Public and Private—
Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts

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Abstract: Remarkable uniformity in the size of early gospel codices provides evidence for conventional approaches to manuscript production in the second and third centuries. Christians favoured a size approximating the Turner Group 9.1 format in the second century, and the Group 8.2 format in the third century. When combined with other conventional approaches to MS production – semi-literary to literary hands and the use of readers' aids to facilitate public reading – there is much support for the idea that most codices dated up to the early third century were produced in controlled settings (i.e., in small copy centres or scriptoria comprised of at least two trained scribes) for *public* or liturgical use. In contrast, many third-century gospel manuscripts (e.g., 𝔓⁴⁵) bear the hallmarks of uncontrolled production for *private* use.

Early gospel manuscripts (MSS) were used in two general settings—publicly in corporate worship, and privately by individuals. It will be shown that the majority of *second-century* gospel MSS can be designated 'public', in the sense that they were intentionally produced to be read aloud by lectors in Christian meetings. Rightly dividing the continuous lines of letters in ancient texts (*scriptio continua*) in order to break through to the underlying meaning was not easy.[1] In a public setting where immediacy was called for, text division, punctuation and lectional aids could greatly assist the task of the lector (ἀναγνώςτης). That is why these kinds of readers' aids are found in most second-century gospel MSS. In the *third century*, the number of 'private' gospel MSS increased. In private settings (involving individual use or small 'public' readings for family or friends) where there was leisurely interaction with the text, the need for reader's aids was less pressing. Consequently, text division, punctuation and lectional aids are not present in many third-century gospel MSS.

It will be argued that a correlation can often be discerned between use and production. Again in general terms, early gospel MSS intended for public use were produced in controlled settings (scriptoria), while MSS intended for private use were copied in casual settings where production controls were lacking. That is to say, it is often possible to make a distinction between controlled production for public use and uncontrolled production for private use when it comes to the second- and third-century gospel MSS. But the categories of 'public/controlled' and 'private/ uncontrolled' should not be seen as inflexible classifications to be imposed on the evidence. A MS could potentially be used in both public and private settings, or an individual might make or obtain a copy of a 'public' MS for 'private' use or vice versa. Nonetheless, the documentary evidence clearly sustains the notion that gospel MSS were used and produced in broad 'public/controlled' and 'private/ uncontrolled' settings.

Scribal Method

Text Division and Lectional Aids

One of the features of Christian MSS in comparison with Ptolemaic and Roman literary texts is the frequent use of text division. The enlargement of the first letter of the first word in a text, new section or clause, the (sometimes unconscious) practice of 'leaving spaces between words or more often groups of words', and the projection into the margin (*ekthesis*) of the first and sometimes second letter of a line following a break in sense or meaning, were all scribal practices borrowed from documentary texts (see Figure 1).[2] Spaces were not used in Ptolemaic and
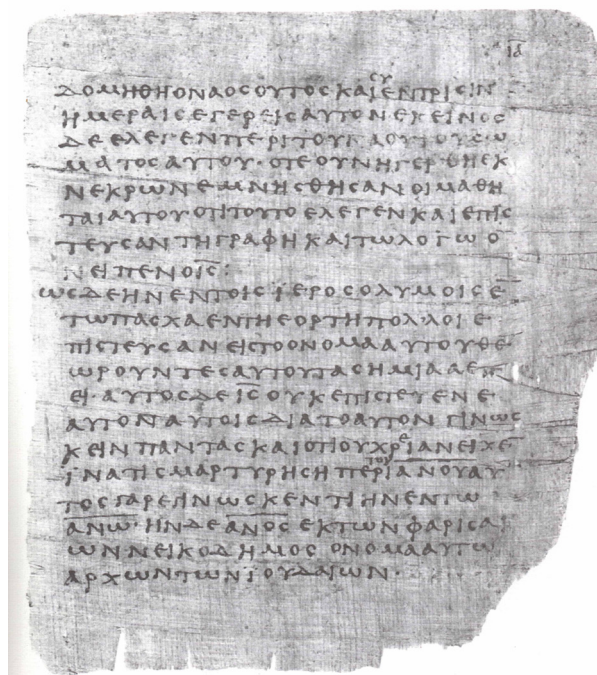

Figure 1: *Vacant line ends and* ekthesis *in* 𝔓⁶⁶ *(P.Bodmer 2) John 2.20-3.*
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Roman literary papyri, and *ekthesis* is generally limited to commentaries and lists of the Roman period.[3] Not of documentary origin are the punctuation and lectional aids (diaeresis, apostrophe, breathings) found in early Christian papyri.[4] These also occur in literary papyri, but less commonly or at least not in the same proportions as in some Christian texts.[5] It should also be noted that punctuation, in the form of the medial or high point (·), dicolon (:), diastole (,), and dash (–), can be seen as both lectional aid and text division marker.[6]

Early Christian scribes also seem to have been influenced by Jewish practices. In the Qumran scrolls the Hebrew text was divided into sections (paragraphs) by spaces in general accordance with a system called *parashiyyot*, which was later used in the Masoretic Text (MT).[7] A vacant line end corresponds to a major sub-division ('open section' in MT) and a space in the middle of a line to a minor sub-division ('closed section' in MT) within the paragraph.[8] Space division into smaller sense (verse) units occurs in only a few Hebrew biblical MSS because these sense breaks were part of the oral tradition of Torah reading in the synagogues (perhaps dating from the second century BC).[9] But verse divisions are marked in the early Aramaic and Greek translations where they were supplemented according to the syntax and conventions of the translation language itself.[10] On the Greek side, the use of spaces for verse division is attested in a number of Jewish Septuagint (LXX) MSS dated to the first century BC,[11] and in many cases smaller groups of words are also indicated.[12]

The *paragraphos* (a horizontal stroke drawn between lines projecting slightly into the margin) marks divisions in four early Jewish LXX MSS,[13] and is also found in other Greek and Aramaic texts and in biblical and non-biblical texts written according to Qumran scribal practice.[14] *Paragraphoi* mark text divisions in the Christian MSS P.Beatty 10 (Daniel and Esther), P.Bodmer 24 (Psalms), Pap. W (Freer) of the Minor Prophets, and occasionally in tandem with vacant line ends in P.Beatty 6 (Numbers and Deuteronomy).[15] Although the *paragraphos* was also used to mark the change of persons in a dialogue or the parts of the chorus in Greek literary texts,[16] whether it is of Greek origin is unclear.[17] At any rate, the degree of Jewish influence on text division in Christian MSS should not be underestimated.[18] It would be remarkable if Jewish scribal conventions used in the production of LXX MSS were wholly ignored by Christian scribes, particularly if gospels were being copied in settings where LXX MSS were also being produced.[19]

Should a lack or paucity of text division, punctuation and lectional aids be attributed to the scribe or his exemplar?[20] Turner reached the general conclusion 'that if punctuation was present in the exemplar it was the first scribe's duty to copy it'.[21] In his important work on the literary roll Johnson found reason to agree with this assessment: 'Substantial portions of details like adscript and punctuation seem to be part of what was traditionally copied, part of the

paradosis'.[22] 'The scribe attempted to copy the "original" punctuation, that is, the sort of bare-bones punctuation existing before reader intervention', but also incorporated 'corrections or additions as he saw fit'.[23] Lectional aids may also have been part of the paradosis, and were copied 'when they appeared to be part of the original copy'.[24]

As regards scribal tendencies in the production of literary rolls, the evidence demonstrates the 'dominance, indeed near uniformity, of professionalism'.[25] But when copying a gospel exemplar, Christian scribes were not copying a literary text into a roll, but something like a 'paraliterary' text into a codex.[26] Nevertheless, a professional scribe trained in copying texts of various kinds and working in a Christian scriptorium, should understand his task involved copying the text division, punctuation and lectional aids in his exemplar. Therefore, paucity or irregularity of text division, punctuation and lectional aids will be taken as an indication that a MS was produced for private rather than public (i.e., liturgical) use, especially when coupled with a documentary or scholarly rather than a literary or semi-literary hand. (We can visualize broad but non-exclusive categories of second- and third-century hands ranging from literary and semi-literary through informal to documentary and scholarly.[27]) Furthermore, rather than just being illustrative of the intent of the scribe, the lack of such features will often be traceable to an uncontrolled production setting.

