# AUGMENTING HOSKIER'S AND SCHMID'S WORKS:

## A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF REVELATION

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# Report of Dissertation Defense

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for all of your support, patience, and sacrifice

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# ABBREVIATIONS

# General Abbreviations

CNTTS	Center for New Testament Textual Studies	
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project	
INTF	New Testament Textual Research	
MS	Manuscript	
MSS	Manuscripts	
NOBTS	New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary	
NA	Novum Testamentum Graece, Nestle-Aland, 27th ed.	
NT	New Testament	
NTTC	New Testament Textual Criticism	
QA	Quantitative Analysis Method	
TC	Textual Criticism	
TR	Textus Receptus	
$UBS^4$	The Greek New Testament, United Bible Societies, 4th ed.	
Bibliographic Abbreviations		
ANTF 7	B. Aland (ed), Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung I, Die Grossen Katholischen Briefe, Ardeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung VI (Berlin/New York, 1986)	
Bib	Biblica	
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (Manchester, 1903-)	
Bsac	Bibliotheca Sacra	

EvQ	Evangelical Quaarterly
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
NTS	New Testament Studies
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

## ABSTRACT

## AUGMENTING HOSKIER'S AND SCHMID'S WORKS: A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF REVELATION

Young R. Ko, PhD. New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009 Faculty Advisor: Dr. William F. Warren Jr., Professor of New Testament and Greek, Director of the H. Milton Haggard Center for New Testament Textual Studies

The purpose of this study was to augment Hoskier's and Schmid's works on the text of the New Testament book of Revelation. This study analyzed twenty-two manuscripts in Revelation: P<sup>47</sup>, P<sup>85</sup>, P<sup>98</sup>, P<sup>115</sup>, x01, A02, C04, 051, 0229, 0308, 2821, 1006, 1773, 1854, 1957(B03<sup>s</sup>), 2259, 2408, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2643, and 2845. The work was divided into three major chapters, with the introduction containing a foundational overview of the contributions of Hoskier, Schmid, and other scholars to the subject. The first chapter presented a summary of the methodology utilized in the research. The second chapter gave a description of the basic facts about the selected manuscripts as well as a summary of various paleographic features of each manuscript that were noted in the collation process. The third chapter centered on analyzing the textual relationships of the selected manuscripts. For this part, after an overview of prior studies on the textual groups in Revelation given three types of evaluations were done: (1) a quantitative analysis evaluation of the relationship among the manuscripts throughout Revelation as a whole, and then section by section throughout the text of Revelation using the following

chapter divisions: 1-5, 6-11, 12-17, and 18-22, (2) an examination of the previously unclassified or new manuscripts individually based on the quantitative analysis results and other readings that were not deemed significant variants and therefore that were not considered in the quantitative analysis (such as readings), and (3) an analysis of the manuscripts that were disputed as to their textual relationships in prior studies, again based on the same type of evaluation as that noted for the previously classified manuscripts above.

The studies drew several conclusions. First, with reference to the Alexandrian group, manuscripts 01 and P<sup>47</sup> are not as close to the core members 02 and 04 as are some other group members, and so can be considered a subgroup of that larger group, as others have previously noted. Second, MSS 051, 60r (2821), 1957 are firm members of the Byzantine group in Revelation. Third, among the new manuscripts, P<sup>85</sup>, P<sup>98</sup>, and 0229 have closer relationships with the Alexandrian group than with the other groups. On the other hand, MSS 1773 and 2259 show a closer relationship with the Byzantine group. Fourth, several new manuscripts show a closer agreement with each other or were mixed in their textual character. For example, MSS 2494 and 2845 appear to form a subgroup in several chapters. Fifth, whereas Hoskier classified manuscripts 01, 04, and 051 in the same family in Revelation (as a subgroup), this study found that manuscript 051 does not have a close enough relationship with manuscripts 01 and 04 so to form a subgroup. Sixth, Schmid classified manuscripts P<sup>47</sup> and 01 in the same subgroup, but the results of this study did not support Schmid's view in the sense of a strong subgroup, although the two manuscripts are somewhat related.

#### INTRODUCTION

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the text of Revelation received little attention from textual critics. Instead, text critics focused their efforts on determining textual groupings in the Gospels and Pauline Letters. Rather than following the lead of his predecessors and contemporaries, H. C. Hoskier turned his attention to the study of the text of Revelation, classifying 230 manuscripts. After the publication of Hoskier's findings in 1929, text critical analyses of Revelation virtually ceased until the 1950s when Joseph Schmidt began a new round of studies of the text of Revelation. Since then, text critics have relied on the works of Hoskier and Schmid and incorporative evidence from new MS discoveries when possible to further their research.

