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THE CLAREMONT PROFILE METHOD FOR THE  
CLASSIFICATION OF BYZANTINE NEW TESTAMENT  
MANUSCRIPTS: A STUDY IN METHOD.

Claremont Graduate School and University Center,  
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THE CLAREMONT PROFILE METHOD  
for  
the Classification of Byzantine New Testament Manuscripts:  
A Study in Method  
BY

FREDERIK WISSE

A Dissertation presented to the General Faculty  
of the Claremont Graduate School in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1968

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this dissertation and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

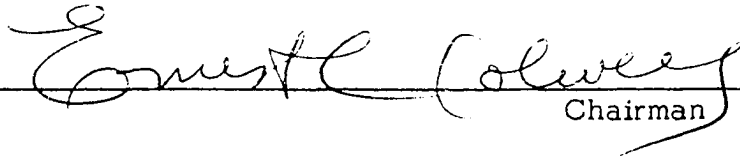


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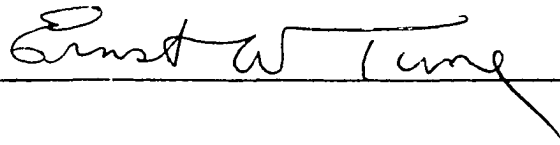
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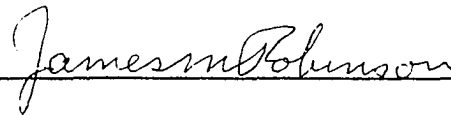
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## PREFACE

My work on the Profile Method began with no thought of making it into a dissertation. It was part of some voluntary work I did for the Claremont office of the International Greek New Testament Project. In its earliest stages, it was motivated only by my curiosity to follow up what looked like a promising idea, and by a challenge from others that it would not work. Soon after its inception, I was joined by Mr. Paul McReynolds, a fellow graduate student and an assistant of the I.G.N.T.P., who since then has shared the often tedious work of selecting readings, profiling hundreds of manuscripts, and classifying and studying the profiles. He will report on the application of the Profile Method to 550 New Testament manuscripts in a forthcoming dissertation.

Due to its connection with, and relevance to, the work of the I.G.N.T.P., I had the unusual experience of receiving expert advice on, and criticism of, the Profile Method from its very beginning. Above all, I am grateful to Dr. Ernest C. Colwell, Chairman of the American Committee of the I.G.N.T.P. and my thesis advisor. Not only did he suggest the Profile Method as a dissertation topic, but his enthusiastic encouragement and his wide experience with the

problem of locating the text of a New Testament manuscript in the manuscript tradition, proved invaluable.

Two other scholars associated with the I.G.N.T.P., Dr. Eldon J. Epp and Mr. I. Alan Sparks, have closely followed the development of the Profile Method with their interest and expert advice. Dr. Epp was the first to report on the new method in a paper read before the Society of Biblical Literature, Pacific Coast Section, in May 1967.\* In December of that same year, Mr. McReynolds and I had the opportunity to present the Claremont Profile Method to the Textual Criticism Seminar of the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in New York. This report will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Journal of Biblical Literature.

Special thanks are due to my dissertation committee, Drs. Ernest C. Colwell, James M. Robinson, and Ernest W. Tune, for their fine cooperation and willingness to process the dissertation in an unusually short time. Last, but not least, I would like to thank my wife for her help in getting the manuscript in its proper form.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE ROLE OF MINUSCULES IN NEW TESTAMENT

#### TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Of all the spectacular developments in New Testament textual criticism since Tischendorf the least advertised has been the phenomenal increase in the number of known minuscules. There must be reasons for this curious fact. I believe it is not in the first place because the finds of a considerable number of early papyri have tended to overshadow all other New Testament textual developments. Certainly the bringing to light of more than 1700 minuscules in less than a century could have shared top rating with the few hundred papyri and uncials, most of which are mere fragments, if only lower critics had chosen to do so. The underlying reason is that the ever-swelling mass of minuscules have been a real embarrassment to the textual critic. Every additional minuscule, however high its market price might be, has made the critic's task more confusing and impossible.

The mass of minuscules creates a dilemma for the textual critic. Either he will try to take all manuscript evidence into account without hope of ever finishing his task, or he will ignore the great majority of existing MSS.

and be accused of basing his results on partial and probably biased evidence. No wonder, therefore, that the role of minuscules in New Testament textual criticism has become the most frustrating problem facing the scholars in that field.<sup>1</sup>

The problem posed by the minuscules can be divided into two parts or aspects. First, the question must be answered whether minuscules deserve to play a role in the search for the best text of the New Testament, and consequently, whether they should be represented in a representative apparatus criticus to the Greek New Testament. In case this first question is answered in the affirmative, it still must be shown that the great quantity of MSS. does not make any kind of meaningful and representative use of minuscules impossible or impractical.

In a situation where manuscript evidence runs into more than 5000 separate items and a time span of more than fourteen centuries, it will be far from obvious that all this evidence is relevant for the establishment of the original text. It may well be that the oldest copies in existence are adequate representatives of the manuscript tradition so that the rest can be ignored. After all, why

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<sup>1</sup>This problem may well be the main cause of the decline in textual studies in the last 30 years. The enormity of the work to be done--much of it unexciting plodding through late MSS.--and the prospects of having to interpret all the evidence once it is available, seem to have driven scholars to greener pastures, or to monographs on marginal but manageable issues.



start more than thirteen centuries after the autographa were written, and wade back through literally thousands of MSS. in an immensely complicated process, if at best one can only arrive at a fifth century text which is already well-represented by copies of that time. To find the foundation of a building one does not first climb the roof, but starts at least on the ground floor.

This argument, obvious and tantalizing in theory, forms the background for all those who consider it justified to ignore all, or almost all, minuscules.<sup>2</sup> Yet they must first prove that the manuscript tradition after, let us say, the ninth century, does not add any pertinent information for the recovery of the original text of the New Testament. Whether one holds that this proof necessitates a complete study of the more than 2700 minuscules depends on one's viewpoint. Naturally the opponents of the use of minuscules do not consider this time consuming process to be necessary at all.

There is basically only one argument which can circumvent the task of studying all the late minuscules to

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<sup>2</sup>There is no question among scholars about including the very few ninth century minuscules and the relatively small number of Neutral and Caesarean cursives. It should be noted that the latter group is usually selected for a textual apparatus, not because they represent a text not found among earlier uncials, but because they have a text like those uncials which pushed aside the Textus Receptus.

be sure that they are indeed of no value for textual criticism. This argument is that among the early uncials there are MSS. which stand in a relatively uncorrupted tradition, and which show all other Text-types of that period to be secondary and corrupted. Only if this argument can be proven, and if it is clear from some sampling that late minuscules fall predominantly in the tradition of one of the corrupted texts, can we safely omit a full study of these MSS.

The first and best representative of this position is Fenton John Anthony Hort.<sup>3</sup> His view stands out from that of his followers in that he knew what was at stake and was willing to face the consequences. With some danger of caricaturing Hort, we will attempt to summarize his evaluation of the mass of minuscules in four points. It should be borne in mind that Hort knew of the existence of less than one thousand cursives, and that only 150 of these were available to him in complete collation, though he sampled some more in a few selected passages.<sup>4</sup>

a) An analysis of the text of the major uncials, the New Testament quotations of the Fathers, and the early Versions shows that there were three Text-types in existence

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<sup>3</sup>Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882). Without wishing to deny or ignore the contribution made by Westcott we will simply refer to "Hort."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 77 f.

during the fifth century A. D. Hort called them Neutral,<sup>5</sup> Western and Syrian. Patristic attestation shows the Syrian text to be the latest of the three, though it eventually won out and became the text found in the great majority of the minuscules.

b) A study of conflate readings (Hort used four from Mark and four from Luke) conclusively proves that the Syrian text is a recension which made use of the Western and Neutral texts.<sup>6</sup> Hort knows of no case where a Neutral reading is a conflation of a Western and Syrian reading, or where a Western reading is a conflation of Neutral and Syrian readings. Thus Hort has internal evidence proving not only that the Syrian text is posterior to the Western and Neutral texts, but also that it is secondary in nature.

The conflate readings imply more about the work of the editors of the Syrian text, for "it is morally impossible that their use of documents of either or both classes should have been confined to those places in which conflation enables us to detect it in actual operation."<sup>7</sup> Hort at this point is still forced to leave open the possibility that the Syrian text had a source, or sources, beyond the Neutral and Western texts which was both ancient and good.

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<sup>5</sup>Differences between Neutral and Alexandrian readings can be ignored for our purposes.

<sup>6</sup>Westcott and Hort, pp. 93 ff.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

c) As usual, Hort closes this remaining loophole by means of both transcriptional and intrinsic evidence. Transcriptional evidence indicates that no Syrian readings existed before A. D. 250. This means that even if the Syrian recension had sources beyond the Western and Neutral texts, these sources did not go back farther than the middle of the third century, and thus were later than the two non-Syrian Text-types.<sup>8</sup>

It was left up to the intrinsic evidence to give the final death blow. Readings peculiar to the Syrian MSS. proved to be smooth; they never offend, are free from surprises and seemingly transparent. Therefore, taking the negative side of the "lectio difficilior" principle, Hort can conclude that the internal evidence of Syrian readings is "entirely unfavorable to the hypothesis that they may have been copied from other equally ancient and perhaps purer texts (than the Western and Neutral) now otherwise lost."<sup>9</sup>

d) Thus the die was cast against the minuscules. We again quote Hort: "Since the Syrian text is only a modified eclectic combination of earlier texts independently attested, existing documents descended from it can attest nothing but itself."<sup>10</sup> And one page later: "All

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

distinctively Syrian readings must be at once rejected." Still, Hort laments the fact that so few minuscules have been studied, but his sorrow sounds hollow. True, some "valuable texts may lie hidden among them," but "nothing can well be less probable than the discovery of cursive evidence sufficiently important to affect present conclusions in more than a handful of passages, much less to alter present interpretations of the relations between the existing documents."<sup>11</sup>

Only after these carefully reasoned and convincing steps did Hort limit himself to the early uncials and especially to the "Neutrals" among them. It speaks for Hort's power of persuasion and influence that, though scholars today would put question marks at almost every point of his argument, yet the result still stands. After a few half-hearted attempts of the Western text, Vaticanus and its allies have become the new Textus Receptus.

A prominent contemporary Textual Critic, Professor Kurt Aland, has also taken a generally negative view of the minuscules.<sup>12</sup> His position is sufficiently different from

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>12</sup>We ignore the many lower critics since Hort who have largely or completely left minuscules out of consideration, but who have not justified or explained this omission. One may assume that, besides Hort's legacy concerning the Syrian text, the reasons were primarily practical ones.

Hort to deserve separate treatment. Unfortunately, we have no comprehensive introduction, like that of Westcott and Hort, from Aland's hand. Conclusions will have to be drawn from scattered remarks in a number of articles.<sup>13</sup>

An a priori rejection of the mass of minuscules would have been impossible for Aland. He and his Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung took on the difficult and important task of publishing an up-to-date list of all extant papyri, uncials, minuscules and lectionaries of the Greek New Testament.<sup>14</sup> After all that strenuous research one could hardly expect him to pass by the majority of MSS. without at least a preliminary study.

Yet Aland's interest in the minuscules has a negative purpose. He is no longer satisfied with Hort's judgment that the discovery of important cursive evidence

<sup>13</sup>A number of relevant articles were recently published by Dr. Aland in book form. (Studien zur Überlieferung des neuen Testaments und seines Textes ["Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung," Bd. II; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1967]). The most important article in this volume for the use of minuscules is an expanded and somewhat modified form of Dr. Aland's paper, "The Significance of the Papyri for New Testament Research" read at the 100th meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in New York and published in The Bible in Modern Scholarship, ed. J. Philip Hyatt (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1965), pp. 325-346.

<sup>14</sup>Kurt Aland, Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des neuen Testaments ("Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung," Bd. I; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1962).

is most improbable. He wants to find the few hypothetical nuggets which Hort did not think were worth the effort. Aland wants to be able to say that he has searched the minuscules exhaustively for anything of value.<sup>15</sup> This search, of course, presupposes that the minuscules as such are of little value. Only the exceptional MSS. warrant the concerted effort.

This indicates that with Aland no less than with Hort a value judgment is at work. Minuscules have to pass a test before they are considered worthy of inclusion in a textual apparatus. All MSS. which are generally Byzantine<sup>16</sup> will fail. Aland sees the Byzantine text as a unit which, in spite of all its internal differences and developments, should be treated as one. This Text-type is for him already well enough represented by some of the late uncials. He believes that the character and readings of the Byzantine text are so well established that its members can be represented under a siglum M (Majority text).<sup>17</sup> In order to

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<sup>15</sup>Kurt Aland, "The Significance of the Papyri . . . ," p. 339.

<sup>16</sup>From here on I will use Kirsopp Lake's designation, "Byzantine text," for what critics have called Syrian, Antiochan, Delta, Kappa, Koine, and Ecclesiastical text ("The Byzantine Text of the Gospels," Mémoires Lagrange [Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1940] ), p. 253.

<sup>17</sup>Kurt Aland, "The Significance of the Papyri . . . ," p. 342.

separate the sheep from the goats Aland proposes a list of readings which will readily identify a minuscule as being Byzantine or non-Byzantine.<sup>18</sup>

In many ways Aland's attitude to the minuscules is a step forward from Hort. Greater certainty is necessary than Hort's "probabilities" to eliminate the possibility that new evidence will invalidate conclusions drawn from a selection or sampling of MSS. Aland is trying to provide this certainty. The question remains, however, whether Aland is not still too restrictive. Aland believes that von Soden tried to do too much in dealing with the whole history of the text.<sup>19</sup> Yet this criticism is not centered on von Soden's inaccuracies and dubious conclusions. Rather, Aland implies that a large part of von Soden's effort was unnecessary. The Byzantine text, and particularly the Byzantine minuscules, can be left out of consideration. They are of no use in establishing the original text of the New Testament.<sup>20</sup> But this is a conclusion to

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<sup>18</sup>This list is the long-promised "1000 cursives examined in 1000 passages with a view to evaluate their text." Since this is in fact a method for classifying MSS., it will be scrutinized, insofar as that is possible at this time, along with other methods in Chapter III.

<sup>19</sup>Kurt Aland, "The Significance of the Papyri . . . ," p. 341.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 342. It must be kept in mind that Aland's purpose is to construct an exhaustive critical apparatus to the Greek New Testament.



be drawn from evidence, not to form the basis for the selection of evidence.

The point of contention is not whether the Byzantine text, whatever that exactly may be, is of greater or equal value than the great Egyptian uncials. The real question is whether the time has come to speak about the value of Byzantine MSS. at all. Except in von Soden's inaccurate and unused pages, the minuscules have never been allowed to speak. Once heard, they may well be silenced forever, but at least their case will have been presented and then for good and necessary reasons they will be content to grace libraries and old book collections. Textual critics deserve to have all the evidence before them, evidence which has not first been prejudged.

