹⁴ Despite his appropriate caution with respect to forming conclusions about scribal habits based on his method, Silva quickly moves on to discussing “scribal tendencies,” categorising variants as “additions,” “omissions,” “equivalent (one-to-one changes),” “grammatical,” “transpositions” and “miscellaneous.”⁹⁵ Although Silva claims that his method is appropriate for manuscripts, not scribes, he uses many of the same categories as Royse to classify textual variation, and he forms conclusions about the scribes of the manuscripts analysed in his study.

This method of comparing manuscripts to an assumed *Ausgangstext* attempts to provide an alternative to the *singular readings method*. It succeeds as an improvement over the *singular readings method* in that it is applicable to smaller fragments and incorporates non-singular variations. However, this method fails to

⁸⁹ Brice C. Jones, *New Testament Texts on Greek Amulets from Late Antiquity*, LNTS 554 (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2016). Jones discusses this method on pp. 52–55.

⁹⁰ Moisés Silva, “The Text of Galatians: Evidence from the Earliest Greek Manuscripts,” in *Scribes and Scripture: New Testament Essays in Honor of J. Harold Greenlee*, ed. David Alan Black (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 17–25.

⁹¹ Silva, “Text of Galatians,” 18.

⁹² Silva, “Text of Galatians,” 18.

⁹³ For a discussion of the designation “original text,” see Michael W. Holmes, “From ‘Original Text’ to ‘Initial Text’: The Traditional Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Contemporary Discussion,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed., NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 637–688.

⁹⁴ Silva, “Text of Galatians,” 23.

⁹⁵ Silva, “Text of Galatians,” 23–24.

provide a true alternative to the *singular readings method* because it still depends on singular readings to assess the scribe of the manuscript via an assessment of its transmission quality.⁹⁶ The problem remains that some singular readings are not scribal creations; they reflect the text of the scribe's exemplar. Jones acknowledges this problem, writing, ". . . it is not possible to know with *complete certainty* how a scribe changed his/her text because we lack the physical evidence, that is, the source-manuscript, to prove it."⁹⁷

2.3.2 *Close-Copy Relationships and Scribal Duplicates*

There are cases in which we can know confidently how a scribe altered his or her text. David Parker recognises one hypothetical way of determining scribal habits accurately: "The circumstances where we may be able to distinguish between a scribe and previous copyists are those where a manuscript has been copied from the same exemplar by more than one copyist. Admittedly, this is a rare situation indeed."⁹⁸ Alternatively, if the same scribe makes multiple copies of the same manuscript, a study of how those copies differ could reveal much about their scribe. If both a manuscript and its exemplar were extant, one could identify the changes made by the scribe of the copy by comparing the copy to its parent. In short, scribal habits can be determined reliably if all scribal changes can be identified reliably.

Parker presents one such case.⁹⁹ Codex Mediolanensis is a sixth-century Vulgate manuscript that contains within itself a second manuscript—a tenth-century copy of its (earlier) text of John 13:1–18:36. By comparing the two manuscripts, Parker shows that "the later text is generally either following a corrector or emending an error."¹⁰⁰ Parker lists four readings in which the two manuscripts agree against all other witnesses listed in the critical apparatuses he checks, but he also demonstrates a tendency of the copied manuscript to harmonise the text of the exemplar into conformity with the majority text.¹⁰¹ Although Parker's study is interesting, the scribal practices of a tenth-century Latin scribe have little relevance to those of Greek scribes centuries earlier. Parker himself acknowledges the problem of scribal continuity later; one cannot assume that the habits of early scribes were the same as

⁹⁶ In her assessment of P⁴⁵, Barbara Aland writes, "I take my examples from the singular readings, thus demonstrating as clearly as possible the particular nature of our copyist's scribal habits," in "The Significance of the Chester Beatty Papyri in Early Church History," 111.

⁹⁷ Jones, *New Testament Texts on Greek Amulets from Late Antiquity*, 54, emphasis original.

⁹⁸ Parker, "Scribal Tendencies and the Mechanics of Book Production," 174–75.

⁹⁹ D.C. Parker, "A Copy of the Codex Mediolanensis," *JTS* 41 (1990): 537–41.

¹⁰⁰ Parker, "A Copy of the Codex Mediolanensis," 539.

¹⁰¹ Parker, "A Copy of the Codex Mediolanensis," 538–539.

those of later scribes.¹⁰²

Another application of this approach is Douglas Burleson's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.¹⁰³ Burleson compares copying habits of five groups of related manuscripts:

1. P⁴, P⁷⁵ and Codex Vaticanus (B 03)
2. Codex Claromontanus (D^P 06) and its two copies (0319, 0320) along with F (010) and G (012)
3. Manuscripts of I^t (1, 1582, 205, 209, and 2886 [=205^{abs}])
4. Manuscripts of I^{t3} (13, 346, 543, 826 and 828)
5. The pair of minuscules 1065 and 1068

Burleson's goal was to compare copying habits both across several centuries and across several books of the New Testament.¹⁰⁴ Burleson concluded that scribes in each groups shared the following three tendencies.¹⁰⁵

1. Unintentional omissions (parablepsis)
2. Harmonisation to "near" context (same section or book)
3. Harmonisation to parallel passages

However, Burleson notes, "None of the case studies demonstrates a manner of widespread emendation based on theological agendas, but rather reveal a careful and deliberate approach to the text."¹⁰⁶

In spite of Burleson's results, he rightly concludes that these are general tendencies; although they can offer assistance, they cannot replace knowledge of individual scribes. However, Burleson accepts the *singular readings method* uncritically as a way of attaining such knowledge.¹⁰⁷ He does not question the assumptions inherent in the singular readings method.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, Burleson's study misses the opportunity to shed light on the validity of the *singular readings method*. Burleson determines the actual scribal activity in manuscripts whose exemplar is extant as well as near actual activity in close-copy relationships, but he

¹⁰² Parker, "Scribal Tendencies and the Mechanics of Book Production," 176; D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 140–141.

¹⁰³ Douglas Y. Burleson, "Case Studies in Closely Related Manuscripts for Determining Scribal Traits" (PhD thesis, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012).

¹⁰⁴ Burleson, "Case Studies," 2–4.

¹⁰⁵ Burleson, "Case Studies," 207–212.

¹⁰⁶ Burleson, "Case Studies," 212.

¹⁰⁷ Burleson, "Case Studies," 212.

¹⁰⁸ Burleson, "Case Studies," 25–27.

could have compared his results to perceived scribal activity, as it would be determined through singular and sub-singular readings. Nevertheless, Burleson's identification of general tendencies is useful.¹⁰⁹

Finally, Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Malcolm Choat take a unique approach to the study of scribal activity by studying duplicate copies of documentary texts.¹¹⁰ Yuen-Collingridge and Choat limit their study to "texts for which we have two copies written by a single scribe."¹¹¹ Through orthographic patterns, they provide evidence of visual copying, not copying by dictation.¹¹² Yuen-Collingridge and Choat raise questions more than provide answers, but they argue that "visible elements of the script itself" and "physical characteristics of the document itself" should be assessed in addition to textual alteration when studying duplicate copies of texts.¹¹³

Yuen-Collingridge and Choat's study is not intended as an alternative to the *singular readings method*. They state explicitly that their work focuses on documentary texts instead of literary texts in order "to observe the mechanics of scribal practice."¹¹⁴ Still, their work does shed light on scribes in general. Their observation that scribes used abbreviated and *plene* forms inconsistently is relevant to the present study of the purple Gospels manuscripts.¹¹⁵ As their work is solely concerned with documentary texts, it should be taken as a parallel to the *singular readings method* rather than a true alternative to it.

2.3.3 Corrections of Non-Singular Readings and Multiple-Scribe Manuscripts

A third alternative to the *singular readings method* is one taken by Dirk Jongkind. Jongkind admits the problematic assumptions of the method but seeks a

¹⁰⁹ I am aware of Alan Taylor Farnes' recently-completed PhD thesis, "Scribal Habits in Greek New Testament *Abschriften*" (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2017). The title suggests that Farnes' thesis is similar to that of Burleson, but at the time of the submission of this work, Farnes' thesis was not yet published nor accessible to me.

¹¹⁰ Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Malcolm Choat, "The Copyist at Work: Scribal Practice in Duplicate Documents," in *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie: Genève 16-21 août 2010*, Recherches et Rencontres: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève 30 (Geneva: Droz, 2012), 827–34.

¹¹¹ Yuen-Collingridge and Choat, "The Copyist at Work," 828.

¹¹² Yuen-Collingridge and Choat, "The Copyist at Work," 832.

¹¹³ Yuen-Collingridge and Choat, "The Copyist at Work," 833.

¹¹⁴ Yuen-Collingridge and Choat, "The Copyist at Work," 827.

¹¹⁵ Yuen-Collingridge and Choat, "The Copyist at Work," 832. Their conclusion is consistent with the abbreviated and *plene* forms of *nomina sacra* in the purple codices; 022 has *plene* forms where 042 abbreviates at Matt. 10:1, 10:21, Mk 10:27 and 10:30, but 042 has *plene* forms where 022 abbreviates at Matt. 16:3 (023 *plene*), 18:18 (023 *plene*) and 20:31 (023 abbreviated).

way forward.¹¹⁶ Using the special case of Codex Sinaiticus and its multiple scribes, Jongkind attempts to assess the degree to which non-singular scribal activity and inherited singular readings interfere with the ability of the *singular readings method* to determine scribal activity.

To estimate the degree to which the *singular readings method* wrongly excludes non-singular scribal creations, Jongkind studies singular and corrected readings in 1 Chronicles.¹¹⁷ 1 Chronicles 9:27–19:17 is preserved in Sinaiticus as an intrusion into the text of 2 Esdras, and it was only corrected by scribes A and D. Later correctors did not correct this section of text, and there were almost certainly no corrections made against a second exemplar, so Jongkind works from the reasonable assumption that any corrections reveal changes to the exemplar committed by the scribe.¹¹⁸ From his analysis, Jongkind identifies thirteen non-singular scribal creations. These readings range in type, though none are nonsense readings. Jongkind estimates that between 5 and 14% of scribal creations in this section of 1 Chronicles were also made by other scribes of other, non-related manuscripts.¹¹⁹

Jongkind takes a different approach to determine the degree to which inherited singular readings interfere with the results of the *singular readings method*. Jongkind applies the method to sections copied by different scribes in Psalms, Luke and the Pauline corpus. By conducting his analysis on individual sections of the codex (i.e. separate data for Psalms, Luke and Pauline literature), it is unlikely that a difference in result would be due to a different exemplar.¹²⁰ Jongkind eliminates genre-induced problems by covering a wide selection of material.¹²¹ For each section, Jongkind compares the rate per 10 folios of singular reading by type per

¹¹⁶ Hernández et al., “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri,” 14–15; Jongkind, “Singular Readings in Sinaiticus,” 37–44; Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 141–142.

¹¹⁷ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 144–164; Jongkind, “Singular Readings in Sinaiticus,” 38–41.

¹¹⁸ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 144–146.

¹¹⁹ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 160–163.

¹²⁰ It is not impossible, however, that a difference in results could be due to a change of exemplar at some point in the transmission history of Codex Sinaiticus. Gordon Fee demonstrates that Codex Sinaiticus is block-mixed in the Fourth Gospel and preserves a so-called “Western” text in John 1:1–8:38, in “Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships,” *NTS* 15 (1968): 23–44; reprinted as “Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships,” in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, by Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee, SD 45 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 221–43.

¹²¹ For example, harmonisation to parallel Gospel pericopes is possible in Luke, but not in Psalms or in the Pauline corpus.

scribe. If the results were highly contaminated by inherited singular readings, one would expect that the two scribes would have similar rates per 10 folios. On the other hand, different rates per 10 folios would indicate that inherited singular readings do not contaminate the results of the method sufficiently to render it useless. Based on his analysis of the two scribes, Jongkind proves that “the method of singular readings indeed delivers what it claims: in the case of Sinaiticus we have a window into the actual habits of the individual scribe.”¹²²

2.3.4 ***The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM)***

A final alternative to the *singular readings method* involved using the CBGM to study scribal changes originating independently in multiple manuscripts.¹²³ Holger Strutwolf proposed that by using the CBGM, one could look for textual differences between related manuscripts that appeared elsewhere in the textual tradition.¹²⁴ Strutwolf was primarily interested in this application of the CBGM as a way to measure general scribal tendencies across the whole textual tradition. Even if singular readings did reveal the activity of a scribe, it was still the activity of only one scribe of one manuscript.¹²⁵ Strutwolf gives five examples of non-singular readings that arose independently in multiple manuscripts. Rather than identify specific readings as non-genetic scribal creations, Peter J. Gurry has used the CBGM to identify general trends of scribal activity in James.¹²⁶ Gurry uses three sets of parameters in the CBGM to show a spectrum of data, classifying the resultant

¹²² Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 242. For a summary of the specific tendencies of each scribe, see pp. 242–245.

¹²³ On the CBGM, see Gerd Mink, “Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition, the New Testament: Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses,” in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, ed. Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander, and Margot van Mulken (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 13–85 and “Contamination, Coherence, and Coincidence in Textual Transmission: The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) as a Complement and Corrective to Existing Approaches,” in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes, TCSt 8 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 141–205. Though Mink was the pioneer of the CBGM, see also Klaus Wachtel, “The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method: A New Way to Reconstruct the Text of the Greek New Testament,” in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Judith H. Newman, SBLRBS 69 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 123–138.

¹²⁴ Strutwolf, “Scribal Practices.”

¹²⁵ However, the inverse of this statement is a valid criticism of the CBGM as an alternative method. The fact that general tendencies might exist and might even be observable is no guarantee that any particular manuscript was written by a scribe who had the same tendencies. Though he was not writing with respect to the CBGM, Maurice A. Robinson criticised the same emphasis on “Transcriptional Probabilities” without analysis of the scribal habits of individual manuscripts, in “Scribal Habits Among Manuscripts of the Apocalypse” (PhD thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982), 9.

¹²⁶ Peter J. Gurry, “A Critical Examination of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) in the Catholic Epistles” (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2016), 87–105.

‘scribal creations’ as additions, omissions, transpositions or substitutions. Gurry concludes, “In our study of James, we found that regardless of how much textual change is assumed to have taken place (using connectivity), the most common textual change is substitution and the lowest is transposition. With regard to omissions and additions we found that omissions outnumber additions . . . [but] the ratio of omissions to additions is far smaller than that found in previous studies.”¹²⁷

2.3.5 Conclusion on Alternative and Parallel Methods

Each of the alternative and parallel methods used to assess scribal activity has its strengths, but the difficulty remains that no single method can be applied to any New Testament manuscript save the *singular readings method*. The method of studying deviations from the assumed *Ausgangstext* works only with manuscripts genealogically close to that text, and Barbara Aland’s development and application to transmission quality still depends on singular readings, which could be inherited from the exemplar. Singular readings in earlier manuscripts could even have a higher probability of deriving from a lost exemplar due to the fact that comparatively few early witnesses survive.¹²⁸ One could apply the concept to many later manuscripts by comparing them to an edition of the Majority Text, but the method cannot be used reliably on manuscripts exhibiting block-mixture or on manuscripts that do not closely conform to any known textual clusters. Similarly, close-copy relationships can indicate scribal activity with relative certainty, but such relationships are rare. Although Burleson does identify general traits common to all scribes, individual scribal habits vary from scribe to scribe. Like Barbara Aland, Burleson must appeal to singular readings to determine individual scribal habits elsewhere. Dirk Jongkind’s method vindicates the *singular readings method* in the case of Codex Sinaiticus, but Jongkind is cautious to admit that his results are not firmly applicable to other manuscripts. His way of determining the degree to which inherited singulars contaminate the results of the *singular readings method* depends on the work of multiple scribes in a single manuscript. Consequently, the application of Jongkind’s method is limited to manuscripts copied by multiple scribes. Using the CBGM to determine scribal habits has the advantage of using more data to establish trends across the history of transmission. However, it cannot shed light on individual

¹²⁷ Gurry, “Critical Examination,” 104–105.

¹²⁸ In his 1946 Schweich Lectures on P⁴⁶ and the Pauline manuscript tradition, Günther Zuntz argued, “[T]he surviving manuscripts do not convey an adequate picture of the textual situation prior to, roughly, A.D. 400. Readings which dominate them to the practical exclusion of alternative ones may have been minority readings in early times; on the other hand, readings which existed, or even prevailed, then can have disappeared from the evidence available to us,” in *Text of the Epistles*, 84.

scribes, nor can it determine any temporal differences in scribal habits, e.g., if third-century scribes in general copied differently than tenth-century scribes.

If the *singular readings method* is to be used to determine the habits of scribes, it should be assessed further. If it continues to be vindicated in multiple avenues of research similar to that of Jongkind, it should continue to be used in manuscript studies. If other assessments find fault with the method, then perhaps it can be modified and improved. In addition to Jongkind's studies, other approaches could be taken to determine the extent to which the method reveals habits of a manuscript's *actual* scribe. Royse himself proposes a number of "additional avenues of investigation into scribal habits."¹²⁹ Royse suggests that the singular readings of a known scribe of multiple manuscripts could be studied "in order to detect what is contributed to the copy from the Vorlage and what is contributed by the scribe (that is, the effect of his scribal habits)."¹³⁰ The method could also be applied to manuscripts with block-mixture and results for each block compared. Finally, the method could be used alongside an analysis of manuscripts with close-copy relationships. Royse proposes this final "avenue of investigation" "Partly as a control on the methodology presented here," that is, the *singular readings method*.¹³¹ Royse even calls for the present study of the sixth-century Greek purple Gospels codices, mentioning specifically 022 and 042. Because the 022 and 042 were copied from the same exemplar, Royse writes, "We would thus have an excellent source of information about sixth-century scribal habits."¹³²

The block-mixture approach was attempted by Dennis Haugh, who compared his own study of "intentional singular variants" in John 5:11–to the end of John in Codex Washingtonianus (W 032) with Larry Hurtado's work on Mark's Gospel in the same manuscript.¹³³ The results of Haugh's study show that the patterns of "intentional singular variants" are not consistent between the two blocks of text, which casts a shadow of doubt on the reliability of the *singular readings method*. Unfortunately, Haugh's study is not without problems. Codex Washingtonianus exhibits block-mixture within Mark itself, and Haugh does not take this Markan block-mixture into consideration, despite his acknowledgement of its existence.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 738–742.

¹³⁰ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 739. For a discussion of research on individual scribes across multiple manuscripts attributed to them, see pp. 739–741.

¹³¹ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 739.

¹³² Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 739, n. 9.

¹³³ Dennis Haugh, "Was Codex Washingtonianus a Copy or a New Text?" in *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts: Fresh Studies of an American Treasure Trove*, ed. Larry W. Hurtado, TCSt 6 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 167–84; Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology*.

¹³⁴ Haugh, "Was Codex Washingtonianus a Copy or a New Text?" 167–168.

Furthermore, Hurtado defines singular readings as those without other attestation in Tischendorf’s 8th edition or in Legg’s edition.¹³⁵ Legg never produced an edition of John, so Haugh supplements Tischendorf with the NA²⁷, the IGNTP volume of Johannine papyri, and “the unique readings identified by Sanders.”¹³⁶ Furthermore, Haugh and Hurtado are different individuals who could classify the same variant differently.¹³⁷ Haugh’s study could have been improved by replacing Hurtado’s analysis of Mark with his own, using the same criteria in each book for establishing singularity and comparing results across each of the *three* blocks of text.¹³⁸ Cole’s study of number-writing techniques in Codex Washingtonianus also demonstrates discontinuity across textual blocks.¹³⁹

The present study takes the close-copy approach to assessing the *singular readings method* envisioned by Royse.¹⁴⁰ Because of their close relationship, the text of the common but now-lost exemplar of the sixth-century purple Gospels codices 022, 023 and 042 can be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence wherever all

¹³⁵ Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology*, 68.

¹³⁶ Haugh, “Was Codex Washingtonianus a Copy or a New Text?” 170.

¹³⁷ For example, Wayne Cornett provides an analysis of singular readings in Codex Sinaiticus in his unpublished doctoral thesis, overlapping with the work of Peter Head in Mark and of Dirk Jongkind in Luke, occasionally arriving at different conclusions about individual readings. For a discussion, see Elijah Hixson, “Scribal Tendencies in the Fourth Gospel in Alexandrinus” (ThM diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2013), 25–26; cf. Wayne E Cornett, “Singular Readings of the Firsthand Scribe of Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospels” (PhD thesis, Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009); Peter M. Head, “The Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus: Textual and Reception-Critical Considerations,” *TC* 13 (2008): 1–38; Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*.

¹³⁸ A quicker, though less exhaustive way to assess the method is to use Hurtado’s list of singular readings found in *Text-Critical Methodology*, 69–80 but to divide them into the two textual blocks of 032 in Mark’s Gospel (Mark 1:1–5:30 and 5:31–16:20) and to compare frequencies per type per block. The first block of text comprises approximately 7.25 folios, and the second block of text comprises approximately 23.5 folios. The results still show discontinuity of variation patterns across blocks of text:

Type of reading	Mark 1:1-5:30		Mark 5:31-16:20	
	Number	Frequency per folio	Number	Frequency per folio
Harmonizations	10	1.38	4	0.17
Vocabulary Preferences	12	1.66	20	0.85
Grammatical Improvements	11	1.52	3	0.13
Tense and Voice Changes	1	0.14	6	0.26
Changes Toward Concise Expression	6	0.83	20	0.85
Additions for Clarification	1	0.14	9	0.38
Significant Sense Changes	2	0.28	16	0.68
Word Order	3	0.41	8	0.34

¹³⁹ Cole, “Evaluating Scribal Freedom and Fidelity.”

¹⁴⁰ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 739.

three manuscripts are extant, and with confidence where only two of the three are extant. By comparing the reconstructed text of the exemplar with that of each manuscript, this study will identify the changes made by each scribe. However, more than sixth-century scribal habits can be gained from these three manuscripts. Application of a modified *singular readings method* gives the results of the *singular readings method* for each manuscript as though it were the only one of the three extant, making the results of the method more comparable to the results of other manuscripts that do not have any extant siblings. By comparing the results of each method of analysis, the accuracy of the *singular readings method* can be tested in the same manner against three different scribes.

2.4 Method and Modification

The present study follows the following order. First, I compare the three manuscripts with each other where all three are extant. I evaluate the scribe of each manuscript on the basis of orthography (ϵ/ι and α/ϵ variations), unit delimitation, *kephalaia* and *titloi*, the Eusebian apparatus and deviations from the reconstructed exemplar. Second, I determine perceived scribal habits by using a modified *singular readings method*, in which I treat each manuscript as if it were the only extant copy of the now-lost exemplar. Third, I determine actual scribal activity by examining the deviations of each manuscript from the reconstructed exemplar where at least two of its copies are extant. Finally, I assess the *singular readings method* by comparing the results of the two analyses.

2.4.1 Corrections or Not?

Before defining the term “singular,” we must determine whether the “reading of the manuscript” is the uncorrected text or the early-corrected text—the text as it left the scribe who wrote it (i.e. after *in scribendo* and other first-hand corrections) but before any later corrections such as those made by a second hand or made to a second exemplar. Many practitioners of the *singular readings method* do not explicitly say whether they are using the uncorrected or “early corrected” text, but it is often possible to piece together their method from the examples they give.

Hort was not explicit with regard to singular readings. He defined them as readings, “which have no other direct attestation whatever.”¹⁴¹ It is clear, however, that Hort used readings in the uncorrected text to evaluate scribal accuracy. In a list of singular “lapses” of the scribe of Codex Vaticanus, Hort lists Mark 5:38, 6:1 and

¹⁴¹ Hort, *Introduction*, 230.

7:21 as examples.¹⁴² The later re-inking does pose problems identifying the corrector, but these three “lapses” were corrected before Codex Vaticanus was re-inked.¹⁴³

Likewise, Colwell worked with the uncorrected text, but like Hort, he did not state this aspect of his method clearly. That Colwell’s singular readings were derived from the uncorrected text is evident from his statement “Nine out of ten of the nonsense readings [of P⁶⁶] are corrected, and two out of three of all his singular readings” [sic].¹⁴⁴ Royse described this aspect of Colwell’s method while stating his departure from it.¹⁴⁵ For Royse, the text of the manuscript should be the text after the original scribe has corrected it.¹⁴⁶ Royse elaborates later, “But perhaps simply from fairness to the scribe, one should attempt to understand the manuscript as he left it. In any case, this is what I have tried to do, and therefore I have considered the readings of a manuscript to be its readings after correction by the original scribe.”¹⁴⁷

A survey of other scholars who have employed the *singular readings method* affords further confirmation that there is no universally agreed-upon way of dealing with corrections. Larry Hurtado does not address corrections, but he does state that his analysis of singular readings in 032 in Mark concerns only “intentional changes”—presumably, the corrected text.¹⁴⁸ Likewise, J.K. Elliott does not say explicitly whether his pool of singular readings of P⁴⁵ consists of corrected readings or not, but he does address the text of P⁴⁵ at Mark 6:22, noting that both the reading being discussed and its correction are singular.¹⁴⁹ Mikeal C. Parsons appears

¹⁴² Hort, *Introduction*, 234.

¹⁴³ At 5:38 (p. 1284, col. 3, line 7), the extra letter is not re-inked, but neither is the faded deletion dot above the letter, which signifies that it was corrected much earlier. Mark 6:1 (p. 1284, col. 3, line 33) and 7:21 (p. 1288, col. 1, line 6) are more difficult to detect, as each involves a letter added interlinearly and re-inked. Still, the original, faded ink can be seen around the darker re-inking, demonstrating that the correction was made early in the manuscript’s history.

Paul Canart suggests that Codex Vaticanus was re-inked twice. Tischendorf concluded that the first re-inking was done in the 9th or 10th century, and while Canart sees merit in Tischendorf’s date, he cautions against accepting Tischendorf’s date as certain until more work can be done. The later, partial re-inking was undertaken by a scribe who was not as skilled as the first, and this second re-inking took place in the second half of the twelfth century. Canart cites page 1206 in Codex Vaticanus as evidence of this second re-inking scribe, and both instances of re-inking can be clearly identified on p. 1207. “Le Vaticanus graecus 1209: notice paléographique et codicologique,” in *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*, ed. Patrick Andrist, HTB 7 (Lausanne: Zèbre, 2009), 26, 43.

¹⁴⁴ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 118.

¹⁴⁵ Royse, “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri,” 50; Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 74.

¹⁴⁶ Royse, “Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri,” 51.

¹⁴⁷ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 76.

¹⁴⁸ Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology*, 68.

¹⁴⁹ Elliott, “Singular Readings in the Gospel Text of P⁴⁵,” 128.

to have used the uncorrected text of P⁷⁵ when he studied its singulars.¹⁵⁰ Peter M. Head and Dirk Jongkind base their analyses on singular readings in the uncorrected text.¹⁵¹ Additionally, Juan Hernández, Jr. explicitly indicates that his treatment of manuscripts of the Apocalypse is based on the corrected text, whereas Wayne Cornett and Gregory Paulson both use the uncorrected text in their unpublished doctoral theses.¹⁵²

The present study follows Royse's version of the *singular readings method* with respect to corrections. The text of each manuscript is the corrected text of each manuscript insofar that the original scribe made the corrections and that they do not derive from a second exemplar. All corrections in 023 satisfy both conditions. Both 022 and 042, however, contain corrections to a second exemplar.¹⁵³ The scribe of 042 was responsible both for the initial corrections (042¹) and for the corrections against a second exemplar (042²). However, the scribe of 022 was only responsible for the initial corrections (022¹). A different scribe corrected 022 to a second exemplar at the time of its production (022²).¹⁵⁴ The texts of 022 and 042 for the purposes of this study include 022¹ and 042¹ corrections, and corrections made *in scribendo* are noted where they elucidate the copy-practices of these scribes.

2.4.2 **Where All Three Are Extant**

Before reconstructing the lost exemplar of the purple Gospels trio, it is necessary to form a profile of each scribe. This is achieved by comparing several aspects of all three manuscripts where they are all extant.¹⁵⁵ For multiple scribes in Codex Sinaiticus, Jongkind compared the use of *nomina sacra*, ligatures, orthography, unit delimitation, the Eusebian apparatus, numbering and *kephalaia*, as well as singular readings.¹⁵⁶ A similar approach is taken in this study, and the precise

¹⁵⁰ Mikeal C. Parsons, "A Christological Tendency in P⁷⁵," *JBL* 105 (1986): 474. Parsons discusses the pre-correction reading at Luke 24:26. See also Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 702–703.

¹⁵¹ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 141. Jongkind also discusses the corrections in Codex Sinaiticus. Evidence for Head's use of uncorrected readings comes from his discussions of the corrections in P⁵ at John 1:38 and 20:19 in Head, "Habits of New Testament Copyists," 404. Head notes, both in the appendix and in discussions, whether each singular reading has been corrected in "The Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus." In Head's earlier work, however, it is possible that he undertook his analysis on the corrected text. The uncorrected reading of P³⁷ at Matthew 26:26 is singular, but Head does not mention it in "Observations on Early Papyri," 244.

¹⁵² Hernández, *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences*, 57; Cornett, "Singular Readings," 18; Paulson, "Scribal Habits in Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Ephraemi, Bezae, and Washingtonianus in the Gospel of Matthew," 13.

¹⁵³ For a full discussion of the secondary corrections in 022 and 042, see Appendix Eight.

¹⁵⁴ On the 022² and 042² corrections, see Appendix Eight.

¹⁵⁵ These places are Matt. 7:7–15, 11:5–12, 13:7–33, 13:41–47, 13:55–14:4, 15:11–14, 15:31–16:7, 18:5–25, 19:6–10, 20:9–21:5 and 21:12–19.

¹⁵⁶ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*.

method of comparison is outlined in Chapter Three.

The results of comparing the manuscripts where all three are extant permits an informed decision to be made regarding the text of the exemplar where only two of its copies survive. Emerging patterns will result in a reasoning process that is spiral, not circular. Easily-identifiable scribal errors and textual changes that can be objectively identified will inform decisions that have some degree of uncertainty, which can, in turn, inform more difficult decisions.¹⁵⁷

2.4.3 A Modified Singular Readings Method

After establishing a profile of each manuscript in order to provide an objective backdrop against which difficult cases can be decided, this study will assess each manuscript using a modified *singular readings method*. Singular readings of each manuscript are compiled and classified along with “family readings”—those readings found only in members of the 022-023-042 family. This modification is not intended to tailor the results of this study but to better represent the situation for most New Testament manuscripts, which, unlike 022, 023 and 042, do not have two sibling-manuscripts sharing a common exemplar. This modification allows the method to include not only readings exclusive to each manuscript but also family readings found only elsewhere in the other two manuscripts. These family readings would most likely be classified as singular readings in other manuscripts that have no extant siblings. Thus, the *modified singular readings method* is intended to produce the results that the *singular readings method* would produce for 022, 023 and 042 if each manuscript were the only extant copy of its exemplar.

Unfortunately, there is no uniform agreement among scholars as to how one should isolate singular readings, or even to what degree the isolation of singular readings should be exhaustive. E.C. Colwell included readings that have no other support in Tischendorf’s 8th edition or what he vaguely describes as “the support of recent finds.”¹⁵⁸ Among his own publications, Peter M. Head has applied different criteria to isolate singular readings. In his 1990 article on scribal habits in fragmentary manuscripts of the synoptic Gospels, he defined “singular reading” as “a reading found in neither Tischendorf nor NA²⁶ nor a particularly related MS.”¹⁵⁹ Head’s 2004 analysis of the Johannine papyri used more exhaustive criteria for isolating singular readings: “NA²⁷, Tischendorf⁸, von Soden and Swanson.”¹⁶⁰ Later

¹⁵⁷ See the discussion of Matthew 22:4 later in this chapter at 2.4.4 as an example of this process.

¹⁵⁸ Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” 108–109. Colwell added on p. 109 that “no rigorous effort was made to go beyond the evidence of Tischendorf’s apparatus.”

¹⁵⁹ Head, “Observations on Early Papyri,” 242.

¹⁶⁰ Head, “Habits of New Testament Copyists,” 400.

still, Head defined the singular readings in the Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus as readings “with no other attestation in Swanson.”¹⁶¹ Royse is perhaps the most exhaustive in his quest to identify readings that are as truly singular as one can know. In addition to Tischendorf’s 8th edition, Royse isolates singular readings with all of the following editions: Soden, Clark, NA^{25–27}, UBS^{3–4}, Aland’s *Synopsis quattuor Evangeliorum*, Legg’s volumes on Matthew and Mark, the IGNTP volumes on Luke and John, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*, Swanson’s volumes on Matthew–Galatians and Hoskier’s work on the Apocalypse.¹⁶² Other scholars have used a variety of combinations of critical editions to isolate singular readings.¹⁶³ For the present study, singular readings are defined as those without additional support in Tischendorf’s 8th edition, Legg’s and Swanson’s volumes on Matthew, NA²⁸, and Soden.¹⁶⁴ Soden’s apparatus presents a unique difficulty necessitating some exceptions, which I explain below.

It is necessary to ignore some orthographic variants when assessing singular readings, but this practice is not without precedent. Royse ignores ε/ι, α/ε and ο/υ variants, offering a full explanation for his decision.¹⁶⁵ Likewise, Jongkind ignores ε/ι and α/ε variations in his discussion of singular readings.¹⁶⁶ Francis Gignac describes the ε/ι interchange as “very frequent . . . in all phonetic environments throughout the Romans and Byzantine periods,” and he gives a similar description of the frequency of the α/ε interchange.¹⁶⁷ Likewise, W. Andrew Smith notes “the widespread confusion between ε and α (often with verb forms) and between ι and ει.”¹⁶⁸ John W. Wevers makes similar remarks about the ubiquity of ε/ι and α/ε

¹⁶¹ Head, “The Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus,” 22, 36.

¹⁶² Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 65.

¹⁶³ For the sake of brevity, I will not list here what others have summarised. See, for example, Ebojo, “A Scribe and His Manuscript,” 42–43, n. 158.

¹⁶⁴ Constantine von Tischendorf, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece, Editio Octava Critica Maior*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869); S.C.E. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece secundum textum Westcotto-Hortianum: Evangelium secundum Matthaëum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940); Reuben Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus: Matthew* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey International University Press, 1995); *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed., edited by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung Münster Westphalia under the direction of Holger Strutwolf (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012); Hermann von Soden, ed., *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913).

¹⁶⁵ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 79–81.

¹⁶⁶ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 142.

¹⁶⁷ Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1, TDSA 55 (Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino-La goliardica, 1976), 189–191.

¹⁶⁸ W. Andrew Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*, NTTSD 48 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 245.

interchanges in a brief article on scribal error in Greek manuscripts of Genesis ranging in age from approximately 50 BCE through the 15th century CE.¹⁶⁹ For the purposes of singular readings, the present study ignores ει/ι and α/ε interchanges, but it includes ο/υ interchanges because they are infrequent among 022, 023 and 042.¹⁷⁰ I discuss interchanges of ει/ι and α/ε in 022, 023 and 042 in Chapter Three.

2.4.4 **Actual Scribal Activity**

In order to determine the actual scribal activity, one must reconstruct the text of the now-lost exemplar and compare to it the text of each of its copies. Where all three manuscripts are extant and two agree, the reconstructed text of the exemplar is the reading shared by two of the three copies. The diverging copy is assumed to contain the scribal change.¹⁷¹

In the few places where the parent text is difficult to reconstruct with certainty, the preliminary profile of each scribe as undertaken in Chapter Three usually sheds some light on the text. An example of such an instance is Matthew 22:4 (παλιν δε απεστειλεν 023 / παλιν απεστειλεν 042 and the majority of manuscripts). One cannot presume that the majority reading was the reading of the parent text simply because it is the majority reading, as Cronin seems to have done in this case.¹⁷² Gribomont rightly objects to the practice, stating, “The reading of the model [i.e. the exemplar] is not necessarily that [which is] common to many manuscripts.”¹⁷³ Nevertheless, neither can one assume, as Gribomont seems to do, that the minority (or in this case, singular) reading was the parent reading and that the other manuscript inserted the better-known text.¹⁷⁴ It is necessary to consider the tendencies of the manuscripts themselves. The conjunction δε marks development in

¹⁶⁹ J.W. Wevers, “A Note on Scribal Error,” *CJL* 17 (1972): 189–190.

¹⁷⁰ However, these interchanges are the focus of the orthographical comparison of all three manuscripts in Chapter Three.

¹⁷¹ It is possible that at any given point, only one manuscript preserves the text of the exemplar or that none of the manuscripts preserve the text of the exemplar. However, this scenario is unlikely. In general, the scribes of these three manuscripts tended to be conservative, rarely making intentional changes. The comparison of all three manuscripts in Chapter Three confirms this observation.

¹⁷² After listing Matt. 22:4 as unique in 023, Cronin wrote, “The unique readings are, moreover, unimportant and can be ascribed to incuria,” in “Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis,” *JTS* 2 (1901): 597.

¹⁷³ Jean Gribomont, “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, *Codices Mirabiles* 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 197.

¹⁷⁴ “The reading of the model is not necessarily that common to many manuscripts; on the contrary, it is likely that a rare reading of the model was replaced by a banal reading, with which the scribe was acquainted,” in Gribomont, “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 197.

the discourse,¹⁷⁵ and its addition to 22:4 is an editorial reading. If 042 preserves the text of the exemplar (without δε), then the scribe of 023 would have added one word. This addition—even as an editorial reading—seems atypical for the scribe of 023, especially because it cannot be explained by harmonization. However, if the scribe of 023 copied the unique reading from the exemplar, the shorter reading in 042 would have arisen by the scribe aligning the text with the majority of manuscripts—a common type of editorial change in 042.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, in Matt. 22:4, the best explanation for the diverging texts of 023 and 042 is that the exemplar contained the unique reading *παλιν δε απεστειλεν*. This reading was faithfully copied by the scribe of 023, but during the production of 042, its scribe omitted one word from the text of the exemplar, probably to align 042 to a more well-known reading.

After a series of criticisms of Royse’s use of singular readings to determine scribal habits, David Parker concedes that it is possible that the criticisms are irrelevant and that the *singular readings method* works. He writes, “the proof of the pudding is in the eating. If reliable evidence emerges from the study of singular readings that a particular scribe tended to make certain errors, then we have to accept that the difficulties expressed in the previous paragraph may not after all be fatal.”¹⁷⁷ Parker does see evidence that the *singular readings method* works. We must likewise acknowledge here that if singular readings reveal similar tendencies of scribes, then regardless of the criticisms of the method, the method works in practice. If the *singular readings method* falls short of relaying accurately the scribal habits of the purple Gospels codices, it might be possible to offer some suggestions for improvement based on the findings of the present study.

2.4.5 **A Note on von Soden**

It is necessary to provide a brief explanation for the use of Hermann von Soden’s *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. Soden’s critical apparatus is famously replete with error.¹⁷⁸ Royse discusses the usefulness of Soden’s work, writing, “My

¹⁷⁵ On the function of δε to mark development, see Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis*, Lexham Bible Reference Series (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2010), 28–36.

¹⁷⁶ Alternatively, a change by the scribe of 042 could be a harmonization to Mark (12:4), which is common among places where 042 differs from 022 and 023 and is a peculiar tendency of the scribe of 042. A simple omission of one word in 042 is not impossible, either.

¹⁷⁷ Parker, “Review of James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*,” 256.

¹⁷⁸ See, for example, H.C. Hoskier’s scathing review of Soden’s text and apparatus, “Von Soden’s Text of the New Testament,” *JTS* 15 (1914): 307–26. See also Frederik Wisse, *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence, as Applied to the Continuous Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke*, SD 44 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 16–17.

impression, for what it is worth, is that von Soden's positive citations of a reading from a manuscript are almost always accurate, but that inferences from group citations or (even more so) negative citations are far too often incorrect."¹⁷⁹ Still, Royse, Jongkind and others use Soden to isolate singular readings, and Soden's comments on harmonisations are useful.

The difficulty with Soden's apparatus relevant to the present study is due to his manuscript groupings. As Royse notices, Soden is often inaccurate with respect to group citations. Soden classifies all five purple codices from the 6th century into a single group, *I*^π. This group includes 080 and 043. The former manuscript is not a problem for this study; it is fragmentary and only extant in Mark's Gospel.¹⁸⁰ However, 043 is extant for parts of Matthew and Mark, and although it is not an immediate copy of the same exemplar as the 022-023-042 trio, 043 is still a close relative.¹⁸¹ Soden rarely cites individual members of his *I*^π group; instead, he cites the group as a whole and sometimes designates whether he refers to a specific member of the group or to the whole group with the exception of a specific member. It is usually the case that where Soden cites at least one member of his *I*^π group, at least one of the manuscripts has the reading attributed to the group. In the isolation of singular readings, readings are rejected as non-singular if Soden gives support for the reading from manuscripts not in the *I*^π group. However, if Soden cites his *I*^π group for a reading, the text of 043 is checked against Pierre Batiffol's edition of 043, and if possible, against images of the manuscript itself.¹⁸² Unfortunately, 043 has been damaged significantly since Batiffol's transcription, and one should not assume that an editor in the 1880s holds the same standards of accuracy as a modern editor.¹⁸³ Where I have been able to check Batiffol's edition against what is still legible in 043, his edition appears to be generally trustworthy.

2.4.6 An Explanation of the Textual Discussions

Finally, I reference many verses multiple times throughout the following chapters. In most cases, the same aspect of the verse is the purpose of each reference. For example, a family reading where all three manuscripts are extant will appear in

¹⁷⁹ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, xxviii.

¹⁸⁰ For a pseudo-facsimile of 080, see Porphyry Uspensky, *Восток христианский Египет и Синай* (St. Petersburg: вь литографіи Прохорова, 1857). See also Appendix Seven.

¹⁸¹ Hermann von Soden, ed., *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911), 1246.

¹⁸² Pierre Batiffol, *Les manuscrits grecs de Bérat D'Albanie: et le Codex Purpureus Φ*, *Extrait des archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886).

¹⁸³ Many thanks are due to Didier Lafleur for cautioning me against uncritically trusting Batiffol's edition of 043.

the section of singular and family readings in the chapter for each manuscript. To save space, I discuss these instances fully only once. For other instances, a footnote refers the reader to the section containing the full discussion.

Comparing Scribes: Textual and Paratextual Features Where All Three Manuscripts Are Extant

“Within the documentary record, the category of duplicate copies presents a rare opportunity to observe the mechanics of scribal practice.”

–Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Malcolm Choat, 2010¹

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an objective foundation for subjective decisions, which will be necessary later in this study. Where only two manuscripts are extant, it can be nearly impossible to determine which manuscript preserves the parent text and which one contains the change. However, it will be useful to provide a preliminary assessment of each manuscript based on a comparison with the other two manuscripts where all three are extant. Knowledge of each manuscript based on such a comparison will inform decisions where only two manuscripts are extant. This chapter will examine in each manuscript orthography, unit delimitation, *kephalaia* and *titloi*, the Eusebian apparatus and deviations from the exemplar, both corrected and uncorrected, in each manuscript. All three manuscripts are extant in the following passages of Matthew’s Gospel: 7:7–15, 11:5–12, 13:7–33, 13:41–47, 13:55–14:4, 15:11–14, 15:31–16:7, 18:5–25², 19:6–10, 20:9–21:5 and 21:12–19. Occasionally it is necessary to compare manuscripts where only two are extant. Those cases will be noted; otherwise, this chapter examines each manuscript only where all three are extant.

I discuss access to the manuscripts in detail at the beginning of Chapters Four (022), Five (023) and Six (042). For difficulties posed by inaccessible sections, particularly for 023, I refer readers to those discussions.

¹ Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Malcolm Choat, “The Copyist at Work: Scribal Practice in Duplicate Documents,” in *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie: Genève 16-21 août 2010*, Recherches et Rencontres: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l’Université de Genève 30 (Geneva: Droz, 2012), 827.

² The Mauriupol leaf of Codex Sinopensis is no longer extant. Henri Omont edited its text, containing Matt. 18:9–16, and he reported that a photograph of the leaf was kept with the rest of the manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, in “Un nouveau feuillet du Codex Sinopensis de l’Évangile de Saint Matthieu,” *Journal des savants*, 1901, 260–62. Since this leaf has been edited, photographed and published, it will be treated as if it were still extant.

3.1.1 Orthography

In his detailed study of Codex Alexandrinus, W. Andrew Smith summarises succinctly the typical way the orthography of a manuscript is studied: “the manuscript spellings are compared with ‘normalized’ Greek spelling and the variation patterns are recorded.”³ Smith then undertakes such a detailed study, though he limits his pool of data to orthographic variations in the Gospels. Dirk Jongkind takes a different approach, however, in his monograph on Codex Sinaiticus. Jongkind is concerned only with itacisms, so he calculates the number of ϵ/ι and α/ϵ interchanges in sections of text copied by scribes A, B(2) and D and is able to determine an average number of itacisms per folio, per scribe.⁴ Lacking the exemplar, one is only able to determine the orthographic peculiarities of a manuscript; nevertheless, both Smith and Jongkind are able to gain some knowledge of scribes by comparing the orthographic data from sections copied by different scribes. Still, some orthographic “mistakes” might have been present already in the exemplar. At Matt. 19:9, for example, 022, 023 and 042 all have $\pi\omicron\rho\nu\iota\alpha$ instead of the normalised form $\pi\omicron\rho\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$. It is unlikely that all three scribes have independently used a non-standard form at this point, so the form $\pi\omicron\rho\nu\iota\alpha$ must have been present in the exemplar already.

In order to assess the relative orthography of the scribes, this study will focus on instances in which one scribe departs from the reading of the other two in ϵ/ι and α/ϵ variations. The majority reading of the three manuscripts is taken to be the reading of the exemplar, unless otherwise noted. Admittedly, this assumption does not guarantee complete accuracy, but Jongkind’s method does not achieve complete accuracy by comparing different sections of the same manuscript copied by different scribes—the goal is to determine *relative* orthographic tendencies among the scribes.⁵ With the method used here, it is always possible that two scribes changed the text and only one copied it as it was. In general, however, this method should be sufficient to measure the relative orthographic accuracy of each scribe.

³ W. Andrew Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*, NTTSD 48 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 225–226.

⁴ Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, TS, Third Series 5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007), 90–94. Amy Myshrahl identifies a fourth scribe, showing that Scribe B should be understood as Scribe B1 (Isaiah) and Scribe B2 (the Prophets and Shepherd of Hermas), in “The Presence of a Fourth Scribe?,” in *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*, ed. Scot McKendrick et al. (London: The British Library and Hendrickson, 2015), 139–148. Dan Batovici argues that Myshrahl was incorrect in her identification of two B scribes in “Two B Scribes in Codex Sinaiticus?,” *BASP* 54 (2017): 197–206.

⁵ Jongkind admits the possible influence of the exemplar’s orthography, at least in the case of Scribe A in Matthew, in *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 93.

Most orthographic variants will be discussed in later chapters, so this chapter will deal with the orthographic variants not covered there. Because one of the goals of this study is to assess the *singular readings method* of scribal habits research, the orthographic variations ignored by practitioners of the method will be ignored when the method is applied to the study of scribal habits in later chapters. James Royse ignores the orthographic interchanges ϵ/ι , α/ϵ and \omicron/υ in his study of the scribal habits of the early papyri.⁶ Juan Hernández, Jr. likewise ignores the ϵ/ι , α/ϵ and \omicron/υ interchanges in his monograph on scribal habits in the Apocalypse.⁷ Both Jongkind and Smith include ϵ/ι and α/ϵ interchanges in their work, but they are used to compare the orthography of multiple scribes, not to assess scribal habits.⁸ Scribal orthography can still be useful to build a profile of each scribe. Consequently, although ϵ/ι and α/ϵ interchanges will be ignored in later chapters to follow the examples of the major practitioners of the *singular readings method*, they will be considered here.

3.1.2 Unit Delimitation

A number of scholars in recent years have written on unit delimitation in biblical manuscripts.⁹ In spite of the attention given to unit divisions in biblical manuscripts, scholars are not always in agreement as to what precisely constitutes a delimitation marker. In a survey of Isaiah 1–12 in four Septuagint manuscripts, Wim de Bruin lists three types of markers—enlarged capitals, spaces and dots—but specifically mentions that *paraphoi* are not included in the analysis.¹⁰ Stanley E. Porter analyses I1043 (5th c., P.Vindob. Gr. 2324) and lists nine different markers, some of which are used to mark both major and minor divisions, “short final line,

⁶ James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 81. Royse provides reason for his decision not to include these readings in his study on pp. 79–80, stating, “Such variations rarely have any possible effect on the sense of a passage, and the practice of a particular scribe may show no consistency.”

⁷ Juan Hernández Jr., *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse: The Singular Readings of Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi*, WUNT 2.218 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2006), 54, 20.

⁸ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 90–94, 142; Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 225–245.

⁹ For a survey of research through 2014 and an analysis of unit delimitation in Codex Alexandrinus, see Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 190–219. More recently, Sean A. Adams has written on paragraph divisions in Mark 14–16 in Codices Sinaiticus, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, in “Mark, Manuscripts, and Paragraphs: Sense-Unit Divisions in Mark 14–16,” in *Mark, Manuscripts, and Monotheism: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado*, ed. Chris Keith and Dieter T. Roth, LNTS 528 (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), 61–78.

