Course Notes for NT671

New Testament Introduction

Prepared by
Robert C. Newman
Professor of New Testament

Assisted by
John & Claudia Bloom
Bloomsbury Research Corporation
and Biola University

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Biblical Theological Seminary
200 N. Main Street
Hatfield, PA 19440

Biblical Theological Seminary
NT671 New Testament Introduction
Dr. Newman

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New Testament Introduction is to be distinguished from (1) NT Survey, which gives an overview of the content of the NT; and from (2) Special Introduction to the NT, which looks at such matters as the authorship, date, style, critical problems and so forth for each of the individual NT books. We cover the first of these in our course NT Survey, and the material of (2) is distributed through our courses Synoptic Gospels, Acts and Pauline Epistles, and Johannine Literature and General Epistles.

This course will cover three broad areas relating to the New Testament as a whole, namely (1) the language of the NT; (2) the text of the NT; and (3) the canon of the NT. We will cover the first and third of these rather briefly, but the second (because of its complexity) in more detail.

I. The Language of the New Testament

The NT was originally written in Koine Greek (with the possible exception of the Gospel of Matthew, which matter is discussed in Synoptic Gospels). Koine Greek is the name given to the form of the Greek language which was popular at the time of Jesus' ministry throughout the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

Before we examine this form of the Greek language in more detail, consider its context among the other languages of the world and among other forms of Greek at different times in its history.

A. Linguistic context of the Greek Language

Greek is one language in the Indo-European Family. The assignment of language families is based on similarities of vocabulary and syntax, and is thought to indicate that the languages of a family are descended from a common ancestor. Consider the following examples of vocabulary similarity:

Indo-European Languages: look at very basic words

English	father	mother	son	daughter
German	Vater	Mutter	Sohn	Tochter
Latin	pater	mater	filius	filia
Greek	πατήρ	μήτηρ	υἱός	θυγάτηρ

Afro-Asiatic Languages: by contrast, look at the same words in these:

Hebrew	ab	em	ben	bat
Aramaic	abba	imma	bar	bara
Arabic	abu	um	iben	bint

Linguists have identified a number of major language families, plus many others with far fewer speakers.

1. Major language families:

Indo-European.   Greek and W. European languages
Afro-Asiatic.   W. Asia and N. African (incl Semitic)
Niger-Congo.   Central African
Dravidian.   S. Indian sub-continent
Malayo-Polynesian. South sea islands & S. Pacific
Sino-Tibetan.   Chinese, related languages

There are others, but they have no clear relationship to these main families. Language diversity fits pretty well the Babel model - linguists are not able to explain diversity as common descendents of one language.

Each of these families can be subdivided into specific languages or, for some of the larger groups, into sub-families:

2. Indo-European sub-families:

Germanic => English, Dutch, Scandinavian, German
Celtic   => Wales, Scotland, Ireland, some of France (Gaelic, Breton, Scot)
Romance => (having to do with Rome) Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, Rumanian
Greek   => Not closely linked to other sub-families
Slavic   => Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovene
Iranian => Old Persian, Modern Iran (some Arabic influence, but Arabic is not I-E)
Indic   => Sanskrit, some of India and others

These subdivisions show us something of how early languages diverged, partly within historical periods where we have written evidence, partly in times and places where the culture was illiterate or writing has not survived.

Sanskrit and Greek are the oldest Indo-European languages with known extant writing back into the 2nd millenium BC (before 1000 BC).

B. Sketch History of Greek Language:

Though language is defined by linguists as the spoken form of the language, this is not accessible for ancient languages, for which all of our evidence is written.

Writing Systems: human languages have used 3 types

1) Ideographic. Symbol represents a whole word. Symbol gives no hint of pronounciation; e.g., Chinese, with typically 1000's of symbols.

2) Syllabic. One symbol for each syllable. Directly linked to pronounciation; e.g., Babylonian cuneiform, with typically 100's of symbols.

3) Alphabetic. Symbol per component sound; e.g., English, with typically only 10's of symbols.

HISTORY OF GREEK

```
                              | - 1500 BC
          Mycenean-Minoan     |
                EARLY         |
              Homeric         | - 1000 BC
                              |
        c600 BC ---------- |
              CLASSICAL       | -  500 BC
        c300 BC ---------- |
                              |
                              | - 0 BC
           HELLENISTIC        |
                              |
                              | -  500 AD
        c600 AD ------------ |
                              |
              BYZANTINE       | - 1000 AD
                              |
                              |
        c1500 AD ----------- | - 1500 AD
                              |
               MODERN         |
                              | - 2000 AD
```

1. **EARLY PERIOD** - from earliest known examples of Greek through Greek dark ages (before 600 BC). 2 sub-periods:

a. Mycenean (about time of Moses). Had writing: Used a syllabary (deciphered in 1950's)

- Volcano explosion weakened Minoan civ. on Crete
- Culture dies around 1100 BC with Dorian invasions
- Knowledge of writing lost [Dark age]

b. Homeric period (1100 - 600 BC)

-picked up alphabet, apparently from Phoenicians
-writing redeveloped after Dark Ages

2. **CLASSICAL PERIOD** - 600 to 300 BC

So named because it was the golden age of Greek language and literature.

Started in W. end of Asia Minor (Ionia), peaked in Athens: oratory, drama, philosophy, history
　　　writing.

Several dialects now show up; probably around before but no written evidence known:

　　　a. Ionic - spoken in W Asia Minor and Greece proper; most important subdialect is Attic,
　　　　　that of Athens

　　　b. Aeolic - spoken in some areas of Asia Minor where first lyric poets were. Became
　　　　　traditional dialect for lyric poetry.

　　　c. Doric - from Dorians (more barbaric Greeks) who invaded about 1100 BC; in Athens,
　　　　　this viewed as "lower class" dialect, used in plays for chorus of bystanders.

3. **HELLENISTIC PERIOD** - 300 BC to 600 AD

So named from verb "hellenizein," to live like a Greek.

Starts with Alexander the Great spreading Greek into the Middle East when he conquers all that
　　　area.

Greek dialects first mixed among army members from different regions and cities. These men
　　　then settled in various Middle Eastern cities.

Greek becomes the second language for many locals, so dialects mixed and simplified from the
　　　styles used by playwrights. Second-language people tend to use simpler syntax and
　　　familiar parallels from their native language.

The Romans left Greek intact when they conquered the east. Greek was finally pushed back by
　　　Muslim and Barbarian invasions of Persia, Africa and Asia Minor, and Arabic became
　　　the dominant language in much of this area.

The term "Koine" (Gk for "common") is used for this dominant Greek dialect used in the
　　　Hellenistic period.

Writers of the period often imitated the classical Greek style (somewhat as we pray in KJV English). Neither we nor they did very well from a linguistic perspective!

N.T. Greek is one variety of the Koine Hellenistic Greek. It was influenced by Hebrew via the Septuagint translation of the OT and by the second language problem.

4. **BYZANTINE PERIOD** - 600 to 1500 AD

Named for the Byzantine Empire and its capital Byzantium (Constantinople).

Greek is pushed back with Byzantine Empire except for isolated pockets (monasteries, etc.).

Constantinople falls in 1453 AD.

5. **MODERN PERIOD** - 1500 to present

 In 1830's, Greeks were freed from the Turks.

C. **Changes in Greek over its history.**

1. Changes from Classical to Koine Greek.

The language tends to simplify as we go from Classical to Hellenistic dialects:

   a. Dual number disappears.

   Originally had singular, dual, and plural endings for both nouns and verbs.
           e.g., τω ∈φθαλμω
   Dual was used for "pairs" (eyes, arms, etc.)
   Was not common in Classical, is never seen in Koine.

   b. Optative mood much decreased use.

   Used in NT mainly in stereotyped phrase:
           μ← γένοιτο - "May it never be!"
   Also I & II Peter, Jude: "Be multiplied" used in greetings: πληθυνθείη
   Occurs only 67 times in NT, mostly Paul's "May it never be!"

   c. Fewer μι verbs.

   μι verbs have a different set of endings from ω verbs, so more forms to learn.
   When learning a second language, tend to choose the familiar, more common ω verbs.

d. More compound verbs.

Adding prepositions to verbs multiplies vocabulary easily, e.g., ƒξ-, ε∅σ-, κατέρχομαι for
go out, in, down.
[contrast Hebrew verbs *hlk, ytsa, boa, yrd*; go, -out, -in, -down]

Compound verbs not so common in earlier Greek, but when it became a popular 2nd
language this simpler route was taken.

e. Simpler Syntax.

This may be an artifact of the surviving literary works:
drama and history for Classical vs.
private letters and receipts for Koine.

Spoken classical Greek might not have had the difficult syntax (less info on what spoken
Classical was like), but the classical literature did.

2. Changes from Hellenistic (NT) to Modern Greek.

a. Disappearance of Dative.

Replaced by preposition plus accusative (like English "to" w/ accusative).

b. Disappearance of Infinitive.

Replaced with participle (a verbal adjective used substantively as a noun).

c. Increasing use of Helping Verbs and Verbal Particles.

Ancient Greek added augments and endings to verbs.
Modern English uses helping verbs: "He has walked."

Modern Greek for continuous action uses ε∅μαι "to be".
   "   "   for perfect tense uses ♣χω "to have".
   "   "   for future tense uses particle θα plus the present tense.
   "   "   for subjunctive mood uses particle να plus the present tense.

d. Some inflectional changes.

Some verb endings have changed. e.g., Present Active Indicative: -ω, -εις, -ει, -ομε(ν), -
ετε, -ουν

e. Simpler Syntax.

All moved in the direction of simpler style.
Not sure why, as in modern times there are fewer speakers of Greek.
Perhaps Turkish control meant that there were few who were well educated, so language
    is simplified by "rural" non-literary use (same thing happened to English between
    William the Conquerer and Chaucer).
In modern Greek there are two written "dialects":
    1) Puristic (more Classical, formal use),
    2) Spoken (more colloquial, used on the street).

D. Influences on N.T. Greek.

How does NT Greek differ from the Koine Greek of the time?
    They are very similar, but some slightly different influences.

1. The Greek of the NT was that being spoken at the time.

NT written to communicate to the man on the street.
Few examples of "classicizing" in NT: sections like the intro. of Luke are probably in the literary
    Greek of the time.

2. Classical background.

Although no one was speaking Classical Greek, it was still being read and heard in play
    performances, etc.
Like Old English influence into 20th century through Shakespeare and KJV.

3. Semitic background.

    a. Most of the NT writers are Jewish in background (Luke is surely a Gentile).

        Either Hebrew or Aramaic is their native language, or the Greek they spoke was a
            Jewish Greek.

        Luke is traditionally Syrian => some Semitic influence.

    b. Even Luke would read the OT Scriptures in the Hebraistic Greek of the Septuagint.

    Structure differences: Somewhat Hebraistic syntax

    Vocabulary differences: Words used in LXX slowly picked up a spiritual rather than a
        pagan meaning (from Septuagint usage for about 3 centuries).

Grammar and meanings of Greek words in NT were often influenced by the Septuagint.

E. Application of this language history to N.T. exegesis.

N.T. Greek differs grammatically and lexically from both Classic and Modern dialects:

Many words have different meanings,
A few similiar problems with grammatical forms

So we need to study Koine Greek plus Hebrew.

To understand N.T. Greek, we need as a helpful background:

Classical Greek
Papyri (Hellenistic)
Septuagint
Modern Greek (some)
Hebrew

Thankfully, most of this work is done for us by the available lexicons and grammars, if we will
consult them.

1. Lexical Matters.

Having to do with word meanings, compare "lexicon," meaning dictionary, more remotely
"lecture."

a. Reference Lexicons.

1) Classical Greek.

Liddell and Scott: 3 different sized eds., big, middle and little.
If translating from Septuagint need largest ed.

2) Papyri. Not much studied before about 1900.

Moulton & Milligan, *Vocab. of Gk. Testament*
M & M updated Thayer, but not easy to use.
        Thankfully, it information was incorporated into BAGD, below.

3) Septuagint. No separate Lexicon (use Liddell)

        Theological lexicons (below) helpful.

4) Theological Lexicons [Dictionaries of NT Theology]

Look at words that have theological significance
Kittel/Bromiley, *Theol Dict NT* 10 vol. (liberalish).
Colin Brown, *New Intl Dict NT Theol* 3 vol. (better).
      Both sets suffer from problem of tending to transfer whole range of word's meaning into
      each particular context (called "illegitime totality transfer").

5) Best All Around Lexicon for NT.

Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich, and Danker, *Gk-Engl Lex of NT and Other Early Xn Lit*
BAGD includes words for early church fathers also.
Extensive bibliography for discussions of word meanings and occurrences of words outside NT.

6) New Dictionary putting synonyms, etc., together.

Louw and Nida, *Gk-Engl Lex Based on Semantic Domains*
Very helpful discussion of ranges of meaning and of uncertainties regarding nuances.

b. Example of etymology and change of meaning through usage:

Consider noun ϝκκλησία, usually translated "church."

      Etymologically, from ϝκ + καλέω = call out (from).

But usage, not etymology, determines meaning.

E.g., in English, word "church" means (1) building, (2) denomination, (3) local congregation,
      (4) universal church.

In NT Greek, ϝκκλησία does not mean (1) or (2) above.

1) In Classical Greek, ϝκκλησία meant "a meeting," usually a particular type, "a called meeting."

Was used for governmental assemblies or informal gatherings to decide something (cf. Homer,
      Herodotus, Josephus).

NT has an example of this secular usage:
      Acts 19:39 and 41 - the riot in Ephesus
            v.39 "it should be settled in a lawful *assembly*."
            v.41 refering to this irregular *assembly*.

2) In Septuagint (made around 250 BC), ƒκκλησία occurs over 75 times, and is often a
translation of *qhl* meaning "all the people gathered at one time."

Used for the gathering of all Israel for festivals and/or to hear God's word (not a governmental
assembly).
Applied to the assembly of Israel in the wilderness.

NT has example of this too; Stephen in Acts 7:38).

Some eschatological meaning also, when all gather before God at the end.

So the word has picked up a religious meaning by NT times.

3) In NT usage, we see a blending:

Word retains "assembly" and "local" idea from Classical Greek.

Word retains "religious assembly" and "universal" idea from Septuagint.

Adds a new specific idea: a collective term for those who accept Christ as Savior.

Paul often adds a phrase to the word (e.g., "Church of Jesus Christ") to indicate this non-pagan
and non-Septuagint usage.

So the word has some changes and some continuity.
Therefore, must determine word meanings from usage and context.

cp. English word "manufacture":
etymologically (from Latin) means "make by hand"
but current usage is exactly the opposite!

2. Grammatical Matters (having to do with syntax).

a. Grammars

All grammars today have tried to assimilate the results for NT from Classical Greek, LXX,
        Papyri, etc.

        Machen, *NT Gk for Beginners*, is a beginning Grammar; so is Mounce, *Basics of Biblical
                Greek*, which we plan to begin using.

        Brooks and Winberry, *Syntax of NT Greek*, is intermediate level (as is Zerwick).

Advanced grammars:
        A. T. Robertson (prob best for seminary students, pastors).
        Blass, DeBrunner, and Funk (more recent and technical, but smaller, harder to use).
        Moulton, Howard, and Turner (multi-volume; expensive but good).

b. An Example of Hebraism in NT Greek.

Consider the use of "ε∅" in Heb 3:11, a quotation from Ps 95:11:

	Ps. 95:11	Heb. 3:11
	im	ε∅
	yavoün	ε∅σελεύσονται
-	el	ε∅ς
	manuhoti	τ←ν κατάπαυσιν μου

Two possiblities:
        Literal Gk: "If they will enter into my rest"
        Hebraism: "They will not enter into my rest"

Turns on word translated "if"
                - also used to mark a strong negative in an oath.
        ε∅ - only 'if,' never a negative in "gentile" Greek.

Some think that this is a mis-translation. I think this is a Hebraism carried over into Greek via a
        Hebraistic dialect.

Another example of same construction (with no LXX background) is found in Mark 8:12:

ε∅ δοθήσεται τ± γενε ταύτ→ σημε℘ον.
"This generation will not be given a sign."

ε∅ is clearly used as a negative here in context.

II. The Text of the New Testament.

A real concern throughout church history has been the text of the NT. Heretics have regularly tried to add additional books to canon (we will discuss canon under III). Occasionally they have tampered with its text (Marcion and some modern liberals). Atheists and Muslims (and sometimes Mormons) have argued the text is unreliable. Some Fundamental Christians have pushed strongly for KJV only.

Here we will consider the text of the New Testament under three topics:
>(1) sources of the text,
>(2) history of the text, and
>(3) the practice of text criticism.

A. Sources of the Text.

1. Modern printed editions of the Greek NT.

We start here, rather than with the ancient manuscripts, as this is what we personally have access to.

a. Greek Texts currently (or recently) in print.

1) Most recent editions:

a) Modern Critical Editions: (Made from scratch using manuscripts of Alexandrian family as most reliable).

>Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed., (1994). Significant changes between eds. 1-25 and 26-27.

>United Bible Society, *Greek NT*, 4rd ed., (1993). Big changes in variants displayed since 3rd ed.

Both have identical texts (as planned) but format and method of noting textual variations differs.

b) Majority Text Edition:

Hodges/Farstad, *Gk NT acc to Majority Text* (1982). Prints text having largest number of manuscripts in support (Byzantine family), lists alternatives in footnotes.

2) Older editions, based mostly on 19th century work (Alexandrian emphasis).

Earlier Nestle-Aland editions (1-25).
Text was chosen by very mechanical method:
Used majority vote of texts by:
Westcott and Hort,
Tischendorf 8th ed,
Bernard Weiss.
If 2 or more of these texts agreed, then that is what was printed.

British and Foreign Bible Society.
Took 5th Nestle ed, used more readable Greek type and English (rather than Latin) notes.

Souter's Greek NT (1905).
Somewhat closer to Byzantine than N-A editions.

Several Roman Catholic eds: Vogels, Bover, Merk.

3) Pre-19th century editions (Byzantine emphasis).

Several forms of the Textus Receptus are still being printed today; e.g.:

Trinitarian Bible Society (1976).
Follows Theodore Beza (1598 ed); modified to match KJV where KJV followed other Greek manuscripts instead of Beza.

b. Textual Apparatus of UBS and Nestle.

 1) UBS Apparatus applies to 4th ed. only.

Type: pretty clear (UBS started a new trend in clarity, but 4th ed. not as nice as 1-3).
Quotations from OT: bold type.
Section-headings: English.
Brackets: Probably not original reading, but
important enough to note.

Footnotes:

> Bottom (small print): Cross references to OT and NT texts which are quoted or similar.
> Middle (small): Discourse segmentation variations in printed texts and major modern
> language translations.
> Top (large print): Textual variants.

Textual Variants:

> UBS does not include as many places of variation as Nestle, but UBS gives more ex-
> tensive info on each. Only provides variants which committee felt might make a
> difference in translation. Committee for 4th ed. made numerous changes on which
> passages to cite variants for.
>
> Order of variants listed is typically best to worst.
>
> Order of support cited: papyri, uncials (code: numbers which start with zero), miniscules,
> ancient translations, quotes from church fathers (names spelled out).
>
> Variant usually given in original Greek; sometimes in English where variant not
> preserved in Greek (e.g., Latin, Coptic).
>
> Certainty of the text (according to the committee) is shown in brackets { }:
> > A = text is certain;
> > B = almost certain;
> > C = Committee had trouble deciding;
> > D = Comm had great difficulty.

ASSIGNMENT: Read introductory material of UBS Gk NT. For mid-term test; will give a
sample of a variation and ask if papyri, uncials, etc. support each alternative, etc., and
what various other abbreviations mean.

2) Nestle's 26th edition.

Type: much improved over eds. 1-25, but not quite as nice as UBS (smaller size type).
OT quotations: italics instead of bold.
No section-headings.
Brackets: same as UBS.
Variants in text: Superscript symbols indicate kind of variant

This code also used in all earlier editions:

⌐ = variant at this word.

⌐ ⌐ = variant at these words.

⊤ = something inserted in other manuscript(s).

" = some texts omit this word.

Q \ = some texts omit these words.

s = change of word order.

s s = change of word order between symbols.

: = different punctuation.

Outer margins: Cross-reference to OT and NT parallels. Much more extensive than UBS. "!"
marks very important parallels.

