
KENNETH E. PANTEN
B. App. Sc. W.A.I.T.
B. Div. (Hons) Murdoch

This thesis is presented for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY of Murdoch University 1995
I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary educational institution

Kenneth E. Panten
ABSTRACT

Considering the amount of material written on Codex Bezae down through the centuries a detailed history of research into the codex has long been overdue. Such a history is important not only to give future researchers an understanding of what has gone on before, but also to facilitate an understanding of the development of ideas and their outcome. As Codex Bezae is the principal witness of the so-called Western text, much of what has been written centres upon its text. Nevertheless from the end of the last century there has been a growing awareness among scholars of the need to give the other details contained within the codex far more attention than hitherto.

Inasmuch as the D text is the main rival to the Alexandrian text as the best representative of the original exemplar, it is of no surprise that Codex Bezae and its text have been of interest to the textual critics. Over the last century and a half there have always been those advocating the supremacy of the D text, and such claims have attracted much attention. For this reason, Codex Bezae has never been far from the focus of scholarly debate. This debate would be greatly helped if Codex Bezae could be accurately located historically, for this, briefly, is the nub of the problem - where and when was it written? Any avenue of inquiry ever pursued, any investigation ever embarked upon, has the answer to this question as its prime objective. Hence the importance of this history, for we need to know how the debate has progressed if we are to avoid repeating previous fruitless enterprises and if we wish to build upon previous fruitful endeavours.

Having established the history of research on Codex Bezae it was opportune to assess the claims and counterclaims, to sift the data, and to
separate the more factual evidence from the many hypotheses, in order to establish a solid base from which to launch future inquiries.

Consequently this thesis provides:

1. a detailed history of the research on Codex Bezae;
2. an analysis of the existing evidence;
3. a detailed catalogue of scholars who have contributed to the debate;
4. details of my own investigations into the historical use of unusually spelled words in the Bezan text; and
5. suggested avenues for future research.
CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.................................................................................................................x

List of abbreviations.............................................................................................................xii

Part I: The History of Research on Codex Bezae since 1582 .............................................1
  Introduction.........................................................................................................................2
  1657 - Archbishop James Ussher (1581-1656).................................................................3
  1686 - Jean Leclerc (1657-1736).....................................................................................3
  1689 - Richard Simon (1638-1712).................................................................................5
  1707 - John Mill (1645 -1707).......................................................................................8
         Richard Bentley (1662-1742). ..............................................................................11
  1716 - Johann Jakob Wetstein (1693-1754).................................................................13
  1732 or 1733 - John Dickinson.......................................................................................18
  1763 - Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752)...............................................................18
  1764 - Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791).................................................................20
  1767 - Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791)...............................................................22
  1787 - Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745-1812)...............................................................24
  1786 - Christian Frederick Matthaei (1744-1811).........................................................26
  1793 - Thomas Kipling (1755-1822).............................................................................28
  1795 - Herbert Marsh (1757-1839)..............................................................................42
  1808 - Johann Leonhard Hug (1765-1846)..................................................................44
  1808 - Thomas Fanshaw Middleton (1769-1822).........................................................47
  1820 - Johannes Martinus Augustinus Scholz (1794-1852), (1)
         Curae Criticae ........................................................................................................51
  1827 - David Schulz (1779-1854)..................................................................................52
  1830 - J. M. A. Scholz, (2) Novum Testamentum Graece..............................................58
  1832 - Karl August Credner (1797-1857)......................................................................59
Contents

