CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We have been helped by many in the production of this work, each of whom deserves acknowledgment. Karyn Berner, Amy Donaldson, Bruce Griffin, Timothy Sailors, and Robert Vishanoff provided great assistance in reading manuscripts and checking transcriptions for the first edition. Revel Coles of the Ashmolean Museum provided numerous photographs and sound advice. Helpful suggestions for the second edition have come from J. Harold Greenlee, C. E. Hill, Michael Holmes, Bruce Metzger, D. C. Parker, Stuart Pickering, Maurice Robinson, Peter Rodgers, James Royce, T. C. Skeat, and Daniel Wallace.

Special thanks also goes to those who helped in locating manuscripts and obtaining photographs: Barbara Aland, Kathryn Beam, Hans Braun, Randy Capp, Revel Coles, Richard Comfort, C. Y. Ferdinand, Dieter Hagerdorn, Sayed Hassan, Billy Lomac, and Carsten Thiede. And finally, we want to acknowledge Mark Taylor for his enthusiasm in publishing this book.

We also acknowledge Paul Hillman, Dennis Hillman, and Laura Bartlett in their enthusiasm for this work. Shawn Vander Lugt did an excellent job in typesetting this volume.

INTRODUCTION

This book (in two volumes) provides transcriptions of sixty-nine of the earliest New Testament manuscripts up to and including 𝔓139, the most recently published early New Testament manuscript. All of the manuscripts are dated from the early second century to the end of the fourth (A.D. 100–400). Many of these manuscripts are nearly two hundred years earlier than the well-known uncials Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. The early manuscripts, containing about two-thirds of the New Testament text, were discovered (mostly in the twentieth century), disbursed to various museums throughout the world, and subsequently published in transcriptional form in various books and journals (with editorial comments in several different languages). Since it is exceedingly difficult for most individuals to observe the actual manuscripts or even see photographs, let alone collect the *editio princeps* of each manuscript, our goal has been to publish a fresh transcription of these manuscripts in two volumes and thereby provide students, scholars, and translators with easier access to the manuscripts themselves. Furthermore, several manuscripts have been published in progressive phases, as new portions were identified in various museums. This book presents for the first time a unified transcription of all portions of the manuscript, and for certain manuscripts, new portions are presented. This is especially true of 𝔓4/𝔓64/𝔓67, 𝔓30, 𝔓40, 𝔓45, 𝔓46, 𝔓49, 𝔓66 and 𝔓75.

This book (in two volumes) provides a representative sample of the New Testament that was read by Christians in the earliest centuries of the church. These manuscripts were the "Bible" they read and revered; to them, these manuscripts were the New Testament text. Today's Greek New Testaments are critical editions produced by the eclectic method, where the preferred reading is determined on a case-by-case basis from among the many variants offered by the early manuscripts and versions. These critical editions of the Greek New Testament do not completely replicate the evidence of any one manuscript. Using the critical apparatus, one can attempt to piece together the text of a particular manuscript, but it requires great skill and much labor. Thus, it is our desire to present the complete text of each early manuscript so that readers can study them for themselves.

The papyrus manuscripts are among the most important witnesses for reconstructing the original text of the New Testament. It is not the *material* on which they are written (papyrus) that makes them so valuable, but the *date* when they were written. Several of the most significant papyri date from the middle of the second century. These manuscripts, therefore, provide the earliest direct witness to the New Testament autographs. Among the extant New Testament papyrus manuscripts, three groups are worthy of mention: the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, the Chester Beatty/Michigan Papyri, and the Bodmer Papyri.

Beginning in 1898, Grenfell and Hunt discovered thousands of papyrus fragments in the ancient rubbish heaps of Oxyrhynchus, Egypt. This site yielded volumes of papyrus fragments containing all sorts of written material (literature, business and legal

contracts, letters, etc.) as well as more than forty manuscripts containing portions of the New Testament. Some of the more noteworthy biblical papyrus manuscripts are 𝔓1 (Matt. 1), 𝔓5 (John 1, 16, 20), 𝔓13 (Heb. 2–5, 10–12), 𝔓22 (John 15–16), 𝔓90 (John 18–19), 𝔓101–4 (Matt. 3–4, 13–14, 21, 23), and 𝔓115 (Rev. 2–15).

The Beatty Papyri were purchased from a dealer in Egypt during the 1930s by Chester Beatty and by the University of Michigan. Three of the New Testament manuscripts in this collection are very early and contain a large portion of the New Testament text. 𝔓45 (c. 200) contains portions of all four Gospels and Acts, 𝔓46 (second century) has almost all of Paul's epistles and Hebrews, and 𝔓47 (third century) contains Revelation 9–17.

The Bodmer Papyri (named after the owner, M. Martin Bodmer) were purchased from a dealer in Egypt during the 1950s and 1960s. The three important papyri in this collection are 𝔓66 (second century, containing almost all of John), 𝔓72 (late third or early fourth century, having all of 1–2 Peter and Jude), and 𝔓75 (c. 175–200, containing large parts of Luke 3–John 15).

This book provides a fresh transcription of each early New Testament manuscript. For the work of making new transcriptions we observed the following actual manuscripts: 𝔓l, 𝔓4/𝔓64/𝔓67, 𝔓9, 𝔓20, 𝔓24, 𝔓37, 𝔓38, 𝔓39, 𝔓46, 𝔓66 (in part), 𝔓69, 𝔓70, 𝔓72 (in part), 𝔓75 (in part), 𝔓77, 𝔓78, 𝔓90, 𝔓100, 𝔓101, 𝔓102, 𝔓103, 𝔓104, 𝔓105, 𝔓106, 𝔓107, 𝔓108, and 𝔓109. We also used high-quality photographs for these manuscripts and for all the others in these volumes. (We have included several photographs in this volume so that the reader can get a good sampling of these ancient manuscripts.)

