The Titles of the Gospels in the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts

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Prolegomena

The 27th Nestle-Aland hand edition of the New Testament is without doubt an extraordinary achievement, as are its many predecessors. As has sometimes been remarked, however, it does have certain flaws, and it is the purpose of the present article to identify and attempt to rectify one of these flaws. It is unfair, however, to single out Nestle-Aland, as the problem under discussion here is shared with other NT hand editions, such as the UBS and SBL texts.[1] The issue to be addressed in this article is that of the presentation of the titles of the four gospels in the main text of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* as well as in its *apparatus criticus*. See also the Additional Note on NA[28].

The Nestle-Aland Titles

The problems with the presentation of titles in Nestle-Aland boil down to six, sometimes overlapping, elements.

First, information provided about gospel titles in NA[27] is confined to the *opening* titles. Modern readers of course expect that a title will be provided at the beginning of a work, but this was not necessarily true in antiquity. Ancient book titles often appeared at the end of a text. Having discussed the placement of titles in rolls, Schubart notes *in re* early codices: 'Wie dort [*sc.* in the roll], steht auch hier [*sc.* in the codex] der Haupttitel am Ende des Textes …'.[2] The situation is actually more complicated than Schubart suggests[3], but, all the same, end-titles are very significant, and at least just as common, probably even more common than opening titles. In her study of rolls and codices of

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1 The Greek New Testament, London [4]1993; M.W. Holmes (ed.), The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition, Atlanta/ Bellingham 2010.

2 W. Schubart, Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern, Berlin/Leipzig 1921, 139.

3 See C. Wendel, Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des Vorderen Orients, Halle 1949, 27, discusses a passage in Dio Chrysostom about authors writing their names both at the beginning and at the end of a work (Or. 53,9–10) and another in Augustine who reports that he did not see the title of Jerome's work at the beginning of the codex *ut adsolet* (Ep. 40,2 [CSEL 34,71]). This passage of course attests to both what Augustine was familiar with, but also the opposite.

epic poetry, Schironi poses the question: 'Why are end-titles far more common than beginning-titles?'[4] In NA[27] copious information is provided about subscript titles and colophons to the Pauline letters with Hebrews, but there is no information in the apparatus about any of the subscriptions to the gospels (or other NT books).[5] More understandable is the lack of reference to other titles, such as running headers, which have been little studied.[6] There are in fact a number of locations in which titles may appear: (i) on a flyleaf, i.e. on a page of its own; (ii) an opening title above or at the beginning of the text of the particular gospel; (iii) in a list of the contents of a codex, or in the title of a *kephalaia* or *capitula* list, or in the title of an *argumentum*; (iv) as a running title, at the top of a page (or across an opening) more or less consistently through a manuscript of a gospel; (v) as a *subscriptio* at the end of a gospel: this too might be subdivided into the end-title *tout simple*, and those titles which appear in longer colophons (see e.g. on Codex Bezae below). This clarification of terminology is important, in particular because (ii), (iii) and (iv) are sometimes lumped together under the heading of *superscriptiones* or *inscriptiones* (superscriptions/ Überschriften), even though their position in the manuscript often dictates a different form of the title:[7] where a manuscript has an introductory title in the longer form (e.g. ευαγγελιον κατα μαθθαιον), for example, the running header may still appear in the shorter form (e.g. κατα μαθθαιον), as in Codex Bezae. Henceforth, the word "title" will be used indiscriminately to refer to any of the above, whereas if a particular location is in view, this will be specified.

A second, and related question is that of how the *inscriptiones* in NA[27] are reconstructed or identified. Leaving aside mistakes about particular readings in manuscripts, there is one instance of a problematic method, namely where evidence for an *opening* title is derived from a *subscript* title: in NA[27]'s "Variae Lectiones Minores" (Appendix 2), it is noted that the reading ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην is assigned to "(A)" in parenthesis because the *inscriptio* has been reconstructed or transferred "*e subscriptione*".[8] This practice of reconstructing the opening title with a post-script title may not be legitimate (because the form of a title can vary according to its placement), nor is this practice carried out consistently.