Inner margins: Ancient divisions of text, intermediate in size between modern chapters and
verses; Symbols of Eusebius: made it easy to find parallel passages in Gospels.

Footnotes: Textual variants.

Textual Variants:

Very compressed cp to UBS.

Notes many more variants than UBS (perhaps 5x as many), all known variants except for
trivial spellings.

Very abbreviated, harder to figure out which texts support which variants. 26th ed.
improved over earlier editions.

Not much on church fathers.

2. Ancient Greek Manuscripts.

These are copies (complete or damaged) made by hand (before the invention of printing or
shortly thereafter) of part or all of the NT in the Greek language. They are traditionally
subdivided by the type of material on which they are written and the type of handwriting used
into three groups:

(1) papyri,

(2) uncials, and

(3) miniscules.

a. Papyri (plural; singular is papyrus).

Name given to manuscripts written on a type of "paper" made from a suitable type of reed.
(More on this under "book production" later).

Particular papyrus mss of the NT are abbreviated by a p followed by a superscript number.

As of 1981, we have 86 different manuscripts of papyri. 88 catalog numbers were used, but some
of these were later discovered to be parts of another ms.

Papyri once listed in order of age p1, p2 ..., but many more found after first catalogued; renumbering would produce incredible confusion.

Most up-to-date information on manuscripts is in Aland and Aland, *The Text of the NT* (Eerdmans, 1987).

1) p^{52} is the oldest. Called "John Rylands Papyrus."

Small fragment of Gospel of John, chapter 18, about the size of a silver dollar.
Written on both sides, implying bound in book style rather than as scroll.
Dated early 2nd century (100-135 AD). Dating of mss is somewhat fuzzy as based on handwriting style. Not till medieval period do manuscripts have dates put on by scribes.
Located at John Rylands Library, Univ of Manchester, England.

2) A group of papyri from about 200 AD:

p^{32} - Fragment of Titus.
Just a few verses
Also at John Rylands Library

p^{46} - Chester Beatty papyrus of Pauline Epistles.
Large and therefore important.
Contains Pauline epistles, incl Hebrews
In Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Ireland.

$p^{64,67}$ - Now recognized as from the same manuscript.
Fragments of Gospel of Matthew.
At Barcelona and at Magdalen College, Oxford

p^{66} - Most of Gospel of John.
In Bodmer papyri collection in Switzerland,
plus fragments at Chester Beatty Lib, Dublin

p^{77} - Fragments of Matthew (perhaps as early as 175 AD). One of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, at Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

3) Early 3rd century:

p^{23} - Fragments of James, chapter 1.
At University of Illinois

p^{45} - Chester Beatty Gospels & Acts.
Originally contained all 4 Gospels and Acts, now very fragmented.

p^{75} - Bodmer Luke and John.
      Two Gospels in one volume.

4) Distribution of Known Papyri (85 as of August 1980):

```
    Century  |      Number
  _____  |_____
             |
      1       |            0 (Possibly Mark at Qumran)
      2       |*                                        1
      3       |****************************    31
      4       |******************             20
    Later     |********************************   33
             |
```

No papyri have survived virtually complete; all are fragmented. Their value is rather in their
      early date than in their complete text.

No papyri of whole NT; weakness of papyrus did not allow binding all in one volume. Typically
      bound as 1 or 2 Gospels; Paul's letters; Acts and/or Catholic Epistles; Revelation (when
      in multivolume sets).

b. Uncials.

This is not a very good name ("uncial" is term for hand-written capital letters), since papyri are
written in uncial handwriting also. Name was chosen before papyri were discovered.

Uncial manuscripts were written on parchment, a type of "paper" made from animal skins. Very
expensive but also very durable.

Uncials are abbreviated by capital Latin (English) letters. After these ran out, the different-
looking Greek letters were used. Then used numbers that always start with '0' (zero; to
differentiate from miniscules, which are marked by numbers without leading zero).

1) 3rd century.

0212 - Dura Diatessaron - Harmony of the 4 Gospels. Must date before 256 AD as found under
      the wall foundation of city (Dura) destroyed in 256. At Yale University.

O220 - Romans (fragment).

0171 - Gospel (frags of Matt, Luke), about 300 AD.

O162 - John (fragment), 3rd or 4th cen.

0189 - Acts (fragment), 3rd or 4th.

2) 4th century.

   (01) - Codex Sinaiticus.
      Discovered in St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai (built c600 AD).
      Poss one of the mss drawn up at Constantine's request (4th century), later brought to
         monastery.
      Contains the complete NT & OT (but parts of OT lost in damage to ms)
      Now in British Museum, London.
      In 1850's Tischendorf got the Monastery to donate manuscript to the Czar of Russia.
      Communists sold to British Museum in 1933.
      Some more frags found recently at St. Cath. Monastery.

B (03) - Codex Vaticanius. In Vatican library.
      Early history unknown, first Vatican catalog in 1475 listed it.
      Contains OT, Apocrypha, and NT (end missing).
      Books are in different order than our Bible.
      Missing Heb 9:15-, 1-2 Tim., Titus, Phm. and Rev.

Several fragments also from this century.

3) Later (5th century).

A (02) - Codex Alexandrinus.
      Whole NT, missing some of Matt. & 2 Cor.
      Known earliest in Alexandria.
      Patriarch of Constantinople had it, was friendly to west, so in 1627 he donated it to
         Charles I of England.
                Now in British Museum.

C (04) - Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus.
      About 5/8 of NT.
      Sermons of Ephraim are written over NT text.
      Now in Paris National library.

D (05) - Codex Bezae.
      Contains the Gospels and Acts.
      Has Greek and Latin on facing pages.
      Now in Cambridge U. Lib., gift of Theodore Beza.

Location and history prior to Beza unknown.

W (032) - Codex Washingtonensis.
Complete manuscript of the Gospels.
Found after 1900 in Egypt. Purchased by Freer in 1905.
Donated to Smithsonian (now in Freer Gallery of Art).

5) Distribution of Known Uncials (245 in Aug 1980).

```
Century    |   Number
           |
_____  |_____
           |
   1       |                           0
   2       |                           0
   3       |***                        3
   4       |***************               16
   5       |****************************************** 44
  Later    |******************************/   /***  182
```

Uncial type of handwriting continues until 11th cen., but begins to be replaced by miniscules in 9th.

c. Miniscules.

Name "miniscule" refers to the smaller cursive handwriting style in which these manuscripts written. For approximate comparison, uncials look like our printed Gk capitals, miniscules like our printed Gk small letters.

Miniscules span 9th to 16th century until printing starts. Most are written on parchment, except for a few on paper towards the end of this period.

As of 1980, 2650 miniscules known.

Miniscules are abbreviated/labelled by normal numbers: 1, 85, etc.

Miniscules are generally considered of lesser value for determining the NT texts, as they are much further removed in time from the originals:

Papyri removed 40-700 years,
Uncials removed 200-900 years,
Miniscules 800-1800 years.

However, some miniscules are probably just one or two copies removed from important uncials which no longer exist.

1) Important Miniscules:

Group 1: contains miniscule number 1
        Called the "Lake group" after the man who studied them.
        Probably all have common ancestor.
        Includes mss 1, 118, 131, etc.
        Have Caesarian type text.

Group 13: contains ms 13
        Called the "Ferrar group."
        Includes mss 13, 69, 124, etc.
        Also Caesarian family.

Miniscule 33
        9th cen., one of earliest miniscules.
        Apparently a copy of an early uncial.
        Once called "Queen of the cursives"
        Good Alexandrian family text.

2) Distribution of Known Miniscules (2650 as of Aug 1980)

```
  Century    |   Number (+ represents 10 mss)
 _____   |_____
             |
     9       |+                          13
    10       |+++++++++++                      125
    11       |++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++  436
    12       |++++++++++++++++/  /+++           586
    13       |++++++++++++++++/  /+             569
   Later     |++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++/  /+++   921
```

d. Summary: Papyri, Uncials, Miniscules.

Best sources of NT text.
Fragmentary before 4th century.
Give no direct information on their date, copier, where copied, from what manuscript(s), except
        for a few medieval mss. This information can sometimes be deduced.

3. Other Ancient Sources.

a. Lectionaries (Greek).

Could have put these under previous heading "Ancient Greek Manuscripts," as they are old, Greek and handwritten, but lectionaries have reorganized the text for reading in church on particular Sundays. Some lectionaries are based on the calendar year, some on the movable church year (3rd Sun of Lent, etc.).

Early church practice was just to have a list to look up text in Bible. Later, readings were compiled into separate books called lectionaries.

We have lectionaries from the 4th century on.

As of 1980, 1995 lectionaries known:
        271 uncial lects (4th-13th cen),
        1724 miniscule lects (9th-16th cen).

UBS will sometimes list them in footnotes, either as a whole ('Lect' = Reading of the majority of lectionaries) or individually l[76,150]

Nestle does not usually note lectionary readings, giving only five lect mss in their mss list.

Lectionaries have not been studied as thoroughly as papyri, miniscules and uncials, but they appear to have little value for the original text or its early history.

b. Versions (i.e., Ancient Translations)

The NT has now been translated into many hundreds of languages. Several of these translations were made before the fall of the Roman Empire (475) or at least before the rise of Islam (650). We list these ancient translations below:

Century:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Latin:		Old		Vulgate			
Syriac:		Old		Peshitta			
					Palestinan		
					Harclean		
Coptic:			Sahidic				
			Bohairic				

Century: 1   2   3   4   5   6   7

   Other: Gothic
                                Armenian
                             Georgian
                                    Ethiopic
                                Nubian

When Christians first spread the Gospel, it was in two languages: Greek and Aramaic (for Jews).
        Most agree that the NT was written in Greek, except possibly for Matthew.

Need for Aramaic disappeared after Jews largely rejected Christianity (70-150 AD), and
        Messianic Jews died off. Some argument on connection of Syriac with Aramaic.

As the Gospel spread, it encountered people who did not know Greek.

1) Latin Versions of NT.

a) Old Latin (probably 2nd century).

        Was in existence by the time of Tertullian.
        First made in Europe or Africa (not Rome, too many people there knew Greek).
        Don't know who did it; There is much variation, possibly several versions, or people cor-
                recting one translation.
        Called Itala, abbrev. in UBS and Nestle as 'it.'
        By 4th century there were so many variations that bishop of Rome called for a new
                translation.

b) Vulgate (late 4th and early 5th century).

        That new translation was Jerome's vulgate, not strictly a new translation but a revision of
                the Old Latin (Western family) in light of the best manuscripts available at the
                time (Alexandrian).
        Many old readings crept in as it was later copied, since people were still familiar with the
                Itala.
        Was blasted at first (as was KJV!), but gradually accepted as the standard.
        By the Reformation, people were correcting the Gk and Heb texts by the Vulgate
                (supposedly inspired!).
        UBS and Nestle abbreviate as 'vg'.

2) Syriac Versions.

Syriac was a dialect of Aramaic spoken by Gentiles in Syria.   The main difference between Jewish Aram. and Syr. is handwriting style (same alphabet but very different script).

Syriac versions have apparently picked up some influence from the Diatessaron, which was early in Syriac, perhaps before the four Gospels.

a) Old Syriac version (by 2nd or 3rd century).

> Only two manuscripts survive, contain the Gospels.
> Text of two mss are significantly different.
> > Sinaitic (syr^s in UBS, Nestle sy^s) 4th - 5th cen.
> > Curetonian (syr^c in UBS, Nestle sy^c) 5th cen.

b) Peshitta (syr^p in UBS, Nestle sy^p).

> Name means 'simple', sometimes called the "Syriac Vulgate," is the common Syriac
> > version.
> Was made around or before 400 AD (late 4th, early 5th), because in 431 AD the Syriac
> > church split into two factions, and both use the Peshitta. Tradition connects it
> > with Rabbula, bp of Edessa (411-435).
> Still used in the Syriac church today.
> Most think that Syr was translated from the Greek, tho Lamsa thinks Syr is original.

Other Syriac versions:

c) Palestinian (syr^{pal} in UBS, Nestle doesn't cite).

> A 6th century revision of the Peshitta.

d) Harclean (syr^h in UBS, Nestle sy^h)

> A 7th century revision of the Peshitta.

3) Coptic Versions.

Coptic is the name of the Egyptian language at NT times.
Writing style had changed with coming of Greeks to Egypt. Got rid of ideograms and syllabary
> of Hieroglyphic & Demotic, replacing with Greek alphabet (plus a couple of new letters).
The major No. Egyptian cities spoke Greek, but as Xianity spread up the Nile, Coptic versions
> were needed.
Have NT in several dialects but two important ones were:

a) Sahidic (cop^{sa} in UBS, Nestle sa).

> Thebes and south (Upper Egypt).
> Made in 3rd or 4th century.
> Still used by Coptic church today.

b) Bohairic (cop^{bo} in UBS, Nestle bo).

> Delta and north (Lower Egypt).
> Made in 4th century.

4) Other Ancient Versions.

Other language groups with which Xianity came in contact after it had become legal and established.

a) Gothic (goth in UBS, Nestle got).

Indo-European language spoken by Goths (sort of Germanic). No groups speak this today.
Made in the 4th century.

b) Armenian (arm in UBS, Nestle doesn't use).

Eastern part of Turkey, Soviet Union, N. part of Iran and Iraq.
Made in 4th or 5th century, still used in Armenian churches today (scattered around world).

c) Georgian (geo in UBS and Nestle).

Area north of the Black Sea (home of Stalin).
Made in the 5th century.

d) Ethiopic (eth in UBS, Nestle aeth).

Not the same area as today. Was a bit further north (just south of Egypt).
Made in 6th century.

e) Nubian (nub in UBS, Nestle doesn't use).

Area around Nile in southern part of Egypt.
Made in 6th century.

These are all of the versions up to time of Muslim conquest (early 7th century). Once Rome fell (400's) there were few more Western versions until the Reformation.

We have more manuscripts of Latin versions (>8000) than of the Greek. Also several thousand Armenian manuscripts.

What is the value of these versions?

Some versions were made about as early as the earliest surviving manuscripts which we have of
     the NT.
This means they may help us get closer to the originals.

The most valuble early versions are:
        Old Latin   Old Syriac
        Sahidic   Bohairic
since they predate the 4th century (when we start to get reasonably complete Greek manuscripts).

Not as good as the Gk. manuscripts for determining the best text for two reasons:

1. Translation tends to obscure some details.

        Even best translations do not show everything (e.g., Latin does not have a definite article,
              but can give good help on verb tenses or on the existence of a phrase).
        These were not the best translations. Not done by linguists, etc.

2. The versions themselves have errors from copying.

        Each version has its own unique collection of copyists' errors to decipher.
        Can sometimes tell if the copy error was in the Gk or the Latin by the translation.
              e.g., Rev 22:19 libro/ligno
                    vs βιβλίου/ξύλου

The versions do tell us what kind of readings existed at the place where the translation was made, given the above qualifications.

Can get some locality and date information from versions, knowing where the particular language was spoken, when version made. This helps with date and localities for Greek manuscripts, which otherwise have no such info.

c. Church Fathers.

Another important source for study of the text of the NT is its quotation in early writings. We call these writers the "church fathers" since most of them were leaders or teachers in the church. Some, however, were not orthodox, e.g., Marcion.

These writings include letters, sermons, polemics: anything in which a NT quotation appears.

This material helpful because we usually know their locality and time of writing more accurately than for versions or Greek manuscripts.

Below we give a list and three maps showing the time and place of the major church fathers.

Church Fathers Significant for Text Studies:

Name	Language	Location	Comment

------------------ **SECOND CENTURY** -----------------------

Name	Language	Location	Comment
Justin	Greek [140 AD]	Ephesus	
Marcion	Greek [150 AD]	Rome	Gnostic
Irenaeus	Greek [180 AD]	Lyon, France	His teacher studied under Apostle John
Tatian	Syriac [180 AD]	Syria	Diatessaron
Clement	Greek [200- AD]	Alexandria, Egypt	

------------------ **THIRD CENTURY** -----------------------

Name	Language	Location	Comment
Tertullian	Latin [200+ AD]	Carthage, N. Africa	
Hippolytus	Greek [225 AD]	Rome	First 'anti-pope'
Origen	Greek [225 AD]	Alexandria, Egypt	
Cyprian	Latin [250 AD]	Carthage, N. Africa	

------------------ **FOURTH CENTURY** -----------------------

Xianity now legal: Biggest century in Scriptural study since apostles and until Reformation.

Name	Language	Location
Ephraem	Syriac	Syria
Hilary	Latin	Poitiers, France

Ambrose	Latin	Milan, N. Italy
Augustine	Latin	Hippo (near Carthage)
Jerome	Latin	Bethlehem, Palestine
Chrysostom	Greek	Constantinople
Gregory of Nyssa	Greek	Cappadocia, Asia Minor
Basil	Greek	Cappadocia, Asia Minor
Gregory Nazianzus	Greek	Cappadocia, Asia Minor
Eusebius	Greek	Caesarea, Palestine Ch History
Athanasius	Greek	Alexandria, Egypt

SOURCES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT
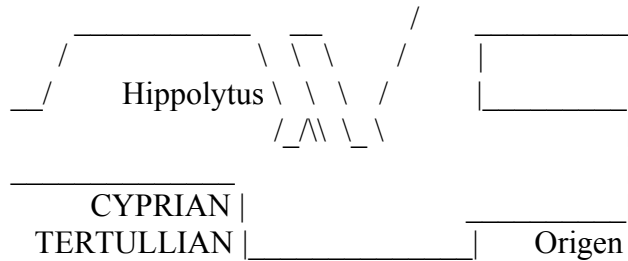## LOCATION OF CHURCH FATHERS BY CENTURIES

KEY:

Diagrams are sketch maps of Mediterranean
Typestyle for name indicates language father used:
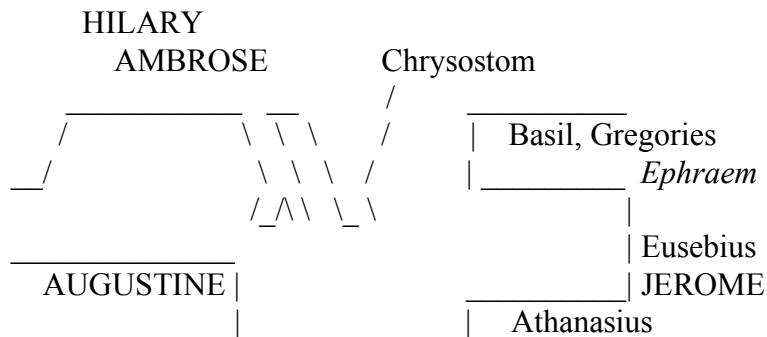   Greek, LATIN, *Syriac*

SECOND CENTURY:

```
        Irenaeus
    _____  __      /       _____
   /           \  \ \   /       |Justin
 __/    Marcion  \  \ \  /       |_____
          /_/\\  \__\               | Tatian
  _____                   |
               |          _____|
               |_____|  Clement
```

THIRD CENTURY:

```
                             /
      _____  __     /    _____
     /           \  \ \   /    |
  __/     Hippolytus \  \  \  /       |____
                   /_/\\ \_\               |
  _____                           |
     CYPRIAN |                 _____|
     TERTULLIAN |_____|     Origen
```

FOURTH CENTURY:

```
        HILARY
          AMBROSE          Chrysostom
     _____  __     /       _____
    /           \  \ \   /       |  Basil, Gregories
  __/            \  \ \ /        |_____  Ephraem
                /_/\\ \_\                |
  _____                         | Eusebius
     AUGUSTINE |           _____| JEROME
              |_____|    Athanasius
```
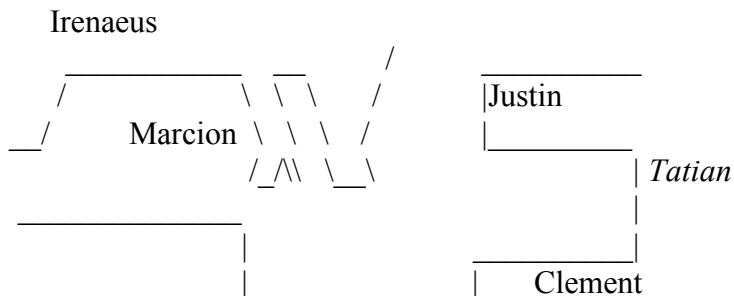
What is the advantage for NT text for knowing the church fathers?