The Earliest Gospels: Representative and Conventional

It was previously assumed that New Testament (NT) MSS found in Egypt had originated there.[28] But the papyri
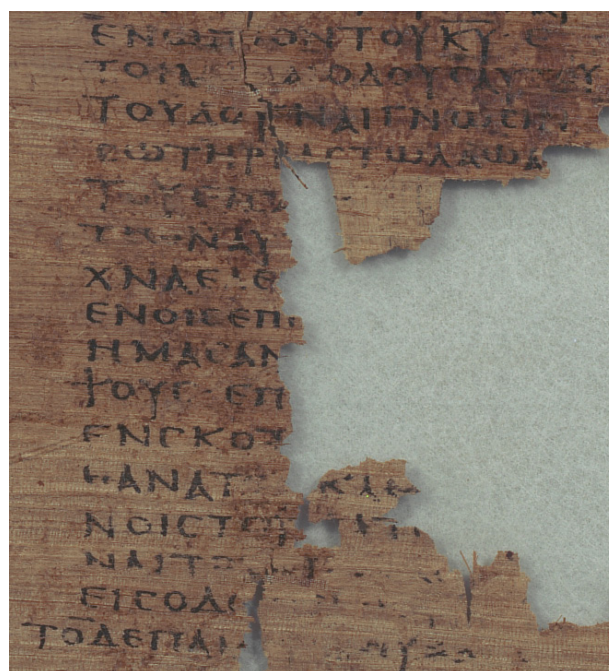

Figure 2: *Formative biblical majuscule on a fragmentary leaf of 𝔓⁴ (Suppl. Gr. 1120 [2]). Lk. 1:74-2:7. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale, France.*

in general indicate there was a regular two-way flow of people, letters and literature between Alexandria and the Graeco-Roman world in the early centuries of our era. Non-Christian written material was carried into Egypt from all over the empire.[29] The state postal service in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was reserved for official and military purposes.[30] But the Hellenistic evidence shows that despite potential difficulties (delivery times might increase exponentially if a letter carrier was unreliable or a boat unavailable), private senders were able to find carriers and letters frequently moved with relative ease.[31] In the same way, gospel MSS might easily have found their way to Egypt from elsewhere, the inference being that the early gospel papyri could well be representative of early gospels in general.[32]

It is self-evident that the 'coherence of the early Church must have depended' to some extent on the efficient movement of communications and literature.[33] When pervasive use of the nomina sacra convention[34] and the remarkable Christian preference for the codex as against the roll (particularly for writings regarded as scripture)[35] are added to the equation, there is a strong case for there having been 'a degree of organization, of conscious planning, and uniformity of practice' in the early church.[36] This is further verified by codicological features common to gospel MSS.

In the table below, listed by column for each gospel MS are the size (W × H cm),[37] lines per column,[38] Turner grouping (related to codex size),[39] gospels held (M = Mt., m = Mk., L = Lk., etc.), type of hand (with arrows indicating whether it is closer to a literary/book [bk] or documentary/cursive [doc.] hand; an informal [inf.] hand is in between [↔] these hands), presence of text division, and intended use (public/liturgical or private) and kind of production (c = controlled; u = uncontrolled). The following abbreviations are used: pg. = paragraphos; vac. = vacant line ends; ek. = ekthesis; sp. = space; · = medial/high point; : = dicolon; ' = apostrophe or line filler; > = diple line filler; and / = text division marker or miscellaneous stroke.

Ms.	Size	Lines	T.Gr.	Gospel	Hand	Text Division	Use/Prod.
Second century							
$\mathfrak{P}^{103}$	10 × 13-14.5	19/20	10	M	semi-literary, bk←	·	public/c?
$\mathfrak{P}^{77}$	11 × 13.5-15	21	10	M	semi-literary, bk←	· pg. vac. ek.?	public/c
$\mathfrak{P}^{90}$	12.5 × 15-16.5	22/24	9.1	J	semi-literary, bk←	ek. en. sp.?	public/c
$\mathfrak{P}^{104}$	13 × 17-18.5	c. 30	9.1	M	formal round	sp.?	public?/c?
$\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$	13.5 × 17-18.5	36/39	9.1	M	bibl. majuscule	· : ek.	public/c
$\mathfrak{P}^{52}$	18 × 22.5	18	5Ab	J	semi-literary, bk←	sp.?	private?/?
Second/third century							
$\mathfrak{P}^{4}$	13.5 × 17	36	9.1	L	bibl. majuscule	· : ek. pg.	public/c[40]
$\mathfrak{P}^{66}$	14.2 × 16.2	14/25	9	J	decorated round	· : , > - , vac. ek. sp.	public/c
Third century							
$\mathfrak{P}^{53}$	10.8 × 16.5-18	24/25	9.1	M	near doc./cursive	en.	private/u
$\mathfrak{P}^{108}$	14.5 × 18.6	23/24	9.1	J	semi-literary, bk←	?	public?/c?
$\mathfrak{P}^{75}$	13 × 26	38/45	8	LJ	elegant majuscule	· : > sp. ek. pg.	public/c
$\mathfrak{P}^{39}$	13.5 × 26	25	8	J	bibl. majuscule	sp.	public/c
$\mathfrak{P}^{101}$	12 × 24.5-26	32/33	8	M	non-literary, →doc.	nil	?/?
$\mathfrak{P}^{69}$	12-14 × 30.5-32	45	8.1	L	inf., bk↔doc.	?	private/u
$\mathfrak{P}^{95}$	12 × 20-21.5	35/36	8.2	J	bibl. majuscule	nil	private?/u?
$\mathfrak{P}^{107}$	12 × 22.5-24	33/34	8.2	J	semi-cursive, doc.	?	private/u
$\mathfrak{P}^{106}$	12 × 24	35/36	8.2	J	non-literary, →doc.	nil	private/u
$\mathfrak{P}^{70}$	13 × 23-24.5	26	8.2	M	semi-literary, bk←	?	private?/u
$\mathfrak{P}^{109}$	13 × 23.5-25	25/26	8.2	J	non-literary, unprof.	nil	private/u
$\mathfrak{P}^{1}$	13 × 24-25.5	37/38	8.2	M	inf., bk↔doc.	·	private?/u?
$\mathfrak{P}^{5}$	13 × 24-25.5	27	8.2	J	semi-literary, →doc.	sp.	public/c
$\mathfrak{P}^{28}$	14 × 22.5-24	25/26	8.2	J	→doc./cursive	nil	private/u
$\mathfrak{P}^{111}$	15.5 × 22.5-24	22	7	L	semi-doc.	nil	private?/u?
$\mathfrak{P}^{45}$	20 × 25	39/40	4	M-J	elegant majuscule	· /	private/u
0171	11-12 × 15	24	$X^{15\text{-}12}$	ML	careful majuscule	/ sp.? vac.? ek.	private/u?[41]
$\mathfrak{P}^{22}$	ROLL c. 30 H	47/48	-	J	→doc./cursive	nil	private/u
Third/fourth century							
$\mathfrak{P}^{37}$	16 × 25.5-27	33	7	M	doc./cursive	sp.? /	private/u
$\mathfrak{P}^{102}$	12 × 26.5-27	34/35	8	M	semi-literary, bk←	·	public/c
$\mathfrak{P}^{7}$?	15 × 22	18	7.1	L[42]			

If we focus for a moment on the first dozen or so papyri, the first thing to be noted is the small size of second-century gospels. This appears to support the proposition that portability and hence transportability played a significant part in *earliest* (i.e., first and second century) Christian preference for the codex. Second, if the Turner Group 10 is considered a sub-group of Group 9,[43] there is very remarkable uniformity in the sizes of gospel codices in each century. Based on the extant evidence, there is no question that Christians favoured a size approximating the Group 9.1 format (B13-15 × H at least 3 cm higher than B) in the second century, and the 8.2 Group format (B12-14 × H not quite twice B) in the third century. Third, conventional Christian approaches to MS production – uniformity in size, hands in the semi-literary to (formative) biblical majuscule range (see Figure 2),[44] and the use of text division to facilitate easy public reading – support the idea that most of the first dozen or so codices were produced in controlled settings, i.e., in small copy centres or scriptoria comprised of at least two scribes.[45] Where these factors are present *as a group* (as in $\mathfrak{P}^{77}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{90}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$) controlled production is certainly taking place. There is every reason to believe such scriptoria existed in the second century in important Christian centres such as Antioch, Alexandria, Caesarea, Jerusalem and Rome, especially in those cities with libraries.[46] Fourth, although certainty is difficult, the aberrant sizes of $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ (the latter is discussed below) suggest production in private/uncontrolled settings. The remaining third-century gospel codices also seem to fall into the same category. Paradoxically, standard sizes were still preferred suggesting that in most cases Christian fashion was strong enough to dictate size even as the number of private copies of the gospels proliferated. This in turn supports the argument that there were conventional textual practices at an early time, at least in the East.[47]

Scribal Milieu
A Public/Liturgical MS: $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ (P.Bodmer 14-15)

Turner argues that some Christian MSS were written with larger characters to make public reading easier. Comparable codices of Greek prose literature contain significantly more letters per line than both $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$. Such MSS, he says, are 'the work of practiced scribes writing an ordinary type of hand, but writing it larger than usual'.[48] Thus, the spacious script of $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ appears to be stretched horizontally (see Figure 1).[49] As well, no traces of any *kollesis* (the join of two pages) are visible in the Bodmer photographs of the MS, suggesting that the final physical form or appearance of the codex was an important consideration.[50] So in $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ we have a codex designed to take a central place in public worship.