It is an ironic fact that today basic manuscript evidence of the New Testament is less available to the textual critic than it was fifty years ago. Editions of great uncials have long been out of print. Tischendorf's editio octava maior has never had a serious competition, let alone a complement. Though the casual user of a critical text of the Greek New Testament has been well provided for, the expert and serious student is at the mercy of highly selective and incomplete apparatus critici. This situation could only be defended if the task of establishing the best possible New Testament text had been accomplished,

and if the history of the transmission of that text was clear. But it is not.

The much-needed new and unbiased look at all the evidence available demands the use of a good representation of the minuscules. To condemn the great majority of them by means of a single siglum will not suffice. The situation up to the ninth century is too uncertain. The fact that among the early uncials and papyri there is only one clearly defined group of MSS. has made any objective judgment impossible.<sup>21</sup> The well-trained choir of the Neutral group, recently strengthened by the powerful bass P75, has drowned out all the solos. The long overdue dethronement of the Textus Receptus by Hort and others suffered from overkill of the only group of MSS. which could have put up a fight. Since that time lower criticism seems to have become the study of what to do when Vaticanus and P75 disagree.

A study of the minuscules could change this situation. They promise hope of discovering the several lines of textual tradition which fed into the tenth and eleventh centuries. The few extant late uncials give no sufficient clues to this.

The late minuscules also give us a case study of the forces involved in the transmission of the text. The

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<sup>21</sup>Although, in theory, a single MS. can have as much value as a group, in practice a single divergent MS. is suspect.

word "mixture" still covers a large blank space lined with question marks. In the medieval tradition enough MSS. remain to observe and study these unexplained phenomena. Certainly we may expect to receive some answers about the growth of groups and types and recensions, about scribal habits and deliberate attempts to improve the text. When used with care, these answers can help us to understand what went on at earlier, less well-attested stages of the transmission of the text.

All these considerations are secondary to the overriding need for complete and unbiased evidence. There has never been such evidence. The bulk of the minuscules may well be devoid of any value for textual criticism, but how can one be sure before studying them? No one has ever presented a conclusive argument against the use of the Byzantine text. Certainly Hort's case against the late minuscules no longer convinces,<sup>22</sup> and Aland is begging the question. Therefore, until there is proof to the contrary, minuscules ought to play a meaningful role in the lower criticism of the Greek New Testament.

Up to this point the discussion has centered only on the desirability of using the evidence of the minuscules in textual criticism. Little was said about its feasibility.

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<sup>22</sup>Some of the weaknesses in Hort's line of reasoning were pointed out by E. C. Colwell in "Genealogical Method: its Achievements and its Limitations," JBL, LXVI (1947), pp. 109-33.

Ultimately, every textual critic might well agree that it would be useful to have the evidence of the cursives available if only he could be convinced that this could be accomplished within his lifetime. If the number of minuscules had been no larger than that of the uncials the issue would never have arisen. Only because the number of late minuscules seems unmanageable did scholars like Hort and Aland try to avoid using them.

There are several factors which play a role here. The realities of mid-twentieth century existence no longer favor projects which demand half a century or more. There is a constant clamoring for results, not only by the intended public, but also by the scholar who is eager to see the publication grace his bibliography. Of no less importance is the fact that financial contributors, hard enough to come by in the field of text study, do not favor endless research projects, and for understandable reasons.

A second factor is the proposed evidence of the minuscules itself. One could imagine making collations of some 1700 MSS. extant in one of the Gospels, but how will anyone ever make sense out of them? The purpose of a critical apparatus must be kept in mind: this purpose is not in the first place to publish a large number of collations, though this is part of the picture. If these collations cannot be weighed, compared and interpreted, they are

useless. Too large a number of MSS. renders any apparatus meaningless.

Ideally, a critical apparatus gives all pertinent manuscript evidence necessary for the establishment of the best possible text, and nothing more. Since the number of MSS. used in an apparatus must be kept within reasonable limits, it is clear that only a fraction of the total number of Greek MSS. of the New Testament can be included. This could easily lead to arbitrariness--and it often has--unless somehow true representation could be assured. Selection is defensible only if the user of the apparatus can be convinced that the number of MSS. presented spans and represents the whole tradition in text, date and, insofar as this is known, provenance.

Thus the conditions under which cursives can be used profitably have become very limited. If there is no assurance that a relatively small number of minuscules can be selected which will accurately represent the whole Byzantine tradition, then we may as well ignore the whole group altogether. It would justify a return to the time when the compiler of an apparatus picked and chose minuscules according to his fancy and opportunity. Aland would then be in his right to ignore the differences among Byzantine MSS.

This narrows the whole problem of minuscules down to the question of balanced representation. Is it possible

to represent the late Medieval text with a number of MSS. which is large enough to do justice to the whole range of available MSS. and yet not so large that it clutters up and confuses a critical apparatus? And further, if the answer to this question is positive, can these representatives be found through a simple but accurate process within a reasonable amount of time? Certainly, if it presupposes a complete study and comparison of all Medieval MSS., no purpose will have been served, for it will postpone the actual selection of representative MSS. beyond the horizon.

Fortunately we are no longer in the dark about either the theoretical or practical possibilities of this venture. More than half a century ago a great textual critic made a serious attempt to represent the whole Byzantine tradition in the apparatus to his text. This scholar was Hermann von Soden, and he almost succeeded. At this point<sup>23</sup> we may ignore the weaknesses of von Soden's grandiose venture, and simply point out what he proved relevant to selecting representatives of the Byzantine text.

a) The late medieval text, i.e., from the tenth through the fifteenth centuries, includes a considerable number of groups or families of MSS., varying in size from a few MSS. to several hundred. Relatively few minuscules

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<sup>23</sup>Chapter II consists of a detailed analysis of von Soden's treatment of the minuscules.

have such a peculiar text that they fall outside of these groups.

b) In order to determine to what group a MS. belongs, it is not necessary to survey the complete text of a MS. The distinctive characteristics of a group are often visible in short selections of text. Thus a MS. can be classified with relatively little effort once the text of each group in the test passages has been established.

c) The character of most groups is such that the range of its text can be represented by only a few of its members. Thus the minuscules can be adequately represented in a critical apparatus by choosing some strategic members of each known group, and by employing those few MSS. which did not conform to any of these groups.

Although the actual results of von Soden's labors can be, and have been, challenged, these three conclusions have never been seriously contested. On the contrary, scholarship since von Soden has proven him right repeatedly at these crucial points.

Even though von Soden did not leave the scholarly world an accurate and practical tool with which to classify the text of the minuscules,<sup>24</sup> he left a tempting promise. At least he proved that the venture was possible and profitable. In all fairness it must be admitted that

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<sup>24</sup>Infra, Chapter II.

without the example and promise of von Soden's work there would not have been a Claremont Profile Method for the classification of Byzantine MSS. Even where he failed, von Soden was instructive, and where he was correct, he proved to be of great help.

It has been the contention of this chapter that minuscules can and should figure prominently in the task of lower criticism. They deserve to be represented in a textual apparatus to the Greek New Testament which attempts to present the complete range of evidence without pre-judgment. In view of this demand and background the Claremont Profile Method was developed. The method claims to be an accurate and rapid procedure for the classification of the text of all Medieval MSS., and to present an adequate basis for the selection of balanced representatives of the whole tradition. In addition, a basis for group study as well as inter-group study will be established. If this claim is substantiated by the following chapters, it will have delivered lower criticism from its present dilemma and impasse, and it will have restored the minuscules to their rightful place.



## CHAPTER II

### VON SODEN'S LEGACY

Few scholarly enterprises have suffered a more curious fate than that of Hermann Freiherr von Soden. On the one hand, criticism could hardly have been more unanimous, more vociferous, and more devastating. Nonetheless, almost all of von Soden's critics have made extensive use of his work, and that in a surprisingly uncritical fashion. The reasons for this ironical fact readily suggest themselves.

An immediate and apprehensive reaction to von Soden's Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments was inevitable.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>H. H. B. Ayles, "A Recent Attempt to Determine the Original New Testament Text," The Interpreter, XI (1915), pp. 408-414. H. C. Hoskier, "Von Soden's Text of the New Testament," JTS, XV (1914), pp. 307-326. Kirsopp Lake, "Professor H. Von Soden's Treatment of the Text of the Gospels," Review of Theology and Philosophy, IV (1908-1909), pp. 201-217 and 277-295. Hans Lietzmann, "H. Von Sodens Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments; Die Perikope von der Ehebrecherin," ZNW, VIII (1907), pp. 34-47. Hans Lietzmann, "Hermann Von Sodens Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments: Die drei Rezensionen," ZNW, XV (1915), pp. 323-331. Hans Lietzmann, "Bemerkungen zu Hermann Von Sodens Antikritik," ZNW, VIII (1907), pp. 234-237. A. Souter, "Von Soden's Text of the Greek New Testament Examined in Select Passages," Expositor, VIII, No. 10 (1915), pp. 429-444.

The work claimed to be an exhaustive and definitive study of the manuscript tradition of the Greek New Testament, with as its culmination a reconstruction of a text which was as close as possible to the original. Thus it seemed that all previous textual work had become obsolete, and that the main task of lower criticism of the New Testament had finally been accomplished. No textual critic could leave such a claim untested and unchallenged.

The manner of publishing Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments contributed to the general apprehension. The first volume, which appeared eleven years before the critical text, gave little clue as to von Soden's presuppositions, methods and results, but made it abundantly clear that the project was all-encompassing, both in scope and depth. Nor was this first volume immune to a charge of scholarly arrogance. So sure was von Soden of the finality of his work that he adopted a totally new notation system for Greek New Testament MSS. Though the old Tischendorf-Gregory System had little to say for itself except the blessing of time, von Soden's system would necessitate working for a long time with cumbersome conversion tables and to dubious advantage.<sup>2</sup> It is no doubt helpful to know from the manuscript

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<sup>2</sup>The most obvious disadvantage of this notation system as compared to earlier ones is that the difference between papyri, uncials, and minuscules is no longer visible from the manuscript number.

notation the general content and date of a MS., but even if von Soden's judgment of date can be trusted, is it helpful enough to warrant a complete change in notation and enumeration? The answer of the scholarly world was negative. Von Soden's new notations have been the least used of all his contributions.

Another early reaction to von Soden's first volume involved his use of the pericope adulterae, John 7, 53-8, 11, which von Soden called  $\mu$  ( $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ). Again comments were to be expected, for this chapter was the only one in the first volume which seemed to indicate von Soden's methodology. Although the role of  $\mu$  within the whole enterprise was far from clear, even when further volumes were published, it gave the critics the impression that this chapter was a comprehensive sample of the quality and underlying method of von Soden's work. As such it was fair game for criticism.

It is hard to say how much an early exposure and scholarly discussion of von Soden's methodology would have influenced the end result. Perhaps the debate would have dragged on so long that the real work would never have begun. At times a scholar has to take a stand and do what he thinks is right, in spite of doubts and opposition from others. The final proof will be in the end product. Yet, if the undertaking involves dozens of workers, and the research spans more than a decade, it is an unquestionable necessity

to sound out at least one's colleagues in the field as to method and procedure. At this point lies von Soden's cardinal mistake. There never was such a sounding out, not even after several volumes had appeared, for von Soden never explained, let alone defended, his methodology. One could only guess at what he was trying to do or had done. Consequently, much of the criticism, even at a time that it might have helped the author, was somewhat irrelevant or at best a hit and miss game.

The complaint about the elusiveness and obscurity of von Soden's procedure was voiced early enough. Already in 1907 Hans Lietzmann charged:

Der Verfasser liebt es, das Resultat zuerst anzugeben und dann Gruppe für Gruppe die abweichenden Lesarten zu besprechen. Die Folge ist, dass man nirgendwo einen Gesamtüberblick über den Stand der Dinge erhält, sondern sich ihn selbst durch Rückschlüsse verschaffen muss: mit andren Worten, der kritische Benutzer des Buches muss den Variantenapparat, auf Grund dessen V. Soden sein Urteil abgibt, selbst rekonstruieren.<sup>3</sup>

Lietzmann had put his finger where it hurt most. His further critique of von Soden's reconstruction of the original text is, in comparison, of little importance. Unfortunately von Soden defended himself on the fine details of the pericope adulterae recension and forms, and not on

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<sup>3</sup>Lietzmann, "Die Perikope . . . ," ZNW, VIII (1907), p. 40.

methodology and procedure.<sup>4</sup> The Lietzmann-von Soden debate, which could have been a meaningful and necessary exchange on methodology, ended with both sides being hardened in the belief of their own correctness and the other's incompetence.

Time has proven that von Soden's main failure was that of communication. He failed to communicate to his fellow textual critics his methodology at a time when changes could still have been made. He failed to elucidate in his publication the procedures by which he had reached his conclusions. He left the user of his volumes with no way of testing and probing his results. Finally, he even failed to communicate the manuscript evidence of his critical apparatus in an accurate and lucid fashion. This grandiose failure in communication goes a long way in explaining the vehemence of von Soden's critics.

Realizing the general disapproval of von Soden's work, it seems the more surprising that some of his conclusions have been widely, and rather uncritically, used.<sup>5</sup> Part of the reason was that it is almost impossible to use von Soden critically! Yet much more it shows that a study of the Greek text of the New Testament of the scope of von Soden's work, whatever its quality, was highly necessary.

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<sup>4</sup>Hermann von Soden, "Hermann Von Sodens Ausgabe des Neuen Testamentes: Die Perikope von der Ehebrecherin," ZNW, VIII (1907), pp. 110-124.

<sup>5</sup>Chapter III will give examples of this kind of use of von Soden.

Perhaps to his own dismay, von Soden's greatest contribution proved to be in grouping and classifying MSS. Although for von Soden classification of MSS. was only a means toward an end, this means proved to be valuable enough to ensure his name in the field of text studies. This aspect of von Soden's work deserves some further scrutiny and evaluation.

Von Soden's conception of the task before him was clear and praiseworthy.<sup>6</sup> He realized that the central task was to analyze the history of the transmission of the New Testament text. In contrast to his predecessors and contemporaries, he was willing to go all the way. He intended to use, as far as this was possible, all available MSS., both uncials and minuscules. Yet he was enough of a realist to recognize that no historical view will evolve from a record of individual MSS. Only if MSS. can be related will the venture be possible and profitable.

All those who have themselves tried to find relationships in text among the mass of New Testament MSS. can appreciate the difficulties and pitfalls involved. Von Soden was well aware of the complexities. He realized that all the parts of the New Testament do not have the same textual history. The four Gospels, Acts, the Epistles, the

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<sup>6</sup>Von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte I. Teil: Untersuchungen. I Abteilung: Die Textzeugen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911), pp. 14-16.

Catholics and the Apocalypse must all be treated separately, Then, if groups are found and tested, their text must be reconstructed and defined. Judgments must be made whether a group is a recension or whether it arose through "evolution," where and when it arose, and where it exerted its influence.<sup>7</sup> It is a great tribute to von Soden's energy, scholarship, and determination that he was willing to perform this immense task.