#### The Problem and Its Setting

The combined works of Hoskier and Schmid are a compilation of all the significant textual data for the Greek MSS of Revelation known in the first half of the twentieth century. In the latter half of the twentieth century, text critics have begun to include other data such as insignificant readings and orthographic changes. Therefore, Hoskier's and Schmid's data lacks insignificant variants and orthographic changes such as itcisms, movable nu's, and nomina sacra. Since Hoskier and Schmid published their works, a number of new MSS of Revelation have been discovered. Due to advances in the methodologies for collating, advances in analyzing manuscript relationships, and the discovery of new MSS, Hoskier's and Schmid's works need to be updated and augmented.

#### **Research Problem and Hypothesis**

More MSS containing Revelation have been discovered since Hoskier and Schmid completed their respective works. These MSS need to be added to the information available for analyzing the text of Revelation. Hoskier's groupings of the MSS revealed the presence of several major and minor groups among the minuscules. Therefore, the purposes of the dissertation are to update Hoskier's and Schmid's work with the inclusion of evidence from recently discovered MSS and to augment their work with fresh evaluations of the manuscript relationships using current text critical methods.<sup>1</sup> The major groupings identified by Hoskier are a large group consisting of a, A, C, P, B(046) plus a group of 80 minuscules, the Erasmian family, the Complutensian family, the B family, the Arethas family, the Graeco-Latin family, the Egyptian family, the Coptic family, the Syriac family, and the Oecumenius family.<sup>2</sup> In his work on the MSS of Revelation, from these

2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Of fifty-three MSS which were found after Hoskier and Schmid: P<sup>85</sup>, P<sup>98</sup>, P<sup>115</sup>, 0229, 0308, 1064, 1140, 1757, 1769, 2036<sup>abs</sup>, 2040, 2201, 2323, 2344, 2361, 2377, 2402, 2403, 2408, 2419, 2434, 2435, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2554, 2594, 2595, 2619, 2625, 2626, 2638, 2643, 2648, 2656, 2663, 2664, 2667, 2669, 2672, 2681, 2716, 2723, 2743, 2759, 2776, 2824, 2843, 2845, 2846, 2849, 2855, and 2864, this study dealt with P<sup>85</sup>, P<sup>98</sup>, P<sup>115</sup>, 0229, 0308, 1006, 1773, 2408, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2643, and 2845. As method, this dissertation used quantitative analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse* (vol. 1; London: Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 1929), iii.

groups Schmid identified the oldest and most distinct textual streams, the A-C Oecumenius text and the P<sup>47</sup>-a Origen text.<sup>3</sup> Based on Schmid's groupings, the hypothesis for this study is that the same two large groups identified by Schmid will still hold for the additional new MSS.

### Delimitations

Some limitations apply to the study. First, the entirety of Hoskier's and Schmid's data will not be considered since that work has been done largely in prior studies. Second, the major emphasis of this study will center on the MSS included in this study that Hoskier and Schmid did not have. Although Hoskier and Schmid dealt with most of the Greek MSS of Revelation, the following MSS were not available to them or have been discovered since their studies: P<sup>85</sup>, P<sup>98</sup>, P<sup>115</sup>, 0229, 0308, 1064, 1140, 1757, 1769, 2036<sup>abs</sup>, 2040, 2201, 2323, 2344, 2361, 2377, 2402, 2403, 2408, 2419, 2434, 2435, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2554, 2594, 2595, 2619, 2625, 2626, 2638, 2643, 2648, 2656, 2663, 2664, 2667, 2669, 2672, 2681, 2716, 2723, 2743, 2759, 2776, 2824, 2843, 2845, 2846, 2849, 2855, and 2864.<sup>4</sup> Of these MSS, the following were collated and incorporated into a database

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Apokalypse-Text* (vol. 1; Munich: Karl Zing Verlag,1955-1956), 28. Schmid insisted that Hoskier's grouping of Revelation is unclear. G. D. Kilpatrick, "Professor J. Schmid on the Greek Text of the Apocalypse," *VC* 13 (1959): 1. Kilpatrick presented the grouping of Schmid. For grouping, Schmid edited the commentary of Andreas, classified eighty three MSS, abbreviated thirteen MSS from commentary, and used fifteen MSS from a group of Scholia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*, vol. 1, 11-21. Hoskier included the following MSS. Papyri: P<sup>18</sup>, P<sup>24</sup>. Uncials: a, A02, C04, 024, P025, 046, 051, 052,

for further analysis in this study: P<sup>85</sup>, P<sup>98</sup>, P<sup>115</sup>, 0229, 0308, 1006, 1773, 2408, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2643, and 2845. The selected MSS will serve as the basis for quantitative analysis that will augment information provided by Hoskier and Schmid.