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4 F. Schironi, ΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ: Book-ends, End-titles, and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry, Durham, NC 2010, 83 (cf. 21.39 n. 97.80.82). Complementary to Schironi's study of end-titles is M. Caroli, Il titolo iniziale nel rotolo librario greco-egizio: Con un catalogo delle testimonianze iconografiche greche e di area vesuviana, Bari 2007, although this is confined to rolls. On Coptic titles, see P. Buzi, Titoli e autori nella tradizione copta, Pisa 2005.

5 Some reference is made in the appendix to NA[27], as we will see below.

6 The best coverage of running headers in early manuscripts is in D.C. Parker, Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text, Cambridge 1992, 10–22.

7 See e.g. the use of *inscriptio* for both opening and running titles in C. Tischendorf, Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus, Leipzig 1843, 11*.

8 Novum Testamentum Graece, Stuttgart 27.51998, 732.

Thirdly, another matter which relates to the appendix of the *variae lectiones minores* is a small inconsistency in how different hands are treated in the NA²⁷ apparatus. One can compare here the presentation of the *inscriptio* of John's gospel. The evidence from Washingtoniensis is given as 'Wˢ' and that of Sinaiticus and Vaticanus as '(א B)'. The parenthesis calls for consultation of Appendix 2, which indicates writing 'secunda manu'. Most readers will take all this to mean that the W evidence is solid, but that of א and B less secure: they are after all placed in brackets and indicated as coming from a second hand. In fact the opposite is the case, although one cannot really find this out from Nestle-Aland alone. As we shall see, the "second hand" in א is part of the original scriptorium, and the same is probably true of B, whereas Wˢ postdates the original writing of Washingtonianus perhaps by three or four centuries. The present article will attempt to remedy such complex matters by presenting the data about the hands in as rational a manner as possible without compromising clarity.

Fourthly, each *inscriptio* is printed in the form ⌈ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΝ ⌉ etc. This placement of half-parentheses around the title may have the effect of leading unwary students, many of whom have no knowledge of textual criticism, to doubt the textual security of the title *in toto*, whereas in fact all that is in question is whether this shorter title should be prefaced by ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ. This is not a point at which the editors can be at all blamed, but there is a simpler – and less potentially misleading – way of presenting the data, which we shall explore below.

Fifthly, the versional evidence is presented rather erratically. Sometimes modern editions are cited rather than particular manuscripts, and moreover individual manuscripts are cited which are of little text-critical importance. Sometimes when particular versions are cited, the manuscript base – or the rationale for it – is unclear, though again this is by no means a problem specific to Nestle-Aland.⁹ The titles in the versions are little studied, as can be seen also from the broader literature such as the recent work of Hengel and Petersen, which make little refererence to the titles in non-Greek manuscripts.¹⁰

Finally, we will see below that there is reason to wonder whether Nestle-Aland and the other hand editions are justified in printing the titles in their shorter (κατα κτλ.) rather than their longer (ευαγγελιον κατα κτλ.) forms.

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9 The variety of different Old Latin manuscript bases in NT editions can be seen clearly in J.K. Elliott, Old Latin Manuscripts in Printed Editions of the Greek New Testament, NT 26 (1984) 225–248.

10 Hengel makes some reference to the Latin tradition; see the discussion of the Latin evidence below.

Aim

The present article aims to rectify these difficulties as much as possible, in two distinct stages.