As we studied these manuscripts and photographs, we always compared our work with that found in the *editio princeps* (noted with an asterisk * in the bibliography for each manuscript) and other published transcriptions. In the process of doing this work, we often trusted the judgment of the original editors with respect to their readings of broken letters along the margins of manuscripts, inasmuch as manuscripts often break off along the edges in the process of handling them or mounting them. Thus, a manuscript in its present condition may not preserve the lettering the first editors saw. Our transcriptions, therefore, should reflect the most pristine condition of the text and not the condition of the text as it presently stands in storage. A photograph taken soon after the time of discovery usually provides documentation of the most pristine form. Often when this photograph is compared to a manuscript in its present "museum" form, it is manifest that certain fragments of the manuscript have been lost over time. This is true, for example, for, 𝔓l and, 𝔓49 (see notes there).

Bracketed portions within the transcriptions represent letters or words most likely to have been in the original manuscript. The supplied letters and words often, but not always, accord with the text printed in the twenty-seventh edition of Nestle-Aland's *Novum Testamentum Graece.*[1] Differences are most pronounced when the text of a manuscript is Western (e.g., 𝔓29, 𝔓38, and 𝔓48). Double square brackets show our editorial corrections or noted letters or words. Arabic numerals indicating chapter and verse divisions have

1. Barbara Aland, et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).

been inserted in the transcriptions as an aid to the reader. Neither the numerals nor the gaps they create in the transcriptions appear in the original manuscripts. Page and paragraph breaks present in the original manuscripts are clearly indicated in the transcriptions.

We have done our best to provide an accurate transcription, always recognizing that our work may need emendation. We welcome any comments that will help make this book better. This volume includes all manuscripts made available to the public by the summer of 2018.

Dating Manuscripts

Although dating literary manuscripts is, for the most part, educated guesswork, external and circumstantial factors can help scholars date manuscripts. For example, the *terminus ante quern* (latest possible date) for Herculaneum manuscripts is A.D. 79 (the date of the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius), and for the Dead Sea Scrolls it is A.D. 68 (the date the Qumran caves were abandoned). The Diatessaron manuscript 0212 cannot be dated later than A.D. 256 and should probably be dated about A.D. 230 because (1) the manuscript was found in Dura-Europos (a Roman fortress), which fell to the Persians in A.D. 256–257, and (2) a Christian house (in existence from A.D. 222 to 235) near the discovery site was destroyed when an embankment was built. The papyrus manuscript to which the fragments 𝔓4, 𝔓64, and 𝔓67 belong cannot be dated later than A.D. 200 because it was used as binding material for a third-century codex of Philo (hidden during the Diocletian persecution of A.D. 303), and some time must have passed for a well-written codex to have deteriorated to such an extent that it was torn up and used as binding.[2]

Even with the manuscripts mentioned above, no one can give an exact year. Dates were rarely, if ever, written on literary manuscripts. However, documentary texts (i.e., manuscripts having documentary information) often provide exact dates—if not explicitly, at least implicitly by something written in the document. Fortunately, in some cases literary texts have been written on the other side of documentary texts, thereby enabling paleographers to date the literary texts more precisely. If a literary text has been written on the recto side and a dated documentary work has been written on the verso side of the same page, the date of the documentary text provides the *terminus ante quem* for the literary text. We know that the documentary text on the verso side will be later, because the recto side was the preferred side for writing and would have been written on first. A papyrus sheet was formed from strips of papyrus joined in a crisscross pattern, and the recto side with its horizontal strips was easier to write on. The literary text may have remained in a library for quite a while before someone decided to "recycle" it by writing on the back (verso) side of its pages. For example, a literary text written on the recto side, having a documentary text dated A.D. 185 on its verso side, must be dated earlier than A.D. 185, although one may not be able to say exactly how much earlier. As a rule of thumb, most paleographers estimate about twenty-five to fifty years earlier, but there is nothing definitive about this. If the situation is reversed—a documentary work has been written on the recto side and a literary text

2. See T. C. Skeat, "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," *New Testament Studies* 43 (1997): 26.

on the verso—then one can conclude that the documentary text must have outlived its usefulness. In that case, the literary text must be *later* than the documentary text, providing a *terminus post quem* (earliest possible date) for the literary work. Thus, a literary text written on the verso side, with a documentary text dated A.D. 185 on its recto, must be dated later than A.D. 185, although we may not be able to say exactly how much later.

The best—and perhaps only—means of dating a New Testament manuscript as an undated literary text is by doing a comparative analysis with other literary texts with assigned dates and perhaps also with other dated documentary texts. But documentary texts usually do not exhibit the kind of literary hand found in literary writings. The few that do are extremely valuable for dating purposes. Thus, the best means of dating a New Testament manuscript displaying a literary-type hand is to compare it morphologically (in specific letters and overall appearance) with literary texts that have fairly certain assigned dates. As for New Testament manuscripts displaying "documentary" hands, documentary texts serve as good examples. Throughout these volumes, various documentary texts with dates and/or literary texts with assigned dates will be cited as supporting a proposed date for a particular New Testament manuscript. Admittedly, dating a literary text by comparing it with other literary texts involves some subjectivity. The initial dating of a manuscript is usually done by the person who produced the *editio princeps* of the manuscript. Sometimes this date is accepted by other paleographers; often it is challenged. As would be expected, paleographers do not always agree on dates, due to the subjectivity involved in the comparative analysis. Furthermore, it must remembered that a manuscript could have been produced by an elderly scribe using a style he learned as a young man, or a manuscript could have been written by a young scribe just when a certain style had become nascent. These factors could add or subtract twenty-five to fifty years to or from the date of any manuscript. All things considered, it is safest to date manuscripts within a range of twenty-five to fifty years. This allows for an early and later date for each manuscript. Usually both dates are defensible, because we can see a complementary style in other manuscripts at both ends.

In the late 1800s paleographers thought Christians did not use the codex (as opposed to the roll, or scroll) until the fourth century. This view changed in the beginning of the 1900s when more Christian codices were discovered with handwriting that matched the style of earlier centuries, even that of the first or second centuries A.D. Still, paleographers were reluctant to assign a date to a Christian codex any earlier than the third century. Grenfell and Hunt hesitated to date any Christian papyrus codex earlier than the third century, even if the handwriting style belonged to the late first or second century. For example, they noted that the style of P. Oxy. 656 (a Christian codex preserving a portion of Genesis) completely accorded with the style of other second-century manuscripts, but they still dated the manuscript to the third century. Bell and Skeat redated P. Oxy. 656 to the late second century.[3] Hunt also suggested a third-century date for P. Chester Beatty

3. See H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat, eds., *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Museum, 1935), 6–7.