### The State of Research

#### Hoskier's Writings

Herman Charles Hoskier (1864-1938) was a scholar and diligent textual critic who

lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because of his concern regarding

the devastation of MSS by fire, war, or human carelessness, he tried to collate as many

these documents as possible. World War I interrupted Hoskier's efforts but after spending

five years in the service of the military, he resumed his task. Although his eyesight and

right hand suffered damage, he produced meticulous collations of a number of biblical

<sup>0163, 0169.</sup> Minuscules: 1(=2814), 18, 35, 42, 61, 69, 82, 88, 91, 93, 94, 104, 110, 141, 149, 172, 175, 177, 180, 181, 201, 203, 205, 205<sup>abs</sup>, 209, 218, 241, 242, 250, 254, 256, 296, 314, 325, 336, 337, 339, 367, 368, 385, 386, 424, 429, 432, 452, 456, 459, 467, 468, 469, 498, 506, 517, 522, 582, 616, 617, 620, 627, 628, 632, 664, 680, 699, 743, 757, 792, 808, 824, 886, 911, 919, 920, 922, 935, 986, 1006, 1072, 1075, 1094, 1140, 1248, 1328, 1384, 1424, 1503, 1551, 1597, 1611, 1617, 1626, 1637, 1652, 1668, 1678, 1685, 1704, 1719, 1728, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1740, 1745, 1746, 1760, 1771, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1785, 1795, 1806, 1824, 1828, 1841, 1849, 1852, 1854, 1857, 1862, 1864, 1865, 1870, 1872, 1876, 1888, 1893, 1894, 1903, 1918, 1934, 1948, 1955, 1957(=B03<sup>s</sup>), 2004, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2087, 2091, 2114, 2116, 2136, 2138, 2186, 2196, 2200, 2201, 2254, 2256, 2258, 2259, 2286, 2302, 2305, 2329, 2344, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2436, and 2495.

manuscripts, completing the collations in 1927.<sup>5</sup> For many text critics, Hoskier's volumes *Codex B and Its Allies, A Full Account and Collation of the Greek Cursive: Codex* 

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Evangelium 604, and Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse continue to be primary

sources of evidence.<sup>6</sup> Owing to his contribution on the study of the New Testament,

Hoskier was awarded an honorary doctorate from Universiteit van Amsterdam in June 28,

1932.<sup>7</sup>

Hoskier wrote several books that focused on the text of the New Testament,

including Codex B and Its Allies, in which he opposed Westcott and Hort's textual

theories.<sup>8</sup> Contrary to Westcott and Hort, Hoskier argued that a and B were the result

<sup>5</sup>H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*, vol. 1, ix.

<sup>6</sup>Majority text scholars insisted that *the Textus Receptus* (TR) contains the best readings. According to Hoskier, Erasmus did not translate the Latin back into Greek, but rather that he used another Greek manuscript, 2049 (designated 141 by Hoskier). Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*, vol. 2, 644.

<sup>7</sup>Universiteit van Amsterdam, "Honorary Doctorates 1931-1940," [Home Page of UvA]. Cited 13 November 2006. Online: http://www.english.uva.nl/printable\_version. cfm/objected=b766A42B-4AF-47DF-82B84471DOAA5837.

<sup>8</sup>Hoskier's works: A Full Account and Collation of the Greek Cursive Codex Evangelium 604 (1890), Concerning the Genesis of the Versions of the New Testament vol. 1, 2 (1910-11), Concerning the Date of the Bohairic Version, and the Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse (1911), The Text of Codex Usseriansus 2: r2, Codex B and Its Allies: a Study and an Indictment (1919), Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse vol. 1, 2 (1929). Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Antony Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek, (rev. ed. ; New York: Macmillan Company, 1949), 548. Westcott and Hort presented four types of text: "Western," "Alexandrian," and "opposed to Western or Alexandrian." In this work, they insisted that Western readings are "neutral readings." J. Harold Greenlee, Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism, (rev. ed.; Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 74. Westcott and Hort thought that **x** B L T 33, the Bohairic version, and a few other witness were the of a revision of the Greek New Testament. Hoskier presented two theories to support his claim. First, he cited Swete in support of the his theory that the a-B group represented Egyptian and Hesychian revision. According to Swete, at the end of the third century, while in Egypt, Phileas and Hesychius produced a revision of the Greek New Testament.<sup>9</sup> Based on the evidence, Hoskier insisted that the a-B group was corrupted as well. Second, he published *A Collation of Evan. 157*, in which he demonstrated that the text reflected by the MSS had passed through Egypt and had influenced a good many Coptic readings. Therefore, according to Hoskier, *Evan. 157* is a good example of a text containing many ancient readings, and the MS has a high quality text similar to the a-B group.<sup>10</sup>