Have better information for their locations and dates than we do for versions or manuscripts.
        (We generally know their dates of death and where they were active.)

Their citations of Scripture or comments on variant readings tell us the date and location of these
        readings.

BUT church fathers are not the best source for determining the Greek text of the NT.

Why? Several problems using church fathers:

1. We must do textual criticism on the text of writings of church fathers to get original Scripture
        reading.

This can be difficult as scribes have often corrected the father's Scripture quotations to agree
        with the Scripture texts which the scribe was used to.

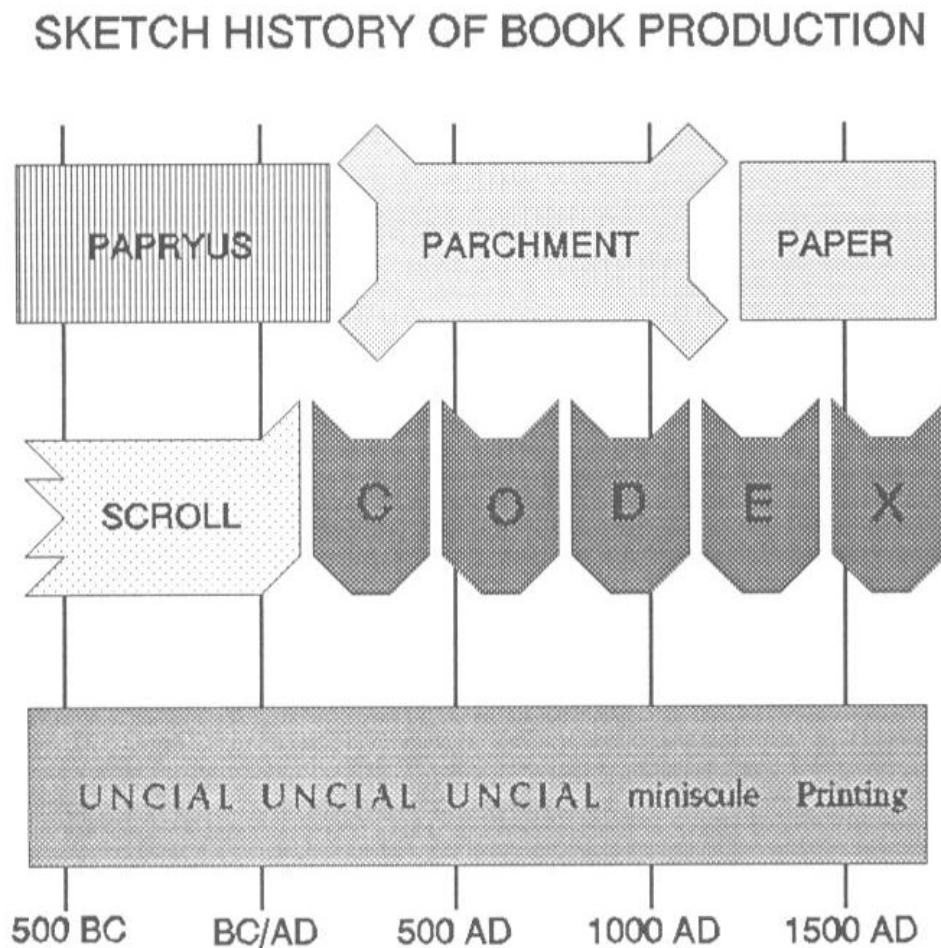2. We do not always know what the father was doing:

> Was he quoting from memory, or did he look it up?
> Was he making an exact citation or only an allusion?

If it is from memory, slight rewordings or combinations of parallel accounts may have occurred. Even long passages still do not prove that he copied, as memorizing more common before invention of printing.

3. Ephraem, Hilary and others were not writing in Greek and we do not know what kind of NT manuscript they may have been using (Greek, Latin, Syriac?).

B. History of the Text.

1. Before Printing.

SKETCH HISTORY OF BOOK PRODUCTION

PAPRYUS	PARCHMENT		PAPER	

SCROLL   C O D E X

UNCIAL   UNCIAL   UNCIAL   miniscule   Printing

500 BC   BC/AD   500 AD   1000 AD   1500 AD

a. Palaeography

Study of ancient writing styles and techniques

1) Materials for receiving writing.
Three main types: papyrus, parchment, paper

a) Papyrus.

Dominant writing material in the Roman Empire.
Used from before 2500 BC in Egypt up to c300 AD.
Popular works continued on in papyrus but reference works like the Bible (which were used
daily) were thereafter made on parchment, as more durable.

Production of papyrus:

Papyrus reed is sliced vertically into thin strips, laid crosswise (#), then pressed together. Its sap
(thinned with Nile water) was the glue.
Reed grew naturally in Egypt and a few other marshy places.
Papyrus "paper" kept fairly well, better than most grades of modern paper, particularly modern
acid paper (100's of years possible if conditions right).
By today, however, most have disintegrated.
In some very dry areas (Egyptian deserts) fragments of papyri are found.

b) Parchment.

Used for the Bible from 300 to around 1300 AD.
Specially treated animal skins
Production: made suitable for writing by being scraped thin, treated with lime, etc.
Named for city Pergamum which was an early major producer. Story has it that king of
Pergamum and Egyptian King Ptolemy were in competition for the biggest library.
Ptolemy embargoed Pergamum's papyrus so they developed this instead.
Much superior to Papyrus in durability but harder to write on as it was not as porous (letters
could be rubbed off rather easily).
Was more expensive and difficult to prepare, but the supply was not geographically limited.

c) Paper.

Similar to papyrus in that it is a sheet of vegetable fibers, but fibers were taken apart and
reassembled for paper.

Production: took cloth or wood fibers and cooked them down, then glued together with glue or starch.

Invented by Chinese who used it by 2nd cen AD.

Muslim conquests of the East brought paper to Middle East about 750. Sold in Europe by 1100s

Crusaders may have brought back production secrets.

Finally began to be used in Europe in 14th - 15th c.

Its development was aided by printing, as both were cheaper than competing processes.

2) Writing equipment used in antiquity.

a) Pens.

Reed pen: for papyrus; used something like our felt-tip pens: Took a piece of reed, mushed up the end to form a tiny brush and dipped this in the ink (every letter or two).

Quill pen: for parchment; used points like our fountain pens have. These hard points would dig holes in the softer papyrus. The sharp pen points for parchment were feather quills (from chicken, duck, goose, etc.) sharpened at the tip. These were slit to hold a small amount of ink (dip every few letters).

b) Inks.

Black: was made from lamp black (carbon soot) mixed with gum arabic and water. This was the most common ink in NT times.

Brown: was obtained from the galls from certain nut trees. Codex B (Vaticanus) and D (Bezae) were written with this ink.

Other Colors: for deluxe editions, various ink colors like red, purple, gold, and silver could be made.

c) Pen knife.

Used to sharpen or to make new quill pens.

d) Pumice.

A volcanic stone with texture like sandpaper. Used to smooth out writing surface and to fine-tune the pen sharpening.

e) Sponge.

Used for erasing paper and for cleaning pen point.

3) Book forms.

How were books constructed? Two ways: scroll, codex

a) Scroll.

One continuous horizontal roll, of sheets glued or sewn together edge to edge. This was the standard book technique until c100 AD. Use continued long after for pagan literature, but not for NT.

Problems with the scroll format:

The scroll cannot be very long as it becomes hard to handle; 20 feet is about the longest, c40 pages. Usual lengths were on the order of 10 to 20 feet. Thus most books were short and longer writings were made on many scrolls, sometimes 100 for one work!

Random access problem: cannot find the passage you want without a lot of work (like cassette tapes, video tapes).

Wasted writing material: cannot conveniently write on the back side as it is handled on that side (so too much wear on a written side).

b) Codex [plural, codices].

Sheets are linked together along only one edge (like 3-ring binders) instead of both edges (like scroll).

Idea probably came from wax-coated wooden sheets bound with rings in this manner, then adapted for papyrus.

Our oldest NT manuscript fragments are codices (only 4 of our 85 cataloged papyri are scrolls).

Most scholars guess that the earliest NT manuscripts were written on scrolls, but the scrolls that survive are not the earliest mss.

c) Palimpsest.

Not a different book form, but a manuscript which has been erased and written over.

Erasing usually done in medieval period when good writing material was scarce.

Parchment was only real choice for erasure as it was durable to start with and could be erased easily.

Codex C (Ephraemi Rescriptus) is an example of this. About 5/8 of NT was erased (probably the binding had fallen apart first so this was 'scrap') and used for sermons of Ephraem the Syrian.

Sometimes (as with codex C) possible to read the underlying text in the parchment with infra-red photography.

4) Handwriting Styles.

a) Uncial.

From Latin *Uncialus* = "inch high" (some exaggeration).
Looks like a simplified form of the capital letters used for engraving on stone monuments.
Unlike engraving, no serifs or variations in line thickness.
Similar to modern Greek printed capital letters.

The Uncial Alphabet: see cover page of these notes

ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΛΜΝ
ΞΟΠΡϹΤΥΦΧΨΩ

Differences from modern printed capitals:

Note epsilon, xi, sigma

Note development of omega: two o's merged

This was the common script from before the time of Christ to the 10th century AD.

But it takes up a lot of space.
Words were run together, perhaps to save space.
Did put a space between clauses and sentences like we would use commas or periods.
Being run together was not too bad since ancients typically read the text aloud instead of silently when reading to self. (Augustine was surprised that Ambrose did not read out loud when he studied.)
A cursive handwriting style was used for personal or informal notes, but not for making books.

b) Miniscules.

In the 9th century, the informal cursive script was modified to be more readable and was used in 10-15th cens. in making books.
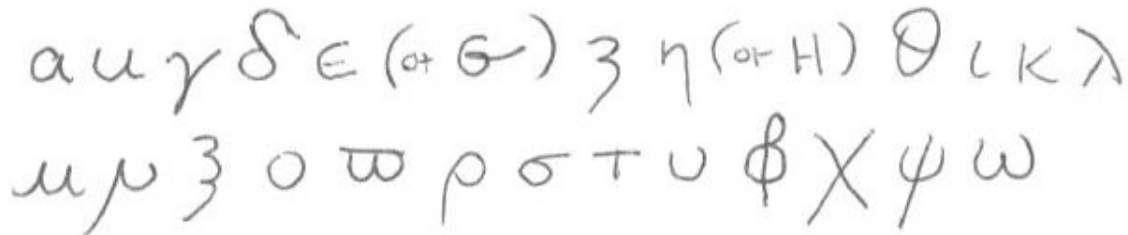
Advantages:
Faster to write => cheaper.
More words per page => cheaper.

Miniscules brought the price of books down considerably so they became much more common. As a result, 90% of the extant Greek manuscripts are in the miniscule style.

The miniscule alphabet: (note more variety)

Differences from modern printed small letters:

Note beta (sometimes closer to modern beta), zeta, mu, nu, xi, pi especially.

5) Abbreviations. Several types occur in NT manuscripts.

a) Contraction.

Contraction in English: cannot => can't; I am => I'm.
Commonly marked with the apostrophe.

Contraction common in Greek NT, especially with sacred names.
Called 'Nomina Sacra' = sacred names - Letters were dropped out of the middle and the contraction marked with a bar above the letters.
Did not save that much space; apparently used to mark sacredness, somewhat like Hebrew tetragrammaton.

Two Letter Contractions: NOTE the case dependence:

Nom. Sing.   Acc.Dat.Gen.

$\overline{\Theta C}$ = θεος $\overline{\Theta N}$ $\overline{\Theta \omega}$ $\overline{\Theta Y}$

$\overline{KC}$ = κυριος   \ Note uncial does not
                                                                                    use iota subscript

$\overline{YC}$ = υ⊇ος

$\overline{IC}$ = ζΙησους

$\overline{XC}$ = Χριστος

Three Letter:

$\overline{\Pi N A}$ = πνευμα $\overline{CHP}$ = σωτηρ

$\overline{CTC}$ = σταυρος $\overline{\Delta A \Delta}$ = Δαυιδ

$\overline{MHP}$ = μητηρ $\overline{IH\Lambda}$ = ζΙσραηλ

$\overline{\Pi HP}$ = πατηρ

Longer Forms:

$\overline{ANOC}$ =   νθρωπος

$\overline{OYNOC}$ = ο⇔ρανος

$\overline{I\Lambda HM}$ = {Ιερυσαλημ

b) Suspension.

In English, we will sometimes only write out the first few letters of a word for an abbreviation.
Greek suspension is somewhat similar, yet not exactly the same.
If there was not enough room at the end of a line and the writer did not want to carry over a letter
        or two, he put a line out past the right margin which meant, "You supply the ending
        which the context requires here."

ΔΟΥΛΟ|‾

|margin

c) Ligature.

Ligature is two letters drawn together to form one letter.
Ligature used to be rather common in English printing when type was hand set.

ae => æ   oe => œ fi => fi

In Greek, rare in Uncial, more common in miniscules.

Examples from miniscules:

The ου form is also found in some uncial script.

Was apparently done for convenience and faster writing.

d) Symbol.

Symbols are arbitrary figures/designs used to represent a word.

In English:

$ => dollar ; , => pound ; 4 => cent ;

% => percent, math signs.

Some English symbols appear to be former ligatures:

& => et [and] in Latin. 4 prob ct ligature

In miniscules: --> και

b. Types of Errors found in NT Manuscripts.

1) Accidental variants (unintentional).

The vast majority of errors found in a particular manuscript appear to be totally unintentional,

rather like typos in term papers, etc. We attempt to classify these on the basis of how they appear to have arisen: (1) errors of sight or writing; (2) errors of hearing; (3) errors of memory; (4) errors of judgment.

a) Errors of sight or writing.

Several possibilities here: Scribe saw right, but wrote wrong. Scribe wrote what he thought he saw. Previous scribe's work was sloppy or smudged.

(1) Wrong word division.

Uncials did not divide their words, but miniscules do. Thus every scribe who makes a miniscule copy from an uncial must make thousands of decisions on where to divide the letters to form the words. Some examples:

Mark 10:40 (noted in UBS and Nestle)

ΑΛΛΟΙCΗΤΟΜΙΜΑCΤΑΙ in uncial

Do we divide as

λλοις   or   λλζ ο⊆ς
"for others"   "but for those"
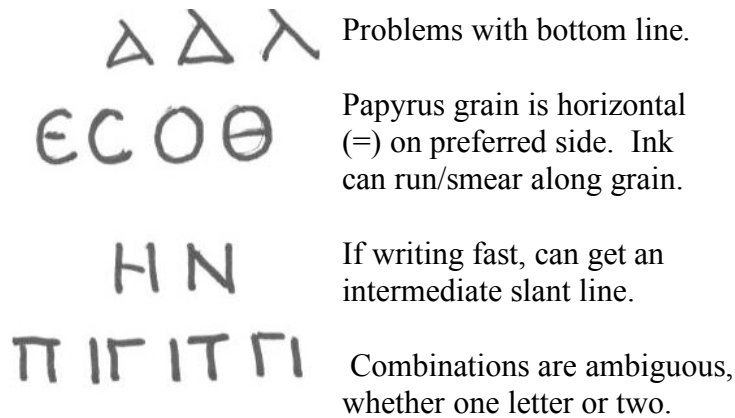
1 Timothy 3:16   (Not in UBS, in Nestle)

ΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΩCΜΕΓΑ in uncial

®μολογουμεν)ς μεγα   ®μολογουμενως μεγα
"we confess how great"   or: "confessedly great"
                                      (adverbial participle)

(2) Confusion of letters.

Some letters were very similar, though not the same ones in uncial or miniscule.

Uncial:

 Problems with bottom line.

 Papyrus grain is horizontal (=) on preferred side. Ink can run/smear along grain.

 If writing fast, can get an intermediate slant line.

  Combinations are ambiguous, whether one letter or two.

Miniscule:

(3) Homoioteleuton and Homoioarchton. (similar endings and similar beginnings)

Errors occur because similarity of ending or beginning of two words in a passage results in the copyist looking back at the wrong place; hence a section (either a word, sentence, or letters) is omitted in the copy. On rare occasions, a section is repeated! Some examples:

1 John 2:23   A number of manuscripts skip the section between the two occurrences of "he who has the father".

Matthew 5:19-20   των ουρανων occurs 3 times and the sections in between are occasionally missed.

(4) Haplography or Dittography.

H = writing something once when it really occurred twice.
D = writing something twice when it really occurred once.

1 Thess. 2:7

ΕΓΕΝΗΘΗΜΕΝΗΠΙΟΙ or ΕΓΕΝΗΘΗΜΕΝ<u>Ν</u>ΗΠΙΟΙ

εγενηθημεν ηπιοι or νηπιοι

Was the ν added or dropped? Does it mean: "we became gentle" or "we became infants"?

This could be an error of hearing also; it is not always possible to specify the exact mechanism of error.

(5) Metathesis.

Accidental interchange of **letters** or **words**.

Word order shifts can happen extremely easily since it often makes little difference in Greek.

Letter order changes are more serious. Commonly see:

Mark 14:65 ελαβον or εβαλον "take" or "put"

Acts 13:23 is perhaps partially metathesis and partially a word-division problem:

'salvation'   σωτηριαν

'Savior Jesus' σωτηρα Ιησουν

Probably a mixup in the abbreviations:

and

(6) Illegibility.

Sometimes the text (due to damage) was just plain hard to read. Any type of error can happen.

b) Errors of Hearing.

There is good evidence that sometimes one scribe would read the text aloud from the exemplar (master copy) while other scribes would make multiple copies. Perhaps this was done when a number of copies were needed quickly. This will produce a different type of error than those when the scribe has both his exemplar and the copy he is making in front of him where he can read both.

(1) Itacism

When the text was read aloud the copyist might not spell it right because he could not always tell from the pronunciation how to spell the word.

Particular problems in Greek are vowels, dipthongs (plus iota-subscripted vowels, not shown) which are pronounced the same:

"eh" =>   αι   ε
"oh" =>   ο   ω
"ee" =>   ι   υ   η   ει   οι   υι

UBS and Nestle do not normally indicate this sort; it is usually a trivial error. Some more
        serious examples:

Distinctions between indicative and subjunctive can be tricky, cf. Romans 5:1

        εχομεν or εχωμεν

        ≡μεις and ⇓μεις sounded the same.

See 1 John 1:4

Often both possibilities make sense. Usually they do not make much difference.

Many spelling variations do not imply a difference in understanding, as spellings were not stan-
        dardized in Hellenistic Greek (no Dictionaries).

(2) Inaudibility.

The reader mispronounces, someone coughs, etc. Hard to categorize.

c) Errors of Memory.

Probably no copyist ever copied entirely from memory, but they would constantly look back and
forth from the original to the copy; not every letter, but every few words (contrast good typists,
who can continually look at the original). Errors occurred in these 'few word' batches of
memorization.

(1) Synonym.

Not an intentional change in the meaning, but a synonym of the original word might
        accidentally be substituted.

Matthew 20:34 ομματων -A rare word for 'eyes'.

        οφθαλμων - The common word, so this
                is probably the substitute.

(2) Word order.

Easy to change the order and it does not make much difference in Greek. Same result as for metathesis of words, but different cause.

Matthew 7:17 'do good things'

ποιει καλους or καλους ποιει

(3) Influence of a Parallel Passage.

This is normally attributed to intentional harmonization, but it could also be an error of memory. Sometimes the wording from one gospel might slip into the other when it is copied.

d) Errors of Judgment.

Occurs more often if you do not have a good original to work with, so you have to decide what was meant. Similar to problem of illegibility, but may involve other problems as well.

(1) Overlooking an Abbreviation.

The copyist misses the line over the word, or the previous copyist left it off.

Example: 1 Timothy 3:16 is probably a confusion of letters, plus overlooking an abbreviation.

θεος or ®ς --> "God/He who was manifested..."

(2) Including a Marginal Note.

Corrector at a scriptorum would sometimes go through a copy marking places where errors had been made. This is true today when preparing a book for a new edition: See copy of Berkeley version of Bible in BTS library wih editor Frank Gaebelein's notes for revision.

Before printing, was hard to tell why marginal notes put in. Was it the proofreader at the scriptorium correcting a real mistake? Or was it a comment by a reader?

Copyist may mistakenly assume that the manuscript note is a valid correction of the manuscript, so he now puts it into text.