VI (Numbers-Deuteronomy), but Kenyon, aware that the codex must have been used by Christians in the second century, dated this codex to the second century.[4] Wilcken dated it to the early part of the second century, to the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138).[5]

Such redating usually has not been challenged for Old Testament books used by Christians, but it is a different story for New Testament manuscripts. When any paleographer attempts to redate a New Testament manuscript to the late first century or early second century, there is immediate opposition because it is believed that the time lapse between the autograph and the copy is too short. However, it is not impossible for there to be extant manuscripts dated within twenty-five to thirty years of the autographs. For example, we have a late-second-century Oxyrhynchus fragment (P. Oxy. 405) from Irenaeus's *Against Heresies,* a work written in A.D. 180. As Roberts said, "[It] reached Oxyrhynchus not long after the ink was dry on the author's manuscript."[6] Another example is P. Michigan 130, the *Shepherd of Hermas* manuscript dated to the second century—during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180). This manuscript could not be any more than twenty-five to thirty years older than the original, because the *Shepherd* was probably written no earlier than A.D. 150. (Irenaeus provides the first recorded reference to the *Shepherd,* in A.D. 185.) Yet another example is the Egerton Gospel. This Gospel was probably composed around A.D. 120, yet the copy that was discovered could not be later than A.D. 150. This means that there is no more than a twenty-five-to-thirty-year gap between the original text and its copy.[7]

Most paleographers think the earliest known New Testament manuscript is 𝔓52, a fragment of John's Gospel. This papyrus fragment was dated by various paleographers to the first half of the second century—even to the first quarter (see discussion under 𝔓52). Adolf Deissmann was convinced that 𝔓52 was written at least during the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) and perhaps even during the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98–117), but no one would commit to a date earlier than A.D. 125. In the end, C. H. Roberts dated it to "the first half of the second century." This conservative dating allows for a larger time gap between the autograph and copy, but there is nothing unreasonable about assigning a date of A.D. 100–125 for 𝔓52. If the Fourth Gospel was written in the 70s or 80s, then we have a manuscript fragment twenty years removed from the autograph.

No other New Testament manuscript has been assigned a date prior to A.D. 150 with any kind of consensus. Individual paleographers have assigned an earlier date to certain manuscripts—Kim thinks 𝔓46 belongs to "the late first century," Hunger argues that 𝔓66 is in the same era as 𝔓52, and Thiede thinks 𝔓64/𝔓67 is late first century. Each of these redatings has been either challenged or completely ignored.

4. Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri,* fasc. 5, *Numbers and Deuteronomy, Text* (London: Emery Walker, 1935), ix–x.
5. Ulrich Wilcken, *Archiv far Papyrusforschung* 11 (1935): 113.
6. Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt,* Schweich Lectures, 1977 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979), 53.
7. Bell and Skeat, eds., *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel,* 3–7.

I[8] find that Kim's dating of 𝔓46 and Thiede's dating of 𝔓64/𝔓67 are probably too early. Paleographic considerations suggest that 𝔓46 and 𝔓4/𝔓64/𝔓67 can be dated to the middle second century. Hunger's dating of 𝔓66 to around A.D. 150 seems quite plausible. As would be expected, many paleographers will not agree on these dates because of the subjectivity involved in comparing one manuscript with another. All things considered, it is safest to allow for a range of about twenty-five to fifty years when dating manuscripts. The dates on either side of an assigned range can usually be defended by appealing to other manuscripts whose styles are similar.

I think there are three manuscripts that should be dated to the beginning of the second century, A.D. 100–125 (𝔓32, 𝔓52, 𝔓104). Eight other manuscripts should be dated early to middle second century (𝔓46, 𝔓66, 𝔓77, 𝔓87, 𝔓90, 𝔓98, 𝔓109, 𝔓137). Six other manuscripts are middle to late second century (𝔓4/𝔓64/𝔓67, 𝔓75, 𝔓118, 0189, P. Oxyrhynchus 405, P. Egerton 3). Nine other manuscripts could be dated as early as the late second century, though possibly the early third (𝔓1, 𝔓20, 𝔓23, 𝔓27, 𝔓29, 𝔓39, 𝔓45, 𝔓69, 𝔓108). The rest of the manuscripts in these volumes are from the third and fourth centuries. Discussions of dates appear in this volume; more extensive discussions appear in volume 2, section 2.

Handwriting Analysis

Paleographers have been able to distinguish four major kinds of handwriting, each of which reveals something about the training (or lack thereof) of the copyist who produced it. The four types are as follows:

1. *Common:* the work of a semiliterate writer who is untrained in making documents. This handwriting usually displays an inelegant cursive.
2. *Documentary:* the work of a literate writer who has had experience in preparing documents. This has also been called "chancery handwriting" (prominent in the period A.D. 200–225). It was used by official scribes in public administration.
3. *Reformed documentary:* the work of a literate writer who had experience in preparing documents *and* in copying works of literature. Often, this hand attempts to imitate the work of a professional but does not fully achieve the professional look.
4. *Professional:* the work of a professional scribe. These writings display the craftsmanship of what is commonly called a "book hand" or "literary hand" and leave telltale marks of professionalism—such as stichoi markings (the tallying of the number of lines, according to which a professional scribe would be paid), as are found in 𝔓46.

Various handwriting styles are more pronounced in one time period over another and thereby help in dating manuscripts. A general overview of the evolution of handwriting styles in the first two centuries of the Christian era is provided by John Oates:

8. The personal pronoun "I" is used at various times in this volume to express the personal opinion of Philip Comfort—usually with respect to the dating of manuscripts.