    First, the various titles of the gospels in the earliest manuscripts will be set out systematically (§ 1: Greek; § 2: Latin; § 3: Syriac; § 4: Coptic). This has not to my knowledge yet been done, and so it is hoped that a convenient reference point will encourage greater attention to the gospel titles.[11] All gospel manuscripts very likely to predate 500 CE which have titles are included.[12] The focus here is on continuous gospel manuscripts, and so excluded are gospel titles on amulets and other miscellaneous texts[13], as well as patristic citations, canon lists and stichometries, which would be tasks in themselves.[14] The reason for the cut-off point of 500 CE is partly pragmatic and partly rational: pragmatic, because extending the terminus by a further century would multiply the number of manuscripts beyond what would be possible to discuss in an article; rational because the subject of debate, viz. what is printed in

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11 The manuscript evidence for the titles has generally been considered in brief compass by others. S. Petersen, Die Evangelienüberschriften und die Entstehung des neutestamentlichen Kanons, ZNW 97 (2006) 250–274, touches upon the titles in Greek manuscripts (253–255) in the course of a larger discussion of their origin. The most extensive discussions of the origin of the titles are those of M. Hengel, of which the largest is now his Die Evangelienüberschriften, in: idem, Kleine Schriften. V. Jesus und die Evangelien (WUNT 211), Tübingen 2007, 526–567, an expanded and updated version of a publication of the same name from 1984. The most extensive description is Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 10–22, which is focused on the Greek and Latin evidence; although in need of correction and supplementation, Parker's study is invaluable on the Latin evidence where so few facsimiles are available. D.C. Aune, The Meaning of Εὐαγγέλιον in the Inscriptiones of the Canonical Gospels, in: E. Mason (ed.), A Teacher for All Generations, in: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam, Leiden 2012, 857–882, is helpful on the wider question in its own title, but is inaccurate and incomplete on the manuscripts (e.g. on A C D W).

12 See B.M. Metzger, The Early Versions of the New Testament, Oxford 1977, for the fact that no manuscripts survive for this period from the other versions. The closest is the Gothic version, whose oldest witness the Codex Argenteus *might* date to the fifth century, but this is far from certain. See R. Gryson, La version gotique des Évangiles: Essai de réévaluation', RTL 21 (1990) 3–31 (6 and n. 7.20–21), giving a date 'à la fin du Vᵉ s. ou au début du VIᵉ s' (21).

13 On amulets, see above all P. Mirecki, Evangelion-Incipits Amulets in Greek and Coptic: Towards a Typology, in: Proceedings of the 2001 Midwest Regional Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and the American Schools of Oriental Research 4 (2001) 143–153 (cf. also P.Oxy. 1077); for a survey of non-continuous texts, see P.M. Head, Additional Greek Witnesses to the New Testament (Ostraca, Amulets, Inscriptions and other sources), in: M.W. Holmes / B.D. Ehrman (eds.), The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis (forthcoming).

14 Hengel, Evangelienüberschriften (see n. 11), and Petersen, Evangelienüberschriften (see n. 11), have surveyed the patristic evidence.

Nestle-Aland, is based almost exclusively on the manuscripts from this earlier period.[15]

Following this (in § 5), the titles as they appear in these manuscripts will be analysed for (a) the purpose of reconstructing what might be the *Ausgangstext* or initial text of the superscript and subscript titles, and therefore (b) how they might best be presented in a hand edition like that of Nestle-Aland. This will involve the assessment of all the evidence for the titles. The main argument of this article is that the evidence for the *inscriptiones* containing the longer form of the titles has been underestimated, and that the longer forms should also be reproduced in hand editions in *subscriptiones*.

Presentation

Each sub-section heading in this article will present for each manuscript the gospel contents in the order in the manuscript, the number of columns per page (which is relevant to where titles are located), and the date (e.g.: $\mathfrak{P}66 – Jn – 1$ *col. – late ii–early iii*); discussion of the texts of the gospel titles in every place where these appear is accompanied, where relevant, with treatment of the question of when the titles were included relative to the copying of the main body of the text. Text in *scriptio continua* is printed here in §§ 1–4 continuously, with line divisions also marked, though in the later analysis (§ 5) word divisions will be introduced, line divisions will be removed, and abbreviated forms restored. Within each section, manuscripts are treated in chronological order (as far as this is known).