Though he is sparing in his recognition of the work of textual critics before him, von Soden admits that collations made by Scrivener, Tregelles, Ferrar, Abbott, Hoskier, Rendel Harris, Tischendorf and others helped him to form a rough picture of the situation, and gave him a starting point. Unfortunately, from here on matters are much less clear. He reports that he started with the Pauline letters since their textual history is less complicated than that of the Gospels.<sup>8</sup> The three traditional Text-types formed the basis for analysis. The uncials  $\aleph^2$  and B headed group I. Group II, the Western Text, was formed from a combination of Codex Bezae, the Itala, and the Syriac Sinaiticus. Finally, the Byzantine text was represented as group III. The next step seems to have been the collation of many MSS. in selected passages according to their

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

agreements or disagreements with these three basic groups.<sup>9</sup> Through this process the outline of some further groups became visible. More important, this procedure gave a standard to determine whether a MS. was a candidate for complete collation or only in a few selected passages. Understandably, almost all members of group III fell into the latter category.<sup>10</sup>

This rough tool could have done little more than distinguish generally Byzantine MSS. from other Text-types. A more refined tool was necessary to distinguish groups within the Byzantine text. Again the reader is left guessing exactly how von Soden found his Iota and Kappa groups. It is clear that the analysis of the pericope adulterae was meant to play an important role, but how and to what extent remains a question. No doubt the choice of John 7, 53-8, 11 was ingenious. This passage is not found in the oldest Greek witnesses, and thus its history is largely limited to the Byzantine MSS. This promised a unique case of genealogical development without complicating influences from other Text-types. Because of this peculiarity and its extraordinary number of variant readings, this pericope seemed to lend itself particularly well to the analysis of the Byzantine Text-type.

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<sup>9</sup>This is by no means clear from von Soden's description. He used Mt. 21-22, Mk. 10-11, Lk. 7-8, and John 6-7 as test passages to spot K<sup>x</sup> MSS. (Die Schriften . . ., I, 2, p. 775). Whether these are the Stichkapitel is anybody's guess.

<sup>10</sup>Von Soden, Die Schriften . . ., I, 2, p. 18.



Von Soden compared the text of almost one thousand MSS. in  $\mu$ . Through an analysis not disclosed to the reader, seven basic forms became visible, representing different stages of the evolution of the text. On the basis of these von Soden claimed to have been able to reconstruct the "Urform." The by now thoroughly frustrating habit of giving only a defense of the result without divulging the process of getting there received the deserved wrath of Hans Lietzmann.<sup>11</sup>

Curiously enough the seven forms of  $\mu$  do only in a few cases correspond to Iota and Kappa groups.<sup>12</sup> This gives rise to the suspicion that the analysis of  $\mu$  was not so helpful after all. In the discussion of individual groups in Volume I, Part 2, members of the same group often part in the pericope adulterae. Apparently  $\mu$  did not live up

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<sup>11</sup>Lietzmann, "Die Perikope . . . ," ZNW, VIII (1907), pp. 34-37. Lietzmann took the  $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$  passage to be a sample of von Soden's method of reconstructing the original text. This interested him more than von Soden's stated purpose of finding groups and families. Hence Lietzmann's questions whether von Soden's Urform of  $\mu$  can really be defended by the data. Allen P. Wikgren attempted to establish the text of  $\mu$  in the Lectionaries. He concluded that more than one form was involved. ("The Lectionary Text of the Pericope, John 8: 1-11," JBL, LIII [1934]), pp. 188-198.

<sup>12</sup>The main exception is  $K^r$ . However, von Soden admits that he discovered  $K^r$  from the remarkable agreement between Scrivener's collation of "l," "m," and "n." As a contrast, at least four of the seven  $\mu$  forms are found among  $K^x$  MSS. (Die Schriften . . ., I, 2, p. 735). The problem is usually not that members of close-knit groups have different  $\mu$  forms but that they share their form with many unrelated groups.

to its promise. The influence of non-Byzantine Text-types was felt anyway, for a significant number of Kappa and Iota MSS. omit  $\mu$ . Furthermore, the unique history of the passage must have been known to many scribes, and thus special efforts were made to correct and standardize this passage. Indeed, in hindsight von Soden could hardly have picked a worse passage for group analysis than this one which has been for centuries the play ground of scribes and correctors.<sup>13</sup>

This suspicion about  $\mu$ 's value for group analysis is strengthened by the fact that, though transitions are never very clear in von Soden's treatment, the transition from the analysis of  $\mu$  to the Iota and Kappa groups is completely absent. Perhaps von Soden used some other way which defied scientific description to find most of his groups.<sup>14</sup> But in whatever way it was done, he found the groups and for that we must be thankful.

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<sup>13</sup>Von Soden admits the unusual complexity and confusion of the pericope adulterae, (Die Schriften . . ., I, 2, p. 717). One wonders if he would have given this passage as prominent a place in his introduction if he had published it after his group studies were finished.

<sup>14</sup>Three important groups had been established before von Soden's time, the Ferrar group, Kirsopp Lake's Family I, and the group which later became known as Family II. Von Soden almost totally ignored the discoverers of these groups though probably not the discoveries.

Apart from the pericope adulterae, we know that von Soden used the "equipment" or non-textual material, for the grouping of MSS. Yet there is no evidence that von Soden used an analysis of "equipment" to find groups. Only I<sup>k</sup> and K<sup>r</sup> have distinctive equipment. Especially the late Kappa recension K<sup>r</sup> has a distinctive lectionary equipment and numbering of sections, so that most members of that group can be readily spotted even without looking at the actual text.<sup>15</sup>

It is unfortunate that von Soden's splendid achievement of finding and establishing a significant number of manuscript groups was overshadowed by the justified criticism of the I-H-K Text-type hypothesis. Von Soden believed that the third century saw the rise of three recensions. "I" presumably was made by Origen and published by Eusebius and Pamphilus in Palestine. "H" was made by Hesychius in Egypt and "K" by Lucian in Antioch. The critic's task, therefore, according to von Soden, is to reconstruct the original text of the three recensions, and from these the common ground text which then, in most cases, is the same as, or the closest possible approximation to, the autographa. Since von Soden put the heaviest weight on I, the least certain of the recensions, and a great deal more weight on K than had been the custom since Westcott-Hort, the critics

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<sup>15</sup>Von Soden, Die Schriften . . ., I, 1, p. 405.

remained singularly unconvinced about his whole hypothesis. Textual critics were most unhappy about the Iota type. The Eta type, corresponding roughly to a combination of Hort's Neutral and Alexandrian texts, was not questioned apart from its connection with the name Hesychius and the elimination of Hort's subdivisions.<sup>16</sup> Also Kappa was already well established before von Soden's time. Thus the criticism at this point centered on the question of its origin in the third century and the independence from other Text-types. Especially Lietzmann questioned whether K was as old as H. But in the case of the Iota the existence of the Text-type itself was vigorously denied.<sup>17</sup>

As if the I-H-K recensions were not enough speculation, von Soden proposed that Tatian's Diatessaron was the main corrupting influence on the pre-I-H-K text. The influence of Tatian was meant to explain the differences between the pre-third century Fathers and Versions, and the text underlying the I-H-K recensions.<sup>18</sup> All this theorizing would have been relatively harmless had von Soden not made the presentation of his introduction and critical apparatus dependent upon it. Even his groups of MSS. are pushed into this questionable mold.

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<sup>16</sup>Kirsopp Lake, p. 282-284.

<sup>17</sup>Lietzmann, ZNW, XV (1914); also, K. Lake, p. 282.

<sup>18</sup>Von Soden, Die Schriften . . ., I, 2, p. 1536-1544 and 1632-1648.

Added to the confusion is the fact that von Soden's groups are not all of the same type and quality. Some are recensions, others are families of which the archetype can be reconstructed with a great deal of certainty. This matters little as long as the group members have sufficient distinctive characteristics to form a coherent whole, and thus are clearly set apart from all other groups. However, some of von Soden's groups, particularly I<sup>a</sup>, I<sup>σ</sup>, I<sup>o</sup> do not live up to these standards. Von Soden, of course, knew that the members of these "groups" differed greatly among themselves, but he defended their coherence in terms of different degrees of corruption by another Text-type, usually K. This in turn depended on his reconstruction of the history and development of the three major recensions.

Of these "pseudo-groups," I<sup>a</sup> was questioned very early by Kirsopp Lake and others, since it combined Codex Bezae with MSS. which later were called Caesarean.<sup>19</sup> Yet Lake himself later followed a similar procedure.<sup>20</sup> Like von Soden, Lake also had to give a prominent place to the different degrees of corruption of the Caesarean members by Kappa in order to establish the integrity of the group.

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<sup>19</sup>K. Lake, p. 282.

<sup>20</sup>Kirsopp Lake, Robert P. Blake, and Silva New, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," Harvard Theological Review, XXI, No. 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928).

No wonder then that the Caesarean group has become as controversial as von Soden's I<sup>Δ</sup> used to be.

The criticism of I<sup>Δ</sup> had the result that serious doubt was thrown on von Soden's other groups, which were not as obviously wrong, but which could not be readily tested due to the author's impenetrable description. This goes far in explaining why von Soden's groups have never been used whole heartedly by textual critics. Usually they are introduced in textual studies because nothing better is available, and then only with careful qualifications about the certainty of the classification.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, many of von Soden's groups have been independently verified by textual critics. Family II (I<sup>K</sup>) Family 13 (I<sup>L</sup>) and Family 1 (I<sup>N</sup>) were established well before von Soden's time. After the final publication of Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments K<sup>R</sup> was conclusively verified by David O. Voss,<sup>22</sup> and E. C. Colwell found I<sup>B</sup> to be an

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<sup>21</sup>So low has von Soden's stock fallen among some recent textual critics that it was possible, after some extremely limited and highly questionable statistical analyses, to conclude of M—a leading member of von Soden's I<sup>Φ<sup>R</sup></sup>— "This study indicates that von Soden's classification of M as I<sup>Φ<sup>R</sup></sup> and as a weak member of Family 1424 cannot be demonstrated." Russell Champlin, Family E and its Allies ("Studies and Documents," XXVII; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), p. 168. Such a judgment can only be made out of ignorance of von Soden's groups and of the severe limitations of statistics in group study.

<sup>22</sup>David O. Voss, "Is Von Soden's K<sup>R</sup> a distinct type of Text?" JBL, LVII (1938), pp. 311-318. The distinctive traits of K<sup>R</sup> escaped Kirsopp Lake in an analysis of 119 Byzantine MSS. in Mark 11 (Lake, Blake, New, p. 341).

authentic group.<sup>23</sup> Detailed studies have been published on Family II and Family 13 by Kirsopp and Silva Lake and Jacob Geerlings.<sup>24</sup> In general, therefore, von Soden's groups stand up remarkably well if von Soden's own qualifications of the integrity of I<sup>α</sup>, I<sup>σ</sup> and I<sup>ο</sup> are kept in mind.

Thus the question presents itself whether Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments can be used as the basis for further group study and manuscript classification. The answer depends on two factors, completeness and accuracy. It must be granted from the outset that von Soden did not expressly design his volumes to be used for further group study or for the classification of previously unstudied MSS. He presents, therefore, no handy tool for this purpose. This does not exclude the possibility that, after testing and trying, a way can be found to use von Soden for this task. After all, von Soden himself classified more than 1200 MSS. containing the text of the gospels, and his

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<sup>23</sup>E. C. Colwell, The Four Gospels of Karahissar, Vol. I: History and Text (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), pp. 170-177.

<sup>24</sup>Kirsopp and Silva Lake, Family 13 (The Ferrar Group); the Text According to Mark ("Studies and Documents," XI; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941); Jacob Geerlings, Family 13 in Matthew, Luke, and John ("Studies and Documents," XIX, XX, XXI; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1961-62); Silva Lake, Family II and the Codex Alexandrinus; the Text According to Mark ("Studies and Documents," V; London: Christophers, 1936). Jacob Geerlings, Family II in Luke ("Studies and Documents," XXII; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1962).

treatment of the Iota and Kappa groups shows great detail.

In spite of these promises, group study on the basis of von Soden has proved to be futile. The author seemingly assumes that no one would want to do any work on manuscript groups beyond his contributions. He presents his reader with lists of readings which distinguish one group from another or contrast a group against the hypothetical archetype. Since neither the text of the contrasted group nor the text of the archetype is given completely and independently, reconstruction is impossible. Lietzmann reports that he worked two days to reconstruct  $\mu^2$  without feeling that he was correct. And with  $\mu^2$  only 12 verses were involved and many more data were given than in the case of the groups!

Compounding the problem is the fact that the lists of differences between groups are usually only partial. Von Soden analyzed most groups only in selected chapters (Stichkapiteln). The text of groups is not given outside the critical apparatus to the text. This does not mean that the detailed description of groups in Vol. I, Part 2, is of no value at all. David O. Voss found von Soden's lists of differences between  $K^x$  and  $K^r$  helpful in proving the existence of  $K^r$  as an independent group. However, the main evidence for the verification of von Soden's groups



used by Voss, Colwell, and others was of necessity from sources outside von Soden.

This leaves only the critical apparatus to von Soden's text as a source for group study and classification of unstudied MSS. Perhaps this was the most obvious place anyway, for it seems most suitable for these purposes. The elaborate group studies in the introductory volumes gave von Soden the distinct advantage of citing, in his apparatus, groups of MSS. with the necessary exceptions instead of long lists of meaningless numbers. In the introductory pages to the text volume all groups used were mentioned with the MSS. which were chosen to represent these groups. The advantages are obvious. Not only does it shorten the apparatus significantly, but it also presents the evidence in a form which can be readily interpreted by the reader. The difficulty of getting used to the system is easily compensated for by the advantages.

Theoretically, for group studies all that would be necessary is to follow the entries in the apparatus and to look for the siglum of the group. The groups are always quoted in the same order and exceptions are spelled out when one or more members of a group depart from the majority.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>The MSS. representing K<sup>X</sup> and K<sup>I</sup> were treated as a group without ever mentioning the exceptions. More disconcerting is the statement that single exceptions to other groups were ignored if it involved a less valuable witness which read with the Kappa text (von Soden, Die Schriften . . ., II, p. xxv).

In this way not only the majority text of a group can be established in a relatively short time but also the variations within the group can be registered. Hopefully, after this has been accomplished, the detailed discussion of groups in Vol. II will then surrender many of its well-kept secrets.

The classification of previously unclassified MSS. on the basis of von Soden's apparatus would present no more difficulties than group studies. The MS. will have to be collated against von Soden's text in a few chapters. The variants must then be compared with the support of these same variants in the apparatus. By recording each time the group or groups which share the variant with the MS. in question, a meaningful list will be drawn up. If the MS. belongs to one of von Soden's groups, that group will appear most often in the list. If other chapters support the conclusion, the classification will be assured.