Although they are not as pronounced, the same features can be seen in $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ which preserves in good condition significant parts of Luke and John.[51] The page measures 13 × 26 cm, so the open codex had a square shape. According to Turner, a Group 8 book of these dimensions was intentionally manufactured (B = ½ H).[52] The hand

of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ is an elegant, careful, upright majuscule.[53] Some letters, such as o and ω, are much smaller than average. There are 38-45 lines to the page (only 3 pages have under 40 lines and the average is 42[54]) and 25-36 letters to the line.[55] Since this is a single-quire codex, as he proceeded the scribe wrote progressively smaller apparently in an effort to fit everything in. Martin and Kasser note that the number of lines is considerably more in the second half of the codex.[56] Nonetheless, Turner still regards $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ as another example of a Christian MS written in a larger script for reading aloud.[57] The margins are quite generous and the occasional *kolleseis* can be seen on the photographs, but their relative paucity is another indication that this codex was for use in public worship.

Punctuation takes the form of high, medial and low points, but if any rationale governs the different heights it is difficult to discern.[58] The diaeresis or trema[59] over initial ι and υ is used frequently but not systematically, and heavy breathings are often used over pronouns to differentiate them from homonyms.[60] Semitic names are marked with an apostrophe or point,[61] and the former is also used after ουκ and between double consonants,[62] again probably 'in the interests of clarity of pronunciation' in public reading.[63]

The point followed by one or more vacant spaces and one-letter *ekthesis* on the following line is the usual method of chapter and paragraph division.[64] However, the dicolon and *paragraphos* are used very occasionally in lieu of or with other markers. In comparison with the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (NA[27]), about two-thirds of chapter breaks and one-third of paragraph breaks are marked in the non-fragmentary pages of the MS. More noteworthy is the consistently high rate of verse division corresponding to NA[27]. The rounded percentages of marked as against unmarked verse breaks per chapter are as follows: (Lk. 10) 82 : 18; (11) 93 : 7; (12) 98 : 2; (13) 94 : 6; (14) 94 : 6; (15) 72 : 28; (16) 71 : 29; (22) 72 : 28; (23) 82 : 18; (Jn. 1) 70 : 30; (2) 72 : 28; (3) 75 : 25; (4) 81 :19; (5) 64 : 36; (8) 86.5 : 13:5; (9) 77.5 : 22.5; (10) 86 : 14.[65] On average, therefore, the verse breaks in $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ agree with those in NA[27] about 80 percent of the time.[66] We are therefore more than justified in seeing the text divisions in $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ as ancestors of those found in the great codices Vaticanus (B 03; Rome, Vatican Library, Gr. 1209) and Sinaiticus (ℵ 01; London, British Library, Add. 43725).[67]

A Private/Non-Liturgical MS: $\mathfrak{P}^{37}$ (P.Mich. 3.137)

If we were to imagine a range of hands starting at the literary end with the formative biblical majuscule of $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$, at the opposite extreme we would find the documentary hand of $\mathfrak{P}^{37}$ (see Figure 3).[68] The papyrus is comprised of two fragments which 'have been joined to make a single leaf written on both sides' which measures 13.5 × 22.4 cm and preserves Mt. 26:19-37 (↓) and 26:37-52 (→).[69] There were originally 33 lines per page and based on the extant text the column measured about 13 × 23 cm and the page 16 × 25.5-27 cm (Turner's Group 7).[70]
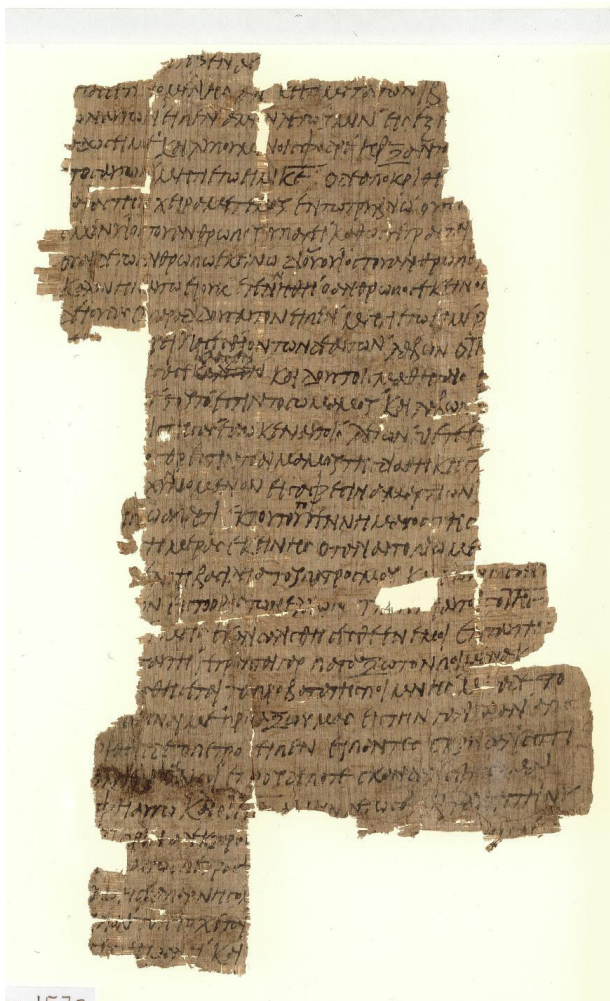
Figure 3: ℘³⁷ (P.Mich. 3.137↓). Mt. 26:19-37.
Reproduced by permission of the Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor..

The hand is a very informal cursive, and according to Sanders 'every letter seems to present most of its conceivable forms'. He concluded that the writer was educated but 'not a practised scribe' and found parallel hands in documentary papyri.[71] There is only one rough breathing (↓*l* 8), but the trema is used regularly over initial ι (and once over a medial ι, ↓*l* 11). There is a correction at ↓*l* 12 where εκαλαcεν was written, then the whole word except for the augment was crudely crossed out and κλαcεν written by the same hand[72] above the crossed out letters (see Figure 4). This gives an impression of haste, as though the whole document was written very quickly for personal use.

The writer used no punctuation, but at times seems to have left spaces between words or letters that coincide with NA²⁷ verse breaks (vv. 21, 23, 27, 30, 31, 42, 44, 46, 50, 51), or that appear to introduce speech (↓*l* 25, →*l* 5) or function like commas (→*ll* 12, 20). However, other verse breaks are not so marked (vv. 22, 24, 25, 26, 29, 32, 33, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 45, 49), and two vacant spaces in the text appear not to serve any function (↓*ll* 6, 8). So while some vacant spaces appear to function as punctuation, that may often be more by accident than design, the chance result of a rapidly written hand.

Sanders thought a second hand added the short raised strokes where spaces had been left at the end of phrases.[73] Certainly, a space and stroke sometimes occur together where the text corresponds to a paragraph (v. 31) or verse (vv. 23, 27, 30, 42, 46, 51) break in NA²⁷, but strokes are not present in a number of places where spaces have been left (↓*ll* 6, 8, 25; →*l* 12), and both 'markers' are also lacking in two places (vv. 38, 45). Moreover, although strokes often correspond to paragraph and verse breaks (vv. 22, 23, 27, 29, 32, 33, 36, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 51) or verse sub-divisions (vv. 22, 25, 26, 27, 392, 40, 41, 42, 442, 45, 50) in NA²⁷, just as often there is no verse sub-division correspondence (vv. 212, 222, 24, 25, 262, 272, 31, 32, 33, 36, 39, 402, 453, 46, 472), or apparent sense divisions are nonsensical (vv. 242, 422, 43).

It is the last category in particular that calls into question the idea that the strokes may have assisted with reading in public.[74] However, if the MS was altered by a second hand for liturgical usage, it was a private MS produced in an uncontrolled setting that was subsequently modified. The first hand is undoubtedly documentary and by no means bilinear, and for both reasons far from suitable for public reading. The second hand has attempted to insert, or perhaps to clarify or supplement, text division in the MS,[75] but a number of the strokes appear to be study aids that mark something of interest in the text. So the modified MS was probably also for private use.

℘⁴⁵ (P.Beatty 1[76] and P.Vindob. G. 31974[77]): Public or Private?