1. The Greek Manuscript Evidence

1.1. $\mathfrak{P}$ 66 – Jn – 1 col. – late ii–early iii[16]

For the sake of argument here, we will take $\mathfrak{P}66$ as the earliest manuscript witness to a title, though the fly-leaf associated with the $\mathfrak{P}4$ fragments is just as strong a contender, as is perhaps $\mathfrak{P}75$. The only title of any kind which survives is the introductory title to John's gospel, indented at the very top of the surviving text: ευαγγελιον ⊱ κατα [ι]ωαννην.[17] It is probably written in the

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15 One might also note the analogy of Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 17–20, who discusses similar evidence up to 500 CE.

16 See V. Martin, Papyrus Bodmer II: Évangile de Jean 1–14, Cologny/Geneva 1956, and Plate I for the title. On the date, the conventional assignment "c. 200" is rather nebulous, and Turner/Parsons prefer in any case a more definitely later date of 'earlier iii A.D.' or '*c.* A.D. 200–50': see E.G. Turner, Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World. Second Edition Revised and Enlarged by P.J. Parsons, London 1987, 108.

17 It is possible that there is an apostrophe between the two *gammas* in ευαγγελιον. There does not seem to be a diaeresis on the *iota* in John's name (though cf. ϊωανης in 1.6).

same hand as the main body of the text, though was perhaps added later as it might not be part of the natural layout of the page.[18]

1.2 Paris, Suppl. gr. 1120 i 3/ ? 𝔓 4 Fragment E – Mt. – (1 col.) – late ii–early iii[19]

This manuscript is a flyleaf simply containing the title ευαγγελιον | ϗαταμαθ'θαιον. The reason for the unusual designation of the manuscript here is that while the fragment has sometimes been included as a part of 𝔓4 (fragments of Luke), it is not usually so.[20] (For convenience, I will refer to it below as 𝔓4.) The reason it is neglected is perhaps because the fragment is taken not to contain continuous text of the NT, although scholars (including Kurt Aland) invariably state that it was a fly-leaf or title page prefacing the text of Matthew's gospel: as such it was clearly intended as part of a continuous NT text. (It is too big to be an amulet, for example.) It is a significant fragment in that it is the earliest manuscript title of Matthew's gospel, and yet has never been mentioned as a witness to the title in the standard hand-editions of the NT.

1.3 𝔓 75 – Lk-Jn – 1 col. – early iii[21]

This papyrus fragment provides two titles, because folio 44*r* has the end of Luke and the beginning of John. The subscription to Luke's gospel begins on the line following the end of the main body: ευαγ'γελιον | κατα | λουκαν, after which there are 2–3 blank lines followed by the introductory title ευαγγελιον | καταïωανην. There is no reason to suppose that these titles were not written by the original hand after finishing Luke and before commencing John: 'Le titre final de Luc et le titre initial de Jean, séparés par un vide de quelques lignes sur la même page, sont de la main du copiste du reste du texte'.[22] A number of the pages are sufficiently well preserved at the top to make it tolerably clear that there are no running headers.

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18 Martin, Papyrus Bodmer II (see n. 16), 21.

19 For further information, including plate and transcription, see S.J. Gathercole, The Earliest Manuscript Title of Matthew's Gospel (BnF Suppl. gr. 1120 ii 3 / ? 𝔓4), NT 54 (2012) 209–235. I examined the manuscript at the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris (7.ii.2012), and am very grateful to Christian Förstel, the curator of Greek manuscripts, for his kind assistance.

20 K. Aland labels the fragment as part of 𝔓4 in two places: Neue neutestamentliche Papyri II, NTS 12 (1965/66) 193–210, here 193–194, and Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes, Berlin 1967, 108; see also C. Astruc / M.-L. Concasty (eds.), Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Troisième partie: Le supplément grec III, Paris 1960, 241 (§ 1120); Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 11, calls it "𝔓4 (Fragment C)".