¹⁰ Wim de Bruin, “Interpreting Delimiters: The Complexity of Text Delimitation in Four Major Septuagint Manuscripts,” in *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division*, ed. Marjo C.A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch, Pericope 3 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002), 68.

double dot, space,” “raised dot,” “ekthesis, paragraphos,” “coronis” and “larger letter.”¹¹ Distinction is even possible within Porter’s markers: a “raised dot” could be either a high stop (´) or a medial stop (·).¹²

Additionally, one is faced with the problem of criteria when analysing unit delimitation in manuscripts. Unless it is stated explicitly, it is impossible to know why a scribe divided a text in one place and not in another. Jeongseop Ahn analyses unit divisions in eleven Gospels manuscripts, including 022, and assigns one or more of five criteria (section breaks, quotations, subject or speaker shifts, action verbs and exclamatory terms) to explain each division.¹³ Unfortunately, Ahn’s criteria are not helpful for this study. Quotations could be placed under the umbrella of subject or speaker shifts, and defining “section break” should be a hopeful outcome of examining criteria, not a criterion itself. Moreover, Ahn does not incorporate the presence of the Eusebian Apparatus, and Smith demonstrates that in Codex Alexandrinus, there is a correlation between paragraph divisions and the presence of the Eusebian apparatus.¹⁴

Given the complexity of unit delimitation and the possibility that scribes could use the same delimitation markers differently,¹⁵ this chapter will consider mainly *ekthesis*, or an enlarged letter extending into the margin. Each manuscript employs *ekthesis*, raised stops and spaces of varying lengths, and these are discussed in the *editiones principes*.¹⁶ Unfortunately, many of the raised dots, especially in 022 and 042 are almost too faint to detect; it is possible that many of them are *in fact* too faint to detect, and Omont did not always reproduce raised stops in 023.¹⁷ The spaces

¹¹ Stanley E. Porter, “The Influence of Unit Delimitation on Reading and Use of Greek Manuscripts,” in *Method in Unit Delimitation*, ed. Marjo C.A. Korpel, Josef M. Oesch, and Stanley E. Porter, Pericope 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 57–58.

¹² Smith discusses the historical situation around Aristophanes of Byzantium (III c. B.C.E), to whom this system of punctuation is attributed, and Dionysius Thrax (II/I c. B.C.E.), who described it, in *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 198–201.

¹³ Jeongseop Ahn, “Segmentation Features in New Testament Manuscripts: An Overlooked Resource for Editors and Translators” (PhD thesis, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012). The criteria are listed on p. 23.

¹⁴ Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 212–19.

¹⁵ Porter, “The Influence of Unit Delimitation on Reading and Use of Greek Manuscripts,” 56.

¹⁶ H.S. Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus: The Text of Codex N of the Gospels Edited with an Introduction and an Appendix*, TS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), xxxvi–xxxvii; Henri Omont, “Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec de l’Evangile de saint Matthieu, en onciales d’or sur parchemin pourpré et orné de miniatures, conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale (no. 1286 du Supplément grec),” in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 36 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1901), 605–606; Oscar von Gebhardt, “Die Evangelien des Matthaeus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” TUGAL 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1883), xxii.

¹⁷ Two examples came to light when comparing Omont’s editions with images obtained from the Bibliothèque nationale de France. In f. 13r, line 3 and in f. 16v, line 7, the images reveal

employed by each scribe are quite subjective. At times, one can observe the slightest of spaces between words in 042, and at times the scribe leaves a space large enough for several letters. The range of lengths of spaces contributes to the complexity of their use. Perhaps longer spaces indicate a stronger division in the text, or perhaps longer spaces indicate places where the scribe(s) simply decided to leave longer spaces.¹⁸ For the purposes of this study, minor unit delimitation will not be compared (i.e. spacing and raised stops), but medium-to-major unit delimitation will be analysed (i.e. *ekthesis* and additional markings in 023). The unit delimitation in 022 and 042 is relatively simple: for divisions larger than what would be indicated by a raised stop (i.e. “paragraphs” as opposed to sentences or clauses), the scribes indicate a new division of text with an enlarged letter extending into the margin to the left of the text, or *ekthesis*. The *ekthetic* letter is usually the first letter of the new unit, but occasionally, the scribe begins the new unit on the previous line. In 023, there are far fewer instances of *ekthesis*, but the scribe uses a greater variety of unit delimiters. In addition to *ekthesis*, there are double-stops (:), triple-stops (:) and marginal section markers (7).¹⁹ This study does not intend to produce an exhaustive list of criteria used by the scribes. For 022 and 042, it is noted whether *ekthesis* is used concurrently with a new *kephalaia*, the Eusebian apparatus or a conjunction; any other observations are noted, such as a change in speaker. For 023, in which there are far fewer unit divisions, only *kephalaia* and the presence or absence of the Eusebian apparatus are noted.

3.1.3 *Kephalaia and Titloi*

In addition to the text and its format, the paratextual features of each scribe should be studied. The *kephalaia* and *titloi* provide a good opportunity to compare the work of the scribes, because in the three purple codices, *four* sets of *titloi* survive. In 042, a folio containing a list of *kephalaia*, or major sections, precedes both Matthew’s and Mark’s Gospels. Both in the *kephalaia* lists and in the margins above

raised stops not produced in Omont’s edition.

¹⁸ Porter distinguishes between major and minor divisions in the Gospels, providing a descriptive list of the divisions relevant to his study in “The Influence of Unit Delimitation on Reading and Use of Greek Manuscripts,” 55–58.

¹⁹ Occasionally, 023 has marginal *paragraphoi* (Ϟ). The state of the manuscript makes many *paragraphoi* impossible to see. For example, Omont reports a *paragraphos* at 11:7 (f. 3r), in Omont, “Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec,” 611. The image is ambiguous, however. There appears to be a faint smudge in the left margin with a slight gold tint, but I cannot tell with certainty that it is a *paragraphos*. The precise function of the *paragraphoi* is unclear as well. They could either mark unit delimitation or simply add a flourish to existing unit delimitation—most of the *paragraphoi* Omont reports accompany instances of the Eusebian apparatus or a new *kephalaion*. Because many instances are unclear and their function is uncertain, I omit them from the full analysis in this chapter, mentioning them only where they are clearly relevant.

the Gospel text, the *titloi*, or descriptions of the sections, are written in an upright pointed majuscule script, distinct from the biblical majuscule of the Gospel text.²⁰ Additionally, the marginal *titloi* for each section (*kephalaion*) in 022 are written in gold ink, though the *kephalaia* numbers are not. These differences shed light on the relative freedom each scribe was given, so a study of these features should reveal more about the scribe's tendencies. Jongkind does not study the *kephalaia* and *titloi* in the Gospels in Codex Sinaiticus, and due to the large portion of Matthew's Gospel no longer extant in Codex Alexandrinus, Smith's study does not include much data relevant to this study. For *kephalaia* and *titloi* in other Greek NT manuscripts, we are dependent on Swanson.²¹

3.1.4 The Eusebian Apparatus

The ancient cross-referencing system devised by Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 265–339) can provide additional information about the scribes of our three manuscripts. Based on the previous work of a certain Ammonius of Alexandria (ca. 3rd cent.),²² Eusebius placed each section of the Gospels into one of ten groups, organised by content shared by other Gospels and generally following the order of the Gospel of Matthew. A section found in all four Gospels was placed in Group 1, a section in the Synoptics but not in the Fourth Gospel was placed in Group 2, etc. An Ammonian section number was placed in the margin with its corresponding canon number next to the section it signified. A user of the manuscript would turn to the canon tables, presumably at the beginning of the manuscript, locate the table for the canon number given, locate the section number within that table and find the section numbers for corresponding sections in other Gospels. Eusebius' *Epistula ad Carpianum*, explaining the system, usually accompanied the canon tables in a manuscript. The marginal apparatus, canon tables and *Epistula ad Carpianum* continue to be printed in modern editions of the Greek New Testament.²³

²⁰ The scripts of 042 are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

²¹ Reuben Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus: Matthew* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey International University Press, 1995), 1–6.

²² This Ammonius could have been Ammonius Saccas, who was a Christian before leaving the faith for Greek philosophy. Ammonius Saccas taught in Alexandria from ca. 192–242 C.E. and before his apostasy, he would have written the work *On the Agreement Between Moses and Jesus*, upon which Eusebius based his work. Alternatively, the author of the treatise could have been another Ammonius living in Alexandria around the same time. For a summary, see Salvatore Lilla, "Ammonius Saccas," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014), 103–105. Matthew R. Crawford hesitantly identifies Ammonius as "Origen's instructor in philosophy [who] also composed Christian works," in "Ammonius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea and the Origins of Gospels Scholarship," *NTS* 61 (2015): 4–6.

²³ The classic introductory article on the Eusebian apparatus is Harvey K. McArthur, "The

The Eusebian Canon tables do not survive in any of our three manuscripts, and only half of the *Epistula ad Carpianum* survives in 042. However, the marginal apparatus survives in each of the manuscripts, and it is possible to compare its transmission by the three scribes. Jongkind and Smith both used the Eusebian apparatus in the NA²⁷ as a comparative base for evaluating its transmission in Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus, respectively,²⁴ and Jongkind supplemented his study with data from Swanson's volumes and the Stuttgart Vulgate. Because this study seeks to determine the scribe's faithfulness relative to each other in transmitting the text, it is less relevant whether the Eusebian apparatus is "correct" but rather whether it is unique among the three manuscripts. Consequently, if all three manuscripts agree in the text and placement of the Eusebian apparatus, that instance will be ignored, even if it varies from other known readings.

3.1.5 *Deviations From the Exemplar*

Finally, this chapter will undertake a preliminary assessment of scribal habits by comparing each scribe's textual deviations from the exemplar. It is much easier to determine the text of the exemplar where all three manuscripts are extant than to determine the exemplaric text with only two witnesses. By examining the number and type of deviations from the exemplar, both corrected and uncorrected, we can establish a base of knowledge that will inform textual decision about the exemplar where only two manuscripts are extant.²⁵ In order to assess the assumptions of the *singular readings method* in later chapters, the reconstruction of the text of the lost exemplar must be as objective as possible. Measuring deviations from that text where all three manuscripts are extant should provide a degree of objectivity to that reconstruction.

In the case of deviations from the exemplar, corrections must be taken into

Eusebian Sections and Canons," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 27 (1965): 250–56. For more recent treatments of the Eusebian apparatus, see Gaspar Ladosci and Stefan Samulowitz, "Eusebian Canons," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014), 870–871, Thomas O'Loughlin, "Harmonizing the Truth: Eusebius and the Problem of the Four Gospels," *Traditio* 65 (2010): 1–29 and Satoshi Toda, "The Eusebian Canons: Their Implications and Potential," in *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament" Papers from the Eighth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS, Third Series 11 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 27–43.

²⁴ Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 143, 333–346; Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 110–115, 263–286.

²⁵ For example, suppose a comparison of all three manuscripts in the same places reveals that 042 has a noticeable number of unique harmonisations to Mark's Gospel, but that 022 has few omissions. If there is a variant where only 042 and 022 are extant, and the possible explanations of the variant are either the scribe of 042 harmonised the exemplaric text to Mark or the scribe of 022 omitted text present in the exemplar, the solution is most likely that the scribe of 042 harmonised, and 022 preserves the text of the exemplar.

consideration. The goal is to determine the habits of the scribe, so a distinction must be made between corrections made by the scribe who first copied the manuscript and those of later scribes or editors. The text, corrected by the scribe who wrote it, represents the text that scribe intended to produce. This study will follow the example of Royse, who writes, “. . . perhaps simply from fairness to the scribe, one should attempt to understand the manuscript as he left it. In any case, that is what I have tried to do, and therefore I have considered the readings of a manuscript to be its readings after correction by the original scribe”.²⁶

The text of the exemplar is assumed to be the majority reading of 022, 023 and 042, unless otherwise noted. The data is presented in two forms: the primary data set is the text the scribe intended to write (i.e. the text *after* corrections *in scribendo* or corrections that can be attributed to the *prima manu*, but *before* later corrections); the secondary data set consists of corrected readings before the [first] scribe corrected them. By examining the text that the scribe intended to produce, one may look for transmission patterns that result in significant changes to the text. The strictly uncorrected readings will show the relative degree of inaccuracy. Together, these two data sets should provide a layer of objectivity for assessing instances in which it is not clear which scribe changed the text.

²⁶ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 76.

3.2 Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N 022)

3.2.1 Orthography in 022

Table 3.1: ει/ι interchanges in 022 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	022	042/023	Standardised	Notes
7:7a	αιτιτε	αιτειτε	αἰτεῖτε	ει > ι, in medial position
7:7b	ζητιτε	ζητειτε	ζητεῖτε	ει > ι, in medial position
7:11	υμιc	υμειc	ὕμεις	ει > ι, in final position
7:12	υμιc	υμειc	ὕμεις	ει > ι, in final position
7:13a	πλατια	πλατεια	πλατεῖα	ει > ι, in medial position
7:13b	απωλειαν	απωλιαν	ἀπώλειαν	ι > ει, in medial position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
11:10 ²⁷	κατασκευασει	κατασκευαc(ι)	κατασκευάσει	ι > ει, in final position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
11:11a	μιζων	μειζων	μείζων	ει > ι, in front position
11:11b	μιζων	μειζων	μείζων	ει > ι, in front position
13:10	λαλιc	λαλειc	λαλεῖς	ει > ι, in final position
13:18a ²⁸	υ[μιc]	υμειc	ὕμεις	ει > ι, in final position
13:22	cπαριc	cπαρειc	σπαρεῖς	ει > ι, in final position
13:22	cυνπνιγι	cυνπνιγει	συνπνίγει	ει > ι, in final position
13:23	cπαριc	cπαρειc	σπαρεῖς	ει > ι, in final position
13:24	cπιραντι	cπειραντι	σπέῖραντι	ει > ι, in front position
13:25a	καθευδιν	καθευδειν	καθεύδειν	ει > ι, in final position
13:27a	ουχει	ουχι	οὐχί	ι > ει, in final position

²⁷ The reading of the exemplar is reconstructed as κατασκευασι, but each manuscript has a different reading here. It seems that 023 has the text of the exemplar and 042 has an orthographic substitution of ι > η, reading κατασκευαση.

²⁸ The text of 022 here is obscured by a patch on St. Petersburg f. 35v. The ink of the *ekthetic* υ shows through on f. 35r, and a trace of ο in ουν is visible in the middle of the line following υ[μιc]. There is not sufficient space before the following ο for the full reading υμειc.

Text	022	042/023	Standardised	Notes
13:28b	θελιϷ	θελειϷ	θέλεις	ει > ι, in final position
13:31	επιρεν	επειρεν	ἔπειρεν	ει > ι, in medial position
13:32a ²⁹	μι[ζ]ωγ	μειζων	μείζων	ει > ι, in front position
13:32b	πετινα	πετεινα	πετεινά	ει > ι, in medial position
13:44	υπαγι	υπαγει	ὑπάγει	ει > ι, in final position
13:56	ουχει	ουχι	οὐχί	ι > ει, in final position
13:57a	πατριδει	πατριδι	πατρίδι	ι > ει, in final position
13:57b	οικεια	οικια	οἰκία	ι > ει, in medial position
14:2	ενεργουσειν	ενεργουειν	ἐνεργοῦσιν	ι > ει, in final position
15:13	φυτια	φυτεια	φυτεία	ει > ι, in medial position
15:31 ³⁰	υγειϷ	υγειϷ (023)	[ὑγειίς]	ει > ι, in medial position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
15:34	ιχθυδεια	ιχθυδια	ἰχθύδια	ι > ει, in medial position
15:38a	τετρακιϷιλιοι	τετρακιϷειλιοι	τετρακιϷίλιοι	ει > ι, in medial position, <i>to correct orthography</i> ι > ει, in medial position
15:39	ορεια	ορια	ὄρια	ι > ει, in medial position
16:1a	πιραζοντεϷ	πειραζοντεϷ	πειράζοντεϷ	ει > ι, in front position
16:1b	Ϸημιον	Ϸημειον	σημεῖον	ει > ι, in medial position
16:3a	πρωει	πρωι	πρωί	ι > ει, in final position
16:3b	Ϸιμων	Ϸειμων	χειμών	ει > ι, in front position
16:4c	Ϸημιον	Ϸημειον	σημεῖον	ει > ι, in medial position
16:4d	Ϸημιον	Ϸημειον	σημεῖον	ει > ι, in medial position
16:4e	Ϸημιον	Ϸημειον	σημεῖον	ει > ι, in medial position

²⁹ The beginning of the last line of St. Petersburg f. 37v has been lost, but μι is clearly visible at the end of the previous line.

³⁰ See the discussion of the correction to 15:31 in 042 at 3.4.5.

Text	022	042/023	Standardised	Notes
				position
18:6	πελαγι	πελαγει	πελάγει	ει > ι, in final position
18:8a ³¹	σκανδαλειζι	σκανδαλιζι (023)	σκανδαλίζει	ι > ει, in medial position
18:12a	ουχει	ουχι	οὐχί	ι > ει, in final position
18:12b	ζητι	ζητει	ζητεῖ	ει > ι, in final position
18:21	ποσακεις	ποσακις	ποσάκις	ι > ει, in final position
18:24a	συναριν	συναρειν	συναίρειν	ει > ι, in final position
19:7	ενετιλατο	ενετειλατο	ἐνετείλατο	ει > ι, in medial position
20:12	βαστασασει	βαστασασι	βαστάσασι(ν)	ι > ει, in final position
20:13b	ουχει	ουχι	οὐχί	ι > ει, in final position
20:15	ειμει	ειμι	εἶμι	ι > ει, in final position
20:17	ιδειαν	ιδιαν	ἰδίαν	ι > ει, in medial position
20:18	αρχιερ'ευσει(ν)	αρχιερευειν	ἀρχιερεῦσιν	ι > ει, in final position
20:30	παραγι	παραγει	παράγει	ει > ι, in final position
21:1	απεστιλεν	απεστειλεν	ἀπέσειλεν	ει > ι, in medial position
21:13a	υμικ	υμεικ	ὕμεις	ει > ι, in final position

³¹ In 18:8, all three manuscripts have different spellings of the same word, σκανδαλίζει. Based on the working assumption that the exemplaric spelling is preserved in the majority of manuscripts, 023 preserves the text of the exemplar with σκανδαλιζι. 18:8a (here) refers to the change from that in 022, and 18:8b (under 042) refers to the change from the exemplar in 042.

Table 3.2: αι/ε interchanges in 022 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	022	042/023	Standardised	Notes
11:5	ευαηελιζοντε	ευαγγελιζονται	εὐαγγελίζονται	αι > ε, in final position
11:7	θεααααθε	θεααααθαι	θεάσασθαι	αι > ε, in final position
16:3c	υποκριτε	υποκριται	ὕποκριταί	αι > ε, in final position
16:6a	φαρισεων	φαρικαιων	Φαρισαίων	αι > ε, in medial position
16:6b	καδδουκεων	καδδουκαιων	Σαδδουκαίων	αι > ε, in medial position
18:19	αιτηοντε	αιτηονται	αιτήσονται	αι > ε, in final position
20:10	λημψοντε	λημψονται	λήμψονται	αι > ε, in final position
20:13a	εερε	εαιρε	ἐταίρε	αι > ε, in medial position
20:16	εοντε	εονται	ἔσονται	αι > ε, in final position
20:23	βαπτιθ[ησεε]θε	βαπτιθησεθαι	βαπτισθήσεθε	αι > ε, in final position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
21:13b	εποιεαται	εποιεατε	ἐποιήσατε	ε > αι, in final position

Table 3.3: Summary of ει/ι and αι/ε interchanges in 022 where all three manuscripts are extant

Total orthographic variants		65
ει/ι		54
αι/ε		11
	ει > ι	35
	front position	6
	medial position	14
	final position	15
	ι > ει	19
	front position	0
	medial position	7
	final position	12
	αι > ε	10
	front position	0
medial position	3	
final position	7	
ε > αι	1	
front position	0	
medial position	0	
final position	1	

Where all three manuscripts overlap, the scribe of 022 shifted between ι and ει 54 times. The scribe replaced ει with ι 35 times and replaced ι with ει 19 times. Changes in the front position are rare; there are only six such changes from ει to ι and none in the opposite direction. For both the replacement of ει with ι and the

replacement of ι with $\epsilon\iota$, the scribe seems more likely to make the change on the final position.

In the same passages, however, the scribe of 022 shifted between $\alpha\iota$ and ϵ only eleven times. The scribe's preference by far is to replace $\alpha\iota$ with ϵ , doing so ten out of the eleven times, and usually in the final position. Only once did the scribe substitute in the reverse direction.

In each type of orthographic replacement, the scribe of 022 is most likely to make a change in the final position. The scribe appears to be five times as likely to shift between $\epsilon\iota$ and ι than to shift between $\alpha\iota$ and ϵ . Only 5 times did the scribe change the text to the correct orthography, and one of those times (15:38a) was in the middle of a word with two orthographic variants, the other of which was a shift to the incorrect orthography. The relative infrequency of such a shift combined with the instance at 15:38 suggests that any changes to the correct orthography on the part of the scribe of 022 were purely accidental. The resultant picture is one of a scribe who has a relatively free attitude when it comes to orthography, especially with respect to the $\epsilon\iota/\iota$ variation.

3.2.2 Unit Delimitation in 022

Table 3.4: Unit delimitation in 022 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	<i>Kephalai</i> a?	Eusebian apparatus?	Conjunction?	Other?
7:12	–	yes	παντα ουν	–
11:7(*) ³²	–	–	–	Change of address
11:10	–	yes	ουτος γαρ	speaker change
11:11	–	yes	–	“amen” saying speaker change
11:12	–	yes	απο δε	–
13:10	–	–	και	speaker change
13:12(*) ³³	–	yes	οστις γαρ	–
13:13	–	yes	δια τουτο	–
13:16	–	yes	υμων δε	speaker change
13:17	–	yes	–	“amen” saying speaker change
13:18/19 ³⁴	–	–	υμ[ε]ις ουν	–
13:20	–	–	ο δε	–
13:22	–	–	ο δε	–
13:23	–	–	ο δε	–
13:24	–	yes	–	another parable
13:27	–	–	–	speaker change
13:29	–	–	ο δε	speaker change
13:31	–	yes	–	another parable
13:33	–	yes	–	another parable
13:44	–	–	παλιν	another parable
13:45	–	–	παλιν	another parable
13:47	–	–	παλιν	another parable
13:57	–	yes	–	speaker change
14:1	κε	yes	–	–
14:3	–	yes	ο γαρ	speaker change
15:12	–	yes	τοτε	speaker change
15:13	–	–	ο δε	speaker change
15:14	–	–	–	confusion?
15:32	λα	–	ο δε	speaker change
15:33	–	–	και	speaker change
15:34	–	–	και	speaker change
15:36	–	–	και	action of the

³² In vv. 4–6, Jesus addresses the disciples of John. A genitive absolute in 11:7a transitions the scene: “after these left” (τουτων δε πορευομενων), Jesus began to speak to the crowds about John. The *ekthesis* is displaced in 022 to a position after the genitive absolute.

³³ The marginal notation in 023 divides the text at the second οστις, at 13:12b, which is at the top of a new page.

³⁴ The division in 022 at v. 18 is the introduction to the parable beginning at v. 19, where 042 divides the text. It is clear that 023 has a raised stop before v. 18, but it is unclear whether it also had punctuation before v. 19 due to damage to the edge of the folio (f. 5r).

Text	<i>Kephalaia</i> ?	Eusebian apparatus?	Conjunction?	Other?
				miracle
15:39	–	yes	και	–
16:1	λβ (022)	–	και	–
16:2	–	yes	ο δε	speaker change
16:4	–	yes	και	speaker change
16:5	(λβ [023, 042])	–	και	–
16:6	–	yes	ο δε	speaker change
16:7 ³⁵	–	possibly at 16:8	οι δε	speaker change
18:6 ³⁶	–	yes	οc δ'αν	second part of a positive/negative couplet
18:8 ³⁷	–	yes	ει δε	new command
18:9	–		και	new command
18:10	–	yes	–	new command
18:12	λη	yes	–	–
18:16 ³⁸	–	yes	εαν δε	second part of a positive/negative couplet
18:18a	–	yes	αμην γαρ	“amen” saying
18:19	–	yes	παλιν δε	new saying
18:21	–	yes	τοτε	speaker change
18:23	λθ	yes	δια τουτο	new parable
19:8	–	–	–	–
19:9	–	yes	λεγω δε	–
20:13	–	–	ο δε	–
20:20	μγ	yes	τοτε	–
20:21	–	–	ο δε	–
20:23	–	–	και	second part of a two-part answer
20:24	–	yes	και	–
20:28	–	yes	ωσπερ	–

³⁵ It is difficult to determine whether or not the exemplar had the Eusebian apparatus at 16:7. Only 023 has a Eusebian apparatus at 16:7. 042 lacks any Eusebian apparatus at 16:7, but it also lacks *ekthesis* at 16:7, having it instead at 16:8. 022 does begin 16:7 with *ekthesis*, but it lacks the Eusebian apparatus and is not extant for 16:8. Without 16:8 in 022, it is impossible to make firm conclusions about the Eusebian apparatus here, but it seems reasonable that the exemplar had the Eusebian apparatus at 16:8, which explains both its absence in 022 and the *ekthesis* at 16:8 in 042. The scribe of 042 did omit the Eusebian apparatus on occasion, and if it were at 16:8, it is possible that the scribe of 023 moved it to its correct position at 16:7.

³⁶ The first part of the positive/negative couplet (18:5) is lost in 022, but it punctuated in 023 and marked in 042 by *ekthesis*.

³⁷ It appears that the scribe of 022 missed one line here and added the *ekthesis* and Eusebian apparatus one line lower than it should have been. The explanations given indicate the “correct” delimitation (i.e. one line up in 022, as 042 divides the text).

³⁸ The first part of the positive/negative couplet (18:15) is on the last line of the previous page (St. Petersburg f. 47r). The absence of *ekthesis* in 022 is probably due to the page turn, especially since it is a turn from r to v of the same folio; the scribe would have needed to stop copying to allow the page to dry before resuming on St. Petersburg f. 47v.

Text	<i>Kephalaia</i> ?	Eusebian apparatus?	Conjunction?	Other?
20:29	μδ	yes	και	–
20:30	–	–	και	–
20:32	–	–	και	–
21:1a	[με]	yes	και	–
21:4	–	yes	τουτο δε	–
21:14	–	yes	και	–
21:15	–	yes	ιδοντες δε	–
21:17	μζ	yes	και	–
21:18	–	–	πριουαc δε	–

In the places where all three manuscripts are extant, there are 66 instances of *ekthesis* in 022. The scribe of 022 employs *ekthesis* in all nine places where a new *kephalaion* begins. Four categories seem to explain most of the divisions in 022: a new *kephalaion*, a new Ammonian section (presence of the Eusebian apparatus), a conjunction, and/or a change in speaker. Although the use of these categories as descriptors does not account for instances in which one or more of these elements is present and 022 does not divide the text with *ekthesis*, nearly all textual divisions in 022 happen concurrently with one or more of these elements. There are only two exceptions: 11:7 and 15:14. There is a change of the object of address at 11:7, and both 023 and 042 have unit delimitation in the same place there. The unit division at 15:14 is one of only three divisions unique to 022 among the three manuscripts.³⁹ Both of the other unique divisions in 022 (13:27 and 13:29) occur at a change in speaker, and at 13:27, the unique unit division is accompanied by both an error (corrected) and an intentional textual change.

3.2.3 *Kephalaia and Titloi in 022*

The *kephalaia* numbers and *titloi* in 022 were written independently of one another. It appears that a scribe first went through and added the *kephalaia* numbers, and later added the *titloi*. The numbers appear black, but rather than use a different ink, the scribe probably used the same silver ink for the numbers that he or she used for the biblical text, and the numbers have since tarnished to black. The scribe used gold ink for the marginal *titloi*.⁴⁰

³⁹ Because the unit delimitation does not fall into one of the four most common categories and is unshared by 023 or 042, the scribe of 022 was probably in error there.

⁴⁰ It is impossible to determine with certainty from images whether the black ink was different than that of the biblical text or if it is silver ink that has tarnished. The silver ink around the edges of the pages tarnishes before ink in the middle of the page, and the position of the *kephalaia* numbers makes them susceptible to this end. An autopsy inspection might be sufficient to identify the black ink, but non-invasive x-ray fluorescence could identify and perhaps determine the composition of the ink. For an example of the application of x-ray fluorescence to the identification of the silver ink in the Vienna Genesis, see Maurizio Aceto

Table 3.5: *Kephalaia* and *titloi* in 022 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	<i>Titlos</i>	Location
14:1	κε̄ περῑ ιωαννου κ(αι) ηρωδου	St. Petersburg f. 40r
15:32	λᾱ περῑ επτα αρτων	St. Petersburg f. 43r
16:1	λβ̄ περῑ ζητουντων σημιον	NYCr
18:12	λη̄ περῑ εκατων προβατω̄	St. Petersburg f. 47r
18:23	λθ̄ περῑ οφιλοντος τα μυρια ταλαντα	St. Petersburg f. 48v
20:20	μγ̄ περῑ υιων ζεβεδαιου	Vat. f. 3v
20:29	μδ̄ περῑ δυο τυφλων	Vat. f. 4r
21:1	με̄ περῑ πωλου	Vat. f. 4v
21:17	μζ̄ περῑ της ξηρανθισης συκης	Vat. f. 6v

Codex 022 has a unique *titlos* at 32 (λβ̄): περῑ ζητουντων σημιον.⁴¹ It differs from both 042 and 023, and none of the manuscripts included by Swanson contain this *titlos*.⁴² Usually, the *kephalaia* number has a supralinear line, but the scribe occasionally forgets to add it, as is the case at 47 (μζ̄). Furthermore, 022 abbreviates περῑ and omits the following article at the beginning of each *titlos*, but does not follow this practice at 47 (μζ̄).

If one includes *kephalaia* and *titloi* beyond these nine examples, one pattern does emerge. 022 is inconsistent in its abbreviation of περῑ, but consistent in the omission of the article following an abbreviated περῑ. Most of the first extant *titloi* have the word *in plene*. 25 (κε̄) has the abbreviation, but 27 (κζ̄) and 28 (κη̄) contain the word *in plene*, before the scribe seems to settle on the abbreviated form. It appears that the scribe copied from a manuscript with the word *in plene*, however, because at 46 (μς̄), the scribe mistakenly writes the abbreviated form before also writing the long form (i.e. περῑ περῑ). This mistake is less likely if the scribe were composing the *titlos* than if he or she were copying an existing text.⁴³ In the extant portions of Matthew in 022, the scribe always omits the article following an abbreviated περῑ but retains the article when περῑ is written *in plene*. Even at 46 (μς̄) where the scribe mistakenly writes both abbreviated and *plene* forms, the scribe

et al., "First Analytical Evidences of Precious Colourants on Mediterranean Illuminated Manuscripts," *Spectrochim. Acta A* 95 (September 2012): 235–245, especially 243–244.

⁴¹ Stanley Rypins mentions this *titlos*, but mistakenly concludes that the *kephalaia* numbers are the remnant of earlier foliation, in "Two Inedited Leaves of Codex N," *JBL* 75 (1956): 28.

⁴² Swanson, *Matthew*, 3.

⁴³ It is possible that the scribe responsible for the *titloi* in 042 composed the *titlos* at this section (47) or copied the *titlos* from the second exemplar to which he or she corrected 042. 023 is not extant here. Both the *kephalaia* list in 042 and the marginal *titlos* in 022 contain variants of the subject "the healing of the blind and the lame", but the marginal *titlos* in 042 refers to the cleansing of the temple.

retains the article following the second (*plene*) περι.

3.2.4 The Eusebian Apparatus in 022

The looped, almost cursive μ in the Eusebian apparatus is strikingly dissimilar to the usual straight μ in the biblical text, but this difference does not indicate the work of another scribe. Occasionally, the scribe employed the small, looped μ at the end of the line in the biblical text. This type of μ occurs, for example, at Matt. 21:15 on Vat. 6v (col. 1, line 3).

Table 3.6: The Eusebian apparatus in 022 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	022	Exemplar	Type of change
11:11	$\rho\delta/\varepsilon$	$\rho\delta/[?]$	possibly incorrect canon number ($? > \varepsilon$)
14:1	$\rho\mu\gamma/\varsigma$	$\rho\mu\gamma/\beta$	incorrect canon number ($\beta > \varsigma$)
18:8	$\rho\pi/\varepsilon$	$\rho\pi/[\varepsilon?]$	possibly, but unlikely incorrect canon number ($\varepsilon[?] > \varepsilon$)
21:4	$c\zeta/\zeta$	$c\zeta/[?]$	possibly incorrect canon number ($? > \zeta$)

There is only one instance in which the scribe is clearly in error: an incorrect canon number at 14:1. In the other three places listed, there is no majority of agreement among the three manuscripts, and the scribe of 022 may have transmitted two of these instances correctly. At 11:11, 023 lacks any canon number, and 042 has γ (=3) for the canon number. The NA²⁸ places this section in canon V (=ε). At 18:8, 023 agrees with the NA²⁸, places the section in canon VI (=ς). 042 has β , and 022 has ε (=5). It is impossible to know which manuscript is correct here.⁴⁴ Finally, 022 agrees with the NA²⁸ at 21:4, placing the section in canon VII (=ζ). The Eusebian apparatus is missing here in 042, and 023 places the section in canon ς (=6).

If the sections considered here reflect accurately the rest of the manuscript, the scribe of 022 was accurate in the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus. In the data collected for this chapter, the scribe of 022 never made a mistake regarding the Ammonian section number, and only once is it relatively certain that the scribe made a mistake regarding a canon number. The accuracy of the scribe of 022 with regard to the Eusebian apparatus stands in contrast to his or her notable orthographic inconsistencies.

⁴⁴ Due to the relative accuracy of the scribe of 022 and the relative carelessness of the scribe of 042 in the Eusebian apparatus, a possible explanation of this problem is that the scribe of 022 copied canon ε correctly from the incorrect exemplar, the scribe of 042 misread ε for β, and the scribe of 023, knowing that ε is incorrect, wrote the correct canon number. This explanation is, of course, speculation, but it is consistent with what can be observed from the relative accuracies of each scribe.

3.2.5 Deviations from the Exemplar in 022

Table 3.7: Deviations from the exemplar in 022 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	022	Exemplar	Type (Explanation)
13:25b	εκθρος	εχθρος	Orthographic ($\chi > \kappa$)
13:27b ⁴⁵	τω οικοδεσποτη	του οικοδεσποτου	Substitution (grammatical) Editorial ⁴⁶ (change to a better-known reading)
13:28a ⁴⁷	ειπαν	ειπον	Orthographic ($o > \alpha$) Substitution (grammatical): 1 st aorist endings on a 2 nd aorist form
14:1 ⁴⁸	τετραρχηc	τεταρχηc	Editorial (correction of error in exemplar) 022 ¹ correction
16:4b	μυχαλειc	μοιχαλειc	Orthographic ($oi > υ$)
20:17	ιερολυμα	ιεροκολυμα	Strictly nonsense (omit 1 syllable)
20:27	αν	εαν	Substitution ($\epsilon\alpha\nu > \alpha\nu$)
20:31a	μιζων	μ(ε)ιζον	Orthographic ($o > \omega$) Nonsense in context

⁴⁵ On the dative of possession, see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R.W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 102 (§ 189). The change aligns the text with the majority of manuscripts.

⁴⁶ I adopt a practical definition for the concept of an editorial reading: a reading that appears to have the function of improving the text. Ulrich Schmid requires editorial readings to meet two criteria: they should be conscious changes, and they should be substantial enough that they cannot be explained as a slight pause. He writes “...they must have been consciously prepared beforehand,” in 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, Third Series 6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 14. However, Schmid’s definition leaves a number of difficulties for this study. The decision to abbreviate or expand a *nomen sacrum* would not require conscious preparation beforehand, but such would certainly be an editorial change. Likewise, the exemplar seems to have had an error at 14:1; each scribe dealt with this problem in his or her own way, ‘editing’ the text in a real sense. Editorial readings need not be intentional, either. Aligning the text to a better-known reading could be either intentional or accidental—the reading is, after all, better known than that of the exemplar.

⁴⁷ On the first aorist endings used in second aorist verb forms, see *BDF*, §§80–81 (pp. 43–44).

⁴⁸ See the discussion at 1.4.

Table 3.8: Number of deviations from the exemplar in 022 by type where all three manuscripts are extant

Total		8
	Insignificant	4
	Nonsense	2
	Orthographic	4
	Significant	4
	Additions	0
	Omissions	0
	Substitutions	3
	Transpositions	0
	Harmonisations	0
	Editorial readings	2

In the relevant passages, the scribe of 022 appears to be relatively conservative. There are only eight changes to the exemplar. Of significant changes, there are only four. Each involves only a few letters. Three significant readings are substitutions. Two substitutions are grammatical (13:27b and 13:28), and one is a substitution of $\alpha\nu$ for $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ (20:27), though at 20:27, the change amounts to the loss of a single letter and is probably accidental.⁴⁹ Of the two editorial changes, the scribe aligned the text to a better-known reading at 13:27b and corrected an error in the exemplar at 14:1. The reading at 14:1 deserves special mention. Apparently, the exemplar contained the nonsense error $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$. Initially, the scribe of 022 copied the error, letter for letter, but corrected it by adding the ρ interlinearly. The nonsense errors are the loss of a syllable at 20:17 and an orthographic shift at 20:31a. The four orthographic changes do not fall into any clear patterns. There are no additions, omissions, transpositions or harmonisations.

⁴⁹ The single letter is a dropped syllable, and the scribe occasionally dropped syllables elsewhere.

Table 3.9: Corrected readings in 022 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	022 ¹ /exemplar	022*	Explanation
11:7	καλυομενον	καλυομεν	Nonsense in context (pres. pass. ind 1pl instead of pres. pass. ptc. masc. acc. sing.), omit a syllable
13:26	χορτοc	εκθροc	Orthographic ($\chi > \kappa$) and nonsense in context
13:27a	δε	omit	Omission (1-word)
14:1	τεταρχηc (exemplar) 022 ¹ : τετραρχηc	τεταρχηc	Nonsense (strictly); copied the incorrect exemplar faithfully
15:32	οχλον	omit	Omission (1-word); Nonsense in context
18:8	εισελθειν	omit	Omission (1-word), nonsense in context homoeoarchton (across page turn)
21:2 ⁵⁰	ευρηcετε	ευρηcητε	Orthographic ($\epsilon > \eta$) could be a late 1 aor. subj. 2 pl form, but more likely just a simple vowel change

Among the seven corrections in the relevant sections of 022, there is one strictly nonsense reading, and there are four readings that are nonsensical in context. In the case of the one strictly nonsense reading, the scribe copied the faulty exemplar faithfully, later correcting the reading. There are two orthographic substitutions, $\chi > \kappa$ within a larger nonsense reading at 13:26, and $\epsilon > \eta$ at 21:2. There are four omissions, three involving only one word and one involving one syllable. Two of the readings are due to leaps. At 18:8, the text of the exemplar, shared by 023 and 042, is εικελθειν ειc την ζωην. The scribe wrote the first ειc as the final three letters on St. Petersburg f. 46r. He or she would have needed to stop mid-word to allow some time for the ink to dry before turning to f. 46v to continue writing. When the scribe resumed, he or she leaped to the second ειc, but corrected the leap in the left margin. At 13:26, the scribe probably leapt from ο χορτοc back to ο εκθροc in the exemplar, due to the visual similarity of -χθρ- and χορ-.⁵¹ Once, the scribe drops a syllable at the end of a word (11:7).

⁵⁰ The orthographic change in the uncorrected text at 21:2 is not considered a significant reading, although it is probably unintentional. Ευρηcητε is a very rare form of the aorist subjunctive 2 plural; the common form is ευρητε, found in 042 at Matt. 22:9 (042 alone is extant there of the three manuscripts of this study).

⁵¹ Because the scribe makes the orthographic substitution $\chi > \kappa$ both at 13:25b and in the uncorrected text at 13:26, it is possible that the exemplar contained the faulty orthography at 13:25b, and that both scribes of 023 and 042 corrected it. Still, the scribe of 022 makes more orthographic changes involving ε/ι and αι/ε than both other scribes combined, and it is easier to explain the substitutions here as two instances of the same change by one scribe than as two instances of a single change by two different scribes.

Considering the corrected mistakes and the textual changes together, the scribe of 022 does appear to be very conservative. There are no additions, transpositions or harmonisations. There are three omissions of at least one word, but all three are corrected, and two have strong evidence of being accidental due to homoeoarchton at a column break in one instance (15:32, on St. Petersburg f. 43r) at a page turn in the other (18:8; St. Petersburg f. 46r/46v). The nonsense error at 20:31a (μ[ε]ιζον > μιζων) should probably be taken as merely orthographic; the scribe seems to have attempted to correct the nonsense errors, although he or she failed to correct the nonsense error at 20:17.

In his article on scribal habits, Colwell concluded that the scribe of P⁶⁶ “copies syllables.”⁵² Klaus Junack challenged Colwell’s conclusions based on the work of Alphonse Dain, who described the act of copying in four stages: reading the exemplar, remembering the text, internal dictation, and the work of the hand.⁵³ Junack argued that, since the scribe had to read, retain and remember the text, he or she must have worked in blocks of text large enough to make some sense.⁵⁴ The error, according to Junack [drawing on Dain], must occur in the fourth stage of copying, “because the dictating mind is faster than the copying finger.”⁵⁵ Jongkind agrees, adding that the features of P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ that caused Colwell to conclude that the scribe copied letter-by-letter and syllable-by-syllable “do not describe the way [the scribes] copied; rather, they describe some particular weakness of the way in which they wrote the text.”⁵⁶

The objections of Junack and Jongkind notwithstanding, the scribe of 022 does appear to have a tendency to change text at the syllable level. Four of the readings discussed here are omissions of a single syllable. Two of the nonsense

⁵² Ernest Cadman Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits,” in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger, NTTS 9 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 116.

⁵³ “La lecture du modèle,” “La rétention du texte,” “La dictée intérieure” and “Jeu de main,” in Alphonse Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1975), 41–46.

⁵⁴ “Auf keinen Fall dürfen diese Einheiten [i.e. sections of text read, retained and internally dictated by the scribe in the process of transmission] zu klein angesetzt oder sogar auf Silben oder Einzelbuchstaben reduziert werden,” in Klaus Junack, “Abschreibpraktiken und Schreibergewohnheiten in ihrer Auswirkung auf die Textüberlieferung,” in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 288.

⁵⁵ “... weil der diktierende Verstand schneller ist als die schreibenden Finger,” in Junack, “Abschreibpraktiken,” 289.

⁵⁶ Dirk Jongkind, “Singular Readings in Sinaiticus: The Possible, the Impossible, and the Nature of Copying,” 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, Third Series 6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 49.

readings (11:7 and 20:17) omit a syllable, but two of the four significant readings also fall into this category. The one-word omission at 13:27a consisted of a single syllable (δε), and the substitution at 20:27 (εαν > αν) dropped a single syllable as well. Dain’s description of the act of copying, upon which the objections of Junack and Jongkind are based, links two separate acts too closely—the act of reading and the act of writing.⁵⁷ Chris Keith, drawing on the work of Raffaella Cribiore, argues that scribes learned to copy by starting with small units (letters) and gradually working their way up (through syllables) to larger units such as thoughts.⁵⁸ The infamous Petaus, the late second-century town clerk (κωμογραμματεύς) in Ptolemais Hormou, is an example of a professional scribe who lacked a real working ability to write. Herbert C. Youtie describes Petaus as “totally without skill as a writer. He is indeed not a writer at all in any proper sense, but a man copying a model or repeating it from memory.”⁵⁹ Malcolm Choat and Rachel Yuen-Collingridge appeal to Petaus and others to argue that there were some instances in antiquity in which scribes were able to copy by sight, even if they were unable to read the text they copied.⁶⁰ The scribe of 022 was by no means incompetent, as is evidenced by the scribal creativity with regard to the golden instances of *nomina sacra*, but scribes such as Petaus did exist. Perhaps it is better, rather than to exclude letter-by-letter or syllable-by-syllable copying, to allow the possibility that a scribe might occasionally slow down to copy letter-by-letter or syllable-by-syllable for a short time. Scribes were, after all, real people who lived, ate, worked, became ill, and in all probability, had good days and bad days.

⁵⁷ On this subject, see Chris Keith, *The Pericope Adulterae, the Gospel of John, and the Literacy of Jesus*, NTTSD 38 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 53–94.

⁵⁸ Keith, *The Pericope Adulterae, the Gospel of John, and the Literacy of Jesus*, 65–69; Raffaella Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, ASP 36 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 139–144.

⁵⁹ Herbert C. Youtie, “Βραδέως Γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy,” *GRBS* 12 (1971): 240. See especially P. Petaus 121, a papyrus in which Petaus practiced writing his name and a common clerical formula. Petaus introduced an error in line 4 and reproduced the error in subsequent lines because he was copying by sight rather than by reading the text in meaningful units.

⁶⁰ Malcolm Choat and Rachel Yuen-Collingridge, “A Church with No Books and a Reader Who Cannot Write: The Strange Case of P.Oxy. 33.2673,” *BASP* 46 (2009): 109–138.

3.3 Codex Sinopensis (O 023)

3.3.1 Orthography in 023

Table 3.10: ε/ι interchanges in 023 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	023	042/022	Standardised	Notes
13:27c	εχι	εχει	ἔχει	ει > ι, in final position
15:32	νηετεic	νηetic	νήστεis	ι > ει, in final position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
16:2	πυραζι	πυραζει	πυρράζει	ει > ι, in final position
16:3d	σημεια	σημια	σημεῖα	ι > ει, in medial position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
16:4b ⁶¹	μοιχαλιc	μ(οι)χαλιc	μοιχαλῖς	ει > ι, in final position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
16:4f	καταλειπων	καταλιπων	καταλιπών	ι > ει, in final position
18:9	σκανδαλιcι	σκανδαλιζει	σκανδαλίζει	ι > ει, in medial position ει > ι, in final position
18:13	ευρειν	ευριν	εὐρεῖν	ι > ει, in final position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
20:21a	θελιc	θελειc	θέλεις	ει > ι, in final position
20:21b	καθειcωcιν	καθιcωcιν	καθίσωcιν	ι > ει, in medial position

Table 3.11: αι/ε interchanges in 023 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	023	042/022	Standardised	Notes
13:14	ακουcηται	ακουcητε	ἀκούcητε ⁶²	ε > αι, in final position
13:55	λεγετε	λεγεται	λέγεται	αι > ε, in final position
20:19	εμπαιξαι	εμπεξαι	ἐμπαῖξαι	ε > αι, in medial position, <i>to correct orthography</i>

⁶¹ 022: μυχαλιc.

⁶² The exemplar had the aorist subjunctive. The majority reading, according to Robinson-Pierpont, is the future indicative, ἀκούcετε.

Table 3.12: Summary of ϵ/ι and α/ϵ interchanges in 023 where all three manuscripts are extant

Total		14	
ϵ/ι		11	α/ϵ 3
	ϵ/ι		5
		front position	0
		medial position	0
		final position	5
	ι/ϵ		6
		front position	0
		medial position	3
		final position	3
	α/ϵ		1
	front position	0	
	medial position	0	
	final position	1	
ϵ/α		2	
	front position	0	
	medial position	1	
	final position	1	

The scribe of 023 changed between ϵ and ι eleven times in the passages where all three manuscripts overlap. All five of the changes from ϵ to ι occur in the final position, but half of the changes from ι to ϵ occur in the medial position. In four of these eleven interchanges between ϵ and ι , 023 has standardised orthography against 042 and 022.

Rarely does the scribe of 023 change between ϵ and α . Once he or she seems to correct the non-standard orthography of the exemplar in the medial position. The other two changes (to the incorrect orthography) are both orthographic shifts of α and ϵ in the final position, once in each direction.

In summary, the scribe of 023 seems to be fairly careful with respect to matters of orthography. In the passages where all three manuscripts are extant, there are only fourteen orthographic shifts involving ϵ/ι or α/ϵ . The scribe seems to be much more likely to make a change involving ϵ/ι than one involving α/ϵ but often corrects orthographic “errors” in the exemplar. Notably, the scribe never makes an orthographic change to a vowel in the front position of a word—all of the changes, whether correct or incorrect, occur in medial or final positions.

3.3.2 Unit Delimitation in 023

A single glance at a page of 023 reveals that the layout employed by its scribe is unlike that of either 022 or 042. Its sole use of gold ink and its single-column format render a striking difference in appearance from its two-columned siblings, which were written in predominately silver ink. Beyond this appearance, 023 has the most complicated unit delimitation of the three manuscripts. Although it employs fewer instances of *ekthesis*, it contains a number of features not found in the text of

Matthew in either 022 or 042.⁶³ In the 43(44) leaves extant, the scribe of 023 never stops a line prematurely. In addition to single-dot punctuation markers (also found in 022 and 042), the scribe of 022 occasionally uses double- and triple-dots to mark a division in the text. In the margins, the scribe occasionally employs markers of major division (7), and five in-text miniatures survive.⁶⁴ For the tables in this chapter, textual divisions and instances of the Eusebian apparatus occurring in the middle of verses are designated with an asterisk following the verse reference (e.g. 13:12*).⁶⁵ En dashes (–) are used to indicate that 023 lacks this feature.

⁶³ Concerning 022, Cronin wrote, “In a few cases a double point is used”, in Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xxxvii. I did not notice any instances in which a double point (:) is used in Matthew in 022, nor did I record any instances of its use in Mark. Although I did not read through John in 022 carefully, I have noticed a few instances of the double point there (e.g. on St. Petersburg ff. 120r and 123v).

⁶⁴ For a discussion and reproduction of these miniatures, see André Grabar, *Les Peintures de l'Évangélaire de Sinope (Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Gr. 1286): Reproduites En Facsimilé* ([Paris]: Bibliothèque nationale, 1948). See also the discussion of three possible lost miniatures in 023 at 1.2.2.

⁶⁵ This use is patterned after Adams, “Mark, Manuscripts, and Paragraphs,” 76–78.

Table 3.13: Unit delimitation in 023 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	Ekthesis?	: / : / 7 ?	<i>Kephalaion</i> ?	Eusebian apparatus?
7:12 ⁶⁶	yes	–	–	yes
7:13 ⁶⁷	yes	–	–	yes
11:7	–	–	–	–
11:10	yes	–	–	yes
11:11	–	–	–	yes
11:12	yes	–	–	yes
13:12*	–	–	–	yes
13:13	–	–	–	yes
13:16	–	–	–	yes
13:17	–	–	–	yes
13:20 ⁶⁸	–	unlikely	–	unlikely
13:24	yes	–	–	yes
13:31	–	–	–	yes
13:33	yes	–	–	yes
13:44	–	–	–	–
13:45	–	–	–	–
13:47	–	–	–	–
13:57*	–	–	–	yes
14:1	–	∴	κε	yes
14:3 ⁶⁹	–	–	–	yes
15:12	–	–	–	yes
15:32	yes	7	λα	–
15:39	–	–	–	yes
16:1	–	7	in 022	–
16:2	–	–	–	yes
16:4	–	–	–	yes
16:5	–	7	λβ	yes
16:7 ⁷⁰	–	–	–	yes

⁶⁶ It appears that the scribe of 023 meant to employ an *ekthetic* letter one line above the *ekthesis*, but mistakenly placed it one line down. The unit division naturally happens at the beginning of the verse, and both 022 and 042 have *ekthesis* there. The beginning of the verse happens after a raised stop in line 2 of this page (f. 1v), line three is written normally, and the first letter of line 4 is enlarged and in the margin. The *ekthetic* letter occurs in the middle of a word.