Thus, theoretically, the prospects look promising. However, von Soden's apparatus will have to be reasonably accurate. An occasional mistake is inevitable, and would not influence the outcome, but extensive inaccuracy could not be tolerated. Unfortunately, the severest criticism of von Soden has been the lack of accuracy in his apparatus. Hoskier, one of the few critics who was in the position to check von Soden extensively, was horrified. Giving abundant evidence to back up his charge, he states, "It can only be

said that the apparatus is positively honeycombed with errors, and many documents which should have been recollated have not been touched, others only partially, and others again have been incorrectly handled."<sup>26</sup> Summing up his feelings and impressions he closes in his characteristically devastating way "Es ist zum Weinen."<sup>27</sup>

In order to make an independent judgment of the matter, a test was run to measure the extent of von Soden's inaccuracy. Luke 1 was chosen, since it is one of the sample chapters of the Claremont Profile Method, and, more important, hundreds of twice checked collations were available with microfilms through the office of the International Greek New Testament Project in Claremont.

A careful count revealed that von Soden claims to use 120 MSS. in the apparatus to Luke 1. It should be borne in mind that von Soden does not always use a MS. throughout. A significant number of MSS. were only partially collated. Why these MSS. were not used in toto is not clear, but time and opportunity must have been the determining factors. In the introduction to the text volume von Soden lists all the MSS. used in the apparatus with reference to the groups to which they belong, and specifies the books and chapters in which they were collated.

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<sup>26</sup>Hoskier, p. 307.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 326.

Through the good offices of the I.G.N.T.P., 99 of the 120 MSS. could be checked by means of collations and microfilms. This was without doubt a much larger number than anybody had ever been able to check. In order to make the test meaningful, 54 readings were used which, through research independent from von Soden, had proven themselves to be read by the majority of MSS. belonging to one or more (but not all) known Byzantine groups.<sup>28</sup> These 54 readings included almost all important variant readings in Luke 1. Only Neutral readings without Byzantine group support and variants supported by less than a majority of any group were omitted.

Of the 54 test readings 53 were represented in von Soden's apparatus with either positive or negative evidence. A collation of von Soden's data on the 120 MSS. against the Textus Receptus in the 53 test readings formed the next step. Since the I.G.N.T.P. makes all its collations of Greek MSS. against the Textus Receptus an accurate comparison could then be made. To draw this type of information from von Soden's apparatus is far from simple, since he only gives the support for the variant from his text if that list is shorter than the support of his text. Frequently, therefore, one has to sift out all those MSS. listed in the introductory pages which are not mentioned

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<sup>28</sup>The selection of these test readings will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

with the variant in the apparatus. It is legitimate to use this "negative" evidence since von Soden claims to use his MSS. consistently when he uses them. An added complication is that all of von Soden's numbers must be converted to Gregory numbers. Altogether a long and treacherous task but not an impossible one.

One of the most shocking discoveries was that von Soden's introductory pages are untrustworthy. At least two MSS., Gregory's 230 and 473, he claims to have used but he clearly has not. On the other hand, MSS. 495, 1354 and 1515 he uses without saying so. A third aberrant category is made up of MSS. which are so often incorrectly cited that they must have been used only cursorily. MSS. 482, 16, 477 and 1216 seem to fall in this group. Proof of this is that these MSS. are only used incorrectly when cited under the group symbol. If this explanation is correct, then von Soden failed to warn the reader.

Once the extent of error is seen, the word inaccuracy becomes a euphemism. Of the 99 checked MSS., 76 were missing one or more times when they should have been cited, or were listed when they should not have been. This breaks down into 59 MSS. which were missing in von Soden's apparatus from 1 to 4 times, and 39 which were added incorrectly from 1 to 6 times. The comparison showed up mistakes at every stage. They can be roughly categorized as follows:

1. Mistaken collation. This is the only explanation for the many times a MS. was specifically (by number) but incorrectly added or excepted.
2. Failure to make exceptions in group listings. This is the most frequent mistake. It is so common that it becomes impossible to reconstruct the text of a MS. from von Soden's apparatus.
3. Differences between the list of MSS. claimed to be used in the introduction to the text volume, and the MSS. which were actually used. Also, lacunae in MSS. were not indicated.
4. Various typographical mistakes ranging from listing a MS. with the wrong variant to scrambled numbers.
5. A host of mysterious mistakes which must have happened between the worksheets and the printer. Evidently, there was much less quality control in von Soden's offices than in a Byzantine scriptorium.

Kirsopp Lake once said that there never has been and never will be a perfect collation. Yet he did not deny that great accuracy is demanded. It was granted that for group study and classification of previously unclassified MSS. no perfection was necessary. But von Soden's inaccuracies cannot be tolerated for any purpose. His apparatus

is useless for a reconstruction of the text of the MSS. he used. Not only does it involve a hazardous work process, but also the result will be untrustworthy. The situation is not better for group study. Exceptions of individual MSS. to the majority of the group are frequently missing. What is worse for the classification of MSS. is that there is not always a group majority where von Soden indicates it or vice versa.

All of this may sound like a total condemnation of von Soden's Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. It is certainly not meant to be that. Harsh as one must be on the quality of von Soden's end product and general procedure, one cannot ignore his achievement. More than 1200 minuscules were examined by von Soden in whole or in part. His classification is in the great majority of cases the only information we have about the text of MSS. Years of usage have shown that von Soden's classifications of MSS., although not always correct, are usually helpful.

The main draw-back of von Soden's classifications is that for most MSS. they are based on a very short selection of text. Thus a change in Text-type, a not uncommon phenomenon in Greek New Testament MSS., goes unnoticed. Consequently, a final judgment of the text of most MSS. as to grouping cannot be made on von Soden's classification alone. The other draw-back is that von Soden did not leave us a

trustworthy tool to classify the many MSS. which he was unable to examine.

Von Soden has given the student of groups a starting point not a finished product or a classification tool. His legacy does not include a method for discovering or studying groups. Rather, he gave a general picture of the mass of minuscules in terms of groups, and the promise that order can be brought into the chaotic world of Byzantine New Testament MSS.



## CHAPTER III

### THE QUEST FOR TEXT CLASSIFICATION

The shadow of von Soden looms large in the classification of Greek New Testament MSS. in terms of groups. The few Byzantine group studies prior to the publication of Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments soon dropped out of sight.<sup>1</sup> The work on groups since von Soden has consisted mainly in establishing the text of the archetype of some of the more important groups.<sup>2</sup> Yet the need for a simple and accurate classification tool was only heightened by von Soden's magnum opus. An interesting attempt to fill this pressing need had already been made by Edward Ardron Hutton in 1911, two years before von Soden's final publication.<sup>3</sup> The timing could not have been worse.

Hutton's Atlas was in a sense already a reaction to von Soden. He was familiar with von Soden's introductory volumes and thoroughly frustrated by his way of presenting

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<sup>1</sup>Even Kirsopp Lake's "model" study, Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies ("Text and Studies," VII, no. 3; Cambridge: The University Press, 1902).

<sup>2</sup>Supra, Chapter II, footnote 24.

<sup>3</sup>Edward Ardron Hutton, An Atlas of Textual Criticism (Cambridge: The University Press, 1911).

groups. Almost anticipating the Claremont Profile Method, he complained:

Professor von Soden has given us list after list of readings of MSS. and groups. These lists are not only a weariness to the flesh but are based often upon the mere peculiarities of each group. Suppose one uniform set of readings had been chosen whereby to test all alike, I venture to think we should have obtained far more insight into the mutual relationship of documents. At present they are each divided into their groups, but the relationship of each group to the other documents is often all but impossible to determine.<sup>4</sup>

Hutton began a task left undone by Hort. He accepted with Hort the basic unity of the Byzantine text and its secondary nature. But Hort had realized that among the thousands of unexamined Byzantine minuscules some valuable MSS. might lie hidden. Hutton wanted to discover these textual gems. He feared they might become mere museum curiosities, "like the lantern of Guy Fawkes, or that wonderful threepenny bit that "Bodley" Coxe (may he rest in peace) once used as a touchstone to divide the sheep from the goats."<sup>5</sup>

Since Hutton was not interested in the Byzantine text, only in exceptions to that text, he did not concern himself with von Soden's Iota and Kappa groups. He considered it sufficient to distinguish between the three

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. xi and xii.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. x; the British are able to bring some life even into an Atlas of Textual Criticism.

chief groups which had been the main staple of textual critics ever since Griesbach.<sup>6</sup>

Hutton's procedure stands out for its simplicity. All New Testament passages were chosen where the Alexandrine, the Western and the Byzantine texts offer mutually conflicting evidence. All the Triple readings which showed some ambiguity, or where the evidence of the Versions or Fathers could not be adduced with certainty, were eliminated.<sup>7</sup> The result was a total of 312 triple readings in the New Testament. The next step was to collate a MS. in these 312 readings (in so far as they are extant). Hutton has provided separate charts of the Triple readings in each of the Gospels, Acts, the Catholics, Paul, and the Apocalypse. On those charts Hutton included the readings of all MSS. up to A.D. 1000 known to him, some additional important minuscules, many Old Latin MSS., the Versions, and at least sixteen Church Fathers. In this way, not only the affinity of a MS. to a Text-type can be determined, but also a comparison can be made with the main members of each Text-type. In addition, mixed MSS, will show their color.

The value of Hutton's Atlas for a quick and general judgment of the text of a MS. is beyond question. Of course, Hutton's tool is not better than his definitions of the three major Text-types. For the Alexandrine text he used

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 4f.

especially  $\aleph^2$  and B. For the Byzantine text he seems to have used primarily E and V, and sometimes minuscules if the number of extant uncials was low. For the Western text he used some Old Latin MSS. in the Gospels; elsewhere he used a combination of factors which cannot be easily discerned from the charts.

One cannot help feeling that Hutton's definitions leave much to be desired. The three so-called Text-types are by no means of a similar kind and quality. Few scholars today would call the "Western" text a Text-type. It has been characterized as an uncontrolled and popular text.<sup>8</sup> As such it cannot be represented by a single reading. Hutton's use of Versions as primary witnesses of the Western text shows the weakness of his definition.

The Byzantine text did not fare too well either in Hutton's hands. One can, of course, arbitrarily pick a few  $K^1$  uncials or some closely related  $K^r$  MSS. and so produce an even text, but only by ignoring the bloody limbs of other Byzantines scattered around the procrustean bed.

Hutton's 312 Triple readings would have been fine if they had been taken from three close-knit families of which the archetype could be reconstructed. But such was

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<sup>8</sup>E. C. Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A plea and a program," in Transitions in Biblical Studies, ed. J. Coert Rylaarsdam, "Essays in Divinity" (Chicago, scheduled for publication in 1968).

not the case. His selection system had a built-in bias against variety within the Text-types. The result was artificial and disappointing. To be sure, the Triple readings could spot P<sup>75</sup>'s relation to B in John, and  $\Omega$ 's relation to V, but most MSS. do not have the ideal vital statistics of Hutton's Text-types. As a result, far too many MSS. appear unduly mixed. We need a much more accurate tool to measure, for example, the mutual relationships of the so-called Caesarean MSS.

Hutton fell victim to the hundred-year-old hallowed tradition of three basic Text-types. But Kirsopp Lake had begun to shake this tradition already in 1901. Von Soden and Streeter furthered its downfall until today the term Text-type is limited to the Alexandrian and Byzantine texts, and then only with important qualifications.

Hutton's approach has much in common with that of Professor Kurt Aland.<sup>9</sup> Aland also is not interested in the Byzantine text as such, but only in MSS. which significantly diverge from the Byzantine text. An improvement on Hutton is that Aland no longer works with a Western Text-type. If we understand him correctly--the description of his "1000 cursives examined in 1000 passages with a view to evaluate their text" has not been published as yet--Professor Aland has selected his 1000 passages from places where the

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<sup>9</sup>Supra, Chapter I, pp. 8f.

Byzantine text differs from non-Byzantine MSS. In the light of Hutton's problems of defining his Triple readings, one would like to know how Aland determined what is a Byzantine reading and what is not. This crucial question awaits further word from Professor Aland.

Also unanswered is the question whether Aland's thousand readings will determine only whether a MS. is Byzantine, or perhaps also what it is if it is not Byzantine. Thus it is not certain whether we are dealing here with a tool for the classification of minuscules or with a rough selection instrument for MSS. important enough, i.e., non-Byzantine enough, to be included in a future critical apparatus. It certainly is the latter, but hopefully it is a great deal more.

Regrettably, Aland did not think it necessary to select his 1000 readings from all New Testament books. None were chosen from Matthew and Luke. In view of the not uncommon change of texts between Gospels, and even within a Gospel, we will remain uncertain about the text of a MS. in Matthew and Luke even if the 1000 readings indicate that other New Testament parts are Byzantine.

Most puzzling is Aland's announced treatment of the Byzantine text as a closed and distinct unit.<sup>10</sup> If he

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<sup>10</sup>Kurt Aland, "The Significance of the Papyri for New Testament Research," The Bible in Modern Scholarship, ed. J. Philip Hyatt (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1965), p. 342.

defines the Byzantine text in terms of von Soden's  $K^l$ ,  $K^x$ , and  $K^r$ , what does he do when one or more of the important non-Byzantine groups read with the three main Kappa groups against the rest of the manuscript tradition? Actually, places where  $K^l$ ,  $K^x$ , and  $K^r$  have readings against all other groups are extremely rare. There is no such case in the three chapters of Luke analyzed in the Claremont Profile Method. Certainly agreement or disagreement with one "Byzantine reading" carries a great deal more weight than agreement or disagreement with another. Ultimately it is not so important how often a MS. differs from the Byzantine text, but when and with what support. Statistical analysis (if this is what Aland has in mind?) will completely ignore this aspect.

Our argument with Professor Aland centers on his contention that the Byzantine text has a tradition of its own.<sup>11</sup> For in contrast to the many unique readings of the Neutral and the Caesarean groups, the main Byzantine groups have practically none. This means that either the Byzantine text is almost completely derived from other Text-types--a fact which many centuries of independent transmission can not alter--or that it has influenced non-Byzantine texts to such an extent that it has few unique features left. In general, Hort took the former position and von Soden the

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

latter. The truth is probably a combination of these two factors. Whatever the explanation, the consequence is that the Byzantine text does not have a clearly independent or distinct text tradition, although it has a very distinct transmission tradition. This fact must weigh heavily in any classification tool.

Due to its peculiar nature, the Byzantine text in many cases cannot be represented by a single reading, especially not if one wants to find non-Byzantine and mixed MSS. as Aland does. It is too early to decide whether a  $K^1$ ,  $K^X$ , or  $K^r$  reading found in "Caesarean" MSS. is due to Kappa influence, or whether the "Kappa" reading was derived from the Caesarean text. It is not necessary to decide between these two possibilities if the Byzantine text is represented in terms of its member groups instead of as a unity. For in that case one can determine whether a minuscule is a member of one of the main Byzantine groups quite apart from the value of its readings. But this would have necessitated the development of a profile method!