John 5:3-4 Angel troubling the water of the pool. Western and Alexandrian texts omit this. Was it a note made by a person who traveled to Palestine and asked for public opinion of the natives of Jerusalem as to why people were waiting for troubling of water at this pool?

(3) Excluding a Marginal Correction.

A valid marginal correction of the text is left out by the later copyist who thinks that it is only a
personal note or who disagrees with judgment of corrector.

(4) More Familiar Word Substituted for a Similar-Looking One.

The copyist thinks the word was mis-spelled but it was not; it was just a rare unfamiliar word.

Luke 6:42 καρπος (fruit) for καρφος (speck).

This example could be due to a error of hearing instead.

2) Intentional Variants.

Rare compared with unintentional as best we can tell (i.e., from study of types of errors in a
particular ms). But harder to repair because both variants will make sense.

From antiquity we know that there were men who tried to make changes in the texts in order to
teach their own doctrines.

Gnostics: Marcion threw out many NT books which he did not like (were too Jewish) and he
made some changes in the ones he kept. We have no manuscripts which are known to
show this influence. The orthodox would not knowingly copy gnostic stuff. When the
gnostics died out, no one was interested in copying their modified texts.

Heretics in general have not found it profitable to change the Bible, as the really important
doctrines can not be modified easily (due to diffuse, repetitive mode of teaching).
Heretics typically find it easier to make their own Scriptures. Contrast JWs with
Mormons.

The variants that we have today show little that could be reasonably construed as evidence of
heretical corruption.

Most intentional changes seem to be attempts to "repair" the text on the theory that it had been
miscopied.

a) Grammatical and linguistic changes.

As Christianity spread into wealthier circles, there arose concern over the Bible's non-classical
style. (However, God wrote to communicate to the people of the Koine period). Thus a
tendency to classicize the text. Examples:

Changes in grammar: In Classical Gk, 3rd pl aorist ending was always ∝λθον (same as imper-

fect). As this was ambiguous (same as 1st sing), Koine writers often used the 1st Aorist ending to have ∝λθαν for the 3rd pl. The classicists changed this α back to an o. The α is typically older, hence the original.

Changes in syntax: The copyist sometimes misunderstood the syntax so he modified it. In Romans 3:29 we find the variants:

μονον / μονος / μονων

The copyists apparently thought they were correcting previous copying errors, i.e., "Some guy copied this wrong!" In reality they did not understand the original syntax.

b) Liturgical.

The text was modified for use in the liturgy. As in lectionaries, the modifications make the context clearer. e.g., "And he said" --> "And Jesus said".

This may also explain why the Lord's Prayer in Matthew 6:13 has added a doxology (from OT material) to an otherwise abrupt ending. People eventually put into their copies what they knew from the liturgy.

c) Elimination of Apparent Discrepancies.

Seen especially in later manuscripts. Example:

Mark 1:2 Is it "The prophets" or "Isaiah the prophet"? Since both Isaiah and Malachi are quoted here, some person probably thought this should say "the prophets."

But the original style apparently was to cite the major prophet in a multi-passage quotation (all the minor prophets were on one scroll).

d) Harmonization of Parallel Passages.

Luke 11:2-4 Lord's Prayer in Luke filled out from Matthew. In general, Matthew was more popular (as seen from relative number of mss, etc.). Its wording later begins showing up in Luke and Mark.

e) Conflation (combination of variants).

This problem arises when the scribe has two or more variants, usually one in the text and another in a marginal or interlinear note. He has several choices:

(1) Throw away the marginal note. Danger: If it is a valid correction from the proofreader, you lose true text from ms.

(2) Throw out the text and substitute the margin. Danger: Marginal note was invalid correction or only someone's comment; also lose the original text.

(3) Leave it in the margin. Not satisfactory. Want ms to look good when finished, and not confuse the next copyist.

(4) Put both into the text (conflation). Do not lose anything, so the safest, most common practice. Danger: it does introduce a new, combination reading.

f) Attempted Corrections.

A change has occurred which appears to be more than just a grammatical or linguistic correction. Examples:

Romans 8:2   σε (you) --> με (me)

Rev 1:5   λυσαντι (loosed) --> λουσαντι (washed)

Latter example might well be itacism instead.

g) Doctrinal Changes.

No need to be toward 'orthodoxy', but in actuality these do tend toward 'orthodoxy' (if we define 'orthodoxy' as whatever was commonly accepted in church at that time).

Reason for this: Christians have gotten their Scriptures from orthodox Christians, not from heretics. Examples:

1 John 5:7-8 The Trinitarian verse:

"There are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness on earth..."

Occurs in only 3-4 out of 100's of Greek manuscripts. This passage was not used in the Trinitarian controversies of the fourth century, implying it was not in the Greek text. Possibly in Latin text at time.

Mark 9:29 "... prayer 'and fasting'."

Fasting became a major part of monastic piety, which became popular in the church only after about 300 AD.

Text criticism C whether done on biblical texts or other Christian authors or any other texts from before the age of printing C seeks to detect these sorts of copying errors and, if possible, restore the text to the form it originally had when it came from the author.

c. Transmission of the Text by Hand.

We turn now to consider what we know about the specific history of the NT text, beginning with the autographs and coming down to the time when the NT began to be copied by mechanical printing processes shortly after 1500 AD.

This period subdivides into two: (1) a period during which the Xn church is illegal, and is subject

to sporadic persecution (during which time the text of the mss is characterized by growing divergence), and (2) the following period in which Xy is legal and (at least nominally) widely accepted (during which time the mss tend to converge in text).

1) Period of Persecution (divergence of manuscripts).

The church was considered illegal from c65 to c325 AD in the Roman Empire. In God's providence, this persecution ended before the collapse of the empire in the West. Otherwise (humanly speaking), the NT text might have been far more divergent than it is.

There were two main influences in this period, a) tradition & b) persecution.

a) Influence of Oral Tradition.

Some apostles were still alive until c100 AD, and others who had seen and heard Jesus for some years more. People who had heard the apostles speak were prob around beyond 150 AD (e.g., Polycarp, etc.).

Thus there was a source independent of the written Gospels for what Jesus and the apostles did and taught; e.g., see Papias' remarks in his *Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord*.

Such extra information might occasionally be written in the margin of a ms as a note, and later get into the text.

These oral traditions were circulating until c150 AD, and whatever got written down for long afterward. After this, oral traditions were not trusted.

The Western family of mss seems most influenced by this.

b) Influence of Persecution.

Roman persecution was not continuous, but could break out at any time so long as Xy was illegal in Empire.

(1) In a persecution, the best copies were those most likely to be destroyed, i.e., those belonging to a large, notable congregation or a major leader. Church leaders and meeting places were most sought; these would also tend to have the most official copies of Scripture.

Since Christianity was illegal, it was hard to travel openly, hard to have open meetings (during persecution). There were no large councils of church leaders (as far as we know) between Jerusalem Council (AD 50) and Nicea (AD 325).

Therefore:

(2) It was hard to compare manuscripts from across the Empire.

(3) Manuscripts were often copied by amateurs without proper checking, since it was dangerous to take them to professionals.

c) Results for this period:

(1) Most of the variants we have appear in this period, especially in the first half (before c200 AD). Some of these variants are hard to resolve since they occur in the earliest manuscripts which we have.

(2) Manuscripts continue to diverge, so that "Local texts" arise:

Local Text	[Versions based on texts]	Region Involved
Alexandrian	[Coptic, Nubian, Ethiopic]	Alexandria and southward into Egypt
Caesarean	[Georgian, Armenian]	Caesarea; versions northward into S. Russia
Byzantine	[Gothic, Peshitta]	Antioch, then Constantinople, spreads from there
Western	[Old Latin, Old Syriac]	Now thought to have origin in East

Western shows up first in N. Africa, then Europe. However, we now have evidence it started in the East, and was spread to the West by missionaries.

Locations (above) are derived from where the church fathers who quoted these readings were located, and regions where languages of versions spoken. Locations cannot be derived directly from mss since early mss don't give such information.

2) Period of Acceptance (convergence of manuscripts).

After c325 AD, Christianity is no longer illegal in Roman Empire. This period continues in Europe until c1500 AD (when printing takes over), although the rise of Islam in the East complicates things.

a) Influence of the End of Persecution.

Around 310-325 (depending on the area) the church could once again operate openly as before 65 (although Xy doesn't become the state religion until about 400).

(1) Now Xns can use professional scribes. The amount of new error drops off substantially (cp. difference between amateur and professional secretary). It thus becomes worthwhile to study variants and try to correct texts, since errors will no longer be cropping up as fast as corrected.

(2) Can now openly travel and compare texts. Xn leaders quickly see the need for standardization of the text and begin to do so. However, most people (and leaders) prefer their own local versions. (Sound familiar?)

b) Influence of Changes in the Greek-Speaking World.

100 to 200 AD had been the great golden age of the Roman Empire, with good rulers, peace, economic prosperity. After 200 AD, the Roman Empire weakens, with economic decline, bad agricultural practices, growing welfare state, education weakening.

In areas where Greek not native language, it begins to recede (esp. in rural areas) in favor of local languages: Coptic, Syriac, Armenian.

Latin also loses as Barbarians come into West after 250 AD.

The rise of Islam in the 600's causes a major change in language and much more. Arabic becomes the language of culture and commerce in Palestine, Egypt, N. Africa, Spain.

Thus Greek usage shrinks back with Byzantine Empire to Asia Minor and Greece, plus a few isolated patches elsewhere. This is the area where the Byzantine text was local version.

Thus Byzantine text becomes dominant, since Byzantine Empire survives Arab conquests and Greek is still spoken there. Alexandria, Caesarea, etc. fall to Islam and Greek usage ends there.

c) Results from this later period:

(1) Few *further* variants occur other than ones which result from standardization (conflation, smoothing, etc.).

(2) Various mss families tend to grow *more like* each other as marginal notes from comparison are incorporated into the text.

(3) Constantinople becomes the *center* of the Greek-speaking church (Rome of Latin-speaking), so its text becomes *dominant* as other areas are taken over. During the 4th-8th centuries the percentage of mss which are Byzantine greatly increase, from virtually none in 4th cen to dominance in 8th cen.

Hence 95% of our extant miniscules are Byzantine, as Byzantine family was dominant when
they were first made. Find mainly Byzantine corrections in the other text families.

2. History of the Text since Printing.

With the importation of printing into the West and its technological development into a massive
industry, 1000s of copies of a text can be printed which are textually identical. It is still possible
to make copying errors (and some are whoppers!), but since every copy will no longer be unique
it is far more feasible economically to check a text carefully before it goes to the printer.

a. The Rise of Textual Criticism (16th-20th centuries).

The enormous reduction of textual copying error printing makes possible leads to systematic
attempts to find and restore the best possible text of ancient documents, of which the most
widely printed will be the Bible. We will divide this period of the history of the text since
printing into three periods: (1) the Textus Receptus becomes dominant (16-17th cen); (2) textual
study progresses (18th); (3) the abandonment of the TR (19th-20th).

1) The Textus Receptus Becomes Dominant (16th-17th cens.).

a) The Printed Greek New Testament.

Printing existed in China & Japan by 800 AD, but only reaches the west in the late 1300's.
Movable metal type and the printing press were developed to make it practical about 1450. The
first books were printed in Latin, the international language of scholars in the West.

When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, many Greeks fled west as refugees. This brought
a great spurt in interest in Greek, which had not been very accessible previously as RC and GO
churches were enemies.

(1) First Printed Greek NT.

Cardinal Ximenes in Spain made the first plans for a Greek printed Bible, as part of a
multilingual OT-NT. It was designed as a scholarly rather than popular edition. It had
the OT in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the NT in Greek and Latin.

Came to be called the "Complutensian Polyglot" after the Latin name of the city in Spain where
published (Alcala = Complutum).

This was the first Greek NT ever printed (1514), but it was not published (distributed) until 1522
because papal beauracracy held it up (had to have permission to publish Bibles).

(2) First Published Greek NT.

While Ximenes was working on this, a printer in Basle named Froben found out and decided to publish a much cheaper Greek edition of the NT before Ximenes.

Froben got help from Erasmus, the best Greek scholar in Europe at the time. But Froben forced him to work fast, so Erasmus could only use locally available manuscripts.

Erasmus' Gk ms of Revelation lacked the last page, so Erasmus translated the Latin Vulgate back into Greek for this part.

Edition was printed and published in 1516 (dedicated to the Pope, so permission to publish came quickly).

Since it was smaller and cheaper than Complutensian Polyglot it had a much larger circulation.

The Froben text is basically Byzantine.

Later Greek NT's for several centuries follow Erasmus's text (rather than Polyglot or Greek manuscripts) even though it has wordings which are not used in any Greek manuscript.

e.g., the last 6 verses of Revelation continue to follow Erasmus rather than Greek. "Book of life" in Latin and TR (and KJV) should be "tree of life" acc to Gk. manuscripts.

Yet both the Polyglot and Erasmus' text were based on relatively few manuscripts (those which were easily accessible).

(3) Later Printed Editions of 1500s.

These also depended on a few late manuscripts as there was no textual criticism yet.

The tendency was to use Erasmus' version (occasionally corrected against a manuscript) rather than to print a text of the Comp Polyglot or some manuscript.

No copyright laws yet, so easy to do. Over the next century, only Froben's typographical errors are changed in the various printed Gk texts.

b) The "Textus Receptus."

The term "Textus Receptus" is used in three distinct (but somewhat overlapping) senses:

(1) Narrowest sense: Elzevir brothers' 2nd edition of Greek NT (1633). Comment in the

preface, "this is the **text received** by all." From this was coined the phrase, "Textus Receptus." So refers to this edition.

(2) Broader sense: All early printed editions of Gk NT, i.e., the printing up of the sort of text which we find in the miniscules, especially those copied in the last centuries before the time of printing, which is basically a late form of the Byzantine family as it had developed by the 15th century.

(3) Broadest sense: The form of the text of any work written before printing as it was transmitted to the time printing begins. Applies to all ancient literature (the "TR" of Homer, etc.)

The KJV does not follow the "TR" in the narrowest sense, but does in the other two senses.

c) Beginning of Textual Studies.

With a fairly fixed printed ed. of the Greek NT, much more elaborate textual study can be done than anyone in antiquity (Origen, Jerome, etc.) ever attempted. We discuss some of this under the headings (1) the publication of critical apparatuses, (2) the use of uncial mss, and (3) the collection of variant readings.

(1) Publication of Critical Apparatuses.

With the coming of printed editions, it was much easier to compare mss (and so begin textual studies) because there are many identical copies of one "standard" text (even tho itself somewhat variant) to compare mss with. Comparing actual mss without a standard is much harder as one worker can't tell what another is doing. But now deviations can be compared with a common printed edition.

Stephanus' (Latin name of Robert Estienne) edition of 1550 includes textual apparatus (had enough mss to do this) listing variant readings. KJV is translated from this (and a Beza edition).

From this time on, some editions will give critical apparatus and some will not.

Stephanus ed. of 1551 was first to have verse divisions.

(2) The Use of Uncial Manuscripts.

(a) Theodore Beza, successor to Calvin at Geneva. All early editions were based on miniscules, but Beza had two uncial mss which are still important today: codex D (Bezae) and codex D^2 or D^p (Claromontanus), the two major Greek representatives of the Western family. Though Beza made 10 eds. of Gk NT in his life, didn't use these uncials much. Their text

diverges greatly from the miniscules and he did not know how to handle this.

(b) Brian Walton. Published a Polyglot in 1657, still used today because it contains Ethiopic, Syriac, Persian versions which have not been much worked on. Walton used uncial Codex Alexandrinus as one source for his Greek NT in the Polyglot. Alex. is our earliest Bzyantine text in the gospels (the rest of it is Alex.), so it did not look so divergent from TR.

(3) The Collection of Variants.

Began trying to find as many variant readings as possible. This work is not completely done yet. It is hard to find all variants in hand-written manuscripts (and there are 1000's of manuscripts!). Has been done carefully for all uncials, many miniscules, a few lectionaries.

(a) Brian Walton was the first to do systematic work. Compared manuscripts in different libraries.

(b) John Fell's Greek NT (1675 ed). Lists variants from over 100 mss and some versions. The first printed ed. to cite Codex Vaticanus (B). Does not always tell reader which manu-script supports which reading. Does tell you what he looked at and what the variants are.

RCC was not happy about Protestants using Vaticanus, so not available to scholars until the mid-19th cen. Somehow Fell got to use it.

2) Textual Study Progresses (18th century)

a) Continued Dominance of TR. This was the normal printed text, with some minor exceptions.

b) Collection of variants continues, as does location and survey of new manuscripts.

John Mill's Greek NT (1707) contains 30,000 variant readings (cp UBS c5,000). But the text he prints only varies from the TR in 210 places.

c) Development of Critical Principles.

With the collection of all these variants, the question naturally arises: How do you decide which variant is more likely than its competitors to be original? Some attempts in this century to develop "rules" for making decisions.

(1) John Albert Bengel [conservative; commentary *Gnomon NT*]. In Prologue to 1734 ed. of Greek NT, states two principles:

(a) "Manuscripts are to be weighed, not counted." Obviously metaphorical, not suggesting physical weighing! The number of mss which support a reading may just be an indication of which manuscript was copied the most, and not insure a better reading.

Example: Story of Geo. Washington's vision at Valley Forge. Vision gave history of the U.S., foretold 3 great wars. Tracts today say the 3rd war (invasion) will be the most dangerous, but cite as their source of vision story a newspaper version which says the 2nd war (Civil war) was to be the worst! Most exciting reading was most copied rather than the oldest.

(b) "Within limits, the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the easier." Limits: unless it makes no sense or is "too hard." This principle corrects the tendency of a scribe to use an easier wording to simplify or "correct" a passage. Like paraphrased Bibles removing ambiguities today.

(c) Bengel began to see that manuscripts fell into large groups (he saw 2 and called them 'nations').

Asiatic: What we call the Byzantine. Since it centered around Constantinople he called it Asiatic.

African: He put Alexandrinus and the Old Latin (Western) together in this, not differentiating between the Western and Alexandrian.

(2) J. J. Griesbach [not conservative]. Worked on several editions from 1775-1807. Had an elaborate scheme of 15 rules for textual criticism. Saw that Bengel's families needed to be further divided: Byzantine, Alexandrian, and Western.

About early (and modern) principles of textual criticism: No one felt that these principles could be applied mechanically, i.e. by computer rather than human. They recognized that certain aspects of textual criticism are a science, but that the last step, deciding which variant is most likely original, is an art. Required both probabilitiy and value judgments.

d) Development of Notation (1751-1752).

J.J. Wettstein was responsible for developing modern notation, which is also used in non-Biblical texts today. Used letters and numbers to indicate manuscripts, with the lowest value => most important.

Capital letters stood for uncials.
Numbers stood for miniscules.
Papyri had not been discovered yet.

This sort of ordering becomes a problem when additional mss are later discovered which are more important; e.g., Washingtonensis (W) and Sinaiticus (   ) were not known at this time.

3) The Abandonment of the TR (19th-20th centuries).

a) Some Earlier Preparations.

Bengel (1732) had printed the TR and added critical footnotes. But had also indicated how certain he felt the text was, and in the footnotes indicated a number of variants as more certain than the TR text.

Others before Bengel sometimes felt the TR was not correct, but the TR was traditional...

Richard Bentley (1720) proposed reconstructing the text as it stood in the 4th century AD. His approach: Forget TR; take old mss, versions, and church fathers from the 4th century, and use text they favor, making decisions only among their variants. But died in 1742 before more than a sample was done.

b) Period of Further Manuscript Discoveries.

These discoveries were an important factor in the abandonment of the TR.

(1) Constantin von Tischendorf (1815-1874). Independently wealthy nobleman, with 'hobby' to locate NT mss. Published and found more manuscripts than anyone else so far. His most important find was Codex Sinaiticus (   ) from the St. Catherine monastery on Mt. Sinai. Was also first to decipher the NT text of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (C; palimpsest). Had the patience, dedication and eyesight to do this. Published 8 editions of the Greek NT, of which last has not been surpassed in some respects.

(2) Discovery of the Papyri. Westerners found out about papyri just before 1800 when Napoleon invaded Egypt, bringing scholars who studied monuments, inscriptions, and found papyri. Was a while before any NT manuscripts were found in the papyri though. And then a while more before they figured out how old and valuable these were. Thus nearly 1900 before significance of the papyri was realized. By c1900, many non-Biblical papyrus mss known and people realized that they were written in the common language of NT times and were valuable for understanding Greek. Many of the most valuable NT papyri were discovered in the 20th century.

c) Emergence of the Critical Text.