> In contrast with the ever more cursive hands of the late Ptolemaic period, [the Augustan period] displays a kind of print, wherein the letters occupy separate and roughly even spaces as if placed in ruled squares. Except for the iota, which was an obvious exception, the letters tend to be as wide as they are high and most observe a rule of isocephaly, terminal hastae dropping below the line to some extent but letters rarely rising above it. At its best, this style achieved a certain elegance approaching that of the uncials of a later date; so the Oxyrhynchus Homer dated to the first half of the second century. Properly, however, the style aimed at easy legibility rather than beauty. The earliest examples have something of a childish appearance, are rough and labored, the curves jerky rather than flowing. As better effect was sought with time, it took the form of attaching serifs to all terminal lines, and these characterize the style from the middle of the first to the middle of the second centuries. Gradually, too, cursive features appear. Letters tend to be connected without lifting the pen. Curves and loops are employed wherever possible, and letters tend to be oval rather than round, sloping rather than upright, varied in height rather than even, with long and dashing initial and terminal strokes. Within this process it is possible to date a given hand typologically with some confidence, although given scribes may be ahead of or behind the general development.[9]

Other papyrologists, such as Roberts and Turner, confirm Oates's assessment and add other details. Both affirm that there was a strong tendency for writers in the first and second centuries to keep their letters at an imaginary top line. Slanting handwriting begins in the second century; prior to that, manuscripts were written with upright characters. Other second-century features are (1) the final nu on a line replaced with a dash (mid-second century), (2) a small omicron in documentary hands, which becomes prominent in third-century literary hands, and (3) angular letters (e.g., 𝔓45, 𝔓75).[10]

Three handwriting styles of the early period of Christianity are worthy of our attention for New Testament paleography. The first is called the "Roman uncial"; the second is called the "biblical uncial"; and the third is named the "decorated rounded uncial."

The Roman Uncial

This style of handwriting is very similar to the biblical uncial (discussed next). In fact, it could be argued that the Roman uncial was the precursor to the biblical uncial—the one style emerging into the next. The difference between the two styles is that the Roman uncial always displays decorative serifs, while the biblical uncial always displays heavy shading—i.e., "the deliberate alternation of thick and thin pen strokes, related to the angle at which the pen meets the paper."[11] Paleographers date the emergence of the Roman uncial as coming on the heels of the Ptolemaic period, which ended in 30 B.C. Thus, "early Roman uncial" begins around 30 B.C., and the Roman uncial can be seen especially throughout the first two centuries of the Christian era.

9. John F. Oates, Alan E. Samuel, and C. Bradford Welles, *Yale Papyri in the Reinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library* (New Haven, CT: American Society of Papyrologists, 1967–), 1:4.
10. For more information on manuscript dating, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World,* 2d ed., edited by P. J. Parsons (London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 17–23.
11. Peter J. Parsons, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* VIII (Greek Minor Prophet Scrolls), 22.

A good New Testament example of a Roman uncial is found in the manuscript 𝔓46. Concerning 𝔓46, the editor, Kenyon, said, "the letters are rather early in style and of good formation of the Roman period."[12]

The Biblical Uncial

Another name for the "biblical uncial" is the "biblical majuscule." This refers to large uncial letters, each stroked separately, so as not to connect with other letters (as occurs with a running hand producing cursives). The term *biblical majuscule* does not apply only to biblical texts; it was a term first coined by Grenfell and Hunt to describe the handwriting of certain biblical texts—and then was extended to any kind of manuscript displaying that kind of hand, whether biblical or not. The biblical uncial is noted for retaining a bilinear appearance where there is a conscious effort to keep a line of text within an imaginary upper and lower line. In a biblical uncial there is a deliberate alternation of thick vertical strokes and thin horizontal strokes, with sloping strokes coming in between. In this style, rectangular strokes display right-angled shapes, and circular letters are truly circular, not oval. There are no ligatures (connecting letters) and no ornamentation at the end of strokes (such as serifs and blobs).

G. Cavallo, in his magisterial work, *Richerche sulla Maiuscola Biblica,* makes a strong case for this style emerging in the middle to late second century A.D.[13] Among the several manuscripts Cavallo cites for making his assessment, he pays special attention to P. Oxy. 661 as the oldest extant example. This manuscript is dated with great certainty to the second half of the second century. With respect to the dating of P. Oxy. 661, Grenfell and Hunt said that on the verso of P. Oxy. 661 is a cursive hand "which is not later than the third century, and quite likely to fall within the second. The text of recto [P. Oxy. 661] then can be assigned with little chance of error to the second half of the second century." Cavallo cites other manuscripts belonging to the same era (the latter part of the second century) as also displaying the biblical uncial. Among some of the noteworthy early manuscripts are PSI 1213; P. Hawara 24–28; P. Oxy. 2334; P. Oxy. 2356; P. Oxy. 224+P. Rylands 547; P. Vindob. 29768; P. Vindob. 29784; P. Rylands 16. The earliest New Testament example is 𝔓4/,𝔓64/,𝔓67 (see discussion there concerning "Date").

The Decorated Rounded Uncial

Another style of handwriting was prominent during the early period of the church; it is called the "decorated rounded uncial." In this style, every vertical stroke finishes with a serif or decorated roundel. Schubart (naming this style *zierstil)* thought this style existed from the last century of the Ptolemaic period (first century B.C.) to the end of the first century A.D.[14] Oates agreed with Schubart on the period of greatest frequency—i.e., the

12. F. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri,* fasc. 3 (London: Emery Walker, 1934), ix.
13. G. Cavallo, *Richerche sulla Maiuscola Biblica,* 13–43.
14. Wilhelm Schubart, *Griechische Paleographie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1925), 112.

style is prominent from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100.[15] Other scholars, such as Turner, see it as extending to the end of the second century. He said, "The classification 'Formal round' is attained by far fewer hands. They are almost instantly recognizable, if only from the generous size of their letters." He sees this as a single feature of several styles that existed from second century B.C. to the second century A.D.[16] Concuring with Turner, Parsons writes: "Turner rightly insists that Schubart's 'decorated style' . . . is not really a style but a single feature of several styles spread over a period of four centuries from ii B.C."[17] The earliest New Testament examples of the decorated rounded style are 𝔓32, 𝔓66, 𝔓90, and 𝔓104—each dated to the second century (see discussions for each of these concerning "Date").

An extensive discussion concerning the dating of all the early New Testament manuscripts is found in section two of volume two (with many photographs).