The 1920's brought a unique set of circumstances to the United States, reviving a demand for, and interest in, classification of MSS. in terms of groups. This was the time that many New Testament MSS. were bought by American



Universities and collectors.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, lower criticism of the New Testament was practiced at the University of Chicago with a vigor and scope that has probably never been equaled elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> Of course, there was a connection between the large acquisition of ancient MSS. and the blossoming of textual criticism at Chicago. Students enthusiastically collated the newly discovered MSS. and tried to determine the value of their text.

A third factor ought to be mentioned. Kirsopp Lake, an outstanding British textual critic in the Hortian tradition, had come to teach at Harvard Divinity School in 1914. There he developed his hypothesis of the relationship between Family 1, Family 13, Θ, 565, 700, and 28 which later became known as the Caesarean text.<sup>14</sup> B. H. Streeter carried Lake's work another step forward by pinpointing Caesarea as the location of what he called family Θ. More important for our purposes was his discovery of

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<sup>12</sup>Kenneth W. Clark, A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937); Aland, Studien zur Überlieferung . . ., pp. 221, 226-229.

<sup>13</sup>The tradition of textual study at Chicago began with Gregory. His student, Goodspeed, produced a significant number of outstanding lower critics who still dominate the field in the United States.

<sup>14</sup>K. Lake and R. P. Blake, "The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex," Harvard Theological Review, XVI (1923), p. 267 ff.

"Caesarean" affinities in the other Iota groups of von Soden, especially Codices 157, 1071, and 1424 and its allies.<sup>15</sup>

All this ought not to have been so surprising in view of von Soden's Iota recension. Lake and Streeter had merely revived an insight of von Soden which had been discredited a decade earlier. After the Iota groups were taken out of their questionable setting, and Codex Bezae had been left out of consideration, the Iota recension began to make some sense to scholars, though now under a different name.

The immediate result was a renewed interest in Byzantine groups with "Caesarean readings," especially in the United States. Published collations and MSS. were searched for interesting readings. Unfortunately, no proper framework had been set up to do such research. The general procedure was the following:

- A. The MS., or a part of it, was collated against the Textus Receptus.
- B. A section of the collation was selected, and support for the variants from the Textus Receptus were added from Tischendorf's editio octava maior, Scrivener, and other editions and collections of collations.

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<sup>15</sup>B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins (New York: MacMillan, 1925); and "Codices 157, 1071 and the Caesarean Text," Quantulacumque, ed. R. P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes K. Lake (London: Christophers, 1937), pp. 149-150.

C. Support for the variants was tabulated in order to find the MS. or MSS. which most often agree with the MS. under study. This was frequently expressed in percentages of agreements with the major witnesses.

D. A classification was made in terms of the MS. or MSS. with which it showed the highest percentage of agreements.

A few examples of the usage of this procedure may prove instructive. In 1902 Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed published a study and collation of the Newberry Gospels (Gregory's 1289).<sup>16</sup> He began with the selection of all significant variants from the Textus Receptus. These he divided into Syrian, Pre-Syrian, and singular-subsingular readings. The last category he ignored since it was of no value for classification. Finally he calculated the percentages of Syrian readings for each Gospel.<sup>17</sup> The resulting percentages had no significance in themselves. Therefore Goodspeed went through the same procedure with five other MSS. (the Haskell Gospels, Uncials A and D, and

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<sup>16</sup>Edgar J. Goodspeed, The Newberry Gospels (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1902). It should be remembered that this publication came well before von Soden's Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments.

<sup>17</sup>For example, he gives 42.758962% as Syrian element in Mark. The six decimals tell us, of course, more about the character of Professor Goodspeed than about the MS.

Gregory's 61 and 892). He then observed that the MSS. with the lowest number of divergences from the Textus Receptus also had the highest percentage of Syrian readings. Although he claimed that this was precisely what he expected, one wonders whether he really knew the reason for this "coincidence," for if he did he would have seen the futility of his carefully calculated percentages.

Anyone using variants from the Textus Receptus as a basis for classification must face the special character of Erasmus' text. When compared with a large number of late minuscules, it becomes clear that the Textus Receptus is far from uniformly Byzantine.<sup>18</sup> There is no doubt about its affinities to the Kappa groups, but it departs too often to be called a good representative. Thus any Byzantine MS. will have a certain number of variants from the Textus Receptus which do not prove distance from but rather affinity to the Byzantine Text. This number will remain approximately the same for any late MS.<sup>19</sup> Goodspeed could simply have used the numerical count of the divergences from the Textus Receptus as an indication of distance from

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<sup>18</sup>E. C. Colwell, "The Complex Character of the late Byzantine Text of the Gospels," JBL, XLIV (1935), p. 213; and Kirsopp Lake, Robert P. Blake, and Silva New, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," Harvard Theological Review, XXI, No. 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928).

<sup>19</sup>An estimate of 100 of such variants in Luke alone would be conservative.

the Byzantine text. It would have saved him the hazardous job of deciding whether a reading was Syrian or non-Syrian.<sup>20</sup>

Von Soden on the one hand had simplified the work of classification by publishing a list of some 1200 New Testament MSS. with their group affiliation, while on the other hand he had set a standard which necessitated much more detail in the study of an unclassified MS. than had been necessary prior to his work. Donald W. Riddle's study of the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament (Gregory's 2400) is a good example of classification in the post-von Soden era.<sup>21</sup>

The classification of Codex 2400 could have been relatively simple. A study of the many outstanding illuminations of this MS. showed a clear relationship to Codex 38 in iconography. In addition, both MSS. were unquestionably written by the same scribe.<sup>22</sup> Some important information was derived from this identification. It established thirteenth-century Constantinople as the origin of Codex 2400, since this was specified in a colophon in Codex 38.

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<sup>20</sup>Goodspeed, (The Newberry Gospels, p. 29), gives a table of the variants of the Newberry Gospels in Mark 1-3, indicating the manuscript support (taken from Tischendorf) and his assignment of Syrian, Neutral, or Western. Many of these assignments will not seem obvious to the reader today.

<sup>21</sup>Donald W. Riddle, The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, Volume II The Text (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932).

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

Although Riddle saw no obvious affinity in text between Codices 2400 and 38, he considered it worthwhile to look at von Soden's classification of Codex 38 and the MSS. associated with it. Von Soden considered 38 a greatly weakened form of the I<sup>k</sup> text.<sup>23</sup> After checking 2400 with the I<sup>k</sup> readings in von Soden's apparatus, Riddle concluded that 2400 was not a member of I<sup>k</sup>, and that its readings were of the Iota rather than the Kappa groups.<sup>24</sup>

After comparing the variant readings of 2400 with many published collations, Riddle hit on what he thought was a new little group of which 2400 was a leading member. Among these were Codices 489 and 482 which were also mentioned by von Soden in connection with Codex 38 as weak members of the I<sup>k</sup> group. Riddle then was forced to conclude that 489 and 482 were incorrectly grouped by von Soden.<sup>25</sup>

This result did not end Riddle's tireless efforts to locate the text of 2400. He compared Codex 2400 with Kirsopp Lake's detailed study of more than 100 MSS. in

<sup>23</sup>Von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte I. Teil: Untersuchungen. I Abteilung: Die Textzeugen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911), p. 855.

<sup>24</sup>Riddle, p. 107. Riddle does not seem to realize that as far as von Soden is concerned I<sup>k</sup> stands out from the Kappa groups in its Iota readings.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

Mark 11.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, he calculated how often the major uncials supported the variants of 2400. Although  $\Pi$ , K, and A (all members of  $I^k$ !) had by far the highest percentages, and although Lake's list pointed at  $I^k$ , Riddle still maintained that "2400 is not in the main in the  $K^a$  ( $=I^k$ ) family."<sup>27</sup>

Finally, Riddle, like most New Testament manuscript students of his time, went on a search for Caesarean readings. By using Lake's highly questionable method of calling Caesarean any reading against the Textus Receptus which has the support of two group members, Riddle ended up with 167 Caesarean readings in Mark, or approximately 42% of the variants of Codex 2400. This was grounds enough for Riddle to call his Codex weakened Caesarean with a mixture of  $I^k$  readings.

Of course, Riddle's haphazard procedure--though he was much more thorough than most of his contemporaries in classifying a MS.--begs for a critique. Most glaring is the shocking ease with which Riddle dismisses von Soden's classification of Codices 38, 489, and 482. On the smallest bit of "independent" evidence MSS. are re-classified as if von Soden had made only a rough guess. In this attitude

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<sup>26</sup>"Excursus I; The Ecclesiastical Text" in Lake, Blake, New, "The Caesarean Text . . . ," pp. 338-357.

<sup>27</sup>Riddle, pp. 126-127.

to von Soden, Riddle does not stand alone. The by now legendary inaccuracy of von Soden's apparatus and the negative criticism of the Iota Text-type had cast an air of suspicion over all of von Soden's work. His classification of MSS. was used only by default and discarded for the slightest reasons.

Riddle's testing of von Soden's classification had been limited to the pericope adulterae and parts of his critical apparatus. But as has been argued before<sup>28</sup>--and as was partly admitted by von Soden himself-- is a very bad clue to the classification of a MS. Secondly, the apparatus may be the place to test a core member of I<sup>k</sup>, but not a weak member, even aside from the gross inaccuracies of the apparatus. True, it is not Riddle's fault that one cannot use von Soden's volumes to test a weak I<sup>k</sup> member, but Riddle had no excuse for drawing conclusions from a negative probe before he knew what a weak I<sup>k</sup> member really was.

As it is, Codices 2400 and 482 are weak but definite members of I<sup>k</sup>, and 489 is one of the leading members of that group.<sup>29</sup> The group has many weak members, i.e., corrupted

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<sup>28</sup>Supra, Chapter II, pp. 27 f.

<sup>29</sup>This was confirmed by means of the Claremont Profile Method for Luke, and for Mark by Mrs. Silva Lake, Family II and the Codex Alexandrinus; the Text According to Mark ("Studies and Documents," V; London: Christophers, 1936), p. 15.



towards K<sup>X</sup>, but its features are so characteristic that even very weak members can be spotted with relative ease. Many of the weaker members show block-mixture with K<sup>X</sup>, a fact which is not always visible in von Soden's pages. Perhaps if Riddle had known these features he would have ceased his search earlier, when he was so close to an accurate classification.

An important element in Riddle's classification--and that of almost all others--is the use of statistical analysis. As we saw in the case of Goodspeed and Riddle, this statistical analysis is done on the basis of the variants from the Textus Receptus. The reason for using the Textus Receptus as a collation base is not entirely due to custom and availability. As a matter of fact, the Nestle-Aland text is much more accessible. More likely the use of the Textus Receptus is due to the general repudiation of the Byzantine text since Hort.<sup>30</sup> The Textus Receptus became the "whipping boy" in lieu of the Byzantine Text. It is considered the "absolute zero" in textual criticism. Departure from the Textus Receptus automatically brings favor to the variant.

The fallacy of this contention was brought out in connection with Goodspeed's classification of the Newberry

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<sup>30</sup>E. C. Colwell, "The Significance of Grouping of New Testament Manuscripts," NTS, IV (1958), p. 75.

Gospels. The Textus Receptus is by no means the "absolute zero" of the Byzantine text. It departs from the main Byzantine groups much more frequently than the mass of Byzantine minuscules. The irony is that when the Textus Receptus departs from the main Byzantine groups, usually some members of Lake's Caesarean group will support the Byzantine groups. Thus what appears to be a good Caesarean reading is often a solid part of the Byzantine text.<sup>31</sup> Statistical analysis can not discriminate between Caesarean readings with or without Byzantine group support. As a result percentages of Caesarean and non-Byzantine readings become grossly inflated.

The special character of the Textus Receptus is only a minor challenge to the validity of statistical analysis. Much more serious is that if one uses the divergences from the Textus Receptus as a base, this base will change with every MS. Riddle's Codex 2400 had 42% of its variants from the Textus Receptus in Mark supported by at least two Caesarean MSS. This adds up to a total of 167 Caesarean readings in all of Mark. But the authors of The Caesarean Text of Mark give 392 family readings in Mark 1, 6 and 11 alone! Suddenly the supposed Caesarean element in Codex 2400 looks puny.

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<sup>31</sup>The support collected for the variants is usually limited to the major non-Byzantine uncials. Thus a Byzantine departure from the Textus Receptus can easily go undetected and end up in the list of "Caesarean" readings.

Before Riddle could legitimately have called his MS. Caesarean, he would have had to do a great deal more work. Leaving Lake's loose and vulnerable definition of a Caesarean reading for a moment for what it is, one would have to determine the total number of family readings of a passage or Gospel. Then a large number of MSS. taken from all possible groups and Text-types must be checked in these family readings. This will tell how often a K<sup>r</sup> MS., or a I<sup>k</sup> MS., or a member of the Neutral group has a Caesarean reading. Only with all these figures as a background will the 167 Caesarean readings of Codex 2400 in Mark have any meaning at all. I predict it will be hard to find a MS. with less than 100 Caesarean readings in Mark, and easy to equal Codex 2400.

E. C. Colwell noticed the meaninglessness of this statistical acrobatics years ago. When checking a collation of the Terrell Gospels (Gregory's 2322) with the Textus Receptus, he noticed that it was easy to find Caesarean support for the great majority of the variants of this MS. How tempting with such a high percentage to call the MS. Caesarean! "But," he reports, "the variants are few in number, the support is varied, and the MS. has been shown to be a leading member of Von Soden's K<sup>r</sup> group." Then he concludes, "Limitation of attention to variants from the Textus Receptus obscures the kinship of manuscripts."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Colwell, "The Significance . . . ," p. 76.

Dissatisfaction with the naive attempts at classification since von Soden led Colwell to develop a more reasoned approach to the problem. From the beginning his concern was speed and accuracy; speed, since the amount of unstudied textual material was so overwhelming; accuracy, since this was where his contemporaries had most dismally failed. However, these two factors seemed incompatible. Therefore Colwell conceived of three consecutive steps in the classification of a MS.<sup>33</sup>

The first step was an improvement on Hutton's Triple readings. Instead of Hutton's three Text-types, Colwell used any group reading as a factor. Neither did he want to be limited by the arbitrary number three, and speaks instead of "Multiple readings" which he defines as those readings

in which the minimum support for each of at least three variant forms of the text is either one of the major strands of the tradition, or the support of a previously established group (such as Family I, Family II, the Ferrar Group, K<sup>1</sup>, K<sup>1</sup>, K<sup>r</sup>), or the support of some one of the ancient versions (such as af, it, sy<sup>s</sup>, sy<sup>c</sup>, bo or sa), or the support of some single manuscript of an admittedly distinctive character (such as D).<sup>34</sup>

The advantages over Hutton's Triple readings are obvious. Colwell works with established groups of which the main witnesses are known. In this way, Hutton's failure

<sup>33</sup>E. C. Colwell, "Method in locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript within the Manuscript Tradition of the Greek New Testament," Studia Evangelica (TU, Bd. 73), pp. 757-777.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 759.

to define accurately the three major strands of text has been circumvented. Secondly, a passage of text produces significantly more Multiple readings than Triple readings. It is sufficient, therefore, to select some short passages of each part of the New Testament in order to obtain an over-all view. At the same time, the Multiple readings give much more detail than Hutton's tool. Hutton could distinguish at best between three types of MSS. As a result, most MSS. fall between these three types. Colwell has a much better range of existing textual groups, and hence will end up with much less ambiguous results.