1864 - Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener (1813-1891) ............................................. 72
1868 - Thomas Hartwell Horne (1780-1862) ................................................................. 78
1881 - B. F. Westcott (1825-1901) and F. J. A. Hort (1828-1892) ................................. 80
1891 - James Rendel Harris (1852-1941), (1) Codex Bezae ........................................ 82
1894 - Sir William Mitchell Ramsay (1851-1939) ......................................................... 87
1894 - Friedrich Blass (1843-1907) .............................................................................. 89
1894 - J. Rendel Harris, (2) Four Lectures ................................................................. 97
1894 - A. S. Wilkins (1843-1905) ................................................................................. 100
1895 - Eberhard Nestlé (1851-1913) ............................................................................. 103
1900 - Sir Frederick George Kenyon (1863-1952) ....................................................... 106
1900 - Kirnopp Lake (1872-1946) ................................................................................ 111
1900 - Frank Edward Brightman (1856-1932) ............................................................... 114
1901 - J. Rendel Harris, (3) Annotators ................................................................. 118
1901/2 - Francis Crawford Burkitt (1864-1935) .............................................................. 128
1905 - Dom John Chapman ......................................................................................... 134
1906 - Dom Henri Quentin ............................................................................................ 140
1913 - Elias Avery Lowe (1880-1969), (1) 'The Codex Bezae’ .................................. 146
1914 - G. Mercati ........................................................................................................... 150
1924 - E. A. Lowe, (2) 'The Codex Bezae and Lyons' ................................................. 153
1926 - James Hardy Ropes (1866-1933) ...................................................................... 157
1926 - K. Sneyders de Vogel .......................................................................................... 162
1927 - E. A. Lowe, (3) 'A Note on the Codex Bezae’ ................................................. 163
1933 - Albert Curtis Clark (1859-1937) ....................................................................... 168
1946 - Robert C. Stone .................................................................................................. 177
1963 - J. Mizzi ............................................................................................................... 181
1972 - G. Zuntz ............................................................................................................. 183
1980 - R. Sheldon MacKenzie ....................................................................................... 186
1982 - David C. Parker, (1) 'A “Dictation Theory” of Codex Bezae' .......................... 189
Contents

1986 - G. J. C. Jordaan................................................................. 193
1992 - David C. Parker, (2) Codex Bezae........................................ 199

Part II: Analysis of the Evidence ................................................. 218
  Introduction .............................................................................. 219
  Ammonian sections ............................................................... 221
  Anchora superior/inferior ....................................................... 222
  Annotations and corrections .................................................... 223
  Annotators ............................................................................... 224
  Colophons and headings .......................................................... 228
  Correctors ................................................................................ 230
  Date of origin .......................................................................... 239
  Dictated or visually copied? ..................................................... 248
  Exemplar of Codex Bezae ......................................................... 253
    The Gospel and Acts have different origins ......................... 253
    Luke and Acts - are they from different sources? ................. 256
    Acts - did it come from a different exemplar? ....................... 259
    The ‘Division of Labour’ argument ....................................... 261
    The common features of Matthew and Mark ......................... 264
    Did the Latin have its origin outside the bilingual tradition? .... 265
    Conclusions ............................................................................ 268
  History of Codex Bezae prior to 1581 ....................................... 270
  Lectionary notes ...................................................................... 270
  Nomina sacra .......................................................................... 274
  The books that were contained in Codex Bezae ....................... 279
  Ornamentation ........................................................................ 282
  The pen ................................................................................... 283
  Physical aspects of Codex Bezae .............................................. 285
  Place of origin ........................................................................ 289
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assessment of the evidence</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quire signatures</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Running titles</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scribe</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Script</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense-lines and colometry</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence of the Gospels in Codex Beza’s exemplar</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siglum (σ) for δηνάριον</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sortes sanctorum</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The supplemental leaves</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The text of Codex Beza</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td> The relation of the Greek (D) to the Latin (d)</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td> The Latin text</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td> The Greek text</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Appendix A:** History of Codex Beza prior to 1582

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The seventh century</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The eighth century</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ninth century</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sixteenth century</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td> The first definite reference to Codex Beza</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td> The council of Trent</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodorus Beza (1519-1605)</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beza’s opinion of Codex Beza</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices B - D:

Table of correctors and annotators ........................................ 385
List of topics and references ..................................................... 386
Words of interest ...................................................................... 438

Bibliography ............................................................................. 451
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. N. T. F.</td>
<td><em>Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATthR</td>
<td><em>Anglican Theological Review.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td><em>Bulletin of the Bezan Club.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABBREVIATIONS

Blass, Textüberlieferung

Blass, Acts

Blass, Philology

Brightman

Britannica

Burkitt

Chase

Chapman, Contents

Chapman, Gospels

C.I.L.
Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.