Textual Character

As the New Testament papyri were discovered and published during the past one hundred years or so, scholars attempted to classify them according to their textual affinities and textual character. Since three basic categories were already established in the nineteenth century, scholars in the twentieth century attempted to place the papyri into these categories. These categories are known as "Alexandrian," "Western," and "Byzantine." Since every standard handbook on textual criticism contains a discussion of these categories, there is no need for elaboration. What needs to be said for our purposes is what scholars have attempted to do in categorizing the papyri, and what we have done in indicating the textual character of the manuscripts in this volume.

For starters, the "Byzantine" category can be eliminated. None of the early papyri are Byzantine, because they antedate the Byzantine period. If some of them happen to display some Byzantine qualities (such as expansion and harmonization), these manuscripts simply display scribal tendencies manifest in full during the Byzantine era. The "Western" category is also problematic inasmuch as most scholars now agree that it really designates nothing more than a popular, non-Alexandrian text. Thus, we are left with one identifiable category—Alexandrian, to which most modern scholars now add a second, which is called the Caesarean text, and a third, which is called the "D-text" (i.e., manuscripts related to Codex Bezae—D).

In truth, several of the early manuscripts could be called "Alexandrian" or better, "proto-Alexandrian" inasmuch as they display unmistakable affinity with the well-known Alexandrian manuscripts, especially Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. The Alexandrian text is found in manuscripts produced by scribes trained in Alexandrian scribal practices, the best of its kind in Greco-Roman times. Such scribes were schooled in producing well-crafted, accurate copies. The proto-Alexandrian manuscripts are usually purer than the later ones in that the earlier are less polished and closer to the

15. Oates, op. cit., 4.
16. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World,* 2nd ed. (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 1987), 21.
17. Parsons, op. cit., 22.

ruggedness of the original writings. In short, these manuscripts display the work of scribes who had the least creative interaction with the text—they stayed with their task of making good copies. Quite significantly, several of the earlier or proto-Alexandrian manuscripts display a text that was transmitted quite faithfully, as demonstrated in later Alexandrian manuscripts that bear great resemblance to earlier manuscripts. This is exemplified in the high percentage of textual agreement between several of the early papyri and Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, as is noted throughout these volumes. We have also noted where there is a high percentage of textual agreement between the early papyri themselves (although we are limited in doing this because so few of the manuscripts have significant mutual text). Nevertheless, it is evidently clear, for example, that 𝔓4 and 𝔓75 show a high percentage of agreement in Luke, as do 𝔓39 and 𝔓75 in John, and as do 𝔓13 and 𝔓46 in Hebrews.

Among early New Testament manuscripts, the preeminent proto-Alexandrian manuscripts are as follows:

Gospels: 𝔓l, 𝔓4/𝔓64/𝔓67, 𝔓5, 𝔓28, 𝔓35, 𝔓39, 𝔓66c, 𝔓71, 𝔓75, 𝔓77, 𝔓90, 𝔓95, 𝔓101, 𝔓103, 𝔓104, 𝔓106, 𝔓107, 𝔓108, 𝔓119, 𝔓120, 𝔓134
Acts: 𝔓45, 𝔓53, 𝔓91, 0189
Paul's Epistles and Hebrews: 𝔓13, 𝔓15/16, 𝔓30, 𝔓40, 𝔓46, 𝔓65, 𝔓92, 𝔓133, 0220
General Epistles: 𝔓20, 𝔓23, 𝔓72 (for 1 Peter), 𝔓100, 𝔓125
Revelation: 𝔓18, 𝔓24, 𝔓47, 𝔓98, 𝔓115

As was mentioned, another identifiable category is the "D-text." Only two early manuscripts, each from the book of Acts, exhibit this kind of text; they are 𝔓38 and 𝔓48. Some scholars have named 𝔓29 as such, but the extant text is too small for any certain identification. An even smaller category is the "Caesarean text," which seems to be distinct only in the Gospel of Mark. The only early manuscript having Caesarean tendencies in Mark is 𝔓45. 𝔓127 (Acts) displays an independent text.

As a way of getting around the nomenclature of textual affinities and also as a way of speaking about a manuscript's textual character (as opposed to its affinities), the Alands have proposed another system of classification whereby they have given us the categories "strict," "at least normal," "normal," and "free." Each of these tags presumably designates textual fidelity. I say "presumably" because the Alands never told us exactly what they were measuring; thus, the terms are question-begging inasmuch as we do not know if they refer to a strict copy of the original or of an exemplar. I understand the terms to describe scribal control or the lack thereof in the copying process. Thus, "strict" refers to manuscripts produced by scribes who allowed for little variation in the copying process. "Normal" refers to those manuscripts that were produced by those who allowed a normal amount of variation. "At least normal" manuscripts display some liberties with a tendency toward strictness. And "free" manuscripts are those that exhibit disregard for faithful textual transmission.[18] When noting a manuscript's

18. Kurt and Barbara Aland, *Text of the NT,* 91–102.

textual character throughout these volumes, the Alands' descriptor is often but not always given—especially when we disagree with the designation.

The one shortcoming with the Alands' system is that it does not describe the final product. For example, 𝔓66 is classified by the Alands as being "free." Indeed, the scribe of 𝔓66—in his first pass—interacted freely with the text, but he then made many corrections, as did another corrector. Thus, the final product is quite "normal" and even tends toward what the Alands would call "strict." As such, we need a descriptor for the final textual product. I suggest we use the categories "reliable," "fairly reliable," and "unreliable" to describe the end-product text of any given manuscript. One of the ways of establishing reliability (or lack thereof) is to test a manuscript against one that is generally proven for its textual fidelity. For example, since many scholars have acclaimed the textual fidelity of 𝔓75 (for both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons), it is fair to compare other manuscripts against it in order to determine their textual reliability.

The most reliable texts are 𝔓1, 𝔓4/𝔓64/𝔓67, 𝔓23, 𝔓27, 𝔓30, 𝔓32, 𝔓35, 𝔓39, 𝔓49/𝔓65, 𝔓70, 𝔓75, 𝔓86, 𝔓87, 𝔓90, 𝔓91, 𝔓100, 𝔓101, 𝔓104, 𝔓106, 𝔓108, 𝔓111, 𝔓114, and 𝔓115. These manuscripts, produced with acumen, display a standard of excellence. The scribes' motivation for accuracy could have come from their respect for the sacredness of the text or from their scribal training, or both. In any event, they produced reliable copies that largely preserve the original wording of the New Testament writings. It is to these manuscripts that we look for the preservation of the original wording of the various writings of the New Testament.