(1) Karl Lachmann (1831) finally does what Bentley wanted to do. He tries to reconstruct the text of NT as it stood in 380 AD. Used church fathers, Sinaiticus, Old Latin, Peshitta. His text is good and contains only variant readings which existed at 380 AD. Unfortuniately, as we saw above, by that time there was not just one NT text, but all four major text families were in existence. As there was not just one text, Lachmann's attempt to boil each variant down to one reading was unsuccessful.

(2) S.P. Tregelles, English (1813-1875), Plymouth Brethren. Worked independently of others, developing principles for textual criticism. Reconstructed what he thought was the best text, which was not TR. Printed several editions of his own. Encouraged the move away from TR to earlier materials.

(3) C. von Tischendorf made 8 editions of the NT, last completed in 1872. The 8th ed. still contains the most complete apparatus, for whole NT, of any edition so far. Even with all the discoveries since, money and people have not been available to do this detail work for whole NT (only Matthew and Luke so far).

(4) Westcott and Hort (1881). The "real emergence of the critical text" is in 1881, a NT Greek text based totally on the old manuscripts. Their NT was accompanied with a volume explaining their principles, the texts, and the readings which they chose. They identified 4 text families:

   1. Syrian (our Byzantine) - the latest.
   2. Alexandrian
   3. Western
   4. Neutral - the best (incl Vaticanus, Sinaiticus)
       Neutral is the best because it is not influenced as much by the things that the other families were. Neutral is today called "Proto-Alexandrian."

W&H are not followed by everyone, but in general their views are thought to be a real improvement over following the traditional late Byzantine text that dominated the miniscules. General feeling that their choice of early materials is good; their preference for Proto-Alexandrian over the others is also good. Some feel that they are too carried away in their respect for this family, however. More later.

While W&H were working on this, they were also on the committee for revision of the KJV. In 1881 the comm came out with the English Revised Version. W&H's suggestions on the text were generally followed as they (and one other) were the text specialists on the comm. The English Revised Version is the first modern language translation to use a critical text rather than the TR. Was widely used in England; the American Standard Version of 1901 was a revision of this in American idiom. The NASB is sort of a revision of the ASV.

(5) Bernard Weiss. German NT exegete. Attempted to construct the Greek NT by looking at all available variant readings independent of the ms support (source, age, family, etc.). Based his choice on internal considerations only (context, style of author, mistakes scribes typically make).

Weiss published a series of texts from 1894-1905. These in close agreement with Westcott and Hort's results. Had some overlap in the selection principles used, though he did work independently. Suggests both internal and external evidence are favorable to a high estimate of Proto-Alex family.

The Critical text, however, did not arise without opposition. Main opponent was:

(6) John W. Burgon. British, High Church Anglican, specialist in patristics (the church fathers). Found a majority of these early church fathers used the Byzantine text. To him this proved that the Byzantine text was earlier than Westcott and Hort claimed.

Burgon's results were based on the available manuscripts of the church fathers (medieval miniscules). Died in 1888. Wrote several books: *The Revision Revised. Last 12 Verses of Mark*. An assistant named Miller finished his work.

More recently, evidence has turned up from mss of the church fathers earlier than those Burgon had. These mss show that earlier mss are less Byzantine than later ones, implying that biblical quotations in patristic mss were assimilated to the NT text which later copyists were familiar with.

By the end of the 19th cen, Westcott and Hort's views were being rapidly accepted.

b. The Text Argument Today, Especially in Fundamental Circles.

Currently, there are four basic approaches to evaluating variants among NT textual scholars. David Alan Black, in his *NT Textual Criticism: A Concise Guide* (Baker, 1994) characterizes these as:

1) Radical Eclecticism (G.D. Kilpatrick, J.K. Elliot)
a) text chosen on internal evidence only
b) no ms or mss to be preferred
c) result: purely "eclectic" text

2) Reasoned Eclecticism (B.M. Metzger, K. Aland)
a) text chosen on both internal & external evid
b) reading of "best" mss is to be preferred
c) result: "critical" text

      3) Reasoned Conservatism (H.A. Sturz, D.A. Black)
            a) text chosen on both internal & external evid
            b) reading of majority of text types preferred
            c) result: "widespread" text

      4) Radical Conservatism (Z. Hodges, A. Farstad)
            a) text chosen on external evid alone
            b) reading of majority of mss preferred
            c) result: "majority" text

Position 2) tends to dominate. Both UBS and Nestle text constructed on its principles. 4) or even more radical versions (KJV better than Greek!) have considerable grassroots influence in Fundamental circles today. It appears that 2) or 3) have the better evidence for their position.

Position 4) is a revival of Burgon's position, started in America in 1956 with the publishing of: E.F. Hills, *The King James Version Defended!* TR/KJV position continued all along in England (& Canada) via Trinitarian Bible Society.

1) The Issues as Raised by Textus Receptus People (view 4):

a) Which text is the original: The 'TR' or W&H?

Within 'TR' position, varieties of view 4) we find 3 alternative sub-views presented:

      -- Byzantine family superior
      -- TR Greek is superior
      -- KJV translation is superior

All in 4) oppose the W&H model and views 1)-3) and say the Alexandrian family is not the best.

No one in views 1)-3) defends W-H on every point, but most believe that the Alexandrian family
      is more reliable than Byzantine.

b) Would God allow the church to be wrong until recently?

Wording of issue comes from TR camp. A major concern of TR people, but also (rightly) of any
      real Christian.

c) Would God allow the best text to be lost for so long?

TR people generally see modern critical text as a liberal attempt to undermine the Bible, and feel
      that they should not let the liberals get away with it.

Different Gospel argument: Alexandrian (or critical) text teaches different Gospel. Only found in extreme stuff (like Chick comic *Sabotage?*).

2) The Proponents of Textus Receptus (KJV or Byzantine).

a) John W. Burgon. Was a High Church Anglican in England, the last major defender of TR in 19th century. Argued for the TR because it is the traditional text, so should be followed (HC Anglicans emphasize tradition like RCs do). His material has been recently reprinted.

b) Edward F. Hills. Revived the controversy in 1950s. A graduate from Westminster TS, has doctorate from Harvard in textual studies.   Uses presuppositional approach (book dedicated to Van Til; doubt VT appreciated this!). Example: Although 1 John 5:7-8 is not in most Greek manuscripts, it was providentially preserved in the Latin and brought back into the TR. The TR is providentially better even than the Byzantine family, far better than Alexandrian/critical text.

c) Zane Hodges. Formerly professor at Dallas TS. Has the best arguments and the most moderate position of major TR writers. Avoids the problem of church being in error for so long by arguing that we should take the reading supported by the majority of texts, which is generally Byzantine. He intended the New KJV to be done this way, but was not followed (prob overruled by publisher). *GNT acc to Maj Text* was done this way.

d) Wilbur H. Pickering. Studied under Hodges. Wrote *Identity of the N.T. Text* (1978). Wonders if the family groupings are not misleading, i.e., if you go back far enough, they merge. Argues basically for a majority text.

Besides more scholarly proponents, numerous popularizers:

e) Trinitarian Bible Society. Started in the early 1800's because dissatisfied with the British and Foreign Bible Society. Picked up this issue in time. Not much influence in America (some via Canada) as this is a British group. Recently two additional groups have formed, the Dean Burgon Society and the Majority Text Society.

f) David O. Fuller. Retired GARB pastor who became a full-time advocate of TR. Had not specialized in textual studies. Has edited 3 books: *Which Bible? True or False? Counterfeit or Genuine?*

g) Thomas Baker. Head of the Bible Truth Institute in Sunbury PA. Distinctives include KJV only with TR emphasis.

h) Peter Ruckman. Head of Pensacola Bible Institute in Florida. Argues that the KJV is **better than** the Greek TR! God has so used the KJV in revivals over the last centuries, it must be the best. God providentially optimized the KJV wording.

NOTE: Septuagint and Vulgate each had this same type of support in their own era. Any
version used for a long period of time produces this sort of argument.

3) Proponents of the Critical Text (basically view 2).

a) Tregelles. Plymouth Brethren.

b) Westcott and Hort. As orthodox as Erasmus.

Both Tregelles and W-H were influential in getting the Alexandrian-type text accepted.

c) B.B. Warfield. Was in NT textual studies before going into systematic theology.

d) A.T. Robertson. Southern Baptist. NT man, but not specialized in textual studies.

e) B.M. Metzger. Most conservative man at Princeton Sem. One of major world figures in
textual studies. Does not hold inerrancy, but is pretty orthodox otherwise.

f) J. Harold Greenlee. At Asbury TS in textual studies.

g) Gordon Fee. Formerly at Gordon-Conwell in textual studies. Several articles in ETS Journal.

Nearly all evangelical seminaries are dominated by men who favor the Alexandrian position
(views 2 or 3). Dallas (despite Hodges) is not TR. Bob Jones is not TR although they
prefer the KJV.

4) Arguments for the TR/Byz/KJV, against the Alex/Crit Text.

a) God would have providentially kept the text pure.

An *a priori* argument, based on the nature of God: He is always true. His intention is to
communicate with man, so he would have kept the majority of manuscripts pure. This
majority is claimed to be Byzantine.

b) Other text families were tampered with by heretics.

Usually refer to Marcion, whom we know (from the church fathers) did tamper with the
manuscripts. Allege that he and other Gnostics were source of Alexandrian family, since
Gnosticism was a particular problem in Alexandria. Later, Constantine was behind
Vaticanus & Sinaiticus, not really a Christian. (Arguments about Constantine were more
important in Burgon's time; now we have NT manuscripts which pre-date him.)

c) The critical text came to dominance in the 19th cen when unbelief was attacking the Bible.

d) The Syriac Peshitta (with Byzantine text) was translated in the 2nd century, so the Byzantine is as old as any other family.

e) Many important ancient readings are not in the Alexandrian Family and are obviously very early.

f) There is no evidence that the Byzantine text is a result of editing, as proponents of critical text claim. (Some argue that the Byzantine text is an edition made by Lucian in Antioch about 300 AD.)

g) A majority of manuscripts are normally assumed to give us the best text.

5) Arguments for the Alexandrian or critical text, against TR/KJV/Byz. [items a)- i) are responses to above]

a) There is little difference doctrinally between the Alexandrian family and the TR (Byzantine family, KJV). Response to pro-TR a). Long before this debate started, scholars noted that if you took even the worst readings from all the extant mss you would still have an orthodox Bible. It is rare for a variant reading to teach something unique which cannot be supported from other passages (e.g., snake handling is based on Mark 16:9-20, but snake-handlers could still use the example of Paul in Acts). So God **has** providentially protected the manuscripts to the extent that they are alike doctrinally, however TR dispute comes out.

b) God's providential oversight did not keep doctrine pure in the majority of professing churches. Also response to pro-TR a). This limits the extent of providential arguments, as God does tolerate evil in this world for a limited time and for his purposes. God has not providentially chosen to insure that what He wants to reveal can get perfectly into all men's minds. The question is where one puts the "inerrancy" cut-off:

Pre-inspiration	Liberals
Post-inspiration	Conservatives
Transmission	TR proponents
King James Version	KJV proponents

God has limited the changes which have occurred in the mss. We find that nothing significant has crept into text, no matter how TR dispute solved. e.g., find no manuscripts like the *Jefferson Bible*, with all miracles excluded, etc.

c) No doubt heretics messed with the Scriptures, but we have no evidence that they were
     Involved with any copies which we now have. Response to pro-TR b). No doctrinal
     differences between Alex. and Byz. families. Few cults have done well with a weakly
     modified Bible; most have to make their own Scriptures (JWs an exception). Early
     Gnostics found it necessary to write their own Gospels (allegedly kept "secret" since
     apostolic period). No mss show any doctrinal modification at any level we could
     certainly call heresy.

RC and GO churches are principally responsible for the manuscripts which we have today (RC
     for Latin; Gk Orth for Gk). While neither one holds to salvation by faith alone, the
     doctrine still comes through clearly in their Bibles => providentially protected. Today
     have old enough manuscripts to know that the text was not changed by RCC or GO.

d) The TR (or KJV) readings do not always represent the majority of the NT manuscripts
     anyway. Response to pro-TR a) and g). This separates the majority text argument from
     TR/KJV arguments. Both TR and KJV are Byzantine in general, but not in all details.
     Note textual footnotes in *Gk NT Maj Text*. According to Wallace (1993) there are 1838
     differences in text between MT and TR. Thus many who claim 'majority text' do not
     want to use it when it disagrees with KJV (e.g., 1 John 5:7-8 not in majority of the Greek
     manuscripts). This seems to have been an issue in deciding what to put in the New King
     James version. If we include Latin mss in majority count (to get in 1 John 5:7-8), get a
     much more Alexandrian text. [Recall that Vulgate is combination of Old Latin version
     (Western) and Gk mss at time of Jerome (Alexandrian). In fact, with 8000 Vulgate mss,
     that text becomes the new majority. Are TR people being consistent by using majority
     arguments only when they support KJV?

e) The Byzantine family apparently was not in the majority until about the 9th cen AD. See p.
     69.

f) Many opinions arose in the last century (some wrong, some right); many important men in
     textual criticism were (and are) conservatives. Response to pro-TR c) about liberals.
     Should look at the evidence. Seeing who supports an idea (liberal, conservative, etc.) is
     not a bad test for initial reaction, but eventually must look at evidence. Can't just react
     against others, or you'll always go to the other extreme, which will serve Satan just as
     well. [MacRae's tug-of-war analogy.] Many of the men who developed textual criticism
     were orthodox Christians. So *ad hominem* argument (some liberals hold view, so bad),
     doesn't always work.

g) There is no evidence that the Syriac Peshitta version existed before about 400 AD, thus its
     (Byzantine) text is no guarantee that Byz family as old as Alex or West. Response to
     pro-TR d). No one doubts the Byzantine nature of the Peshitta. Question is the date of
     translation. Earliest Syrian manuscripts we have are not Peshitta, nor are earliest
     commentaries. Old Syriac manuscripts are not Peshitta, Ephraim the Syrian (important
     commentator) does not refer to the Peshitta (dies in 373 AD). So no evidence for Peshitta

before 400, tho probably in common use by 431 AD (when Syriac church split). By 431, as Alexandrian advocates would agree, the Byzantine family certainly existed (prob formed around 300 AD).

h) Many of the major readings not in the Alexandrian family are Western and admittedly quite early; Alexandrian proponents also do not claim that all readings surviving only in Byz. are late. Response to pro-TR e). Early non-Alexandrian variants are usually Western. Both Alexandrian and Western families are in existence by 150 AD. No one is claiming that the Byz. may not rarely have some unique reading from autographs. The question is one of general reliability.

i) There is evidence that Lucian of Antioch (died 312 AD) may have produced the Byzantine text. Response to pro-TR f). Not conclusive or explicit evidence. See Metzger's book *Chapters in the History of NT Textual Criticism*.

Evidence looks like this: Know that Lucian of Antioch was involved in editorial work on the Bible text. Most references to this concern the Septuagint OT. Have two references with respect to NT: Jerome hints that he may have worked with the NT. Martyr list in the Greek church (6th cen) is explicit that Lucian revised the Greek NT text.

Lucian's work on the OT has been definitely identified thru several OT manuscripts which have indicators in margins where a reading is Lucian's. By studying the character of these readings we find the same characteristics that distinguish the Byz. from Alex. and West. families: e.g., conflation, and tendency to smooth, clarify syntax, and to classicize the grammar.

It is a reasonable guess that Lucian of Antioch was involved in editing the NT Byz. text around 300 AD.

j) Where we can test it, the majority of mss to a work usually do not give as good a text as certain early mss. (Recall comment on page 52 re/ Washington's Vision at Valley Forge.)

Now we move to the hard data arguments: What kind of text do we find in early materials?

k) No Papyri before 600 AD have a Byz. text, although each of the 3 other families are represented (Western, Caesarean, Alex.). TR proponents, however, argue that it just did not get into Egypt, from which papyri came. (Actually, Egypt is where these papyri were found, not necessarily where they were written.)

l) No Church Father before Chrysostom (died 407 AD) uses a distinctively Byzantine text. This argument is not dependent on an alleged theological situation in Egypt, as church fathers are from all over Mediterranean. As we have discovered earlier manuscripts of the early

church fathers, we find these mss are less Byzantine than later mss of same fathers. A tendency developed to conform the NT text quotations in the father to the text current at the time of the copyist. Even Chrysostom's Byz. text not the medieval Byz. text of the MT, TR and KJV. Before Chrysostom, only find a few scattered Byz. readings; otherwise texts are Alex. or West.

m) Early versions, like Old Syriac, Coptic, Old Latin, are not Byz. texts. Are either West. or Alex. Only when you get to the Gothic (made in the 400's from Constantinople) do you see a clearly Byz. version. Jerome's Vulgate version is not Byz. but a mixture of Western and Alexandrian due to his correcting Old Latin (West) with Gk mss of his time (Alex).

n) Later Manuscript finds have supported the general position of Westcott & Hort. Shows that 'predictability' is with W-H theory. Westcott and Hort knew of virually no papyri. Their results were based on Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

Their arguments for Sinai. and Vatic. as preferred text: These were earliest extant texts. Their readings appear better, based on internal evidence. They have not been modified from distinctive style of each author towards a more generic style. Their readings tend to be shorter.

Since W&H, have found no earlier Byzantine manuscripts than Alexandrinus, but have found many earlier West. and Alex. manuscripts than Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

We now use the term "Proto-Alexandrian" instead of "Neutral," but still wide agreement that Proto-Alex. is the most reliable text.

Still occasionally see the pro-TR argument that Origen or the Arians were responsible for the Alexandrian version. No good in view of discovery of p^{66} and p^{75}, with texts like Sin. and Vat., and copied a century before Arius and probably before Origen began his work.

o) The Byzantine family shows clear signs of conflation; other families do not. Conflation: Two variant readings which are combinable have app been added together to form a third variant. This is evidence that the manuscript is further down the line of transmission than others with single reading. Commonly find that Byz. looks like a combination of the Alex. and West., but not other way around. Seems that Byz. was constructed by someone who had both Alex. and West. before him and tried to make a nice compromise between them. Occasionally did this by combining them.

p) The Byzantine family shows other signs of secondary nature of a text: smoothing of style and classicism.

q) Studies in the text of the *Iliad* and *Mahabharata* suggest that sacred texts tend to grow longer rather than shorter. See Metzger, *Chapters in the History of NT Textual Criticism*. Copyists who view a text as sacred do not wish to add or subtract anything, but if there is

a choice, they tend to add (for fear of leaving something out).

6) Conclusions re/ Textus Receptus Controversy:

a) At present the burden of proof rests on Byz. proponents. To come up with some good
evidence. Arguments appear to be heavily based on presupposition rather than
manuscript data. Until early manuscripts appear which have Byz. texts, the proto-Alex.
opinion will likely stand. Can concoct strange theories, like: 'the Bibles that get used get
worn out' and since these bad ones were not used, they survived. No evidence for this.
Our evidence is that the Byz. was not the majority text until the medieval period. Origen
and Jerome commenting on the variant readings around in their time in general do not
mention anything Byzantine. The same picture is given by counts of extant Gk NT mss:

Distribution of Greek Mss

Century   Alex = a; West = w; Byz = b

9 aaaa   bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb
8 aaaaaaa   bbbb
7 aaaaaaaaaaaaaa   bbbb
6 aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa   bbbbbbbbbbbbbb
5 aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa   ww   bbb
4 aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa   ww
3 aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa   www
2 aaaaaaa

(after Wallace (1993), arbitrary units)

b) Relative order of family reliability looks something like this: Alex, West, (Caes), Byz.,
according to proponents of standard view 2)

Earliest evidence for each family:
        Byz. text -> in the late 300's
        Caes. text -> in the mid-200's.
        Alex. text -> in the mid-100's.
        West. text -> in the mid-100's.

Thus the choice is between Alex. and West. families. Decisions between the Alex. and West.
families are based on internal evidence.

Western is the longest, Byz. and Caes. are intermediate and Alex. is the shortest text.

Thus few claim that the West. is the original family, is viewed as one which took up some oral
tradition in the early period.