CLA

Clark, Text
Clark, Acts

Corssen, Cyprianische

Corssen, Acta

Credner
K. A. Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die Biblischen Schriften*, Halle, 1832.

De Jonge

Edwards

Epp

ETL
*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*.

Fischer

Frede
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>HTR</em></td>
<td><em>Harvard Theological Review</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>IBS</em></td>
<td><em>Irish Biblical Studies</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>JBL</em></td>
<td><em>Journal of Biblical Literature</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>JTS</em></td>
<td><em>Journal of Theological Studies</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author, Title</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations

Middleton

Mizzi

MKAWA
*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*.

MSSNTS
Monograph Series. Society for New Testament Studies

Nestle

Nestle-Aland

NT
*Novum Testamentum*.

Parker, Dictation

Parker, ôyn

Parker, Bezae

PHI
Packard Humanities Institute: CD ROM #5.3 (Latin Texts and Bible Versions) and CD ROM #6 (Inscriptions, Papyri, and Coptic texts).

Quentin
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Book Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td><em>Revue biblique.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBén</td>
<td><em>Revue Bénédictine.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Simon


Skeat


SNTS

*Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas.*

Stone


STP

*Studie testi di papirologia.*

Strange


Tafel


ThR

*Theologische Rundschau.*

ThSt

*Theological Studies.*

TLG


Turner


Vaganay


Webster’s

Abbreviations

Weiss
B. Weiss, Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte: textkritische Untersuchung, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1897.

Westcott & Hort

Wetstein

Wilcox

Wilkins

ZNW
Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.

Zahn

Zuntz

¹ Parker (Beza, p. 188) incorrectly refers to this article as: ‘The Western Text of the New Testament’.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The number of people must be few indeed who have undertaken a work of this magnitude and not on its completion looked back and realised that that which had been accomplished is due in large part to the help of other people. Certainly if such people ever existed I cannot be numbered among them, for during this thesis I have been constantly reminded of my inadequacies, particularly concerning the various languages encountered. Indeed, had I realised at the outset what was required of me I would have backed away from the challenge, but, having embarked upon an enterprise I am not one to be easily dissuaded from it.

It is because of my inadequacies, however, that I have been most acutely aware of God's hand upon this endeavour, for each seemingly insurmountable object was met in miraculous ways. These can not be related here, but because of his constant mercies I give thanks to my Lord and Saviour, who has been my constant guide and mentor during the whole of this journey.

I give thanks to Dr Richard Moore who as my supervisor and friend has always given me sound expert advice and direction. I am grateful for his willingness to be my supervisor, more so when I consider his particularly heavy work schedule. I thank him also for willingly subjecting himself to the tedium of reading through my original copy and for his scrutiny of the final work. For any errors that remain I am entirely to blame. It is because of his support, assistance, and direction during, not only this thesis, but during my many years of theological studies that I dedicate this thesis to him.
Acknowledgments

I give thanks to Dr William Loader who as my substitute supervisor while Dr. Moore was overseas on sabbatical leave for eight months, kindly vetted my finished work.

I give thanks to Mrs May Pye who worked in the Inter Library loan Section of Murdoch Library and who undertook the task of acquiring the material needed for this thesis - much of which is contained in very old and rare books. That I received most of the sought material is thanks to May’s untiring efforts.

My thanks are particularly due to Emeritus Professor James Willis, who has kindly translated all the Latin material cited in this thesis and helped me to track down information that was inaccessible in Australia. He also read through the typescript and detected many errors.

There are many other people who have helped me in some way or other during the last four years. They are, of course, far too numerous to mention here, but I would be derelict indeed should I not mention especially my wife, Maureen, and my son Stanley who have constantly helped me directly and indirectly in some way, every day.