Colwell's second step assumes that the Multiple readings have provided a positive result. He then proposes to look at the MS. in question in relation to the group or Text-type to which it most often conformed in the Multiple readings. This is both for confirmation of the result of step 1, and for locating a MS. within a group. Unfortunately, he used the Neutral Text-type as a test case. This group of MSS. stands out from all other textual groups with its large number of distinctive readings, which led Colwell to an unnecessarily high standard:

A group is not a group unless it has unique elements. Separate existence can be claimed only for groups with some readings "of their own." The newly-found manuscript cannot be related to a group without being related to the singular readings of the group.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 761.

All this works well for the Neutral Text-type. The evidence of its leading MSS. is readily available, and an acceptable list of unique readings can be compiled. The new MS. which is related to this Text-type can then be tested against the list of singular readings of the group. But to draw up such a list for any other group is quite another matter. Not only is the evidence harder to obtain, but the number of unique features diminishes dramatically the closer one gets to the Byzantine groups. Group K<sup>F</sup> has only six unique readings in all of Luke,<sup>36</sup> and K<sup>X</sup>, K<sup>1</sup>, and K<sup>l</sup> certainly have less.<sup>37</sup>

The third step in Colwell's method is a determination of the quantity of agreement of the new MS. with the MSS. which seem most closely related to it. It forms a final confirmation of the classification of a MS., while at the same time it will pinpoint the MS. which is nearest to it in the manuscript tradition.

Colwell's Multiple readings method has not progressed much beyond the samples used in the original article. To make it a complete tool, applicable to the whole New Testament, would involve an exorbitant amount of time and effort. Since he proposed the Multiple readings method

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<sup>36</sup>David O. Voss, "Is Von Soden's K<sup>F</sup> a distinct type of Text?" JBL, LVII (1938), p. 316.

<sup>37</sup>Infra. In Chapter IV, which deals with the Profile Method, it is argued that a group definition does not depend on unique readings but on a unique configuration of readings.

Colwell himself has moved to a quantitative analysis of relationships which departs from the Multiple readings at certain points.<sup>38</sup>

The starting point is again that, in order to establish relationships between MSS., the total amount of variation must be taken into account, not just the divergences from the Textus Receptus.<sup>39</sup> Also all singular readings and those with a high probability of being of non-genetic origin are eliminated since they contribute nothing to the relationship of MSS. All those places of variation in the text were chosen where group division occurs. But in contrast to the Multiple readings, Colwell now accepted places where the tradition separates into two strands.<sup>40</sup> He originally eliminated double readings from his Multiple readings since they "do not yield easily their evidence for the location of a manuscript."<sup>41</sup> This addition increases the total number of variation units of a passage significantly. True variants with three or more forms are relatively rare. In most cases Multiple readings involve both a transposition and one or

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<sup>38</sup>E. C. Colwell and E. W. Tune, "The Quantitative Relationship between MS. Text-Types," Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey, ed. Birdsall and Thomson (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1963), pp. 25-32.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>41</sup>Colwell, "Method . . . ," p. 758. This contention is only true if one wants to measure the amount of disagreement between MSS. rather than agreements.

more other elements. Such variation units with multiple factors of variation tend to scatter the evidence and obscure relationships. Thus the addition of "double readings" will improve the picture.

After the units of variation are selected for a passage, a large number of MSS. representing all Text-types and groups are collated. Then the percentages of agreement of any MS. with all the others can be tabulated. On the basis of a sample made in John 10, Colwell and Tune concluded that "the quantitative definition of a Text-type is a group of MSS. that agree more than 70% of the time and is separated by a gap of about 10% from its neighbors."<sup>42</sup>

If the variation units used by Colwell and Tune in John 10 were available, it would be possible to collate an unclassified MS. in these places. Percentages could then be calculated and a classification could be made.

The quantitative analysis will work well with MSS. belonging to the core of one of the established groups. Unfortunately, a large number of the minuscules have suffered mixture and their group affiliation has become blurred. Such MSS. could never meet the Colwell-Tune standard of 70%.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Colwell-Tune, "The Quantitative . . . ," p. 29.

<sup>43</sup>Jacob Geerlings and his former student, Russell Champlin, still using variations from the Textus Receptus as a basis, demand at least 94% agreement for familial relationship. Jacob Geerlings, "Codex 1867," Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in honor of Kenneth W.



Agreements expressed in percentages will tend to wash out the characteristics of the group to which the mixed MS. belongs. Nothing can offset this drawback of statistical analysis. Only a method which will bring out the relative value of every reading in a test passage for group affiliation can spot the weak members of groups. But such a method cannot use statistics. Every detail of the characteristics of a group must be visible and remain visible until the classification has been made.

The quest for the classification of Greek New Testament MSS. in the last fifty years has not been without direction. There has been a growing consciousness of the weaknesses of old methods and the difficulties involved. More and more a demand for greater objectivity and accuracy was heard. The need for objectivity was felt in two ways, in the selection of readings and the selection of supporting MSS. Studies still appear in which the classification is attempted on the basis of variants from the Textus Receptus, but only by ignoring the warnings of E. C. Colwell and others. The manuscript tradition must itself present the units of variation. Hundreds of collations are available now in some form or other which can be checked in selected

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Clark, ed. Boyd L. Daniels and M. Jack Suggs ("Studies and Documents," XXIX; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1967), p. 58. This very high percentage may well be applicable to Family E but certainly should not be demanded from other groups.

passages to see where the tradition parts ways significantly. Only this will present an objective basis on which manuscript and group relationships can be evaluated.

Not less important is objectivity in supporting manuscript evidence. Great strides have been made from Hutton to Colwell. Ill-defined Text-types have been disregarded and established groups have taken their place. But the ideal is far from realized. It is hard to say how many groups remain undiscovered. Only a few of the known groups have been studied and defined in one or two Gospels at the most.

Finally, the limits of statistical evidence, long known to mathematicians, have now been recognized by at least some lower critics. Percentages will always have their value in expressing manuscript relationship, but they will not be the last word, and certainly not the best word.

Against the background of this quest for classification, its weaknesses and its lessons, the Claremont Profile Method has been developed. Without the examples of past successes and failures it could not have been.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CLAREMONT PROFILE METHOD

New approaches to old problems seldom come about in a vacuum. A unique set of circumstances is necessary to break through inadequate but familiar ways to a more promising procedure. Such was the case with the Claremont Profile Method. Its special set of circumstances are too integral a part of its development to be left unmentioned. I shall put them under two headings although they are unmistakably connected.

1. The International Greek New Testament Project  
(I.G.N.T.P.)

The most obvious requirement for the development of a new method is a need, preferably a clearly defined need. The I.G.N.T.P. keenly felt such a need with respect to the classification of minuscules. The project had been gathering a large number of collations over the years for inclusion into a large and truly representative apparatus criticus. By the fall of 1966, the question was raised whether the available collations were sufficient to represent the whole manuscript tradition.

Representation at this point was put in terms of manuscript groups and mixed MSS. It was decided that, in

any case, all known groups should be adequately represented, and also that a considerable number of divergent MSS., which up to the present had defied classification, should be included. "Divergence" was defined in terms of the Textus Receptus, as it had been for many decades.

The ideal was clear and laudable, but no adequate procedure was available to reach it. As usual, what seemed such a simple and sensible policy on paper proved to be a Herculean task when applied to the actual MSS. A "make-shift" approach seemed inevitable. Von Soden was the most obvious person to turn to for group representation.

Von Soden lists seventeen Iota and Kappa groups in his text volume.<sup>1</sup> Of these groups, only  $K^X$  and  $K^F$  are not represented by any MSS. in the apparatus. Unfortunately, only 5 of the 17 groups had been studied and confirmed by other scholars;<sup>2</sup> for others von Soden's word had to suffice. Only one limited test could be made to check von Soden's groups. One could take all the group members present among the collations of the I.G.N.T.P., and see whether they tend to read together where variation occurs. By running this test it was hoped that also strategic members of a group,

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<sup>1</sup>These are  $I^\alpha$ ,  $I^\eta$ ,  $I^\iota$ ,  $I^{\phi^a}$ ,  $I^{\phi^b}$ ,  $I^{\phi^c}$ ,  $I^{\phi^r}$ ,  $I^B$ ,  $I^\sigma$ ,  $I^\circ$ ,  $I^r$ ,  $I^\pi$ ,  $I^k$ ,  $K^l$ ,  $K^i$ ,  $K^x$  and  $K^f$ .

<sup>2</sup> $I^\iota$  (The Ferrar group or Family 13) by Kirsopp and Silva Lake;  $I^\eta$  (Family 1) by Kirsopp Lake;  $I^B$  by E. C. Colwell,  $I^k$  (Family II) by Silva Lake, and  $K^f$  by David O. Voss.

which could represent the range of a group, would show themselves.

As might have been predicted, the result of the test was very disappointing. Indeed, the old, well-established groups, such as Family 13, were visible but the tests on other groups proved indecisive. There was no way to tell how much divergence within a group could be allowed, or at what point a MS. could no longer be called a group member, or a group no longer be called a group. Strategic group members were even harder to spot. It became clear that we were at the mercy of von Soden, not a pleasant prospect for a project which is trying to plot a new course in textual criticism.

There was no dependable way to assure that the collations of the I.G.N.T.P. included enough group members and a sufficient range for adequate representation.<sup>3</sup> It was not even clear whether von Soden had represented his groups adequately in his apparatus. Critics would certainly and justifiably charge undue dependence on von Soden, an authority whose mistakes and inaccuracies are legendary.

The proud list of twice-checked collations suddenly looked haphazard and vulnerable. Even though this list

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<sup>3</sup>At some point the I.G.N.T.P. had tried to secure collations of all minuscules which had proved their importance in the past. For this purpose von Soden's groups had been taken into account but no scientific principle had guided this selection. Opportunity and chance played no small role in the selection of MSS. for collation.

might well include a fair representation of the total number of known minuscules, there was no way to assure the future user of the apparatus of this conviction. No claim could be made about the collations beyond their number. This would condemn the proposed apparatus criticus to be nothing more than a collection of several hundred collations, accurate collations perhaps, but certainly not a cross-section of the manuscript tradition.

In spite of the depressing results thus far, the different aspects of the need had crystallized. To break the impasse, a method would have to be developed which could test all known groups, and spot the members which could best represent the whole group. This method would have to be independent from von Soden in order to quiet the suspicions of friends and critics. The method should ideally be a rapid sampling tool so that many uncollated MSS. could be checked for group membership and textual value. This would then drastically increase the number of MSS. which the apparatus could claim to represent. Finally, the method should present an objective standard to evaluate the text of the considerable number of minuscules which do not fit readily into the known groups.

## 2. The Master File of Collations.

In whatever way they are selected, a collection of 200 collations is bound to be a gold mine of textual evidence. Very few students of New Testament textual criticism

have had the privilege of working with such a large amount of "raw material." The collations of the I.G.N.T.P. in the gospel of Luke presented the further advantage that all the manuscript evidence had been blended on a Master file. Luke 1 was in an even more ideal form. All the existing variants, even the most minute changes and insignificant itacisms, had been typed out with the supporting manuscript evidence.

The 200 collations of Luke included 28 non-fragmentary uncials.<sup>4</sup> Only two major uncials, Gregory's N and V, had not yet been acquired by the Project. The 163 minuscules included almost all those which had proven their value in the history of the study of the New Testament text (the "Neutral" and "Caesarean" minuscules, members of Family I and 13 etc.). In addition, some attempt had been made to include members of less well-known groups. A large number, however, had been included not because of the known textual character of the MS., but because of availability. Most of these had been classified by von Soden but some had no classification at all. Thus, although the selection of minuscules could not claim to represent the whole cursive tradition, still it was a most impressive and useful collection.

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<sup>4</sup>The many fragmentary uncials in existence were included on the Master file, but since their text seldom overlapped the test chapters (Luke 1, 10 and 20) they were not considered in the Profile Method. Neither were they included in the total of 200 collations. Also the papyri in Luke are two fragmentary to be of importance for classification.

### The Idea of Profile

The test of von Soden's groups in Luke 1 by means of the Master file of collations, although its main purpose had not been realized, proved to have an invaluable side benefit. The search had initially been for the unique features of a group. Much of the group research in the past has been preoccupied with group readings not shared by any other group or Text-type.<sup>5</sup> It seems that this approach is still a remnant of the old Lachmann principle that agreement in error shows familial relationship. As long as very distinctive groups, such as Families I and 13, were studied the principle worked reasonably well. These groups have a significant number of "single" group readings.<sup>6</sup> But it is like spotting identical twins by searching for hidden birthmarks instead of by general features. Such unique group readings are not unlike errors, though they may result in a sense reading. Most of these readings would strike Medieval scribes and correctors as foreign and incorrect, with the result that they were often corrected. Weaker members of a group bear out this tendency, for they seem to lose the

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<sup>5</sup>We find this emphasis on unique readings in E. C. Colwell, "Method in locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript within the Manuscript Tradition of the Greek New Testament," Studia Evangelica (TU, Bd. 73) p. 761 and D. O. Voss, "Is Von Soden's K<sup>r</sup> a distinct type of Text?" JBL, LVII (1938), pp. 315f.

<sup>6</sup>This is especially true if the Neutral group (Von Soden "H" text type) is not taken into account.



unique readings of a group before other features. Consequently, these weaker members no longer look like group members if only unique features are taken into account. This is enough to indict "single" group readings for the same reasons that Lachmann's agreement in error principle was rejected. One should not ignore the unique group features; they are important supporting material, but they cannot carry the brunt of group identification.

Where unique group readings in Families 1 and 13 were helpful, in most other groups they were completely absent. If unique readings were an essential criterion for finding familial relationship, few of von Soden's groups would have survived the test in Luke 1. Yet the search for the distinctive readings of groups in the Master file brought to light a remarkable pattern. When the group members, present on the Master file, of von Soden's  $I\Phi$  groups were traced through Luke 1 it became evident that a majority of one of the groups would now combine with a majority of this group and later with another. Never would Group  $M^a$  ( $I\Phi^r$ ) read alone against the whole manuscript tradition, but the groups which would join it in support of variants from the Textus Receptus would vary from reading to reading.

The implications of this phenomenon looked promising. It meant that even if a group could not be defined in terms of unique readings, it still might be possible to define it

in terms of agreement and disagreement with other known groups. If all known groups could be taken into account, possibly enough contrasting combinations of agreements and disagreements between groups would appear that all groups could be defined in terms of each other in a relatively short sampling passage.