21 See V. Martin / R. Kasser, Papyrus Bodmer XIV: Évangile de Luc: chap. 3–24 (Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV: Évangiles de Luc et Jean I), Cologny/Geneva 1956; Papyrus Bodmer XV: Évangile de Jean. chap. 1–15 (Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV: Évangiles de Luc et Jean II), Cologny/Geneva 1961.

22 Martin/Kasser, Papyrus Bodmer XIV (see n. 21), 14.

1.4 𝔓 62 – Mt. – 2 rows (bilingual) – early (?) iv[23]

𝔓62 has suffered neglect similar to that of 𝔓4. The codex consists of Mt 11,25–30 and Dan 3,50–55 in Greek and (Akhmimic) Coptic, with an initial title page as follows:

[π] εγα[γ]γελ[ι]ον
[πκα]ταμαθαιος
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
[ευαγ]γελιον
[καταμαθθαιον?][24]

The difficulties here are twofold. In the first place, despite the fact that the text is presented above as Coptic followed by Greek, it is not certain that this is the correct order. The scribe's Greek and Coptic hands are the same.[25] The other evidence goes in both directions: one might much more readily expect the nominative form μαθαιος after κατα in Coptic than in Greek; against this, however, is the fact that the order of the text of Mt 11,25–30 is Greek first and then Coptic, which would lead one to expect that the Greek title came first as well. The form of μαθαιος probably outweighs this latter consideration, however, and so Amundsen's order – as presented above – is probably correct. If this is right, a further complication with the Greek title is the fact that the second ευαγγελιον is very poorly preserved and the second "according to Matthew" not at all: it does seem very unlikely, however, that the attribution was not present in the original text. Although it is the title of an excerpted text, it would be unreasonable to leave it out of a discussion of the earliest titles.

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23 The information here is derived from L. Amundsen, Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection, SO 24 (1945) 121–147. Amundsen remarks on a date in the 'earlier part' of the fourth century on p. 129.

24 Amundsen, Christian Papyri (see n. 23), 121, prints:

[π]εγα[γ]γελ[ι]ον
[ν̄κα]τα μαθαιος
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
[ευαγ]γελιον

25 Amundsen, Christian Papyri (see n. 23), 128.
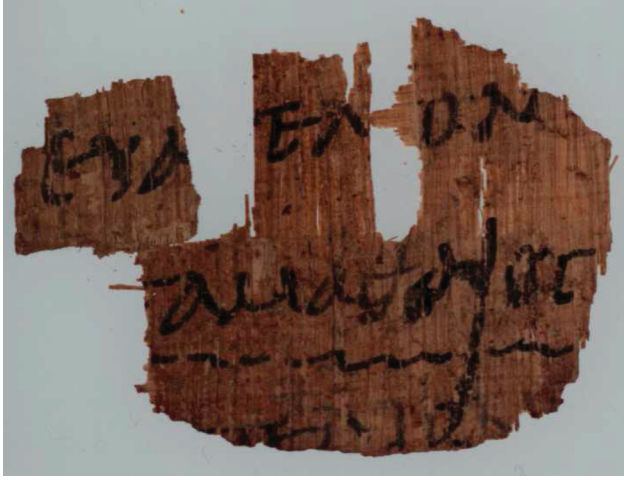
P.Oslo inv. 1661a ($\mathfrak{P}^{62}$) Fragment a, *Verso*. Image and permissions provided by the generosity of the Library of the University of Oslo.[26]

1.5. Codex Sinaiticus (01 א) – Mt-Mk-Lk-Jn – 4 cols – iv[27]

Codex Sinaiticus is often said to be the "oldest bible", though this distinction may belong to Codex Vaticanus. Because a quire is missing, Matthew's gospel begins with no introduction.[28] There is no special superscript title, but there is a header centralised on the page: καταμαθθαιον. Because of its position, this title looks more like a running header than an opening title (compared with the other opening titles in the gospels). After καταμαθθαιον on each of the first three pages, it then appears on each opening, with some occasional variation.[29] There is no subscript title for Matthew, which is unusual for Sinaiticus. At the beginning of Mark, κατα μαρκον is written specifically at the top of the first column, where Mark begins (rather than across the whole page, so clearly not a running header). There follow two openings with κατα μαρκον across each, after which the pattern is to place the running title on alternate openings. At the end, Mark has a subscript title over three lines, written ευαγ'γε | λιον | καταμαρκον. At the top of the next column is καταλουκαν above the beginning of the third gospel. The same pattern of running headers appears here