⁶⁷ Similar to the situation one verse earlier, it appears that the scribe employed *ekthesis* one line below where he or she intended to mark the unit division. This instance is on the same page as 7:12. There is a raised stop in line 7, where 042 divides the text and where both 022 and 042 place the Eusebian apparatus. Line 8 is written normally, and the scribe begins line 9 with *ekthesis* and places the Eusebian apparatus there.

⁶⁸ Matt. 13:20 is included because both 022 and 042 have *ekthesis* here. The manuscript is damaged in the left margin at this line (l. 8) and below, but enough of τ is extant to exclude *ekthesis*. The codex does not have a double- or triple-stop, but none of the marginal space that could contain a marginal section marker (7) survives. It is highly unlikely that 023 would have the Eusebian apparatus here, because 13:20 falls between the sequential Ammonian sections 135 (ρλε at 13:17) and 136 (ρλς at 13:24), both of which are extant in 023.

⁶⁹ The Eusebian apparatus is faint and barely legible, and Omont does not mention it, in “Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec,” 618.

⁷⁰ See the discussion of 16:7 at 3.2.2.

Text	Ekthesis?	: / : / 7 ?	<i>Kephalaion</i> ?	Eusebian apparatus?
18:6	–	–	–	yes
18:8	–	–	–	yes
18:10	–	–	–	yes
18:12	–	7	λ̄η	yes
18:15	–	–	–	yes
18:16	–	–	–	yes
18:18	–	–	–	yes
18:19	–	–	–	yes
18:21	–	–	–	yes
18:23	–	–	λ̄θ	yes
19:9	–	–	–	yes
19:10	–	–	–	yes
20:17	–	–	–	yes
20:20	yes	7	μ̄γ	yes
20:24	yes	–	–	yes
20:28	–	–	–	yes
20:29	–	–	μ̄δ̄	yes
21:1	yes	7	[μ̄ε]	yes
21:4	–	–	–	yes
21:14	yes	–	–	yes
21:15	–	–	–	yes
21:17	–	–	μ̄ζ	yes

In general, the scribe used multiple markers to denote major divisions, and it appears that the most common source of a new unit is the presence of the Eusebian apparatus. There are only twelve instances of *ekthesis* in these sections of 023. Three of these instances coincide with new *kephalaia* (15:32, 20:20 and 21:1). Only twice does the scribe mark a new *kephalaion* without a double- or triple- stop or a marginal section marker (7): 18:23 and 20:29. At 11:7 and 13:44, 45 and 47, 023 has *paragraphoi* corresponding to *ekthesis* in both 022 and 023, though none of these four places marks the start of a new Ammonian section.

The case of 16:1 is interesting because it corresponds to a unique *kephalaion* in 022, which is not preserved in either 023 or 042. The unit delimitation in 023 suggests that the 022 *kephalaion* might have been in the common exemplar, rather than created by the scribe of 022. The difference in 023 and 042 might be attributed to an editorial decision on the part of their scribes to keep the marginal *titloi* in harmony with the *kephalaia* lists.

3.3.3 *Kephalaia and Titloi in 023*

The scribe wrote the marginal *titloi* with a thin-nibbed pen in a hand that differs slightly from that of the biblical text. I have described both hands at 1.2.2.

Table 3.14: *Kephalaia* and *titloi* in 023 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	<i>Titlos</i>	Location
14:1	κ̄ε̄ περι της θυγατρος της ηρωδιαδος	f.10v
15:32	λᾱ περι των ζ̄ αρτων	f.15r
16:5	[λ]β̄ περι της ζυμης των φαρισαιων	f.16v
18:12	λη̄ περι των ρ̄ προβατων παραβολη	Mariupol(r)
18:23	λθ̄ περι του οφιλοντος τα μυρια ταλαντα 023* λθ̄ περι του οφιλοντος μυρια ταλαντα 023 ^c	f.23v
20:20	μγ̄ περι των υιων ζεβεδαιου	f.27r
20:29	μδ̄ περι των β̄ τυφλων	f.29r
21:1 ⁷¹	-	(f.29)
21:17	μζ̄ περι της ξηρανθισης κυκης	f.30v

At 25 (κ̄ε̄), 023 agrees with the marginal *titloi* of 042, but not with the list version in 042 nor with 022, describing the pericope as “Concerning the daughter of Herodias” rather than “Concerning John and Herod.” According to Swanson, this *titlos* is unique to 023 and 042.⁷² At 38 (λη̄), the *titlos* of 023 adds the word παραβολη, conforming in that word to all of the manuscripts Swanson lists, but differing from 042 and 022.⁷³ The original reading at 39 (λθ̄) agrees with the marginal *titloi* of 022 and 042, but the correction brings it into conformity with the *kephalaia* list in 042. At 44 (μδ̄), 023 has the numeral form of δυο (β̄), agreeing with the marginal *titlos* in 042 but differing from 022 and the 042 list. Finally, both the marginal *titloi* in 042 and in 023 have a raised stop following κυκης at 47 (μζ̄), but 022 and the 042 list do not.

⁷¹ There is no *titlos* for 45 (μϵ̄). It should have appeared on f. 29. F. 29r has the *titlos* for 44 (μδ̄) at the top of the page and a miniature at the bottom. Given the placement of the *titlos* on f. 29r, it is unlikely to have been originally on f.29v and trimmed away. Perhaps it was accidentally (or intentionally?) omitted due to the presence of the miniature at the foot of f. 29r, as the text to which it corresponds occurs in the middle of f. 29r, before the miniature.

⁷² Swanson, *Matthew*, 2. This *kephalaion* corresponds to number 15 (ιϵ̄) in Mark's Gospel. According to the *kephalaia* list to Mark, the heading is περι ιωαννου κ(αι) ηρωδου, but the marginal *titlos* on p. 282(v) of 042 is περι της θυγατρος | της ηρωδιαδος.

⁷³ Swanson, *Matthew*, 3.

3.3.4 The Eusebian Apparatus in 023

Table 3.15: The Eusebian apparatus in 023 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	023	Exemplar	Type of change
11:11	ρδ/[blank]	ρδ/[?]	missing canon number
11:12	ρε/γ	ρε/ε	incorrect canon number (ε > γ)
13:12*	ρλβ/β	ρλβ/β	displaced apparatus
16:7 ⁷⁴	ρξε/δ	[-]	unclear
18:8	ρπ/ς	ρπ/[ε?]	possibly corrected the exemplar (ε[?] > ς)
18:18	ρπε/ζ	ρπε/γ	possibly corrected the exemplar (γ > ζ)
19:9	ρφ/θ	ρφ/β	impossible canon number (β > θ)
21:4	ςζ/ς	ςζ/[?]	probably incorrect canon number (? > ς)

The scribe of 023 makes a few mistakes in the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus, but he or she is inconsistent with respect to the type of those mistakes. The canon number is missing at 11:11. The scribe of 023 displaced one occurrence of the Eusebian apparatus at 13:12, leaping from the first to the second occurrence of octet in the verse. In one instance at 19:9, the scribe of 023 writes an impossible canon number due to the visual similarity between β (=2) and θ (=9).⁷⁵ It is unclear why the scribe wrote the incorrect canon number γ (=3) at 11:12. 023 agrees with the NA²⁸ at 18:8 and 18:18, but it is impossible to know the reading of the exemplar at either place.

Most of the errors of 023 with regard to the Eusebian apparatus are confined to the canon numbers. The scribe never writes an incorrect section number in these passages, but he or she does displace one and neglect to write one entirely. There are two instances where it is possible that the scribe corrects a faulty exemplar, but the presence of one impossible canon number is evidence that the scribe did not necessarily put too much thought into the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus. It is possible that the two instances in which the scribe corrected the incorrect canon number in the exemplar are merely accidental.

3.3.5 Deviations from the Exemplar in 023

There are ten changes to the exemplar in 023 where 022 and 042 are also extant. There are four nonsense readings, and six of the ten changes are orthographic in nature. After sifting away the nonsense readings and orthographic changes that do not make a significant difference to the text, we find that the scribe of 023 made only

⁷⁴ See note on unit delimitation at 16:7 in 022 regarding whether the exemplar had the Eusebian apparatus at 16:7 or at 16:8.

⁷⁵ The correct canon number at 19:9, β (=2), denotes events recorded in Matthew, Mark and Luke. Canon θ (=9) refers to events recorded only in Luke and John. Canons 8 (Mark and Luke) and 9 are impossible in Matthew's Gospel.

three significant changes in these passages. Two of these changes can be attributed to harmonisation to context (the substitution at 7:10 and the omission of a *nomen sacrum* at 20:30), and the third change seems to be a correction of an error in the exemplar at 14:1.

Table 3.16: Deviations from the exemplar in 023 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	023	Exemplar	Type (explanation)
7:10	αιτηνη	αιτησει	Orthographic (ει > η) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive Harmonisation (context) Editorial: Conform to a well-known reading
13:10	εν παραβολαις	εμ παραβολαις	Orthographic (μ[π] > ν[π])
13:25d	νητου	ειτου	Orthographic (ι > η) Strictly nonsense
13:47	βληθηνη	βληθεινη	Orthographic (ει > η) Nonsense in context Harmonisation to context
14:1	τετρααρχης	τεταρχης	Editorial (correction of error in exemplar)
15:37	περιςσενον	περιςενον	Orthographic (c > cc)
18:15	εκερδηςααα	εκερδηςαα	Strictly nonsense
18:19	συμφωνησενιν	συμφωνησενιν	Orthographic (μ > ν before a labial)
19:8a	λεγειν	λεγει	Nonsense in context
20:30	κε νε δαδ	κε ιω νε δαδ	Omission (1 word) Harmonisation (context)

Table 3.17: Number of deviations from the exemplar in 023 by type where all three manuscripts are extant

Total		10
Insignificant	Nonsense	4
	Orthographic	5 ⁷⁶
Significant		3
Significant	Additions	0
	Omissions	1
	Substitutions	1
	Transpositions	0
	Harmonisations	2 (plus 1 at 13:47)
	Editorial readings	1

⁷⁶

This number does not include the significant change at 7:10.

There are five corrections in the relevant sections of 023. Three are corrections made *in scribendo*, and the other two are orthographic. Of the two 023^c corrections, one seems to be the loss of a syllable, and the other is nonsensical in context. Because of the care with which the scribe of 023 copied the exemplar, *in scribendo* corrections usually occurred quickly. For example, at 15:16 (022 is not extant there), the scribe noticed the error before completing the first stroke of the incorrect letter. Because of the speed with which this scribe noticed errors, it is usually unwise to classify his or her *in scribendo* corrections, but some thoughts are given in the footnotes.

Table 3.18: Corrected readings in 023 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	023 ^c /exemplar	023*	Type (explanation)
7:12 ⁷⁷	θελητε	θελητα—	<i>in scribendo</i>
19:8b ⁷⁸	μωυνης	μωνης	Orthographic (loss of υ [ωυ > ω])
20:21 ⁷⁹	ειπε	π—	<i>in scribendo</i>
20:33	ημων	υμων	Orthographic (η > υ) Nonsense (context) Substitution
21:14 ⁸⁰	omit	εν τω ιερω	Omission (3 words) <i>In scribendo</i>

From the changes observed here, the scribe of 023 seems to be very careful not to make significant changes to the text of the exemplar, but the scribe can be susceptible to nonsense errors, orthographic changes and harmonisations to context. Additionally, one of the nonsense errors could also be attributed to accidental

⁷⁷ The erroneous letter is probably α, but only one stroke (✓) survives. The scribe immediately noticed the error and wrote ε without erasing ✓. It is possible that this error was the orthographic substitution ε > α. Because the letter is unfinished, however, I do not classify it as an orthographic change.

⁷⁸ The replacement of μωυνης with μωνης is better classified as the loss of υ than the orthographic replacement ωυ > ω. Blass and Debrunner note that ωυ could be either a diphthong or two separate vowels (ωϋ). They write, “The interchange with ω speaks for the original diphthongal pronunciation of ωυ,” but they also mention that in P⁴⁶ at Romans 10:19, the line break indicates that the letters were pronounced separately (μω / υνης), in *BDF*, §38 (p. 21). In one instance, 023 has a line break between ω and υ: μω / υνεως in Matt. 23:2 (f. 38r, lines 12–13). On a near-identical correction (μωυνης corrected to μωυνης) in P⁴⁷, see Peter Malik, *P. Beatty III (P⁴⁷): The Codex, Its Scribe, and Its Text*, NTTSD 52 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 92.

⁷⁹ The scribe probably omitted the syllable ει before correcting it. He or she wrote both verticals of π but did not write the horizontal before converting the first vertical into a cramped ε.

⁸⁰ Omont does not mention any correction there in the pseudo-facsimile (p. 638) or in the transcription (p. 668). Digital images reveal that the scribe omitted the three-word phrase and wrote the first letter of the following word before stopping to correct the error. The omission results in a sensible reading. Legg cites 13 69 543 660 697 1402 al. e for the omission.

harmonisation to context. On f. 9v, line 15 (13:47), the text of 023 is *κατηνη βληθηεν εις την*. It is possible that the high concentration of η in line 15 induced the shift from the text of the exemplar, *βληθειεν*.

3.4 Codex Rossanensis (Σ 042)

In the *editio princeps* of 042, Oscar von Gebhardt noted that different scripts were used for various portions of the manuscript. Gebhardt noted that in the *Epistula ad Carpianum*, the *kephalaia* lists, the marginal *titloi* in the Gospels, the Old Testament quotations below the miniatures and the colophon of Matthew, one could observe a hand different than that of the biblical text.⁸¹ In these sections, stark differences can be observed in the letters ε, θ, ο, c and ω. In spite of these differences, Gebhardt concluded that “Dieselbe Hand, vom welcher der Text herrührt, schrieb aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auch die *Epistula Eusebii ad Carpianum*, die *κεφάλαια* etc.”⁸² Likewise, Gebhardt ascribed the corrections to the same scribe, but noted that in some places, 042 was corrected to a second manuscript.⁸³

Like Gebhardt, Cavallo notes a number of different scripts present in 042, but Cavallo gives a more nuanced description of the hands than Gebhardt. Biblical majuscule is used for the Gospel text of 042. A second variety of biblical majuscule is employed for the *Epistula ad Carpianum*. Compared to the biblical majuscule of the Gospel text, it is “hierarchically inferior: it shows a smaller size, a moderate alternance of lights and shades, a rather sober drawing; a few abbreviations, of the same sort as that which we have observed in the main scripture, are also present”⁸⁴ Cavallo proceeds to describe a third script in 042: “Upright ogival capital is, on the contrary, used as a distinctive script.”⁸⁵ This third script was used to write the *titloi*, the *kephalaia* lists, the Eusebian apparatus, text above and below the miniatures, the colophon of Matthew, the gathering markers, and even some corrections.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Gebhardt, “Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” xxiii–xxiv.

⁸² Gebhardt, “Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” xxiv.

⁸³ “Sie [the corrections] rühren sämtlich von der Hand dessen her, der den Text schrieb ... Nur in wenigen Fällen lässt sich die Eintragung von Lesarten einer anderen Handschrift mehr oder weniger sicher erkennen,” in Gebhardt, “Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” li. Gebhardt lists these corrections and discusses some of them on lii–liii.

⁸⁴ Guglielmo Cavallo, “The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol,” in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, *Codices Mirabiles* 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 26.

⁸⁵ Cavallo, “The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol,” 26.

⁸⁶ Cavallo describes the corrections in upright pointed majuscule as “alcune integrazioni,” in “Il

This third script, with regard to corrections, led Gribomont to posit a second corrector to 042. Although he does not discuss the scribal hand, Gribomont distinguishes between the original reading of 042 (which he calls Σ^*), *in scribendo* corrections (Σ^+), first-hand corrections that were not made *in scribendo* (Σ^1), and corrections made by a second hand (Σ^2).⁸⁷ Many of Gribomont's Σ^2 corrections correspond with those Gebhardt listed as stemming from another manuscript. Many of the corrections do appear to be made by a pen with a smaller nib than that of the biblical text (see, for example, the marginal correction at Matt. 7:22 on p. 60[v]).

In spite of these differences in script, it seems reasonable that the same scribe was responsible for all of the corrections in 042. Like Gebhardt, Cavallo ascribes all three scripts to the same hand.⁸⁸ It is not impossible for a scribe to have been proficient in a hierarchy of scripts. In 301, Diocletian's *Edict on Maximum Prices* stipulated that a scribe is to be paid 25 denarii for 100 lines of the highest quality of writing, or 20 denarii for 100 lines of second quality, but that notaries are to be paid 10 denarii per 100 lines of a *libellus* or *tabula*.⁸⁹ That all three lines in the edict stipulate the price per 100 lines of text, but that the edict distinguishes between "a scribe" (line 39, not repeated in line 40) and "notaries" (line 41), presupposes that a scribe should be proficient in at least two different scripts—a script of highest quality and a script of second quality. Additionally, David Parker mentions that "the Bodleian Jerome *Chronicon* [5th–6th c., Oxford, Bodl. Auct. 2.26] was penned by a scribe who could write three hands that we know of – that of the text, and those of the upright and sloping marginalia."⁹⁰

That the same scribe wrote in different styles is most clearly seen in the mixing of stylistic and material elements across different scripts. While this "mixing of elements" is evident in the corrections at Matt. 26:59–60, it also occurs elsewhere. On p. 236(v), the scribe wrote the text of Matt. 28:16–20 in a wide biblical majuscule, then immediately added the colophon to Matthew in upright pointed

codice purpureo di Rossano: Libro, oggetto, simbolo," in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Codices Mirabiles 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 6. Lilla translates the phrase as "some restorations," in Cavallo, "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," 26.

⁸⁷ Jean Gribomont, "The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, Codices Mirabiles 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 193.

⁸⁸ "All these scripts must be regarded as products of the same hand" (Cavallo, "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," 26).

⁸⁹ *Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis rerum venalium*, 7:39–41, in Siegfried Lauffer, ed., *Diokletians Preisedikt*, TK 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971), 120–121.

⁹⁰ D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 26.

majuscule, without changing out his or her wide-nibbed pen for one more suitable for making the thin strokes characteristic of the upright pointed majuscule elsewhere in 042. The scribe also employed some of the same decorations with a wide-nibbed pen in the colophon of Matthew and with a thin-nibbed pen in the *kephalaia* list of Mark at the top of the next page (237[r]): the cross and decorative serifs under letters in both places bear a striking resemblance, save the difference in the width of the ink. In Eusebius' *Epistula ad Carpianum*, the scribe attempts to produce a "hierarchically inferior"⁹¹ biblical majuscule, but upright pointed majuscule letters creep in from time to time, especially ω . The distinctive ω even makes an appearance in the frontispiece to the Eusebian canon tables, the text of which is otherwise written in a wide biblical majuscule.⁹²

The scribe of 042 was the source of all of the corrections in the codex, but it is necessary to distinguish between initial (042¹) and later (042²) corrections—those made to a different exemplar.⁹³ Royse treats later corrections in P⁴⁶ as "another manuscript" and disregards them for his study of the scribe of P⁴⁶.⁹⁴ Although the corrections to a different exemplar reveal much about the scribe of 042, they do not reveal anything about the common exemplar of the sixth-century trio of Greek Gospels manuscripts with which this study is concerned. For a discussion of these secondary corrections, see Appendix Eight.

⁹¹ Cavallo, "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," 26.

⁹² See also the discussion of the identity of the 022²-042² corrector in Appendix Eight.

⁹³ An additional argument for the same hand responsible for all corrections could be made on the basis of the ink used. The corrections are made with silver ink. It is not impossible for the recipient of the manuscript or a later scribe to have used silver ink to make the corrections, given the rarity of manuscripts written with silver ink, it is unlikely that the corrections would have been made after the manuscript left its place of origin, especially corrections such as erasures, which mar the appearance of the leaves.

⁹⁴ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 77.

3.4.1 Orthography in 042

Table 3.19: ε/ι interchanges in 042 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	042	022/023	Standardised	Notes
11:8	βασιλιων	βασιλειων	βασιλείων	ει > ι, in medial position
13:14 ⁹⁵	ειδητε	ιδητε	ἴδητε	ι > ει, in front position
13:18b ⁹⁶	επειροντος	επιροντος	σπείροντος	ι > ει, in front position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
13:20	επαρειε	επαριε	σπαρείς	ι > ει, in final position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
13:25c	επεεπειρεν	επεεπιρεν	ἐπέσπειρεν	ι > ει, in medial position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
13:27b	εσπειραε	εσπιραε	ἔσπειρας	ι > ει, in medial position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
15:35	αναπεεειν	αναπεειν	ἀναπεσεῖν	ι > ει, in final position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
18:8b	εκανδαλιζει	εκανδαλιζι (023)	εκανδαλίζει	ι > ει, in final position, <i>to correct orthography</i>
20:31 ⁹⁷	μειζον	μιζον (023)	μείζον	ι > ει, in front position, <i>to correct orthography</i>

Table 3.20: αι/ε interchanges in 042 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	042	022/023	Standardised	Notes
15:14 ⁹⁸	αφεται	αφετε	ἄφετε	ε > αι, in final position
20:25 ⁹⁹	οιδαται	οιδατε (023)	οἴδατε	ε > αι, in final position
21:2	ευρηεεται	ευρηεετε	εὕρηεετε	ε > αι, in final position

⁹⁵ The change from ιδητε to ειδητε does potentially change the meaning of the passage. In standardized orthography, ἴδητε is the aorist active subjunctive, 2nd person plural of ὁράω. However, the alternative εἰδητε is the perfect active subjunctive, 2nd person plural of οἶδα. Both forms would be translated in roughly the same way, apart from their lexical difference (to see vs. to know). It is possible that the change here is deliberate, since the sense of the passage is affected slightly, heightening the parallelism. In most manuscripts, the first phrase in the passage moves from hearing (ἀκούω) to understanding (συνίημι), but the second phrase moves from seeing (βλέπω) to seeing (ὁράω, often translated as “perceive”). However, if the orthographic shift in 042 is a deliberate attempt to change the form of the passage and not simply an orthographic difference, the second phrase moves from seeing to knowing (οἶδα), which is a better match to the semantic domain of συνίημι in the first phrase. It is impossible to make a decision with certainty, but at the very least there is a difference in the orthography of 042 here. Consequently, the variant is treated merely as an orthographic change between ει and ι, and it is ignored if later chapters using and assessing the *singular readings method*.

⁹⁶ 022: επιρο[v]τος

⁹⁷ 022: μιζων

⁹⁸ It is possible that a physical aspect of the manuscript gave rise to this variant; αφεται is the first word on a new page after a *recto/verso* page turn (pp. 123[r]–124[v]).

⁹⁹ 022: [οιδα]τε

Table 3.21: Summary of ϵ/ι and α/ϵ interchanges in 042 where all three manuscripts are extant

Total		12	
ϵ/ι		9	α/ϵ
	ϵ/ι	1	α/ϵ
	front position	-	front position
	medial position	1	medial position
	final position	-	final position
	ι/ϵ	8	ϵ/α
	front position	3	front position
	medial position	2	medial position
	final position	3	final position

The scribe of 042 made only 9 orthographic shifts between ϵ/ι and ι in the passages where all three manuscripts overlap, and 7 of these 9 seem to be corrections of non-standard forms in the exemplar. The scribe also seems much more likely to change from ι to ϵ/ι , or at least to correct orthographic errors in that direction, than to replace ϵ/ι with ι . The scribe makes only three orthographic changes involving α/ϵ and ϵ . All three changes are replacements of ϵ with α in the final position of a word. None of the three changes seems to be an orthographic correction.

In general, the scribe of 042 was careful with respect to orthography. Over half of the orthographic changes appear to be corrections to the exemplar. Changes involving α/ϵ and ϵ are confined to the end of words, and they are always in the direction of ϵ to α . With respect to changes involving ϵ/ι and ι , the scribe makes orthographic shifts in all positions, almost equally.

3.4.2 Unit Delimitation in 042

The scribe of 042 was inconsistent in the size of *ekthetic* letters. Sometimes, the *ekthetic* letter is quite large, and other times, it is roughly the same size as a normal letter. On p. 199(r), for example, the scribe marks the beginning of the unit in the first column of text at Matt. 25:12 with a large o, more than twice the diameter of the o five letters later in the line, but at nearly the same place in the second column, the ekthesis at the beginning of Matt. 25:16 is much smaller. The *ekthetic* π there is only about 25% wider and taller than the normal π one line below.¹⁰⁰ Because it is impractical to quantify the extent to which each *ekthetic* letter is enlarged, this study will only consider whether the scribe employs *ekthesis*, and if so, where those

¹⁰⁰ An image of this page is available in *Ciro Santoro, Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano* (Rome: Frama Sud, 1974), 39.

instances of *ekthesis* occur.

Table 3.22: Unit delimitation in 042 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	<i>Kephalaia</i>	Eusebian apparatus?	Conjunction?	Other?
7:9	–	–	η τις	question
7:12	–	yes	παντα ουν	–
7:13	–	yes	–	new saying
7:14	–	–	τι	interrogative
11:7	–	–	δε	new saying
11:9	–	–	αλλα τι	interrogative
11:10	–	yes	ουτος γαρ	speaker change
11:11	–	yes	–	“amen” saying speaker change
11:12	–	yes	απο δε	–
13:8	–	–	αλλα δε	shift in narrative
13:10	–	–	και	speaker change
13:11	–	–	ο δε	speaker change
13:12	–	yes	οστις γαρ	–
13:13	–	yes	δια τουτο	–
13:16	–	yes	υμων δε	speaker change
13:17	–	yes	–	“amen” saying
13:19 ¹⁰¹	–	–	–	explanation of parable
13:20	–	–	ο δε	–
13:21	–	–	γενομενης δε	–
13:22	–	–	ο δε	–
13:23	–	–	ο δε	–
13:24	–	yes	–	another parable
13:26	–	–	οτε δε	–
13:28	–	–	ο δε	speaker change
13:31	–	yes	–	another parable
13:33	–	yes	–	another parable
13:43	–	–	τοτε	second part of two-part statement
13:44	–	–	παλιν	another parable
13:45	–	–	παλιν	another parable
13:47	–	–	παλιν	another parable
13:57*	–	yes	–	speaker change
14:1	κε	yes	–	–
14:3	–	yes	ο γαρ	speaker change
15:12	–	yes	τοτε	speaker change
15:13	–	–	ο δε	speaker change
15:32	λα	–	ο δε	speaker change
15:33	–	–	και	speaker change

¹⁰¹ This unit division in 042 corresponds to the one at 13:18 in 022. In 022, the scribe divided the text at the introduction to the new saying; the *ekthetic* letter in 042 is the first letter of the new saying itself.

Text	<i>Kephalaia</i>	Eusebian apparatus?	Conjunction?	Other?
15:34	–	–	και	speaker change
15:36	–	–	και	action of the miracle
15:37	–	–	και	development in story
15:39	–	yes	και	–
16:1	λβ (022)	–	και	–
16:2	–	yes	ο δε	speaker change
16:4	–	yes	και	speaker change
16:5	λβ (023, 042)	–	και	–
16:6	–	yes	ο δε	speaker change
18:6	–	yes	οc δ'αν	second part of a positive/negative couplet
18:7	–	–	ουαι	“woe” statement
18:8	–	yes	ει δε	new command
18:9 ¹⁰²	–	yes	και	new command
18:10	–	yes	–	new command
18:12	λη	yes	–	–
18:15	–	yes	Εαν δε	first part of positive/negative statement
18:16	–	yes	εαν δε	second part of a positive/negative couplet
18:18a	–	yes	αμην γαρ	“amen” saying
18:18b*	–	–	και	second part of saying
18:19	–	yes	παλιν δε	new saying
18:20	–	–	οπου γαρ	explanation of saying
18:21	–	yes	τοτε	speaker change
18:22	–	–	–	speaker change
18:23	λθ	yes	δια τουτο	new parable
19:7	–	–	–	speaker change
19:8	–	–	–	speaker change
19:9	–	yes	λεγω δε	–
19:10	–	yes	–	speaker change
20:11	–	–	λαβοντες δε	speaker change
20:13	–	–	ο δε	speaker change
20:16*	–	–	πολλοι γαρ	new saying
20:17a	–	yes	και	new section in narrative
20:17b*	–	–	και	speaker change
20:20	μγ	yes	τοτε	speaker change
20:21	–	–	ο δε	speaker change
20:22	–	–	αποκριθειc δε	speaker change
20:23	–	–	και	second part of a two-part answer
20:24	–	yes	και	speaker change

¹⁰² The Eusebian apparatus here is incorrect. The correct placement is at 18:10, where it also appears in 042 as well as 022 and 023.

Text	<i>Kephalaia</i>	Eusebian apparatus?	Conjunction?	Other?
20:25	–	–	ο δε	speaker change
20:28	–	yes	ωσπερ	–
20:29	μδ	yes	και	–
20:30	–	–	και	–
20:32	–	–	και	speaker change
20:34	–	–	σπλαγχνιθεισ δε	action of the miracle
21:1a	[με]	yes	και	–
21:1b*	–	–	τοτε	speaker change
21:14	–	yes	και	–
21:15	–	yes	ιδοντες δε	speaker change
21:16*	–	–	ο δε	speaker change
21:17	μζ	yes	και	–
21:18	–	–	προιασ δε	–

There are 88 instances of *ekthesis* in 042 in the relevant sections. All nine of the *kephalaia* are marked by *ekthesis*, and the alternate *kephalaion* λβ in 022 (at 16:1) is marked as well. Although the complexity of unit delimitation renders assigning criteria difficult, only one of the 88 instances of *ekthesis* does not correspond with at least one of the following: the presence of the Eusebian apparatus, a conjunction or a change in speaker. The sole exception is at Matt. 13:19, where Jesus explains the Parable of the Sower. There are twenty-five unique unit divisions in 042. None of them mark a new *kephalaion*. Only three of these divisions coincide with the Eusebian apparatus. Almost all of these unique unit divisions occur at a conjunction; only three do not. Twelve occur when there is a change in speaker.

3.4.3 *Kephalaia and Titloi in 042*

Codex Rossanensis is unique among the three manuscripts in that it preserves two relatively complete sources of *titloi*. In addition to the marginal *titloi* preserved alongside the biblical text, 042 also contains *kephalaia* lists for Matthew and Mark.¹⁰³ The *kephalaia* list for Matthew was reinserted in reverse order at some point in the history of the manuscript before the modern pagination was made. There are some differences between the *titloi* in the list and the marginal *titloi* in 042. For this study, we will compare only *titloi* for which all three manuscripts are extant, though a comparison of all extant *titloi* in 042 would be useful.

¹⁰³ Fragments of the *kephalaia* to Luke are preserved as patches in 022, but no full page is extant. Cronin gives the text of three such fragments in Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus, xxv–xxvi.

Table 3.23: *Kephalaia* and *titloi* in 042 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	Type	<i>Titlos</i>	Location
14:1	List	κε̄ περι ιωαννου και ηρωδου	18(v)
14:1	Marginal	κε̄ περι της θυγατρος της ηρωδιαδος	115(r)
15:32	List	λᾱ περι των ζ̄ αρτων	18(v)
15:32	Marginal	λᾱ περι των ζ̄ αρτων	127(r)
16:5	List	λβ̄ περι της ζυμης των φαρισαιων	18(v)
16:5 ¹⁰⁴	Marginal*	λγ̄ περι της ζυμης των φαρισαιων	130(v)
18:12	List	λη̄ περι των ρ̄ προβατων	18(v)
18:12	Marginal	Possibly trimmed away; possibly omitted	144(v)
18:23	List	λθ̄ περι του οφιλοντος μυρια ταλαντα	18(v)
18:23	Marginal	λθ̄ περι του οφιλοντος τα μυρια ταλαντα	146(v)
20:20	List	[μγ̄] περι των υιων ζεβεδεου	17(r)
20:20	Marginal	μγ̄ περι των υιων ζεβεδαιου	159(r)
20:29	List	[μδ̄] περι των δυο τυφλων	17(r)
20:29	Marginal	μδ̄ περι των β̄ τυφλων	161(r)
21:1 ¹⁰⁵	List	[με̄] περι της ονου και του πωλου	17(r)
21:1	Marginal	με̄ περι του πωλου	162(v)
21:17	List	[μζ̄] περι της ξηρανθισης σικκης	17(r)
21:17	Marginal	μζ̄ περι της ξηρανθισης σικκης	166(v)

Agreeing 023, the marginal *titlos* of 25 (κε) is “Concerning the daughter of Herodias”, against 022, the 042 list, and the manuscripts cited by Swanson.¹⁰⁶ The scribe who wrote the *kephalaia* numbers skipped over 32 (λβ), writing 33 (λγ) in its place, but this mistake was corrected.¹⁰⁷ An article is omitted in the 042 list at 39 (λθ), but it is retained in the marginal *titlos*. There is also an orthographic substitution αι > ε in the 042 list at 43 (μγ). The number-writing technique varies in 44 (μδ), with the 042 list using the long form (δυο) and the marginal *titlos* using the numeral form (β̄).

¹⁰⁴ 042¹: λβ̄ περι της ζυμης των φαρισαιων

It is possible that the scribe made this correction during the series of corrections to the second exemplar, but I classify it as 042¹ for two reasons. First, the incorrect number is not an alternate reading but an error; it would be incorrect in either exemplar. Second, even if the scribe noticed the error while correcting the manuscript against a second exemplar, this would not be the only instance of a 042¹ correction chronologically later than a 042² correction. I argue in Appendix Five that the scribe corrected 12:50a against a second exemplar and then noticed the error in 12:50b correcting it as well, though both exemplars probably had identical texts for the reading at 12:50b.

¹⁰⁵ The list entry looks like περι της ονου και του πωλου, but the second line of π is show-through from the other side of the folio, and the total length of the letters του is the same as that of other instances of του in the *kephalaia* list.

¹⁰⁶ Swanson, *Matthew*, 2.

¹⁰⁷ This numbering error continued through the following *kephalaia* number, but was detected before the scribe progressed beyond that heading. Both mistaken numbers were subsequently corrected, which is evidence that in 042, as in 022, *kephalaia* numbers and accompanying *titloi* were written separately.

3.4.4 The Eusebian Apparatus in 042

Table 3.24: The Eusebian apparatus in 042 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	042	Exemplar	Type of change
7:12	vδ/α	vδ/ε	incorrect canon number (ε > α)
7:13	vε/δ	vε/α	incorrect canon number (α > δ)
11:11	ρδ/γ	ρδ/[?]	possibly incorrect canon number? (ε > γ?)
11:12	ρζ/ε	ρε/[?]	skipped two sections
13:17	ρλε/ε	ρλε/β	incorrect canon number (β > ε)
13:31	ρλζ/ι	ρλζ/β	incorrect canon number (β > ι)
13:57*	ρμβ/δ	ρμβ/α	incorrect canon number (α > δ)
14:3	ρμδ/ε	ρμδ/α	incorrect canon number (α > ε)
15:12	[blank]	ρνε/ι	missing apparatus
16:2	ρξβ/β	ρξβ/ε	incorrect canon number (ε > β)
16:4	ρξγ/α	ρξγ/β	incorrect canon number (β > α)
16:6	ρλδ/β	ρξδ/β	incorrect section number (ξ > λ)
18:6	ροθ/α	ροθ/β	incorrect canon number (β > α)
18:8	ρπ/β	ρπ/[ε]	probably incorrect canon number (ε [or ϛ] > β)
18:9	ρπα/α	[blank]	displaced apparatus
18:12	ρπβ/β	ρπβ/ε	incorrect canon number (β > ε)
18:18	ρπς/γ	ρπε/γ	section number skipped
18:19	ρπζ/α	ρπς/ι	displaced apparatus
18:21	ρπζ/α	ρπζ/ε	incorrect canon number (ε > α)
20:20	cβ/β	cβ/ς	incorrect canon number (ς > β)
20:29	cε/γ	cε/β	incorrect canon number (β > γ)
21:4	[blank]	cζ/[?]	missing apparatus
21:14	cιβ/α	cιβ/ι	incorrect canon number (ι > α)
21:15	cιγ/γ	cιγ/ε	incorrect canon number (γ > ε)

The scribe of 042 erred at least 22 times in the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus, and he or she possibly erred in three additional places. There are five instances relevant to 042 in which it is unclear what the Eusebian canon number was in the exemplar, and in two of these instances, the scribe of 042 was clearly in error (the section number is incorrect at 11:12, and the apparatus is missing at 21:4).

There is some evidence that the scribe confused letters of similar appearance when copying the Eusebian canon numbers, but many more mistakes defy adequate explanation. Twice, the scribe confused α (=1) and δ (=4) (7:13 and 13:57), and three or four times, the scribe confused ε (=5) and β (=2) (13:17, 16:2, 18:12, and probably 18:8).¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, many of the incorrect canon numbers are not at all

¹⁰⁸ Because the scribe of 022 was the most accurate of the three scribes with respect to the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus, and because the scribe of 023 has the greatest tendency to correct faulty readings in the exemplar, the best explanation for the Eusebian apparatus at 18:8 is that the exemplar had ρπ/ε, which the scribe of 022 copied faithfully and which the scribe of 042 mistook as ρπ/β. The scribe of 023 noticed the mistake and put the correct canon number in 023, writing ρπ/ς. Alternatively, the canon number in 042 could be a

visually similar to the correct canon numbers or those in the exemplar where the exemplar was faulty.

In two instances, the scribe skipped sections. At Matt 11:12, the scribe skipped two sections, writing ρζ (=107) instead of ρε (=105) but wrote the following section correctly. In Matt. 18, the scribe skipped section ρπε (=185), which resulted in a “cascading error”¹⁰⁹ for a second section before the scribe noticed. The correct canon number at the skipped section number in Matt. 18 suggests that the section numbers and canon numbers were copied separately.

If one may be permitted to speculate, one might propose a few explanations for some of the errors. A few of the erroneous canon numbers and some of the section errors could be explained as cascading errors. In eleven places, the canon number in 042 matches or closely matches¹¹⁰ the canon number of either the previous or subsequent section in 022.¹¹¹ It is possible that the scribe skipped sections while copying the canon numbers but quickly noticed the error, just as he or she did at 11:12, 18:9 and 18:18. This explanation is only a suggestion in light of a lack of any other plausible explanations.

cascading error due to a leap back to the previous section.

¹⁰⁹ For an introduction to cascading errors and a discussion of them in Codex Alexandrinus, see Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 144–154.

¹¹⁰ E.g. at Matt. 21:15, 042 has $\epsilon\gamma/\gamma$, which could be a cascading error back to the previous section ($\epsilon\beta/\iota$ in 022), but in which ι is mistakenly replaced with the visually similar γ .

¹¹¹ These are: 7:12 (forward), 13:17 (back), 13:31 (back), 13:57* (back), 14:3 (back), 16:2 (forward), 18:8 (back), 18:12 (forward), 20:20 (back), 21:14 (back) and 21:15 (back). Four of these places, however, could also be confusion of visually similar letters (13:57*, 16:2, 18:8 and 18:12).

3.4.5 Deviations from the Exemplar in 042

Table 3.25: Deviations from the exemplar in 042 where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	042	Exemplar	Explanation
11:10	κατασκευαση	κατασκευασ(ε)ι	Orthographic (ει [ι] > η) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive
13:20	ευθεως	ευθυς	Substitution Harmonisation (Mark 4:16)
13:32	γινειται	γινεται	Orthographic (ε > ει [ι]) Strictly nonsense
14:1	τετραρχης	τεταρχης	Editorial: correcting an error in the exemplar
18:6	θαλασης	θαλασσης	Orthographic (cc > c)
18:21b	αμαρτηνη	αμαρτησει	Orthographic ([ε]ι > η) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive Harmonisation (context: 18:15)
20:13 ¹¹²	συνεφωνησα μοι	συνεφωνησας μοι	Substitution (short phrase) Substitution (grammatical): change in person Harmonisation (context: 20:2)
21:2	δεδεμενιν	δεδεμενην	Orthographic (η > ι)
21:13a ¹¹³	add οτι	-	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 11:17)
21:13b	αυτον εποιησατε	εποιησα(ε) αυτον	Transposition (2 words) Harmonisation (Mark 11:17)

¹¹² This substitution changes the subject of the verb from the worker (“Did you not agree with me...” [2nd person]) to the master of the house (“Did I not agree with you...” [1st person]). The change stems from the text in 20:2, where the master of the house is also the subject of the verb. The reading is near-singular, found elsewhere only in L 33 and Cyril of Alexandria’s second festal letter (7, l. 61), according to W.H. Burns, ed., *Cyrille d’Alexandrie: Lettres Festales (I–IV)*, SC 372 (Paris: Cerf, 1991), 224–225.

¹¹³ Matt. 21:13a–b are treated as two separate harmonizations because the Markan account includes a third difference—the addition *πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*—which should have been added between 21:13a and 21:13b, had the scribe intended to harmonize the whole passage.

Table 3.26: Deviations from the exemplar in 042 by type where all three manuscripts are extant

Total		10
	Insignificant	5
	Nonsense	1/10
	Orthographic	5/10
	Significant	7
	Additions	1
	Omissions	0
	Substitutions	5
	Transpositions	1
	Harmonisations	4 (plus 2 at 13:23)
Editorial readings	1	

Codex Rossanensis has a relatively high number of initial corrections in these passages. There are eight corrections in the relevant passages that were either made *in scribendo* or shortly thereafter. This section does not include 042² corrections.

Table 3.27: 042+ and 042¹ corrections where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	042 ^c /exemplar	042*	Explanation
13:23a	ο δε	οc δη	Harmonisation (context)
13:23b	ο δε	οc δη	Harmonisation (context)
13:30	συλλεξατε	συλλαξατε	Orthographic (ε > α) Strictly nonsense
15:31 ¹¹⁴	υγειεc	υγειc	Nonsense (strictly nonsense) Omission (1 syllable)
18:12	πλανωμενον	πλανο— (πλανομενον)	Orthographic (ω > ο) Nonsense (strictly nonsense)
18:21a	κε	omit κε	Omission (1 word)
20:18	ειciv	εcτ[iv]	Nonsense (in context) <i>in scribendo</i>
20:28	διακονηcαι	διακονηθην[αι]	Leap back (homoeoarchton) <i>in scribendo</i>

Where all three manuscripts are extant, the scribe of 042 changed the text of the exemplar in ten places. Only one of the ten changes resulted in a nonsense

¹¹⁴ Each manuscript has a different reading in the original text, and 042 has a correction here. The best explanation is that the scribe of 023 preserved the text of the exemplar, υγειεc. The scribe of 042 made a haplographic error, omitting the first instance of ει (υγειc). It appears that the same scribe who committed the error corrected it, based on the thickness of the small ι added below the horizontal stroke of γ (ΥΓιEIC). The scribe of 042 simply substituted the first ει with ι. Gebhardt does not mention the correction either in his transcription or his discussion, and Gribomont does not list it in his corrections to Gebhardt's transcription.

reading.¹¹⁵ There were five orthographic changes, and three of these five involved the interchange of (ε)ι and η. The scribe created seven significant readings. Of these seven, there are no omissions, but there are one each of additions and transpositions. The scribe substituted five times and harmonised four times. Two of the substitutions are orthographic, resulting in an interchange between the aorist subjunctive and the future subjunctive. Of the four harmonisations, one is to context and three are to parallel passages in Mark’s Gospel. There is only one editorial change: the scribe of 042 corrects the error in the exemplar at 14:1 but in a different manner than the scribe of 023.

Emmanuel Tov writes, “Harmonizations may be *intentional* or *unintentional*,” and the initial corrections of 042 provide evidence that on occasion, the scribe harmonised to context unintentionally (13:23a–b).¹¹⁶ The scribe is careful to catch the most blatant errors as they are being made, as is evidenced by the two *in scribendo* corrections. Although there are several initial corrections, they are, for the most part, corrections of minor errors. Only the omission of the *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ at 18:21a is significant, and even it does not change the sense of the text in Matt. 18.¹¹⁷

This scribe seems comfortable to make significant changes to the text of the exemplar, frequently harmonising the text of Matthew to the text of Mark.¹¹⁸ The scribe also seems to have an orthographic peculiarity with the interchange of (ε)ι and η, and does make a few orthographic changes. In spite of the relatively large number of changes, the scribe left very few nonsense errors uncorrected. The kinds of readings that the scribe did not correct, especially when compared to the corrections in 042, suggest that uncorrected significant changes are intentional changes to the text.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ The justification for taking the orthographic reading at 13:32 as strictly nonsense, but not the orthographic reading at 21:2 is that the scribe does seem to have a rather strong tendency to substitute η and ι (as at 21:2), but not ει and ε (as at 13:32). In light of the scribe’s overall editorial care, the reading at 21:2 is probably an orthographic peculiarity of the scribe, or to put it alternatively, δεδεμενην spelled as δεδεμενιν. This position is similar to that of Juan Hernández, Jr., who argues that χιλος at Rev. 21:17 in Codex Sinaiticus should be taken as χειλος spelled as χιλος, and not as the nonsense reading χιλός, partly on the grounds that the former is consistent with orthographic patterns in Codex Sinaiticus, in “A Scribal Solution to a Problematic Measurement in the Apocalypse,” *NTS* 56 (2010): 273–78.

¹¹⁶ Emanuel Tov, “The Nature and Backgrounds of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts,” *JSOT* 31 (1985): 5, emphasis original. Tov writes that scribes were not always aware of when they were “influenced by a parallel text.”

¹¹⁷ 023 has a punctuation marker just before $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$, and the omission in 042 happens at a line break. It is possible that there was a punctuation marker in the exemplar, which could have given the scribe opportunity to pause and get ahead of himself or herself.

¹¹⁸ Cambry G. Pardee shows that P³⁷ also has a tendency to harmonise Matthew to Mark, in “Scribal Harmonization in Greek Manuscripts of the Synoptic Gospels from the Second to the Fifth Century” (PhD thesis, Loyola University Chicago, 2016), 113.

¹¹⁹ I include the possibility of accidental mistakes, such as harmonisations, that the scribe

3.5 Observations on Each Aspect

3.5.1 Orthography

Table 3.28: Summary of orthography where all three manuscripts are extant

Scribe	$\iota \rightarrow \epsilon \iota$	$\epsilon \iota \rightarrow \iota$	$\epsilon \rightarrow \alpha \iota$	$\alpha \iota \rightarrow \epsilon$
022	19	35	1	10
023	6	5	2	1
042	8	1	3	-

The striking contrast between the orthography of 022 and that of 023 and 042 allows two possibilities. Either the scribe of 022 is the most careless, or perhaps, least competent of the three scribes, or both other scribes acted as editors, “correcting” an orthographically deficient exemplar. There are a number of places where only 023 and 042 are extant in which both preserve non-standard orthography. It seems most reasonable to ascribe the large number of orthographic variants in 022 to the scribe of 022. It is simpler to postulate a single scribe changing the text than to postulate the same changes by two different scribes, and if there was an “orthographic revisionist” approach by the scribes of 023 and 042, one would expect them to have been more thorough.¹²⁰

If indeed the large difference in number of orthographic changes is the work of the scribe of 022, he or she made over four times as many orthographic changes as either other scribe. He or she made very few changes from non-standard to “correct” orthography—so few that these changes seem to be purely coincidental, rather than representative of any effort on the part of the scribe to improve the orthography of the exemplar. The scribes of 023 and 042, on the other hand, appear to have been much more careful than the scribe of 022 with respect to orthography, the scribe of 042 being slightly more careful of the two. The scribe of 042 made fewer changes overall and more changes to the “correct” orthography. Orthographic variations tend to be in the medial and final positions for all three scribes. The scribe of 023 never made changes to the front position, and the scribe of 022 does so very rarely. The orthographic changes made by the scribe of 042 seem to be almost equally distributed among positions within a word, with slightly more changes to vowels in the final position.

intentionally chose not to correct.

¹²⁰ For example, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, all three manuscripts have deficient orthography at Matt. 19:9.

All three scribes show a stronger tendency to shift between $\epsilon\iota$ and ι than between $\alpha\iota$ and ϵ . However, the scribe of 022 differs from the other two scribes with respect to the direction of those changes, preferring the ι and ϵ forms.¹²¹ The tendency to make $\epsilon\iota/\iota$ substitutions rather than $\alpha\iota/\epsilon$ substitutions is also found in Scribes A, B(2), and D in Codex Sinaiticus.¹²²

The overall picture of the three scribes is one of a range. The scribe of 022 seems to be the most careless, making changes far more often than either of the other two scribes, but correcting the orthography of the exemplar far more infrequently. Of the twelve changes to standardised orthography in 023 and 042, ten correct ι to $\epsilon\iota$. The scribe of 042 appears to be the most deliberate of the three scribes, demonstrating a clear preference for the $\epsilon\iota$ and $\alpha\iota$ forms, a low rate of change and a relatively high rate of change in the direction of standardised orthography. The scribe of 023, on the other hand, seems to occupy a position somewhere in the middle. The scribe of 023 was very careful; his or her accuracy was only slightly exceeded by the scribe of 042. The scribe of 023 makes very few changes overall but still makes more than the scribe of 042, and the direction of the orthographic shifts in 023 is not as consistent as that in 042.

3.5.2 Unit Delimitation

Table 3.29: Summary of unit delimitation where all three manuscripts are extant

Manuscript	Total paragraph divisions	Unique paragraph divisions
022	66	3
023	15 (11 <i>ekthesis</i>) (7 : / : / 7)	0
042	88	25

The scribe of 042 seems to add paragraph divisions to the text not present in the exemplar. To make new, sensible paragraph divisions, the scribe would have to have been a careful reader of the text, understanding where good breaks should be placed. The high number of unique paragraph divisions is consistent with the

¹²¹ Admittedly, the preference for the $\epsilon\iota$ form is weak in 023.