Although Hoskier focused primarily on the study of Revelation, he also studied early versions and ancient commentaries, as seen in *Concerning the Genesis of the Versions of the New Testament, The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, and *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*.<sup>11</sup> In his *Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, Hoskier stated that the scribes for the MSS of Revelation

"neutral" text.

<sup>9</sup>Henry Barclay Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek* (vol. 1; Cambridge: University Press, 1912), x. St. Jerome referred to Hesychius' revision of the New Testament.

<sup>10</sup>Hoskier, *Codex B and Its Allies* (part 1; London: Bernard Quaritch, 1914), ii-v.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., Concerning the Genesis of the Versions of the New Testament, vol. 2, 1. Hoskier dealt with the Clementine Vulgate of the text of h in Mark, Luke, and John Gospels.

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reflected the same tendencies which he noted in the Synoptic Gospels, the tendency to smooth and harmonize the language.<sup>12</sup> Based on his analysis, Hoskier insisted that the *Oecumenius* commentary was a mixture of a, C, and A and formed a group with the older textual tradition underlying these MSS.<sup>13</sup>

In 1910 Hoskier published a two-volume work entitled *Concerning the Genesis of the Versions of the New Testament.* In the first volume he dealt with the text of the Gospels, and in the second volume he presented a detailed critical apparatus for the book of Revelation. In the preface of the first volume, Hoskier argued that the key to the proper position for a scientific textual theory was struck by Abbé Martin and others.<sup>14</sup> Hoskier felt that their text was recovered from the direct testimony of the texts of the MSS instead of primarily the ages of the MSS. The MSS readings were so mixed and divergent from each other that other evidence and methods of evaluation were required. Furthermore, Hoskier lamented that textual critics had wasted so much time since the days of Stephanus and Beza due to having to re-collate MSS because of many earlier partial or faulty collations.<sup>15</sup>

In a two-volume work entitled Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse, Hoskier

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1928), 6. Hoskier presented an example at Jude 6. The *Oecumenius* scribe wrote idioij for aidioij.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Ibid., 23-25. Hoskier thought Sahidic, Ethiopic, and Bohairic as important versions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Ibid., *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*, vol. 1, vii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Ibid., *Concerning the Genesis of the Versions of the New Testament*, vol. 1, 1.

stated, "my business has been to record the variants, but I hope they (variants) will not neglect certain prime types, as has been the case in the latest critical editions published by my contemporaries."<sup>16</sup> For example, Hoskier evaluated Charles'edition which neglected prime types like Hippolytus and Irenaeus. Hoskier explained how two MSS had at times been harmonized. If Gigas omitted half a clause, and Tyconius had the whole clause, editors of critical editions combined the Gigas and Tyconius readings giving the impression they agreed in the first half omission, and Tyconius stood alone as a witness for the second half of the omission.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, Hoskier proposed that the cause of corruption in the MSS was due to the redactors' efforts to harmonize phrases and to assimilate constructions.<sup>18</sup> In light of the proposals, he set forth three methodological objectives in the first volume: (1) reconstruct the history of text, (2) evaluate the accuracy of the witnesses to the text, and (3) establish the groupings for the text.<sup>19</sup> Ultimately, Hoskier's work continues to be a foundational resource for the study of the text of Revelation. Later text critics such as Joseph Schmid sought to build on Hoskier's foundation.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 9.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., xiii.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., vol. 1, x.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Hoskier, Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse, vol. 2, 10.