Preserving the four gospels and Acts, ℘⁴⁵ is comprised of 30 fragmentary leaves of a codex dated *c*. 250. Not one complete page survives; the top of the single column is intact in most cases, but the column bottom is missing on every page. In Luke and John the whole column or one side of it survives, but in Matthew and Mark both sides of the column are damaged.[78] Each page measured *c*. 20 × 25 cm (Turner's Group 4).[79] Judging from leaves 25-30 the upper margin was around 3.2 cm and the lower probably more; the inner margin where it is twice preserved is 1.9 cm, and Kenyon estimates that the outer margin was about 2.5 cm.[80] This means the written area was about 15.5 × 19.5 cm. On
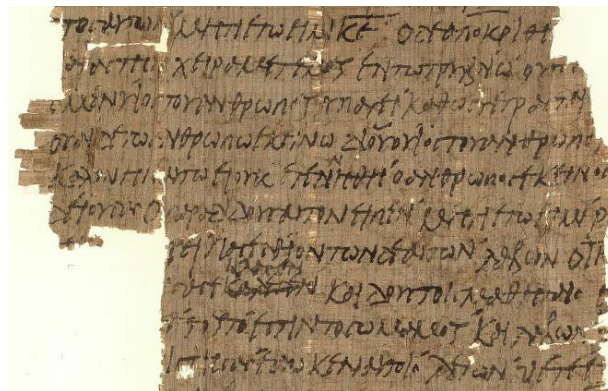

Figure 4: Rapid correction in ℘³⁷ (P.Mich. 3.137↓).
Portion of Mt. 26:19-37.
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University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

reconstructed figures there were 39/40 lines per page and 50 characters per line.[81]

Skeat calculates the codex would have contained 56 sheets or 224 pages (Mt. 49, Jn. 38, Lk. 48, Mk. 32, Acts 55).[82] The scribe managed to fit the gospels and Acts into a codex of this size only by using a small script and a larger page and written area.[83] Kenyon describes the script as 'small and very clear', approximately square (in height and width), 'very correct, and though without calligraphic pretensions, … the work of a competent scribe'. Although 'characteristic of good Roman hands', it has a marked slope to the right.[84] In fact, the hand is more impressive in person than the photographs in his edition can manage to convey. It is an attractive and very competent hand that is certainly not bereft of literary style. Zuntz observes that the scribe's hand is 'on the whole amazingly even, and his practice with regard to orthography [and] punctuation … astonishingly consistent'.[85]

Colwell concluded that the editorial activity in this MS is indicative of an uncontrolled tradition.[86] The scribe feels no need to reproduce exactly his exemplar and freely omits words and recasts the text in the interests of conciseness, clarity and style. Clarification also motivates the scribe of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, but most of the time is overcome by the desire to make an exact copy.[87] In contrast, the copying in $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ is careless, but numerous corrections against a second exemplar are indicative of conscientious efforts to produce a good final copy.[88] Therefore, it is fairly certain the scribe of $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ rather

Figure 5: *Intrusive strokes in* $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ *(P.Beatty 1).*
Portion of fol. 5^V (Mk. 7:3-15)
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than the exemplar is responsible for the contents of the MS. This conclusion is supported by the unfashionable page size, the small script and compressed layout, the small number of corrections,[89] and the absence of *ekthesis*, spaces and the *paragraphos*. This lack of the kinds of text division characteristic of controlled settings seems to mark the MS as an individualistic early witness.

Rough breathing is sometimes used with the article and relative pronouns, and the trema is used regularly over initial ι and υ (sometimes appearing as a small line over υ).[90] The text is divided by inconsistently employed medial points and acute-like raised strokes of variable length which appear more regularly.[91] The latter are often thick, intrusive and rough, and in marked contrast to the elegant hand (see Figure 5). The only strokes that approach the size of this division marker in Mark are the downward strokes on α and δ, but they are not as thick. There is no doubt that the markers were produced by a different reed and probably a different hand at another time and place.[92] If the markers were made during production, they would have spoiled the efforts of the first scribe to produce an attractive MS. This goes a long way towards ruling out contemporaneity.

The probable reason they were added is inconsistency in the usage of the medial point by the first scribe. In the few small fragments of Matthew that are preserved, medial points have been inserted quite regularly[93] to mark verse breaks or verse sub-divisions (many of which correspond to those found in NA[27]). Apparently because this was the case the second hand did not add any raised strokes. This is, however, no guarantee that the same situation pertained in the rest of Matthew. In contrast, in the early fragmentary folios of Mark the first copyist neglected to mark text division with points, so a second hand added strokes to indicate verse breaks or sub-divisions.[94] From Mark 7:36 points begin to appear occasionally but not consistently at the end of verses, so it seems the second editor decided to continue the use of strokes (see Figure 6 which shows the stroke being added, sometimes where medial points had already been placed). In Luke and John points were used with moderate consistency by the first copyist, and for this reason strokes were probably not entered by the second hand.[95] But once again, there is no way of knowing if this was the case throughout both of these books.

In Acts the first copyist again ceased using medial points and raised strokes are reintroduced by the second hand. From the end of 6:9 the strokes become small, dark oval blobs and then dots which Kenyon records as high points in his edition.[96] The scribe apparently decided to decrease the size of the division marker while continuing to use the same reed.[97] There is little doubt, however, that the same second hand is again at work, because although the strokes are generally shorter and thinner from this point (than in Mark), small raised ovals or blobs also occur along with the occasional longer stroke (of Mark) from fol. 27^r onwards.[98]

The irregular text division in $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ is more indicative of a MS made for private use,[99] than one 'intended for the edification
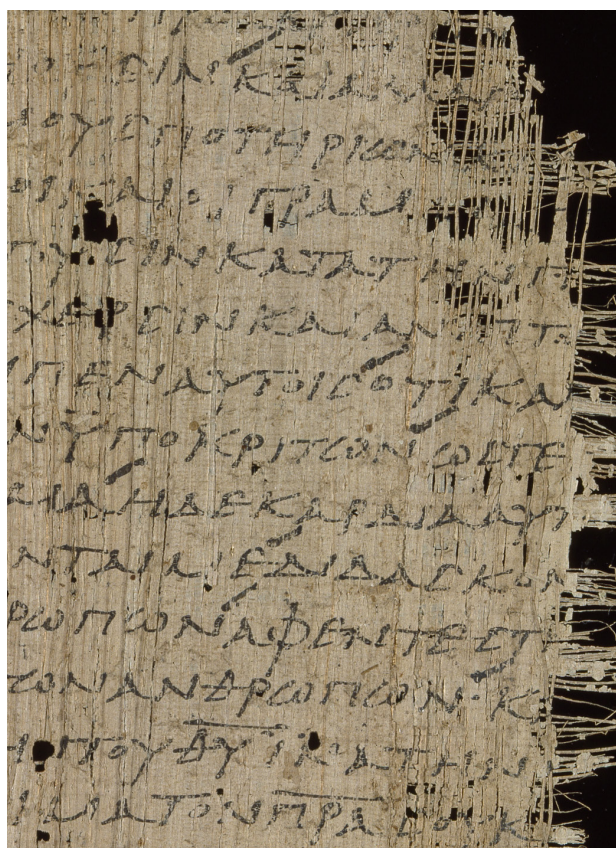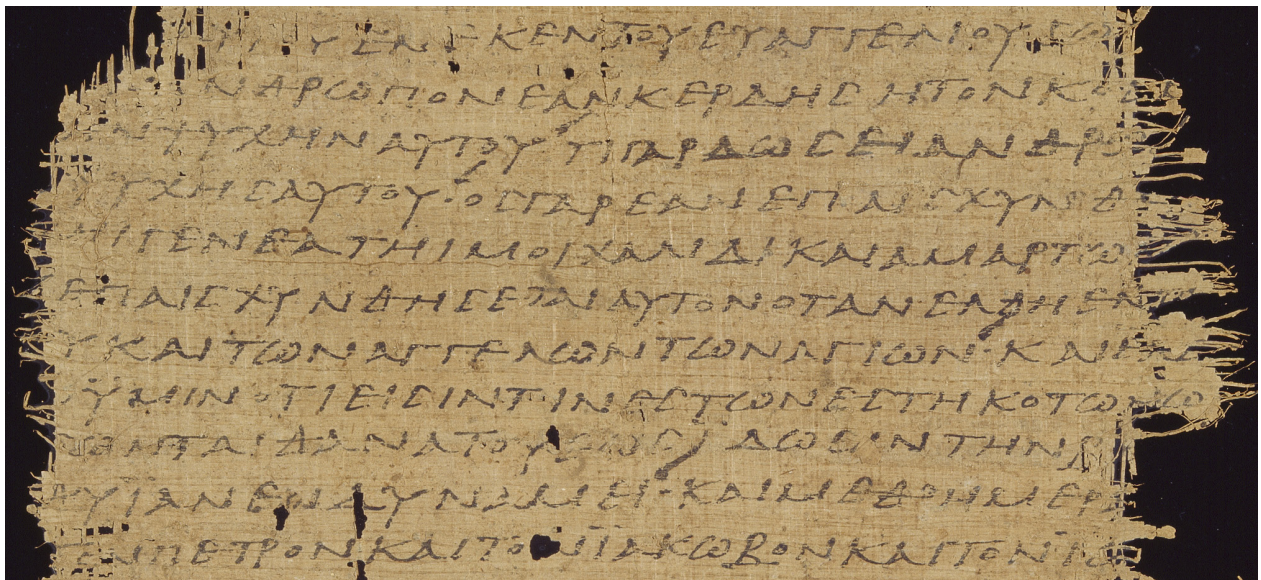
Figure 6: Strokes added above points in 𝔓⁴⁵ (P.Beatty 1). Portion of fol. 7ʳ (Mk. 8:35-9:8).
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of an ecclesiastical readership' as has been suggested.[100] Certainly, the paucity of the original punctuation/text division along with the small hand, compressed layout, and the odd size of the codex (when pressure to conform to third-century fashion or expectations in terms of size must have been significant[101]), appear to rule out an intended liturgical use. As far as text division or punctuation is concerned, at times the scribe is completely indifferent to the needs of any prospective lector. In stark contrast, the later addition of the intrusive strokes in Mark underlines the importance of reading aids if MSS were to be read publicly. Despite the fine hand, all of these factors when combined with the very paraphrastic modus operandi of the scribe and the lack of correction against the exemplar or another MS in order to ensure accuracy, suggest production in an uncontrolled setting. Although the text division in 𝔓⁶⁶ can be almost as inconsistent at times, none of these other factors comes into play.