¹²² Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 91. It is unhelpful to make comparisons beyond Jongkind's study of Codex Sinaiticus. Smith calculates the data differently than this study, counting variants per lemma (i.e. three occurrences of the non-standard form $\epsilon\eta\mu\iota\omicron\nu$ [for $\epsilon\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$] would count as one instance, not three), in *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 225–245. Parker does not discuss $\epsilon\iota/\iota$ or $\alpha\iota/\epsilon$ interchanges in Codex Bezae in *Codex Bezae*, 107–111. Carlo Maria Martini discusses $\epsilon\iota/\iota$ interchanges in P⁷⁵ and Codex Vaticanus, but not $\alpha\iota/\epsilon$ interchanges, in *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV*, AnBib 26 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1966), 103–112.

conclusion that the scribe of 042 added paragraph divisions, as is his or her “editorial” style of copying exhibited in both the corrections and the deviations from the exemplar in the manuscript. One instance where only 023 and 042 are extant illustrates the decision of the scribe to make a new paragraph: In Matt. 15:29–30 (p. 126[v] in 042), the line is το εκει κ. The κ was then erased, and the following line (v. 30) begins with an enlarged, *ekthetic* κ. There are no paragraph markers in 023 at this point. It appears that there were no paragraph markers in the exemplar there, and although the scribe of 042 began to copy the layout of the exemplar, he or she decided to add a paragraph marker, possibly because of the healings mentioned at the end of v. 30.¹²³

The variety of unit delimitation systems in 023 raises the possibility that the exemplar of the three manuscripts itself probably contained multiple systems. If the exemplar contained multiple systems of unit delimitation, the differences among 022, 023 and 042 could be explained as follows:

- 022: The scribe likely converted all unit divisions in the exemplar to *ekthesis* but largely preserved the unit divisions themselves.
- 023: The scribe preserved the multiple systems, especially to mark *kephalaia* but removed many minor divisions so that the layout of the resultant manuscript would be an aesthetically pleasing rectangular block of gold text, largely free of intrusions of the text into the margins.
- 042: The scribe likely converted all unit divisions in the exemplar to *ekthesis* but added additional divisions as he or she saw fit.

The relatively even line-endings in 023 demonstrate this simple, even presentation of the text on the opposite margin of each page. The marginal notation at 16:1 (Ζ) in 023 supports the conclusion that 023 preserved multiple unit delimitation systems present in the exemplar: given the reserve with which the scribe of 023 employs the marker (Ζ), it is unlikely that he or she chose to use it at 16:1 to indicate a major section break, despite the fact that 16:1 is neither the occasion of a new Ammonian section nor a new *kephalaion*. On the other hand, if the section was already marked as a major division in the exemplar, the marginal marks in 023 are consistent with the scribe’s patterns elsewhere.

A parallel to simplifying major and minor divisions can be found in Codex Vaticanus. Jongkind reports that in the New Testament of Codex Vaticanus, there is distinction between major and minor divisions in Matthew, but the number of such

¹²³ Jongkind discusses a few instances in which Scribe A of Codex Sinaiticus also corrects the text into new paragraph divisions, in Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 102–104.

distinctions happens “to a lesser degree” in Mark and Luke, and “elsewhere only sporadically.”¹²⁴ Charles E. Hill also reports that P⁷⁵ and Vaticanus both contain a “common template” for paragraph divisions, though each manuscript indicates these divisions differently.¹²⁵ It seems from Hill’s data on paragraph divisions in early manuscripts of the Fourth Gospel that early manuscripts do employ major and minor divisions, but when transmitting a system of unit delimitation, the tendency in general is to simplify major and minor divisions into a single system of divisions rather than to expand a single system of divisions into major and minor divisions.

If it is correct that the scribe of 042 added paragraph divisions while simplifying everything to *ekthesis* and that the scribe of 023 removed paragraph divisions while preserving the multiple systems of the exemplar, it seems that the scribe of 022 was the most conservative copyist. The scribe of 022 probably converted the divisions to *ekthesis* but did not add or omit very many divisions in the exemplar. This conservative copying style seems consistent with other aspects of the scribe, who seems reluctant to make many invasive textual changes. In any case, the three scribes seem to have been given a degree of freedom with respect to the layout of the text of each manuscript.

¹²⁴ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 96.

¹²⁵ Charles E. Hill, “Rightly Dividing the Word: Uncovering an Early Template for Textual Division in John’s Gospel,” in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Michael W. Holmes*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster, NTTSD 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 236.

3.5.3 Kephalaia and Titloi

Table 3.30: Parallel *kephalaia* and *titloi* in 022, 023, 042 and the 042 list where all three manuscripts are extant

Text	022	023	042	042 List
14:1	κε̄ περι ιωαννου κ(αι) ηρωδου	κε̄ περι της θυγατρος της ηρωδιαδος	κε̄ περι της θυγατρος της ηρωδιαδος	κε̄ περι ιωαννου και ηρωδου
15:32	λᾱ περι) επτα αρτων	λᾱ περι των ζ αρτων	λᾱ περι των ζ αρτων	λᾱ περι των ζ αρτων
16:1	λβ̄ περι) ζητουντων σημιον	-	-	-
16:5	-	[λ]β̄ περι της ζυμης των φαρισαιων	λβ̄ ¹²⁶ περι της ζυμης των φαρισαιων	λβ̄ περι της ζυμης των φαρισαιων
18:12	[λ]η̄ περι) εκατων προβατω̄	λη̄ περι των ρ̄ προβατων παραβολη	? Possibly trimmed away; possibly omitted	λη̄ περι των ρ̄ προβατων
18:23	λθ̄ περι) οφιλοντος τα μυρια ταλαντα	λθ̄ περι του οφιλοντος μυρια ταλαντα ¹²⁷	λθ̄ περι του οφιλοντος τα μυρια ταλαντα	λθ̄ περι του οφιλοντος μυρια ταλαντα
20:20	μγ̄ περι) υιων ζεβεδαιου	μγ̄ περι των υιων ζεβεδαιου	μγ̄ περι των υιων ζεβεδαιου	[μγ̄] περι των υιων ζεβεδεου
20:29	μδ̄ περι) δυο τυφλων	μδ̄ περι των β̄ τυφλων	μδ̄ περι των β̄ τυφλων	[μδ̄] περι των δυο τυφλων
21:1	[μ]ε̄ περι) πωλου	[not present]	με̄ περι του πωλου	[με̄] περι της ονου και του πωλου
21:17	μζ̄ περι της ξηρανθισης κυκης	μζ̄ περι της ξηρανθισης κυκης·	μζ̄ περι της ξηρανθισης κυκης·	[μζ̄] περι της ξηρανθισης κυκης

Although the biblical text of the three codices originates from a common exemplar, it appears that the *titloi* do not originate from precisely the same source. Just as there are both marginal *titloi* and a list of *kephalaia* extant in 042, it seems likely that the common exemplar also had a list and marginal *titloi*. Smith has demonstrated that just a century earlier, Codex Alexandrinus shows evidence of two different textual traditions of *titloi*, one tradition stemming from a *kephalaia* list and a second tradition in the margins around the gospel text.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ 042*: λ̄γ̄

¹²⁷ 023*: λ̄θ̄ περι του οφιλοντος τα μυρια ταλαντα

¹²⁸ Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 176. Smith writes that although Scribe 1 copied the *kephalaia* list for Luke's Gospel, "... Scribe 2 was not reading the *kephalaia* list and marking the Gospel text appropriately, but copying the marginal notes

It is reasonable to assume that the *kephalaia* list in 042 was copied from the list in the exemplar, but the marginal *titloi* in each manuscript could have come either from the exemplar's *kephalaia* list or from the marginal *titloi*. When the two sources of *titloi* in 042 disagree, 022 does not consistently agree with one or the other. In addition, 022 has three unique *titloi* (*kephalaia* γ [=3], λβ [=32] and μς [=46]). 023 tends to agree with the marginal *titloi* in 042, but at 40 (μ), it agrees with the 042 list against the reading in the margin of 042. These differences are best explained by the use of two sources of *kephalaia*: a list and marginal notes. The scribe of 022 is inconsistent with regard to which source he or she used. The scribe of 023 seems to be slightly more consistent with a preference for the marginal *titloi*, but copied from the list at least once. It is possible that the scribe of 042 was also inconsistent in his or her use of sources. At *kephalaia* 3 (γ) and 32 (λβ), it is possible that both *titloi* in 042 derive from the list in the exemplar, and the unique *titloi* in 022 derive from the marginal text of the exemplar.

It cannot be excluded, however, that one or more scribes composed or otherwise edited a given *titlos*. One possible instance of scribal composition or editing is *kephalaion* μς (=46). 023 does not contain a *titlos* for this section, and there is no agreement among 022, 042 (marginal) or the 042 list. Both 022 and the 042 list agree in content, though not in exact wording, that the section concerns Jesus' healing activities in the temple. This new section would start at Matt. 21:14.¹²⁹

Table 3.31: *Kephalaion* μς (=46) in 022, 023 and 042

Text	022	023	042 Margin	042 List	042 Miniature
21:12	-	[?]	περι των εκβληθεντων του ιερου	-	περι των εκβληθεντων του ιερου
21:14	π(ερι) περι των θεραπευθε των χωλγν κ(αι) τυφλω	-	-	περι των ιαθεντων τυφλων και χωλων	-

023 is extant at Matt 21:14, but Omont reports no marginal *titlos* there. The section in 042, however, marks a new section at Matt. 21:12, the cleansing of the temple. One of the miniatures extant in 042 is a depiction of this event, and the descriptive

from his exemplar.”

¹²⁹ This division agrees with the section numbering in the NA²⁸, and all of the manuscripts Swanson lists agree that the content of this section is Jesus' healing activities, in *Matthew*, 4.

text accompanying that miniature matches the marginal *titlos* in 042.¹³⁰ It is possible that the scribe of 023 marked the new section as the cleansing of the temple at 21:12 as well. Only one folio is missing from 023 between 20:9 and 22:7. The missing folio is between f.29 and f. 30, and it would have contained text from Matt. 21:5–21:12. If the scribe of 023 marked the new section at 21:12, the *titlos* would have appeared on the *verso* of that missing leaf. Without speculating much, it seems clear that at least one of the scribes deviated from the *titloi* in the list and margin of the exemplar.

3.5.4 *The Eusebian Apparatus*

The inaccuracy with which the Eusebian apparatus was copied in these three manuscripts limits the certainty with which we can make judgments here. When there is no agreement among the manuscripts, I note a possible error. The result is that when counting the number of errors in each manuscript, we must sometimes speak of ranges, rather than of hard numbers.

There are 44 instances of the Eusebian apparatus in the sections covered in this chapter. Because there are 355 Ammonian sections in the Gospel of Matthew, it is possible that the 44 examples discussed here are not sufficient to represent the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus in these three manuscripts. Smith's study on Codex Alexandrinus is again helpful in this regard. Only 86 of the 355 Ammonian sections are extant in Matthew in Codex Alexandrinus, and from that pool of data, Smith determines that, in Matthew, the position of the Eusebian apparatus varies from that in the NA²⁷ 9.3% of the time, and the canon number varies 12.94% of the time.¹³¹ All 221 Ammonian sections in Mark are extant in Codex Alexandrinus, and the same scribe as those in Matthew copied them. From the full pool of data in Mark, Smith shows that, in Mark, the position of the Eusebian apparatus varies from that in the NA²⁷ 9.29% of the time, and the canon number varies 12.89% of the time.¹³² Given that 86 points of data in Matthew and 226 points of data by the same scribe in Mark yield almost identical rates of variation, it seems likely that the 44 points of data used here are, at the very least, sufficient to determine relative accuracy among the three scribes.¹³³

¹³⁰ The text above the miniature is most recently given in Elijah Hixson, "Forty Excerpts from the Greek Old Testament in Codex Rossanensis," *JTS* 67 (2016): 514.

¹³¹ Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 145.

¹³² Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 147.

¹³³ It is unhelpful to make comparisons with Smith's and Jongkind's conclusions; their data is based on the NA²⁷ as a "normalised" control, with which the numbers vary in the codices they treat respectively. Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 143; Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 115. The numbers presented here are based on deviations from the reconstructed exemplar, and it is highly likely that the exemplar contained some canon numbers that differed from what is given in the NA²⁷/NA²⁸. This

Table 3.32: Changes to the Eusebian apparatus in 022, 023 and 042 where all three manuscripts are extant

Type of change	022	022 %	023	023 %	042	042 %
Total changes	1–4	2.3–9.1	4–8	9.1–18.2	21–24	47.7–54.5
Changed canon number	1–4	2.3–9.1	2–5	4.5–11.4	15–17	34.1–38.6
Missing canon number	-	-	1	2.3	-	-
Instances of skipped section	-	-	-	-	2	4.5
Other incorrect section number	-	-	-	-	1	2.3
Displaced apparatus	-	-	1	2.3	2	4.5
Missing apparatus	-	-	-	-	2	4.5

The scribe of 022 is almost certainly the most accurate of the three scribes in the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus, but it is possible that the scribes of 022 and 023 made the same number of changes. The most common type of variation in each manuscript is a changed canon number. Given the tendencies of the scribe of 042 to be editorial in the willingness to make changes, the rate of change in 042 is surprising. The relatively higher number of incorrect, displaced or missing section numbers confirms that the large number of changes in 042 is at least in part due to the incompetence of its scribe to transmit faithfully the Eusebian apparatus.¹³⁴

likelihood is discussed briefly at 1.4 and in Rypins, “Two Inedited Leaves of Codex N,” 30–31.

¹³⁴ The scribe of 042 does not omit a canon number in the 44 instances discussed here, but that is not to say he or she did not commit that error at all. In addition to a missing canon number at Matt. 21:45 (172[v]), the scribe wrote a section number without a canon number at 11:20 (89[r]), reproduced in Santoro, *Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano*, 29.

3.5.5 Deviations from the Exemplar

Table 3.33: Deviations from the exemplar by number in 022, 023 and 042 where all three manuscripts are extant

Category	022	022 initial corrections	023	023 corrections	042	042 initial corrections
Total (all)	8	6	10	5	10	8
Insignificant (total)	4	5	7	4	3	4
Nonsense	2	4	4	3	1	4
Orthographic	4	2	5	2	5	1
Significant (total)	4	1	3	2	7	4
Additions	-	-	-	-	1	-
Omissions	-	1	1	1	-	1
Substitutions	3	-	1	-	5	1
Transpositions	-	-	-	-	1	-
Harmonisations	-	-	2 (plus 1 at 13:47)	-	4 (plus 2 at 13:23)	2
Editorial readings	2	-	1	-	1	-

The scribe of 022 seems to have the goal of producing an accurate copy of the exemplar. There are, surprisingly, no harmonisations in these passages of 022, nor does there seem to be any general pattern of orthographic change. There are a few grammatical or editorial readings, such as changes to a different form of the text (whether to or away from the majority text), or grammatical variations of endings. Still, the scribe does endeavor to be careful, correctly copying the error in the exemplar in 14:1 before correcting it.

The scribe of 023 seems to be a confident scribe seeking to produce an accurate and unblemished copy of the text of the exemplar. The scribe of 023 made fewer significant changes to the text than either of the other two scribes, as well as fewer initial changes and fewer corrections. Orthography and harmonisation seem to be the two main vices of this scribe. 023 has a slightly higher ratio of orthographic changes to total changes than 042, and there is a higher instance in 023 of the interchange of μ and ν before a labial stop.¹³⁵ However, the scribe of 023 produced fewer significant textual changes than either of the other two scribes. Out of only three significant changes, two are harmonisations to context and one is the correction

¹³⁵ Gignac lists several examples of this interchange occurring from the first century B.C.E. to the seventh century C.E. in *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1, TDSA 55 (Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino-La goliardica, 1976), 167.

of an error in the exemplar—a change all three scribes made. Because of the accuracy of its scribe, 023 contains a text very close to that of its exemplar, but with some orthographic differences.

042 was produced by a scribe wholly unlike the other two. This scribe was competent to produce a readable text—so much so that he or she took the liberty to act both as editor and as copyist. Compared to 022 and 023, 042 contains more changes overall, more significant changes, more substitutions and more harmonisations but fewer nonsense errors left uncorrected. The scribe of 042 is the only scribe to have added or transposed text in these passages, exhibits an orthographic peculiarity of interchanging (ε)ι and η, and has a noticeable tendency to harmonise the text of Matthew to parallel passages in Mark.

3.6 Preliminary Conclusions About Each Scribe

3.6.1 *The Scribe of 022*

The scribe corrected more insignificant readings than either of the other two scribes, but preserved the text of the exemplar fairly well with respect to significant changes. The care in producing a very close copy of the exemplar is evident at 14:1, where the scribe copied the faulty reading from the exemplar to-the-letter before correcting it.¹³⁶ In view of this accuracy, the significant number of orthographic changes is puzzling. Perhaps, it is the type of manuscript the scribe produced that permitted so many changes. The most likely use of these purple codices was probably primarily visual. They were large, visually striking manuscripts of the Gospels. If they were read at all,¹³⁷ they were probably only read aloud,¹³⁸ occasionally, in a church, by an officer of the church and during religious functions. In that case, the words as heard by the hearers are more important than the words as written on the page. This distinction of importance could explain why the scribe of 022 can copy some words to-the-letter but also copy some vowels/vowel

¹³⁶ Another example of the scribe of 022 copying letter-by-letter is the correction at Mark 9:17, discussed at 1.4.

¹³⁷ John Lowden has argued that the twelfth-century Jaharis Gospel Lectionary (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.286; B51) was produced in Constantinople and meant to be seen rather than read on the basis of its excellent states of production and preservation, in *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: The Story of a Byzantine Book* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2009). See also D.C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 55.

¹³⁸ Admittedly, not all reading was done aloud; see William A. Johnson, “Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity,” *AJP* 121 (2000): 593–627. Johnson allows the genre of a text to influence its use, and it is well within the possibility that a purple codex such as 022 would have primarily, if not solely, a liturgical use as I have described.

combinations so carelessly. The exceptionally large number of orthographic changes, the wide variety of deviations from the exemplar and the inconsistency with regard to letter-formation all point to a relatively inexperienced scribe. The scribe was creative in the use of gold ink for *nomina divina* and *titloi* but conservative with regard to making decisions about the layout of the manuscripts; he or she seems to have retained the paragraph divisions of the exemplar without adding or removing very many of them. The scribe of 022 was surprisingly accurate in the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus, both in contrast with the fidelity of its transmission by the other two scribes and in contrast with the scribe's own deficiencies in orthography and higher rate of transmission errors in the biblical text. This surprising accuracy in the small print of the margins could be evidence that this scribe had relatively good eyesight. If some reasoned speculation might be permitted, all of these characteristics of the scribe of 022 might suggest a relatively younger scribe, less experienced than either of the other two, and without the authority or ambition to make very many significant, editorial changes to the text. The fact that 022 is the only one of our three codices to feature corrections by a second contemporary scribe gives further support to this speculation.

3.6.2 The Scribe of 023

To a textual critic intent on restoring a *text* that predates the manuscript(s) in which it is found, the scribe of 023 is the ideal scribe. He or she was both competent and conservative. The scribe of 023 made fewer significant changes to the text than either of the other two scribes. However, it seems that the scribe was intent on producing an aesthetically pleasing manuscript. The use of gold ink and the reluctance to make corrections enhance the visual beauty of 023.¹³⁹ The scribe also simplified the layout of the text into a single column with fewer paragraph divisions than that of the exemplar. Lines never end prematurely before *ekthesis*, as they usually do in both 022 and 042. However, the scribe does seem to have either the desire or the general competence to produce a usable manuscript. He or she was relatively faithful in the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus, and he or she preserved a distinction between major and minor sections in the biblical text. Even if 023 were meant to be *seen* rather than *read*, its scribe still produced a readable, usable manuscript. These characteristics are consistent with a scribe in his or her prime—someone experienced who would be well-suited to produce a manuscript such as 023.

¹³⁹ Gribomont observes, "Purple codices are less subject to corrections which may damage their luxurious parchment," in "The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," 195.

3.6.3 *The Scribe of 042*

The scribe of 042 was quite unlike either of the other two scribes. Above all, he or she was an editor. The scribe has a noticeable tendency to harmonise Matthew to Mark, is the only scribe who added or transposed text in these sections, and has a remarkably high number of harmonisations and substitutions. The scribe of 042 is the only scribe to use a separate exemplar to correct his or her manuscript, but has a high number of initial corrections as well. The scribe was a reader of the text he or she copied, frequently adding paragraph divisions at natural divisions in the text, most often at conjunctions. The scribe was highly trained, employing three different scripts in the production of the manuscript. In light of the highly-trained flavour of the scribe's work, the Eusebian apparatus in 042 is surprisingly inaccurate. 042 has far more errors in its transmission than either other scribe. The editorial tendency of the scribe—the production of a usable text—makes the state of the Eusebian apparatus in 042 even more perplexing. If the scribe harmonised Matthew to Mark intentionally, why did he or she fail to transmit the Eusebian apparatus accurately? One explanation is possible, though it requires some speculation: these characteristics are consistent with an older, senior scribe, nearing the end of his or her career. The scribe was obviously highly trained and presumably experienced, given the scribe's excellent orthography and the variety of scripts he or she employed. He or she knew the Gospels well enough to harmonise Matthew to Mark *in scribendo*, and apparently had the authority to do so. However, deteriorating eyesight could explain why this scribe has an unusually high rate of error with regard to the Eusebian apparatus. The letters are smaller and presumably more difficult to see, and that they constitute a series of numbers compounds the difficulty with which they would be copied. The *Epistula ad Carpianum* was also copied in small letters, but for the scribe, retention and self-dictation of a letter would have been much easier than retention and self-dictation of a series of numbers.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 44.

Appendix to Chapter Three: Unique Unit Divisions in 042

Table 3.34: Unique unit divisions in 042

Text	Eusebian apparatus?	Conjunction?	Other?
7:9		η τις	question
7:14		τι	interrogative
11:9		αλλα τι	interrogative
13:8		αλλα δε	shift in narrative
13:11		ο δε	speaker change
13:21		γενομενης δε	
13:26		οτε δε	
13:28		ο δε	speaker change
13:43		τοτε	second part of two-part statement
15:37		και	development in story
18:7		ουαι	“woe” statement
18:15	yes	Εαν δε	first part of positive/negative statement
18:18b*		και	second part of saying
18:20		οπου γαρ	explanation of saying
18:22			speaker change
19:7			speaker change
19:10	yes		speaker change
20:11		λαβοντες δε	speaker change
20:16*		πολλοι γαρ	new saying
20:17a	yes	και	new section in narrative speaker change
20:17b*		και	speaker change
20:22		αποκριθεις δε	speaker change
20:34		επλαγχνισθεις δε	action of the miracle speaker change
21:1b*		τοτε	speaker change
21:16*		ο δε	speaker change

Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N 022)

“Rumours of the existence of a purple manuscript of the Gospels in the neighbourhood of Cappadician Caesarea have been current for some years.”

–H.S. Cronin, 1899¹

In this chapter, we will begin to test the *singular readings method* by determining the scribal habits of 022. Comparing the modified *singular readings method* to actual changes to the text by the scribe reveals some discrepancies. The modified *singular readings method* gives a skewed picture of the scribe that fails to identify the most frequent category of scribal change and comes to a false conclusion regarding additions and omissions. However, the scribe of 022 does give slight support to Roysse’s argument that scribes were more likely to omit than to add, and overall the scribe appears to be a relatively careful copyist with a goal of reproducing accurately the text of the exemplar with a few exceptions.

In general, no problems obtaining data for this section arose because of limited accessibility of the manuscript. The entire manuscript, save the former Spinola leaf, was reproduced in an excellent facsimile edition accompanied by a transcription by Agamemnon Tselikas.² Although Cronin does not record some of the paratextual features such as *titloi* or the Eusebian apparatus, these features are clearly reproduced in the facsimile.

Codex 022 contains a number of dots above letters. Cronin describes them, writing that the dot “...is used apparently as breathing, accent, syllable-divider, or it may be for other purposes.”³ Typically, the only predictable dots are a single dot above the bowl of υ and two dots above ι. Because of their unclear function and the difficulty in seeing them, I have not included any of these dots in my transcription or citations of the readings of 022, but they are reproduced in Tselikas’ transcription.⁴

¹ H.S. Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus: The Text of Codex N of the Gospels Edited with an Introduction and an Appendix*, TS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), xiii.

² Agamemnon Tselikas, ed., *Ὁ Πορφυροῦς Κώδιξ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων Πάτμου καὶ Πετροπόλεως* (Athens: Miletos, 2002); Agamemnon Tselikas, “Ὁ Πορφυροῦς Κώδιξ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων Πάτμου καὶ Πετροπόλεως: παλαιογραφικὴ μεταγραφὴ,” in *Ὁ Πορφυροῦς Κώδιξ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων Πάτμου καὶ Πετροπόλεως: Πανομοιότυπη ἔκδοσις*, ed. Agamemnon Tselikas (Athens: Miletos, 2002), 35–266.

³ Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xxxvii.

⁴ Tselikas, “Ὁ Πορφυροῦς Κώδιξ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων Πάτμου καὶ Πετροπόλεως:

4.1 Singular and Family Readings in 022

Table 4.1: Summary of singular and family readings in 022 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Total				30 (*17 inherited)
	Insignificant		13 (*3)	
		Nonsense	9 (*1)	
		Orthographic	6 (*3)	
	Significant		17 (*14)	
		Additions	6 (*6)	
		Omissions	2 (*1)	
		Substitutions	7 (*5)	
		Transpositions	1 (*1)	
		Harmonisations	11 (*8)	
		Editorial readings	4 (*4)	

παλαιογραφική μεταγραφή.” Many of the dots are clear from the facsimile, but many more are not. Omitting them entirely is less problematic than attempting to include them, because the difficulty to see them in the facsimile would surely lead to a number of omissions in the latter approach.

Text	Reading	'Exemplar'	Notes
16:4b ¹²	μυχαλειϷ	μοιχαλειϷ	Orthographic (οι > υ)
20:17 ¹³	ιερολυμα	ιεροκολυμα	Strictly nonsense
26:64 ¹⁴	εκαθημενον	καθημενον	Strictly nonsense

4.1.1.1 Nonsense Readings(9)

There are nine singular nonsense readings in Matthew's Gospel in 022: *8:20 (strictly), 9:22 (context), 9:38 (strictly), 10:17 (strictly), 10:23 (context), 12:15 (strictly), 12:37 (context), 20:17 (strictly) and 26:64 (strictly). Two of these readings (9:22 and 10:17) happened at the syllable level at a recto/verso page turn. Two others were corrected by a second hand (12:15 and 12:37). Nearly all of these readings are changes at the syllable level. In four places, the scribe omits one syllable (9:22, 12:15, 12:37 and 20:17), and thrice, the scribe adds one syllable (10:17, 10:23 and 26:64). The reading at 9:38 is an orthographic change in a verbal suffix that creates an impossible form (δεθηητε > δεθηεε). Only one of these nine readings was present in the exemplar.

4.1.1.2 Insignificant Orthographic Readings (6)

There are six insignificant orthographic readings—orthographic variations that cannot be explained as editorial readings and that do not result in a sensibly different text: *8:20 (ε > η), 9:38 (η > ε), 12:39 (οι > υ), *13:10 (ν > μ before labial), *13:13 (ν > μ before labial) and 16:4b (οι > υ). There are two interchanges of ε/η. Twice, there is a shift from ν to μ before a labial, and in both cases, the context is εν παραβολαιϷ > εμ παραβολαιϷ. The scribe shifts from οι to υ twice. Three of the six readings, including both shifts of ν to μ, were already present in the exemplar.

¹² See the discussion of 12:39 at 4.1.1.

¹³ This reading is the omission of one syllable.

¹⁴ See the discussion at 4.2.1.

4.1.2 *Significant Readings Singular and Family Readings in 022*

Table 4.3: Significant singular and family readings in 022 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Reading	‘Exemplar’	Notes
*2:22	απελθειν εκει	εκει απελθειν	Transposition (2 words)
*7:11	υπαρχοντες	οντες	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 11:13)
*8:14 ¹⁵	ηυρεν	ευρεν	Orthographic (ε > η) Substitution (grammatical): ευ > ηυ Editorial: alternate form
*8:32 ¹⁶	omit του	κατα του κρημνου	Omission (1 word)
9:36b ¹⁷	omit	εσκυλμενοι και εριμμενοι	Omission (3 words) Harmonisation (Mark 6:34)
12:28 ¹⁸	εν δακτυλ ^{ω θυ}	εν π̄νι θ̄υ	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 11:20)
*13:26b ¹⁹	εφανησαν	εφανη	Substitution (grammatical): number of the verb

¹⁵ This reading is within a larger (non-singular) addition to v. 13 harmonizing it to Luke 7:10, but unfortunately, Luke 7:10 is not extant in any of the three manuscripts of this study.

Gignac writes, “Verbs beginning with ευ- usually retain the ευ- unaugmented, but the regular augmented forms in ηυ- are found increasingly frequently in later Roman and Byzantine documents,” citing examples from the 3rd to 8th centuries, in *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 2, TDSA 55 (Milano: Istituto editoriale cisalpino-La goliardica, 1981), 240–241.

¹⁶ See the discussion at 6.2.2.

¹⁷ A few manuscripts omit καὶ ἐρριμμένοι, but the majority of manuscripts have ἐσκυλμένοι καὶ ἐρριμμένοι or orthographic variations thereof. Cronin considered the unique reading here to be the omission of the whole phrase, in *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, liv, n. 3.

¹⁸ Matt. 12:28 is evidence that the scribe copied the silver text and left space to add the gold text in later. Space is left for π̄νι θ̄υ to be added in gold, but when the scribe returned to complete the page, he or she decided to give the reading from Luke 11:20 instead. The letters δακτυλ are cramped and ω θ̄υ are added above the line. Cronin agrees that the text of the exemplar is π̄νι θ̄υ, but thinks that the final reading in 022 is “the insertion in error from memory of δακτυλω θ̄υ under influence of the parallel,” in *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xlvi. However, that the correction occurs in space left for the shorter reading of the exemplar suggests intentionality of some kind, at least in part. If the correction were merely an error, the limited space in which to make it should have reminded the scribe of the shorter text of the exemplar, and that is on the uncertain assumption that the exemplar was not still in view. The scribe’s use of different ink for certain *nomina sacra* provides unique opportunity here to see the very moment the scribe actively decided to change the text.

In “Homily 41,” John Chrysostom says, “Now Matthew indeed saith, *If I by the Spirit of God cast out*; but Luke, *If I by the finger of God cast out devils*; implying that to cast out devils is a work of the greatest power, and not of ordinary grace,” in George Prevost, trans., *The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, vol. 2, Library of the Fathers (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1844), 579.

¹⁹ This variant reverses the *schema Atticum*—the use of a singular verb with a neuter plural subject. On this grammatical feature, see Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *BDF*, 73–74 (§133).

Text	Reading	‘Exemplar’	Notes
			Editorial
*14:5b	επιδη	οτι	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Matt. 21:46)
*14:26	οι μαθηται αυτου	οι μαθηται	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (usage)
*15:31a ²⁰	ακουντας και λαλουντας	λαλουντας	Addition (2 words) Editorial (conflation)
*16:3	πως ου δυνασθε	ου δυνασθε	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 12:56)
*16:4a ²¹	και αποκριθεις ο ις ειπεν· γενεα ...	γενεα ...	Addition (5 words) Harmonisation to context (16:2)
*18:16 ²²	ακουση σου	ακουση	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (context (18:15))
*18:17 ²³	εσται	εστω	Substitution (grammatical): present imperative > future indicative Editorial reading (intensifying)
*21:8	εκ των	απο των	Substitution (1 word)

²⁰ The majority of manuscripts at Matt. 15:31a have λαλούντας, but B 043 59 115 238 1604 e aeth and sy^{hmg} have ακούντας. The minuscule 1071 also conflates the two readings but in a different manner than 022 (1071: ἀλάλους λαλούντας· κωφοὺς ἀκούντας).

²¹ This reading is difficult to assess—both its status as “singular” (rather, unique to the 022-023-042 group) and its nature. The phrase as a whole is unique to 022-023-042, but the parts of it are not.

There are three similar additions to 16:4:

1. και αποκριθεις ο ι(ησου)ς ειπεν 022 023 042
2. και αποκριθεις ειπεν 291 700
3. ο δε αποκριθεις ειπεν αυτοις 043

However, there is a similar situation in P⁴⁵. Roysse cites P⁴⁵ as singular at Luke 12:24a, but the text of P⁴⁵ contains one of three similar readings (*Scribal Habits*, 128).

1. κατανοησατε τα πετεινα του ουρανου και τους κορακας P⁴⁵
2. κατανοησατε τα πετεινα του ουρανου D e (f) l r¹
3. κατανοήσατε τοὺς κόρακας rell

D contains a shorter version of the text of P⁴⁵, but both are longer additions (whether substitution or conflation) to the established text of Luke’s Gospel. Nevertheless, Roysse considers the reading in P⁴⁵ as a singular addition. Consequently, the decision made here to count this variant as a singular addition is not without precedent.

Additionally, Head includes two “complex singularities, or singularities arising from a new combination of otherwise attested readings,” in “The Habits of New Testament Copyists: Singular Readings in the Early Fragmentary Papyri of John,” *Bib* 85 (2004): 402–403, 407.

²² The explanation of the reading at 18:16 is difficult. A few manuscripts (L Δ 33 579) have cou ακουση, and if this minority reading were in the exemplar, the scribe of 042 would not have added to, but transposed the text that lay in front of him or her. However, 043 lacks cou, and, although it does not share the same immediate relationship as 022-023-042, it is still a related manuscript. On the basis of 043, I have opted for ακουση as the text of the exemplar here.

²³ In the case of the brother who sins and refuses to listen even to the church, the majority of manuscripts have the present imperative “let him be [ἔστω] to you as the gentile and the tax collector,” but 022-023-42 have the future indicative “he is [εσται] to you as the gentile and the tax collector.” On this use of the future indicative, see *BDF*, §362 (p. 183).

Text	Reading	‘Exemplar’	Notes
	δενδρων	δενδρων	Harmonisation (Mark 11:8)
*21:11 ²⁴	ελεγον οτι	ελεγον	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (context: οτι <i>recitativum</i>)
27:33 ²⁵	ερμηνευομενος	λεγομενον	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 15:22, partial)

4.1.2.1 Additions (6)

Among singular and family readings in 022, there are six additions in Matthew: *14:26 (1 word), *15:31a (2 words), *16:3 (1 word), *16:4a (5 words), *18:16 (1 word) and *21:11 (1 word). These six additions comprise eleven words added to the text. Five of these additions are harmonisations and one is an editorial conflation (*15:31a). All six of the singular and family additions in 022 were already present in the exemplar.

4.1.2.2 Omissions (2)

There are only two omissions among singular and family readings: *8:32 (1 word) and 9:36b (3 words). The longer omission at 9:36b is a harmonisation to Mark 6:34. The shorter omission was already present in the exemplar.

4.1.2.3 Substitutions (7)

There are seven singular or family substitutions in Matthew in 022: *7:11, 12:28, *13:26b, *14:5b, *18:17, *21:8 and 27:33. Five substitutions are harmonisations to parallel passages, and two are grammatical substitutions that are editorial in nature (a reversal of the *schema atticum* at *13:26b and an intensifying

²⁴ Roysse classifies the addition of ὅτι *recitativum* among singular and asterisked readings as a harmonisation to context in Romans 10:15 in P⁴⁶, Revelation 14:13b in P⁴⁷, John 3:28 and 7:36 in P⁶⁶ and John 3:28 and 8:52 in P⁷⁵, in *Scribal Habits*, 343, 397, 539, 692. See also *BDF*, 246–247 (§470[1]).

²⁵ The only place this form (ερμηνευομενος, lacking the prepositional prefix) occurs in 022 is at John 9:7 (ερμηνευεται on St. Petersburg f. 152v). It is possible that the form used here betrays some Latin influence. H.A.G. Houghton writes, “The repetition of prepositions with compound verbs in Greek is rarely found in Latin, while the nuances of such compounds may be rendered by a completely different word,” in *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 148. Indeed, *interpretare* is the Latin equivalent for μεθερμηνεύω (Matt. 1:23, Mark 5:41, 15:22, 15:34, John 1:41, Acts 4:36 and possibly John 1:38), for ἐρμηνεύω (John 1:42, 9:7 and Hebrews 7:2) and for διερμηνεύω (Acts 9:36, 1 Cor. 12:30, 14:5, 14:13, 14:27 and 14:28). Only in the instance of δυσερμηνευτος does the Latin equivalent gain a sense-altering prefix (*ininterpretare*, Hebrews 5:11). Adolf Jülicher reports that the Old Latin ms r¹ has *interpreatum* at Matt. 27:33, in *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung I: Matthäus-Evangelium* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1938), 205.

Table 4.4: Singular and family harmonisations in 022 in Matthew where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Harmonisation to	Type	Other notes
*7:11	Luke 11:13	Substitution (1 word)	
9:36	Mark 6:34	Omission (3 words)	
12:28	Luke 11:20	Substitution (1 word)	first-hand correction
*14:5b	Matt. 21:46	Substitution (1 word)	
*14:26	general usage	Addition (1 word)	
*16:3	Luke 12:56	Addition (1 word)	
*16:4a	context (16:2)	Addition (5 words)	deleted by a second corrector
*18:16	context (18:15)	Addition (1 word)	
*21:8	Mark 11:8	Substitution (1 word)	
*21:11	context (οτι <i>recitativum</i>)	Addition (1 word)	
27:33	Mark 15:22	Substitution (1 word)	first-hand correction 022*: λεγομενον 022 ¹ : ερμηνευομενος Mark. 15:22: μεθερμηνευομενος

4.1.2.6 Editorial Readings (4)

Finally, there are four non-harmonising editorial readings among singular and family readings in the Matthean text of 022: *8:14, *13:26b, *15:31a and *18:17.²⁷ The four readings do not show any unified pattern; one is an orthographic shift (*8:14), and one is a conflation resulting in two added words (*15:31a). There are two editorial readings that are grammatical in nature: the reversal of the *schema atticum* at *13:26b and a grammatical intensification at *18:17. All four readings of 022 were present in the exemplar, and it does not appear that an editor sought to alter the text significantly beyond harmonisations.

Under the classification system used by Royse as well as that of the present study, the reading at *18:17 is also classified as a substitution.²⁸ However, Juan Hernández, Jr. draws a distinction between changes of tense or mood in a verb and changes of a word to a different word. Hernández uses the category, “grammatical attraction,” and his comments are helpful to set apart substitutions of whole words from grammatical or editorial readings. He writes, “The category of ‘grammatical

²⁷ Admittedly, a case could be made that many harmonisations reflect an editorial tendency to align parallel Gospel accounts.

²⁸ See, for example, a discussion of verbal mood or tense changes in P⁴⁵ as a subset of substitutions, in Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 165.

attraction’ differs from ‘substitution’ in that the word in the presumed *Vorlage* is not replaced by a different word; rather the grammatical form of the word is altered due to its attraction to other forms in close proximity.”²⁹ Nevertheless, “attraction to other forms in close proximity” is not the only explanation of grammatical substitutions, and in this study, those readings are classified both as substitutions and as editorial readings.

4.1.3 022+ and 022¹ Corrections

Table 4.5: Summary of 022+ and 022¹ corrections where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Total readings corrected		29
Insignificant readings corrected		20
	Nonsense	20
	Orthographic	6
Significant readings corrected		9
	Additions	0
	Omissions	2
	Substitutions	7
	Transpositions	0
	Harmonisations	1
	Editorial readings	0

²⁹ Juan Hernández Jr., *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse: The Singular Readings of Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi*, WUNT 2.218 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2006), 80.

Table 4.6: 022+ and 022¹ corrections where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Uncorrected Reading	Correction	Notes (Type of error corrected)
2:20	[πο]ρεου	[πο]ρε ^ο ου	Strictly nonsense Loss of one letter
6:31a ³⁰	φαγομεν	φαγωμεν	Strictly Nonsense Orthographic (ω > ο)
6:31b	πιομεν	πιωμεν	Strictly Nonsense Orthographic (ω > ο)
6:31c	περιβαλομεθα	περιβαλωμεθα	Strictly Nonsense Orthographic (ω > ο)
7:4	αφε	αφε ^ε	Strictly nonsense Loss of one letter
7:6 ³¹	δοτε	δωτε	Orthographic (ω > ο) Substitution (grammatical): aorist subjunctive > aorist imperative
8:22	αυτω αυτω	αυτω	Nonsense in context Dittography (1 word)
9:16 ³²	επιβαλλει επιβαλλει	επιβαλλει	Nonsense in context Dittography (1 word) <i>In scribendo</i>
9:17a ³³	αλλ'	αλλα	Substitution (grammatical): αλλα > αλλ' Loss of one letter <i>In scribendo</i>
9:17b	omit οινον νεον	οινον νεον	Omission, 2-word Nonsense in context Leap forward (one line) <i>In scribendo</i>
9:21 ³⁴	αψομαι	αψωμαι	Orthographic (ω > ο) Substitution (grammatical): aorist subjunctive > future indicative

³⁰ For 6:31a–c, see the discussion of †6:31a at 4.2.2.

³¹ Although this reading is a grammatical substitution, in light of the correction, it is probably best taken as a simple orthographic error.

³² The beginning of επιβαλλει has been scraped, damaging the parchment, but the extent of the damage by scraping gradually fades off. The best explanation is that the scribe corrected this error *in scribendo* while the ink was still wet by sponging off the wet ink. The ink at the beginning of the word that had dried by the time the scribe began to make the correction had to be scraped off, marring the parchment. This correction is on St. Petersburg f. 19v.

³³ This reading is treated as a correction *in scribendo* because the raised mark after αλλ has been scraped off. The best explanation for its presence is that the scribe added it after writing αλλ–, realised that the text is αλλα, wrote the final –α and erased the mark.

Regarding the status of the reading as “singular before correction,” it should be noted that Codex Sinaiticus and 1604 have the reading αλλ οινον νεον εις ακουε βλητεον, according to Legg. Although they do have αλλ before βαλλουειν like 022 here, the absence of a final α in the two manuscripts is due to a following vowel, which is not the case in 022.

³⁴ See the discussion of 7:6 at 4.1.3.

Text	Uncorrected Reading	Correction	Notes (Type of error corrected)
10:4 ³⁵	ο κανανιτης	ο καναναιος	Editorial: reject alternate reading Substitution, (1 word)
10:5	ο δον	οδον δον	Strictly nonsense Dittography One syllable
10:7 ³⁶	βασιλεια το—	βασιλεια των ουρανων	Orthographic (ω > ο) Nonsense in context <i>In scribendo</i>
10:16 ³⁷	εμ μευς	εμ μεσω	Orthographic (ω > υ) Strictly nonsense
10:25	οc	ωc	Orthographic (ο > ω) Nonsense in context
11:7	καλυομεν·	καλυομεν ^{ον} ·	Nonsense in context Omission of a syllable
12:9	εκειθεν	εκειθεν	Strictly nonsense Dittography of a syllable at a line break, corrected by erasure of first instance.
12:28 ³⁸	εν πνι θυ	εν δακτυλω θυ	<i>In scribendo</i> Editorial correction: reject alternate reading Substitution, (1 word)
13:26a	εκθροc	χορτοc	Nonsense in context Leap back Substitution (1 word)
13:27a	omit δε	δε	Omission (1 word)
13:58 ³⁹	δυναμειc δ—	δυναμειc πολλαc δια ...	Leap (approx. 1 line) Strictly nonsense <i>In scribendo</i>
14:1	τεταρχηc	τετραρχηc	Strictly nonsense Omission of 1 syllable
14:35 ⁴⁰	omit αυτον	αυτον	Omission (1 word)
15:32 ⁴¹	omit οχλον	οχλον	Omission (1 word)

³⁵ See the discussion at 4.2.2.

³⁶ It is possible that this reading was a harmonisation to Luke 9:2 (βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ), but given the number of ο/ω interchanges in 022, it is more likely to be another example of the orthographic correction and thus contextually nonsensical. Although I am hesitant to classify unfinished readings corrected *in scribendo*, this instance does seem clearly to be an orthographic chance. Cf. the correction at 7:12 in 023, which I do not classify as orthographic at 5.1.3.

³⁷ Gignac cites examples of ω > υ from the 1st through 6th centuries in *Grammar*, 1:294.

³⁸ See footnote on 12:28 as a singular reading in 022.

³⁹ The original error could have been either a leap back to δυναμειc or a leap forward to δια; both are slightly less than a full line away from the site of error.

⁴⁰ This omission is awkward, but the shorter text is sensible. Legg reports that 477 also omits αυτον.

⁴¹ This correction is at the bottom of column 1 on St. Petersburg f. 43r. The text in 042/023 is οχλον οτι; the scribe wrote ο at the end of the line, moved to the top of column 2 and skipped

Text	Uncorrected Reading	Correction	Notes (Type of error corrected)
			Nonsense in context Leap forward at column break
18:8 ⁴²	εις την ζωνη	εισελθειν εις την ζωνη	Leap forward Omission (1 word) Nonsense in context
21:2 ⁴³	ευρηχητε	ευρηχετε	Harmonisation (context Orthographic (ε > η) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive
27:27 ⁴⁴	omit $\bar{\iota\nu}$	$\bar{\iota\nu}$	Omission (1 word) Nonsense in context <i>In scribendo</i>
27:33	λεγομενον	ερμηνευομενος	Editorial: reject alternate reading Substitution (1 word)

Most of the twenty-nine corrections are of nonsense readings. All six of the orthographic corrections of insignificant readings involve ω; five involve the o/ω interchange and one (10:16) involves the interchange of ω and υ. Two of the nine corrections of significant readings also involve the o/ω interchange (7:6 and 9:21), suggesting that perhaps some orthographic changes involving ω were genuine mistakes and should not be considered significant readings.

Of the nine corrections of significant changes, only three are actually significant. Two of the nine corrections add in omitted words that coincidentally are not necessary for a sensible text, though without them, the text is abrupt (13:27a) or awkward (14:35). These two omissions can be disregarded as genuine mistakes of the scribe of 022. All of the remaining seven corrections are substitutions. Given the scribe's tendency to correct o/ω interchanges, one would conclude that the scribe was somewhat prone to this type of error, and the corrections at 7:6 and 9:21 should really be regarded as corrections of insignificant orthographic errors, despite that

to τι, leaving out -χλον ο-.

⁴² Although this reading is almost certainly an omission, I am reluctant to classify it as singular before correction because it could also be a widely-attested transposition corrected *in scribendo*.

⁴³ Swanson reports that H 28 579 and 1424 have ευρηχητε.

⁴⁴ It is possible that the omission at Matt. 27:27 should not be taken as an omission. On London f. 3r, column 1, line 8, the letters $\bar{\iota\nu}$ are written smaller, in gold, in the centre margin. They do extend slightly more into the centre margin than normal, but this is not the only instance in which the scribe extends into the margin (see, for example, line 1 of column 1 on the same page). However, one line below this instance, the scribe uses smaller letters to end the line at the same place as the larger letters preceding $\bar{\iota\nu}$. The best explanation is that the scribe intended to leave blank space at the beginning of line 9 in which to add $\bar{\iota\nu}$ in gold later, but upon forgetting to leave the space, he or she added $\bar{\iota\nu}$ at the end of l. 8 in smaller letters.

they result in a sensible text. The correction at 9:17a of $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ to $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ has no impact on the meaning of the text. The uncorrected reading at 21:2 is near-singular, and it is easily explained as an error of harmonisation to context. The three remaining readings are meaningful substitutions (10:4, 12:28 and 27:33). Two of these corrections result in singular readings (12:28 and 27:33).

Based on the corrections, one would conclude that the scribe of 022 was more prone to nonsense readings than anything. The scribe never corrected additions, transpositions or editorial readings, though there are three editorial corrections. The scribe seems somewhat prone to orthographic variation, and of significant corrections, substitutions outnumber all other forms of correction.

4.1.4 *Conclusions about the Scribe of 022 Based on Singular/Family Readings and Corrections*

Table 4.7: Comparison of singular/family readings to corrections in 022 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Type of Reading	Singular/Family Readings		Readings Corrected	
Total	30 (*17)		29	
Insignificant	13 (*3)		20	
Nonsense	9 (*1)		20	
Orthographic	6 (*3)		6	
Significant	17 (*14)		9	
Additions	6 (*6)		0	
Omissions	2 (*1)		2	
Substitutions	7 (*5)		7	
Transpositions	1 (*1)		0	
Harmonisations	11 (*8)		1	
Editorial readings	4 (*4)		0	
			Editorial Corrections	3

Based on the singular and family readings of 022, one would conclude that the scribe is more likely to harmonise than to make any other type of change. Seven of the eleven relevant harmonisations are made in the direction of other Gospel accounts: three to Luke, three to Mark and one to another passage in Matthew. The scribe appears to be more likely to add than to omit. There are three times as many instances of singular or family additions (six) than there are instances of omissions (two), and apart from nonsense errors like dittography or leaps. Eleven words are added, and four words are omitted, resulting in a text that is seven words longer than its supposed exemplar. One would conclude that the scribe also has a noticeably

tendency to substitute, but most of the substitutions fall under the umbrella of harmonisation. One would conclude that the scribe almost never transposes the text, and that editorial readings do exist, though they are only occasional.

The conclusions on scribal harmonisation and addition are reinforced by data from the corrections. The scribe only corrects one harmonisation, and two of the three editorial corrections are corrections to Synoptic parallels. These two details give further support to the conclusion that the scribe had a tendency to harmonise. The scribe never corrected an addition but corrected omissions twice, which suggests that additions in 022 tend to be intentional, but omissions tend to be accidental. On the other hand, a number of substitutions were corrected. None of the substitutions among the singular and family readings in 022 can be explained as coincidentally sensible mistakes, and the only three editorial corrections are substitutions. These two matters might suggest that the scribe was slightly more prone to substitution than the singular readings alone could reveal.

4.2 Deviations from the Exemplar in 022

We turn, now, to the actual changes made by the scribe of 022 to the Gospel of Matthew. Beside each verse reference, a rating from A to D is given in the spirit of the United Bible Societies' editions of the *Greek New Testament* to indicate a level of certainty assigned to the decision of which scribe changed the text. Some justification of these decisions is usually given in the footnotes. Ratings of A are usually reserved for nonsense readings, corrections or instances where all three manuscripts are extant, though in some other cases, a rating of A could be given.⁴⁵ There are no readings ascribed to the scribe of 022 with a D rating for certainty.