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26   I am very grateful for the assistance of Dr. Gunn Haaland, Keeper of the papyrus collection in the University of Oslo Library and Director of the Oslo Papyri Electronic System (OPES) project.

27   The readings here are derived from http://codexsinaiticus.org/en/, compared with Codex Sinaiticus. Facsimile Edition Peabody, Mass. / London, 2010. A good summary of information similar to that presented here appears in D. Jongkind, Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus, Piscataway, NJ 2007, 52–53.

28   D.C. Parker, Codex Sinaiticus: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible, London 2010, 73.

29   For a more detailed summary, see Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 21.

as in Mark, with the title κατα λουκαν on alternate openings. The subscript title is ευαγγελιον | καταλουκαν, with the round letters (ε and ο) written extremely small. The same pattern as in Luke appears again in John: initial title κατα ϊωαννην, thereafter the header κατα ϊωαννην across alternate openings. At the end comes the subscript title ευαγγελιον | κατα | ϊωαννην, with minute ε and ο. Nestle-Aland is right that the superscript titles derive from a second hand rather than from Scribe A, but this (and the fact that in the apparatus the ℵ is thus placed in parentheses) is potentially misleading to the unwary since the superscriptions were added by Scribe D who was part of the original scriptorium team[30], and indeed 'probably in charge'.[31] The subscript titles for Luke and probably John were written by the original hand (Scribe A)[32], whereas Scribe D wrote Mark's and possibly (so Tischendorf) John's.[33]

1.6. Codex Vaticanus (03 B) – Mt-Mk-Lk-Jn – 3 cols. – iv[34]

Codex Vaticanus is probably the most consistent of all the great uncials in its presentation of titles. The codex is written by two scribes: Hand A copied Gen. 46.28 – 1 Reigns 19.11 and Psalms to Tobit, and Hand B copied 1 Reigns 19.11 – 2 Esdras, Hosea – Daniel and the New Testament.[35] Milne and Skeat are clear that the subscript titles in the gospels are the work of the original scribe, Hand B.[36] The opening titles are a more complicated matter, and they are marked in NA[27] as belonging to a second hand. As in the case of Codex Sinaiticus above, however, this may give a wrong impression, for it seems very likely that the opening titles are part of the original project, deriving from the work of the scriptorium which produced the codex. The complexity derives in part from the lack of research into the scribes of Codex Vaticanus (at least by

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30 See K. Lake, Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus: The New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, Oxford 1911, xxiv (cf. xxii and Plate I).

31 Parker, Codex Sinaiticus (see n. 28), 65. As is frequently noted, D corrects the work of, for example, A, but is not himself corrected.

32 Parker, Codex Sinaiticus (see n. 28), 73.

33 Lake, Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus (see n. 30), xx (where the argument is also made for a single scribe as the source of the superscriptions); T.C. Skeat, The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine, JThS 50 (1999) 583–625, here 603. The subscriptio to Mark and the opening title to Luke are written by Scribe D (and therefore are still part of the original production) on a cancel leaf (Jongkind, Scribal Habits [see n. 27], 45–46).

34 The data assembled here for the text of Codex Vaticanus is drawn from C. Vercellone / G. Cozza-Luzi (eds.), Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecus Codex Vaticanus, Rome 1868–1881, and the marvellous facsimile, Codex Vaticanus B (Facsimile e Prolegomena): Bibliotheca Apostolicae Vaticanae Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1209 (Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecorum) Rome 1999.