#### Schmid's Works on Revelation

Joseph Schmid, a former professor at Munich, published several articles and two books related to his analysis of the text of Revelation.<sup>20</sup> Initially, Schmid published several articles related to the K-text in which he attempted to show the age, character, and mode of the K-text in Revelation. He argued that both von Soden and Hoskier ignored the relationships between MSS in the individual K-groups and how the various K-groups had influenced each other.<sup>21</sup> Schmid published a two-volume work composed of two fascicles.<sup>22</sup> In the first fascicle, he determined the chief types of text in Revelation. In his analysis, Schmid argued that the MSS went back to one archetype, the text of the Andreas commentary. In the second fascicle, Schmid discussed the textual character of Revelation. He concluded that most MSS containing Revelation belonged to the K-group, the Av group, or reflected a mixture of the two groups.<sup>23</sup> Schmid also concluded, based on his analysis of the

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, " vols. 1 and 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Schmid wrote several articles about the text of Revelation: "Neue Grieschische Apocaypsehandschriften," *ZNW* 59 (1968): 250-258, "Unbeachtete und Unbekannte Griechische Apokalypsehandschriften," *ZNW* 52 (1961): 81-88. "Der Apokalypse-Text des Oikumenios," *Bib* 40 (1959): 935-42. "Zur Textkritik der Apokalypse," *ZNW* 43 (1950-1951): 112-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Schmid, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Griechischen Apokalypsetextes. Der K-Text," *Bib* 17 (1936): 11-12. Schmid completed several articles about K-Text in *Bib* 17 such as: 11-44, 167-201, 273-93, 429-60.

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$ J. Neville Birdsall, "The Text of the Revelation of Saint John: A Review of Its Materials and Problems with Especial Reference to the Work of Josef Schmid," *EvQ* 33 (1961): 232-33.

textual characteristics of the MSS, that the MSS contained four fundamental text-forms which he designated as Andreas, K (Koine), P<sup>47</sup>, and a group composed of a, A, and C. He accorded the highest status to A and C as the best representatives of the original text. Furthermore, he also considered P<sup>47</sup> to be a pure form of the text.<sup>24</sup> Throughout the study, Schmid suggested that if a manuscript united textually with P<sup>47</sup>, a, A, and C, then the MS has a relationship with Av and W as well.<sup>25</sup> Unlike Hoskier, Schmid argued that with the addition of all available MSS, more precise sub-grouping would be possible, thereby highlighting notable divergence.<sup>26</sup> The inclusion of additional MSS allowed Schmid further to define Hoskier's a, A, C, P group, B, and a group of some eighty minuscule MSS.

### Studies on the Text of Revelation since Hoskier and Schmid

Henry A. Sanders and J. K. Elliott built on Hoskier's foundational study with their analysis of MSS relationships. Sanders' comparison of P<sup>47</sup> with Hoskier's data showed that the age of the text type was similar, but the type of text displayed by P<sup>47</sup> was not the same as that of the Textus Receptus (TR). Sanders insisted that P<sup>47</sup> seemed to preclude any influence of the known revisions or local editions. Sanders explained:

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$ G. D. Kilpatrick, "Professor J. Schmid on the Greek Text of the Apocalypse," *VC* 13 (1959): 1-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Schmid, "Neue grischische Apocalypsehandscriften," ZNW 59 (1968), 252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*, vol. 1, iii. He presented "List of the MSS by Family Groups" and J. P. Smith's Review of Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, *Bib* 37 (1956): 501.

 $P^{47}$  and the older uncials with later MSS is the age of the text type established by the agreements. Differences are sure to be numerous, but they give less definite information, for the older MSS have theoretically a similar chance to be in error, though the presumption is in their favor, when other evidence is not available.<sup>27</sup>

Elliott insisted that Hoskier used a numbering system for identifying the MSS

different from the one devised and used by Gregory. Elliott stated that Hoskier's numbers

were not entirely accurate:

Although Hoskier in his second volume provided a conversion table from his numeration to that of Scrivener, von Soden, and Gregory, this is by no means entirely accurate, and in the case of the 'new' Gregory system there are many queried references that have been clarified since Hoskier's day.<sup>28</sup>

Although Hoskier's work has been criticized by some, his work continues to be a

foundational study in the text of Revelation as illustrated in the works of Joseph Schmid

Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Apokalypse-Textes," vols. 1 and 2, Randolph V.

G. Tasker, Georg Maldfeld, G. D. Kilpatrick, J. Neville Birdsall, Zane C. Hodges,

Maurice Arthur Robinson, J. K. Elliot, and David C. Parker. Of them, Maldfeld,

Kilpatrick, and Birdsall analyzed Schmid's work Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen

Apokalypse-Textes 1, 2.