⁴⁵ For example, the scribe of 042 has a marked tendency to interchange ι and η, but neither other scribe shows the same tendency. If only one other manuscript is extant and 042 has an η/ι interchange, I have usually attributed the change to the scribe of 042 with a certainty rating of A.

Table 4.8: Summary of deviations from the exemplar in 022 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Total			39 (†27 non-singular)
	Insignificant		17 (†9)
	Nonsense	9 (†2)	
	Orthographic	11 (†9)	
	Significant		23 (†19)
	Additions	1 (†1)	
	Omissions	1 (†0)	
	Substitutions	10 (†7)	
	Transpositions	2 (†2)	
	Harmonisations	5 (†2)	
	Editorial readings	12 (†12)	

4.2.1 *Insignificant Deviations from the Exemplar in 022*

Table 4.9: Insignificant deviations from the exemplar in 022 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text/ Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
†8:11 ⁴⁶ /B	ανακληθησον τε	ανακλ(ε)ιθησον ται	Orthographic (ει > η) Nonsense in context
9:22 ⁴⁷ /A	εκει	εκεινης	Nonsense in context
†9:36a ⁴⁸ /B	επλανχισθη	επλαγχισθη	Orthographic (γ > ν before χ)
9:38/B	δηθητε	δηθητε	Orthographic (η > ε) Strictly nonsense
†10:15 ⁴⁹ /C	γομοραc	γομορραc	Orthographic (μ>μμ) Orthographic (ρρ>ρ)
10:17 ⁵⁰ /A	μαστιγωcουci v civ	μαστιγωcουciv	Strictly nonsense
†11:17 ⁵¹ /B	ορχηcαcθε	ωρχηcαcθε	Orthographic (ω > ο)

⁴⁶ The 022 reading is technically nonsense in context. The 022 reading is the future passive indicative of ἀνακαλέω (to invoke or call upon), but the reading in 042 is the future passive indicative of ἀνακλίνω (to recline)—correct in this context of many coming to recline (ἀνακλιθήσονται) with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. The scribe of 022 was less likely to recognize a mistake (e.g. 26:64), and the scribe of 042 is more likely to make η/ι changes as well as editorial changes, both of which would be at work here. However, it is generally more likely that a given nonsense reading goes back to the scribe, not to the exemplar, so the most likely explanation here is that the exemplar was correct and the scribe of 022 made a mistake.

⁴⁷ See the discussion at 4.1.1.

⁴⁸ Because of the orthographic data compiled in Chapter Three, it is more likely that the scribe of 022 changed γχ to νχ than the scribe of 042 correcting the non-standard spelling to γχ. According to Swanson, D shares this spelling.

⁴⁹ According to Swanson, the reading of 022 is shared only by 1424. Although the scribe of 042 might be slightly more likely to change between single and double consonants, and although this reading occurs at a column break in 042, it is slightly more likely that the scribe of 022 made the change. The reading also occurs at a line break in 022, and there seems to have been a slight difference in the way the two scribes divided syllables. There are a few instances in which the two manuscripts have line breaks at roughly the same place, but a slight difference exists because 022 closes the syllable before the line break with a consonant and 042 does not (e.g. 10:5 απεc|τιλεν 022, απε|cτελεν 042; 11:25 cυν|ετων 022, cυνε|των 042; 20:22 ατιc|θε 022, ατι|cθε 042). This difference between the scribes could have led the scribe of 022 to divide the syllables after μ (γομ|οραc) but to compensate by doubling the μ and reducing ρρ>ρ. Admittedly, one cannot be certain here, but the rarity of the reading gives further weight to this explanation.

⁵⁰ See the discussion at 4.1.1.

⁵¹ In the seven places at which there are ο/ω discrepancies among these three manuscripts, we can identify the reading of the exemplar with certainty in five cases. At 6:33a–c and 9:21, the exemplar had the non-standard ο-form, which was copied faithfully in both extant manuscripts (042 and 022), and in all four cases, the scribe of 022 corrected the reading. All three manuscripts are extant at 20:31a, in which 042 and 023 retain the standard form μ(ε)ιζον of the exemplar, and 022 changes to the non-standard orthography, μιζων. In all five cases, 042 retains the exemplaric reading and 022 makes the change, including one case in

Text/ Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
†12:11b ⁵² /B	ενπεση	εμπεση	Orthographic (μ > ν before a labial)
†12:14 ⁵³ /B	συνβουλιον	συμβουλιον	Orthographic (μ > ν before a labial)
12:15 ⁵⁴ /A	οχλοι λοι	οχλοι πολλοι	Strictly nonsense
12:37/A	δικαιωθη	δικαιωθηση	Nonsense in context
12:39/B	μυχαλις	μοιχαλις	Orthographic (οι > υ)
†13:25b/A	εκθρος	εχθρος	Orthographic (χ > κ)
†16:4b/A	μυχαλις	μοιχαλις	Orthographic (οι > υ)
20:17/A	ιερολυμα	ιεροσολυμα	Strictly nonsense
†20:31a ⁵⁵ /A	μιζων	μειζον	Orthographic (ο > ω) Nonsense in context
26:64 ⁵⁶ /A	εκαθημενον	καθημενον	Strictly nonsense

4.2.1.1 Nonsense Readings(9)

The scribe of 022 made nine nonsensical changes in the transmission process that he or she did not correct.⁵⁷ Five changes are strictly nonsense: an orthographic change at 9:38, a leap at 26:64, and three instances in which the scribe duplicated or omitted a single syllable (a dittography at 10:17 and omissions at both 12:15 and 20:17). Of the four contextually nonsensical changes, two are orthographic (ει > η at †8:11 and ο > ω at †20:31a), and two are omissions of a single syllable (9:22 at a page turn and 12:37). The only nonsense readings that are non-singular are the two orthographic changes that are nonsense in context.

4.2.1.2 Insignificant Orthographic Readings (11)

No significant patterns emerge among the eleven insignificant orthographic changes in 022. They are almost evenly divided among vowels (6) and consonants

which the scribe of 022 changes a correct form to an incorrect one. Therefore, it seems most likely that the scribe of 042 retained the reading of the exemplar at 11:17 and at 14:36, and the change in both instances can be ascribed to the scribe of 022.

⁵² See the discussion of †2:5 at 6.2.1.

⁵³ See the discussion of †2:5 at 6.2.1.

⁵⁴ See the discussion at 4.1.1.

⁵⁵ The adverb form, μειζον is replaced with the nominative, masculine, singular form, μειζων, here. If this were a grammatical substitution of the adverb with an adjectival form, one would expect the plural form, μεγαλοι.

⁵⁶ It is possible that this reading is the result of a leap forward to the following word, the preposition, εκ. Καθημενον takes up approximately one full line in 022 and 042, and if the two manuscripts have approximately the same line length as their exemplar, this leap is understandable. The scribe would have noticed the leap and correctly copied the end of the correct word without correcting the beginning, however.

⁵⁷ A second corrector, however, did correct the strictly nonsense reading at 12:15 and the contextually nonsensical reading at 12:37.

(5, but one of the five involves two consonantal changes at †10:15). Twice, the scribe shifted from μ to ν before a labial (†12:11b and †12:4). Twice, the scribe shifted from $\omicron\iota$ to υ (12:39 and †16:4b), and twice, the scribe alternated between \omicron and ω ($\omega > \omicron$ at †11:17 and in the reverse direction at †20:31a). Twice, a vowel shift involved η ($\epsilon\iota > \eta$ at †8:11 and $\eta > \epsilon$ at 9:38), and twice, the scribe shifted consonants before a fricative ($\gamma > \nu$ before χ at 9:36a and $\chi > \kappa$ before θ at †13:25b).⁵⁸ Finally, there are two instances in which the scribe doubles a single consonant or reduces a doubled consonant. Both occur within a single word at †10:15 ($\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\rho\alpha\varsigma > \gamma\omicron\mu\mu\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$). Of these eleven orthographic readings, only two are singular (9:38 and 12:39).

⁵⁸ The uncorrected text at 13:26 also deserves mention, as the scribe leaped back and wrote the change at *13:25a a second time before correcting it.

Table 4.10: Significant deviations from the exemplar in 022 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text/ Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
†6:31a ⁵⁹ /A	φαγωμεν	φαγομεν	Orthographic (ο > ω) Editorial: correct an error in the exemplar
†6:31b/A	πιωμεν	πιομεν	Orthographic (ο > ω) Editorial: correct an error in the exemplar
†6:31c/A	περιβαλωμεθα	περιβαλομεθα	Orthographic (ο > ω) Editorial: correct an error in the exemplar
†9:21/A	αψωμαι	αψομαι	Orthographic (ο > ω) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive Editorial: conform to a well-known reading
9:36b/C	οτι ησαν ως	οτι ησαν εσκυλμενοι και εριμμενοι ως	Omission (3 words) Harmonisation (Mark 6:34)
†10:1 ⁶⁰ /B	πνευματων	π̄νων,	Editorial: <i>nomen sacrum</i>

⁵⁹ For 6:31a–c, the best classification is that these are editorial readings, which correct an error in the exemplar. All three forms are nonsensical, though φαγομεθα and πιομεθα would have been technically correct, according to *BDF*, §74 (pp. 40–41).

⁶⁰ Regarding *nomina sacra*, it becomes necessary to work through the issues surrounding the changes. The scribes of both 022 and 042 were individuals who thought about the text as they copied it. The scribe of 022 was reluctant to make meaningful changes to the text but felt free to adjust the presentation of the text to reflect its meaning—particularly by using gold ink for some of the *nomina sacra*. The scribe of 042 took liberties with the text but was not concerned as much with presentation—042 has more corrections than 022, which at times can mar its appearance (Gribomont asserts, “Purple codices are less subject to corrections which may damage their luxurious parchment,” in “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, Codices Mirabiles 1 [Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987], 195). Additionally, the Eusebian apparatus is carelessly reproduced in 042. There are three examples involving *nomina sacra* in which all three manuscripts are extant. Twice, (16:3 and 18:18), 022 abbreviated ουρανου/ω, and once (20:31), 042 lengthens υε̄.

However, it is clear that the scribe of 022 did think about presenting *nomina sacra*. The use of gold ink for many instances is sufficient proof, but two additional examples demonstrate that the exemplar did not use different ink and probably did not discriminate between sacred and profane uses. At Matt. 13:51, the scribe of 022 copies κε̄ from the exemplar, but κ is written in silver; ε and the supralinear bar are written in gold. At Mark 9:17, both manuscripts contain odd corrections in the phrase πνευμα αλαλον. The uncorrected text of 022 is πνα ααλον, but one of the obliques of the final α has been scratched out, converting the letter to λ, and α is added into the space above the word. The reading in 042 is more bizarre. The scribe originally wrote the correct phrase, πνα αλαλον, but then removed α from πνα, resulting in the text πν̄ α λαλον. Two conclusions about the

Text/ Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
		probably	
†10:4 ⁶¹ /A	καναναιος	κανανιτης	Substitution (1 word) Editorial: Preference for an alternate reading
†10:21 ⁶² /B	πατηρ	πηρ	Editorial: <i>nomen sacrum</i>
10:23 ⁶³ /B	εαν	αν	Substitution (1 word)
†11:27 ⁶⁴ /A	ουδεις	ουδεις	Substitution (4 words)

exemplar seem to be reasonable inferences: there was an error in the exemplar at Mark 9:17, and the exemplar had the abbreviated form π̄να, despite its profane usage there.

With these observations in mind, it seems like the best explanation surrounding *nomina sacra* is that the exemplar regularly had abbreviated forms, even for profane uses. The scribe of 042 was not concerned with this aspect, because the abbreviations were intelligible and the text was still sensible. The scribe of 022, however, gave some consideration as to how he or she would write most instances of *nomina sacra*—particularly whether or not to use gold ink, but additionally, the scribe also probably considered whether the use was sacred or profane, and in Matthew 10:1 and 10:21 as well as Mark 6:7, 10:27 and 10:30, lengthened the words abbreviated in the exemplar because of their profane usage. In Matt. 16:3 and 18:18, the scribe of 022 abbreviated sacred uses of ουρανοῦ/ω.

⁶¹ Cronin does not note this correction on St. Petersburg f. 22v, and many editions fail to note it including the NA²⁸, despite marking the variant and offering textual evidence in the apparatus. Soden has π¹⁹ (i.e. 022) for the reading κανανιτης, but it is almost certainly an error in the apparatus. Soden does not note that it is the uncorrected reading of 022, nor does he note the corrected reading. More likely, Soden intended to list π¹⁸ (i.e. 042) in the apparatus, and π¹⁹ was listed by mistake. The correction itself is difficult to see, but remnants of the letters –ιτη– are visible. The scribe corrected the text by writing the letters –αιο– over the space previously occupied by –ιτη–.

The critical text has καναναϊος (B C [χαναναιος D] L N [sic] f¹ 33 892 latt mae, according to NA²⁸), but the majority of manuscripts have κανανιτης (according to the NA²⁸, 01 K W T Δ Θ f¹³ 565 579 700 1424 I2211 and the majority text). Soden attributes the change from καναναϊος to κανανιτης to harmonisation to Mark 3:18. Unfortunately, 022 is not extant there, but 042 has κανανιτης in the Markan parallel. If one did not know that this reading were a correction, one would assume that 022 preserved the reading of the exemplar and 042 harmonised to Mark, and Gribomont does precisely that, in “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 198. However, as a correction, it is clear that the exemplar contained the reading κανανιτης—though perhaps as a correction. For whatever reason, the scribe of 022 decided to retain the older reading here. It is possible but unlikely that the choice was a result of harmonisation to context—unlikely because all four of the preceding –αιοc names are spelled –εοc in 022. All that can be said with certainty is that the scribe preferred the reading καναναιος and corrected the text after copying κανανιτης from the exemplar.

⁶² See the discussion of 10:1 at 4.2.2.

⁶³ A similar change occurred at 20:27 in 022. At 4.1.1, I explain why I categorised this reading as nonsensical and thus insignificant among singular and family readings. Here, however, I categorise this reading as significant because the similar change at 20:27 reveals a weak pattern that is not observable from singular/family readings alone.

⁶⁴ Cronin accurately explains why the change at Matt. 11:27 can confidently be traced to the scribe of 022, in *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xlvī–xlvii. There is a parallel at Luke 10:22, which Cronin mentions, but the text of 022 has also been changed there in the same way as it has been at Matt. 11:27, based on the spacing into which the gold letters fit. Both instances are near-singular among Greek New Testament manuscripts, but there is enough patristic and versional support for the reading of 022 at Matt. 11:27 to merit its inclusion in the apparatus of the UBS⁴ and UBS⁵ (but not UBS³). According to the UBS⁵, the reading of 022 has additional support in Diatessaron^(syr, arm), (Marcus^{acc. to Irenaeus gr}), (Gnostics^{acc. to Irenaeus lat}), (Justin), (Irenaeus^{lat 2/4 syr}), (Eusebius^{1/2}), Adamantius, (Marcellus), Didymus^{dub 1/3}, (Ps-Clementines), (Epiphanius^{4/6}), Severian, John-Damascus). Swanson reports that the reading

Text/ Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
	επιγινωσκει τον πρα ει μη ο υσ ουδε τον υν τις επιγινωσκει ει μη ο πηρ	επιγινωσκει τον υν ει μη ο πηρ ουδε τον πρα τις επιγινωσκει ει μη ο υσ	
†12:22 ⁶⁵ /C	τυφλον και κωφον	κωφον και τυφλον	Transposition (3 words) Harmonisation (context: <i>titlos</i>) Editorial: change to better-known reading
12:28/A	εν δακτυλω θυ	εν πνι θυ	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 11:20)
†13:27b ⁶⁶ /A	του	τω	Substitution (grammatical)

is also in X (033) (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2^o Cod. ms. 30), but 033 is not extant after Matt. 11:24 until Matt. 12:9.

⁶⁵ Gribomont writes that 042 preserves the reading of the exemplar here, in “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 197. I am inclined to agree with Gribomont, though it is impossible to be certain in this difficult case. The scribe of 042 might be more likely to change the text to a better-known reading, but 042 preserves a lesser-known reading here.

If the reading in the exemplar were the reading of 022, τυφλον και κωφον, the scribe of 042 would have changed the text away from the majority reading and away from the order preserved earlier in 12:22 (τυφλος και κωφος). The best explanation for this change is that it aligns order the end of the verse, which is a chiasm otherwise:

022:		042:	
1	ωστε τον τυφλον	1	ωστε τον κωφον
2	και κωφον	2	και τυφλον
2'	και λαλ(ε)ιν	1'	και λαλειν
1'	και βλεπ(ε)ιν	2'	και βλεπειν

Although one is tempted to interpret such a change as the kind of clever alteration one might expect from the scribe of 042, the alternative situation is more likely. If the exemplar contained κωφον και τυφλον, the scribe of 022 changed the text in favour of a more common reading, possibly under the influence of the marginal *titlos* for the passage. Based on what is extant in 042, it seems that the exemplar contained both a *kephalaia* list and a series of marginal *titloi* that did not always agree. The scribes made a decision at each point of divergence whether to reproduce the text of the list or the text in the margin, and Matt. 12:22 is one such point of divergence. The marginal *titlos* at this place in 022 for section κβ agrees with the entry in the *kephalaia* list in 042 (περι του δαιμονιζομενου τυφλου και κωφου), but not with the marginal *titlos* in 042 ([πε]ρ[ι το]υ [ε]χοντος | δαιμονιον κωφον). The likely explanation is given below, organised chronologically:

1. The marginal *titlos* in the exemplar matched the marginal *titlos* in 042: περι του εχοντος δαιμονιον κωφον
2. The scribe of 022 made the mental decision to copy the variant *titlos*—the entry from the *kephalaia* list in the exemplar (περι του δαιμονιζομενου τυφλου και κωφου)—but did not yet copy the text of the *titlos*.
3. The scribe of 022, partly under the influence of a more common reading and partly under the influence of the recent mental decision to copy the *titlos* as περι του δαιμονιζομενου τυφλου και κωφου, transposed the words in the biblical text.
4. *After* writing the biblical text in silver, the scribe of 022 fulfilled the previous mental decision by adding the marginal *titlos* περι του δαιμονιζομενου τυφλου και κωφου in gold ink.

Text/ Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
	οικοδεσποτου	οικοδεσποτη	Editorial: change to better-known reading
†13:28 ⁶⁷ /A	ειπαν	ειπον	Orthographic (ο > α) Substitution (grammatical): 1 st aorist endings on a 2 nd aorist form
†13:51 ⁶⁸ /B	παντα ταυτα	ταυτα παντα	Transposition (2 words)
†14:1 ⁶⁹ /B	τεταρχης (022*) τετ ^p αρχης (022 ¹)	τεταρχης	Editorial (correction of error in exemplar)
†14:36 ⁷⁰ /B	αψοντε	αψωνται	Orthographic (ω > ο) Substitution (grammatical): aorist subjunctive > future indicative
†15:4 ⁷¹ /C	μ̄ρα σου	μ̄ρα	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (context)
†16:3 ⁷² /A	οῡνου	ουρανου	Editorial: <i>nomen sacrum</i>
†18:18 ⁷³ /A	οῡνω	ουρανω	Editorial: <i>nomen sacrum</i>
†20:27/A	αν	εαν	Substitution (1 word)
27:33 ⁷⁴ /A	ερμηνευομενος	λεγομενος	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 15:22, partial)

⁶⁶ See the discussion at 3.2.5.

⁶⁷ See the discussion at 3.2.5.

⁶⁸ Gribomont thinks the scribe of 022 is in error here (“The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 198). Although this case is difficult, I agree with his assessment. One evidence of the way in which the scribe wrote some gold *nomina sacra* is found three lines down from this reading, where the scribe meant to write κε̄ in gold but mistakenly wrote κ in silver. He or she left a space and added the ε and supralinear bar in gold later. This practice of stopping, skipping a word and leaving a space created an opportunity for error, not unlike earlier scribes’ higher rates of error when they stopped to re-ink their pens, as P.M. Head and M. Warren demonstrate in “Re-Inking the Pen: Evidence from P. Oxy. 657 (P¹³) Concerning Unintentional Scribal Errors,” *NTS* 43 (1997): 466–73. For a material reason for interpreting this reading as a change by the scribe of 022 rather than by the scribe of 042, see the detailed discussion of this variant in 4.2.2.4.

⁶⁹ See the discussion at 1.4.

⁷⁰ See the discussion of †11:17 at 4.2.1.

⁷¹ Identifying the cause of this change is difficult. The majority of manuscripts lack both instances of σου, but the parallel in Mark 7:10 retains both instances of σου, as 022 has in Matt. 15:4. One would expect 042 to harmonise the reading to the Markan parallel, but that does not happen here. Alternatively, if 042 conformed the reading to that of the majority of manuscripts, one would expect both instances of σου to be omitted in 042. The scribe of 022 is generally more reluctant to make intentional changes to the text, and although it is possible that he or she harmonised to Mark 7:10, the more likely explanation is that the he or she harmonised the second part of the phrase to the first: τιμα τον π̄ρα σου· και την μ̄ρα (+σου). Admittedly, certainty is not possible here, and an accidental omission by the scribe of 042 could have occurred, as μ̄ρα occurs at the end of a line in 042.

⁷² See the discussion of 10:1 at 4.2.2.

⁷³ See the discussion of 10:1 at 4.2.2.

⁷⁴ See the discussion at 4.1.2.

4.2.2.1 Additions (1)

The scribe only added to the text once. At †15:4, the scribe added a single word as a harmonisation to context. This addition arose independently in other manuscripts.

4.2.2.2 Omissions (1)

Only once did the scribe of 022 omit text. At 9:36b, the scribe omitted three words, harmonising Matt. 9:36b to Mark 6:34.

4.2.2.3 Substitutions (10)

There are ten instances of substitution: †9:21, †10:4, 10:23, †11:27, 12:28, †13:27, †13:28, †14:36, †20:27 and 27:33. Only two of these ten substitutions are harmonisations (12:28 and 27:33); they are both singular and involve single words. Three of the substitutions are editorial in nature, conforming the text to an alternate reading (†9:21, †10:4 and †13:27). Twice, the scribe made an interchange of $\alpha\nu/\epsilon\alpha\nu$ (10:23 and †20:27), and twice the scribe made an interchange of o/ω (†9:21 and †14:36). Four of the substitutions are grammatical: interchanges between the future indicative and aorist subjunctive at †9:21 and †13:27, using first aorist endings on a second aorist form at 13:28, and a substitution of the genitive for the dative at †13:27.

In spite of the additional reverence the scribe shows for some *nomina sacra* by writing them in gold ink to contrast with the surrounding silver text, this special class of holy words is not immune from scribal alteration. At †11:27, the scribe substitutes four instances of gold *nomina sacra*. Cronin discusses this change and a parallel variant at Luke 10:22, attributing the change from the exemplar to the scribe of 022 rather than the scribe of 042.⁷⁵ At 12:28, the scribe substitutes $\delta\alpha\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omega$ for $\pi\nu(\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau)\iota$ under the influence of the parallel at Luke 11:20.⁷⁶ The variant at †11:27, however, cannot be due to harmonisation to Luke unless the reading comes from another exemplar, and in all three cases, (†11:27, 12:28 and Luke 10:22), the substitution is intentional. The scribe left blank spaces in the silver text to fill in *nomina sacra* later with gold ink, and the room available in those spaces does not fit the substituted text. If these substitutions were merely accidental, the forced cramping of the writing would have prevented them by reminding the scribe of the text of the exemplar.

⁷⁵ Cronin, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*, xlvi–xlvii. See also the discussion at 4.2.2.

⁷⁶ This instance on St. Petersburg f. 32r can be viewed at the INTF VMR (ntvmr.uni-muenster.de [accessed 15 August 2017]) and via the holdings of CSNTM.

4.2.2.4 Transpositions (2)

There are two transpositions in 022 in Matthew. At †12:22, the scribe transposed three words in order to conform the text to a more well-known reading, possibly under the influence of the marginal *titlos* on the page.⁷⁷ At †13:51, the scribe transposed two words, probably by accident. Both transpositions occur in other manuscripts.

The transposition at †13:51 is an example of how the material context of a manuscript could identify non-genetic scribal changes that occur in multiple manuscripts. The exemplar had $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$, which the scribe of 042 copied faithfully. The scribe of 022 wrote $\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$, but a closer look at the words might reveal exactly where the scribe made the mistake: on the second vertical of π . On St. Petersburg f. 39r, the transposition is on column 2, line 11.⁷⁸ Other examples of π are in the middle of column 2, line 14 and at the beginning of column 2, line 16, and there are a few examples of τ , especially at the beginnings of column 2, lines 13 and 15. Although it is not always the case, the scribe of 022 usually writes τ with longer horizontal extensions than π . The first letters on St. Petersburg f. 39r, column 2, lines 15 and 16 illustrate this tendency. The π on column 2, line 11, however, is noticeably asymmetrical. The horizontal extends to the right more than on the typical π of this scribe, but the horizontal ends abruptly on the left side of the letter. It appears that the scribe initially wrote τ , but instead of a serif on the left side, the scribe wrote a second horizontal. Probably because the word order of $\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ or $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ does not make any meaningful difference to the interpretation of the text, the scribe did not correct the variation here.

4.2.2.5 Harmonisations (5)

There are only five instances of harmonisation in Matthew in 022, as opposed to eleven harmonisations among singular and family readings. These five are 9:36b, †12:22, 12:28, †15:4 and 27:33. Only three of the five are harmonisations to parallel Gospel pericopes, and two of these three are singular, first-hand harmonising corrections (9:36b to Mark 6:34, and the corrections at 12:28 and 27:33 to Luke 11:20 and Mark 15:22, respectively). The other two are harmonisations to context (†12:22 and †15:4, although †12:22 could be explained as a conformity to a more well-known reading). There is no pattern to the types of changes the five harmonisations comprise: one is an omission, one is an addition, one is a

⁷⁷ See the discussion of †12:22 at 4.2.2.

⁷⁸ This instance can be viewed at the INTF VMR (ntvmr.uni-muenster.de [accessed 15 August 2017]) and via the holdings of CSNTM.

transposition and two are substitutions. With respect to the addition (†15:4) and omission (9:36b), the scribe of 022 never adds or omits text apart from these two instances of harmonisation.⁷⁹

4.2.2.6 Editorial Readings (12)

The highest number of significant changes to the text of 022 fall under the category of editorial readings. The twelve readings are †6:31a–c, †9:21, †10:1, †10:4, †10:21, †12:22, †13:27, †14:1, 16:3, and †18:18. The twelve editorial readings divide evenly into three categories. In four places, the scribe corrected an error in the exemplar (†6:31a–c, †14:1), but in each of the four places, the scribe copied the error faithfully and corrected the error. In four places, the scribe conformed the text to an alternate reading, which was not always that of the majority of manuscripts (†9:21a, †10:4, †12:22 and †13:27). Finally, in four places, the scribe made editorial decisions on how to render *nomina sacra*. At †10:1 and †10:21, the scribe wrote an abbreviated form *in plene*, and at †16:3 and †18:18, he or she abbreviated a form that the exemplar had *in plene*.

Table 4.11: Editorial readings in 022 in Matthew where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Correcting an error in the exemplar?	Conform to alternate reading?	<i>Nomen Sacrum?</i>	Other notes
†6:31a	Yes			Correction ο > ω
†6:31b	Yes			Correction ο > ω
†6:31c	Yes			Correction ο > ω
†9:21a		Yes		Correction ο > ω
†10:1			Yes; πνευματων	
†10:4		Yes		Substitution
†10:21			Yes; πατηρ	
†12:22		Yes		Transposition
†13:27		Yes		Substitution
†14:1	Yes			
†16:3			Yes; ου̅νου	
†18:18			Yes; ου̅νω	

⁷⁹ With the exception of nonsense errors.

4.2.3 **Conclusions about the Scribe of 022**

The analysis presented in this chapter reinforces the preliminary assessment of the scribe of 022 given at 3.6.1, that *although there are a few exceptions, the scribe of 022 was careful to reproduce the text of the exemplar with a degree of accuracy*. In four places, the scribe copied an error from the exemplar and corrected it later.⁸⁰ The most common type of changes the scribe made were editorial readings, which presumably were intended to improve some aspect of the text. The scribe struggled with orthography, however. He or she is the only scribe of the three with which this study is concerned to have made \omicron/υ interchanges, and he or she had noticeable difficulty with ϵ/ι and α/ϵ interchanges. The corrections demonstrate that he or she was aware of his or her shortcomings with respect to \omicron/ω interchanges, though it is possible that these interchanges were usually corrected because they had a greater possibility of changing the sense of the text. If that were the case, it would be additional evidence of the care that the scribe of 022 had for the text of the exemplar.

There is only one instance each of addition and omission among significant changes in the final form of the text as it left the scribe. However, the scribe of 022 does give support to Royse's well-qualified claim that scribes in general were more likely to omit than to add.⁸¹ Although there are only two instances of addition or omission of words among significant changes to the final form of the text, there are twenty-four instances of addition or omission before or after correction, ranging in length from single letters to multiple words, outlined in the following table.

⁸⁰ Amy S. Anderson suggests that Ephraim, the scribe of 1582 and 1739, also copied the mistakes and corrections from his exemplar, in *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew*, NTTS 32 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 41. Ephraim was a remarkable scribe who reproduced even the formatting and lacunae of his exemplars; the scribe of 022, on the other hand, probably reproduced errors in his or her exemplar because he or she was not always competent to catch them before copying them.

⁸¹ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 705–736.

Table 4.12: All text added or omitted by the scribe of 022 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Add	Omit	Leap?	Nonsense?	Was it corrected?
2:20		1 letter		Yes	Yes
7:4		1 letter		Yes	Yes
8:22	1 word		Possibly	Dittography; yes	Yes
9:16	1 word		Probably	Dittography; yes	Yes
9:17a		1 letter α/ 1 syllable			Yes
9:17b		2 words	Yes; 1 line	Yes	Yes
9:22		1 syllable		Yes	
9:36b		3 words			
10:5	1 syllable			Dittography; yes	Yes
10:17	1 syllable			Dittography; yes	Yes
10:23	1 letter ε/ 1 syllable				
11:7		1 syllable		Yes	Yes
12:9	1 letter ε/ 1 syllable			Dittography; yes	Yes
12:15		1 syllable	Yes	Yes	Second corrector
12:37		1 syllable		Yes	Second corrector
13:27		1 syllable			Yes
14:35		1 word			Yes
15:4	1 word				
15:32		1 word	Yes	Yes	Yes
18:8		1 word	Yes	Yes	Yes
20:17		1 letter ε/ 1 syllable		Yes	
20:27		1 syllable			
26:64 ⁸²	1 letter ε/ 1 syllable		Yes; 1 line	Yes	
27:27		1 word		Yes	Yes

Among the twenty-four instances in which the scribe added or omitted text, seventeen are nonsense readings; these readings are clearly mistakes. Six or seven of these instances are due to leaps. In only one-third of these instances (eight times), the scribe added text. These additions came to three words and five syllables, though three of the added syllables consisted of an ε added to the beginning of a word. On the other hand, the scribe omitted text sixteen times. Nine words were omitted, eight syllables (two of which were single letters) and two single letters (not syllables).

These figures reveal three tendencies of the scribe. First, he or she is reluctant

⁸² The larger leap was corrected, but the one-syllable addition rendering the word nonsensical was allowed to remain.

to make *intentional* additions to or omissions from the text in the form of complete words. Second, the scribe is indeed more likely to omit text *unintentionally* than to add *unintentionally*. Finally, the addition and omission patterns confirm the preliminary observations about the scribe of 022 in Chapter Three—at least at some points, he or she copied syllable-by-syllable.

The scribe's treatment of *nomina sacra* is intriguing. He or she is the only scribe of our three who shows increased reverence for certain *nomina sacra* by writing them in a different ink (in the case of 022, gold), though the scribe of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (B) also treated some *nomina sacra* this way.⁸³ Four of the editorial readings involve changing the presentation of *nomina sacra*, writing *in plene* profane uses of words that were abbreviated in the exemplar and abbreviating other words that appeared *in plene* in the exemplar. The scribe even made intentional substitutions of *nomina sacra* on two occasions.

If we may be permitted to indulge in a final bit of reasoned speculation about the scribe of 022, we might be able to catch a glimpse of our copyist from the work he or she left behind. This scribe had a reverence for the text of the Gospels. The scribe presented the text beautifully, showing reverence for God by writing *nomina sacra* referring to God or Jesus in a striking, untarnishing gold ink that continues to glimmer in the light 1,500 years later. The large letters serve not only to make the text easy to read, they result in a gargantuan tome—an imposing presence on the altar at Mass. Even from the back of a large cathedral, worshippers would be able to see the silver shimmering and the gold glistening against a rich purple background. Even illiterate worshippers, were they close enough to the Gospel Book, could find God in the text, thanks to the creativity of our scribe. The creativity in presentation, the care to reproduce the text accurately (especially with the smaller letters of the Eusebian apparatus) and the slight incompetence, especially with respect to orthography, are all consistent with a younger scribe—perhaps a novice at a monastery—perhaps not yet a highly experienced copyist but still eager to show his or her devotion to God.

⁸³ Pierre Batiffol writes, “Les six premiers feuillets de saint Mathieu présentent, écrits en or, les mots πῆρ, ἰς, ὄς; de même pour le titre et la première ligne de saint Marc,” in *Les manuscrits grecs de Béat D’Albanie: et le Codex Purpureus Φ*, Extrait des archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886), 21.

4.3 The Scribe of 022 and the *Singular Readings Method*

Table 4.13: Comparison of singular/family readings and deviations from the exemplar in 022 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Type of Reading	Singular/Family Readings (*inherited family readings)	Deviations from the Exemplar (†non-singular changes)
Total	30 (*17)	39 (†27)
Insignificant	13 (*3)	17 (†9)
Nonsense	9 (*1)	9 (†2)
Orthographic	6 (*3)	11 (†9)
Significant	17 (*14)	23 (†19)
Additions	6 (*6)	1 (†1)
Omissions	2 (*1)	1 (†0)
Substitutions	7 (*5)	10 (†7)
Transpositions	1 (*1)	2 (†2)
Harmonisations	11 (*8)	5 (†2)
Editorial readings	4 (*4)	12 (†12)

With respect to 022, the modified *singular readings method* fails to reveal accurately the tendencies of the scribe. The method wrongly includes seventeen readings that were already present in the exemplar, but it fails to identify twenty-seven non-singular changes. The method is correct in three matters, however.

First, the modified *singular readings method* correctly identifies most of the nonsense errors committed by the scribe. This result is to be expected; not only should a good scribe be able to correct nonsense errors in the transmission process, preventing them from being copied by other scribes, but nonsense readings are sometimes beyond the scope of a critical apparatus and thus, they are not always reported.⁸⁴ The modified *singular readings method* is also correct in the conclusion that the scribe was not likely to omit or to transpose, but given that the one unique transposition is an inherited family reading and the two scribal transpositions are non-singular, it might only be coincidental that the modified *singular readings method* is correct about these two tendencies.

The conclusion about omitting text is rendered somewhat moot, however, because the modified *singular readings method* wrongly detects a tendency of textual addition. When corrections and nonsense errors are incorporated into the analysis,

⁸⁴ The NA²⁸, for example, has the goal of “provid[ing] the reader primarily with the basis for studying the text and evaluating the most important variants,” and as a result, does not report obvious scribal errors (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012], 55*).

the scribe appears to have a slight tendency to omit text accidentally. The modified *singular readings method* detects roughly the same tendency to substitute—it detects fewer substitutions than the scribe really made, but it also detects fewer readings overall, so ratio of substitutions to total changes is almost identical at approximately one-in-four. However, the substitutions detected by the modified *singular readings method* were mostly harmonisations to parallel Gospel accounts, some of which were present in the exemplar. The substitutions that the scribe did make are not as uniform; they are distributed among several categories, but grammatical substitutions form the plurality. The modified *singular readings method* erroneously finds harmonisation to be the greatest tendency of the scribe, but only three of the harmonisations it detects are really the work of the scribe. He or she copied the other eight harmonisations from the exemplar. The most grievous fault of the modified *singular readings method* is that it utterly fails to detect the scribe’s most prominent tendency: editorial readings. All twelve of the scribe’s editorial changes are non-singular, and the three editorial readings the modified *singular readings method* does detect were already present in the exemplar.

A study of corrections could provide a buffer to the failures of the *singular readings method*. Additions and omissions illustrate this point. The modified *singular readings method* detects six additions and two omissions; the scribe corrects no additions and two omissions. In reality, the scribe only adds once and omits once, but he or she is slightly prone to accidental omission. The corrections reveal this aspect of the omissions—omissions are more likely than additions to be unintentional because more omissions are corrected than additions. Thus, despite the presence of six intentional “additions”, one could still see a tendency for the scribe to omit text accidentally.

In conclusion, the modified *singular readings method* fails to determine the scribal habits of Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N 022). It succeeds in identifying a lack of a tendency to omit or transpose, but this success might be coincidental. At least for 022, its weaknesses outweigh its strengths. To test the validity of the method with another manuscript, we now turn to Codex Sinopensis (O 023).

Codex Sinopensis (O 023)

“C’est un texte de l’Évangile selon S. Matthieu, copié en magnifiques lettres onciales d’or sur parchemin pourpré, et dont les marges inférieures de quelques feuillets sont ornées de miniatures représentant différentes scènes de la vie du Christ.”

–Henri Omont, 1900¹

We now continue to assess the *singular readings method* by determining the scribal habits of 023. This chapter demonstrates that the modified *singular readings method* fails to assess the scribal habits of 023 in most respects. It identifies nearly three times as many significant changes than the scribe actually made, and it perceives several incorrect tendencies. Most significantly, the method identifies a strong tendency to add to the text, whereas the scribe of 023 was in fact more likely to omit.

Accessibility of the manuscript is a hindrance for an accurate assessment of 023. On 10 April 2017, the Bibliothèque nationale de France posted excellent high-resolution digital images of most of 023 on their digital repository, Gallica.² Before this date, the only sources for the text of 023 were Henri Omont’s pseudo-facsimile,³ André Grabar’s reproduction of the five illuminated pages⁴ (also reproduced elsewhere), f. 5v reproduced by Cavallo⁵, and a few images of lesser quality available for purchase from the BnF. The final two folios were made available on Gallica on 7 August 2017, ff. 11 and 30. Still, there are some places that would require autopsy examination for a certain judgment. The gold ink has not adhered to the parchment of 023 as well as the silver ink has adhered to its sibling-manuscripts,

¹ Henri Omont, “Un très ancien manuscrit grec de l’Évangile selon saint Matthieu, récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 44 (1900): 216; Henri Omont, “Manuscrit grec de l’Évangile selon saint Matthieu, en lettres onciales d’or sur parchemin pourpré, récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale,” *Journal des savants*, 1900, 279–280.

² <http://gallica.bnf.fr/> (accessed 31 October 2017).

³ Henri Omont, “Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec de l’Évangile de saint Matthieu, en onciales d’or sur parchemin pourpré et orné de miniatures, conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale (no. 1286 du Supplément grec),” in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 36 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1901), 599–676.

⁴ André Grabar, *Les Peintures de l’Évangéliste de Sinope (Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Gr. 1286): Reproduites En Facsimilé* ([Paris]: Bibliothèque nationale, 1948).

⁵ Plate 89, in Guglielmo Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Studi e testi di papirologia editi dall’Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» di Firenze 2 (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967).

and in many places, mere traces of ink are visible. It is questionable, therefore, to trust Omont for readings that would be errors in 023 where they cannot be independently verified. For example, Omont reports the reading $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\eta\varsigma$ at Matt. 23:15 (f. 40r), though at the same place, 042 has the orthographically standard form $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\eta\varsigma$.⁶ It appears that the reading in 023 is in fact $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon(\upsilon\eta)\varsigma$, and the confusion is due to the $-\upsilon\eta-$ ligature, in which four vertical strokes are connected by the obliques and horizontal of the component letters, $\downarrow\searrow\downarrow\searrow\downarrow\rightarrow\downarrow$. If this solution is correct, Omont simply failed to notice the second oblique stroke. However, it is impossible to verify my suspicion with certainty apart from seeing the manuscript.⁷

⁶ The new images of 023 do include this page, but the image is unclear. There appears to be an oblique between an otherwise clear υ and η , though it is not as clear as the other oblique and horizontal.

⁷ Since the first year of my PhD studies, I have attempted unsuccessfully to gain access to the BnF for an autopsy examination of 023. On 12 May 2015, I used the online form and contacted the BnF requesting permission to see it in August of that year, after which I received confirmation of pre-registration (13 May 2015) and instructions for my arrival. However, when I arrived at the BnF on 3 August 2015, I was told to wait because of unforeseen problems; in the afternoon of the second day (4 August), the Director of the Department of Manuscripts informed me that I would be unable to consult 023 because of a conservation issue, and of the two conservators who needed to consult, one was on sabbatical and the other on holiday.

On 26 February 2016, I contacted the BnF again to attempt to gain access, and in the reply I received on 5 March, as well as the 21 March reply to the follow-up emails I sent on 7 and 15 March, I was told that the BnF had plans to digitise 023 in the near future, therefore consultation would be impossible. The conservator with whom I corresponded did indicate that I would be able to consult a few difficult pages in the event that the digital images were unclear once they were posted, which was to be later in the Spring of that year. I emailed again on 7 October 2016, having waited to no avail for several months for the digital images to go online, and I received no response.

Finally, on 3 April 2017, I sent a letter in French to the BnF, translated from English by a professional translator and native French speaker, lest my native English or poor written French give offence. Though I received no response, the promised digital images appeared online a few days later. A conservator contacted me a few weeks later (28 April), again promising my access to a few pages of the manuscript, should the digital images prove insufficient. I took some time to check every letter of my transcription of 023 against the new digital images and to decide whether I needed to see any folios in order to confirm any readings unclear from the images. On 21 June 2017, I requested access to ff. 11, 19, 20, 26, 30 and 40. As of 31 October 2017, I have still received no response.

Though my thesis would be improved by a consultation of 023, I have been unable to do so despite repeated attempts. For that reason, the readings given for 023 in this chapter are verified as much as I can, but the following instances are problematic:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| f. 19r | I cannot verify the gathering number in the lower left corner. |
| f. 20r, l. 9 | Matt. 17:19 I have tentatively accepted Omont's reading, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{o}$, but $\alpha\upsilon\tau\circ$ might be possible |
| f. 40r, l. 7 | Matt. 23:15 $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon(\upsilon\eta)\varsigma$ or $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\eta\varsigma$ (Omont = $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\eta\varsigma$) I have tentatively rejected Omont's reading on the basis of the digital images, but autopsy is necessary to confirm this reading. |
| f. 40r, l. 15 | Matt. 23:17 $\tau\circ$ or $\tau\bar{o}$ (Omont = $\tau\circ$ [nonsensical]) I have tentatively rejected Omont's reading on the basis of the digital images, but autopsy is necessary to confirm this reading. |

5.1 Singular and Family Readings in 023

Table 5.1: Summary of singular and family readings in 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Total				23 (*15 inherited)
	Insignificant		8 (*2)	
	Nonsense	5 (*0)		
	Orthographic	4 (*2)		
	Significant		15 (*13)	
	Additions	6 (*6)		
	Omissions	1 (*0)		
	Substitutions	7 (*6)		
	Transpositions	2 (*2)		
	Harmonisations	8 (*7)		
	Editorial readings	4 (*4)		

5.1.1 *Insignificant Singular and Family Readings in 023*

Table 5.2: Insignificant singular and family readings in 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Reading	‘Exemplar’	Notes
*13:13 ⁸	εμ παραβολαις	εν παραβολαις	Orthographic (v > μ, before labial)
*14:20	περισειον	περισειον	Orthographic (cc > c)
16:15	ειν	ειναι	Strictly nonsense
17:19 ⁹	αυτο	αυτο	Nonsense in context
18:15	εκερδησασα	εκερδησα	Strictly nonsense
21:21a ¹⁰	εχετε	εχητε	Orthographic (η > ε) Nonsense in context
21:21b ¹¹	θαλαση	θαλασση	Orthographic (cc > c)
21:33	οιδεσποτης	οικοδεσποτης	Strictly nonsense

5.1.1.1 Nonsense Readings (5)

There are five singular nonsense readings in Matthew’s Gospel in 023: 16:15, 17:19, 18:15, 21:21a and 21:33. Two of the readings (16:15 and 21:33) involve the omission of one syllable, and one (18:15) is the addition of one syllable by dittography. The reading at 21:21a is probably nothing more than an orthographical shift of η > ε that results in a sensible form that is contextually nonsensical. At 17:19, Omont reports a supralinear line for *nu* that renders the word nonsensical in context. None of these five readings was present in the exemplar.

5.1.1.2 *Insignificant Orthographic Readings* (4)

Of the four orthographic readings that do not result in a sensible different text nor can be explained as editorial changes, two are reductions of double consonants to single (cc > c at *14:20 and 21:21b). One orthographic reading is a shift of v > μ before a labial (εν παραβολαις becomes εμ παραβολαις) at *13:13. The shift of η to ε at 21:21a is discussed above at 5.1.1.1. Two of the three orthographic readings were

⁸ See the discussion of 13:10 at 4.1.1.

⁹ The microfilm is nearly illegible at 17:19, and the Gallica image is unclear. I cannot detect a supralinear line above ο in αυτο. The singular reading would be grammatically nonsensical, referring to the neuter δαιμόνιον of v. 18 with the masculine αὐτόν. However, Omont reported the reading αυτον twice, in “Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec,” 628, 662. Without seeing the manuscript, I must cautiously accept Omont’s reading, but it should be noted that Omont twice recorded the reading of 023 at 19:8 as the nonsense reading λεγει (pp. 632, 665), but there, 023 clearly has λεγει.

¹⁰ The variant is the present indicative of ἔχω, rather than the subjunctive necessitated by the preceding εαν, though Edwin Mayser reports a few instances of εαν + present indicative (with a future sense), in *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit II.1* (Berlin; Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1926), 276.

¹¹ See the discussion of †10:28 at 6.2.1.

already present in the exemplar.

5.1.2 Significant Singular and Family Readings in 023

Table 5.3: Significant singular and family readings in 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Reading	‘Exemplar’	Notes
*7:11	υπαρχοντες	οντες	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 11:13)
*13:26b ¹²	εφανησαν	εφανη	Substitution (grammatical): number of the verb Editorial
*13:35	υπο του προφητου	δια του προφητου	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Matt. 3:3)
*15:22	εξελθουσα απο των οριων εκεινων	απο των οριων εκεινων εξελθουσα	Transposition (5 words)
15:30 ¹³	τυφλους	τυφλους κυλλους	Omission (1 word)
*15:31a ¹⁴	ακουντας και λαλουντας	λαλουντας	Addition (2 words) Editorial: conflation
*16:3	πως ου δυνασθε	ου δυνασθε	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 12:56)
*16:4a ¹⁵	και αποκριθεις ο ις ειπεν· γενεα ...	γενεα ...	Addition (5 words) Harmonisation (context: 16:2)
*17:4	μιαν κοι	κοι μιαν	Transposition, 2-word Harmonisation (Luke 9:33)
18:5 ¹⁶	το παιδιον τουτο	παιδιον τοιουτο	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 9:48) Substitution (short phrase)
*18:16 ¹⁷	ακουση σου	ακουση	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (context: 18:15)
*18:17 ¹⁸	εσται	εστω	Substitution (grammatical): present imperative > future

¹² See the discussion at 4.1.2.

¹³ One is tempted to accept the text of 023 at 15:30 as that of the exemplar with the explanation that the scribe of 042 conformed the text to the better known reading, but it is slightly more likely that the scribe of 023 mistakenly omitted one word: an item in a list.

¹⁴ See the discussion at 4.1.2.

¹⁵ See discussion at 4.1.2 and in the analysis at 4.1.2.5.

¹⁶ Soden agreed that this reading is one of the rare times the scribe of 023 harmonized the text, in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911), 1252.

¹⁷ See the discussion at 4.1.2.

¹⁸ For an explanation of how this is an editorial (intensifying) change, see the discussion at 4.1.2.

Text	Reading	'Exemplar'	Notes
			indicative Editorial reading (intensifying)
*22:4 ¹⁹	παλιν δε απερτειλεν	παλιν απερτειλεν	Addition (1 word) Editorial reading (marking development in discourse)
*22:15 ²⁰	παγιδεουσουσι ν	παγιδεουσωσι ν	Orthographic (ου > ω) Substitution (grammatical): aorist subjunctive > future indicative
*23:34b	διωζητε	διωξετε	Orthographic (ε > η) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive Harmonisation (context)

5.1.2.1 Additions (6)

Codex 023 contains six singular and family additions in Matthew: *15:31a (2 words), 16:3 (1 word), *16:4a (5 words), 18:5 (1 word), 18:16 (1 word) and *22:4 (1 word). These six readings add 11 words to the text. Four of the six readings are harmonisations: Two to Lukan parallels (*16:3 and 18:5) and two to context (*16:4a and *18:16). The final two additions are both editorial readings, a conflation at *15:31a. Five of the six readings were present in the exemplar.

5.1.2.2 Omission (1)

The only omission in 023 classified as a singular or family reading is the omission of one word in a series at 15:30. It was not in the exemplar.

5.1.2.3 Substitutions (7)

There are seven singular and family substitutions in Matthew in 023: *7:11, *13:26b, *13:35, 18:5, *18:17, *22:15 and *23:34b. Four of the seven substitutions are harmonisations: three to other Gospel texts (*7:11 [Luke 11:13], *13:35 [Matt. 3:3] and 18:5 [Luke 9:48]), one to context (*23:34b). Four substitutions are grammatical in nature; three of these involve interchanges of the future indicative with the aorist subjunctive or present imperative (*18:17, *22:15 and *23:34b), and one is a reversal of the *schema atticum* (*13:26b). Finally, the substitution of a phrase at 18:5 adds one word to the text. Of the seven substitutions, six were already present in the exemplar.

¹⁹ I have discussed this reading in detail in Chapter 2 (2.4.4).