Elaborating on Public and Private Production Settings

Ancient literary works were distributed as individuals borrowed and copied texts owned by their friends.[102] Copies might be made by hired scribes or by the one borrowing. This was probably also the case when individual Christians wanted copies of gospels for *private* use. However, the third-century evidence supports the proposition that when private borrowing and casual copying took place, the gospels borrowed and copied generally had private characteristics; i.e., they lacked text division, punctuation and lectional aids. In other words, private/uncontrolled production usually involved the copying of private rather than public MSS. Indeed, the MS evidence demonstrates that by the third century the majority of copying was private and uncontrolled and probably took place at a distance from major Christian centres.

In contrast, Christian scriptoria in major centres would have maintained master copies of *public* gospel MSS. Though several different copies of each gospel may have been held, greater consistency in the transmission of public features (text division, punctuation and lectional aids) characterised controlled production in Christian scriptoria. This would apply regardless of who was doing the copying in uncontrolled or casual settings. Clergy, educated church members, slaves or freedmen of wealthy Christian estates, or Christian public officials or business people accustomed to writing, might undertake private production.[103] There may have been scribes trained to a level consistent with guild membership[104] among these groups, and non-Christian scribes might also be commissioned to do the work,[105] but in all likelihood they would have been copying private MSS.

Early Christian texts were not products of the book trade,[106] but the idea that there were not private texts among them[107] cannot stand up to scrutiny. As far as casual copying is concerned, there is no reason to think that writing or access to writing tools[108] was limited to scribes.[109] When students at school progressed from the first two levels of letters and alphabet to syllabaries, lists of words and writing exercises, papyrus and its requisite tools were needed.[110] Though expensive for ordinary villagers or farmers, papyrus was quite affordable in higher social contexts.[111] The school papyri from villages and towns as against *metropoleis* come from the social level represented by 'landowners, soldiers, businessmen and so on'.[112] So a limited number of individuals went to school, and most did not stay 'long enough to develop firm habits of writing'.[113] But three years was long enough to learn to read and write slowly, and a range of abilities should be envisioned even at this stage of literacy.[114] Some pupils in the larger cities and also in the larger villages reached 'rather high levels' of instruction.[115]

Although many probably came from the middle class,[116] private writers of modest ability and income certainly existed. Apollonios and his brother Ptolemaios, who lived in the Memphite Serapeum in the mid-second century BC, were able to copy Greek literature with different levels of ability.[117] Apollonios, the younger and more proficient writer with an education extending 'somewhat beyond the primary level', was capable of writing letters to officials. He joined the army and eventually became assistant to the chief of police on the necropolis.[118] In a similar vein, Apion, a new recruit to the Roman army in the second century AD, wrote to his father at Philadelphia in large, round capable letters that resemble a teacher's hand. All of the indications are that he had 'at least some grammatical' or secondary education.[119]

Though early Christian papyri are few in number,[120] in the early third century a certain 'Antonius Dioskoros, son of Horigenes from Alexandria', was considered suitable for minor public office in his home town of Arsinoe. Like the other applicants he was 'an urban shopkeeper or craftsman of moderate means', but he was also a Christian. His double name 'after the Roman fashion, with a Roman *gentilicium* and Greek *cognomen*', and the Alexandrian connection suggest a social position somewhat above the other candidates.[121] Generally speaking, administrative officials had duties requiring literacy, and Antonius Dioskoros should not be seen as an isolated example.[122] He might also have been among those who attended a church conference held at Arsinoe in the third century.[123] At the conference the bishop of Alexandria called together the presbyters and teachers of the surrounding villages to examine a book containing the millenarian teachings of a former local bishop. Clearly, 'Egyptian priests were not the only ones assiduously reading and interpreting [and *copying*] religious texts in the villages of the Fayum'.[124] Moreover, despite its privileged Greek constituency and large bureaucracy, the situation in Roman Egypt may not have been so atypical,[125] and is probably comparable with areas of limited hellenization (e.g., Thrace, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, Judaea, Arabia) where literacy was generally confined to specific 'social and geographic milieus'.[126]

When working from a provided exemplar rather than an in-house master copy, trained scribes working in Christian scriptoria would understand their task involved copying text division, punctuation and lectional aids where they were original to the exemplar. If they were lacking in the exemplar, they could be inserted at sense breaks or from a second MS (an in-house master copy).[127] In contrast, in a private/uncontrolled setting untrained copyists would not attach the same importance to reproducing readers' aids and would be more likely to overlook or reproduce them only some of the time. The same could probably not be said of Christian scribes working in secular public settings, of commissioned non-Christian scribes, or indeed of *trained* copyists among the clergy, church or public officials, educated Christians, or slaves and freedmen of wealthy Christians. That is why it is not possible to insist-

ently equate the public/controlled and private/uncontrolled categories with professional/trained scribes and untrained copyists respectively. When gospel MSS were produced in private/uncontrolled settings, trained scribes with apprenticed training sufficient for guild membership could be involved.[128] But the evidence strongly suggests that in most cases such scribes would be working from gospel exemplars with private characteristics. The needs of the customer in terms of projected non-liturgical use might also 'govern the presence or absence of lectional signs'.[129]

It should also be said that in both public/controlled and private/uncontrolled production settings there were different levels of trained copying ability.[130] Some scribes were capable of calligraphy or shorthand (*tachygraphy*), while others were limited to documentary work.[131] So in the event that a public gospel MS was copied in a private/uncontrolled setting, it is certainly possible that transmission of readers' aids could be adversely affected. MSS like $\mathfrak{P}^{103}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{104}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{108}$ could fall into this category. In addition, in some areas churches might have had no option but to use gospel MSS with predominantly private characteristics in public worship. In such cases lectors would need to have become very familiar with the contents of the text. But the evidence shows that this level of familiarity must have been the exception rather than the rule. The use and consolidation of text division, punctuation and lectional aids in second- to fourth-century public MSS, the adding of stroke division markers to $\mathfrak{P}^{37}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$, and even the much later shift to minuscule script, all demonstrate that a gospel text with private characteristics was difficult to read and/or memorize. When nothing better could be obtained, MSS with private characteristics were no doubt used in rural churches. Indeed, the steep increase in private copying in the third century was probably linked to an increase in the number of churches. Nevertheless, reading of private gospels in public settings would have been compromised by the inherent deficiencies of the MSS themselves. This is underscored by the text division, punctuation and lectional aids that facilitated the liturgical use of second- and second/third-century gospel MSS (with the exception of $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$ and possible exception of $\mathfrak{P}^{104}$).

But in many cases churches must have been able to obtain gospel MSS for liturgical use from Christian scriptoria in major urban centres. Most of the earliest gospels were copied within broad conventional parameters, and control was present in the form of checking and correction.

> The churches in Rome, Antioch, Caesarea, and Alexandria (to name only the most obvious) were probably centers almost from the beginning for the composition of Christian writings and also for the confluence of Christian writings composed elsewhere. By virtue of possessing both texts and regional influence, these communities would have been instrumental in the further circulation of Christian literature.[132]

Gamble adduces as evidence the rapid reproduction and distribution of the letters of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, at

the beginning of the second century, and of *Hermas* which circulated in Alexandria and provincial Egypt and at the same time in Gaul and North Africa 'well before the end of the second century'.[133] Thus, 'larger Christian communities, such as Antioch or Rome, may have already have had scriptoria [where two or more scribes operated] in the early second century'.[134] The role of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, in distributing Christian literature, also leads him to suggest that minimalist scriptoria may also have existed at Smyrna and Oxyrhynchus towards the end of the second century. 'If so, that is all the more reason to postulate scriptoria in Alexandria and other Christian centers at an earlier time'.[135] That such a reasonable picture of an inter-connected early church should occasion controversy is due in large degree to the disproportionate influence of perspectives that over-draw the amount of diversity in early Christianity.[136] Much early Christian literature is clearly written with a wide readership in mind, e.g., the Apocalypse and the catholic and pseudonymous epistles.[137]

Conclusion

It seems as the number of churches and the demand for gospel MSS increased, so did the number of gospels produced in private/uncontrolled settings. Space does not allow examination of other MSS that have been designated private. But 𝔓[45] has demonstrated that there are sometimes a number of complicated factors to be weighed against each other when deciding whether a particular MS is 'public' or 'private'. Although there was clearly variation in the use of lectional aids and text division markers in particular,[138] conventional textual and codicological features when considered as a group are important indicators of the setting in and purpose for which gospel MSS were produced. Such knowledge also provides an additional way of weighing the reliability of textual witnesses. The same controls were not in place when gospel MSS were copied privately in casual settings.