By studying the variants internal to the texts, the reliability of the various families appears to be:

Alexandrian, generally most reliable.
Western, next most reliable except where app interpolation from oral tradition
Caesarean, next.
Byzantine, last.

Proponents of approach 1) ("radical eclecticism," p. 55) ignore where variants come from, just use (more subjective) internal evidence.

Proponents of approach 3) use similar approach to 2), but feel if other families gang up on Alex., this can shift balance.

All families have some bad readings. All appear to preserve some original readings that the others do not.

c) The real problem with some modern Bible versions is the influence of liberal presuppositions and theology in translation, not a bad text. e.g., RSV and NEB show liberal theological influence in OT Messianic prophecies, some NT deity passages.

C. The Practice of Textual Criticism.

We come now to consider how to make an attempt at determining what was the original text of the NT at any particular point where there are variations. As mentioned on pages 56-57, there are four basic approaches in use today:

(1) Radical Eclectic: text chosen by using only internal evidence.
(2) Reasoned Eclectic: text chosen by using both internal and external evidence, with the reading of the "best" mss preferred.
(3) Reasoned Conservatism: text chosen by using both internal and external evidence, with reading of majority of text-types preferred.
(4) Radical Conservatism: text chosen by using external evidence alone, with reading of majority of mss preferred.

None of us were back there to see what the text originally looked like. We have the evidence of surviving mss, versions and quotations, plus the evidence of comments by church fathers on the state of mss at their time. My own understanding of this evidence is that it favors an approach somewhere in the vicinity of (2) or (3).

Below we discuss the criteria used by the UBS Greek NT Committee in making their decisions on which readings they list as preferred. We will call their rules M-x and my comments

on them N-x with the x replaced by Roman numerals and capital letters as appropriate.

1. The Rules (Canons) of Textual Criticism used by the UBS Greek NT Committee (from Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek NT*, pp. xxvi-xxviii)

M-I. External Evidence, involving the following considerations:

An evaluation of a particular variant reading based on the nature of the ***manuscript*** in which the variant occurs, rather than looking at ***context***.

M-A. Date and Character of the Witnesses.

In general, earlier mss are more likely to be free from those errors that arise from repeated copying. Also an earlier date implies that fewer copies between it and the autograph. 'Character' is the degree of care taken by the copyist.

M-B. Geographical Distribution of the Witnesses that Support a Variant.

The more widespread a reading is, the more likely it is to be a good reading. This assumes relatively independent sources (but people from Asia Minor evangelized France, so not totally independent). Some agreements between the Old Latin mss and Old Syriac are due to common influence by Tatian's Diatessaron.

M-C. Genealogical Relationship of Texts and Families of Witnesses.

The mss naturally group into families and sub-families, based on having the same peculiar variants. The number of manuscripts surviving in a group from a particular point in history does not tell us how accurate the group is, but just how common it was then.

M-D. Witnesses are to be Weighed rather than Counted.

If a manuscript is generally more reliable, give it the benefit of doubt even if it is in the minority.

Newman's Criteria and Comments:

More Objective Features (of external evidence): Critique of Metzger's M-A and M-B above.

N-A. Date and Age of reading.

M-A is correct, but realize that there are different 'ages' to consider.

Three 'ages' in Greek manuscripts:

[1] Age of the autograph (NT books).
[2] Age of the family which the manuscript represents (can at least set upper limits).
[3] Actual age of the manuscript (dated directly or by handwriting style).

Three 'ages' in ancient versions:

[1] Age of the Greek manuscripts used by the translators.
[2] Age of the translation (from Greek).
[3] Actual age of the version manuscript (dated directly or by handwriting style).

Three 'ages' with respect to the church fathers:

[1] Age of the NT manuscript used by the father.
[2] Date at which he wrote.
[3] Date of the surviving manuscript of father's work.

Actual manuscripts (of Greek NT, of version, or of father) are the only 'hard' evidence.

N-B. Geographical Distribution of the Witnesses.

Manuscripts are not too helpful because we know where they were found but not where they
were written. We know the papyri were abandoned in Egypt but that does not say where
they were made. Similarly, we don't know where the copies found in monasteries were
made.

Learn locations of variants mostly from fathers and versions. If a father cites or comments on a
certain reading, then we know which family he is working with.

Conclusions on M-A and M-B:

A reading is at least as early as its earliest known occurrence.
A reading is at least as widespread as its known geographical occurrence.

Less objective features: Metzger's M-C and M-D above.

N-C. Genealogical criteria.

Assigning a manuscript to a family is often easy, but sometimes have the problem of mixture,
where ms has ancestors from more than one family.

Some mss were mixed as a patchwork, as if someone were copying from a damaged manuscript
of one family and was 'patching' it with readings from another family. Example: Codex

W in the gospels.

Others mixed locally, the worst problem. Someone goes through a ms correcting it with a ms from another family. This is easy to spot in the actual ms corrected, but once it has been copied, its descendants are mixed. This generates a real blend. Example: Vulgate as mixture of Alex. and Western.

It appears that the earliest texts predated the formation of families. Aland, *Text of the NT* has begun working in this direction. Pickering in *Identity of the N.T. Text* supports this idea.

Summary: General feelings concerning manuscripts and families. We give conclusions of Metzger, et al, i.e., view (2), Reasoned Eclecticism. View (3) supports this with reservations; views (1) and (4) reject.

The relative merit of a particular manuscript or family is finally evaluated internally. This has been done for each major manuscript and family (a big job):

The Alexandrian family is the best. It is characterized as old, brief, with relatively little evidence of editing (no conflation, retains distinctive style of the writers, rough transitions in text).

The Western family is comparably old. Obviously one or neither is original, but evidence for each equally old. Both Alex. and West. go back to at least 150 AD. Western has more freedom in the text due to the influence of oral tradition. Contains long additional details which are not found in others.

The Caesarean family can be traced back to Origen. c225 AD. It is intermediate in length and smooth. It can only be identified in the Gospels, and some deny its existence altogether. Since in early centuries they did not bind the whole NT in one volume, we need not have an equal number of local texts in each part of the NT.

The Byzantine family is known to exist by 400 AD, could have been earlier. Thought to be edited around 300 AD (Lucian question). Chrysostom and Peshitta are the earliest certain users. It has smoothing and conflation, intermediate length.

Why might Alexandrian family have been so good? Alexandria had a good reputation for careful copying & for concern for best text with Classical literature; perhaps the people making the NT copies were so trained. Origen, however, was not trained in this.

N-D. Weighing Witnesses.

Using internal criteria to evaluate large numbers of readings, and then summarizing, the best manuscripts appear to be these below, given by part of the NT.

The papyri are too fragmentary to qualify for this category; none covers the whole NT. Papyri p^{66} and p^{75} have a text very close to B and are c150 yrs older. p^{45} is the largest in respect to original volume; when complete, it contained all four Gospels and the Acts. Comfort (1992) tries to categorize the papyri re/ closeness to the autographs in each NT book.

N-1. In the Gospels and Acts:

The best *single* manuscript is Vaticanus (B).

Not right everywhere, but the odds are good. Done in the 300's for someone who had money to spend. May have been one of Constantine's 50 Bibles.

The best *pair* is Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (   ).

When these agree, it is significantly stronger evidence.

The best *group* is Vaticanus, Sinaiticus and Bezae (D).

This is much stronger than the best pair, since Bezae is the earliest (long) Greek ms of the Western family, so we are picking up cross-family testimony between the two earliest families.

N-2. In the Pauline Epistles.

Vaticanus (B) is weaker, but still the best single manuscript.

N-3. In Revelation.

Vaticanus (B) does not have Revelation (last part of manuscript has been lost). Sinaiticus (   ) in Revelation is not very good.

The best *pair* in Rev is Alexandrinus (A) and Ephraemi Rescriptus (C).

Back to Metzger:

M-II. Internal Evidence, involving two kinds of probabilities:

Internal evidence (as opposed to external) involves studying the variants without reference to what ms they are found in, but considering only scribes' habits and authors' styles.

M-A. Transcriptional Probabilities.

What the *scribes* tended to do when making a trascript (copy), rather than what the author tended to do. Involves analysis of the types of errors discussed earlier in class. Must try to

imagine problems due to uncial and miniscule transmission.

M-1. The More Difficult Reading is to be Preferred.

If the more difficult reading makes sense when given some thought. The scribe was copying it
    on the fly and may have hastily 'corrected' the problem. Sometimes reading is so difficult
    that it is impossible or highly unlikely. Don't be too clever at rationalizing to make
    sense! As with all internal criteria, there is a subjective judgment at this level.

M-2. Generally the Shorter Reading is to be Preferred.

Scribes are more likely to lengthen than shorten, unless:

> a. Parablepsis arising from homoearchton or homoeoteleuton may have occurred.
>   ['Looking back at the wrong spot' arising from 'similar beginnings' or 'similar
>   endings' has occurred.] This can result in the omission or addition of a word, sec-
>   tion, or phrase.

> b. The scribe may have omitted material which he considered to be superfluous, harsh,
>   contrary to pious belief, liturgical usage, or ascetical practice.

M-3. The Reading which Involves Verbal Dissidence is usually preferred to one which is
    verbally concordant (parallel passages tend to be brought into harmony).

Scribes did not tend to introduce divergence, but did tend to harmonize passages.

Parallel passages occur especially in the Synoptic Gospels, but also in Acts (Paul's conversion
    told 3x, Cornelius and Peter told twice) and in some of Paul's Epistles (elder
    qualifications in 1 Timothy & Titus; Colossians and Ephesians, etc.).

M-4. Scribes would also sometimes:

> a. Replace an unfamiliar word with a more familiar synonym;

> b. Alter the grammar in an attempt to 'classicize' it (i.e., put it into the Attic style); or

> c. Add pronouns, nouns, conjunctions, and expletives to make the text smoother (cf. 'he'
>   => 'Jesus').

M-B. Intrinsic Probabilities, depend upon consideration of what the ***author*** was more likely to
    have written.

These involve analysis of the author's style.

M-1. In general [anywhere in NT]

a. The style and vocabulary of the author.

These usually involve statistical studies with a concordance to determine which is more
characteristic of the writer.

b. The immediate context.

Which variant seems to fit better into what is going on in the passage?

c. Harmony with author's usage in other works.

Note that c. is affected by a person's view of who the author was (e.g., liberals feel that the
Pastoral Epistles were not written by Paul, etc.).

M-2. In the Gospels one should take into account:

a. The Aramaic background of the teaching of Jesus.

Should not press this too far. Jesus probably spoke Greek and Hebrew also, since Galilee region
had a lot of Greek people in it, and Hebrew was used in the Synagogue. Have no
indications that Jesus used an interpreter in speaking with Pilate (either Greek or Latin)
or the Syrophoenican woman (called a Greek). Jesus could have argued with Pharisees in
Hebrew and spoken to people in Greek or Aramaic depending on the audience.

Letters from the Bar Kochba Caves show usage of Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew in Palestine
(early 2nd cen). Synagogue in Capernaum has inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic (date
uncertain, tho probably 4th cen or later). Trypho the Jew (cf. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*)
does not know Hebrew (uses Septuagint) although he is from Palestine (early 2nd cen).

b. The Priority of the Gospel of Mark.

This is basied on an unproved theory that Matthew and Luke copied from Mark in composing
their Gospels. I think is wrong (cf. my article in *Westminster Theological Journal*, Fall,
1980).

c. The Influence of the Christian Community upon the Formulation and Transmission of the Pas-
sage in Question.

By "formulation" UBS means "invention". Here they are claiming that later Xn views were
incorporated in the original Gospel text.

Yet in the N.T. there is a great concern to distinguish Jesus' words from others: cf. Paul "from
the Lord" or not (1 Cor.7:10,12)

The writers made selections from a vast quantity of material, and this was modulated by its
applicability to the Christian community. Yet the community is not the 'source' of the
passage.

In general these UBS rules are good principles. There are, unfortunately, problems with M-II, B
2, a, b, c.

2. Examples of how to do Textual Criticism:

a. Luke 24:53 - apparently a conflation (footnote 17 in UBS4).

Will follow format of assignment sheet "Solving Textual Problems."

I. Read over the context carefully, and check what the variant does to the text. We will label
readings A-D in the order they occur in UBS 3rd ed (4th ed has only A-C).
A: ε⇔λογο¬ντες
B: α∅νο¬ντες
C: α∅νο¬ντες καℜ ε⇔λογο¬ντες
D: ε⇔λογο¬ντες καℜ α∅νο¬ντες

No real problems. Text question is whether to read "blessing" or "praising" or both together in
either order.

II. Examine the Internal Evidence for each reading:

(1) Which is the shortest reading? The next shortest, etc.? [check here for possible
homoioteleuton, etc.].

Have 2 short (A & B) and 2 long (C & D) readings.

'A' or 'B' could arise by parablepsis/homoioteleuton because both participles have a similar
ending. 'C' or 'D' are each possible sources, but one of them could not explain ***both*** 'A'
and 'B' as homoioteleuton.

(2) Which readings are divergent from parallel passages?

Have no parallels. The beginning of Acts overlaps but not closely enough to help.

(3) Which reading is the hardest to make sense of? Next hardest? Are any too hard?

No problems with meaning or style. Double or single constructions are both common in NT.

(4) Which reading best explains the origin of the others? Which one allows the others to be explained with the smallest number of independent or unlikely errors? Assume each original in turn, see how hard to get others by various errors:

If 'A' ε⇔λογο¬ντες assumed original:
> --[error of memory gives synonym]--> α∅νο¬ντες 'B.'

   From this point on, conflation from margins can easily produce both 'C' and 'D'.

 If 'B' α∅νο¬ντες original:
> --[error of memory gives synonym]--> ε⇔λογο¬ντες 'A.'

   From this point, conflation from margins can easily produce both 'C' and 'D'. 'B' is a rarer word than 'A,' and this might slightly favor it over 'A.'

 If 'C' α∅νο¬ντες καℜ ε⇔λογο¬ντες original:
> --[homoioteleuton]--> α∅νο¬ντες gotten easily, but hard to get others without independent additional errors as though starting with 'B' above.

If 'D' ε⇔λογο¬ντες καℜ α∅νο¬ντες original:
> --[homoioteleuton]--> ε⇔λογο¬ντες gotten easily, but hard to get others without independent additional errors as though starting from 'A.'

Thus 'C' and 'D' being original require several independent errors to get rest of readings; 'A' or 'B' can generate whole set quite easily.

(5) Style of the author?

Verb α∅νέω occurs 8 times in NT, 6x in Luke's writings.

Verb ε⇔λογέω occurs 43 times in NT, 14x by Luke.

We check this sort of thing in *Englishman's Greek Concordance*, or Young's.

Have a conflict in tendencies here: α∅νέω is more characteristic of Luke relative to the rest of the NT, but ε⇔λογέω is still more common. No substantial difference in usage.

(6) Summary of internal evidence.

'A' or 'B' look better as original than 'C' or 'D.' Little evidence one way or other for 'A' versus 'B.' Possible slight favoring for 'B' as rarer.

III. Examine the External Evidence.

Luke 24:53 Variants	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Western	Byzantine
A: ε⇔λογο¬ντες	p^{75} B C* L cop^{sa,bo}	geo	syr^s	
B: α⊘νο¬ντες			D it^{most}	
C: α⊘ν καℜ ε⇔λ	X 33 892 1241	f^l f^{13} arm Θ	Diates. it^{part}	A K W Π Byz Lect
D: ε⇔λ καℜ α⊘ν				eth

Note: Θ is the major Greek Caesarean Uncial. The Diatessaron is typically based on late translations (see UBS 3rd ed., p. xl; 4th ed., p. 38*).

(1,2) Note the families:

'A' --> Alexandrian, 'B' --> Western, 'C' --> Caesarean and Byzantine, 'D' --> just Ethiopian.

(3) Broadest geographical attestation?

Need to also check the church fathers, but 'C' looks the best here, tho support rather late. Then
    'A', 'B', 'D'.

Earliest attestation?

'A' has p^{75}, Coptic (2nd-3rd century); also syr^s, but manuscript (5th century) is later than version.

'B' looks to be as old as the Western family.

'C' the Caesarean family is not too early, so Uncial A is earliest direct document, from 5th
    century. We cannot press the Diatess. back to the 2nd century because we don't have
    early manuscripts. This has good evidence, but not as good as 'A'.

'D' is 6th century.

(4) Summary of external evidence:

'A' and 'C' are the broadest; 'A' and 'B' earliest.

'A' looks best in the external evidence.

IV. Compare Internal and External and Conclude:

Probably 'A' was the original. 'B' was an error of memory which arose in the West, which was
conflated in the Caesarean and Byzantine manuscripts as 'C'.

b. John 1:18 - example of harder reading

I. Read over the context carefully, and check what each variant does to the text. We will label
readings A-D in the order they occur in UBS 4th ed
.

A: μονογεν←ς θεός (including variant with def article)
B: ® μονογεν←ς υ⊇ός
C: μονογεν←ς υ⊇ός θεο¬
D: ® μονογενής

Who reveals the Father? A: (the) only begotten God, B: the only begotten son, C: the only
begotten son of God, or D: the only begotten (son)?

II. Examine the Internal Evidence for each reading:

(1) Which is the shortest reading? The next shortest, etc? [check here for possible
homoioteleuton, etc.].

'D' is shortest, 'A' and 'B' next, 'C' longest. Difference of definite article doesn't amount to much,
so really looking at 1-, 2- or 3-word variants. No evidence of homoioteleuton.

(2) Which readings are divergent from parallel passages?

No real parallel passages, but interesting to look at parallel constructions with μονογενής
elsewhere in Johannine literature: [could discuss here as parallels or at (5) as Johannine
style]

Jn 1:14: μονογενής alone, something like 'D'
3:16: τ∈ν υ⊇∈ν τ∈ν μον., something like 'B'
        (Nestle has variant here, like 1 Jn 4:9, below)
3:18: μον. υ⊇∈ν το¬ θεο¬, something like 'C'
1 Jn 4:9: τ∈ν υ⊇∈ν α⇔το¬ τ∈ν μον., like 'B' or 'C'?

No strict parallel constructions with any, but 'A'is most divergent. Does this argue in favor or
against?

(3) Which reading is the hardest to make sense of? Next hardest? Are any too hard?

If μονογενής is understood as "only begotten," then 'A' is very difficult, perhaps too hard (heretical?) or perhaps apposition (with one word ref to humanity, other to deity?); but (see BAGD) μονογενής may mean "unique" or "one and only." Other variants not difficult, as no variants occur when they are used elsewhere in NT.

(4) Which reading best explains the origin of the others?

'A' best explains others as independent attempts to smooth by using parallel constructions found elsewhere in Johannine literature. If any of others assumed original, have to have several unrelated explanations to get rest.

(5) Style of the author?

Too few examples for statistics.

(6) Summary of internal evidence.

'A' strongly favored if author intended μονογενής as "unique" or was putting two words in apposition (the only begotten one, namely God); otherwise, too hard.

III. Examine the External Evidence.

John 1:18 Variants	Alex.	Caesarean	Western	Byzantine	Other
A: [®] μον. θεός	p[66] a* B C* L [p[75] 33 cop[bo]]		Dia[a]	syr[p] eth[ro]	many fathers & gnostics
B: ® μον. υἱός	892 1241	Θ f[l] f[13] arm geo	it[most] syr[c]	A K Byz Lect eth[pp]	vg W[supp] many fathers
C: μον. υἱός θεο¬	cop[sa]	Origen	it[q]		
D: ® μονογενής		Origen	Diatess		vg[mss] fathers

(1,2) Families?

'A' obviously Alex; 'B' is Caes, West, Byz; 'C' and 'D' are weak, scattered.

(3) Broadest geographical attestation?

'B' is broadest, 'A' next, rest far behind

Earliest attestation?

'A' slightly ahead of 'B' (prob 150 vs. 180); rest in existence by about 250.

(4) Relative external strength?

'A' has best family, best singlet, best pair (triplet not available here), but "ganged up on" by
     families supporting 'B.' Here, the solution favored by those holding views (2) and (3)
     will likely diverge.