²⁰ On the change between the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative, see the discussion at 6.1.2.3.

5.1.2.4 Transpositions (2)

Two transpositions are among the singular and family readings of 023. These two variants are a five-word transposition at *15:22 and a two-word transposition at *17:4. The latter variant is also a harmonisation to Luke 9:33. Both transpositions were present in the exemplar.

5.1.2.5 Harmonisations (8)

The largest component of singular and family readings in 023 is the number of harmonisations: eight (*7:11, *13:35, *16:3, *16:4a,²¹ 18:5 *18:16 and 23:34b). Five of the harmonisations conform the text to that of other Gospel passages, four to Lukan parallels (*7:11, *16:3, *17:4 and 18:5) and one to a parallel earlier in Matthew's Gospel (*13:35). Harmonisation to context accounts for the other three readings (*16:4a, *18:16 and *23:34b). The eight harmonisations are diverse by type, including additions (4), substitutions (4) and a transposition. The harmonisation to Luke 9:33 at 18:5 substitutes a phrase that is one word longer than the expected Matthean reading.

5.1.2.6 Editorial Readings (4)

Finally, there are four non-harmonising editorial readings among singular and family readings in 023: *13:26b, *15:31a, *18:17 and *22:4.²² No clear editorial patterns emerge from these four readings: two are substitutions and two are additions, but beyond the number of words involved, one is a reversal of the *schema atticum* (*13:26b), one is a conflation of known readings (*15:31a), one intensifies the text (*18:17) and one is the addition of a development marker, δε (*22:4). Apart from the conflation, the other readings could be seen as grammatical edits, but three readings are not evidence of extensive editorial activity by any means. Each of the four editorial readings was present in the exemplar.

²¹ See the discussion at 4.1.2.5.

²² Admittedly, a case could be made that many harmonisations reflect an editorial tendency to align parallel Gospel accounts.

5.1.3 Corrections in 023

Table 5.4: Corrections in 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Uncorrected Reading	Correction	Notes (Type of error corrected)
7:12 ²³	θηλητα—	θηλητε	<i>In scribendo</i>
15:16 ²⁴	ειπεν —	ειπεν αυτω	<i>In scribendo</i>
15:29 ²⁵	γαλια—	γαλιλαια	<i>In scribendo</i>
16:7 ²⁶	ελαβομ·	ελαβομεν·	Strictly nonsense <i>In scribendo</i>
17:14	ελθοντων ελθοντων	ελθοντων	Nonsense in context
17:22	γαλιλαι	γαλιλαια	Strictly nonsense
19:8b ²⁷	μωχη	μουχη	Orthographic (loss of υ [ωυ > ω])
19:21b ²⁸	θησαυρον ω—	θησαυρον εν ουρανω	<i>In scribendo</i>
19:23	εισελευεται εισελευεται	εισελευεται	Nonsense in context
19:24 ²⁹	τρυμαα—	τρυμαλια	<i>In scribendo</i>
20:21 ³⁰	π—	ειπε	<i>In scribendo</i>
20:33	υμων	ημων	Orthographic (η > υ) Nonsense (context) Substitution
21:14 ³¹	omit	εν τω ιερω	Omission (3 words) <i>In scribendo</i>

There are thirteen corrections in the extant pages of 023.³² Eight of these

²³ See the discussion at 3.3.5.

²⁴ At 15:16, the scribe executed part of a curved letter before noticing the error. It is possible that this error would have been a dittography of ειπεν, but it is impossible to make any certain judgments. The resultant letter is an abnormal α with a curve extending counter-clockwise from the top of √ to the middle of the writing space.

²⁵ This correction happened in the second stroke of α. The scribe wrote √, which is common to both α and λ. At the bottom of the stroke, the scribe curves slightly and began to make the second stroke, √, but stopped about a third of the way into the stroke. The result is λ that looks similar to α. It is unclear whether the error was the omission of one letter, λ, or perhaps more likely, the omission of a single syllable, -λαι-.

²⁶ A raised stop clearly follows μ, but the following ε shows no signs of irregularity or hesitation. The scribe omitted one syllable, εν.

²⁷ See the discussion at 3.3.5.

²⁸ The scribe wrote at the very least, both curves and the bottom of ω and possibly the centre vertical before correcting the error. He or she converted the left curve into ε and the right curve into the first vertical of ν.

²⁹ This correction is the same as the correction at 15:29 in every respect except that the error cannot be an omission of a single letter.

³⁰ See the discussion at 3.3.5.

³¹ See the discussion at 3.3.5.

corrections were made *in scribendo*. In five cases, the scribe did not complete the incorrect letter before stopping to make the correction (7:12, 15:16, 15:29, 19:24 and 20:21). Nearly every instance corrects either the addition or omission of a unit of text, which all seem to be due to leaps of some kind. Even the orthographic loss of υ at 19:8b is a loss of a syllable. The only correction that does not fit this pattern corrects the contextually nonsensical orthographic substitution of υμων for ημων at 20:33.

Codex 023 differs noticeably from both its siblings with respect to corrections. It was not corrected against a second exemplar; there are no 023² corrections. A relatively high proportion of corrections were made *in scribendo*, and the scribe did not seem to get very far before catching and correcting his or her mistakes. The high proportion of *in scribendo* corrections, the relatively low number of corrections and the fact that almost all of the corrections are due to leaps (i.e. there are no corrections due to harmonisation, meaningful substitution, transposition or editorial changes) all point to a careful scribe who seems to have been relatively successful at producing an accurate copy of the exemplar's text.

5.1.4 Conclusions about the Scribe of 023 Based on Singular/Family Readings and Corrections

Table 5.5: Comparison of singular/family readings to corrections in 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Type of Reading	Singular/Family Readings		Readings Corrected	
Total	24 (*15)		13	
Insignificant	9 (*2)		13	
Nonsense	6 (*0)		11	
Orthographic	4 (*2)		2	
Significant	15 (*13)		1	
Additions	6 (*6)		0	
Omissions	1 (*0)		1	
Substitutions	7 (*6)		0	
Transpositions	2 (*2)		0	
Harmonisations	8 (*7)		0	
Editorial readings	4 (*4)		0	
			Editorial Corrections	0

Based solely on singular and family readings, one might conclude that the

³² Cf. Omont, who lists only the five corrections not made *in scribendo* and a sixth at 21:14, in "Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec," 607.

scribe is most likely to harmonise but that the tendency to substitute is nearly as strong. Given the low number of relevant readings, it is perhaps better not to elevate harmonisation (8 readings) above substitution (7 readings), as additional folios of 023 could shift such a close balance, were they to be discovered. Half of the harmonisations align the text with Lukan parallels, one aligns the text with a parallel elsewhere in Matthew, and three are harmonisations to context. One would conclude that the scribe is much more likely to add than to omit, with six times as many additions as omissions resulting text that is ten words longer than that of the supposed exemplar. Nonsense readings do occur, but they are not too numerous. The four editorial readings would give the picture of a scribe who did seek to change the text as he or she copied.

The picture of a scribe-as-editor is enhanced by the corrections. Only once does the scribe correct a significant reading; almost every correction is either the result of a nonsensical error or is a correction made *in scribendo*. The dearth of significant corrections, the four editorial readings and the apparent tendency to harmonise Matthew to Lukan parallels would suggest that the scribe of 023 was a careful copyist who did not tend to make ‘mistakes’. Nonsense errors aside (many of which were corrected immediately), the singular and family readings in 023 appear to be intentional on the part of the scribe, not accidental changes.³³

³³ Cf. Gerd Mink, who says “...there is no way of differentiating between intentional and unintentional variants,” in “Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition, the New Testament: Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses,” in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, ed. Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander, and Margot van Mulken (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 26. Mink is correct in some respects; it is usually impossible to determine intentionality of a variant on its own (though Matt. 12:28 in 022 might be an exception). However, the cumulative evidence points to apparent intentionality in the case of 023: the presence of editorial readings, the high proportion of *in scribendo* corrections and the lack of corrections of significant changes.

5.2 Deviations from the Exemplar in 023

Table 5.6: Summary of deviations from the exemplar in 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Total			19 (†11 non-singular)
	Insignificant	13 (†7)	
	Nonsense	7 (†2)	
	Orthographic	9 (†7)	
	Significant	6 (†4)	
	Additions	1 (†0)	
	Omissions	3 (†2)	
	Substitutions	3 (†2)	
	Transpositions	0 (†0)	
	Harmonisations	3 (†2)	
	Editorial readings	3 (†3)	

5.2.1 Insignificant Deviations from the Exemplar in 023

Table 5.7: Insignificant deviations from the exemplar in 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	023	Exemplar	Notes
†13:10/A	εν παραβολαις	εμ παραβολαις	Orthographic ($\mu > \nu$ before labial)
†13:25c ³⁴ /A	ςητου	ςιτου	Orthographic ($\iota > \eta$) Strictly nonsense
†13:47/A	βληθηςη	βληθειςη	Orthographic ($\epsilon\iota > \eta$) Nonsense in context Harmonisation (context)
†15:14 ³⁵ /B	ενπεσονται	εμπεσονται	Orthographic ($\mu > \nu$ before a labial)
†15:37 ³⁶ /A	περιςσενον	περιςενον	Orthographic ($c > cc$)
16:15/A	ειν	ειναι	Strictly nonsense
17:19 ³⁷ /A	αυτο̄	αυτο	Nonsense in context
18:15/A	εκερδηςααα	εκερδηςαα	Strictly nonsense
†18:19 ³⁸ /A	ςυνφωνηςουιν	ςυμφωνηςουιν	Orthographic ($\mu > \nu$ before a labial)
21:21a/B	εχεςτε	εχηςτε	Orthographic ($\eta > \epsilon$) Nonsense in context
21:21b ³⁹ /B	θαλαςη	θαλαςςη	Orthographic ($cc > c$)
21:33/A	οιδεςποτης	οικοδεςποτης	Strictly nonsense
†22:33 ⁴⁰ /B	εξεπληςοντο	εξεπληςςοντο	Orthographic ($cc > c$)

5.2.1.1 Nonsense Readings (7)

The scribe of 023 made seven nonsensical changes to the text of the exemplar: †13:25d (strictly), †13:47 (context), 16:15 (strictly), 17:19 (context), 18:15 (strictly), 21:21a (context) and 21:33 (strictly). Three changes involve the addition (18:15) or omission (16:15 and 21:33) of a single syllable. Three changes are orthographic in nature, and they all involve η ($\iota > \eta$ at †13:25d, $\epsilon\iota > \eta$ at †13:47 and $\eta > \epsilon$ at 21:21a). Two of these readings are non-singular.

³⁴ This reading is near-singular. Swanson reports only E* as having ςητου. One matter of apparent inconsistency should be noted: I do not classify ι/η interchanges as nonsense in 042. Because ι/η interchanges seem to be a particularly strong tendency of the scribe of 042, they are treated as mere orthographic variants in Chapter Six. The scribe of 023 does not share that particular vice.

³⁵ See the discussion of †2:5 at 6.2.1.

³⁶ See the discussion of †10:28 at 6.2.1.

³⁷ See the discussion at 5.1.1.

³⁸ See the discussion of †2:5 at 6.2.1.

³⁹ See the discussion of †10:28 at 6.2.1.

⁴⁰ See the discussion of †10:28 at 6.2.1.

5.2.1.2 Insignificant Orthographic Readings (9)

The scribe made nine insignificant orthographic changes: †13:10, †13:25d, †13:47, †15:14, †15:37, †18:19, 21:21a, 21:21b and †22:33. These nine changes can be subdivided into three groups of three. The three changes involving η are listed in 5.2.1.1. Three times, the scribe changed μ to ν before a labial: †13:10, †15:14 and †18:19. Three changes involve the number of *sigmas* in words that have double *sigmas* in their standardised forms. These are $c > cc$ at †15:37 where the exemplar had the non-standard form and $cc > c$ at 21:21b and †22:33. Seven of the nine readings are non-singular.

5.2.2 Significant Deviations from the Exemplar in 023

Table 5.8: Significant deviations from the exemplar in 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text/ Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
†7:10 ⁴¹ /A	αιτηχη	αιτηχει	Orthographic (ει > η) Harmonisation (context) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive Editorial: conform to a well-known reading
†14:1 ⁴² /B	τετρααρχης	τεταρχης	Editorial (correction of error in exemplar)
15:30 ⁴³ /C	τυφλους	τυφλους κυλλους	Omission (1 word)
18:5 ⁴⁴ /B	το παιδιον τουτο	παιδιον τοιουτο	Addition (1 word) Substitution (short phrase) Harmonisation (Luke 9:48)
†20:30/A	κε υε δαδ	κε ιυ υε δαδ	Omission (1 word) Harmonisation (context)
†23:15b ⁴⁵ /D	ποιησαι	ινα ποιησετε	Omission (1 word) Substitution (short phrase) Substitution (grammatical) Editorial: conform to a well-

⁴¹ On the future indicative and aorist subjunctive, see the discussion at 6.1.2.3.

⁴² See the discussion of the error in the exemplar at 14:1 and the ways each scribe dealt with it at 4.2.2.

⁴³ See the discussion at 5.1.2.

⁴⁴ See the discussion at 5.1.2.

⁴⁵ The question of which scribe changed the text at 23:15b is impossible to solve with any degree of certainty. Not only is the reading of 042 singular, the closest alternate reading is also singular, ινα ποιησεται in 05. That being said, the reading in 05 is found in many Latin manuscripts (“ut faciatis” in it [pler.] vg as well as some Syriac and Georgian witnesses, according to Legg), which could be the source of the reading in 05 also. Concerning the Greek text of 05, D.C. Parker writes, “Present opinion rightly discards the theory that wholesale Latinization of the Greek has occurred. However, the fact remains that in a number of places Latinization remains the best explanation of the text,” in *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 256. Regardless of whether 023 or 042 preserves the reading of the exemplar, it appears that very similar variants of ποιησαι have arisen independently in the Greek manuscript tradition.

If the exemplar had ποιησαι, it is difficult to explain why the scribe of 042 would change it. The majority of manuscripts have ποιησαι, and although ινα + the future indicative ποιησετε is technically correct, such a syntactical composition “would *not* be permissible in Classical [Greek]”, according to F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R.W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), §369.2 (p. 186, emphasis original). It is more likely that this divergence is one of the few instances (with 7:10) in which the scribe of 023 took the liberty to make a grammatical improvement by eliminating the awkwardness of ινα + a future indicative and conforming the text to the better-known reading.

Text/ Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
			known reading

5.2.2.1 Additions (1)

There is only one significant addition in 023. At 18:5, the scribe harmonised the text to the parallel at Luke 9:48, substituting a phrase that was one word longer than the text it replaced.

5.2.2.2 Omissions (3)

There are three significant omissions in 023: 15:30 (1 word), †20:30 (1 word) and †23:15b (1 word). Admittedly, two of these omissions are uncertainly attributed to the scribe of 023, and the scribe responsible for the change at †23:15b is especially uncertain. Assuming each instance is a genuine omission by the scribe of 023, the omissions do not fall into any pattern. One is the omission of a word in a list (15:30), one is a harmonisation to context (†20:30) and one has the double-function of eliminating a grammatically awkward reading by replacing it with a more well known reading. Two of these omissions are non-singular.

5.2.2.3 Substitutions (3)

The scribe of 023 made only three substitutions, and this number again relies on the uncertain assumption that this scribe changed the text at †23:15b. The other two substitutions are at †7:10 and 18:5. If we may make judgments about the scribe's intentions, the substitution pattern points to two intentional substitutions of short phrases (18:5, which happens to be a harmonisation and †23:15b, which is editorial). The harmonisation to context at †7:10 might be an accident that happens to result in a sensible reading. Regardless of the scribe's intentions, there are only three significant substitutions in the extant folios, indicating that if the scribe did have a tendency to substitute—intentional or not—the tendency was weak. Two of the three substitutions are non-singular.

5.2.2.4 Transpositions (0)

The scribe of 023 never transposed text in the extant folios.

5.2.2.5 Harmonisations (3)

Codex 023 contains three harmonisations that were not already present in the exemplar. Two (†7:10 and †20:30) are harmonisations to context—one is an

orthographic shift of $\epsilon\iota$ to η , possibly due to the presence of η in the text immediately surrounding the place of change ($\alpha\iota\tau\eta\varsigma[\epsilon\iota > \eta] \mu\eta$).⁴⁶ At $\dagger 20:30$, the scribe aligned a phrase to the form in which it appears at the end of v. 31. The only harmonisation to a parallel passage is the harmonisation at 18:5 to Luke 9:48. Two harmonisations are non-singular.

5.2.2.6 Editorial Readings (3)

The scribe of 023 made three editorial changes in the extant folios, though again a word of caution must be issued regarding the difficult decision on $\dagger 23:15b$. Assuming the scribe of 023 did make the change there, it is not the only place at which he or she aligned the text to a more well known reading; this type of change occurs also at $\dagger 7:10$. At $\dagger 14:1$, the scribe corrected an error in the exemplar. None of the editorial readings are singular to 023.

5.2.3 Conclusions about the Scribe of 023

The scribe of 023 was faithful to copy the text of his or her exemplar and was relatively successful in this endeavor. In the extant folios, there are only six significant changes out of only twenty changes overall. The scribe never transposed. He or she omitted more often than he or she added, but there are still very few additions or omissions overall. The net result of the four instances of significant addition or omission is a text that is only two words shorter than that of its exemplar though approximately one-third of Matthew's Gospel is represented on forty-four folios. The high proportion of *in scribendo* corrections points to a careful scribe who checked his or her work as the work progressed rather than one who preferred to wait to correct the manuscript after its initial production was complete or one who relied on a *diorthotes*. It is noteworthy that there is only one correction of a significant reading (21:14). Jean Gribomont remarks, "Purple codices are less subject to corrections which may damage their luxurious parchment."⁴⁷ Gribomont may well be correct that the aesthetics of such a luxury codex played a role in the dearth of such corrections in 023; the scribe certainly took liberties with the layout of the codex and was the only scribe of our three manuscripts to use only gold for the ink. However, it does not seem that the relative lack of corrections is simply because the scribe did not want to mar the appearance of the purple parchment. Corrections in 023 are so

⁴⁶ The *ultimate* cause of this change is probably editorial; the scribe aligned the text to a better-known reading. Still, the reading is also a harmonisation to context.

⁴⁷ Jean Gribomont, "The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, Codices Mirabiles 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 195.

rare and minor because the scribe of 023 was an extraordinarily good scribe.

Table 5.9: All text added or omitted by the scribe of 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Add	Omit	Leap?	Nonsense?	Was it corrected?
15:30		1 word		No, but probably unintentional	
16:7		~1 syllable (2 letters)		Yes	Yes
16:15		1 syllable (2 letters)		Yes	
17:14	1 word		Probably	Dittography; yes	Yes
17:22		1 syllable (1 letter α)		Yes	Yes
18:5	1 word				
18:15	1 syllable (2 letters)			Dittography; yes	
19:23	1 word		Probably	Dittography; yes	Yes
19:24		1 syllable (2 letters)		Yes	Yes
20:30		1 word		No, but probably unintentional	Yes
21:14		3 words			
21:33		1 syllable (2 letters)		Yes	
23:15b		1 word			

If we examine the total amount of added and omitted text in 023, we see confirmation that the scribe is more likely to omit than to add. However, it appears that both types of change are likely to be unintentional. Of thirteen instances of added or omitted text, only four instances are uncorrected sensible forms. Six instances involve full words and six involve only one syllable. Only five of the thirteen instances are sensible, but the omission at 15:30 is that of a word in a series. It is likely an accidental omission that happens to result in a sensible text. The one long omission—a three-word phrase at 21:14—was corrected *in scribendo*, suggesting that it, too, was accidental. The addition at 18:5 and the mission at 20:30 are both the result of harmonisation, which could be intentional or not. Finally, at 23:15b, the reading is the substitution of a short phrase for a shorter phrase that is found in the majority of manuscripts, assuming that the 023 does not preserve the text of the exemplar at 23:15b. Taken as a whole, it seems slightly misleading to say that the scribe had a greater tendency to omit than to add. The scribe seems reluctant

to make either type of change, but accidental omissions are more prevalent than accidental additions.

The total number of changes that the scribe of 023 made to the text of the exemplar confirms our preliminary judgment on the scribe made in Chapter Three (3.6.2): this manuscript is almost certainly the work of a scribe in his or her prime. He or she was a skilled copyist who conservatively strove to preserve the text of the exemplar while taking artistic liberties with regard to layout. The result is a luxury codex that preserves the text of its exemplar with a high degree of accuracy, though its layout and appearance is probably strikingly different. To those who seek to recover the ancestral text of a manuscript, the scribe of 023 is the ideal scribe.

5.3 The Scribe of 023 and the *Singular Readings Method*

Table 5.10: Comparison of singular/family readings and deviations from the exemplar in 023 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Type of Reading	Singular/Family Readings (* denotes inherited readings)		Deviations from the Exemplar († denotes non-singular changes)	
Total	23 (*15)		19 (†11)	
Insignificant	8 (*2)		13 (†7)	
Nonsense	5 (*0)		7 (†2)	
Orthographic	4 (*2)		9 (†7)	
Significant	15 (*13)		6 (†4)	
Additions	6 (*6)		1 (†0)	
Omissions	1 (*0)		3 (†2)	
Substitutions	7 (*6)		3 (†2)	
Transpositions	2 (*2)		0 (†0)	
Harmonisations	8 (*7)		3 (†2)	
Editorial readings	4 (*4)		3 (†3)	

The failures of the method are noticeable with respect to insignificant changes. All of the nonsense errors identified by the modified *singular readings method* are indeed the work of the scribe of 023, but the method fails to identify two additional errors. The method also fails to identify most of the scribe's insignificant orthographic changes.

However, with respect to the significant changes, the failure of the modified *singular readings method* is more severe. The method wrongly detects a significant tendency to add, though the scribe is more prone to omit text. Harmonisations and substitutions seem prominent, and editorial changes are noticeable, according to the method. The actual changes made by the scribe reveal a different picture. The scribe

made only six significant changes, not fifteen, in 44 folios. No one tendency dominates the scribe's *modus operandi*. Omissions, substitutions, harmonisations and editorial readings all occur at the same low frequency. Though the scribe is more prone to omit than to add, even this tendency is weak. The modified *singular readings method* was correct to indicate that the scribe of 023 has little tendency to transpose, but although the method identified two transpositions, the scribe never transposed any text in the extant portions of the manuscript.

In conclusion, the modified *singular readings method* fails to identify the scribal habits of 023. The method wrongly includes fifteen readings that were present already in the exemplar, and it fails to include eleven non-singular changes. If corrections are considered along with the singular and family readings, the modified *singular readings method* seems to indicate—incorrectly—that the scribe was an editor of the text. There are few corrections of significant readings, but rather than due to editorial activity, the lack of such corrections is due to the skill of the scribe of 023. Rather than an editor who added more than he or she omitted and had strong tendencies to harmonise and substitute, the scribe of 023 was a careful copyist who rarely changed the text of the exemplar and often noticed and corrected mistakes as soon as he or she began to make them. As a final test of the modified *singular readings method*, we now turn to Codex Rossanensis (042).

The Rossano Gospels (Σ 042)

“Il capitolo del Duomo possiede un tesoro in un libro antichissimo che contiene gli Evangelii scritti in Greco, con caratteri d’argento sopra carta azzurrina, con belle e curiose miniature in testa alla pagine.”

–Caesare Malpica, 1846¹

“Il *Codex* rossanese non è solo un libro, ma una fascinosa avventura...”

–Giovanni Sapia, 2015²

The final angle by which this study will test the *singular readings method* is to determine the scribal habits of 042. The modified *singular readings method* does reveal some accurate details about the scribe of 042, but it also presents some misleading conclusions. Above all, the scribe of 042 was a skilled copyist and editor who took the liberty to make minor changes to the text of Matthew’s Gospel as he or she copied it.

Codex 042 is accessible through an excellent facsimile edition with an accompanying commentary volume.³ I prepared my transcription and subsequent work from the copy of the facsimile at the National Library of Scotland, occasionally supplementing my work with the microfilm of 042⁴ and pages of the codex reproduced elsewhere.⁵

¹ Caesare Malpica, *La Toscana, l’umbria e la magna grecia* (Naples: Andrea Festa, 1846), 313.

² Giovanni Sapia, *Cuore e storia di una città: Codex Purpureus Rossanensis tra cattedrale e Museo Diocesano* (Rossano: Ferrari editore, 2015), 69.

³ *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Rossano Calabro, Museo dell’Arcivescovado: Facsimile*, Codices Mirabiles 1; Codices Selecti 81* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1985); Guglielmo Cavallo, Jean Gribomont, and William C. Loerke, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Rossano Calabro, Museo dell’Arcivescovado: Commentarium*, Codices Mirabiles 1; Codices Selecti 81 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987).

⁴ Images of the microfilm of 042 are available at ntvnr.uni-muenster.de (Accessed 19 July 2017).

⁵ Ciro Santoro reproduces pp. 89, 136, 181 and 199, in *Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano* (Rome: Frama Sud, 1974). Antonio Muñoz reproduces pp. 60, 145, 243 and 321, in *Il codice purpureo di Rossano e il frammento sinopense; con XVI tavole in cromofototipia, VII in fototipia e 10 illustrazioni nel testo*. (Rome: Danesi, 1907). Cavallo has a plate of p. 10 in *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Studi e testi di papirologia editi dall’Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» di Firenze 2 (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967). Cavallo and Maehler reproduce part of p. 123, in *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*, University of London Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin Supplement 47 (London: Institute of Classical

6.1. Singular and Family Readings in 042

For much of Matthew's Gospel, 042 is the only extant copy of the 022-023-042 exemplar. It is impossible to determine what changes the scribe made to the text where neither 022 nor 023 is extant. For this reason, only the singular and family readings in 042 where one or both of its siblings is/are extant are treated here, but the total number of singular readings is given separately. For a list and discussion of these additional singular readings, see Appendix Five. As in previous chapters, I have marked readings from the exemplar unique to this manuscript family with an asterisk to denote that the *singular readings method* would wrongly analyse these readings as scribal creations.

Table 6.1: Summary of singular and family readings in 042, where 022 and/or 023 are/is extant

Total			48 (*23 inherited)
	Insignificant		15 (*4)
		Nonsense	8 (*1)
		Orthographic	10 (*4)
	Significant		33 (*19)
		Additions	7 (*6)
		Omissions	1 (*0)
		Substitutions	20 (*10)
		Transpositions	5 (*3)
		Harmonisations	20 (*11)
		Editorial readings	5 (*4)

6.1.1 *Insignificant Singular and Family Readings in 042*

Given the unusually high number of η/ι interchanges, these are classified as orthographic, not nonsensical, even if they result in an unattested form.⁶

Studies, 1987). Finally, the commentary volume includes plates of pp. 174, 236 and 237. A number of sources reproduce the illuminated pages, including Guglielmo Cavallo, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, trans. Salvatore Lilla and Anne-Christine Faltrop Porta, Guide Illustrate 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1992); Sapia, *Cuore e storia di una città: Codex Purpureus Rossanensis tra cattedrale e Museo Diocesano*; Mario Rotili, *Arte Bizantina in Calabria e in Basilicata* (Cava dei Tirreni: Di Mauro, 1980).

⁶ This approach is consistent with the way that ε/ι and α/ε interchanges are treated in this study.

Table 6.2: Insignificant singular and family readings in 042 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Reading	‘Exemplar’	Notes
8:10	τοσαυτιν	τοσαυτην	Orthographic (η > ι)
*8:20 ⁷	αλωπηκεε	αλωπεκ(ε)ε	Orthographic (ε > η) Strictly nonsense
9:13b	ουσιαν	ου θυσιαν	Nonsense in context Loss of one syllable
9:31 ⁸	διεφιμησαν	διεφημικαν	Orthographic (metathesis of η and ι)
*13:10 ⁹	εμ παραβολαιε	εν παραβολαιε	Orthographic (ν > μ, before labial)
*13:13 ¹⁰	εμ παραβολαιε	εν παραβολαιε	Orthographic (ν > μ, before labial)
13:32	γινεται	γινεται	Orthographic (ε > ει [ι]) Strictly nonsense
*14:20	περιεουον	περιεουον	Orthographic (cc > c)
19:12 ¹¹	ευνουχοι (third instance)	ευνουχοι	Strictly nonsense
19:23	πλουειο	πλουειοε	Nonsense (strictly nonsense)
21:2	δεδεμενιν	δεδεμενην	Orthographic (η > ι)
22:46a	ηδυνατω	ηδυνατο	Strictly nonsense Orthographic (ο > ω)
23:3 ¹²	εργαγα	εργα	Strictly nonsense
23:15a ¹³	περιαγε	περιαγετε	Nonsense in context

⁷ At *8:20, 022 has the orthographic variant αλωπηκαιε.

⁸ This reading could either be a metathesis of the vowels η and ι if the exemplar had διεφημικαν, or it could be an orthographic shift of η > ι if the exemplar had διεφιμησαν. Because the variant is orthographic in nature, and because both διεφημικαν and διεφιμησαν are technically nonsense forms, there is no entry for this variant in Tischendorf, Soden, NA²⁸ or even in Tregelles. Swanson and Legg both report some manuscripts that have διεφημικαν. Unfortunately their reports are conflicting, and both editions are notoriously inaccurate. Legg lists 13 346 543 28 245 249 892 as having διεφημικαν, but for the same reading, Swanson lists L M 13 2 28 1071 1346 1424 and the majority text. They have only ms 13 in common. The Robinson-Pierpont (2005) majority text has διεφήμισαν, and because the affected vowels are η and ι, the most probable solution is metathesis of the vowels by the scribe of 042.

⁹ See the discussion at 4.1.1.

¹⁰ See the discussion of *13:10 at 4.1.1.

¹¹ The variant at 19:12 is the addition of ι, which is strictly nonsensical. The scribe did not change either of the first two instances of ευνουχοι, and the correct diminutive form would be either ευνουχια (converting the grammatical gender to neuter) or ευνουχικοι (retaining the masculine grammatical gender). On the diminutive, see Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 235 (§ 852–856, but especially 852.1 and 852.6). Visually, it is clear how the reading occurred. The second ο is converted from c. This reading is leap forward to ευνουχικαν but was partially corrected *in scribendo*.

The second ο is converted from c. This singular, strictly nonsensical reading is leap forward (two words) to ευνουχικαν, but was partially corrected *in scribendo*. It is possible, but less likely given the distance, that it was a leap backward to ευνουχιθησαν.

¹² At 22:3 in 042, the variant occurs at a line break: εργαγα.

¹³ This change results in a singular verb with a plural subject.

Text	Reading	'Exemplar'	Notes
23:23	ανιθου	ανηθου	Orthographic (η > ι)

6.1.1.1 Nonsense Readings (8) / [14]

There are eight singular nonsense readings in Matthew in 042 where 022 and/or 023 are also extant: *8:20 (strictly), 9:13b (context), 13:32 (strictly), 19:12 (strictly), 19:23 (strictly), 23:3 (strictly), 22:46a (strictly) and 23:15 (context). Seven of the eight readings break from the expected text on the syllable level: two readings are the result in the loss of one syllable (9:13b and 23:15), two readings are the result of the addition of one syllable (19:12 and 23:3) and three readings are orthographic alterations of one syllable (*8:20, 13:32 and 22:46a). The eighth reading is the loss of a single letter at 19:23. The two readings that are nonsense in context seem to be only coincidentally so. At both 9:13b and 23:15, one syllable was lost and the result was either a nonsensical phrase (9:13b) or a word, of which the form was incorrect for the sentence (23:15). Only one of the eight readings (*8:20) was present in the exemplar.

There are six additional nonsense readings where 042 alone is extant. Three of these readings are nonsense in context (6:18, 19:28b and 24:38) and two are strictly nonsense (5:18 and 27:46). One is a correction at the wrong place (2:10).

6.1.1.2 Insignificant Orthographic Readings (10) / [26]

Among the passage of Matthew's Gospel considered here, there are nine orthographic readings that do not result in a sensible text or cannot be regarded as editorial improvements. These are 8:10 (η > ι), *8:20 (ε > η), 9:31 (metathesis of η and ι) *13:10 (ν > μ, before labial), *13:13 (ν > μ, before labial), 13:32 (ε > ει/ι), *14:20 (cc > c), 21:2 (η > ι), 22:46s (ο > ω) and 23:23 (η > ι). The majority (7) of these changes involve vowels. Of the three consonantal changes, two are identical (ν > μ at *13:10 and *13:13).¹⁴ Finally, four insignificant orthographic readings involve η and ι: three replacements of η with ι and one instance of metathesis. Four of the ten orthographic readings were copied from the exemplar.

Where 042 alone is extant, there are an additional sixteen orthographic readings. Nine of these sixteen readings involve an interchange of η and (ε)ι. Three of the sixteen orthographic readings involve other vowels (ε > α at 4:13, ο > ω at 24:38 and η > ε at 26:36), and four of the readings involve consonants (δ > θ at 1:5, νγ > γγ at 24:19, ν > μ before labial at 25:43 and κ > ξ at 27:38b).

¹⁴ See the discussions of *13:10 at 4.1.1 and at 4.1.1.2.

6.1.2 Significant Singular and Family Readings in 042

Table 6.3: Significant singular and family readings in 042 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Reading	‘Exemplar’	Notes
2:2 ¹⁵	τον ατερα αυτου	αυτου τον ατερα	Transposition (3 words)
*2:22	απελθειν εκει·	εκει απελθειν	Transposition (2 words)
7:5 ¹⁶	το εν τω οφθαλμω	εκ του οφθαλμου	Substitution (short phrase) Harmonisation (Luke 6:42)
*7:11	υπαρχοντες	οντες	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 11:13)
*8:14 ¹⁷	ηυρεν	ευρεν	Orthographic (ε > η) Substitution (grammatical): ευ > ηυ Editorial: alternate form
8:23 ¹⁸	εμβαινοντος αυτου	εμβαντι αυτω	Harmonisation (usage) Substitution (grammatical): dative absolute > genitive absolute
10:5a ¹⁹	omit αυτοις	παραγγελιας αυτοις λεγων	Omission (1 word)
10:13 ²⁰	επιστραφετω	επιστραφητω	Orthographic (η > ε)

¹⁵ This reading is a true singular; 022 has the majority reading at this point. Gribomont thinks that 042 preserves the text of the exemplar here, citing “the Latin versions” in agreement with the word order of 042 (“The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, Codices Mirabiles 1 [Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987], 197). However, H.A.G. Houghton rightly warns against using Latin manuscripts to support transpositions, in *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 148–149. I am inclined to accept the majority reading attested in 022 as the text of the exemplar based on the scribal profile of the two scribes assembled in Chapter Three—the scribe of 022 seems to be less inclined to change the text deliberately, and the scribe of 042 has demonstrable editorial tendencies. Furthermore, the scribe of 042 is responsible for the only transposition where all three manuscripts are extant (21:13b).

¹⁶ See the discussion at 6.2.2.

¹⁷ See the discussion at 4.1.2.

¹⁸ Soden suggests that this is a harmonisation to Mark 5:18, but the differing contexts of the passages render Soden’s suggestion suspect. In Matthew, the phrase comes just before Jesus calms the sea before casting the demons into swine. In Mark, however, the phrase is at the end of the pericope of the demons cast into swine, when the formerly-demonised man asks to remain with Jesus. It is more likely that this change is an editorial harmonisation to general usage, replacing the dative absolute with the more common genitive absolute.

¹⁹ One Vulgate manuscript, Codex Epternacensis (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 9389), also has this omission, but the equivalent Latin pronoun *eis* has been added in the margin on f. 31v. Houghton notes that the manuscript was written “in Northumbria, possibly Echternach, around 690,” in *Latin New Testament*, 269. The reading of 042 is awkward, but it is not nonsensical.

²⁰ The shift from επιστραφητω to επιστραφετω is a shift from the aorist passive to the present active imperative. However, this change is not a sense-change; επιστρέφω carries the active sense in the aorist passive, especially at Matt. 10:13, according to Walter Bauer et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed.

Text	Reading	'Exemplar'	Notes
			Substitution (grammatical): aorist passive imperative > present active imperative
11:10	κατασκευαση	κατασκευασει	Orthographic (ει [ι] > η) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive
*13:26b ²¹	εφανησαν	εφανη	Editorial Substitution (grammatical): number of the verb
13:34 ²²	χωρις δε	και χωρις	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 4:34)
*13:35	υπο του προφητου	δια του προφητου	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Matt. 3:3)
*14:5b	επειδη	οτι	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Matt. 21:46)
14:23	τον οχλον	τους οχλους	Substitution (short phrase) Harmonisation (Mark 6:45)
*14:26	οι μαθηται αυτου	οι μαθηται	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (usage)
*15:22	εξελθουσα απο των οριων εκεινων	απο των οριων εκεινων εξελθουσα	Transposition (5 words)
*15:31a ²³	ακουντας και λαλουντας	λαλουντας	Addition (2 words) Editorial: conflation
*16:3	πως ου δυνασθε	ου δυνασθε	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 12:56)
*16:4a ²⁴	και αποκριθεις ο ις ειπεν· γενεα ...	γενεα ...	Addition (5 words) Harmonisation (context: 16:2)
*17:4	μιαν σοι	σοι μιαν	Transposition (2 words) Harmonisation (Luke 9:33)
*18:16 ²⁵	ακουση σου	ακουση	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (context: 18:15)
*18:17 ²⁶	εσται	εστω	Editorial reading (intensifying) Substitution (grammatical): present imperative > future indicative

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 382.

²¹ See the discussion at 4.1.2.

²² The reading at 13:34 is not classified as a transposition, taking precedent from Royse, who lists the singular substitution of ουν > και at John 8:25a in P⁶⁶ as occurring "with accompanying change of word order," though he does not also list the reading as a transposition, in James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 528.

²³ See the discussion at 4.1.2.

²⁴ See the discussion at 4.1.2.

²⁵ See the discussion at 4.1.2.

²⁶ For an explanation of how this is an editorial (intensifying) change, see the discussion at 4.1.2.

Text	Reading	‘Exemplar’	Notes
19:4	εποιησεν αυτους ο $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$	εποιησεν αυτους	Addition (2 words) Harmonisation (Mark 10:6)
*21:8 ²⁷	εκ των δενδρων	απο των δενδρων	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 11:8)
*21:11 ²⁸	ελεγον οτι	ελεγον	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (context: οτι <i>recitativum</i>)
21:38	προς εαυτους	εν εαυτοις	Substitution (1 word and the case of the object) Harmonisation (Mark 12:7)
*22:15 ²⁹	παγιδεουσουσιν	παγιδεουσωσιν	Orthographic (ου > ω) Substitution (grammatical): aorist subjunctive > future indicative
22:46c	επερωτησαι ουκετι αυτον	επερωτησαι αυτον ουκετι	Transposition (2 words) Correction of an omission of one word
*23:15b ³⁰	ινα ποιησετε	ινα ποιηθηται	Substitution (grammatical): aorist subjunctive > future indicative Orthographic (η > ε)
23:34a ³¹	σταυρωσητε	σταυρωσετε	Orthographic (ε > η) Harmonisation (context) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive
*23:34b	διωξητε	διωξετε	Orthographic (ε > η) Harmonisation (context) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive
26:59 ³²	ωστε αυτον θω— (042+) ωστε αυτον θανατωσαι (042*) οπως αυτον θανατωσωσιν (042 ²)	οπως αυτον θανατωσουσιν	Substitution (2 words) Substitution (grammatical): Future indicative > aorist infinitive Harmonisation (Mark 14:55) Editorial: grammatical improvement Corrected by 042 ²
26:60 ³³	ανασταντων	προσελθοντων	Substitution (1 word)

²⁷ There is an *in scribendo* correction at this word in 042; the scribe began to write the preceding word (κλαδου) a second time, but stopped after two letters. If 042 were the only one among its siblings extant here, the correction might provide grounds for arguing that this substitution was made by the scribe himself/herself, and the partial dittography is proof of the scribe’s hesitation and/or confusion.

²⁸ See the discussion at 4.1.2.

²⁹ On the change between the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative, see the discussion at 6.1.2.3.

³⁰ See the discussion at 5.2.2. Assessing which scribe made the change at 23:15b is admittedly difficult. If my judgment is correct, the *singular readings method* falsely attributes the change at 23:15b to 042 and also falsely identifies the underlying exemplaric text.

³¹ This word is the first of three verbs ending in –ω[ε/η]ητε in 23:34 in 042.

³² See the discussion at 6.2.2.

³³ See the discussion at 6.2.2.

Text	Reading	'Exemplar'	Notes
			Harmonisation (Mark 14:57) Corrected by 042 ²

6.1.2.1 Additions (7) / [9]

In the passages relevant to this study, 042 has seven singular and family additions (14:26 [1 word], 15:31a [2 words], 16:3 [1 word], 16:4a [5 words], 18:16 [1 word], 19:5 [2 words] and 21:11 [1 word]), and these comprise thirteen added words. Six additions are harmonisations, and one addition-is an editorial conflation (15:31a).-The scribe of 042 inherited six of the seven additions from the exemplar.

There are two more additions comprising three total words where only 042 is extant (two words at 22:28 and one word at 27:12). Both additions are harmonisations.

6.1.2.2 Omissions (1) / [7]

There is only one singular omission in the relevant sections of 042. It is a one-word omission at 10:5. This omission is not shared by 022.

However, there are six singular omissions where only 042 is extant. These six omissions comprise seven words total (two words were omitted at 26:3, and the other five omissions involve only one word). Most of these omissions appear to be accidental. Three of them were corrected in the second round of corrections (19:28a, 26:3 and 27:38a), and one (1:6b) is a harmonisation to context.

6.1.2.3 Substitutions (20) / [41]

In the relevant sections, there are twenty singular or family substitutions in 042. They are 7:5, *7:11, *8:14, 8:23, 10:13, 11:10, *13:26b, 13:34, *13:35, *14:5b, 14:23, *18:17, *21:8, 21:38, *22:15, *23:15b, 23:34a, *23:34b, 26:59 and 26:60. Fifteen of the substitutions involve only a single word. Ten of the substitutions are harmonisations to Gospel parallels, and six of these ten are harmonisations to Mark's Gospel. Five substitutions are orthographic shifts that result in a change between future indicative and aorist subjunctive forms. The interchange between aorist subjunctive and future indicative in the manuscripts considered in this study often consists of an orthographical interchange between εἰ and ἦ or οὐ and ω. Moreover, the two grammatical forms can differ little, if at all, in meaning. Smyth writes, "Many, if not all, future forms in σ are in reality subjunctives of the first aorist."³⁴ Ten of these substitutions were already present in the scribe's exemplar.

³⁴ Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §532 (p. 170).

Table 6.4: Singular and family substitutions in 042 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Words	Type	Other notes
7:5	Short phrase	Harmonisation (Luke 6:42)	
*7:11	1	Harmonisation (Luke 11:13)	
*8:14	1	Grammatical	
8:23	2	Harmonisation (usage) Grammatical	
10:13	1	Grammatical Orthographic	
11:10	1	Grammatical (future indicative > aorist subjunctive) Orthographic	
*13:26b	1	Editorial Grammatical	
13:34	1	Harmonisation (Mark 4:34)	
*13:35	1	Harmonisation (Matt. 3:3)	
*14:5b	1	Harmonisation (Matt. 21:46)	
14:23	2	Harmonisation (Mark 6:45)	
*18:17	1	Editorial Grammatical	
*21:8	1	Harmonisation (Mark 11:8)	
21:38	1 + noun case	Harmonisation (Mark 12:7)	
*22:15	1	Orthographic Grammatical (aorist subjunctive > future indicative)	
*23:15b	1	Orthographic Grammatical (aorist subjunctive > future indicative)	
23:34a	1	Orthographic Harmonisation (context) Grammatical (future indicative > aorist subjunctive)	
*23:34b	1	Orthographic Harmonisation (context) Grammatical (future indicative > aorist subjunctive)	
26:59	2	Harmonisation (Mark 14:55) Editorial Grammatical	Corrected by 042 ²
26:60	1	Harmonisation (Mark 14:57)	Corrected by 042 ²

The number of total singular and family substitutions in Matthew in 042 more than doubles when the twenty-one singular readings where only 042 is extant are added. Nineteen of these additional substitutions involve only a single word. Five are

harmonisations to Gospel parallels, two of which are to Mark's Gospel. Three are orthographic variations that result in a difference between aorist subjunctive and future indicative forms.

6.1.2.4 Transpositions (5) / [6]

Codex 042 has five singular or family transpositions in the relevant sections of Matthew's Gospel. These four are 2:2, *2:22, *15:22, *17:4 and 22:46c. At *17:4, the transposition was the result of a harmonisation to Luke 9:33, and at 22:46c, the scribe originally omitted a word but added it into the margin later, slightly out of order. Three of the five transpositions are readings already present in the exemplar.

There is only one singular transposition where 042 alone is extant, a three-word transposition at 3:7.

6.1.2.5 Harmonisations (20) / [32]

Where 042 is extant along with 022 and/or 023, 042 has twenty harmonisations that are either singular to 042 or unique to the 022-023-042 group. These are 7:5, *7:11, 8:23, 13:34, *13:35, *14:5b, 14:23, *14:26, *16:3, *16:4a, *17:4, *18:16, 19:5, *21:8, *21:11, 21:38, 23:34a, *23:34b, 26:59 and 26:60. The majority of these harmonisations (13) are changes in the direction of Gospel parallels. Of those thirteen, there are two harmonisations to parallels within Matthew (*13:35 and 14:5b), seven to Markan parallels (13:34, 14:23, 19:5, *21:8, 21:38, 26:59 and 26:60) and four to parallels in Luke's Gospel (7:5, *7:11, *16:3 and *17:4). Additionally, there are five instances of harmonisation to context (*16:4a, *18:16, *21:11, 23:34a and *23:34b), though it is possible that *16:4a is a conflation.³⁵ Finally, there are two instances of harmonisation to general usage (8:23 and *14:26). Eleven harmonisations were already present in the parent manuscript of 042.

³⁵ For a discussion of this possibility, see the discussion of 16:4a at 4.1.2 and especially at 4.1.2.5.

Table 6.5: Singular and family harmonisations in 042 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Harmonisation to	Type	Other notes
7:5	Luke 6:42	Substitution (short phrase)	
*7:11	Luke 11:13	Substitution (1 word)	
8:23	general usage	Substitution (short phrase)	
13:34	Mark 4:34	Substitution (1 word)	
*13:35	Matt. 3:3	Substitution (1 word)	
*14:5b	Matt. 21:46	Substitution (1 word)	
*14:26	general usage	Addition (1 word)	
*16:3	Luke 12:56	Addition (1 word)	
*16:4a	context (16:2)	Addition (5 words)	
*17:4	Luke 9:33	Transposition (2 words)	
*18:16	context (18:15)	Addition (1 word)	
19:5	Mark 10:6	Addition (2 words)	
*21:8	Mark 11:8	Substitution (1 word)	
*21:11	context (οτι <i>recitativum</i>)	Addition (1 word)	
21:38	Mark 12:7	Substitution (1 word)	
23:34a	context	Grammatical Orthographic	
*23:34b	context	Grammatical Orthographic	
26:59	Mark 14:55	Substitution (2 words)	Corrected by 042 ²
26:60	Mark 14:57	Substitution (1 word)	Corrected by 042 ²

There are twelve additional harmonisations where only 042 is extant in Matthew's Gospel. Six are harmonisations to Gospel parallels (two to Mark, two to Luke, one to the form found in both Mark and Luke, and one that is either to context or to Luke). The other six harmonisations are all to context, though one might also be a harmonisation to general use.

6.1.2.6 Editorial Readings (5) / [9]

In 042, there are five editorial readings that are singular to 042 or unique to the 022-023-042 family. These readings are at *8:14, *13:26b, *15:31a, *18:17 and 26:59. Four are grammatical in nature, but only one can be designated a grammatical improvement (26:59). The reading at *13:26b is a reversal of the *schema atticum*, and the reading at *18:17 is a grammatical intensification. The non-grammatical editorial reading is a conflation at *15:31a, which is the addition of two words. Four of these editorial readings were present in the exemplar of 042, and the fourth was corrected in the second round of corrections.

There are an additional five editorial singular readings where 042 alone is extant. One of those five readings is designated a conflation, but it could also be a

substitution or transposition.³⁶ Two of the other four editorial readings are substitutions of alternative forms of the same word. The final singular editorial reading is a change in the case of a noun resulting in a shift in emphasis.

6.1.3 042+ and 042¹ Corrections

Codex 042 features both 042¹ and 042² corrections. Both sets of corrections are the work of the same scribe who wrote the manuscript, but he or she made the 042² corrections against a second exemplar.³⁷ The corrections discussed here are only those made against the primary exemplar (i.e. *in scribendo* or 042¹ corrections).

Table 6.6: Summary of 042+ and 042¹ corrections where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Total readings corrected		34
Insignificant readings corrected		23
	Nonsense	18
	Orthographic	4
Significant readings corrected		11
	Additions	1
	Omissions	3
	Substitutions	4
	Transpositions	1
	Harmonisations	3
	Editorial readings	0
	Editorial corrections	3

³⁶ See the discussion of 2:12 at **A5.1.2** in Appendix Five.

³⁷ See the discussion at **3.4** and in Appendix Eight.

Table 6.7: 042+ and 042¹ corrections where 022 and/or 023 are extant

Text	Uncorrected Reading	Correction	Notes (Type of error corrected)
9:21 ³⁸	εαυτη κ—	εαυτη εαν	<i>In scribendo</i>
10:9 ³⁹	κτησεθε	κτηνηθε	Orthographic (η > ε) Substitution (grammatical): aorist subjunctive > future indicative
10:19	omit	υμιν	Omission (1 word)
11:5	καθαριζονται	καθαριζονται	Strictly nonsense Orthographic (ο > ω)
11:16 ⁴⁰	τινι	την	Nonsense in context <i>In scribendo</i>
12:11a ⁴¹	εσται	omit	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 15:4)
12:20	omit	εκβαλη	Nonsense in context Omission (1 word)

³⁸ A leap forward or backward is unlikely; perhaps it was a leap back to κραπεδου in v. 20, but κ is the only letter common to both places. It is possible that the reading is a partial harmonisation to Mark 5:38, where the parallel includes καν two words later. In any case, the error was quickly noticed, and the scribe corrected the reading immediately.