The crucial test would be the Kappa groups. The difference between  $K^1$ ,  $K^X$  and  $K^1$  had already been questioned long ago.<sup>7</sup> If the Kappa groups, like the  $I^{\Phi^r}$  groups, would display a unique pattern or profile of support for certain variants shared with other groups, it would confirm the principle. When this proved to be the case, the decision was made to make a test run in Luke 1 using all groups simultaneously.

#### The Tentative Group Definitions

From the queries made with the  $I^{\Phi}$  and Kappa groups, it had become clear that the essential ingredients for group definition are all the variants in a passage which have the support of one or more groups. This immediately raised the problem of group support. How could one be certain that an alleged group supported a variant reading before the existence of the group had been proven, and all

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<sup>7</sup>Kirsopp Lake, Robert P. Blake, and Silva New, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," Harvard Theological Review, XXI, No. 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), pp. 341 and 347f.

the members of the group had been taken into account? No alternative presented itself apart from using tentative group definitions borrowed from the students of manuscript groups in the past.

A further restriction influenced the tentative group definitions. Only group members present in the files of the I.G.N.T.P. could represent the groups.<sup>8</sup> This may seem like a severe handicap, but only if the alternatives are lost out of sight. Starting from scratch would pose much greater problems. It would mean selecting variants with enough manuscript support that they could possibly include a majority of a group. Then would follow a long and treacherous process of trial and error to find the MSS. which read together often enough to suggest group relationship. Why not rather use the fruits of group studies in the past? Nothing would be lost and much could be gained. The tentative group definitions would have to prove themselves in any case! If the group as a whole, or an individual member, would not conform to the criteria of a distinctive and coherent profile it could always be rejected or adjusted. The tentative group definitions implied no

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<sup>8</sup>The 163 minuscules on the master file were supplemented for this purpose by 83 collations which, for various reasons, had not been blended in the master file. This gave a total of 282 MSS. or approximately 17% of the extant minuscules.

final commitment. They formed a valuable starting point and nothing more.<sup>9</sup>

The principle weakness of the tentative group definitions is that a unique group reading could be missed or be incorrectly added. However, the groups with the most uncertain definition, or the weakest manuscript support, were also the ones least likely to have unique readings. Since almost all group readings of these groups are shared by at least one other group, the definition can be adjusted at a later time without having to change the list of group readings.

Setting up the tentative group definitions formed no great problem. Von Soden's classifications were used where no later group study was available. The unclassified MSS. on file could, of course, not be taken into account. It was decided that two-thirds of the members would count as the majority of a group.<sup>10</sup>

#### The Textus Receptus

All collations of the I.G.N.T.P. are made against Scrivener's 1883 edition of the Textus Receptus. In view

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<sup>9</sup>Infra, Chapter IV, "The Principle of Self-Correction."

<sup>10</sup>One could argue for 50% or above, but a two-thirds majority gives a proper safe-guard. Several groups were represented by relatively few members in the master file. If one member would have to be reclassified, or one would be added the balance could easily be upset. D. O. Voss, p. 317, used a two-thirds majority in his study of K<sup>r</sup>.

of the special character of the Textus Receptus,<sup>11</sup> the question arises whether the collation base could influence or invalidate the results of the Profile Method. But the problem concerning the Textus Receptus in the past was the tendency to attach a positive value judgment to every departure from it. If a collation base is left completely neutral, it will be no more than a handy tool to compare the text of one MS. with that of others. Any real or artificial text could fulfill this purpose. The Textus Receptus happens to have been used for this purpose for more than a century, and has the distinct advantage of being close enough to the Byzantine groups to lighten the task of collation and lessen the chance of error with respect to the bulk of minuscules.

One could argue that the Textus Receptus is almost ideal for the Profile Method. If a text like Vaticanus or Codex 1 had been used, the many Byzantine group members would have shown a large number of group readings which encumbers the task of classification. On the other hand, one would not want the collation basis to be identical to one of the Byzantine groups, for agreements against the collation basis lend themselves more easily for classification than agreements with the base. A MS. much more often adds group readings other than its own than that it misses

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<sup>11</sup>Supra, Chapter III, p. 54.

a majority reading of the group to which it belongs. The Textus Receptus caters to both requirements; it stands close to the Byzantine groups, yet keeping enough distance to enable every group to show at least some common elements at variance with the collation basis.<sup>12</sup>

### The Selection of Text Readings

Not all places where variation occurs are useful for group study. By far the greatest number of variants are itacisms of one sort or another. Closely related group members often agree, even in itacisms, but on the whole itacisms depend on the habits of the scribe and not on the MS. copied. The same is true for nu-movables, οὕτω-οὕτως, and abbreviations. Whenever one suspects that variation is due to scribal error or scribal convention, the reading ought to be rejected for group study.<sup>13</sup> Most of these cases can be categorized, but it is best to sin on the side of caution. If enough MSS. have been taken into account, the support of a variant will often give a clue. When the support is scattered over a few members of many known groups, one can safely guess that the variant is of non-genetic origin.

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<sup>12</sup>One MS. profiled (Gregory's 1239), had a text identical with the Textus Receptus. Since the hand has been dated in the sixteenth century, it doubtless is a copy of the printed text.

<sup>13</sup>Colwell, "Method in . . . ," p. 762 n2.

A second category of variants which have no value for the establishment of manuscript relationships contains singular and sub-singular readings. Before this large group is omitted, a large number of MSS. should be taken into account. The singulars among the variants of thirty MSS. are reduced significantly if one hundred other MSS. are added (of course, many new singulars would also turn up in that case), but if one begins with two hundred MSS. the number of singulars is hardly affected by the addition of other collations. The reason is that singular and sub-singular readings on a Master-file of two hundred collations are almost all misspellings and non-sense readings.<sup>14</sup> Such variants are the least likely to be copied by scribes. Only very seldom will a non-sense reading have the support of more than two MSS. If it happens, it is questionable whether real non-sense is involved.

The remaining variants in Luke 1, after the two above-mentioned categories had been deleted, were only a fraction of the original total. Of these, 54 proved to be supported by the majority of the members of one or more groups. In order to have some idea of the number involved, a count was made of the variants in Luke 1, 1-26 apart from nu-movables, itacisms, abbreviations, obvious non-sense

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<sup>14</sup>Homoioteleuton in a passage happens frequently in a number of MSS. of widely divergent age and textual tradition.

readings, and οὐραν-οὐρανς variants. The remainder contained 169 singular or sub-singular readings, of which only nine had the support of three MSS., all others had less. In no case, in the nine readings with the support of three MSS., did all three MSS. belong to the same known group.

Luke 1, 1-26 contained seven Neutral readings with negligible minuscule support apart from the Neutrals among them. It was decided that these should not be used for the Profile Method. They would only inflate the number of test readings without making any contribution to the purpose of the Profile Method: the classification of the text of the minuscules. This does not mean that a newly-discovered Neutral minuscule cannot be identified. Even after all unique Neutral readings in Luke 1 had been eliminated, this Text-type showed up clearly and distinctively in the test readings which are supported by Iota and Kappa groups. If the profiles of Kappa groups are distinctive without unique group readings, how much more the Neutral Text-type!

A small group of variants--none in Luke 1, 1-26--has the support of the majority of all Iota and Kappa groups. This happens when the Textus Receptus reads with the Neutrals against all others, or when it has a singular reading. Obviously, such readings with "universal" support have no value for the classification of minuscules.

Only 37 variants remained in Luke 1, 1-26, of which 15 did not have the support of the majority of at least one



of the known groups. These are listed in Appendix I. A few of them clearly had minority support, but most of them showed by their nature and support that they were of non-genetic origin. The 22 remaining group readings in Luke 1, 1-26 are listed in Appendix II, together with the other test readings of Luke 1, totalling 54 variants.

It is impossible to be certain that among the 15 rejected readings there may not be one or more majority readings of a hitherto unknown group or sub-group. This might have been a serious charge if the Profile Method were dependent on unique group readings. Since it is not, the Profile Method only has to surrender the claim that it contains a complete profile of a new group in the sampling chapters. As will be shown later, this does in no way impair the ability of the Profile Method to discover new groups or sub-groups.

### The Group Profile

Since the group definitions in the Profile Method depend on the relationships between all groups, it is important that these relationships are made visible throughout the whole sampling passage. This was accomplished by giving numbers to the 54 test readings in Luke 1, and by putting the agreements of each group with the test reading in juxtaposition. Thus a tentative set of group profiles emerged. It should be remembered that, although groups

often share some test readings, each group displays a distinctive pattern of agreement with and variation from the Textus Receptus which distinguishes it from the other groups. (cf. Appendix III)

The relative value of each test reading for a group is now graphically visible. A unique group reading sets a group apart from all other groups. Most test readings, however, distinguish one group only from some other groups.

The qualifications for a bona fide group readily suggest themselves. First, a group profile requires a large degree of internal agreement between the members of a group. Only when members of an alleged group show approximately the same profile of agreements and disagreements with the Textus Receptus are they accepted as a genuine group. A MS. does not need all group readings to qualify as a member. In some very distinctive groups, a large number of group characteristics may be missing before the classification of a member becomes questionable. Most MSS. will have some test readings which are not shared by the majority of the group to which they belong. These "surplus" readings tend to increase when a MS. misses some of the majority readings of its group. The reason for this is clear. Corruption or mixture would naturally involve the loss of some group characteristics, and an increase of characteristics of other groups.

Four of von Soden's Iota groups-- $I^{\alpha}$ ,  $I^{\phi^c}$ ,  $I^{\sigma}$ , and  $I^{\circ}$  --were disqualified because of lack of cohesion. The four members of von Soden's  $I^{\phi^c}$  present on the Master-file were all reclassified. Whether the other members of this group can qualify as an independent group cannot be determined until all of them are profiled and studied. In the case of  $I^{\alpha}$ ,  $I^{\sigma}$ , and  $I^{\circ}$ , von Soden had already admitted the special nature of these groups. They were made up, according to him, of MSS. which showed great differences in the degree of corruption towards Kappa. The Profile Method makes no final judgment in this matter. Ultimately von Soden may well be correct. The Profile Method explicitly does not make any judgment on how groups came into being, and how they were corrupted. All it does, and can do, is to locate MSS. which agree significantly in text against the rest of the manuscript tradition. If what once was a genuine group has become so corrupted in its only extant members that only very few distinctive group characteristics remain, it cannot be called a group in terms of the Profile Method.<sup>15</sup>

The second group standard implied in the idea of profile is that a group profile must differ significantly from the profiles of other groups. All this means is that there must be sufficient reason to separate groups. The

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<sup>15</sup>I doubt whether von Soden could defend the existence of such a "group" independent from his hypothesis of the fate of the Iota Text-type.

minimum difference was set at two test readings per chapter. This kept  $K^l$  and  $K^x$  apart, but merged  $K^i$  with  $K^l$ .<sup>16</sup> Again the origin of the groups was deliberately ignored. Group  $\Pi^b$  is obviously a descendant of group  $\Pi^a$ , which has been strongly influenced by  $K^x$ , but since  $\Pi^b$  fulfills the requirements of a genuine group, it was accepted as an independent entity.

This policy is consistent with the original intent of the Profile Method. The Method wants to find groups of minuscules which are close enough in text that an entire group can be represented by a few of its members in an apparatus criticus. The relative value of a group ought not to play a role as yet. The main interest of the Profile Method is to organize the mass of minuscules into a manageable whole. It wants to bring out all the aspects of the text of the minuscules. Value judgments, such as good and bad, pure and corrupt, or important and secondary, should wait until all the evidence has been presented.

Since the group profiles carry along their own criteria, independence from von Soden has been achieved. The starting point presented by former students of groups proved to be nothing more than a helpful beginning. The

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<sup>16</sup> $K^l$  consists mainly of the uncials E, F, G, and H. It would have been of little importance for the classification of minuscules, even if it had qualified as an independent group.

groups had to prove themselves independently. Thus the danger of a circular argument had been successfully prevented.

### The Principle of Self-Correction

Some reasonable doubt could still remain that the selection of test readings was made on a much too small and uncertain basis. In several cases, only a fraction of the total number of MSS. classified by von Soden as members of a group could be used for the selection of test readings. If more members had been available, some majority readings might well have become minority readings, and some readings now rejected might have qualified. For this reason, 350 MSS., available on microfilm or as unrecorded collations, were added to the original 200 MSS. on the Master-file.

The result was encouraging. Only a few test readings had to be dropped from the list, and that only in cases where the two-thirds majority had just barely been reached. Some other readings shifted from minority to majority readings, or vice-versa, for a certain group.<sup>17</sup> It also became possible to check back on readings which had been rejected

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<sup>17</sup>It proved valuable to indicate when a minority of a group (defined as approximately 50% of the members) supported a test reading which had the majority support of one or more other groups. In no case was a test reading chosen or maintained with the support limited to the minority of a group.

because their support fell short of a two-thirds majority of one group. In no case did any of these qualify when further group members were taken into account.

Gradually, when more minuscules are profiled, some group profiles may need further small adjustments. The process of self-correction theoretically continues until the last minuscule is taken into account. However, the chances are against further changes. The group readings which hung in the balance when 200 MSS. were taken into account almost all became more definite in either direction when 350 MSS. were added. There is every reason to believe that this trend will continue.

#### The Classification of MSS.

The great majority of MSS. profiled readily conformed to the fourteen groups established by means of the Profile Method.<sup>18</sup> About one-fifth of the 550 MSS. profiled defied immediate classification.<sup>19</sup> Only half of these can

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<sup>18</sup>All but one of these groups (Gr. M<sup>b</sup>) largely coincide with von Soden's groups. Von Soden's designations have been replaced since they are largely unknown, are based on a highly questionable theory of group origin, and pose a typing problem. We propose: Gr. 1(I<sup>h</sup><sup>a</sup>); Gr. 22(I<sup>n</sup><sup>b</sup>); Gr. 13(I<sup>l</sup>); Gr. 1216(1B); Gr. II<sup>a</sup>(I<sup>k</sup><sup>a</sup>c); Gr. II<sup>b</sup>(I<sup>k</sup><sup>b</sup>); Gr. 1424(I<sup>φ</sup><sup>a</sup>); Gr. 7(I<sup>φ</sup><sup>b</sup>); Gr. M<sup>a</sup>(I<sup>φ</sup><sup>r</sup>); Gr. M<sup>b</sup>; Gr. Λ(I<sup>r</sup>); Gr. Ω(K<sup>l</sup> and K<sup>1</sup>). Von Soden's K<sup>x</sup> and K<sup>r</sup> were retained because of their general acceptance.