Unlike other scholars, such as Maurice A. Robinson and Zane Hodges, who were

of the opinion that a thorough analysis of the text of Revelation would prove arguments

<sup>28</sup>J. K. Elliott "Manuscripts of the Book of Revelation Collated by H. C. Hoskier," *JTS* 40 (April 1989): 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Henry A. Sanders, "The Beatty Papyrus of Revelation and Hoskier's Edition," *JBL* 53 (1934): 380.

favoring the Majority Text, Tasker proposed that  $P^{47}$  reflected an early revision of the original text of the Apocalypse, similar to the type of text used by Origin and less similar to the textual tradition which eventually became known as the TR.<sup>29</sup> The value of  $P^{47}$  for the reconstruction of the original text is less than the value placed on MSS A and C, but is equal in value to  $a.^{30}$ 

In examining a textual transposition in Codex C, Harold H. Oliver concluded that two explanations existed for the unusual format of the codex.<sup>31</sup> First, he suggested that the codex may have been composed of quires of unequal size, with one quire as large as a double quaternion. Second, Oliver suggested that the codex was composed of quires of equal size, all of which were as large as, or larger than a double quaternion. In either case, however, one can say with relative certainty that the exemplar of Codex C was executed sometime between the early third and the fifth centuries.<sup>32</sup>

Zane Hodges published two articles on the text of Revelation. In the articles, he argued against Westcott-Hort's and Schmid's theories. In the first article, Hodges insisted that the old concept of the Byzantine text (also known as the Ecclesiastical text) can be no longer supported with regard to the book of Revelation. In support of his hypothesis,

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>,Randolph V. G.Tasker, "Chester Beatty Papyrus of the Apocalypse of John," *JBL* 197 (January-April 1949) 67-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Harold H. Oliver, "A Textual Transposition in Codex C," *JBL* 76 (Spring 1957): 236. In Codex C, 10:10b-11:3 and 7:17a-8:5 are not preserved.

Hodges referred to Hoskier's work *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*, comparing the Ecclesiastical text with Hoskier's collations of some earlier MSS. Hodges's conclusions sought to provide sufficient grounds for reconsidering the neutral textual tradition in other New Testament books. Arguments favoring an older form of the Byzantine textual tradition, however, can withstand no longer the force of the facts. Furthermore, the evidence uncovered in the minuscule MSS does not reveal a single type of text that decisively dominates the field. Therefore, Hodges insisted that Westcott and Hort's theory did not take into account the later findings among the cursive MSS. Thus, with the inclusion of the minuscule MSS in the study, the theory of Westcort-Hort would be dead.<sup>33</sup> In another article, Hodges insisted that Schmid recognized that Av and K textual traditions may preserve the original text. The MSS (Av and K), however, do not have the same kind of interrelationship noted in the analysis of  $P^{47}$ , a, A, and C, which belong to the Alexandrian family. In order to test Schmid's hypothesis, Hodges selected twenty-one verses in Revelation and used Hoskier's apparatus to supply the variant readings. Hodges concluded that the selected variant readings demonstrated that Schmid's conclusions were in error.<sup>34</sup>

In his dissertation entitled "Scribal Habits among MSS of the Apocalypse," Maurice Robinson concluded that the "Byzantine era" scribes included nonsense and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Hodges, "The Ecclesiastical Text of Revelation: Does It Exist?" *BSac* 118 (1961): 121-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Ibid., "The Critical Text and the Alexandrian Family of Revelation," *BSac* 119 (1962) 129-30.

singular readings.<sup>35</sup> According to Robinson, "massive Byzantine corruption" never happened, but the disparity between the Byzantine and Alexandrian text-type required reediting because of the carelessness of some early "Egyptian" scribes (a, A, C) and later Byzantine-era scribes. The revision likely occurred in a local setting. The extant Egyptian MSS may reflect a defective sample of antiquity from other local MSS. Furthermore, Robinson insisted that the Majority Text theory of textual transmission receives greater support from the present findings than current eclectic methodologies.<sup>36</sup>

J. K. Elliot listed and classified the MSS of Revelation. According to Elliot, of the approximately 5,000 MSS, 303 contain Revelation. Among the 303 MSS, several contain only the text of Revelation, and others have Revelation with portions of other New Testament documents. Elliot identified P<sup>98</sup>, a fragment of a codex housed in Cairo and dated to the second century, as the oldest surviving copy of Revelation. The oldest complete text of Revelation is found in the fourth-century codex a.<sup>37</sup> Elliot made two observations regarding the text of Revelation. First, the majority of medieval MSS belong