Bibliography

For each manuscript, the bibliographic entry marked with an asterisk contains the *editio princeps* (in some cases, more than one work is marked because the manuscript has been published in various stages). A few other pertinent works are mentioned, usually pertaining to the date or provenance of the manuscript. Bibliography cited in the discussion of a particular manuscript is listed under the bibliographic section for each manuscript. The following works have been cited throughout:

Aland, Kurt, and Barbara Aland. *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism,* trans. Erroll F. Rhodes. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989.

Grenfell, Bernard P., Arthur S. Hunt, et al., eds. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* 83 volumes to date. London: Egypt Exploration Fund (changed to Egypt Exploration Society beginning with volume 14), 1898–.

Metzger, Bruce M. *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration.* 2d ed. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968. (The third edition [1992] of this standard work omits the checklist of Greek New Testament papyri.)

Schofield, Ellwood M. "The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament." Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1936.

In the physical descriptions of each manuscript, the number of leaves cited is for the extant manuscript, whereas the dimensions given (page size and line length) are for its original size, prior to any kind of deterioration. In addition to our own calculations, we used the following works in determining physical characteristics and dates of the manuscripts:

Aland, Kurt. *Studien zur Vberlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967.

Haelst, Joseph van. *Catalogue des papyrus litteraires juifs et chretiens.* Serie papyrologie 1. Paris: Sorbonne, 1976.

Turner, Eric G. *The Typology of the Early Codex.* Haney Foundation Series 18. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.

The following works have been an excellent help in the production of the transcriptions:

Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus. Vol. 1, *Die Katholischen Briefe,* eds. Klaus Junack and Winfried Grunewald; vol. 2, *Die Paulinischen Briefe,* part 1 (Rom.–2 Cor.), eds. K. Junack, et al.; part 2 (Gal.–Heb.), eds. Klaus Wachtel and Klaus Witte. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986–93.

Royce, James. "Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri," Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, 1981.

For the newly published papyri, the following articles were also helpful:

Elliott, J. K. "Six New Papyri of Matthew's Gospel." *(Novum Testamentum* XLl.2, 1999:105–107).

_____. "Five New Papyri of the New Testament." *(Novum Testamentum* XLl.3, 1999:209–213).

_____. "Seven Recently Published New Testament Fragments from Oxyrhynchus." *(Novum Testamentum* XLil.3, 2000:209–213).

Head, Peter. "Some Recently Published New Testament Papyri from Oxyrhynchus." *(Tyndale Bulletin,* 51.1, 2000:1–16).

ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographic Abbreviations

Aland and Aland, *Text of the NT*	Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989).
Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxy. Pap.*	Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, et al., eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 83 volumes to date (London: Egypt Exploration Fund [changed to Egypt Exploration Society beginning with volume 14], 1898–).
Metzger, *Text of the NT*	Bruce M. Metzger, T*he Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 2d ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968). The third edition (1992) of this standard work omits the checklist of Greek New Testament papyri.
NA^{26}	Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece,* eds. Kurt Aland, et al., 26th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1979).
NA^{27}	Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece,* eds. Barbara Aland, et al., 27th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).
Schofield, "Papyrus Fragments"	Ellwood M. Schofield, "The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1936).
UBS^{3}	*The Greek New Testament,* ed. Kurt Aland, et al., 3d eds. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1983).

UBS[4]	*The Greek New Testament,* ed. Barbara Aland, et al., 4th rev. eds. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies, 1994).

Scribal Abbreviations

The early Christian scribes uniformly developed a system of special contractions, or abbreviations, for divine names (called *nomina sacra*) and other words that appear often in Scripture (e.g., ουρανος, Ιερουσολυμα/Ιερουσαλημ). In their manuscripts, these abbreviations were written in all capital letters with a horizontal line above the letters to identify them as contractions, but in these books they will appear in lowercase letters with an overbar. Below are some of the more common abbreviations appearing in the transcriptions.

$\overline{\text{ανος}}$, $\overline{\text{ανου}}$, $\overline{\text{ανω}}$, $\overline{\text{ανον}}$, etc.	ανθρωπος, ανθρωπου, ανθρωπω, ανθρωπον, etc.
$\overline{\theta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$, $\overline{\theta\omega}$, $\overline{\theta\nu}$	θεος, θεου, θεω, θεον
$\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$/$\overline{\iota\sigma\eta\lambda}$	Ισραηλ
$\overline{\iota\varsigma}$/$\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\iota\upsilon}$/$\overline{\iota\eta\upsilon}$, $\overline{\iota\nu}$/$\overline{\iota\eta\nu}$	Ιησους, Ιησου, Ιησουν
$\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$, $\overline{\kappa\omega}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$, $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$	κυριος, κυριου, κυριω, κυριον, κυριε,
$\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$, $\overline{\pi\nu\varsigma}$/$\overline{\pi\nu\sigma\varsigma}$, $\overline{\pi\nu\iota}$	πνευμα, πνευματος, πνευματι
$\overline{\pi\rho}$/$\overline{\pi\eta\rho}$, $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$, $\overline{\pi\rho\iota}$, $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$	πατηρ, πατρος, πατρι, πατερα
$\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$/$\overline{\upsilon\iota\varsigma}$, $\overline{\upsilon\upsilon}$/$\overline{\upsilon\iota\upsilon}$, $\overline{\upsilon\omega}$/$\overline{\upsilon\iota\omega}$, $\overline{\upsilon\nu}$/$\overline{\upsilon\iota\nu}$	υιος, υιου, υιω, υιον
$\overline{\chi\varsigma}$/$\overline{\chi\rho\varsigma}$, $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$/$\overline{\chi\rho\upsilon}$, $\overline{\chi\omega}$/$\overline{\chi\rho\omega}$, $\overline{\chi\nu}$/$\overline{\chi\rho\nu}$	χριστος, χριστου, χριστω, χριστον
ϗ	και
ϱ	stauro, used in the words cross (σταυρος) and crucify (σταυροω)