The influence of convention on production of the four gospels in the second and third centuries can be seen in preference for the codex in certain sizes, the ubiquitous presence of the *nomina sacra* convention, and the use of text division, punctuation and lectional aids.[139] Thus, when third-century gospel MSS lack reading aids and text division, it is likely that private/uncontrolled copying and/or production for non-liturgical use are responsible. As the canonical status of the four gospels was cemented in the third century, it was to be expected that uncontrolled copying of gospel MSS for private use would increase. Uncontrolled copying can be discerned in poor quality hands, an absence of collation, correction, or similar quality control, and in scribal approaches that take excessive liberties with the text. Thus, even an impressive MS like 𝔓[45] can be designated private.

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Endnotes

1 See H.Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995) on the private use of Christian books (231-7) and the difficulties of reading *scriptio continua* (203-4, 228-30). On the latter see also R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (*American Studies in Papyrology* 36; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 148-9; and id., *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001) 190, 203, where it is noted that teachers used syllable and word division, enlarged initial letters and other aids to make texts 'user-friendly' for beginner students, and presented the same texts in *scriptio continua* to more advanced students.

2 C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Schweich Lectures, 1977; London: Oxford University Press, 1979) 14-18. Enlargement of initial letters also accentuates lines in some school texts written by teachers: see Cribiore, *Writing*, 99.

3 See Roberts, *Manuscript*, 16-8, for examples, and see n. 19 below. Cf. E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) 9-10.

4 Roberts, *Manuscript*, 21 and n. 4. The use of accents is rare.

5 The following details are taken from Roberts, *Manuscript*, 21-2.

6 For discussion of the various punctuation and lectional signs see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 9-14; and L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, vol. 1: *Phonology* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 73-98. For a dated survey of the use of text division markers and punctuation in John 13:31-16:33 in NT MSS up to the fourth century AD see P. Gächter, 'Zur Textabteilung von Evangelienhandschriften', *Biblica* 15 (1934) 301-20.

7 E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Fortress: Minneapolis, 1992) 210-11; cf. 51-4.

8 E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 143-9.

9 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 135-40, 159-62.

10 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 135-40, 159-62.

11 P.Ryl. 3.458, P.Fouad inv. 266a-c, 4QPapLXXLev^b, 4QLXXNum, 8HevXIIgr, P.Oxy. 50.3522, and P.Yale 1.1: see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 299-315, esp. 304-5, 311.

12 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 304-5. The point is also found in P.Ryl. 3.458 and P.Yale 1.1 and may have been added later (311). In 8HevXII gr and P.Fouad inv. 266 a small vacant space followed by an enlarged letter marks a new phrase, while verses are denoted by larger spaces (Roberts, *Manuscript*, 18 and n. 3). Cf. A. Millard, 'Ancient Abbreviations and the *Nomina Sacra*', in C. Eyre *et al.* (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1994) 224.

13 4QLXXLev^a, P.Fouad inv. 266b, 4QPapLXXLev^b, 8HevXIIgr: Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 304.

14 Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 216; cf. 108-11.

15 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 305-6.

16 Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 10.

17 According to Millard ('Ancient Abbreviations', 224) the use of the *paragraphos* 'in the fifth century BC Aramaic papyrus of Ahiqar casts doubt on the opinion that it is probably Greek in origin'. Cf.

C.H. Roberts, 'Books in the Graeco-Roman World and the New Testament', in P.R. Ackroyd *et al.* (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963-70) 1.49.

18 Though used in only a small number of early LXX MSS, *ekthesis* is also attested: 8ḤevXIIgr, P.Oxy. 54.4443, P.Scheide + P.Beatty 9 (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 161). Cf. the palaeographical analysis of 8ḤevXII gr by P. Parsons in E. Tov in collaboration with R.A. Kraft, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr) (The Seiyal Collection I)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990; reprinted with corrections 1995) 19-26, esp. 23-4.

19 Cf. Gamble (*Books and Readers*, 224-31) where the influence of synagogue practice on public reading in early Christian worship is discussed. R.A. Kraft, 'From Jewish Scribes to Christian Scriptoria: Issues of Continuity and Discontinuity in Their Greek Literary Worlds' (paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature annual meeting, San Antonio, Nov. 2004; see http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/ SBL2004.htm, accessed 27 Feb. 2007) suggests that Jewish scribes may have been influenced by the text division markers used in Graeco-Roman commentaries and paraliterary texts (cf. the discussion accompanying n. 3 above), and then in turn influenced Christian scribes.

20 Cf. the small amount of evidence for female scribes prior to the fourth century in K. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 41-52.

21 Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 12.

22 W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) 8 (cf. 15-37, esp. 35).

23 Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 58-9. Cf. "As a rule, scribes copied the divisions between section units from their *Vorlagen*, but they sometimes deviated from them, and it is difficult to determine under which conditions they did so.... Beyond this description, scribes must have felt free to change the section divisions of their *Vorlage* and to add new ones in accord with their understanding of the context' (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 150; regarding section divisions in Hebrew MSS).

24 Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 36. Later readers often added 'breathings, accents and adscripts, just as they added punctuation', so 'in the case of lectional aids it seems the scribe copied from his model the essentials, but remained attentive to the need to reproduce a clean, unencumbered text' (36).

25 Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 160.

26 The similarities to Graeco-Roman commentaries have been alluded to above. On commentaries see Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 112-24.

27 Cf. Johnson (*Bookrolls*, 102; cf. 161), whose three categories parallel those listed here: '(1) formal, semi-formal, or pretentious, (2) informal and unexceptional (but for the most part probably professional), (3) substandard or cursive'. The vast majority of literary rolls in his samples fall into the first and second categories. On the 'rapid, informal hand' of scholars and other identifying marks of scholarly texts see Roberts (*Manuscript*, 15, 25, 66) and Turner (*Greek Papyri*, 92-4).

28 See, for example, K.W. Clark, *The Gentile Bias and Other Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 127: 'All the manuscripts so far discovered, including the most sensational of recent discoveries, may enable us to recover no more than the early text in Egypt'.

29 E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (rev. ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) 50-1, 96.

30 See S.R. Llewelyn with R.A. Kearsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (Macquarie University, Sydney: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1994) 7.1-25.

31 See E.J. Epp, 'New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts and Letter Carrying in Greco-Roman Times', in B.A. Pearson *et al.* (eds.), *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 35-56, esp. 43-51. See also Llewelyn, *New Documents*, 7.26-57; and id., 'Sending letters in the ancient world', *Tyndale Bulletin* 46 (1995) 337-56.

32 Cf. Roberts, *Manuscript*, 18. Chance preservation also applies in the case of Christian MSS that escaped deliberate destruction. This adds weight to the possibility that the gospel papyri are representative.

33 Roberts, 'Books in the Graeco-Roman World', 64.

34 Of around 300 Christian MSS earlier than AD 300 the number without *nomina sacra* 'can be counted on the fingers of our two hands': L.W. Hurtado, '𝔓52 (P. Rylands Gk. 457) and the *Nomina Sacra*: Method and Probability', *Tyndale Bulletin* 54 (2003) 5 (1-14). By convention, the Greek words for the divine names and/or titles, 'God' (θεός), 'Lord' (κύριος), 'Jesus' ('Ιησοῦς), and 'Christ' (Χριστός), were contracted by retaining only the first and last letters and overstroked with a supralinear line. For example, 'Ιησοῦς in its various case endings was usually contracted as ̄ῑς̄, ̄ῑν̄, ̄ῑῡ, and ̄ῑῡ (dative), but there are also instances in which the first, second and last

letters are overstroked (long contraction), as well as some cases of the suspension ̄ῑη. Words like 'spirit', 'cross', 'father', 'man', 'son', and a number of others, also had short or long contracted forms. Overstroked *nomina sacra* can be clearly seen in Figures 1, 2 and 5. See L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006) 95-134, for an informative discussion of the *nomina sacra*.

35 See the recent statistical analysis of Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 43-61 esp. 57-60. See also C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1985) and Gamble, *Books and Readers*.

36 Roberts, *Manuscript*, 41.

37 E.G. Turner's rule of thumb that 2:3 is generally the proportion of upper to lower margins is followed here (*The Typology of the Early Codex* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1977] 25). Thus, a 1 cm upper margin should have a 1.5 cm lower margin (total 2.5 cm), and a 1.6 cm upper margin should have a 2.4 cm lower margin (total 4 cm). So in the absence of physical evidence, 2.5 cm (the hypothetical lower limit) and 4 cm (the hypothetical upper limit) are added to estimates of column height, while side margins are assumed to be 1.5 cm wide (total 3 cm).

38 In the majority of cases, codex size and line count figures are based on my own calculations (working from scaled images). Generally, my figures approximate those found in: K. Aland, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*, vol. 1: *Biblische Papyri: Altes Testament, Neues Testament, Varia, Apokryphen* (PTS 18; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1976); J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Série 'Papyrologie' 1; Paris: Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne, 1976); Turner, *Typology*; and the various *P. Oxy.* editions.

39 For details see Turner, *Typology*, 13-34.

40 There are a number of problems with the effort of T.C. Skeat, 'The oldest manuscript of the four Gospels?' *NTS* 43 (1997) 1-34 (repr. in J.K. Elliott [ed.], *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* [NT.S 113; Leiden: Brill, 2004] 158-92,) to show that 𝔓64+67 and 𝔓4 come from the same four-gospel, single-quire codex. See my article 'T. C. Skeat, 𝔓64+67 and 𝔓4, and the problem of fibre orientation in codicological reconstruction', forthcoming in *NTS*.