IV. Compare Internal and External and Conclude:

A tricky passage; several possibilities

     (1) 'B' original and 'A' a gnostic change; but how explain 'D'?
     (2) 'B' original and 'A' an accidental variant seized upon by gnostics. Still problem with
          'D.'
     (3) 'A' original, seized upon by gnostics; 'B, C, D' various orthodox reactions, perhaps
          seizing upon existing variants.

c. Mark 16:9-20 - authenticity of long passage

I. Read over the context carefully, and check what the variant does to the text. We will label
readings A-E in the order they occur in UBS 4th ed.
     A: omit 9-20
     B: add shorter ending only
     C: add shorter ending and 9-20
     D: add 9-20 with critical note or sign
     E: add 9-20

Question of ending Mark at verse 8: "they said nothing to anyone for they were afraid," or
     including the (now) traditional ending and/or the "short ending": "But they reported
     briefly to Peter and those with him all they had been told. And after this Jesus himself
     sent out by means of them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation
     of eternal salvation." (Metzger, *Text of NT*, 226).

II. Examine the Internal Evidence for each reading:

(1) Which is the shortest reading? The next shortest, etc? [check here for possible homoioteleuton, etc.].

Obviously 'A' is shortest, but will need to account for extra text of 9-20 if 'A' is original.

(2) Parallel passages?

None, though some parallels to other post-resurrection narratives in Matt, Luke, John.

(3) Hardest reading?

'C' hardest, surely too hard. 'A' next hardest, abrupt ending to Mark. Some think it is too hard,
      as sentence rarely ends with γάρ, much less book (though note Jn 13:13). Was it so hard
      that someone felt it had to be completed by adding a longer ending? Yes, since we have
      two longer endings! ('B' and 'E')

(4) Best explains others?

Either the abrupt ending 'A' or the loss of 'E' (or some other original ending) could explain all
      variants. If 'E' original, its loss in mss supporting 'A' was at a very convenient spot!

(5) Most characteristic?

See Metzger (either *TNT* or *Text Comm*) on style: he claims neither 'B' nor 'E' is Mark's style.
      Also context is a problem for 'E,' both re/ sudden change in subject and unnecessary
      recapitulation.

(6) Summary on Internal Evidence:

If 'A' original, have to explain origin of 'B' and 'E.' The short ending 'B' looks very much like it
      was specially composed to give Mark a smooth ending, but 'E' certainly doesn't. Perhaps
      borrowed from existing account? If 'E' original, must explain origin of 'B' as from
      someone who knew nothing of 'E' but only of 'A.'

III. Examine the External Evidence for each reading:

(1,2) Families?
      'A' characteristically Alexandrian.
      'E' is char Western & Byz, stronger than 'A' in Caes.

(3) Broadest attestation?
      Both 'A' and 'E' apparently have support from all families.

'E' stronger in Caes, West, Byz.
'A' stronger in Alex.

Mk 16:9-20 Variants	Alex.	Caes.	West.	Byz.	Other
A: omit 9-20	B cop[sams]	geo[1,A] arm[mss] Eusebius	syr[s]		almost all mss*
B: short ending			it[k]		
C: short + 9-20	L Ψ cop[samss] cop[bomss]			eth[mss] 274[mg]	083 099
D: 9-20 w/ note		f[l]		some mins.	
E: 9-20 w/o note	C Δ 33 cop[bo, fay]	Θ f[13] 565 700 geo[B] arm[mss]	D it syr[c]	A Byz syr[p,h]	vg Lect

*according to Eusebius and Jerome

Earliest attestation?
Both readings 'A' and 'E' seem to predate 200.

(4) Summary of External Evidence:

'A' has support of best pair; best triplet split. 'E' has strongest support in other families. Close
        call.

IV. Overall summary:

Very difficult, three possibilities:
        (1) 'E' original, but loss of 'E' very widespread. Troubles here with internal evidence.
        (2) 'A' original, adoption of 'E' very widespread.
                    Favored by wide circulation of Byz later.
        (3) Original reading completely lost, leaving fragmentary text 'A' which was repaired
                    twice independently. A rather speculative suggestion, would not go with
                    this myself.
Suggest (2) more likely than others.

III. The Canon of the New Testament.

A. The Canon Controversy.

1. The Term "Canon."

a. Etymology.

The term "canon" in English is derived from the Greek κανών, the early meaning of which was "measuring rod," something like a ruler with marks on it used for measuring length and drawing straight lines. The term came to be used metaphorically for "standard", a norm for comparison. Also used metaphorically for a "list", probably from the series of marks on the rod.

b. Technical/theological use of "canon".

1) Scriptures functioning as our norm or standard, i.e., as our ultimate rule of faith.
2) The list of books belonging to the Scripture.
3) A list of rules or decisions made by a church council (combines "list" and "standard").

Our interest here is use b. 2): What books properly belong in the Bible?

2. Divergent views on the EXTENT of the canon.

An important reason for studying this subject is the dis-agreement which exists in the world and even the professing church of the extent of the canon.

a. Traditional Protestant View.

The 66 books (the number is not strict, but their   content is):

OT = 39, matching the traditional Jewish view.
NT = 27, matching the traditional Christian view.

b. Larger canons.

1) Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox add the Apocrypha as a part of the OT. (They agree with Protestants on the extent of the NT canon.)

The Apocrypha is some 8 additional books (plus additions to some
            other books): 1-2 Maccabees, Judith, Tobit,
            Prayer of Manasseh, 3[-4] Ezra, Ecclesiasticus,
            Wisdom of Solomon; plus additions to Daniel (Song
            of the 3 Holy Children, Susanna, Bel & Dragon),
            Esther (don't have separate titles), Jeremiah
            (Letter of Jeremiah, Baruch).

2) Mormons accept the Protestant Bible, and add:

Book of Mormon.   \
Doctrine and Covenants.   "Triple Combination"
Pearl of Great Price.   /   when bound in 1 vol

c. Smaller canons.

1) Marcion (c150 AD)

Felt that the God of the OT really existed, but was different
            (inferior) being than the God of the NT.
            Accepted one gospel (Luke) in an altered form,
            plus 10 epistles of Paul, also altered. We do
            not have any copies of Marcion's text.

2) Swedenborgians (Church of the New Jerusalem).

Follow Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772).
NT: accept only the 4 Gospels and Revelation (sort of mirror
                image of Marcion's canon). No epistles
                accepted.
Only 29 books accepted in the OT: not Ruth, 1-2 Chron, Ezr, Neh,
                Est, Job, Prov, Eccl, SS

3) Theological liberalism.

There is a range of views among liberals. Some say nothing is
            God's revelation, as there is no real revelation
            (so no canon). Others find a "canon" within the
            canon: would say that some parts of the Bible are
            from God. Both groups would recognize an
            "ecclesiastical" canon (books traditionally
            recognized by the church). Often do not mind
            including the Apocyrpha as they do not think the

true canon is inerrant or more inspired.

3. Divergent Views on the BASIS of Canonicity.

Not only is there disagreement on what books (if any) belong in
    the canon, there is disagreement on what constitutes
    canonicity.

a. Recognition by a church council (very common view).

Liberals argue that the church decided which books should be in
        the Bible (and tend to deny or minimize inspiration).

RC and GO also say that the church chose the Bible. Argue that
        the church existed first, thus the church   has the
        greater authority. Say that God worked through the
        church to make the canon. They tend to support
        inspiration (but the church also inspired).

There are serious problems with this view (see below). But it
        should be admitted that the action of a council is
        typically the means by which a particular institu-
        tional church formalizes its submission to the Bible.

b. Other views attempt to define how the canon came about
        without dependence on councils.

History shows that councils came at the end rather than at the
        beginning of canonization discussions (cf. Nicea,
        Jamnia), therefore one must ask, how did something of
        a consensus arise before the councils met?

Liberals and rationalists deny inspiration, so they must find
        another mechanism for this origin of the canon which
        is independent of God and revelation.

1) The "old books" were accepted as canonical.

People had reverence for, and ascribed authority to, ancient
            writings.

Problem: The Bible mentions other old books which are not in
            Scripture. E.g., Jasher, Book of the Wars of the
            LORD already existed when the canonical book

which refers to it was being written. Liberals
will typically claim these had been lost before
canonical decisions made.

Problem: Age was not a necessary criterion. New books were
recognized as authoritative immediately. E.g.,
the book of the Covenant which was placed beside
the ark. Liberals who hold this theory must deny
the historicity of such passages.

2) Books of Great Religious Value were recognized as Canonical.

Obviously they must have been thought to have had religious
value, but this is not a sufficient condition.
Christians (and Jews) have always felt that many
non-canonical books were of great religious
value, yet these were not included.

Biblical view: Authority is what counts, not "value".

3) New Books which agreed with Previous Revelation were taken
in.

This is a necessary condition and a good test, but not a
sufficient reason. Does not explain origin of
the initial books either.

c. The Necessary and Sufficient Condition (Basis) for Canonicity
is Inspiration.

The Bible claims this. "Canonical" is (or ought to be) parallel
to "inspiration." That is, non-canonical books are
not inspired and canonical books are.

Exception: God may have inspired some writings which are not
preserved (e.g., Paul's other letters to Corinth).

Basic Idea: God is the origin of the Bible.

But: when we move from the objective (what makes something
canonical?) to the subjective (how do we determine
what is canonical?) we have to look to testable

criteria.

Metaphysical question: What makes a book canonical? Answer:
        God's inspiration.

Epistemological question: How do we recognize an inspired book
        when we see one?

B. The Recognition of Canonicity [Inspiration].

1. The Importance of the Time-Perspective.

    a. Loss of information with the passage of time.

The further removed we are from an incident, the less
        information (typically) we have about it. We say
        "typically" because: lost information may be recov-
        ered; the level of information we have may stagnate as
        some minimum level.

Example: Activities of Alexander the Great. Eyewitnesses write
        and tell incidents about him. The next generation
        remembers some stories. Several generations later: no
        reliable stories have survived. Only the written
        material is of value. If some written material was
        lost, perhaps it can be recovered, perhaps not. Also,
        some tight-knit group may preserve oral traditions.

Thus we quickly lose information about an event unless it was
        written down. Historical information levels off
        rather quickly (2 or 3 generations) to a very low
        percentage of what was initially known.

Therefore, determining the canonicity of a book which was
        written 100's or 1000's of years ago is a big problem.
         Important information available to the generation in
        which the book was written has been lost.

b. An Important Distinction exists between recognition soon
        after writing and long after writing.

The tests are rather different. Initially, could ask the author
        or direct recipients of the writing who wrote it, how
        they got it, etc.

Since the OT and NT are not "just written," we must see if the
        contemporary people applied reasonable principles in
        their time to check for canonicity. How were the
        "just written" principles applied back when the OT and
        NT were themselves "just written"?

However, we can test modern claims directly ourselves.

Example: The Book of Mormon (c1830). We are getting near the
        time-limit, since no people are now alive from then.
        However, in upstate NY there is still a courthouse
        where old papers were recently found in the basement
        with record of court costs for the trial of Joseph
        Smith as a "glass-looker." Information agrees with
        that from other documents now lost which reported that
        J.S. was a "glass-looker" [cf. copy of earlier
        transcript in Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious
        Knowledge].

For Jeanne Dixon, Wilkerson's Vision, Moon's Divine Principle we
        can apply such tests as below.

2. Recognition of a Work Recently Written.

How do we recognize an inspired book recently written? We could
     use arbitrary principles by inventing our own, but this is
     dangerous if they were not God's principles! E.g, the
     Pharisees wanted a sign "from heaven". Jesus pointed out
     to them that in judging the weather, they looked carefully
     at what signs were available. We too should look at what
     signs are available, the signs which God gave, and not set
     up our own, which He might or might not meet.

God gave tests to His people because false prophets were around.
      The people were responsible to apply the tests.

The tests:

1) Connection with supernatural phenomena, including revelation.

2) Connection with earlier inspired books or revelation.
        Important: the connection should be made both ways,
        i.e., the successor should have been predicted. There

should be specific indications of what he will be
like.

3) Agreement with earlier inspired books or revelation. That
    is, the new stuff (1) cannot contradict; but (2) can
    explain and clarify.

These tests were all used by the people of God in OT and NT
    times. We will trace this below in 4 periods of biblical
    revelation:

```
Mosaic           Prophetic      Christ          Apostles
Law              Prophets       Gospels         Epistles
Old Covenant ---------          New Covenant ---------
Establishment  Development      Establishment   Development
```

a. Connected with supernatural phenomena, including revelation.

God chose to have revelation be attested by great supernatural
        power to limit the number of candidates. Fakes would
        at least have to give some "miraculous" signs.

1) Moses gives signs to Pharoah and Israel.

Rod/snake, leprous hand, various plagues. Eventually escalates
            beyond the magicians' powers. After crossing the
            Red Sea and coming to Sinai, then we get the
            revelation which forms the basis for the whole
            covenant. Thus the covenant is well-attested by
            miracles of Egypt and desert.

2) The Prophets.

Their messages are attested by miracles and short-term prophecy.

Deut. 18 contrasts pagan forms of divination with God's means.
            Note the different purpose: pagan divination
            arises from men seeking to get specific
            information, God's prophets reveal God's choice
            of information. Human agenda vs. God's.

Israelits were to put to death the prophet "if the prediction
            does not come to pass." No mistakes allowed!

If test propely applied, it tends to discourage attempts to set
                up a lucrative business. Note that Deut. 13
                ("gives a sign or wonder") implies that the
                burden of proof is on the prophet.

Some examples of both short and long range predictions:

1 Kings 13:

Jeroboam becomes king of Israel (Ephraim) and does not want the
                people to go to Jerusalem to worship
                (weakens his kingdom), so he sets up altars
                and calves at Bethel and Dan.

Prophet comes w/ message: "Josiah will desecrate the altar"
                (long-range) and "the altar will split in
                two" (short-range). Also withers Jeroboam's
                arm.

1 Kings 22:

Ahab and Jehoshaphat going up to Ramoth-Gilead to fight Syrians.
                 Micaiah contradicts Ahab's prophets by
                predicting Israel will be scattered and Ahab
                will die.

Zedekiah (false prophet) gets mad at him; statement probably
                means "I know I am a prophet, what about
                you?" Michiah's answer: "You will find out
                when you hide yourself...   "If you return
                safely, the LORD has not spoken through me"

Thus supernatural events back up and often are related to
                prophetic messages. By this means, Israel was to
                test her prophets and not follow false ones.

Implies God's prophets will give good evidence.

3) Jesus.

Worked many miracles, gave many short-term prophecies about His
                death, resurrection, fall of Jerusalem, etc.

4) Apostles.

See many references to supernatural powers in Acts. Paul in 2
          Cor. 12:12 "the signs of a true apostle were
          performed among you." Hebrews 2:3-4 "God
          bearing witness [to His apostles] by signs and
          wonders."

Summary: Evidence from these 4 periods show that inspired books
          are connected with supernatural signs.

This is not a sufficient condition because God is not the only
          one who can do miracles (Deut. 13), or at least
          something we cannot distinguish from miracles.

But if there is no attestation given, then we have no reason to
          believe alleged spokesman has the divine word.

Not able to test this for every Biblical book as we were not
          there (loss of information with time).

But we can apply this criterion to alleged prophets today and to
          some long range OT prophecies. We give some examples
          of latter in our apologetics course.

b. Connection with earlier inspired books or revelation.

This tie should be in both directions (esp forward), otherwise
          anyone can claim to be a new prophet in your religion.

Consider the forward and backward connections in each period:

Start-up: General revelation has been continuous from all
          generations and there appear to have been believers in
          all generations. Probably also special revelation, at
          least in form of tradition from patriarchs. So
          Abraham has to decide if he is getting direct revela-
          tion. Note that he is an individual, not a group.

1) Moses.

Is sent by the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

His way was prepared by revelation in Gen. 15:13f where God
          tells Abraham about 400 years of oppression to

come in foreign land, after which his descendants
will be delivered by God with many possessions.
This makes the connection forward.

Moses says the God of Abr, Is and Jac has sent him to deliver
them from slavery, so he makes the connection
backward.

Perhaps this prediction faked later? This is not a test we can
apply to Moses, due to the time-perspective we
have been talking about. We are here only trying
to show the biblical standards.

The Israelite slaves in Egypt knew if their family tradition
contained such a prediction.

Moses then makes provision for the prophets who will come.
People know what to expect and how to test them
when they begin to show up, since the tests in
Deut 18 and 13 had been provided.

2) The Prophets.

Using Moses' criteria, Israel within the generation of the
prophet could tell if he was a true prophet:
i.e., Jeremiah vs. Hananiah (Jer 28; w/in 2 yrs
H. died). This provides the basis for the books
which we have.

Within a generation it was clear who was a false and who true
prophet. True prophet's works were preserved.

The true prophets also made a major connection back to Moses'law
in their teaching, vs. some false prophets who
led them into Baal worship or encouraged setting
up golden calves again.

The key thing here is the advance prediction about the prophets.

The prophets tell about a deliverer to come, the Messiah. This
is the next forward connection. The Jews did not
know how to fit all these prophecies together,
but they did know he was coming.

3) Jesus.

Jesus makes many back references. Note Matthew and Hebrews for
            forward connections via fulfilled prophecy
            (including typology). This was a major
            apologetic of the early church, that Jesus ful-
            filled the messianic prophecies.

4) Apostles.

The apostles have an immediate connection with Jesus, which was
            public knowledge. The people recognized them as
            having been with Him (see Acts 4 before the
            Sanhedrin).

Jesus predicts their functions: John 14:26 -> commission for
            teaching and organizing the church. John 15:27 ->
            power to make and cancel regulations with respect
            to church practice (cf. 'binding and loosing' in
            rabbinical usage).

The Apostles look forward to: primarily the second coming of
            Christ; secondarily, the 2 witnesses who are
            specifically described in Rev 11.

5) Situation Today: It is very difficult to establish a claim
            to be one of the 2 witnesses. Need to do what
            they are described as doing: working miracles,
            including fire from heaven on opponents.

Thus Moon, Swedenborg and other false prophets more often claim
            to be the second coming of Christ. Swedenborg
            says his teaching is the second coming. Moon
            says that Christ failed the first time and he is
            now doing Christ's job (having divine children).

But the Bible says that you will not need to be told when Christ
            returns, it will be obvious (lightning and
            vulture analogies in Matt 24).

Bible indicates that the eschaton is next. Any new guy on the
            scene must be one of the following:

a) A false prophet or false messiah.
b) The Antichrist or his False Prophet.
c) One of the two witnesses.
d) Christ (in His second coming).

The Mormons have tried to get around this limitation on future
by interpreting Ezekiel's prophecy of the two
sticks as referring to their revelation, where
the Bible and the Book of Mormon are the two
sticks. This view ignores the interpretation
which follows immediately, that the sticks are
the two kingdoms. Does shows that J.Smith was
aware of the need for forward attestation.

Only Reorganized Mormons accept J.Smith's amplified Bible with
its prophecy at end of Genesis about "another
Joseph".

Unfortuniate some Charismatics really muddy the water here by
saying that (charismatic) error in prediction
shows that "your gifts are not perfected yet".
This departs from the Biblical standard.

c. Agreement with earlier inspired books or revelation.

1) Cannot contradict.

This is derived from Deut. 13:1-3. Not every time that a false
prophet prophesies will he be wrong. Even normal
people can guess the future occasionally, and
this one may have demonic help. Thus we must
also test the message.

He should not teach something which contradicts those things
which were previously proven to be canonical.

Note that this test shoots down Mormonism, as they say there are
many other gods. Also liberalism and other
heresies which have a different god than the one
pictured in the Bible.

Also note that this is also a test of our faith (Deut.13:3).
God is sneding a test to see if we love Him or if

we only follow the most glamorous, exciting religion.

Acts 17:11 shows the responsibility of the people to test teaching against Scripture. Should always be doing this with our teachers, but especially with those who claim "My connection with God overcomes my failures, so I am infallabile and you have no right to test me."

This test implies that we have the 'right' to demand evidence (signs) from a new prophet.

What about Jesus refusing signs to Pharisees? Jesus had already been giving sufficient evidence.

Paul says (Gal 1:8-9) that even if another gospel comes from an angel, do not accept it.

Isolation mentality among Christians today is not good (i.e., shield your people from heresy, rather than teach them so that they will be strong enough to handle it).

2) Can explain and clarify.

We should not press the above principle to the point where a prophet can never add new revelation. We may (correctly) think God has completed Bible, but how would this have worked for the Pharisees? And how help persons not convinced by our "day of revelation over" exegesis?

Otherwise why would God send more prophets after Moses?

Revelation probably stopped with the apostles because they explained all that was necessary.