Three other scribal practices should be noted:

1. ν falling at the end of a line was often omitted. In its place copyists put a line above the preceding letter, extending it slightly beyond the letter into the right margin (e.g., λεγομε$\overline{\epsilon}$ = λεγομεν).
2. Copyists used a variety of methods to indicate the start of a new paragraph. Some copyists put a long line or dash in the left margin opposite the initial sentence of the new paragraph (hence the word παραγραφος, something written beside [the text]). Others extended the first line of the new paragraph into the left margin, by the width of one or two characters. Still others enlarged the first letter of the word beginning the new paragraph.
3. Copyists also employed various ways of making corrections. Deletions were made by erasures, slashes through letters, dots above letters, or parentheses at the beginning and end of words. Additions were made by writing above the line (superlinear) or in the margin, the point of insertion indicated by an anchor mark in

the text. Substitutions were made by writing above letters, re-forming letters, or making other superlinear adjustments. Transpositions were made by putting slash marks (single or double) around the words to be transposed. All these kinds of corrections have been noted in the transcriptions where applicable.

Number Equivalents

Scribes used the letters of the alphabet to indicate page numbers and sometimes numbers within the text (e.g., twelve disciples, seven angels). Lines were often drawn above the letters to show that they were to be read as numerals (for example, $\overline{\iota\beta}$ = 12). In addition to the familiar twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet, three obsolete letters were used: stigma (ϛ = 6), koppa (ϙ = 90), and sampi (ϡ = 900). Of these twenty-seven letters, the first nine represent 1–9, the second nine 10–90, and the third nine 100–900. The sequence begins again at 1000—noted by a small mark to the bottom left of the letter (for example, ͵α=1000).

α = 1	κ = 20	τ = 300
β = 2	λ = 30	υ = 400
γ = 3	μ = 40	φ = 500
δ = 4	ν = 50	χ = 600
ε = 5	ξ = 60	ψ = 700
ϛ = 6	ο = 70	ω = 800
ζ = 7	π = 80	ϡ = 900
η = 8	ϙ = 90	͵α = 1000
θ = 9	ρ = 100	
ι = 10	σ = 200	

𝔓1 (P. Oxy. 2)

Contents	Matt. 1:1–9, 12, 14–20
Date	late second or early third century; similar to 𝔓69 and P. Tebtunis 268
Provenance	Oxyrhynchus, Egypt
Housing location	Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, University Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, Egyptian Section (E 2746)
Bibliography	*Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxy. Pap.*, 1:4–7, no. 2. José O'Callaghan, "¿Mt 2,14 en el fragmento adéspota de 𝔓l," *Studia Papyrologica* 10 (1971): 87–92.
Physical features	one leaf; 12 cm x 25 cm; 37–38 lines per page; reformed documentary hand (see photo).
Textual character	The copyist of 𝔓1 seems to have faithfully followed a very reliable exemplar. Where there are major variants, 𝔓1 agrees with the best Alexandrian witnesses, especially B, from which it rarely varies.

Provenance

In the winter of 1896–97, Grenfell and Hunt went to Oxyrhynchus (now called El Bahnasa) in search of ancient Christian documents. 𝔓1 was discovered on the second day of the dig.

Physical Features

Accompanying the first chapter of Matthew is a small portion of what must have been a flyleaf cover, with writing only on the outside sheet. The extant letters are written in a slightly different hand than what appears in the text of Matthew 1. Contrary to O'Callaghan's conjecture, the letters probably do not represent Matthew 2:14, because the writing is in a different hand, and the greater margin above the three broken lines distinguishes them from the text of Matthew. Rather, they may have been part of a title, as noted by Grenfell and Hunt. Or it could be conjectured that it was not so much a title as it was a kind of subhead descriptor:

ϵγϵ̣ν[νϵθη (was born; the subject being Jesus)
παρ[α (from; indicating source or origin [the Holy Spirit])
μητ̣[ρος αυτου (his mother [Mary])

It could have read like this:

> Was born [Jesus Christ, the son of David,]
> from [the Holy Spirit coming upon]
> his mother [Mary, the wife of Joseph]