41 0171 is a parchment codex designated NT Parch. 51 by Turner. Many of the examples in this category are early (*Typology*, 28-9). Parchment codices generally favour 6:7 or 7:8 (W:H) formats and for that reason there is little correspondence with papyrus formats (31-2).

42 Petrov 553, Kiev, Ukrainian National Library, F. 301 (KDA), preserving Lk. 4:1-2: see K. Aland *et al.* (eds.), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (2nd ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994) 3, who dates the MS III/IV(?). For an edition based on that of C.R. Gregory (*ed. pr.*) see id., 'Neue neutestamentliche Papyri', *New Testament Studies* 3 (1957) 261-5. Gregory dated the manuscript IV-VI, but it was never photographed and has been lost, so the dating cannot be checked or the original format (roll or codex) determined. Cf. Aland, *Repertorium*, 225; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, nos. 1224, 1225.

43 'Group 10 is only a special case in a slightly smaller format of Group 9' (Turner, *Typology*, 25).

44 Turner (*Greek Manuscripts*, 25) gives biblical majuscule (which had developed by the fourth century) as one example of three types of formal, round, bilinear (written between two notional lines) hands: 'each letter (ι only excepted) occupies the space of a square (ε θ ο ϲ being broad circles) and only φ and ψ reach above and below the two lines' while 'υ regularly and ρ often reach below the line'. For a succinct but more detailed description see G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300-800* (University of London Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin Supplement 47; London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1987) v.

45 Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 120-1. It is reasonable to assume that early scriptoria could not be compared with the number of assistants used by Origen early in the third century (see Eusebius, *H.E.* 6.23.2).

46 See G. Zuntz, 'Réflexions sur l'histoire du texte paulinien', *Revue Biblique* 59 (1952) 5-22, repr. as 'The Text of the Epistles', in his *Opuscula Selecta: Classica, Hellenistica, Christiana* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972) 252-68, esp. 266-8; id., *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (Schweich Lectures, 1946; New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1953) 271-5; Roberts, *Manuscript*, 24; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 121. 'There is, however, no direct evidence for a library in Alexandria, and its existence in the second and third centuries can only be inferred' (Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 161).

47 See E.J. Epp, 'The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Transmission', in W.L. Petersen (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text,*

and Transmission (*Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity* 3; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989) 91 (325-46).

48   Turner, *Typology*, 85-6.

49   Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 108, no. 63. The scribe would not have been worried about running out of space in a codex made up of multiple quires to which another quire could easily be attached (Turner, *Typology*, 73).

50   Turner (*Typology*, 49-50) is making the point that when the sheets used to make $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ were cut from rolls, the makers tried to keep the sheets join-free. On methods of cutting sheets from a roll minus the joins see *Typology*, 52. Although he had not personally inspected this manuscript, from the photographs Turner's conclusions appear sound. However, it can be 'particularly difficult' to detect joins in photographs because the photographer is focussed on producing 'maximum contrast between the writing and its background': E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 16; Actes de XVᵉ Congrès International de Papyrologie, Première Partie; Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1978) 15.

51   See V. Martin and R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV: Evangile de Luc chap. 3-24* (Cologny-Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961); V. Martin and R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XV: Evangile de Jean chap. 1-15* (Cologny-Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961).

52   Turner, *Typology*, 23.

53   Cf. Aland, *Repertorium*, 309-11; Martin and Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV*, 13.

54   Martin and Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV*, 10.

55   Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 406.

56   Comparison is made with the 1961 edition of Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. In the beginning of the codex one page corresponds to about 30 lines of Nestle, while the second half goes up to 41 lines of Nestle. See the figures of Martin and Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV*, 10.

57   'Page 3 (modern pagination) contains 39 lines to a page, averaging 24/25 letters to the line; p. 26 has 44 lines, but still averaging 24/25 letters; p. 98 has 43 lines, with an average of well over 30 letters to the line': Turner, *Typology*, 74; cf. 86.

58   Cf. Martin and Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV*, 16, who think that high and low points correspond to non-final (our commas and colons) and final stops respectively.

59   On the 'organic' (to indicate the separate phonetic quality of a vowel in a cluster) and 'inorganic' (to mark an initial or emphasize a final vowel) uses of the trema see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 12.

60   Martin and Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV*, 17.

61   Martin and Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV*, 17.

62   Metzger, *Greek Manuscripts*, 68.

63   B.M. Metzger, 'The Bodmer Papyrus of Luke and John', *Expository Times* 73 (1962) 201 (201-3).

64   See the plates in Martin and Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV* and *Papyrus Bodmer XV*.

65   The actual figures in the extant text are: (Lk. 10) 28, 6; (11) 50, 4; (12) 58, 1; (13) 33, 2; (14) 33, 2; (15) 23, 9; (16) 22, 9; (22) 23, 9; (23) 45, 10; (Jn. 1) 35, 15; (2) 18, 7; (3) 27, 9; (4) 43, 10; (5) 14, 8; (8) 32, 5; (9) 31, 9; (10) 12, 2.

66   The averaged agreement in Luke and John is 84.2 and 76.4 percent respectively.

67   According to the editors of NA²⁶, its text divisions correspond to the divisions found in ancient manuscripts, and with rare exceptions NA²⁷ reproduces the system of punctuation and paragraphing used in its predecessor: K. Aland *et al.* (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ²⁶1979) 44*; B. and K. Aland *et al.* (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ²⁷2001) 46*.

68   Cf. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 88-96.

69   H.A. Sanders, 'An Early Papyrus Fragment of the Gospel of Matthew in the Michigan Collection', *Harvard Theological Review* 19 (1926) 215-26; id., in J.G. Winter (ed.), *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, vol. 3: *Miscellaneous Papyri* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1936) 9-14, no. 137. The arrows indicate the direction of the fibres on each side of the papyrus leaf.

70   Cf. Sanders ('Early Papyrus Fragment', 215); van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 378; Aland, *Repertorium*, 259; and Turner, *Typology*, 147.

71   Sanders, 'Early Papyrus Fragment', 216-7.

72   Sanders, *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, 3.12 n. 26.

73   Sanders, *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, 3.10.

74   Sanders, 'Early Papyrus Fragment', 217.

75   The second hand has also made corrections above the line in three places.

76   F.G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus in the Greek Bible*, Fasc. 2: *The Gospels and Acts, Text* (London: Emery Walker, 1933), *The Gospels and Acts, Plates* (London: Emery Walker, 1934). For recent editions of fragments see T.C. Skeat and B.C. McGing, 'Notes on the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus I (Gospels and Acts)', *Hermathena* 150 (1991) 21-5 and pll.; and W.J. Elliott and D.C. Parker (eds.), *The New Testament in Greek*, vol. 4.1: *The Gospel According to St. John: The Papyri* (International Greek New Testament Project; NTTS 20; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 52-67.

77   H. Gerstinger, 'Ein Fragment des Chester-Beatty Evangelienkodex in der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien', *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 67-73; G. Zuntz, 'Reconstruction of the Leaf of the Chester Beatty Papyrus of the Gospels and Acts (Mt. XXV, 41-XXVI, 39)', *Chronique d'Égypte* 52 (1951) 191-211 and pll.

78   Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. 2, *Text*, v-vi.

79   Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 371.

80   Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. 2, *Text*, vi.

81   Aland, *Repertorium*, 269-72; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 371.

82   T.C. Skeat, 'A Codicological Analysis of the Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex of Gospels and Acts (P45)', *Hermathena* 155 (1993) 27-43, repr. in Elliott, *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*, 141-57.

83   Roberts and Skeat, *Birth of the Codex*, 66.

84   *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. 2, *Text*, viii-ix. Kenyon provides descriptions of all of the letters, while Zuntz notes the letters generally fill an 'identical space each, with the slight variations tending to cancel out each other throughout the long lines' ('Reconstruction', 193).

85   Zuntz, 'Reconstruction', 192.

86   E.C. Colwell, 'Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text', in J.P. Hyatt (ed.), *The Bible in Modern Scholarship: Papers Read at the 100th Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, December 28-30, 1964* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1965) 370-89; repr. as 'Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P⁴⁵, P⁶⁶, P⁷⁵', in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1969) 106-24.

87   'In P⁷⁵ the text that is produced can be explained in all its variants as the result of a single force, namely the disciplined scribe who writes with the intention of being careful and accurate' (Colwell, 'Scribal Habits in Early Papyri', 381). J.R. Royse ('Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri', Th.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1981, 538-9; cf. 684-93) identifies 116 corrections (with only 5 by other hands), the vast majority of which correct 'scribal blunders' to the reading in B, which suggests that no second exemplar was involved.

88   G.D. Fee, 'The Corrections of Papyrus Bodmer II and Early Textual Transmission', *Novum Testamentum* 7 (1964/65) 247-57.

89   See Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 133-5.

90   Kenyon (*The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. 2, *Text*, ix) notes that when 'two letters occur together, as in υιος, three dots are placed above them'. See the comments of Zuntz ('Reconstruction', 192 n. 5) on the scribe's use of *iota* adscript which consistently appears after η and ω (but not α).