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, Studies and Documents, ed. Irving A. Sparks (Grand Rapids: vol. 45 of William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), 58. Epp defined a nonsense reading as a reading that "fails to make sense" and a singular reading as "a reading found in one NT MS but with the support of no other."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Maurice A. Robinson, "Scribal Habits among Manuscripts of the Apocalypse" (PhD diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982), (2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Elloit, "The Distinctiveness of the Greek MSS of the Book of Revelation," *JTS* 48 (1997): 116.

to the Koine or Byzantine text type. The later MSS divide into the Koine and Andreas's textual traditions.<sup>38</sup> Second, since von Soden and Hoskier, modern scholarship has recognized four main textual traditions in Revelation: (1) A, C. *Oecumenius*, 2057, 2062, and 2344, (2)  $\aleph^a$  and Andreas, (3) Koine, and (4)  $P^{47}$  and  $\aleph^*$ .<sup>39</sup> The textual groupings are accepted generally without serious question.

David Parker analyzed P<sup>115</sup> (P. Oxy. 4499), a recently discovered third-century MS that is older than the A-C textual stream by approximately a century. Though P<sup>115</sup> often agrees with some minuscule MSS against the core group members, A and C, the agreement between P<sup>115</sup>, A, and C against P<sup>47</sup> demonstrates that P<sup>115</sup> has higher textual quality. A number of the poorer readings of P<sup>115</sup> are due to stylistic improvements. P<sup>115</sup> is in agreement with Sinaiticus more than with P<sup>47</sup>. Parker is of the opinion that the evidence gained from P<sup>115</sup> serves as a reasonable argument for making some changes to the Nestle-Aland and UBS GNT texts.<sup>40</sup>

### Methodological Advances

Since Karl Lachmann, methodologies used by textual critics have advanced steadily. Major methodologies were developed by several scholars and institutes such as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Elloit, 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Ibid., 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>David C. Parker, "A New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Revelation: P<sup>115</sup> (P. Oxy. 4499),"*NTS* 46 (2000) 174. Parker referred to Nestle-Aland 27<sup>th</sup> and USB GNT 4<sup>th</sup> editions.

Ernest C. Colwell, Paul McReynolds, Frederik Wisse, Bart D. Ehrman, William. L. Richards, Norris C. Grubbs, and at the Institute of New Testament Textual Research (INTF) in Münster .

Colwell's work related to determining group relationships among MSS. Colwell suggested the use of a QA (Quantitative Analysis) that examined the total amount of variation of a given MS against all other MSS in a large sample of text as a means of determining the textual character of a new manuscript.<sup>41</sup> Colwell employed three steps in determining the textual character a new manuscript: (1) find related groups through the use of multiple readings, (2) further define the MS's relationship to the test group by using distinctive group readings, and (3) then confirm the relationship by determining the significant readings.<sup>42</sup>

Paul McReynolds and Frederik Wisse developed the CPM (Claremont Profile Method) as part of their doctoral work at Claremont. The method was designed to aid in the selection of Byzantine text-types. The method was based on making full collations of selected chapters (1, 10, and 18 in Luke) and then determining the characteristic readings of Byzantine subgroups in those passages based on the information from the full

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Ernest C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, New Testament Tools and Studies (ed. Bruce M. Metzger, vol. 9; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), 28-3 and 128-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Ibid., 31.

collations. Uncollated minuscule MSS could then be characterized quickly by checking their text with the subgroup profiles to see where they fit. According to Eldon Jay Epp, CPM was able to answer the problem of how to deal with such a large number of minuscule MSS because it included two key procedures in one package: (1) the best representatives of minuscule sub-groups were identified and used to locate the core sub-group readings and (2) thereby other minuscule MSS could be evaluated in terms of their distance from the TR as well as linkage to the various Byzantine sub-groups.<sup>43</sup> Although the CPM proved to be a rapid method, it has several limitations. First, the CPM is not readily applicable to non-Byzantine MSS. Second, the initial stage of developing the test readings is very slow. Third, the method only establishes basic MS relationships in the text passages, thereby not accounting for block mixture outside of the text passages.<sup>44</sup>

Erhman refined Colwell's method with his development of the Comprehensive Profile Method in *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels*. In order to define group relationships, he developed three types of group profiles: inter-group readings, intra-group readings, and combination inter-group and intra-group readings. In the intergroup readings, Erhman stated that in isolated textual groups, two sets of readings are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Eldon Jay Epp, "The Claremont Profile Method for Grouping New Testament Minuscule Manuscripts," in Studies in *the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; vol. 45 of *Studies and Documents*, ed. Irving Alan Sparks; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 1993), 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>George F. Husk, "An Analysis of Textual Relationships of Selected Minuscule Manuscripts from Group in the Gospel of John" (PhD diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2002), 19.