<sup>19</sup>The detailed results of the classification of MSS. by means of the Profile Method, and a description of the groups, is the subject of a dissertation by my colleague, Mr. Paul McReynolds. I will limit myself to some general impressions, only insofar as they are relevant to methodology.

be called significantly mixed. The others could be called Kappa MSS. The difficulty in classifying them is due to the indefiniteness of  $K^x$ . This very large group tends to function as a common denominator of all groups. Its members generally have a large number of "surplus" readings in comparison with the group readings. How much deviation from the group can be allowed cannot be settled on the basis of objective standards. Raising the group's standard would sharply increase the number of mixed Kappa MSS., lowering the standard further would wipe them out as a separate category.

In order to classify a MS., it must be collated in the test readings of the sampling chapters. A manuscript profile can then be drawn up and compared with the profiles of the fourteen groups. Appendix III gives the group profiles of Line 1. By matching profiles, the MS. is classified. Care must be taken to judge the value of each reading for the definition of a group.<sup>20</sup>

After a tentative classification has been made, the manuscript profile should be compared with the profiles of the members of the group in question. Appendix IV gives the profiles of the members of Gr. 1216 as a sample. This

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<sup>20</sup>The dissertation of Mr. Paul McReynolds will give detailed guidelines for the use of the group profiles in classification.

comparison both confirms the tentative classifications and locates the MS. within the group.

In general, von Soden's classifications fared well, especially in the main groups. Reclassification most often occurred between  $K^X$  and Gr. $\Omega$ , and between  $K^X$  and  $K^F$ . Not all of the reclassifications were made because of outright mistakes by von Soden. He used only a few sample passages to classify most MSS. Since group membership often changes between Bible books, and even within a gospel, von Soden's classification cannot claim to be accurate for a whole MS.

#### The Sampling Chapters

After the success of the Profile Method in Luke 1, it was decided to add two more sampling chapters for the following reasons:

1. The phenomenon of block mixture in a section of text necessitates several sampling passages.<sup>21</sup>
2. A MS. often shows a change of text within a group. Many MSS. are weak group members in Luke 1, improve in Luke 10, and belong to the core of a group in Luke 20. Sometimes the situation is the reverse. Thus the classification in the other chapters becomes an important confirmation. In retrospect, the early chapters of a gospel are not

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<sup>21</sup>Perhaps the most complex block mixture is found in the text of Codex 574 (E. C. Colwell, The Four Gospels of Karahissar, Vol. I: History and Text [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936], p. 216).



very well suited for group study. Scribes had the tendency to practice a little textual criticism at the beginning of a Bible book. As a result, group outlines are fuzzier, and more group members have suffered mixture here than elsewhere. This can be seen in the fact that Luke 20 supplied 24 more test readings than Luke 1, while the latter has double the amount of text.

3. Some groups are much more distinct in one chapter than in another. In such cases, confirmation of classification is most welcome.

4. Many MSS. are defective, especially at the beginning of a gospel. A number of sampling chapters assures classification in almost all cases.

### New Groups

The charge could still be made that the Profile Method is limited by the groups with which it started. The method seems to assume that von Soden had found each and every group among the minuscules. The net laid by the Profile Method can catch von Soden's type of fish, but who knows what escapes through the holes?

To answer this charge, we do well to change images. The test readings are not really like a net with large holes, but much more like a screen on which every MS. and every group will project an image or profile. Thus the issue is not what escapes, but whether it shows enough detail.

Enough data are available to state categorically that any unknown group worthy of its name will project a clear profile against the background of the test readings. One could mention the fact that the Neutral group showed an excellent profile, though all of its distinctive group readings were left out of consideration in the initial selection of test readings. Also, it could be mentioned that a new group of minuscules was found related to but distinct from von Soden's  $I\Phi^r$ . But there are better reasons. The real basis for the confidence that all new groups can be spotted lies in the details the Profile Method provides within groups. Much more is visible from a manuscript's profile than mere group affiliation. Sub-groups were identified, and a large number of pairs and triplets of extremely closely related group members showed up. None of these involved enough MSS. to warrant being treated as a separate group, but the additional information proved valuable for the issue of group representation.

Since the test readings are established already, a new group or sub-group cannot show any unique group readings, but these are unnecessary for a distinctive profile. There is, of course, value in being able to see the complete profile of a group in a passage. The presence or absence of unique features tells us something about the nature of a group, but this information, valuable as it may be, does not affect the classification of MSS.

Certain aspects and possibilities of the Profile Method remain unexplored. The first task is to profile all extant MSS. in the sampling chapters. Then the final search for new groups and sub-groups can be made. With all group members visible in one comprehensive view, exhaustive intra-group studies become an exciting possibility. Enough data are available for each group to present a clue as to the leading member or possible archetype of a group.<sup>22</sup> The comparisons which can be made with other groups in the same passage allow for a study of the development of each group, its corruption, and the unexplained phenomenon of mixture. Finally, a new attempt should be made to draw all groups into an over-all view of the history of the manuscript tradition. We cannot continue to criticize von Soden's reconstruction of the history of manuscript transmission without trying to do better ourselves. Hopefully, the Profile Method will contribute to the accomplishment of this task, which most lower critics claim is the essential element in the reconstruction of the best possible New Testament text, but which no one, except von Soden, has ever seriously begun.

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<sup>22</sup>There are almost 200 test readings available in Luke where the members of a group can be compared.

APPENDIX I  
 LIST OF VARIANTS IN LUKE 1:1-26  
 WITH SUPPORT OF MORE THAN 3 MSS.,  
 WHICH LACK SUPPORT FROM THE MAJORITY OF A GROUP.

| Verse<br>No. |                              |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| 1            | εν ] om.                     |
| 2            | γενομενοι ] om.              |
| 7            | ταις ] om.                   |
| 9            | ιερατειας ] + αυτου          |
| 12           | επεπεσεν ] επεσεν            |
| 13           | αγγελος ] + κυριου           |
| 13           | σοι ] om.                    |
| 16           | αυτων ] αυτου                |
| 17           | προελευσεται ] προσελευσεται |
| 17           | επιστρεψαι ] επιστρεφει      |
| 21           | εν τω ναω ] om.              |
| 24           | συνελαβεν ] + η              |
| 24           | αυτου ] ζαχαριου             |
| 24           | εαυτην ] αυτην               |
| 26           | ο ] om.                      |

APPENDIX II  
TEST READINGS IN LUKE CHAPTER I

| Reading<br>No. | Verse<br>No. |                     |                   |
|----------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1.             | 2            | παρεδωσαν ]         | παρεδωκαν         |
| 2.             | 7            | η ελισαβετ ην ]     | ην η ελισαβετ     |
| 3.             | 7            | η ]                 | om.               |
| 4.             | 8-9          | εναντι ]            | εναντιου          |
| 5.             | 9            | κυριου ]            | θεου              |
| 6.             | 10           | του λαου ην ]       | ην του λαου       |
| 7.             | 14           | επι ]               | εν                |
| 8.             | 14           | γεννησει ]          | γενεσει           |
| 9.             | 15           | του ]               | om.               |
| 10.            | 15           | κυριου ]            | θεου              |
| 11.            | 16           | επι ]               | προς              |
| 12.            | 17           | ετοιμασαι ]         | + τω              |
| 13.            | 21           | εθαυμαζον ]         | εθαυμαζεν         |
| 14.            | 22           | ηδυνατο ]           | εδυνατο           |
| 15.            | 22           | αυτοις ]            | om.               |
| 16.            | 22           | διεμενε ]           | διεμεινε          |
| 17.            | 23           | επλησθησαν ]        | επληρωθησαν       |
| 18.            | 24           | ταυτας τας ημερας ] | τας ημερας ταυτας |
| 19.            | 25           | επειδεν ]           | εφειδεν           |
| 20.            | 26           | υπο ]               | απο               |
| 21.            | 26           | του ]               | om.               |
| 22.            | 26           | Ναζαρετ ]           | Ναζαρεθ           |

| Reading<br>No. | Verse<br>No. |  |
|----------------|--------------|--|
| 23.            | 27           | οικου ] + και πατριας  |
| 24.            | 29           | ιδουσα ] om.   |
| 25.            | 29           | διεταραχθη επι τω λογω ]<br>επι τω λογω διεταραχθη                       |
| 26.            | 29           | αυτου ] om.  |
| 27.            | 30           | ο αγγελος αυτη ] αυτη ο αγγελος  |
| 28.            | 34           | εσται ] + μοι  |
| 29.            | 35           | γεννωμενον ] + εκ σου  |
| 30.            | 39           | αναστασα δε ] και αναστασα   |
| 31.            | 39           | δε ] om.   |
| 32.            | 41           | η Ελισαβη τον ασπασμον της μαριας ]<br>τον ασπασμον της μαριας η ελισαβη |
| 33.            | 42           | ανεφωνησε ] ανεβοησε(ν)  |
| 34.            | 44           | εν αγαλλιασει το βρεφος ]<br>το βρεφος εν αγαλλιασει                     |
| 35.            | 45           | εσται ] + η  |
| 36.            | 50           | γενεας γενεων ] γενεαν και γενεαν  |
| 37.            | 55           | εις τον αιωνα ] εως αιωνος   |
| 38.            | 57           | τη ] της   |
| 39.            | 59           | ογδοη ημερα ] ημερα τη ογδοη   |
| 40.            | 61           | οτι ] om.  |
| 41.            | 61           | εν τη συγγενεια ] εκ της συγγενειας                                      |
| 42.            | 62           | αυτον ] αυτο   |
| 43.            | 63           | εστι ] εσται   |
| 44.            | 65           | και εγενετο ] εγενετο δε   |
| 45.            | 65           | παντα ] om.  |

| Reading<br>No. | Verse<br>No. |                           |
|----------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| 46.            | 66           | αυτου ] αυτων             |
| 47.            | 67           | προεφητευσε ] εκροφητευσε |
| 48.            | 69           | τω ] om.                  |
| 49.            | 70           | των <sup>(2)</sup> ] om.  |
| 50.            | 74           | των ] om.                 |
| 51.            | 74           | ημων ] om.                |
| 52.            | 75           | της ζωης ] om.            |
| 53.            | 77           | αυτων ] ημων              |
| 54.            | 80           | ισραηλ ] λαον             |

APPENDIX III

GROUP PROFILES IN LUKE 1

| Gr | 1 | 13 | 22 | Π <sup>a</sup> | Π <sup>b</sup> | M <sup>a</sup> | M <sup>b</sup> | 1424 | 7 | 1216 | Λ | Ω | K <sup>x</sup> | K <sup>r</sup> |
|----|---|----|----|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------|---|------|---|---|----------------|----------------|
| 1  |   |    |    | X              |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 2  |   |    |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 3  |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 4  |   | X  |    | X              |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 5  |   |    |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 6  |   |    | •  |                |                | X              |                | X    | X |      | X | X | X              |                |
| 7  |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      | X | X | X              |                |
| 8  |   |    |    | X              |                |                |                | X    |   | X    | X | X |                |                |
| 9  | X |    | X  |                |                | X              | X              | X    | X | X    |   |   |                | •              |
| 10 | X |    |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 11 | • |    | X  |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 12 |   |    |    | X              |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 13 |   |    |    |                |                |                |                |      |   | X    |   |   |                |                |
| 14 |   |    |    | X              |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 15 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 16 |   | •  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   | X    | X |   |                |                |
| 17 |   |    |    |                |                |                |                |      |   | X    | X |   |                |                |
| 18 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 19 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 20 | • | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 21 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 22 |   |    |    |                |                |                | •              |      |   | X    | X | X |                |                |
| 23 | • |    | X  |                |                | X              | X              | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 24 | • |    |    |                |                |                |                |      |   | X    | X |   |                |                |
| 25 | • |    |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   | X    | X |   |                |                |
| 26 | • |    | X  |                |                |                |                | X    |   | X    | X |   |                |                |
| 27 |   | X  | X  |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 28 | X | X  | X  |                |                |                | •              | X    | X | X    |   |   |                |                |
| 29 | • |    | X  |                |                |                |                | X    |   | X    |   |   |                |                |
| 30 |   |    | X  | X              |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 31 |   |    |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 32 | • | X  |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 33 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      | • |   |                |                |
| 34 | X | X  | X  | X              | X              | X              | X              | X    | X | X    | X | X | X              | X              |
| 35 | X | X  | X  | X              | X              | X              | X              | X    | X | X    | X | X | X              | X              |
| 36 | X | X  | X  | X              | X              | X              | X              | X    | X | X    |   |   | •              |                |
| 37 | X | X  | X  | X              | X              | X              | X              | X    | X | X    |   |   |                | X              |
| 38 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 39 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 40 | X |    | •  |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 41 |   | X  | X  |                |                | •              |                |      |   |      | • |   |                |                |
| 42 | X |    |    |                |                |                |                |      |   | •    |   |   |                |                |
| 43 | X |    | X  |                |                |                |                |      |   | X    |   |   |                | X              |
| 44 |   |    |    | X              |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 45 |   |    |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 46 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 47 |   | X  |    |                |                | •              |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 48 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 49 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 50 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 51 |   | X  |    |                |                |                |                |      |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 52 |   |    |    |                |                | •              |                |      |   |      |   | X |                |                |
| 53 | X |    | •  |                |                | X              |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |
| 54 |   |    |    |                |                |                |                | X    |   |      |   |   |                |                |

X = Majority Reading  
 • = Minority Reading



APPENDIX IV

PROFILES OF GROUP 1216 IN LUKE 1

|    | 1216 | 184 | 348 | 1279 | 829 | 152 | 1243 | 1579 | 16 | 2174 | 477 |
|----|------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|------|------|----|------|-----|
| 1  |      | X   |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 2  |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    | o    |     |
| 3  |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    | o    |     |
| 4  |      |     | X   |      |     |     |      | X    | X  | o    |     |
| 5  |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    | o    |     |
| 6  |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    | o    |     |
| 7  |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 8  | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    | X  | X    |     |
| 9  | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    | X  | X    |     |
| 10 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 11 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 12 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 13 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    | X  |      |     |
| 14 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 15 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 16 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    |    |      |     |
| 17 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    |    | X    | X   |
| 18 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 19 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 20 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 21 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 22 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    |    |      |     |
| 23 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      | X  |      |     |
| 24 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    |    |      |     |
| 25 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    |    |      |     |
| 26 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    |    |      |     |
| 27 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 28 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      | X  |      |     |
| 29 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 30 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 31 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 32 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 33 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    | X  | X    |     |
| 34 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    | X  | X    |     |
| 35 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 36 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    | X  | X    |     |
| 37 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    | X  |      |     |
| 38 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 39 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 40 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 41 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 42 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    | X  | X    |     |
| 43 | X    | X   | X   | X    | X   | X   | X    | X    | X  |      |     |
| 44 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 45 |      |     | X   |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 46 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 47 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 48 |      |     |     |      | X   |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 49 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 50 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 51 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 52 | X    |     |     |      |     | X   | X    | X    |    |      |     |
| 53 |      |     |     |      | X   |     |      |      |    |      |     |
| 54 |      |     |     |      |     |     |      |      |    |      |     |

X = Variant against the  
Textus Receptus  
o = Lacuna

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