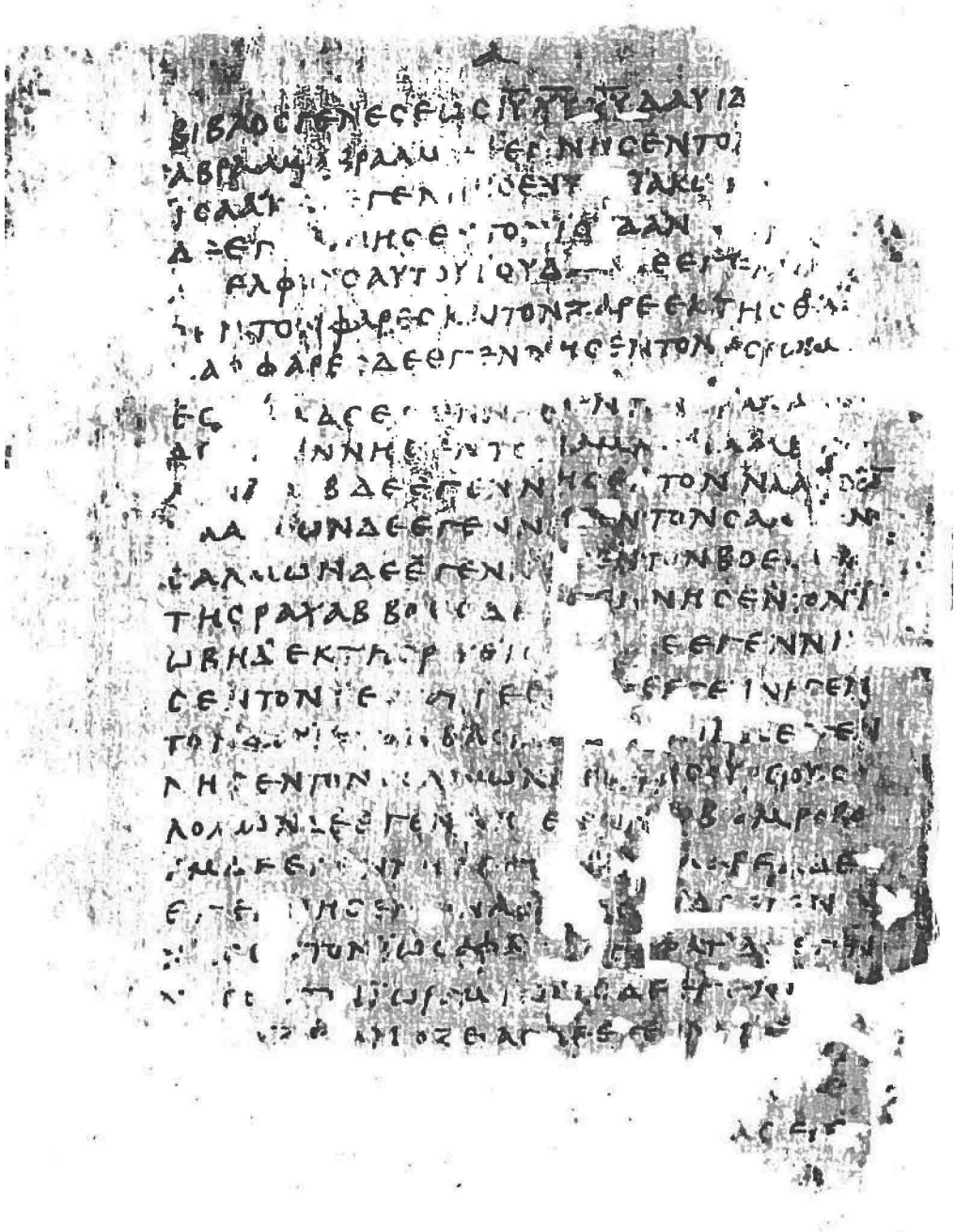
Matthew

[verso]
α [= 1]
1:1 βιβλος γενεσεως ιυ̅ χυ̅ υυ̅ δαυιδ [υιου
αβρααμ 2 αβρααμ εγεννησεν τον [ισαακ
ισαακ δ[ε] εγννησεν τ[ον] ιακωβ [ιακωβ
δε εγ[ε]ννησεν τον ιουδαν κ[α]ι τ[ους
α[δ]ελφους αυτου 3 ιουδας δε εγεννη
σεν τον φαρες και τον ζαρε εη της θα
μαρ φαρες δε εγεννησεν τον εσρωμ
εσ[ρω]μ δε εγεννησεν τον [α]ραμ 4 αραμ
δε [ε]γεννησεν τον αμμιναδαβ αμ
μ[ι]ναδ[α]β δε εγεννησεν τον ναασσων
ναα[σ]σων δε εγεννησεν τον σαλ[μ]ων
5 σαλμων δε εγενν[η]σεν τον βοες εκ
της ραχαβ βοες δε εγεννησεν τον ι
ωβηδ εκ της ρ[ο]υθ ιω[βη]δ δε εγεννη
σεν τον ιεσσαι 6 ιεσσ[αι δ]ε εγεννησεν
τον δαυιδ τον βασιλε[α δαυ]ιδ δε εγεν
νησεν τον σολομωνα εκ της ουρειιρ 7 σο
λομων δε εγεννη[σ]εν τον ροβοαμ ροβο
αμ δε εγεννησεν τ[ο]ν αβ[ει]α αβεια δε
εγεννησεν τον ασα[φ] 8 ασαφ δε εγεν
νησεν τον ιωσαφατ ιωσαφατ δε εγεν
ν[η]σεν τον ιωραμ ιωραμ δε εγενν[ησ]εν
τον] οζε[ι]αν 9 οζειας δε εγε[ν]νησ[εν

[7 lines missing]
[1:11] κεσιας βαβυλωνος 12 μετα δε τη]ν με
τοικεσιαν βαβυλωνος ιεχονι]ας εγεν

[recto]
β [= 2]
[1:14] τον] σαδω[κ σ]αδωκ δε εγεννησεν το[ν
αχειμ] αχειμ δε εγε[ν]νησεν τον ελιου[δ
15 ελιου]δ δε εγ[ε]γνη[σ]εν τον ελεαζαρ ελε
α[ζ]αρ δε [ε]γεννησεν τον μαθθαν μαθθαν
δε εγεννησεν τον [ι]ακωβ 16 ιακωβ δε
ε]γεννησεν τον ιωσηφ τον ανδρα μ[α
ριας εξ ης εγεννη[θ]η ις̄ ο λεγομενος [χς̄
17 πασαι ουν γε[νε]αι απο αβρααμ εως
δαυιδ γενεαι ιδ̄ και απο [δ]α[υι]δ [ε]ως της
μετοικεσιας βαβυλωνο[ς] γε[νεαι] ιδ̄ κα[ι
απο της μετ[ο]ικεσιας βαβ[υ]λων[ο]ς εως
του χῡ γενεαι ιδ̄ 18 του δε ιυχῡ η γενε
σις ουτως ην μνηστευθεισης της μη
τρος αυτου μ[αρι]α[ς] τω [ιω]σηφ πριν η συν
ελθειν αυτου[ς ευ]ρεθ[η] εν γαστρι εχου
σα εκ [πν̄ς̄] α[γιου 19 ιωσηφ δε ο] ανηρ αυ
της δ[ι]καιο[ς ων και μη θελων αυτην
δειγμα[τ]ε[ισαι εβουλη]θη [λαθρα
απολυ[σαι αυ]την 20 [τ]αυτα [δε αυτου εν
θ]υμη[θεντος ι]δου αγ[γελο[ς κῡ [κ]α[τ
ο]ναρ [εφανη α]υτω [λεγων] ιωσ[η]φ
υιος δαυιδ] μ[η] φο[βηθης] παρ[αλαβ]ειν
μ]αριαν [την] γυναι[κα σου] το γα[ρ εν αυ
τη γεν]νηθεν ε[κ] πν̄ς̄ [εστιν] α[γιου

[8 lines missing]
[1:23] με[θερμηνευομενον μεθ ημων ο θ̄ς̄



𝔓1 (E 2746; P. Oxy. 2) Matthew 1:1–9, 12