profiled. The readings can be divided into those supported *mainly* from the members of only one group and those supported *only* by members of one group. The latter group readings are divided into two categories: readings supported by most group members and readings supported by a few. MSS could be analyzed using three kinds of readings: distinctive readings, exclusive readings, and primary readings.<sup>45</sup> For intra-group profiles, Erhman suggested two sets of readings: those supported by *all* the representative witnesses of a group and those supported by at least *two thirds* of these representative witnesses. Ehrman insisted that for a reading to be included in the profile "it must vary from at least one other reading which is attested by at least two representatives of any group."<sup>46</sup> The other category of reading mentioned by Ehrman involved the relationship of an individual witness with the group. Erhman stated that the relationship of an individual witness to a group can be classified by tabulating the support readings found uniformly or predominantly among group members, but among no or few other witnesses.<sup>47</sup>

Richards applied the Quantitative Analysis Method (QA) to chapter 10 in Luke and the Johannine Epistles. Whereas Colwell had insisted that group members of MSS should have 70% agreement with each other and 10% distance from other groups,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Bart D. Ehrman, "The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *JBL* 106, no. 3 (September 1987): 478.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Ibid., 481.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Ibid., 483.

Richards stated that this set rate of agreement to define a group was not meaningful because:

(1) percentage gaps are very narrow, rarely as much as 3 percent, and even gaps as large as 1 percent are not uncommon; and (2) the 70 percent figure is meaningless so far as a general guide is concerned, simply because Byzantine manuscripts which related to one another at least 90 percent of the time also relate to many of the Alexandrian manuscripts in the 65-70 percent range. Furthermore, related Alexandrian manuscripts often agree less that 70 percent of the time with each other.<sup>48</sup>

As an alternative, Richards developed a method based on group profiles. Also, he showed that such a method was quicker and as valid as the CPM and QA method.

Grubbs used QA to analyze the textual relationships of supposed K<sup>r</sup> manuscripts to determine their affiliations in the Gospel of John. He developed three sets of group readings: Byzantine group readings, Kappa group readings, and K<sup>r</sup> group readings. At each stage, the significant variants were refined to reflect the specific groups under study. The use of QA method on multiple levels with different sets of significant variants represented a substantial expansion of the possibilities of that method. <sup>49</sup> He found that proper nouns and minor spelling differences could indicate textual relationship as smaller groupings were studied.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>William L. Richards, "Manuscript Grouping in Luke 10 by Quantitative Analysis, *JBL* 98 (1979): 383.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Norris C. Grubbs, "Does a Distinctive Kr Group exist in John?" (PhD diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2002), 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Ibid., 190.

Münster's Genealogical Method is based on the field of cladistics or stemmatics and uses a logarithmic approach to evaluating the relationships between MSS and readings. The underlying assumption is that variants have two key characteristics: (1) some variants are older than the other readings and (2) multiple variants repeatedly sharing the same wordings emerged by coincidence, and therefore such variants do not aid in retrieving the genealogical connection behind the MSS or readings. With these conceptions, the Genealogical Method provided the way to obtain relevant genealogical data and an overall picture of the genealogical relationships.<sup>51</sup> As Gerd Mink states,

In a textual tradition where all the copies have survived and where the source, or (in case of contamination) the sources, are also known, as well as the origin of every reading in every copy, the genealogical interrelationships between all the variants at any place of variation must appear in a global stemma of the witnesses as genealogical relationship between coherent fields of relationships between witnesses.<sup>52</sup>

This theory has been used by INTF to deal with translations and quotations of the New Testament in ancient Christian literature. Also, the researcher thinks the theory is a useful method if applied to study New Testament text.

In summary, the works of Hoskier and Schmid were foundational for the study of

the text of Revelation MSS and for the initial groupings of MSS. For example, Schmid's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>University of Münster Institute, "Projects," Cited 15 May 2008. Online: http://www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/Projects.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Gerd Mink, "The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method–What is it about?" [Home Page of University of Münster Institute]. Cited 15 May 2008. Online: http://www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/Projects.html.

evaluation of Hoskier's work resulted in some revisions of Hoskier's groupings with more clearly defined sub-groupings. Also, scholars such as Tasker, Hodges, Rovinson, Elliot, and Parker have furthered the works of Hoskier and Schmid through their various studies. Last, the various methodological contributions of Colwell, McReynolds and Wisse, Ehrman, Richards, Grubbs, and Münster provide solid options for studying the relationships of MSS.