91   Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. 2, *Text*, ix.

92   Cf. Kenyon was of the opinion that a later hand had added more punctuation 'in heavy dots of strokes above the line at the end of a clause' (*The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. 2, ix).

93   Although several verse breaks are not marked in fol. 2ᵛ of the P.Beatty fragments and on the → of P.Vindob. G. 31974, there is consistency elsewhere. But it should be noted that many verse breaks in Matthew coincide with lacunae in the papyrus.

94   Because Mark and Acts were next to each other in the lump of papyrus that arrived in England, Kenyon thought that the gospels may have been in the so-called Western order (*The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. 2, viii). However, I proceed here in the order of the gospels in Kenyon's edition.

95   If the gospels were in the Western order (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), the use of medial points must have been quite inconsistent in John and Luke before grinding to a halt early in Mark.

96   See fol. 19ᵛ (Acts 6:7-7:2). Note also that throughout the transcription Kenyon records medial points as high points.

97   This was anticipated at the ends of Mk. 9:26 and 12:27 where a blob of ink was written instead of a stroke. Short raised strokes are missing in fol. 23ᵛ, but they resume in the next folio (24ᵛ) where a thinner pen begins to be used.

98   Again blobs are inaccurately marked as high points in Kenyon's edition.

99   See G.N. Stanton, *Jesus and Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 198, 73 n. 38, citing T.C. Skeat; and Hurtado,

Earliest Christian Artifacts, 174-7, who favours public use.

100 L.W. Hurtado, 'P⁴⁵ and the Textual History of the Gospel of Mark', in C. Horton (ed.), *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels: The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P⁴⁵* (*Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements* 30; London: T. & T. Clark International, 2004) 146-7 (132-48).

101 As seen above, other third-century gospel MSS designated private nevertheless conform to third-century fashion or expectations concerning the size of gospel codices.

102 R.L. Starr, 'The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman world', *Classical Quarterly* 37 (1987) 213 (213-23), envisons texts circulating 'in a series of widening concentric circles determined primarily by friendship'. Cf. the discussions of Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 83-93, esp. 88; and Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 158-9.

103 Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 90-1.

104 Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 159-60.

105 Cf. G.H.R. Horsley, 'Classical Manuscripts in Australia and New Zealand, and the Early History of the Codex', *Antichthon* 27 (1993) 60-85, who argues that initially Christian groups commissioned copies of their texts 'from established scriptoria', and that it was only as demand increased that they set up their own 'scriptoria which produced serviceable, "in-house" copies with growing proficiency'. By the fourth century these had become 'highly professional scriptoria which set great store not only by accuracy but also by aesthetic appeal' (74-5). If this schema is generally allowed, there are grounds for placing the 'growing proficiency' of the second phase (well advanced by *c*. 175 as this study has demonstrated) at an earlier time than Horsley seems to have envisaged. However, Christian private copying was probably a factor from the very beginning. The very early and almost universal practice of contracting *nomina sacra* is a strong argument in favour of Christian scribes and copyists (Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 78).

106 By the end of the first century, the book trade 'had secured a role in the circulation of literature' (Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 91).

107 So Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 78.

108 For a discussion of writing tools see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 8.

109 Cf. Cribiore, *Writing*, 3-11.

110 Cribiore, *Writing*, 69-72; Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 89 and n. 44.

111 T.C. Skeat, 'Was Papyrus Regarded as "Cheap" or "Expensive" in the Ancient World?' *Aegyptus* 75 (1995) 75-93, concludes that a roll of *c*. 11 m would cost about 2 dr, so a single sheet suitable for writing a letter 'would cost one-fifth of an obol – surely not an excessive expense' (90).

112 T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 46. In Graeco-Roman Egypt 'the elite were concentrated in the cities': P. van Minnen, 'Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period', *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 28 (1998) 100 (99-184).

113 H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973) 1.642, quoted by Cribiore, *Writing*, 19 n. 48.

114 H.C. Youtie, 'βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy', *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 12 (1971) 239-61; repr. with addenda in id., *Scriptiunculae* [Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973] 2.629-51); cf. Cribiore, *Writing*, 104, 151-2. Slow writers ranged from the illiterate feigning ability to write to those who could write with difficulty in poor hands a short subscription under a text written on their behalf. On possible alternatives routes to literacy other than schooling see N. Horsfall, 'Statistics or States of Mind', in M. Beard *et al.*, *Literacy in the Roman World* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 3; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1991) 59-76.

115 Cribiore, *Writing*, 20; cf. 132-5. At a slight remove from the slow writer were those who could write 'an epistle in quivering but somewhat empowering characters' (id., *Gymnastics*, 159), and then those who could more easily write at length, and so on.

116 See E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering, 'Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt to the Mid-Fourth Century', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 20 (1977) 69-70 (47-71). Cf. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 82-8; and W. Clarysse, 'Literary Papyri in Documentary "Archives"', in E. Van 't Dack *et al.* (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World, Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven, 24-26 May 1982* (*Studia Hellenistica* 27; Leuven: Peeters, 1983) 43-61 (I am grateful to W. Clarysse for this reference and the following).

117 See D.J. Thompson, 'Ptolemaios and the "Lighthouse": Greek Culture in the Memphite Serapeum', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 33 (1987) 105-21. Apollonios left the village of Psichis in the Herakleapolite nome to join his brother

118 Cribiore, *Gymnastics*, 188-9. On writing of letters see 215-19.

119 Cribiore, *Gymnastics*, 245-6 (BGU 2.423).

120 See the Conspectus of Texts concerning the rise of Christianity in Egypt at http://www.anchist.mq.edu.au/doccentre/PCE homepage.htm (accessed 30 March 2007). Papyri from the Rise of Christianity in Egypt is a project of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University.

121 P. van Minnen, 'The Roots of Egyptian Christianity', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 40 (1994) 71-85, esp. 75-7.

122 See P.Col. 8.230 (early third century? Karanis), the deacons Anchophis and Sansneus are nominated as *sitologoi*; P.Oxy. 10.1254 (260, Oxyryhchus), Petrus is appointed to an expensive public office; and P.Cair.Isid. 114 (304, Karanis), Johannes, a former gymnasiarch. For other papyri containing Christian names (some involving activities requiring literacy) and letters see M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto: lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II-IV* (*Studi e testi di Papyrologia* 3, Firenze: Le Monnier, 1968), Judge and Pickering, and the Conspectus of Texts at the Papyri from the Rise of Christianity in Egypt website (see n. 119).

123 See Eusebius, *H.E.* 7.24.

124 Van Minnen, 'Boorish or Bookish?' 184. He argues that Christians must have comprised at least 25% of the population of Egypt in the early fourth century ('The Roots of Egyptian Christianity' 73).

125 Morgan notes that the 'atypicality of Egypt' has been challenged by a number of comparative studies and concludes that the socio-cultural implications of this would vary from place to place and between social groups (*Literate Education*, 45).

126 W.V. Harris, 'Literacy and Epigraphy, I', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 52 (1983) 97 (87-111), contrasts such areas with 'thoroughly hellenised areas' like mainland Greece, Macedon, the Aegean, coastal areas of varying depth and character in Asia Minor'.

127 This was more likely to occur in controlled settings. Tov's observations probably hold good here: 'Since we do not believe that scribes were so actively involved in content analysis, it appears that scribal decisions on the type of relation between section units should often, but definitely not always, be considered *ad hoc*, made upon the completion of one unit and before embarking on the next' (*Scribal Practices*, 144; cf. 150).

128 Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 159-60.

129 Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 17.

130 Cf. the brief discussion of 𝔓⁶⁶ in comparison with 𝔓⁷⁵ above.

131 Documentary work could also involve the use of shorthand.

132 Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 109.

133 Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 109-12. Cf. the discussion on Hippolytus and Cyprian (127-30).

134 Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 121-2.

135 Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 122.

136 On the movement of written communications and manuscripts between early Christian groups see also M.B. Thompson, 'The Holy Internet: Communication between Churches in the First Christian Generation' (49-70), and L. Alexander, 'Ancient Book Production and Circulation of the Gospels' (71-105), in R.J. Bauckham (ed.), *The Gospels for all Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

137 Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 104-7.

138 In comparing text division in 𝔓⁶⁶ and 𝔓⁷⁵ Martin and Kasser (*Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV*, 1.15) noted agreement and disagreement and concluded that the practice was still in its developmental phase. By the time of the great fourth- and fifth-century codices, the primary markers of text division (*ekthesis* and vacant line ends) are virtually settled, but there are still individual differences. My own examination of quality facsimiles found that Codex Sinaiticus has *ekthesis*, vacant line ends, the occasional medial point or dicolon, but not the *paragraphos*. Likewise, Codex Vaticanus contains *ekthesis*, vacant line ends, and very occasionally a high point, but also vacant spaces in the text, the *paragraphos*, and dicola at the end of Matthew, Mark and John, but not Luke. While Codex Alexandrinus has *ekthesis*, vacant line ends, vacant spaces in the text and medial points, but not the *paragraphos*.

139 The second-century evidence itself vitiates any perceived circularity in the argument.