³⁹ The correction is small, faint, and extremely difficult to see. A single letter makes a difference between the majority reading in 022 (η in the aorist subjunctive, κτηνηθε) and the near-singular form in the uncorrected text of 042 (ε in the future indicative, κτησεθε). The ε in 042 is not obscured, erased or marked for removal, and a small, faint η is written above the text near the ε it replaces. However, the scribe made a similar correction at 11:5 (p. 86[v], καθαριζονται > καθαριζονται. Gebhardt incorrectly records the reading of 042 as κτηνηθε here (corrected by Gribomont, in “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 193), but the discrepancy between Gebhardt and Gribomont does not defy explanation. Gebhardt occasionally reports corrected readings of 042 without reference to any uncorrected readings (one example is at 15:19), and the correction is so faint that Gribomont might have overlooked it. Soden does not mention any manuscripts with κτησεθε and Legg lists only Θ.

The scribe of 042 does have a clear tendency to change future indicatives to aorist subjunctives, but this tendency does not flow in the opposite direction. One of the rare places in which 042 has the future indicative where one would expect an aorist subjunctive is at Matt. 22:15, but there, 042 preserves a family reading from the exemplar found only elsewhere in 023. Still, the correction to the reading of 022 suggests that this reading is just an orthographic change (η > ε), probably accidental, by the scribe of 042 (see the same change at 10:13).

⁴⁰ At 11:16, the scribe leapt three words back to the beginning of v. 16, which is delimited as a unit in 042 by an enlarged, *ekthesis* of τ in τινι.

⁴¹ At 12:11, the scribe of 042 consciously deviated from the text of the exemplar, which is preserved in 022. Both manuscripts originally read τις εσται, but the scribe of 042 added deletion dots above εσται. This omission is shared by C* L ¹3. Legg reports a few additional minuscules, as well as Latin, Syriac, Coptic and Ethiopic witnesses, but versional witnesses should probably not be cited in this instance due to the fluidity with which the verb “to be” can be rendered in translation. A few manuscripts (D Θ 33 565 892 1424 1844 12211) have the present form, εστιν.

It is possible that this correction was made under the influence of a second exemplar. However, the shorter reading can be explained as a harmonisation to Luke 15:4, and the scribe of 042 has a demonstrable tendency to harmonise. Additionally, the related manuscript 043 agrees with 022; typically, corrections from a second exemplar agree with 043 against 022.

Text	Uncorrected Reading	Correction	Notes (Type of error corrected)
12:26 ⁴²	εαυτην	εαυτον	Nonsense in context
13:23a	οc δη	ο δε	Substitution (short phrase) Harmonisation (context)
13:23b ⁴³	οc δη	ο δε	Substitution (short phrase) Harmonisation (context)
13:30	κυλλαζατε	κυλλεζατε	Strictly nonsense Orthographic (ε > α)
14:5 ⁴⁴	αυτον αποκτειναι εφοβηθη αυτον αποκτειναι· επειδη	αυτον αποκτειναι εφοβηθη τον οχλον επειδη	Nonsense in Context Addition (2 words) <i>In scribendo</i>
15:3 ⁴⁵	παραδοcιν	εντολην	Substitution (1 word)
15:8 ⁴⁶	εγγιζοι	εγγιζι	Strictly nonsense <i>In scribendo</i>
15:19 ⁴⁷	πορνιαι	φονοι μοιχιαι πορνιαι	Transposition (3 words)

⁴² The antecedent of εαυτον is ο καταναc/τον καταναν, a first declension masculine noun. The scribe originally mistook the noun as feminine because of the first declension endings and wrote the feminine form of the reflexive pronoun.

⁴³ The c is only partially erased; the thickest part has been scraped off, but not completely. The lower half of the curve was originally thin and does not seem to have been scraped. Nevertheless, it is clear that the scribe intended to remove the c.

⁴⁴ It is likely that the scribe made this correction after the initial writing of the manuscript on the basis of the transferred ink on the opposite page. Had the scribe made the correction *in scribendo*, the ink would have dried and not transferred to p. 114(v). Still, it seems that the scribe noticed the correction *in scribendo*, (hence its classification as an *in scribendo* correction) because the dittography is only partial, as if the scribe marked the passage for correction (perhaps by dotting the superfluous letters) signifying to himself or herself to add the missing words in the margin later.

⁴⁵ Gribomont (“The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 194) argues that the uncorrected text, which was corrected immediately, was an “omission because of homoeot[eleuton]”. Gribomont’s suggestion that the corrected error was a leap, omitting five words and corrected *in scribendo*, is possible. However, the scribe introduced an awkward space after εντ- in order to reuse the ο of παραδοcιν in εντολην. If the correction were made *in scribendo*, the ink would have still been wet; the natural correction would be to sponge away the ink and reuse the full space, and the wet ink would have made it more difficult to leave the ο untouched. If the ink were dry, the scribe could have easily scraped around it.

⁴⁶ Gebhardt reports the reading as εγγιζει, noting that there is a correction there involving ο (“Die Evangelien des Matthaues und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” TUGAL 1 [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1883], 28), but Gribomont is correct that the reading is εγγιζοι (The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 176; it is misattributed to Matt. 15:18 in the English translation on 194). The ο has been made into ι and the first vertical of μ, and traces of the original ι are evident in that the bowl of μ is composed of two obliques that meet in the middle of the writing space and form a vertical to the bottom of the line, similar to a Roman Y. The bowl of a typical μ in 042 consists of two obliques that meet at the bottom of the line, similar to a Roman V.

⁴⁷ Gebhardt does not mention a correction here. Gribomont indicates that there is a correction, but he does not give the uncorrected text, only writing “*in ras. ut vid., litteris paulo grandioribus,*” in “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 193.

It seems that this transposition is a correction made *in scribendo* though possibly due to influence from a second exemplar or at least under the influence of a second source. That the

Text	Uncorrected Reading	Correction	Notes (Type of error corrected)
	μοιχαι φονοι		Editorial correction (to MT) <i>In scribendo</i>
15:29	εκει· κ—	εκει· [line break; ekthetic κ in και on new line]	Editorial: Unit delimitation <i>In scribendo</i>
15:31 ⁴⁸	υγειc	υγειc	Strictly nonsense
15:39 ⁴⁹	μαγδαλαν	μαγδαλα	Editorial
18:12	πλανο—	πλανωμενον	Strictly nonsense Orthographic (ο > ω) <i>In scribendo</i>
18:21a ⁵⁰	Omit	κε	Omission (1 word)
19:12 ⁵¹	[ευνου]χιc—	ευνουχιοι	<i>In scribendo</i> (imperfectly)
19:21a ⁵²	εξειο 042+ ^{vid}	εξειc 042 ^{vid}	Strictly nonsense <i>In scribendo</i>
20:16 ⁵³	εcτ—	ειciv	Nonsense in context <i>In scribendo</i>
20:28	διακονηθηναι αλλα διακονηθην—	διακονηθηναι αλλα διακονηcαι	Nonsense in context <i>In scribendo</i>
21:8	κλαδουc κλ—	κλαδουc εκ	<i>In scribendo</i>
21:15a ⁵⁴	παιζον	παιδαc τουc κραζον	Nonsense in context

change happened *in scribendo* is almost certain. The scribe wrote the first two letters of the following word, κλ[οπαι] at the end of the line before erasing the text and rewriting it. When the scribe came to the same place the second time, he or she began κλοπαι on a new line. The parchment at the new line (124[v], col. 2, l. 19) shows no signs of a correction. The corrected text is aligned with the majority text and 043.

48

See the discussion at 3.4.5.

49

Blass, Debrunner and Funk mention that, with respect to third declension accusative singular endings, that “the ending -αν (an old dialect form which gained wider currency only in the post-Christian period) for -α is sometimes found in the MSS,” *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 26 (§ 46[1]). It is possible that the correction at 15:39 was made under the influence of a second exemplar; it breaks from both 022 and 023 in favour of the majority reading shared by 043. That being said, the correction consists of the erasure of a single letter, which makes no difference in meaning to the text. Such a grammatical preference could easily be ascribed to the scribe of 042, who often acts independently of 022 and 023, with or without a second exemplar. As the change is a grammatical preference, whether it indicates the text of a second exemplar or not, it is clearly an editorial decision of the scribe, similar to the unit delimitation correction in v. 29.

50

A few other manuscripts (011* 474 and one Bohairic manuscript) also omit κε.

51

See the discussion at 6.1.1.

52

This correction is difficult. The facsimile shows a slight change in colour for the ink in the right curve of the final letter, as if the scribe originally wrote ο but corrected it by scraping off some ink, leaving c. This difficulty could equally be a problem of reproducing the written text. The letter is small, at the end of a line. Ultimately, it is unclear if the reading is εξειο, εξειc or εξειο corrected to εξειc. My judgment of this reading is based on the appearance of the facsimile; it should be taken *cum grano salis*.

53

Within the addition to v. 16 in the majority of manuscripts, the scribe began to write the singular verb εciv but corrected it to the plural.

54

The form παζον is technically sensible, though it is rare and is contextually nonsensical here.

Text	Uncorrected Reading	Correction	Notes (Type of error corrected)
			<i>In scribendo</i>
21:37a	δε προς	δε απεστειλεν προς	Omission (1 word) Nonsense in context <i>In scribendo</i>
21:37b	προς τ—	προς αυτους τον	<i>In scribendo</i>
22:1 ⁵⁵	εγω (possibly εγων)	λεγων	Nonsense in context
22:46b ⁵⁶	omit	αυτον	Omission (1 word)
24:11 ⁵⁷	ψευπροφηται	ψευδοπροφηται	Strictly nonsense
26:59b ⁵⁸	θω—	θανατωσαι	<i>In scribendo</i>
26:60 ⁵⁹	αναταντε—	αναταντων	Nonsense in context Harmonisation (Mark 14:57) <i>In scribendo</i>
27:31 ⁶⁰	αυτο	αυτω	Orthographic (ω > ο) Nonsense in context <i>In scribendo</i>

Eighteen corrections were made *in scribendo*, and sixteen were made by the scribe at some point later in the production of the manuscript. The majority of the

It would be a neuter active participle of παίζω.

⁵⁵ It is difficult to know with certainty the uncorrected text at 22:1. Gribomont thinks the scribe originally wrote εγω (“The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 194). On the other hand, Gebhardt simply describes the appearance of the manuscript at this point, noting that the λ is an interlinear addition (“λ *supra lineam additum*,” in “Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” 42. Whether the supralinear bar for ν was written originally or was added as a correction is ultimately irrelevant. Both εγω and εγων are nonsensical. No leaps or parallels explain the use of εγω in this context, so on the grounds of simplicity, I have opted for εγων as the original reading. The omission of a single letter seems to be the simplest explanation, but εγων cannot be conclusively ruled out.

⁵⁶ The omission of αυτον is also attested in minuscule 713. The resultant reading is a transposition of the reading of 023.

⁵⁷ Establishing the uncorrected reading at 24:11 is difficult. It is an obvious correction, though neither Gebhardt nor Gribomont mention it. The ο is a small, supralinear addition, and the verticals of π are abnormally long. If the scribe omitted the syllable -δο-, he or she could have reused the vertical of ρ as the second vertical of π, writing an abnormally long first vertical in order to give the letter an even shape.

⁵⁸ The *in scribendo* correction at 26:59b occurred within the uncorrected reading of 26:59a.

⁵⁹ Although the uncorrected reading is a partial harmonisation to Mark 14:57, the correction does not negate the harmonisation. Instead, it conforms the word used in the Markan parallel to the grammatical context in Matthew. I do not count this correction as a correction of a harmonisation for this reason.

⁶⁰ It is difficult to categorise the uncorrected reading at 27:31. It could be mere orthography: αυτο for αυτω. However, it could also be an unfinished, mistaken grammatical change. The verb, ἐμπαίζω, takes a dative object, according to Bauer et al., *Greek-English Lexicon*, 323. It is possible that the scribe began to write the accusative form but caught the mistake and corrected it before writing the final ν. However, the error seems more likely to be orthographic.

corrections are corrections of nonsense readings. Eighteen of the twenty-three corrections of insignificant readings correct nonsense readings, four (11:5, 13:30, 18:12 and 27:31) are orthographic and five of the corrections made *in scribendo* were corrected before the erroneous word was completed, and these are not classified beyond *in scribendo*. Three of the four insignificant orthographic corrections involve o/ω interchanges, and one corrects an ε > α reading (13:30).

Five corrections of significant readings appear to be corrections of mistakes that do not appear to be editorial or harmonising in nature. The scribe corrected the omissions at 10:19, 18:21a and 22:46b by adding the omitted word into the margin adjacent to each text, though at 22:46b the correction results in a transposition. At 10:9, the scribe made an orthographic change (η > ε) that alters the grammar of the passage, but it appears to be a simple mistake rather than an intentional alteration. A leap caused the substitution at 15:3, and the resultant reading happens to be sensible.

The scribe corrected three harmonisations among the significant readings. At 12:11a, the scribe went against the exemplar and 022 by removing a word added by influence of the parallel at Luke 15:4. Twice in 13:23, ο δε became ος δη after it appeared earlier in the verse, and the scribe corrected these two errors. There is a possible fourth harmonisation among corrections of insignificant readings, however. At 9:21, the best explanation for the text in 042 is that the scribe began writing καν from the parallel at Mark 5:28 before correcting it.

Three of the corrections are editorial in nature, and all three of them occur within close proximity (pp. 124[r]–129[r] in the manuscript). At 15:19, the scribe changed the order of a vice list to the more common order in the majority of manuscripts. The scribe decided to create a division in the text at 15:29, but the decision was made only after he or she began writing the first word in the new unit. Finally, at 15:39, the scribe changes μαγδαλαν to μαγδαλα.⁶¹

⁶¹ See the discussion at 6.1.3.

6.1.4 Conclusions about the Scribe of 042 Based on Singular/Family Readings and Corrections

Table 6.8: Comparison of singular/family readings and corrections in 042 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Type of Reading	Singular/Family Readings		Readings Corrected	
Total	48 (*23)		34	
Insignificant	15 (*4)		23	
	Nonsense	8 (*1)	18	
	Orthographic	10 (*4)	4	
Significant	33 (*19)		11	
	Additions	7 (*6)	1	
	Omissions	1 (*0)	3	
	Substitutions	20 (*10)	4	
	Transpositions	5 (*3)	1	
	Harmonisations	20 (*11)	3	
	Editorial readings	5 (*4)	0	
			Editorial Corrections	3

The following conclusions can be deduced from the singular and family readings of 042 in the section where at least one of its two siblings is extant. The scribe has a tendency to change η to ι, and the high percentage of nonsense errors that occur at the syllable level seems to indicate that the scribe copied—at least in some sense—at the syllable level. The scribe appears to be much more likely to add text than to omit, with a net gain of twelve words among the sensible additions and omissions. Transpositions and editorial readings are not unknown to the scribe, but the most common changes appear to be substitutions and harmonisations. More than half of the substitutions are harmonisations. Of harmonisations, half are substitutions, and most of the remainder are additions. However, if one includes substitutions and harmonisations in sections where only 042 is extant, the dominant tendency seems to be substitution, though many of the singular and family readings are harmonisations made by substituting text. The scribe seems to have a primary tendency to harmonise Matthew to Markan parallels and a secondary tendency to harmonise to Lukan parallels.

The pattern of corrections generally enforces the conclusions that would be drawn by the singular and family readings in 042. There are fewer corrections of additions than there are of omissions, suggesting that omissions in general could be accidental but additions could be intentional. There are no corrections of editorial readings, which is precisely what one should expect from that category. There are

more corrections of substitutions than of other significant categories. That over two-thirds of the *in scribendo* and 042¹ corrections in 042 are corrections of nonsense readings and that there are slightly more *in scribendo* corrections than 042¹ corrections suggests that the scribe of 042 was careful to produce a good copy, and that most of the changes were intentional.

6.2 Deviations from the Exemplar in 042

In this section, the real tendencies of the scribe are determined by analysing the textual changes made by the scribe in the same sections as were assessed previously. As in the chapters on 022 and 023, a rating of A through D is given, based on the certainty with which the textual change is ascribed to the scribe of 042. Ratings of D are reserved for the most hopeless of cases, in which the identification of the guilty scribe is a best guess based on meager evidence. Non-singular scribal changes are marked with a dagger (†); these readings are scribal changes that cannot be detected with the *singular readings method*.

Table 6.9: Deviations from the exemplar in 042, where 022 and/or 023 are/is extant

Total				71 (†46 non-singular)
	Insignificant		19 (†8)	
		Nonsense	8 (†1)	
		Orthographic	13 (†7)	
	Significant		52 (†38)	
		Additions	5 (†4)	
		Omissions	5 (†4)	
		Substitutions	29 (†19)	
		Transpositions	8 (†6)	
		Harmonisations	29 (†20)	
		Editorial readings	15 (†14)	

6.2.1 *Insignificant Deviations from the Exemplar in 042*

Table 6.10: Insignificant deviations from the exemplar in 042, where 022 and/or 023 are/is extant

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
†2:5 ⁶² /B	εν βηθλεεμ	εμ βηθλεεμ	Orthographic (μ > ν before labial)
8:10/A	τοσαυτιν	τοσαυτην	Orthographic (η > ι)
9:13b/A	ουσιαν	ου θουσιαν	Nonsense in context Loss of one syllable
9:31 ⁶³ /A	διεφιμησαν	διεφημικαν	Orthographic (metathesis of η and ι)
†10:28 ⁶⁴ /C	αποκτενοντων	αποκτενοντων	Orthographic (ν > νν)
†12:18 ⁶⁵ /C	ηρετια	ηρετηα	Orthographic (η > ι)
†12:34 ⁶⁶ /B	περισευνατος	περισευματος	Orthographic (μ > ν)
13:32/A	γινειται	γινεται	Orthographic (ε > ει [ι]) Strictly nonsense

⁶² Regarding shifts between ν/μ before a labial, I can make the following observations: Where certainty is possible (such as no variation or all three manuscripts being extant), the exemplar preferred μ forms (8:23, 13:10, 13:13, 18:19). In those cases, μ (not ν) is standard except for 13:10 and 13:13 (εμ παραβολαις). Therefore, it might be an idiosyncrasy of the exemplar to have εμ (as opposed to εν) before a labial. In 023, the scribe converts μ to ν twice and probably a third time (15:14). If the exemplar does have a tendency of εμ-forms, then at 2:5, 042 is correcting the exemplar and 022 retains the reading. That leaves 4 uncertain cases. Based on the preliminary assessment of 022 in Chapter Three, the scribe of 022 is less likely to correct an incorrect form. However, the scribe of 042 could either correct an incorrect form, or he or she could corrupt a correct one. If we may assume that 12:11 and 12:14 are corruptions of a correct μ-reading by the scribe of 022 and that 12:34 and 27:30 are corruptions of a correct μ-reading by the scribe of 042, then the exemplar would have contained μ-forms in all four places, and the change patterns are consistent with the types of changes expected from these scribes.

⁶³ See the discussion at 6.1.1.

⁶⁴ All three manuscripts are extant in only two of nine places where there is a difference between single and double consonants, and in those two instances one change can be confidently ascribed to 023 and one to 042. Of the remaining cases in which only two manuscripts are extant, the scribe of 042 almost always has the double form (whether or not it matches standard orthography). In two of the instances where 023 and 042 are extant (21:21b and 23:15c), the shorter form in 023 is singular. One arrives at the impression that in the case of single/double consonants, 023 is the most likely to make a change, and that change either doubles to conform to standard orthography or shortens away from it, 042 is the next most likely to make a change, and that change is usually doubling a single consonant. The scribe of 022 almost never changes single/double consonants, except in the case of 10:15 at a line break.

⁶⁵ Swanson reports L Θ 33 788 1346 1424 as agreeing with 022, having ηρετηα. The form is otherwise unattested. Given the noticeable tendency of the scribe of 042 to make ι > η and η > ι changes, it seems slightly more likely that the exemplar contained the variant form ηρετηα.

⁶⁶ The exemplar probably had περισευματος. From the facsimile, it appears that ν in 042 was written in four strokes (↓ ↘ ↓), not three (↓ ↘ ↓). The thickness of the oblique changes halfway through. It seems that the scribe began to copy μ for the first two strokes, but instead of writing the upward oblique, he or she decided to complete the letter as ν.

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
†13:52 ⁶⁷ /A	οcti	οctic	Strictly nonsense
†13:54 ⁶⁸ /C	πληρεcθαι	πληccεcθαι	Orthographic (cc > c)
†18:6 ⁶⁹ /A	θαλαcηc	θαλαccηc	Orthographic (cc > c)
19:12 ⁷⁰ /A	ευνουχοι	ευνουχοι	Nonsense in context
19:23a/A	πλουcιο	πλουccιοc	Strictly nonsense
21:2b/A	δεδεμενιν	δεδεμενην	Orthographic (η > ι)
22:46a ⁷¹ /A	ηδυνατω	ηδυνατο	Strictly nonsense Orthographic (ο > ω)
23:3/A	εργαγα	εργα	Strictly nonsense
23:15a ⁷² /A	περιαγε	περιαγετε	Nonsense in context Omission of one syllable
23:23/B	ανιθον	ανηθον	Orthographic (η > ι)
†27:30 ⁷³ /B	εμπτυcαντεc	εμπτυccαντεc	Orthographic (μ > ν before a labial)

6.2.1.1 Nonsense Readings (8)

There are eight uncorrected nonsense readings introduced by the scribe of 042, and one of them is the result of a correction. At 19:12, a scribal leap would have resulted in ευνουχοι > ευνουχιαν, but the scribe partially corrected the leap *in scribendo* resulting in the strictly nonsense form ευνουχοι.⁷⁴ The loss of a final c resulted in strictly nonsense forms at †13:52 and at 19:23a. The loss (9:13b and 23:15a) or gain (23:3) of a single syllable accounts for nonsense forms. The final two nonsense readings are the result of orthographic changes, ε > ει at 13:32 and ο > ω at 22:46a. Only the reading at †13:52 is non-singular, and it is only attested by a single manuscript among the editions consulted.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ The reading of 042 at 13:52 is very nearly singular; only Swanson records 565 as having οcti before it was corrected. Additionally, it is a nonsensical corruption of οctic.

⁶⁸ See the discussion of †10:28 at 6.2.1.

⁶⁹ See the discussion of †10:28 at 6.2.1.

⁷⁰ See the discussion at 6.1.3.

⁷¹ The changes at 22:46a–b are both the result of a single action. The scribe leapt across a line break on p. 180(v) (ηδυνατω | αυτω), omitting –το αυ– and writing the following word, αποκριθηνα. However, he or she realised the mistake and corrected it *in scribendo* by adding αυτω out of place, but did not correct the orthographic shift of ο > ω in ηδυνατ(ο).

⁷² This change results in a singular verb with a plural subject.

⁷³ See the discussion of †2:5 at 6.2.1.

⁷⁴ It is reasonable to assume that a reader would have been able to make sense of the form ευνουχοι, especially from the context. However, the form itself is unknown anywhere else; the diminutive plural form would be either ευνουχια or perhaps ευνουχικκοι, but not ευνουχοι. Therefore, although it would probably be understandable to a reader, ευνουχοι is considered a strictly nonsense form here.

⁷⁵ See the discussion at 6.2.1.

6.2.1.2 Insignificant Orthographic Readings (13)

The thirteen insignificant orthographic readings of 042 can be arranged into four groups: changes involving η and ι, changes involving doubled letters, changes from μ to ν, and nonsense errors.⁷⁶ In five places, the scribe has orthographic changes involving η and ι with a clear preference for ι. Four of these changes are η > ι, 8:10, 12:18, 21:2b and 23:23. The fifth change is a metathesis, in which διεφημικαν becomes διεφιμηκαν at 9:31. Three changes involve doubled letters: ν becomes νν at †10:28, and cc becomes c at †13:54 and at †18:6. The scribe changed μ to ν three times, once at †12:34, and twice before labials at †2:5 and at †27:30. More than half of these changes occur coincidentally in other manuscripts. All three instances of μ > ν and all three changes involving doubled letters have manuscript attestation outside the 022-023-042 family, as well as the η > ι shift at †12:18. However, none of the other four η/ι interchanges is attested elsewhere.

⁷⁶ I discuss the nonsense readings at 6.2.1.1; they do not form any patterns, unlike the other three groups.

6.2.2 Significant Deviations from the Exemplar in 042

Table 6.11: Significant changes to the exemplar in 042 where 022 and/or 023 are/is extant

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
†2:1 ⁷⁷ /C	ιη̄μ	ιη̄λμ	Editorial: change to a better-known form Editorial: <i>nomen sacrum</i>
2:2 ⁷⁸ /C	τον ατερα αυτου	αυτου τον ατερα	Transposition (3 words)
†3:1 ⁷⁹ /B	Εν δε ταις	Εν ταις	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (Luke 3:1)
7:5 ⁸⁰ /C	το εν τω	εκ του	Substitution (short phrase)

⁷⁷ A.H.R.E. Paap lists a single manuscript as having this form, the Freer Codex of the Minor Prophets, in *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.: The Sources and Some Deductions*, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 15. However, Alan Mugridge reports the reading in the Freer Minor Prophets as ιη̄λημ (*Copying Early Christian Texts: A Study of Scribal Practice*, WUNT 362 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016], 130). The facsimile published by H.A. Sanders shows Mugridge to be correct (*Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis* [Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1927]). Ludwig Traube, however, reports that Codex Sinaiticus and a few other manuscripts (including 022) have the form ιη̄λμ, but he thinks this form always occurs as a corruption of some other form, in *Nomina sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 2 (Munich: Beck, 1907), 110.

Certainty is impossible in this situation, but I am inclined to attribute the change to the scribe of 042. Granted, the scribe of 022 is more likely to change a *nomen sacrum*, but the changes in 022 are, with this possible exception, always a choice between a *plene* or an abbreviated form. Additionally, the scribe of 042 tends to copy closer to the level of syllables and letters than the scribe of 022, and is thus more likely to copy a strange reading from the exemplar. The scribe of 042 was willing to change a *nomen sacrum* by one letter at Matt. 20:31b, and the editorial tendency is consistent with the action of omitting one letter to change from the slightly nonsensical and rare form ιη̄λμ in the exemplar to a sensible and better known form, ιη̄μ.

⁷⁸ See the discussion at 6.1.2. It is difficult to determine which scribe made the change here. That the reading is singular makes it slightly more likely that the scribe of 042 transposed the text. It would be slightly out of character for the scribe of 022 to conform the text to a better-known reading, but it would not be impossible. There were transpositions already in the exemplar at 2:22 15:22 and 17:4. Still, one would expect 022 to preserve a rare exemplaric reading and 042 to have a better-known reading at any given point of divergence. Because the opposite is the case here, I have cautiously ascribed the change to the scribe of 042.

⁷⁹ Soden attributes the addition of δε to harmonisation to Luke 3:1/Acts 6:1. Luke 3:1 has the corresponding section according to the standardised Eusebian apparatus. The scribe of 042 occasionally adds and frequently harmonises, but the scribe of 022 is generally conservative with regard to additions and omissions. Additionally, the scribe of 022 began Matt. 3:1 after a recto/verse page turn on St. Petersburg f. 45, so he or she would have had a chance to pause and rest before starting fresh, reducing the likelihood of accidental omission.

⁸⁰ It is more difficult to be certain about the change at 7:5. The singular reading in 042 is a harmonisation to Luke, and although the scribe harmonised to Luke at 3:1, the exemplar already contained some Lukan harmonisations. It is possible that the scribe of 022 conformed this reading to a better-known text, but given that the scribe of 042 was indeed prone to harmonise, the proposal offered here seems slightly more likely.

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
	οφθαλμω	οφθαλμου	Harmonisation (Luke 6:42)
†8:1 ⁸¹ /C	Καταβαντι δε αυτω	καταβαντος δε αυτου	Substitution (grammatical): genitive absolute > dative absolute Editorial: conform to well-known reading
†8:2 ⁸² /B	θειης	θειαις	Orthographic (ει > η) Substitution (grammatical): present indicative > present subjunctive Editorial: conform to well-known reading
†8:20b ⁸³ /C	κλινη	κλιναι	Orthographic (αι > η)

⁸¹ The reading in 042 is the majority reading, and Migne reports that John Chrysostom used the dative reading here as well, in J.-P. Migne, ed., *John Chrysostom: Homiliae in Matthaem*, PG 57 (Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1862), 328. Gribomont notes the difference between 022 and 042 but thinks 042 preserves the reading of the exemplar because it is “more in keeping with grammar,” in “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 198. On the “dative absolute,” which is a temporal dative participial construction, the subject of which is also denoted by the dative, see Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. 3: Syntax* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), 243.

The NA²⁸ has a dative absolute at Matt. 8:23, 9:27 and 9:28. 022 and 042 are in agreement at 9:27–28, and at 8:23, 042 has a singular harmonisation, changing the dative absolute of the exemplar to a genitive absolute as is in the parallel passage at Mark 5:18. The best explanation here is that 8:1 is one of the places where the exemplar of 022-023-042 preserved an early reading. The scribe of 022 preserved this reading, but the scribe of 042 changed it in favour of a more popular reading.

⁸² A conclusion with certainty cannot be reached at 8:2, but it seems that the exemplar had the rare reading, the present indicative *θειαις* (with, according to Legg, 253 1241 147 150 1183), and the scribe of 042 changed it to the majority reading, the present subjunctive *θειης*.

This solution would mean that the scribe of 042 made an orthographic shift of *ει > η*, shifted from the indicative to the subjunctive and altered the text in support of a more widely known reading, all of which are well within the bounds of 042’s proclivities. Additionally, the reading in 022 is not nonsensical; *εάν* can take indicative forms—including the present, as it does in 8:2 in 022—despite its usual use with the subjunctive, according to Bauer et al., *Greek-English Lexicon*, 267. If the reading in 022 were nonsensical, that might tip the balance of probability, but because it is not, it seems most likely that the scribe of 042 changed the text from *θειαις* in the exemplar to *θειης*.

⁸³ At 8:20b, 022 has *κλιναι*, the aorist infinitive, which is a minority reading found only in a few later manuscripts (Γ 118 209 157 238 243 248 1184, according to Legg), but 042 has the majority reading, the subjunctive *κλινη*. The parallel passage is Luke 9:58, where the majority of manuscripts also have *κλινη*, and *κλιναι* is a minority variant. Only a single word of Luke 9:58 is extant in 022—*κλιναι* (St. Petersburg f. 62r), suggesting that the reading in 042 is not a harmonisation to Luke 9:58. There are five instances in Matthew’s Gospel where 022 and 042 are extant and one of them made a change between *η* and *αι/ε* (8:20, 10:9, 10:13, 23:34a and 24:8b); of those five, two (10:13 and 23:34a) can be confidently attributed to the scribe of 042.

The reading in 022 at Matt. 8:20 could be a harmonisation to Luke 9:58, but some harmonisations to Luke were already present in the exemplar. Because there is no solid evidence of the scribe of 022 changing from *η* to *αι/ε*, but there is evidence of such changes in 042, it is probable that 022 preserves the reading of the exemplar here, and the scribe of 042 brought the text into conformity with the majority of manuscripts. Of the two scribes, the scribe of 042 is also more likely to make a grammatical change to the text.

Cf. Gribomont, who thinks 042 preserves the reading of the exemplar, in “The Rossano

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
			Substitution (grammatical): aorist infinitive > aorist subjunctive Editorial: conform to well-known reading
8:23 ⁸⁴ /B	εμβαινοντος αυτου	εμβαντι αυτω	Substitution (grammatical): dative absolute > genitive absolute Harmonisation (usage)
†8:32 ⁸⁵ /B	κατα του κρημνου	κατα κρημνου	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 5:13) Editorial: conform to well-known reading
†9:9 ⁸⁶ /B	ο ιϑ εκειθεν	εκειθεν ο ιϑ	Transposition (3 words) Editorial: conform to well-known reading
†9:13a ⁸⁷ /B	ελεον	ελεος	Substitution (grammatical): neuter

Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 198. Ironically, it is Gribomont himself who asserts one page earlier (197), “The reading of the model [i.e. the exemplar of 022-023-42] is not necessarily that [reading] common to many manuscripts; on the contrary, it is likely that a rare reading of the model was replaced by a banal reading, with which the scribe was acquainted.”

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See the discussion at 6.1.2.

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Although the reading of 022 is singular, it was probably the reading in the exemplar (cf. Gribomont, “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 198). The scribe of 022 is reluctant to add or to omit text, but the scribe of 042 is willing to do so, most often as a result of harmonisation. This change could be a harmonisation to Mark 5:13 or a change to bring the text into conformity to a better-known reading, both of which are possible from the scribe of 042. The scribe of 022 is not only less likely to omit *του*, he or she has significantly less reason to do so.

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Gribomont thinks that 022 preserves the reading of the exemplar, in “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 198. Although it is impossible to have certainty in this case, I am inclined to accept Gribomont’s conclusion. The reading in 022 is shared only by D Θ ¹³ 565 Eus according to the NA²⁸, as well as 543 330 *I*251 according to Legg. On the other hand, the reading of 042 is the reading of the NA²⁸ and the majority of manuscripts, including 043. It is more likely that the scribe of 042 brought the text into conformity with the majority of manuscripts than that the scribe of 022 harmonised the text to Matt. 15:21,29, resulting in a rare reading at 9:9. Additionally, the way in which the scribe of 022 wrote ιϑ in gold letters also supports this conclusion. The scribe leaves a space for the gold letters, which would be at the beginning of the reading if the exemplar had the word order in 042. If the scribe made a conscious decision to leave a space for ιϑ when he or she came to the beginning of the three words, it is unlikely that he or she would have altered that word order.

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The situation at 9:13a is almost identical to that of 12:7; almost certainly, the scribe who changed one also changed the other. Within the quote from Hosea 6:6, 022 has the neuter form ελεος and 042 has the masculine form, ελεον. The reading of 042 is in the majority of manuscripts as well as in manuscripts of the Lucianic recension of Hosea (*L*¹-407-613 239), according to Joseph Zeigler, in *Duodecim prophetae*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943), 160. The scribe of 042 almost certainly had a Lucianic Psalter available, but what kind of text of the Twelve Prophets was available is not as clear (see Elijah Hixson, “Forty Excerpts from the Greek Old Testament in Codex Rossanensis,” *JTS* 67 (2016): 507–541.). According to Pierre Batiffol, in *Les manuscrits grecs de Bérat D’Albanie: et le Codex Purpureus Φ*, Extrait des archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886), 043 has ελεος at 9:13a and ελεον at 12:7. The reading at 9:13a can be verified by images of 043, but with difficulty. The relevant text is on the inside of two pages stuck together, but by reversing the image and looking at show-through, the reading is clearly

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
			> masculine form Editorial: conform to well-known reading
†9:18 ⁸⁸ /A	χειρα	χειρα σου	Omission (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 5:23)
†9:24/A	ελεγεν	λεγει	Substitution (grammatical): Harmonisation (Mark 5:39)
†9:27 ⁸⁹ /A	ῑ ῡε δ̄αδ̄	κε ῡε δ̄αδ̄	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 10:47)
10:5 ⁹⁰ /B	omit αυτοις	παραγγειλας αυτοις λεγων	Omission (1 word)
†10:10 ⁹¹ /B	μητε	μηδε	Orthographic (δ > τ) Harmonisation (context)
10:13 ⁹² /B	επιστραφετω	επιστραφητω	Orthographic (η > ε) Substitution (grammatical): aorist passive imperative > present active imperative
†10:14 ⁹³ /A	οσοι αν μη	οσ αν μη	Substitution (grammatical):

ελεοc. At 12:7, the image is unclear, but ελεον is probably correct. Although 022 is not extant at 23:23, 023, 042 and 043 all have ελεον there.

It is difficult to provide a sufficient reason why the scribe of 022 would change the reading in the majority of manuscripts to ελεοc. The scribe of 042, on the other hand, does occasionally alter the text to a reading found in the majority of manuscripts, and the correction in 042 at Matt. 15:39 (μαγαλαν > μαγαλα) is one clear example of the scribe changing the ending of a noun because of a grammatical preference. Consequently, the best explanation at both 9:13a and 12:7 is that the scribe of 042 changed the text to ελεον, a better-known reading.

⁸⁸ Although the shorter reading is not a majority reading, the following witnesses lack σου (or the equivalent): 71 692 1012 *a b c l q* *vg.*, according to Legg.

⁸⁹ H.S. Cronin thinks that the scribe of 022 changed the text at 9:27, in *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus: The Text of Codex N of the Gospels Edited with an Introduction and an Appendix*, TS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), xlvii. According to Cronin, the scribe's practice of writing some *nomina sacra* in gold afforded opportunity for error. However, the letters κευε (κ[υρι]ε υ[τι]ε) are not abnormally cramped, as one might expect them to be if the scribe left room to write ιυεε (ι[ησο]υ υ[τι]ε), because ι is much more narrow than κ. Additionally, the tendency of the scribe of 042 to harmonise to Markan parallels shifts the probability of change even more to the scribe of 042. This change is not an exact harmonisation; the scribe simply substituted the reading at Mark 10:47 (Jesus' name) into the word order of Matt. 9:27. Legg reports that the reading is shared only by 21 399 1293.

⁹⁰ See the discussion at 6.1.2.

⁹¹ Matt. 10:10 is certainly a harmonisation to context, but did the scribe of 022 look back to μηδε three words earlier, or did the scribe of 042 look forward to μητε three words ahead. Materially, 022 has more excuse for error here. μηδε is divided across a recto/verso page turn on St. Petersburg f. 23, but in 042, μητε begins a new line in the first column on p. 79(r). However, where all three manuscripts are extant, 042 has four harmonisations to context in the uncorrected text (corrected at 13:23a–b, and uncorrected at 18:21 and 23:34a). The scribe of 022, in the same verses, never harmonised the text to the immediate context in the same passages. The more likely explanation, therefore, is that the scribe of 042 harmonised forward to μητε later in Matt. 10:10.

⁹² See the discussion at 6.1.2.

⁹³ It is difficult to decide whether the three changes at 10:14 should be considered a single

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
	δεξονται υμας μηδε ακουσωσιν	δεξεται υμας μηδε ακουση	singular > plural forms Harmonisation (Mark 6:11)
11:10/A	κατασκευαση	κατασκευασ(ε) ι	Orthographic (ει [ι] > η) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive
†12:7 ⁹⁴ /B	ελεον	ελεος	Substitution (grammatical): neuter > masculine form Editorial: conform to well-known reading
*12:29/B	διαρπαση	διαρπασει	Orthographic ([ε]ι > η) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive
†13:20/A	ευθεωσ	ευθυσ	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 4:16)
13:34 ⁹⁵ /B	χωρις δε	και χωρις	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 4:34)
†13:41 ⁹⁶ /C	αποτελλει	αποτελει	Orthographic (λ > λλ) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > present indicative
†13:48 ⁹⁷ /B	αγγια	αγγη	Editorial: conform to well-known reading Substitution (grammatical: change to diminutive form)
†14:1 ⁹⁸ /B	τετραρχησ	τεταρχης	Editorial: correcting an error in the exemplar

change. All three readings bring 10:14 in 042 into harmony with Mark 6:11, with one slight difference. Matt. 10:14 in 042 begins with και οσοι αν, but in Mark 6:11, both 022 and 042 begin with και οσοι εαν. Soden takes the change to be a harmonisation to Luke 9:5, but the wording of 042 in Matt. 10:14 is adjusted to the exact wording of Mark 6:11, not to that of Luke 9:5. Soden and Legg both treat all three changed words as a single variation unit—rare, but shared by L b c g¹ h (k) and the Ethiopic, according to Legg.

⁹⁴ See the discussion of 9:13a at **6.2.2**.

⁹⁵ See the discussion at **6.1.2**.

⁹⁶ See the discussion of †10:28 at **6.2.1**. The duplication of λ shifts the verb from the future indicative to the present indicative, but this shift does not result in a nonsensical reading. On the futuristic use of the present, see *BDF*, § 323 (p. 168), especially §323.1, on the futuristic use of the present in prophecies.

⁹⁷ At Matt. 13:48, 022 has the form αγγη with the NA²⁸, and 042 has the diminutive form αγγ(ε)ια. If the exemplar had αγγη, then the shift would be in 042 from a rare reading to the majority reading, which is within the realm of possibility. If the exemplar had αγγ(ε)ια, then the scribe of 022 would have shifted to a rare reading. One explanation would be in light of the context, which seems to require a large container—the net was thrown into the sea and gathered fish of every kind (v. 47). This type of thoughtful change would be out of character for the scribe of 022. The best solution, consequently, is that the scribe of 042 changed αγγη in the exemplar to αγγια. On this variant, see G.D. Kilpatrick, “Style and Text in the Greek New Testament,” in *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G.D. Kilpatrick*, ed. J.K. Elliott, BETL 96 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 57.

⁹⁸ See the discussion at **1.4**.

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
†14:14/B	οχλον πολυν	πολυν οχλον	Transposition (2 words) Harmonisation (Mark 4:1)
14:23/A	τον οχλον	τους οχλους	Substitution (short phrase) Harmonisation (Mark 6:45)
†15:19 ⁹⁹	πορνιαι μοιχιαι φονοι	φονοι μοιχιαι πορνιαι	Transposition, 3-word Editorial: Conform to well-known reading <i>In scribendo</i> correction
†15:39 ¹⁰⁰ /A	μαγδαλα	μαγδαλαν	Editorial: Grammatical improvement Substitution (grammatical) First-hand correction
†16:10 ¹⁰¹ /B	εις τους τετρακιχειλιο υς	αρτους των τετρακιχειλι(ε) γιων	Substitution (short phrase) Harmonisation (Mark 8:20)
†16:12 ¹⁰² /C	αλλα απο	αλλ απο	Substitution: αλλ > αλλα Addition of one syllable
†18:21b/A	αμαρτηνη	αμαρτησει	Orthographic ([ε]ι > η) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive Harmonisation (context: 18:15)
19:4/B	εποιησεν αυτους ο θς	εποιησεν αυτους	Addition (2 words) Harmonisation (Mark 10:6)
†19:23c ¹⁰³ /B	εις την βασιλειαν των ουρανων εισελευσεται	εισελευσεται εις την βασιλειαν των ουρανων	Transposition (6 words) Harmonisation (Mark 10:24)
†20:7/B	αμπελωνα μου	αμπελωνα	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (context: 20:4)
†20:13 ¹⁰⁴ /A	συνεφωνησα σοι	συνεφωνησας μοι	Substitution (short phrase) Substitution (grammatical): change in person Harmonisation (context: 20:2)
†20:31b ¹⁰⁵ /A	υιε	υε	Editorial: <i>nomen sacrum</i>

⁹⁹ See the discussion at 6.1.3.

¹⁰⁰ See the discussion at 6.1.3.

¹⁰¹ The change at 16:10 is classified as a substitution (short phrase), rather than as both an addition and an omission, despite that because neither word is a substitute for the other. The scribe omitted the noun, αρτους but added the preposition, εις. Still, the change as a whole is a harmonisation that substitutes the text in Mark in place of the text of Matthew of the exemplar.

¹⁰² Identifying the scribe who changed the text at 16:12 is difficult, but the best solution names the scribe of 042. The reading occurs at the end of the last line on column 1 of p. 131(r), and without απο immediately following the elided αλλ, it is natural to restore the final α. Additionally, both 023 and 042 have αλλ εποιησαν at 17:12 (022 is not extant there). On elision, see *BDF*, §17 (p. 11).

¹⁰³ Legg reports only 245 and 1012 as sharing the reading of 042.

¹⁰⁴ See the discussion at 3.4.5.

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
†21:13a/A	γεγραπται οτι	γεγραπται	Addition (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 11:17)
†21:13b/A	αυτον εποιησατε	εποιησατε αυτον	Transposition (2 words) Harmonisation (Mark 11:17)
21:38/B	προς εαυτους	εν εαυτοις	Substitution (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 12:7)
†22:4 ¹⁰⁶ /C	παλιν απεστειλεν	παλιν δε απεστειλεν	Omission (1 word) Editorial: conform to well-known reading
†22:21 ¹⁰⁷ /C	καισαρος καισαρι	καισαρος τω καισαρι	Omission (1 word) Harmonisation (Mark 12:17)
†22:46b/A	αποκριθηναι αυτω	αυτω αποκριθηναι	Transposition, 2-word
22:46c/A	επερωτησαι ουκετι αυτον	επερωτησαι αυτον ουκετι	Transposition, 2-word Correction of an omission of one word
†23:9 ¹⁰⁸ /D	υμων ο π̄ηρ	ο π̄ηρ υμων	Transposition, 3-word
23:34a/C	σταυρωσητε	σταυρωσετε	Orthographic (ε > η) Harmonisation (context) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive
†24:8a ¹⁰⁹ /C	ταυτα παντα	ταυτα δε παντα	Omission, 1-word Harmonisation (usage)
†24:8b/B	αρχαι	αρχη	Harmonisation (Mark 13:8) Substitution (grammatical): singular > plural form
†24:9 ¹¹⁰ /C	παραδωσωσιν	παραδωσουσιν	Orthographic (ου > ω)

¹⁰⁵ This change is possibly accidental, given that the difference consists of a single ι.

¹⁰⁶ See the discussion at 2.4.4.

¹⁰⁷ It is difficult to decide whether the scribe of 023 added τω, harmonising to the immediate context, or the scribe of 042 omitted τω, harmonising to Mark 12:17. The latter solution is slightly more likely, given the tendency of 042 to have readings in Matthew harmonised to Markan parallels and the absence of a strong tendency in 023 to add or omit words as part of contextual harmonisations.

¹⁰⁸ The reasons for ascribing the change at 23:9 to the scribe of 042 are similar to those given for the change ascribed to 042 at 2:2. The scribe of 023 seems less likely to change the text than the scribe of 042, and because 042 preserves a minority reading (though it is the reading of NA²⁸), I have cautiously ascribed this change to the scribe of 042. According to Legg, 01 B U 0138 33 892 1375 and I48 also have this rare word order.

¹⁰⁹ In general, the scribe of 042 seems slightly more likely to have omitted a word than the scribe of 023 was likely to add one, but certainty is by no means possible in this instance. According to the Robinson-Pierpont (2005) Majority Text, the phrase ταυτα παντα appears 14 times in the New Testament (including 7 times in Matthew/Mark: Matt. 4:9, 6:33, 13:34, 13:51, 13:56, 24:33 and Mark 10:20), but the phrase ταυτα δε παντα appears only once at 1 Cor. 10:11. An omission due to harmonisation to usage would be consistent with what can be known more confidently about the scribe of 042.

¹¹⁰ According to Swanson, only W shares this reading in 042. However, both 042 and 023 have παραδωσωσιν at 24:10. It seems more likely that the reading in 042 at 24:9 is a harmonisation to context (24:10) than the alternate possibility—that the reading in 023 at 24:9 is an editorial change intended to bring the text into conformity with a better-known reading, but the scribe

Text / Certainty	Reading	Exemplar	Notes
			Harmonisation (context: v. 10) Substitution (grammatical): future indicative > aorist subjunctive.
26:59 ¹¹¹ /A	ωστε αυτον θ— (042 ⁺) ωστε αυτον θανατωσαι (042*) οπως αυτον θανατωσωσιν (042 ²)	οπως αυτον θανατωσωσιν	Substitution, 2 words Substitution (grammatical): Future indicative > aorist infinitive Harmonisation (Mark 14:55) Editorial: grammatical improvement Corrected by 042 ²
26:60 ¹¹² /A	ανακταντων	προσελθοντων	Substitution, 1-word Harmonisation (Mark 14:57) Corrected by 042 ²

6.2.2.1 Additions (5)

In the relevant sections of 042, the scribe added to the text five times. Only once did the scribe add more than a single word—the two-word addition at 19:4. Each of the five additions is the result of a harmonisation. The scribe added one word from Luke at †3:1, and at †20:7, the scribe added one word from context. The remaining three additions are harmonisations to Markan parallels (to Mark 5:13 at †8:32, to Mark 10:6 at 19:4 and to Mark 11:17 at †21:13a). Only the two-word

failed to make the same change at 24:10.

¹¹¹ The text of 26:59–60 is one of the most difficult passages so analyse in 042 due to multiple levels of correction at work. The root change is a grammatical substitution harmonising the future indicative verb (θανατωσωσιν) to the infinitive form in Mark 14:55 (εις το θανατωσαι αυτον). Rather than change the whole phrase, the scribe changed οπως—suitable for the future indicative (see *BDF*, §369 [pp. 186–8])—to ωστε, which is more appropriate for an infinitive of purpose (see *BDF*, §390 [pp. 197]). The reading in 042 is singular, but according to Legg, 1184 does contain a near-parallel: ωστε θανατωσαι αυτον.

¹¹² The reading at 26:60 is difficult. In the space of two verses, there is evidence of three correcting activities: corrections made *in scribendo*, later corrections by the same scribe and corrections against a second exemplar. Gebhardt does not offer a proposal for the original reading, in “Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,” lii, 54. Gribomont is incorrect as well. He reports both 022* and 042* agreeing with the reading πολλων προσελθοντων ψευδομαρτυριων, in “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” 195. Both 022 and 042* clearly have the word order πολλων ψευδομαρτυριων.

The explanation that fits best both with the extant traces beneath the corrected text and with the tendency of 042 to harmonise to Markan parallels is as follows: The scribe harmonised the text to Mark 14:59; where instead of approaching (προσελθοντων), the false witnesses arise (ανακταντες). The grammar of the participle is different in Mark, however, and the scribe originally copied the exact form as it appears in Mark though the Markan nominative is nonsensical in Matthew 26:60. The scribe corrected the grammar *in scribendo* to fit in the Matthean passage (ανακταντες > ανακταντων). Later, the scribe changed his or her mind about the passage, correcting it again against a second exemplar, but leaving signs of an internal struggle (ανακταντων > προσελθοντων ου ηυρον, with the ν written as a supralinear bar in the middle of the line, and ου as opposed to ουκ or ουχ).

addition at 19:4 is unique to 042; the other additions are attested elsewhere in the Greek manuscript tradition.