Jesus clarifies who the Father is (John 1:17-18), and how can we go beyond that? The theme of the gospel is to reveal the Father. Also see this in 1 Peter 1:10-12, where Peter comments that the OT prophets did not always understand what they were writing. The NT clarifies their writings.

We must also leave room for the two witnesses.

Note: All three of the above criteria [a), b), c)] are needed to
          have an air-tight test. Remember that these tests
          can often only be effectively applied to works
          recently written.

3. Recognition for a Work Written Long Ago.

The biblical prophets and apostles presented themselves to the
     people of God of their times as having really come from God
     with important messages that we ignore only at our peril.
     We cannot properly do or redo what was done at that time.
     We do find in the Christian materials evidence of
     supernatural activity in Scripture: fulfilled prophecy,
     miracles, changed lives.

Instead we suggest the following as a check that the Bible
     really is what it claims to be:

a. Christian evidences point to Christ and salvation through
          Him.

This is the first step. Acceptance of Scripture's historical
          trustworthiness via supernatural evidence leads to
          accepting Christ. We do not base our beliefs re/
          inerrancy or limits of canon on this level of under-
          standing.

b. Christ as Lord explicitly endorses the OT and implicitly the
          NT.

Christ explicitly endorses the block of material called
          "Scripture" by the Jews (see J. Wenham, Christ and the
          Scriptures).

He implicitly endorses the NT by:

1) Selecting apostles and looking forward to their ministry.
2) Approving the providential process that led to the
                canonization of the OT, and which would also lead
                to canonization of the NT.

c. Canonicity then reduces to historical questions:

We must depend on the people then living to apply the tests for
         an inspired book recently written for us.

We can then ask:

1) What writings had Palestinian Jews come to recognize by the
                time of Christ as Scripture?

Answer: Orthodox Jewish [= Protestant] Old Testament (this
                covered in OT Intro course).

2) What Christian writings did Christians come to recognize in
                the few centuries after Christ, when
                substantial information was still available?

Answer: Orthodox Christian NT (same for Prot, RCs, GO).

We cover question 2) here below.

C. Historical Information Recognizing the N.T.

1. Stimuli to Recognition.

There were several driving forces which required the early
      church to think through the canon question. Some of these
      were active even in the days of the apostles. All were at
      work long before councils' canon decisions (after 325 AD).

a. The Need for Revelation.

The church has enough problems today, but would be in much worse
         shape without revelation as a standard and authority.
          Already see this need in AD 60's, late in the
         Apostles' life.

1 Timothy 3:14-15 -> You need to know some things so I am
                writing you now in case I never get to talk   to
                you again.

Interesting for charismatics that Timothy needs to be told these
            things rather then receiving them by direct
            revelation. And he did have spiritual gifts!

The details in context reslate to church function. Also
            applies to knowledge about Christ's ministry and
            the content of the gospel.

See a parallel idea in 2 Peter 1 where he writes in order to
            "bring to remembrance".

In 1 John we find the phrase "I am writing these things for ...
            [some good reason]" over 20 times.

1 Timothy 4:13 -> "Give attention to reading" (see also
            Revelation 1:3).

2 Timothy 3:16-17 -> Good passage on the value of Scripture.
            Note the areas of value: teaching - theoretical;
            training - practical; correction and restoration
            - church function.

b. The Problem of Persecution.

This starts with Jewish persecution in Jerusalem soon after
        Pentecost. Local Gentile persecution occurs off and
        on during the apostolic period. Official persecution
        by the Roman Empire begins in 64 AD with Nero and the
        fire in Rome.

Persecution raises the question: "What books should I protect
        with my life because they are God's word, and which
        ones are merely human productions and so not worth
        it?"

c. The Priorities of Translation.

Soon after Christianity begins to spread the need for
        translation arises (there may have been some initial
            need to translate into or out of Aramaic).

By the 2nd century there is a need for Latin versions in the
        West.

Raises the question: "What should have the highest priority
        among the Christian literature?"

The answer has always been Scripture. Not even good books like
        "Pilgrim's Progess" are translated before the Bible.

Obviously there are priorities within the biblical books on
        which to translate first.

d. The Threat of Heresy.

This was a problem from early times. Note the problems with
        Judiazers in Acts and Pauline epistles, with antino-
        mians in Paul and James.

See reference to an apparent attempt to forge a Pauline letter
        to the Thessalonians in the 50's AD. The hint in 2
        Thess 2:2 is the earliest known.

The "Gospel of Thomas" (gnostic) is the earliest extant fake
        gospel. Of interest that it claims to be by Thomas
        but that it had been kept secret, implying some sort
        of canon existed at that time.

2. NT Evidence of Preparation and Recognition of Inspired Writ-
    ings.

The NT provides our earliest evidence that the concept of
    "Scripture" was understood to apply to Xn writings, and
    that the preparation and recognition of such was already
    underway in the apostolic period.

a. Selection of materials for inclusion.

The NT shows an awareness that writing was going on. We see
        that the Apostles themselves are involved in the
        selection process.

The Apostles made the decisions about what elements of the
        ministry of Christ were important to preserve.

John 20:30 "Many other signs which are not written", but enough
            is given so that we can recognize who   Jesus is

and trust in Him.

John 21:25 "Many other things which Jesus did..." Can't write
          down everything which he did.

Luke 1:1-4 See evidence of careful investigation, selection,
          and concern for accuracy.

b. Protection from Error.

Luke did a careful investigation as there were apparently
          amateurs who had not.

John claims to be an eyewitness, and corrects a popular
          interpretive error in what Jesus said (John 21) about
          John "not dying."

2 Timothy 1:13-14 Paul is concerned that people guard the
                treasure entrusted to them.

2 Timothy 2:2 "The things which you heard from me in the
          presence of many witnesses..." Paul did not just
          make up this stuff, these witnesses backed up
          Paul's message. Implies there were still many
          witnesses alive.

2 Timothy 2:14 "Remind them of these things and do not wrangle
          about words." Concerned to protect the message
          from word games.

2 Timothy 3:16-17 Says that Scripture is from God, and implies
          that we should study it.

2 Thess. 2:2 apparently refers to an early attempt to forge a
                letter from Paul. "Spirit" is someone standing
                up and speaking, and claiming to be a prophet.
                "Message" is someone who had traveled and claimed
                to have talked to Paul. "Letter as if from us"
                is obvious. This verse is very general about the
                actual situation: one (or more) of the three?

2 Thess. 2:15 seems to narrow it down to either a message or
                letter.

2 Thess. 3:17 strongly implies that it was a forged letter, as
Paul makes clear here that he signs each of his
letters.

All this at least shows an awareness of and safeguarding against
the problem. People who knew his handwriting and who
had the autograph could use this test. We cannot.

There are private letters on papyrus from Egypt which are
"autographs," as only one copy was made. Many of
these have a nice professional penmanship for the body
of the letter (the paid scribe), but the greetings at
the end are in amateurish script (the real sender).

This is similar to our use of signatures on typed business let-
ters today.

c. Public reading in the churches.

See public reading commanded in several places: 1 Thess 5:27,
Col 4:16, Rev 1:3. This in an important criterion as
a test, because when the churches got together across
the Empire after the persecution ended, this was one
of their questions: do we know that it was read in
the "old" churches?

d. Circulation Among the Churches.

Copies of NT writings were also circulated from church to
church, rather than the recipient church keeping their
letters, etc. a secret. Rev 1:3 shows the apocalypse
was sent to 7 churches. In Col.4:16 Paul commands
Colossians to be read in Laodicea & vice versa
(Laodicean letter probably = Eph or Phm).

Even before this, we see this done in Acts with the   decision
letter from the Jerusalem Council (c50 AD). In Acts
16:4, see that Paul circulates it in the regions of
Galatia, to churches beyond those to which it was
oringinally addressed.

Thus the theory that Paul's letters were local and forgotten
after his death to be revived 30 years later and then
popularized (view of E.J. Goodspeed) is not true.

They were circulated widely from the beginning.

e. Collection.

The NT was not bound into one volume initially, as papyrus was
        not strong enough to work well with thick books. The
        biggest papyrus codex that survives (p45) contains the
        Gospels and Acts, and it apparently has no close
        competitors for size. Usually one volume would con-
        tain Paul's Epistles; 1 or 2 Gospels; Acts (or Acts &
        General Eps); Revelation, so that the whole NT would
        take up several volumes. With use of parchment we
        start getting whole Bible in one volume, but doubtless
        rare even then, due to expense.

Some early evidence of collection:

2 Peter 3:15-16 "The things which Paul wrote to you". Peter is
            apparently addressing scattered churches in Gala-
            tia and elsewhere in Asia Minor. Peter refers to
            a group of Paul's letters which he himself knew
            about and audience knew of. This indicates that
            Paul's letters were already collected,
            circulating, and generally known. Liberals do
            not like this passage; claim the whole book of 2
            Peter is a late forgery (c130 AD), as this
            evidence of collection is "too early".

f. Quotation as Authoritative.

Even in the NT, some other parts of the NT are cited as
        Scripture:

2 Peter 3:15-16 "Distort Paul's letters as they do the rest of
            Scripture..." implies Paul's letters are
            Scripture.

Have 2 quotations in NT which show authority:

1 Timothy 5:18 refers to OT and NT (Luke 10:7) under the
            heading, "Scripture says...," i.e., Paul is
            citing Luke 10:7 as Scripture. So Gospel of Luke
            was in existence by this time.

Jude's parallels to 2 Peter 2 and 3. The bulk of Jude is like 2
            Peter chapters 2 and 3. Liberals say that 2
            Peter must be late as it quotes Jude (which is
            known to be late). But situation is actually the
            other way around: 2 Peter is so early that Jude
            quotes it!

Note: Jude says "The false teachers have arrived!" 2 Peter says
            "The false teachers are going to come!" Note
            which way the tense changes. Also Jude 17-18
            cites "mockers" by noting that "the apostles said
            this". He is quoting from 2 Peter 3:3. Thus
            Jude quotes Peter to warn that the false teachers
            the apostles predicted are now here. Liberals
            claim that 2 Peter is a fraud, and one which is
            cleverly disguised to make it look like Jude is
            quoting it!

Summary: Already in the NT there is the recognition that more
          than the OT is Scripture.

3. Indications of recognition as Scripture in Apostolic Fathers
     (95 to 130 AD).

Four of these works come from known church leaders:

1 Clement - c95 AD - Bishop of Rome;
Ignatius - c105-115 - Bishop of Antioch;
Polycarp - c105-115 - Bishop of Smyrna;
Papias - c130 - Bishop of Hierapolis.

Other literature in this group:

Shepherd of Hermas (c110-130 AD) -- Written by a Roman Christian
               whose brother Pius was bishop of Rome.
Pseudo-Barnabas (c130) -- author unknown, not likely to have
               been Barnabas.
Didache (c110) -- Church manual written and revised over a long
               period of time.

In this literature we find many allusions to the NT, and 3
     explicit references to the NT as Scripture:

a. 1 Clement 47: "Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the
         Apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the
         beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he charged
         in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and
         Apollos, because that even then you made factions."

Letter to the Corinthians during Domitian persecution. Church
         having similar problems as when Paul wrote. Had a
         schism and booted out their elders without charges.
         Clement obviously cites 1 Cor, saying, "as Paul
         charged you in the spirit." implying it is inspired
         Scripture. Clement also assumes Paul's letter is
         widely known.

b. Polycarp to Philippians 12: "For I am persuaded that you are
         well-trained in the sacred writings, and nothing is
         hidden from you. But to myself this is not granted,
         only, as it is said in these scriptures, 'Be ye angry
         and sin not,' and 'Let not the sun set on your
         wrath'."

Cites Ephesians 4:26 as "sacred writing" and "these
         Scriptures".

c. Pseudo-Barnabas 4:

Very allegorical. In an exhortation, quotes Matthew 22:14 under
         the heading, "As it is written."

d. Allusions to the NT.

Find many allusions citing the NT as authoritative. These form
         a spectrum of citations, ranging from direct quotes to
         similar ideas; the cutoff between allusion and similar
         views is hard to locate. There is some dispute over
         how many NT books are alluded to in the Apostolic
         Fathers:

Various Views on number of NT books alluded to in Apostolic
         Fathers: NT: OT:

1) Ante-Nicene Fathers   25/27   28/39
[Roberts and Donaldson ed]   Not 2,3 John

2) Lightfoot, <u>Apostolic Fathers</u>   23/27   22/39
   Not 2,3 John; 1 Thess, Phm

3) Oxford Committee [study on NT   20-22/27   -----
citations by Apostolic Fathers]
Not 2,3 John; Philm; Jude; 2 Peter;
Col?; 1 Thess?

We can use their citation of OT books as a control, since we
        know all of them were in existence by the time the
        Apostolic Fathers were writing. OT books not cited
        are irrelevant historical books [Judges, Nehemiah,
        Ezra], and several small books [Eccles., Amos, Micah,
        Obadiah] of little application to the early church.

Thus the lack of citation does not mean that the book did not
        exist or was not yet recognized as Scripture, but only
        that it was short and contained no "relevant"
        material for the apostolic fathers.

e. Summary.

The concept of "Scripture" is not limited to OT material along
        either by apostles or early Xn leaders. By c130 AD,
        all but the few shortest books are definitely
        mentioned as authoritative.

4. Recognition in Early Heretical Writers.

Heretics of the evangelizing sort tend to concentrate on turning
    aside professing Xns from the Xn faith to their own, rather
    than trying to win pure pagans. Apparently Satan has
    little interest in evangelizing those who are safely in his
    camp. Thus we can often learn from them what Scriptures
    are accepted by the orthodox, since they use these to
    attract them rather than their own particular heretical
    works.

When we look for allusions in writings of the gnostic heretics,
    we find they too, make use of many NT works.

a. **Basilides** (c120-140 AD) quotes from 1 Corinthians as

Scripture. He alludes to several others (Mt, Lk, Jn, 2 Cor, Eph, Col, possibly 1 Tim, 1 Pet) as authoritative.

b. The **Ophites** (c.120-140) were a gnostic sect which thought the snake in Eden was the good guy. Their writings refer to Matthew, Luke, John, Romans, 1 & 2 Cor, Eph, Gal, and probably Heb, Rev.

c. **Marcion** (c140) taught that the OT God who created matter was a real but lesser god than the God of the NT. Marcion prepared the earliest known competing NT canon, which in-cluded only an edited forms of Luke and 10 Pauline Epis-tles. According to Tertullian, he removed NT references which would clearly identify the God of the NT with the God of the OT.

d. **Valentinus** (c140) authored the "Gospel of Truth," recently recovered among the Nag Hammadi papyri after being lost in ancient times. This work (among others in this group) shows that the church fathers really were pretty accurate in quoting and explaining the views of the various gnostic teachers. Valentinus cites Ephesians as Scripture and makes other references to Mt, Lk, Jn, Rom, 1 Cor, and perhaps Heb, 1 John.

e. Summary on Early Heretics

1) They too applied the concept of Scripture to the NT.
2) We see clear evidence among them for all Gospels but Mark (which, ironically, liberals like to say was the earliest), and for all the Pauline epistles but the pastorals (which heretics would not like as they were explicitly directed against them. See remarks by Irenaeus, <u>Against</u> <u>Heresies</u>, 3.11.7).

5. Recognition in the Late 2nd Century.

By the end of the 2nd century, we have even more explicit Christian evidence. Irenaeus' <u>Against Heresies</u> is as large as the gospels and is full of direct quotes, naming books, citing as "Scripture", etc.

We do not see the idea that the canon grew slowly over time. It

appears rather to be recognized as soon as received, then circulated widely. The idea of Scripture extending beyond the OT canon is very clear.

Some problem books:

Hebrews was extensively cited early, then doubted as the
            authorship was not known.

Revelation was also used extensively early, but later doubted
            because of the millennial problems.

a. **Justin Martyr** (130-160 AD) in his two apologies and his
    dialogue with the Jewish scholar Trypho refers to the "Gos-
    pels" called "memoirs of the apostles & those who fol-
    lowed." He uses the canonical four and no others. Justin
    also uses Rom, 1-2 Cor, Col, 2 Th, Heb, amd Rev, speaking
    of the last as by the apostle John.

b. **Irenaeus** (b 125-40, d c200), wrote Against Heresies, the
    extensive writing mentioned above. He quotes from all the
    NT but Phm, 3 Jn, and poss 2 Pt and Jude. He does cite
    Hermas with "Scripture says." He argues against heretical
    scriptures on basis of the history of the churches founded
    by apostles.

c. **Muratorian Canon** (c180) is the oldest canonical list
    preserved from orthodox side, prob from Rome (certainly
    Italy). It is fragmentary at beginning and end, poss also
    in middle, surviving only in a poor Latin translation of
    the 8th cen. It starts with Luke as 3rd Gospel. Its
    present form lacks Heb, Jas, 1-2 Pt, poss 3 Jn. It
    definitely rejects Hermas as a recent work. It rejects
    works by Gnostics and Montanists, speaking of forged
    Pauline letters to Laodiceans and Alexandrians.

d. **Tertullian** (c200) converted to Xy as an adult, was trained as
    a lawyer and rhetorician. His voluminous writings quote
    from all the NT but Phm, Jas, 2-3 Jn. He definitely
    accepts Jude as authoritative. He mentions origin of Acts
    of Paul & Thecla (de Bapt 17).

e. **Clement of Alexandria** (c200) uses some of the non-canonical
    Gospels, but distinguishes these from those "that have been

handed down." Eusebius says Clem commented on all the Cath Eps, but work has not survived. Clement comments on Ps-Barn, Apoc Peter, and respected Hermas and the Preaching of Peter.

6. Towards Formal Recognition: 200-400 AD.

a. **Origen** (c230) gives us some insight into the status of the canon question at his time. He notes that 2 categories were commonly observed by the orthodox:

1) Books acknowledged by all Christians (21/27):
       4 Gospels, Acts, 13 Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John, Rev.

2) Books disputed by some Christians (6/27 + 4 outside):
               Hebrews, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, James, Jude; plus
               Ps-Barnabas, Hermas, Didache, Gospel of Hebrews

b. **Eusebius** (c325) about a century later, notes a more refined 4 categories:

(1) Acknowledged (21-22/27): Gospels, Acts, Paul (+ Heb), 1
               John, 1 Peter, Rev.[?]

(2) Disputed but familiar to most (5/27): James, 2 Peter, 2 and
               3 John, Jude

(3) Spurious but orthodox (0-1/27): Acts of Paul, Hermas, Apoc.
               of Peter, Ps-Barnabas, Didache, Rev.[?], Gospel
               of Hebrews

(4) Heretical: Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthaias, etc.; Acts
               of Andrew, John, others.

c. **Athanasius** the great opponent of the Arians, later becomes bishop of Alexandria. In his Festal Letter of 369 AD, all 27 NT books are listed as canonical. He is supported by Jerome, Augustine, Greg of Nazianzus and Cyril (except the latter lacks Rev).

d. Decisions of **Church Councils**. Several decisions by regional church councils bring the discussion of canon to a close. These include:
(1) Synod of Laodicea (365). All but Revelation, with some doubt

about authenticity of list.
(2) Synod of Rome (382).
(3) Synod of Hippo (393).
(4) Synod of Carthage (397).

7. Summary on Canon.

The final details of the NT canon decision seem to have been
    providential rather than revelatory. This is the same
    situation we have for the OT canon, except that we have
    Jesus' (implicit) stamp of approval on the OT results.

The councils and scholars who considered the matter after Xy
    became legal about 325 AD appear to have made good use of
    the historical information avaiable to them (mainly
    continuity of use in the oldest churches). Given a view of
    Scripture as revelatory and inspired, no one has suggested
    any other good candidates for admission.

Questions were raised about some of the shortest NT books and
    about Hebrews and Revelation. Though we would not want to
    do without any of these, no major doctrines of Xy depend on
    them alone.

What is clear is that the category of Scripture was applied to
    NT writings already in the apostolic age, and that nearly
    all of the NT canon was recognized as authoritative in the
    writings of church leaders from the early second century.

With this we must be satisfied. We have neither time machines
    nor all the information we would like on how these books
    came to be recognized as Scripture, but it is clear that
    they did. God has retained in his hands the direction of
    history, however much we want to be able to control it or
    pass judgment on whatever happens. God has promised that
    he will carry out his word whether we believe it or not.
    So we might as well trust him and do our best to be on his
    side rather than the other.