6.2.2.2 Omissions (5)

The scribe made five omissions in 042 where at least one of its sibling manuscripts is extant in Matthew. Each time, only a single word was omitted. Three of the omissions result from harmonisations (to Mark 5:23 at †9:18, to Mark 12:17 at †22:21 and to general usage at †24:8a). One omission is an editorial change, in which the scribe conformed the text to a better-known reading (†22:4). The omission at 10:5 appears to be accidental; it is the only one of the five omissions that is unique to 042.

6.2.2.3 Substitutions (29)

There are twenty-nine substitutions in the relevant sections of 042. Just over half (sixteen) are harmonisations. Eleven substitutions are harmonisations to Markan parallels, and one substitution (7:5) is a harmonisation to Luke 6:42. Of the remaining four, one is a harmonisation to general usage (8:23), and three are harmonisations to context (†20:12, 23:34a and †24:9). Nine of the substitutions are grammatical in nature. Two substitutions (†15:39 and 26:59) are grammatical improvements, and six (†8:1, †8:2, †8:20, †9:13a, †12:7 and †13:48) are instances in which the scribe conformed the text to better-known readings. The scribe seems to prefer the subjunctive. In six places (11:10, †12:29, †18:21b, 23:34a, †24:9 and 26:59), the scribe changes a future indicative to an aorist subjunctive, once (†8:2), the scribe changes a present indicative to a present subjunctive, and once (†8:20), the scribe changes an aorist infinitive to an aorist subjunctive. Eighteen of the readings are non-singular, but there is no observable pattern among them, nor is there any pattern to the singular substitutions in 042.

6.2.2.4 Transpositions (8)

The scribe transposed text eight times in the relevant section of Matthew. These eight transpositions can be subdivided by length and by type. There are four transpositions affecting only two words (†14:14, †21:13b, †22:46b and 22:46c). Three times, the scribe transposed three words (2:2, 15:19 and †23:9), and there is one transposition affecting six words at †19:23c. By type, three of the transpositions are harmonisations of Matthew's Gospel to the word order in Mark (†14:14, †19:23c and †21:13b). One reading is an editorial change in which the scribe conformed the text to a more well-known reading (15:19). The transposition at †22:46c is the result

of a first-hand correction of an omitted word, which was added into the margin after the word that normally follows it. The other three transpositions do not have a clear explanation; perhaps they are accidental. The transposition at 2:2 and the correction at 22:46c that resulted in a transposition are both singular to 042; all other transpositions occur in other Greek manuscripts.

6.2.2.5 Harmonisations (29)

The scribe of 042 harmonised the text of Matthew in twenty-nine places, where at least one of its siblings is extant. Almost two-thirds of these textual changes are instances in which the scribe conformed the text of Matthew to Markan parallels. This type of change occurs nineteen times. The harmonisations to Markan parallels are diverse in type, indicating that harmonisation was the scribe's primary vice.¹¹³

Table 6.12: Harmonisations to Markan parallels in 042 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Parallel	Type
†8:32	Mark 5:13	Addition (1 word) Editorial: conform to well-known reading
†9:18	Mark 5:23	Omission (1 word)
†9:24	Mark 5:39	Substitution (grammatical)
†9:27	Mark 10:47	Substitution (1 word)
†10:14	Mark 6:11	Substitution (grammatical)
†13:20	Mark 4:16	Substitution (1 word)
13:34	Mark 4:34	Substitution (1 word)
†14:14	Mark 4:1	Transposition (2 words)
14:23	Mark 6:45	Substitution (short phrase)
†16:10	Mark 8:20	Substitution (short phrase)
19:4	Mark 10:6	Addition (2 words)
†19:23b	Mark 10:24	Transposition (6 words)
†21:13a	Mark 11:17	Addition (1 word)
†21:13b	Mark 11:17	Transposition (2 words)
21:38	Mark 12:7	Substitution (1 word)
†22:21	Mark 12:17	Omission (1 word)
†24:8b	Mark 13:8	Substitution (grammatical)
26:59	Mark 14:55	Substitution (grammatical) Substitution (2 separate words) Editorial: grammatical improvement
26:20	Mark 14:57	Substitution (1 word)

¹¹³ This is to say that, although there are the same number of substitutions in the same sections, the act of harmonising was logically prior to the act of substitution in the mind of the scribe. Readings that are classified as both harmonisations and substitutions are more properly harmonisations *that happen to be substitutions*.

The remaining ten harmonisations are as follows. In six places, the scribe harmonised to context (†10:10, †18:21b, †20:7, †20:13, 23:34a and †24:9). Twice, the scribe harmonised to Lukan parallels, at †3:1 and 7:5. Finally, the scribe harmonised to general usage at 8:23 and †24:8a. Nine harmonisations are unique to the scribe: six of the harmonisations to Markan parallels and one from each other category. The other twenty harmonisations are attested in other, non-related Greek manuscripts.

6.2.2.6 Editorial Readings (15)

There are fifteen editorial changes in the relevant sections of 042. The majority of these changes, eleven in total, are instances in which the scribe conformed the text to a better-known reading. These eleven changes occur at †2:1, †8:1, †8:2, †8:20b, †8:32, †9:9, †9:13a, †12:7, †13:48, †15:19 and †22:4. In two places, the scribe makes grammatical improvements: †15:39 (a first-hand correction) and 26:59. At †20:31b, the scribe writes a *nomen sacrum* in full. Finally, scribe corrects an error in the exemplar at †14:1. Only one of these fifteen editorial readings is singular to the scribe of 042, the grammatical improvement at 26:59, which is the scribe's way of fitting the Markan parallel (Mark 14:55) into the context of Matthew.

6.2.3 **Conclusions about the Scribe of 042**

The scribe of 042 seems to be an editor of the text in two respects. In eleven places, the scribe changes the text to reflect a better-known reading, but he or she was also willing to make a number of more invasive changes to the text, including nine harmonisations that are unique to 042. Two distinguishing characteristics of this scribe are apparent—the scribe has a tendency to change η to ι, and more significantly, he or she has a strong tendency to harmonise Matthew to Mark. There is no dominant tendency between addition and omission; the scribe adds and omits infrequently with only five instances of each. Only one of the ten instances of addition or omission involves more than a single word, but because it is an addition, the scribe has a net gain of one word. Harmonisation is the main vice of the scribe, and the dominating tendency within harmonisations is to harmonise in the direction of Mark's Gospel. Harmonisations to context are a much weaker, secondary tendency. The scribe was willing to transpose text, but most transpositions were either due to accident or to harmonisation.

In light of the orthographic tendency of η/ι interchanges, it is possible that some of the grammatical substitutions are merely orthographic variants. Readings at †8:2, 11:10, †12:29 and †18:21b are each a result of a change from (ε)ι > η. Still, it is

best to consider these changes grammatical substitutions for a few reasons. First, elsewhere in 042, the tendency is to change from $\eta > \iota$, not from $\iota > \eta$. Second, †8:2 is an editorial reading, and †18:21b is a harmonisation to context, so orthography alone is insufficient to explain those two readings adequately. Finally, the scribe also shifts from future indicative to aorist subjunctive at 23:34a and †24:9, where the orthographic shifts are $\varepsilon > \eta$ and $\omicron\nu > \omega$, respectively. It seems, therefore, that the scribe has a preference for the aorist subjunctive over the future indicative, and that the orthographic tendency of $\eta > \iota$ is one-way. Changes of $(\varepsilon)\iota > \eta$ are not due to any orthographic peculiarity of the scribe.

A few details may be gleaned from looking at every instance, in which the scribe added or omitted any text, whether corrected or not (not including substitutions in which substituted words have a differing number of letters than the text of the exemplar). There are thirty-three such instances. Only four instances involve text that has been added or omitted at the syllable level. The relative infrequency of such changes supports Klaus Junack's contention, later picked up by Dirk Jongkind, that scribes tended to copy meaningful sections of text, not syllable-by-syllable.¹¹⁴ Junack and Jongkind are probably correct, at least with respect to 042, that errors on the syllable level occur in Alphonse Dain's fourth step in copying, the *jeu de main*.¹¹⁵ There are more instances in which text was omitted (twenty) than instances in which text was added (thirteen), and more omissions were corrected (10) than additions (5). These facts suggest that even in the case of 042, whose significant additions equal significant omissions in number, omissions are more likely than additions to be unintentional.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Klaus Junack, "Abschreibpraktiken und Schreibergewohnheiten in ihrer Auswirkung auf die Textüberlieferung," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 288–289; Dirk Jongkind, "Singular Readings in Sinaiticus: The Possible, the Impossible, and the Nature of Copying," 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, Third Series 6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 48–49.

¹¹⁵ Alphonse Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1975), 46.

¹¹⁶ This observation parallels what Royse wrote of the scribes of the early papyri: "There does not need—at least within the earliest centuries of transmission—to be a 'reason' given for an omission; rather, omission is a 'natural' error for these early scribes," in *Scribal Habits*, 735.

Table 6.13: All text added or omitted by the scribe of 042 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Text	Add	Omit	Leap?	Nonsense?	Was it corrected?
3:1	1 word				
8:32	1 word				
9:13b		1 syllable		Yes	
9:18		1 word			
10:5		1 word			
10:19		1 word			Yes
10:28	1 letter				
11:16	[3 words if complete]		Yes, back	Dittography; yes	Yes
12:11	1 word				Yes
12:20		1 word		Yes	Yes
13:41	1 letter				
13:54		1 letter			
14:5a	2 words		Yes, back	Dittography; yes	Yes
15:3		[5 words if complete]	Yes, forward		Yes
15:31		1 syllable		Yes	Yes
16:12		1 letter			
18:6		1 letter			
18:21a		1 word			Yes
19:4	2 words				
19:12		[2 words if complete]	Yes, forward	Yes	Yes
20:7	1 word				
20:28	[2 words if complete]		Yes, back	Dittography; yes	Yes
21:8	[1 word if complete]		Yes, back	Dittography; yes	Yes
21:13a	1 word				
21:15a		2 words	Yes, forward	Yes	Yes
21:37a		1 word	Possibly	Yes	Yes
21:37b		1 word		Yes	Yes
22:3	1 syllable			Dittography; yes	
22:4		1 word			
22:21		1 word			
22:46b		1 word			Yes
23:15a		1 syllable		Yes	
24:8a		1 word			

In summary, the analysis presented in this chapter confirms the preliminary judgment at 3.6.3 of the scribe of 042 as an editor of the text. He or she displays a high degree of training but fails to transmit the Eusebian apparatus accurately. The scribe adds unit divisions and harmonises Matthew to Markan parallels, but significantly, the scribe corrected not only his or her own manuscript, but that of another (022) to a second exemplar. These observations all point to an older, senior scribe. If speculation may be permitted, it is possible that the scribes of 042 and 022 had a master-apprentice relationship. Such a relationship could explain the 022² corrections, most likely made by the scribe of 042. Failing eyesight could explain the poor transmission of the Eusebian apparatus in 042, but like the ε/ι and α/ε interchanges in 022, the scribe understood that these marginal minutiae would not be read aloud.

6.3 The Scribe of 042 and the Singular Readings Method

Table 6.14: Comparison of singular/family readings and deviations from the exemplar in 042 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Type of Reading	Singular/Family Readings (*inherited family readings)	Deviations from the Exemplar (†non-singular changes)
Total	48 (*23)	71 (†46)
Insignificant	15 (*4)	19 (†8)
Nonsense	8 (*1)	8 (†1)
Orthographic	10 (*4)	13 (†7)
Significant	33 (*19)	52 (†38)
Additions	7 (*6)	5 (†4)
Omissions	1 (*0)	5 (†4)
Substitutions	20 (*10)	29 (†19)
Transpositions	5 (*3)	8 (†6)
Harmonisations	20 (*11)	29 (†20)
Editorial readings	5 (*4)	15 (†14)

With respect to 042, the modified *singular readings method* is correct about some scribal tendencies and incorrect about others. The method is roughly correct with regard to insignificant readings in 042, though it fails to include a few orthographic changes. The method is correct to detect that the scribe is most likely to substitute or harmonise, and it rightly detects a tendency to harmonise Matthew to Markan parallels. It rightly sees a relatively low frequency of transpositions. However, the method does make one significant mistake: it wrongly detects a significantly greater tendency to add more than to omit. The method also fails to

recognise the extent to which the scribe made editorial readings.

Conclusions

“Each of our principal MSS presents us with its own state of text, its own unique telling of the story. The need to explore each MS in depth continues as an urgent task.”

–D.C. Parker, 2013¹

7.1 The Scribes and their Exemplar

Finally, we are able to compare the three scribes with each other and to make some observations about their common exemplar. In summary, the scribe of 023 was the most conservative, the scribe of 042 was the most likely to change the text, and the scribe of 022 is the most likely to make an editorial change. The exemplar was probably not much older than 022, 023 and 042. This study has relevance not only for a better understanding of 022, 023, 042 and their exemplar but also for the *singular readings method*, for the discussion of scribes as editors, and for other aspects of New Testament textual criticism.

7.1.1 *Relative Tendencies of Each Scribe*

Table 7.1: Comparison of textual changes in 022, 023 and 042 where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

MS	022	023	042
Total	39	19	71
Insignificant	17	13	19
Nonsense	9	7	8
Orthographic	11	9	13
Significant	23	6	52
Additions	1	1	5
Omissions	1	3	5
Substitutions	10	3	29
Transpositions	2	0	8
Harmonisations	5	3	29
Editorial readings	12	3	15

¹ D.C. Parker, “The Majuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed., NTTSD 42 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 61.

The number of changes each scribe made are unhelpful without adjustments because the changes occur over different amounts of text. The 39 changes in 022 occur over 49 folios, but the 19 changes in 023 occur over 44 folios. Folios of 042 contain more text than folios of either of its siblings.

By a happy coincidence, it is possible to compare the relative tendencies of each scribe to those of the other two. This type of comparison is not usually possible due to the personal differences of each scribe and each manuscript. However, the layout of each manuscript in the 022-023-042 family allows such a comparison.

The scribes of 022 and 023 both produced folios of sixteen horizontal lines per page.² The text is in two columns per page in 022, but 023 has only one column per page. Despite this difference, one folio in 023 contains almost exactly as much text as one folio in 022, because one half-line in 022 (that is, one line of one column) contains on average exactly half the number of letters as one full line of 023. Stated alternatively, the two narrow columns of one page of 022 contain the same amount of text as the one wide column of one page of 023. Consequently, we are able to compare the rates of change between 022 and 023 directly, simply by adjusting their overall numbers of change to an average rate per 10 folios.

At twenty lines per page in two columns, comparing the rate of change in 042 is not as simple. Fortunately, one line of one column in 042 is almost exactly the same length as one line of one column in 022. In many cases, the two manuscripts are identical for several lines.³ Because they contain the same amount of text per line, the amount of text in 042 can be adjusted to the equivalent number of folios of 022 it would occupy. One folio of 042 has twenty lines per column, two columns per page, and two pages per folio, or eighty lines. One folio of 022 has sixteen lines per column, two columns per page and two pages per folio, or sixty-four lines. One folio of 042, consequently, contains the same amount of text as 1.25 equivalent folios of

² The scribe of 023 has 15-line pages wherever a miniature is present, but a difference of five lines in forty-four folios is not sufficient to altar the comparison significantly. Additionally, the scribe of 022 occasionally writes fifteen horizontal lines (St. Petersburg f. 67 [Luke 9:13–21], although it has been ruled for sixteen lines) or seventeen horizontal lines (Patmos ff. 28–29 [Mark 14:41–60]) per page, but these instances do not occur in the extant folios of Matthew’s Gospel and would not affect the comparison presented here. Agamemnon Tselikas mentions these atypical folios in 022 in his description of the manuscript, writing, “Τὸ κείμενο εἶναι γραμμένο σὲ δύο στήλες κατὰ σελίδα καὶ κάθε στήλη περιλαμβάνει 16 στίχος, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸ φ. Πέτρ. 67 (σσ. 267-268 [of the facsimile]) ποὺ ἔχει 15 καὶ τὰ φφ. Πάτμου 28 καὶ 29 (σσ. 213-216 [of the facsimile]) ποὺ ἔχουν 17,” in “Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου Πάτρου καὶ Πορφυρὸς Κώδικας τῶν Εὐαγγελίων,” in *Ὁ Πορφυρὸς Κῶδιξ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων Πάτμου καὶ Πετροπόλεως: Πανομοιότυπη ἔκδοση*, ed. Agamemnon Tselikas (Athens: Miletos, 2002), 27.

³ To take one example at random, at Matt. 13:3 (St. Petersburg f. 41v in 022 and p. 122[v] in 042), six consecutive lines in each manuscript begin and end at the same places, despite an error in 042.

022 (80 ÷ 64 lines of text). It is only a matter of counting lines of 042 with text co-extant in 022 or 023 to be able to make an accurate comparison.

The 4,682 lines of text in 042 extant in 022 and/or 023 would occupy 73.16 equivalent folios of 022/023 (4,682 [lines of text in 042] ÷ 64 [lines of text in one folio of 022]).⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that 042 had so many more changes to its text than either of the other two manuscripts; those changes are spread throughout much more text. By dividing changes per manuscript per equivalent folio and adjusting to an average of changes per 10 folios, we arrive at the following numbers.

Table 7.2: Textual changes where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant per 10 equivalent folios of 022/023

MS	022—49 ff.		023—44 ff.		042—73.16 eq. ff.	
Total	7.96		4.32		9.70	
Insignificant	3.47		2.95		2.60	
Nonsense	1.84		1.59		1.09	
Orthographic	2.24		2.05		1.78	
Significant	4.69		1.36		7.11	
Additions	0.20		0.23		0.68	
Omissions	0.20		0.68		0.68	
Substitutions	2.04		0.68		3.96	
Transpositions	0.41		0.00		1.09	
Harmonisations	1.02		0.68		3.96	
Editorial readings	2.45		0.68		2.05	

From these numbers, we see that the scribe of 042 is still the most likely scribe to change the text at nearly one change per equivalent folio—more than twice as likely as the scribe of 023. The scribe of 042 is also the least likely of the three to make insignificant errors. The scribe of 023 was the most conservative of the three scribes, making little more than one significant change per 10 equivalent folios. One perplexing aspect of the comparison is the high percentage of editorial readings in 022. This scribe was the least likely to add or to omit text and the most likely to make insignificant changes, but he or she was also the most likely to make editorial changes to the text.

⁴ To determine the number of lines of 042 in the sections of 042 that have parallels in 022 and/or 023, I arranged the text of each manuscript in parallel columns and counted every line of 042 of which more than half had parallel text in at least one of the other two manuscripts.

7.1.2 **The Exemplar of 022-023-042**

I am reluctant to say much about the exemplar of 022-023-042. It does seem to have a tendency as a manuscript of harmonisations of Matthean passages to Lukan parallels, but it is impossible to say whether these unique harmonisations were due to the scribe of the exemplar or to one of his or her predecessors in its textual history. The exemplar very possibly had a two-column layout like 022 and 042, and its Eusebian apparatus was already somewhat corrupt.⁵

If we are permitted to venture further into speculation, it seems possible that the exemplar contained a biblical text written in biblical majuscule with secondary text—marginal *titloi*, if nothing else—written in upright pointed majuscule. The use of two scribal hands in the exemplar is consistent with both 042 and the contemporary manuscript 043, which was possibly produced in the same copy-centre. A second hand for the *titloi* would also explain the hybrid of biblical majuscule and upright pointed majuscule used in the *titloi* of 023.

If the exemplar did indeed use upright pointed majuscule for the non-biblical text, it was probably not a particularly ancient copy of the Gospels. Upright pointed majuscule is uncommon for biblical manuscripts.⁶ D.C. Parker cites only 042 and Codex Zacynthius (Cambridge University Library, British and Foreign Bible Society MS 213; GA: Ξ 040) as examples of New Testament majuscules that exhibit both biblical majuscule and upright pointed majuscule, though we would add 043 as a third example.⁷ Parker and Birdsall appeal to the presence of both hands in 040 as evidence that it more likely dates to the seventh century than the sixth.⁸ If the exemplar of 022-023-042 also contained the same variety of scribal hands, we could reasonably conclude that it was not much older than its three copies.

7.2 **The Singular Readings Method**

The three purple manuscripts are relevant for textual criticism because they were each copied from the same exemplar, and this relationship has permitted an

⁵ See the discussion at 3.5.4.

⁶ Edorardo Crisci, “La maiuscola ogivale diritta: Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni,” *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985): 103–145.

⁷ Parker, “The Majuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament,” 52. The scribe of 043 used upright pointed majuscule for the *kephalaia* list to Mark.

⁸ D.C. Parker and J. Neville Birdsall, “The Date of Codex Zacynthius (Ξ): A New Proposal,” *JTS* 55 (2004): 120–122. On p. 121, they write, “The general appearance of the biblical majuscule is somewhat older than that of the upright pointed majuscule. A tendency to archaize in biblical majuscule is the best explanation of this. So, although we have hardly provided any evidence to rule out a later sixth-century date for the biblical majuscule, the appearance of the two hands together is more certainly of the seventh.”

evaluation of the use of singular readings to determine scribal habits. Without knowing the text of the exemplar, one must assume that singular readings present an accurate assessment of scribal activity, but this study has shown that this assumption does not necessarily ring true. Although their close relationship has been used in the past to dismiss the relevance of some of the three codices, it is that very relationship that makes them relevant for this study.⁹ It is clear that *with respect to the three manuscripts of this study, the singular readings method* fails to reveal the tendencies of a manuscript's scribe.

Table 7.3: Total number of singular/family readings and scribal changes where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant

Type of Reading	Total Singular/Family Readings in 022, 023 and 042 (*inherited family readings)	Total Deviations from the Exemplar in 022, 023 and 042 (†non-singular changes)
Total ¹⁰	78 (*55)	129 (†83)
Insignificant	37 (*9)	49 (†24)
Nonsense	23 (*2)	24 (†5)
Orthographic	20 (*9)	33 (†23)
Significant	65 (*46)	81 (†61)
Additions	19 (*18)	7 (†5)
Omissions	4 (*1)	9 (†6)
Substitutions	34 (*21)	42 (†28)
Transpositions	8 (*6)	10 (†8)
Harmonisations	39 (*26)	37 (†24)
Editorial readings	13 (*12)	30 (†29)

7.2.1 Observations on the Singular Readings Method

1. The *singular readings method* is fairly good at identifying nonsense readings.
2. The *singular readings method* can result in a different number of readings being considered than that of the actual creations of the scribe. This difference in number makes a difference in percentage of error, so it may be more useful to speak of a manuscript's tendencies in relation to one another rather than overall.

⁹ Although the anonymous reviewer in *The Athenaeum* was generally positive about the discovery of 023, he or she wrote, "It will be seen that from the textual point of view the new MS. does not add much to our knowledge, since its text is already extant for the most part in the almost identical Codex Petropolitanus, and wholly in the almost equally identical Codex Rossanensis," in "A New Greek MS. of St. Matthew," *The Athenaeum*, August 17, 1901, 215. Also, the NA²⁸ only cites 022, though 042 contains more text in Matthew and Mark.

¹⁰ The total in the singular readings column is simply a sum of the singular and family readings for each manuscript, and as such it includes several family readings more than once. Still, the comparison is useful, because it accurately reveals how inherited readings would be documented in a survey of singular readings.

3. For each of the three manuscripts in this study, the *singular readings method* wrongly detects a tendency to expand the text. Of the nineteen instances of addition in the three manuscripts, only one of them is a genuine scribal addition; eighteen instances are inherited.
4. Of the 78 readings that the *singular readings method* would identify as scribal creations, over two-thirds (55) were wrongly included. These fifty-five readings were not created by the scribe but were inherited from the exemplar.
5. Of the 128 actual changes, nearly two-thirds (82) were wrongly excluded from the analysis because multiple scribes made the same changes.
6. The *singular readings method* is incapable of identifying editorial changes.

One question, however, is whether the failure of the *singular readings method* applies to many manuscripts beyond the three considered in this study. Many of the editorial readings, for example, are instances in which a scribe conformed the text to the reading found in the Byzantine text, which dominated the tradition in later centuries. It is unlikely that the scribe of a third-century papyrus manuscript would be prone to the same kind of change. D.C. Parker writes, “Later on as scribes (and readers) came to know texts intimately, and there were other copies with which to compare anything suspicious, the degree of acceptable variation decreased.”¹¹ Indeed the failure of the *singular readings method* for the purple codices might be attributable to the fact that they lie closer to the “later on” era Parker describes. With respect to the fourth century, Dirk Jongkind’s comparison of the work of multiple scribes in Codex Sinaiticus seems to vindicate the method to some extent.¹² Even if the *singular readings method* fails with respect to the sixth-century Greek purple Gospel manuscripts, it is entirely possible that it could provide a sufficiently accurate assessment of the scribes of earlier manuscripts.

Regarding the “complex scribe,” it seems that the *singular readings method* still fails to some extent.¹³ First, the language used in analyses of scribal habits refers to a single scribe—the one who physically produced the text in the manuscript, though practitioners such as Roysse admit that the singular readings include some by

¹¹ D.C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 15.

¹² Dirk Jongkind, “Singular Readings in Sinaiticus: The Possible, the Impossible, and the Nature of Copying,” 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, Third Series 6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 42–44.

¹³ On the “complex scribe,” see James R. Roysse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 52–55.

other scribes. Royse says, however, “[M]ost of the singulars should, without doubt, be attributed to [‘the person who actually wrote the manuscript’].”¹⁴ As I have shown in the case of 022, 023 and 042, that is not at all the case. Of the unique readings in these manuscripts, fifty-five of seventy-eight were inherited from the exemplar. The persons who actually wrote the manuscripts created only about a third of the unique readings. If anything, the *singular readings method* does not reveal the work of the actual scribe with some interference from the complex scribe; rather, the *method* reveals the work of the complex scribe with some interference from the person who actually wrote the manuscript. It deserves to be noted, however, that these results are consistent with the notion that scribes did not endeavor to change the text much as they copied but rather to produce accurate copies. If scribes were generally reluctant to change the text, and if the Byzantine text developed because small changes accumulated over generations of copies, then one should expect to see that more perceived changes were due to the previous transmission history than to a single scribe.

Second, we cannot say that the *singular readings method* reveals accurately the *habits* of the complex scribe, because it fails to include such a large body of relevant data—non-singular changes. In 022, 023 and 042, the *method* fails to include eighty-two non-singular changes made by the actual scribe. Such a large number of changes by a single scribe is enough to shift the data, leading to incorrect conclusions.

Both problems—uncertainty of the method’s success for earlier manuscripts and uncertainty about the extent to which the complex scribe dominates the scribal tradition—could be avoided if different terminology were used. Regardless of what they can reveal about scribes, singular readings do show how a manuscript is unique. They can still be useful in the study of *manuscripts*, and there would be nothing incorrect about referring to the tendencies of the codices 022, 023 and 042 to add text more than to omit text—even though their scribes did not.

7.2.2 **Possible Improvement**

One possible way to improve the *singular readings method* is to adopt a more comprehensive approach to the assessment of scribal habits. Royse and Jongkind have already utilised corrections as a way to shed more light on scribal habits than singular readings alone, but other factors could contribute as well. Head and

¹⁴ Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 55. Just one page prior, he writes, “[I]f the singular readings can be adequately explained as the products of the one scribe, there is no reason to postulate a chain of hypothetical ones.” In the case of 022, 023 and 042, I have shown that the singular readings are for the most part not the products of the respective scribes.

Warren’s study of re-inking in P¹³ is a helpful example of progress toward a more comprehensive approach.¹⁵ To determine scribal habits in P⁴⁷, Peter Malik employs not only singular readings but also corrections, instances of re-inking and the influence of line breaks.¹⁶ In another study, Malik revisits Rev. 5:9, where the NA²⁸ adopts the singular omission of ἡμᾶς from Codex Alexandrinus as the initial text.¹⁷ Malik points to the material aspects of this variant as evidence that it is simply a mistake—even though it is a singular reading, the omitted word occurs at a column break in Codex Alexandrinus.¹⁸

In the case of 022, the disjunction between singular/family readings and corrections does shed light on scribal habits. Singular/family readings suggest that the scribe was most prone to harmonise the text and somewhat prone to substitute. However, there are more substitutions corrected than any other kind of significant reading (seven), but only one harmonisation is corrected. Based on corrections alone, one might conclude that the scribe was more prone to substitute than to harmonise. The number of deviations from the exemplar confirms this conclusion—the scribe was indeed more prone to substitute than to harmonise. The high number of harmonisations is due to an already-harmonised exemplar.

In the case of 023, corrections do not help much. There is only one correction of a significant reading (21:14). Still, the dearth of corrections is consistent with the scribe—he or she rarely changed the text in any significant way.

In the case of 042, singular readings suggest a tendency to add much more than to omit (seven additions to one omission). Among the corrections however, there are three omissions but only one corrected addition. Even if the corrections do not indicate the true scribal habits—an equal tendency of the scribe of 042 to add and to omit—they do show that the high proportion of singular additions probably do not paint an accurate picture of the scribe’s tendencies.

One problem remains, unfortunately: editorial readings. Without knowing the exemplar, there is no way to determine the extent to which scribes made editorial changes. Fortunately, many editorial readings do not impact the sense of the text—

¹⁵ Peter M. Head and M. Warren, “Re-Inking the Pen: Evidence from P. Oxy. 657 (P¹³) Concerning Unintentional Scribal Errors,” *NTS* 43 (1997): 466–73.

¹⁶ Peter Malik, *P. Beatty III (P⁴⁷): The Codex, Its Scribe, and Its Text*, NTTSD 52 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017).

¹⁷ Peter Malik, ““And You Purchased [Whom?]”: Reconsidering the Text of Rev 5,9,” *ZNW* 108 (2017): 306–12.

¹⁸ Malik, ““And You Purchased [Whom?],”” 310–311. Malik acknowledges that H.C. Hoskier made the same observation in *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse: Collations of All Existing Available Greek Documents with the Standard Text of Stephen’s Third Edition, Together with the Testimony of Versions, Commentaries and Fathers; a Complete Conspectus of All Authorities*, 2 vols. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1929).

decisions on how to render *nomina sacra*, for example. Still, it would be useful to know how often a scribe aligned the text with that of the majority of manuscripts. Even if it were possible to know how often a scribe made such changes, it would be impossible to determine whether or not the change is intentional, save in a few exceptional cases (such as Matt. 12:28 in 022, though it is a singular reading). In light of the high number of readings I designated as “editorial,” it is necessary to discuss the concept of scribes as “editors.”

7.3 Scribes as Editors?

Scribes are often characterized as “editors” of the text, and this characterisation is not a new one.¹⁹ Ancient writers and commentators frequently accused copyists of textual alteration for a variety of reasons.²⁰ In view of recent literature on “scribal corruptions, or ‘intentional’ scribal modifications,” Kim Haines-Eitzen writes, “We are forced now to recognize that ancient scribes were not simply copyists—at times (possibly even frequently) they were interested readers, exegetes, and writers who left their mark on the copies they made.”²¹

Ulrich Schmid opposes this recent definition of “scribe” on the grounds that it blurs categories: a scribe is a copyist of the text who might make mistakes, but an editor (or author) changes the text intentionally.²² D.C. Parker also questions the legitimacy of ascribing intentionality to a copyist of a text on the grounds that it is often impossible to know whether a textual change was “conscious” or

¹⁹ Two recent examples of treating scribes as editors are Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) and Wayne C. Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition: Evidence of the Influence of Apologetic Interests on the Text of the Canonical Gospels*, TCSt 5 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004).

²⁰ On non-Christian works subject to non-authorial alteration, see Martin L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973), 15–17. Amy M. Donaldson provides numerous examples of the accusation of scribal alteration of texts in the first few centuries of Christianity in “Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings Among Greek and Latin Church Fathers” (PhD thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2009).

²¹ 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. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed., NTTSD 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 488–489.

²² 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, Third Series 6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 1–23; Ulrich Schmid, “Conceptualizing ‘Scribal’ Performances: Reader’s Notes,” in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes, TCSt 8 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 49–64.

“unconscious.”²³ In light of the high number of “editorial” changes made in the manuscripts of this study, perhaps the distinction between scribe and editor should be reevaluated. Regarding 022, 023 and 042, it is easiest to begin with what kinds of editors their scribes were not, working toward a more accurate description of what kinds of editors their scribes were. Though the first two examples are extreme, they merit mention. If we must view scribes as editors, we must clearly indicate what we do and do not mean by “editor.”

7.3.1 *Editing: Creating a New Work*

First, these scribes did not re-write the text of Matthew’s Gospel. They are wholly unlike editor-authors such as Marcion of Sinope, who edited Luke’s Gospel into something sufficiently different to merit its classification as a different literary work.²⁴ Nor were these scribes like the situation presented by Matthew D.C. Larsen. In light of ancient practices of accidental publication, unfinished texts, multiple authorised versions and post-publication revisions, Larsen presents the author of the Gospel of Matthew as an editor or reviser of the Gospel of Mark.²⁵ None of the scribes of the purple codices can be considered editors in this sense.

7.3.2 *Editing: Revising an Existing Work Substantially*

Second, these scribes did not engage in any substantial revisions or recensions of Matthew’s Gospel. One famous example is Acts, which is extant not only in the traditional form, but also in a longer form in witnesses from the D-text cluster, chiefly represented by Codex Bezae (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Nn.2.41; GA: D 05).²⁶ Hans Förster cites the Apocryphon of John as another example of a text of which we have manuscripts of different recensions. Förster writes, “The texts preserved in NHC [Nag Hammadi Codex] II,1 and IV,1 are closely related and longer; NHC III,1 and BG [Berlin Gnostic Codex] 8502,2 are

²³ D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 152.

²⁴ On this point, it matters little if the Gospel of Marcion derives from Luke’s Gospel, if Luke’s Gospel derives from the Gospel of Marcion or if both works derive from a common source. In any case, an editor altered an existing literary work into something recognised as a different work. For a history of research on the Gospel of Marcion, see Dieter T. Roth, *The Text of Marcion’s Gospel*, NTTSD 49 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 7–45.

²⁵ Matthew D.C. Larsen, “Accidental Publication, Unfinished Texts and the Traditional Goals of New Testament Textual Criticism,” *JSNT* 39 (2017): 362–387.

²⁶ On the D-text cluster in Acts, see Eldon J. Epp, “Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed., NTTSD 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 560–571 and more recently, Eldon J. Epp, “Text-Critical Witnesses and Methodology for Isolating a Distinctive D-Text in Acts,” *NovT* 59 (2017): 225–96.

independent translations of a shorter Greek version.”²⁷ He continues, “Despite the fact that only four witnesses survive, they demonstrate a comparatively high textual variability, witnessing to a literary history which most probably features two different Greek *Vorlagen* behind the translation of the Coptic texts.”²⁸ The vulgatised text of Codex Fuldensis (Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Bonifatianus 1) is additional evidence of such recensional activity.²⁹

7.3.3 **Editing: Making Theologically-Motivated Alterations**

Third, the scribes of 022, 023 and 042 do not even fit the description of editors seeking to alter their texts theologically. Among the 128 changes to the text made by the three scribes of this study, not a single textual change appears to be theologically motivated. Two possible objections merit discussion.³⁰

One might appeal to the presence of harmonisations to parallels in other Gospels as itself theologically-motivated variation (seeking to eliminate discrepancies between Gospels), especially in the case of 042, which has a clear tendency to harmonise Matthew to Markan parallels. Harmonisations are one of the more common types of changes among manuscripts of the Synoptic Gospels, and they are not necessarily intentional.³¹ D.C. Parker appeals to Sebastiano Timpanaro’s *The Freudian Slip: Psychoanalysis and Textual Criticism* to contend that many scribal “errors” could be unintentional.³² Pardee applies Parker’s observation to

²⁷ Hans Förster, “Textual Criticism and the Interpretation of Texts: The Example of the Gospel of John,” in *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament: Papers from the Eighth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS, Third Series 11 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 172.

²⁸ Förster, “Textual Criticism and the Interpretation of Texts,” 172.

²⁹ On Codex Fuldensis, see Ulrich Schmid, “The Diatessaron of Tatian,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed., NTTSD 42 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 115–42 and Nicholas J. Zola, “Tatian’s ‘Diatessaron’ in Latin: A New Edition and Translation of Codex Fuldensis” (PhD thesis, Baylor University, 2014).

³⁰ James A. Magruder argues that the miniatures in 023 are theologically-motivated, but he does not discuss textual variants in its text, in James A Magruder, “The Sinope Gospels: An Illuminated Gospel Book as Anti-Chalcedonian Polemic” (MDiv diss., St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary, 2003). Unfortunately, Magruder’s thesis depends on a narrow window for the production of 023 (between 537 and 541), which itself is based on a misunderstanding of the marginal *titloi* as lectionary markers “for the Eucharistic celebrations of Saturday and Sunday from late July through early September in the tenth-century Byzantine lectionary” (Magruder, “Sinope Gospels,” 2).

³¹ For a survey of harmonisations in early Gospel manuscripts and a history of research on the problem of harmonisation, see Cambry G. Pardee, “Scribal Harmonization in Greek Manuscripts of the Synoptic Gospels from the Second to the Fifth Century” (PhD thesis, Loyola University Chicago, 2016).

³² D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 37; Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Freudian Slip: Psychoanalysis and Textual Criticism*, trans. Kate Soper (London: NLB, 1976).

harmonisation in Gospel manuscripts, citing the harmonisation to Matthew at Luke 8:21 in P⁷⁵ as one example of such an unintentional change.³³ There is evidence of both intentional and unintentional harmonisation among our three codices. The semi-corrected nature of Matt. 12:28 in 022 indicates that it was intentional. The scribe first left room to write the *nomen sacrum* later in gold ink, but when the time came to do so, he or she crammed in the longer text from Luke 11:20. However, it appears that the harmonisation of Matthew 26:59 to Mark 14:55 in 042 was unintentional. The scribe initially wrote the Markan text, but near the end of the word, he or she had to alter the ending to fit the Matthean grammatical context. Later, the scribe abandoned the harmonisation and changed it back to the unharmonised text during the second series of corrections. Harmonisation plagues even non-Christian manuscripts, which can hardly have contained the same types of theologically-motivated alterations. Martin L. West discusses such instances as “semi-conscious and unconscious changes,” writing “Memories of particularly well-known authors like Homer and Virgil were liable to intrude even without recent copying being involved.”³⁴

One might also claim that the substitution of $\epsilon\nu \delta\alpha\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omega \bar{\theta}\bar{\upsilon}$ for $\epsilon\nu \pi\bar{\nu}\iota \bar{\theta}\bar{\upsilon}$ in 022 at Matt. 12:28 reflects a heightened Christology, whereby the scribe of 022 attempted to elevate the divinity of Jesus by stating that Jesus cast out demons autonomously—with the very finger of God—rather than through the Spirit (or spirit) of God. This change was almost certainly intentional, but three reasons suggest that the variation was not theologically motivated. First, although the scribe of 022 was more prone to editorial readings, he or she was not immune to harmonisation, and a harmonising change such as this one is consistent both with what one might expect from any scribe in general as well as the scribe of 022 in particular. Second, the phrase “finger of God” is not an explicit attribution of divinity. In Exodus 8:15 (LXX), the magicians exclaim to Pharaoh after Aaron strikes the earth with his staff and brings about the Third Plague, “this is the finger of God” ($\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$). François Bovon appeals to this instance to show that the phrase does not indicate divinity but rather divine appointment, authority and investiture of power.³⁵ Third, even if one does see a possible theological significance in the change at Matt. 12:28 in 022, it is the only such change among the thirty-nine (twenty-three significant) changes made by the scribe. One would expect a

³³ Pardee, “Scribal Harmonization,” 34–36.

³⁴ West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, 20–21.

³⁵ François Bovon, *Luke 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51–19:27*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 121–122.

theological agenda to leave behind more evidence than a single variant that is not even explicitly Christological and is easily explained as a harmonisation to a parallel Gospel account.³⁶

7.3.4 **Editing: Proofreading?**

Given the number of editorial readings, especially in 022, what are we to make of three scribes who do not fit any of the common descriptions of scribes as editors? The editorial changes are not invasive. Many involve corrections to errors in the exemplar, and a few are editorial decisions regarding how to render *nomina sacra*.³⁷ Many editorial changes conform the text to alternative or better-known readings, and it is likely that at least some if not most of these changes to alternate readings were unintentional. The scribes of 022, 023 and 042 certainly functioned as editors, but they were primarily copyists. The scribe of 022—the scribe with the most editorial readings per 10 folios—is primarily concerned with reproducing the text of the exemplar faithfully (the change at Matt. 12:28 being the single exception). Consequently, the editorial activity in 022, 023 and 042 could be described as little more than proofreading. The scribes sought to produce readable copies of Matthew’s Gospel without altering its content significantly.

7.4 **022-023-042 and New Testament Textual Criticism**

If we may return at last to the quotation at the beginning of Chapter One, we end by answering back to the Aland’s dismissal of the usefulness of the purple codices, that “they are in consequence quite irrelevant for textual criticism.”³⁸ Perhaps 022, 023 and 042 do not shed much light (if any) on the *Ausgangstext*, but they are three artifacts of sixth-century Christianity.³⁹ They tell us that scribes

³⁶ See Peter M. Head’s remarks about the omission of an article at John 10:33 in P⁶⁶, “If the scribe of P⁶⁶ were particularly concerned to enhance the doctrine of the deity of Christ we might expect to see clearer evidence than this,” in Peter M. Head, “Scribal Behavior and Theological Tendencies in Singular Readings in P. Bodmer II (P⁶⁶),” 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, Third Series 6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 67.

³⁷ The latter category is sufficiently insignificant to be ignored by most critical editions. Of the editions consulted in this study, only Swanson records data on the presentation of *nomina sacra*, and even he has removed them from the main text. They are only preserved in a secondary section at the bottom of each page.

³⁸ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 104. Elsewhere, they write, “typically of the sumptuous manuscripts of the period [042] has little textual value,” in *The Text of the New Testament, 2nd Ed.*, 116.

³⁹ For a summary of research on the relevance of the New Testament textual tradition for early

produced luxury manuscripts in the sixth-century. They tell us that at least one copy-center existed, in which multiple scribes used one exemplar to produce independent copies. They tell us that there were working scribes of varying levels of expertise, and they suggest a master-apprentice relationship at work. The three manuscripts tell us that scribes occasionally used a second exemplar to correct their work in addition to the primary exemplar, which they copied. They tell us that scribes might be guilty of harmonisation, but they did not undertake any significant theologically-motivated revisions and generally sought to produce accurate copies. The three purple codices tell us that if there was a “controlled” or “ecclesiastical” text in the sixth-century, it was at least slightly fluid—some textual differences among the manuscripts were permitted. These three manuscripts can also shed some light on a few additional aspects of New Testament textual criticism.

7.4.1 *The Development of the Byzantine Text*

One aspect that has long been known is that the purple codices are significant to New Testament textual criticism because they represent an early, not-yet-final form of the Byzantine text. In 1885, William Sanday observed that because of its high number of Byzantine readings and relatively early date (compared to the majority of manuscripts), 042 “lends its support decidedly to the defenders of the traditional text. And yet, even they, we should think, must accept its alliance with some little misgiving.”⁴⁰ Sanday continued to write that 042 contains a number of other readings that betray a secondary-character, and thus, it gives evidence that the later Byzantine text is the result of a long process of “correction and emendation.”⁴¹ A century later, Günther Zuntz used 022 and 042 to argue against a single Byzantine recension of the Gospels, because, though they clearly contain a high number of Byzantine readings, they also bear number of significant differences from the later “byzantinischen Reichstext.”⁴² Consequently, 022 and 042 represent a stage in the development of the Byzantine text. Martin Heide and Klaus Wachtel both follow

Christian studies, see Bart D. Ehrman, “The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed., NTTSD 42 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 803–830.

⁴⁰ William Sanday, “The Text of the Codex Rossanensis (Σ),” in *Studia Biblica: Essays in Biblical Archaeology and Criticism and Kindred Subjects by Members of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 112.

⁴¹ Sanday, “The Text of the Codex Rossanensis (Σ),” 112.

⁴² Günther Zuntz, *Lukian von Antiochien und der Text der Evangelien*, ed. Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1995, 2 Abhandlung (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1995), 18–23.

Zuntz and appeal to the purple codices as evidence that the Byzantine text arose as a gradual process rather than as a recension.⁴³

7.4.2 The “Tenacity” of the Text

The purple codices constitute a good reason to dispel the dogma of the tenacity of the New Testament text.⁴⁴ This idea permeates Aland and Aland’s *Introduction*, and they define it thus: “[A]n indomitable stubbornness is one of the basic characteristics of New Testament textual history: once a variant or a new reading enters the tradition it refuses to disappear, persisting (if only in a few manuscripts) and perpetuating itself through the centuries.”⁴⁵ The family readings shared among 022, 023 and 042 were part of a textual tradition—not merely the idiosyncrasies of a single scribe, but readings passed down at least three times from exemplar to copy, thus “entering the tradition”. They are unknown in any other manuscripts, and indeed they *did not* survive for many centuries, until 023, 042 and large portions of 022 were discovered in the nineteenth century. The percentage of inherited readings among the singular and family readings in the sections of 042 studied in Chapter Six indicates that there are almost certainly a good number of inherited readings among the singular readings of 042 listed in Appendix Five (where neither 022 nor 023 is extant). It seems almost impossible that the missing pages from Luke and John in 022 (or the lost second volume of 042) did not also contain a number of unique family readings. Though part of a tradition, these readings were not sufficiently tenacious to survive.

7.4.3 Accurate Editions and videtur Readings

More broadly, 022, 023 and 042 are relevant for New Testament textual criticism because the discipline itself requires editions of its witnesses. Gebhardt’s admittedly imperfect edition of 042 has necessitated a lengthy list of corrections by Gribomont.⁴⁶ The inaccuracy of Muñoz’ edition of the Greek Old Testament excerpts

⁴³ Martin Heide, *Der einzig wahre Bibeltext? Erasmus von Rotterdam und die Frage nach dem Urtext*, 5th ed. (Hamburg: VTR, 2006), 170–172; Klaus Wachtel, “The Byzantine Text of the Gospels: Recension or Process?” Paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, 2009, 1–8.

⁴⁴ For an additional critique of the Alands’ position on the “tenacity” of the text, see Michael W. Holmes, “Text and Transmission in the Second Century,” in *The Reliability of the New Testament: Bart D. Ehrman and Daniel B. Wallace in Dialogue*, ed. Robert B. Stewart (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 65–68.

⁴⁵ Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament, 2nd Ed.*, 56.

⁴⁶ Jean Gribomont, “The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text,” in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, Codices Mirabiles 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 193–194.

in 042 has resulted in three additional editions of the relevant text.⁴⁷ None of the *editiones principes* of the purple codices are without error. A re-examination of nearly any manuscript has the potential to improve the accuracy critical editions, as well as to raise questions about how witnesses are cited. For example, at Matt. 11:27, both the NA²⁸ and UBS⁵ cite 022 for the variant that is otherwise only attested in patristic quotations and the Diatessaron, but it is clear that the variant is a direct creation of the scribe of 022—very possibly a simple mistake. If the exemplar clearly lacked the variant, should the likely-mistaken scribe of 022 be cited to support it? Additionally, three opportunities for the NA²⁸ to be improved are as follows, though what follows is not an exhaustive list:

- Matt. 10:4 The NA²⁸ cites 022 in support of the reading adopted in the text, *Καναναῖος*, but 022 has a correction at this place. The citation should be 022¹, and 022* should be cited in support of the variant, *Κανανίτης*.
- Matt. 12:15 The NA²⁸ cites 022* for the variant *οχλοι* and 022^c for the text, *οχλοι πολλοι*. Instead, 022* had the nonsense reading *οχλοι λοι*, which was corrected by the 022² corrector.
- Matt. 20:7 The NA²⁸ cites 022 for the longer addition at the end of the verse but mistakenly reports that it contains *μου* at the beginning of the quotation.

Moreover, the family relationship of 022, 023 and 042 allows the possibility to consider *videtur* readings where some members are absent, particularly in the case of 022, which is the only one of the three manuscripts consistently cited in the NA²⁸. Klaus Wachtel, for example, mentions that “The purple codices N 022 and Σ 042 have the longer ending of Mark but not yet the *pericope adulterae* and the bloody sweat episode.”⁴⁸ Wachtel is almost certainly correct, despite the fact that between the two codices, the Longer Ending of Mark survives only partially through Mark 16:14 in 042 (022 is not extant after 15:38 in Mark’s Gospel) and 042 is not extant at all for the Lukan Gethsemane scene (Luke 22:43–44) or the *pericope adulterae* (John 7:53–8:12), though 022 clearly lacks them both.

⁴⁷ Gaetano Passarelli, “Una rilettura di alcuni cartigli profetici del Codice Purpureo Rossanense,” in *Testimonianze cristiane antiche ed altomedievali nella Sibaritide: atti del convegno nazionale tenuto a Corigliano-Rossano l’11-12 marzo 1978*, ed. Cosimo D’Angela, *Vetera Christianorum: Scavi e ricerche* 3 (Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1980), 265–75; William C. Loerke, “The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures,” in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, *Codices Mirabiles* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 109–71; Elijah Hixson, “Forty Excerpts from the Greek Old Testament in Codex Rossanensis,” *JTS* 67 (2016): 507–541.

⁴⁸ Wachtel, “The Byzantine Text of the Gospels: Recension or Process?” 4.

Perhaps one could cite 022^{vid} for the shorter reading lacking οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός at Matt. 24:36.⁴⁹ Codex 022 is not extant at Matthew 24:36, but 042 is, and there it lacks the words οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός. If 042 contained the longer reading, not much could be said about the text of the exemplar. The longer reading could be explained as a harmonisation to Mark 13:32, and given the tendency in 042 to harmonise Matthew to Markan parallels, such an addition would not be surprising in 042. It is significant, therefore, that 042 has the non-harmonised, shorter form of Matthew 24:36. Neither the scribe of 022 nor of 042 displays any evidence of theologically-motivated variation. It is likely that the shorter reading in 042 at Matthew 24:36 goes back to the exemplar, and therefore likely that 022 also lacked οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός.

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On this variant, see Daniel B. Wallace, “The Son’s Ignorance in Matthew 24:36: An Exercise in Textual and Redaction Criticism,” in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Michael W. Holmes On the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster, NTTSD 50 (Leiden; Boston, 2015), 178–205.

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