35 H.J.M. Milne / T.C. Skeat, Appendix I: Scribes of the Codex Vaticanus, in: iidem, Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus, London 1938, 87–90.

36 Milne/Skeat, Appendix I: Scribes of the Codex Vaticanus (see n. 35), 88.

comparison with the extensive work done on א), and in part from an objective difficulty: most of the text of Vaticanus (including the titles) was reinked in the tenth or eleventh century making the original text underneath harder to read.[37]

Nevertheless, there is a factor which strongly suggests that the superscript titles are part of the original production.[38] Milne and Skeat had remarked that 'in the lines framing the subscriptions [Hand] A never uses the tailed bar ⌐⌐'.[39] (In fact, this sometimes more closely resembles a ⊤ .) One can add to their observation a point about the superscript titles, namely a distinctive feature which conversely Hand A uses in the lines framing the superscriptions but which Hand B does not. In the earlier books of the Old Testament, copied by Hand A, the opening titles are frequently framed (as Milne and Skeat say of the subscriptions) with lines, and especially in the longer named books, this involves three pairs of lines, roughly as follows:

-   -   -
εξοδος
-   -   -

Frequently, however, in these books up to 1 Reigns, a wavy line or tilde shape is employed in the middle:

-   ~   -
αριθμοι
-   ~   -

Notably, this practice disappears during Hand B's first section (1 Reigns – 2 Esdras), but then reappears in Hand A's next chunk (e.g. in the opening titles of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and *Wisdom of Solomon*). On both of these points (*in re* the tailed bar/⊤, and the wavy line) it is not necessary to assume that the superscriptions are the works of Hands A and B, though this may well be the case. The alternative, however, is that the addition of the opening titles was carried out by others *in co-ordination with* the work of the two copyists. Even on this latter model, then, the natural conclusion is that the opening titles were executed in the scriptorium when the codex was produced.[40]

Coming to the wording of the titles, slightly indented (almost centralised) in the first column of the first New Testament page (p. 1235) is the superscript

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37 For this date, see D.C. Parker, Art. Codex Vaticanus, ABD I, 1074–1075, here 1074.

38 Mai refers to the later corrections of the spelling of Matthew's name as '2. manu' / '2. m.', which may indicate that he thought the inscriptio and subscriptio to have belonged to the first hand. A. Mai (ed.), Novum Testamentum Graecum ex antiquissimo Codice Vaticano, New York 1859, 1.64.

39 Milne/Skeat, 'Appendix I: Scribes of the Codex Vaticanus' (see n. 35), 87.

40 Cf. on Genesis and Revelation, it is noted in T.C. Skeat, The Codex Vaticanus in the Fifth Century, JThS 35 (1984) 454–465, here 458: 'The scribe was clearly instructed to leave some lines blank at the beginnings of Genesis and the Apocalypse for the insertion of titles, which he certainly did not execute himself'.

title + κατα μαθθαιον + (the double *theta* spelling is corrected by the re-inker to ματθαιον). Thereafter, the same form of the title spans each opening (as with all the running headers, the words are centralised in the central column). Matthew finishes in the middle of the second column of page 1277 (the 43rd NT page), after which the scribe writes, centralised: κατα | μαθθαιον. Mark thus begins in the third column of that page, and the scribe writes there, centralised in the third column, κατα μαρκον. Thereafter κατα μαρκον spans each opening as a running title, and the scribe adds the subscription κατα | μαρκον. The same applies to Luke (καταλουκαν at the beginning, then the two words across openings, and then κατα λουκαν at the end on a single line) and John (κατα ϊωανην at the beginning, then across openings, and then κατα | ϊωανην at the end).

1.7. Codex Bezae (05 D) – Mt-Jn-Lk-Mk – 1 col. – iv–v[41]

Codex Bezae contains the gospels in the Western order.[42] The bilingual text has facing Greek and Latin pages. It is perhaps the most chaotic of all the great uncials in its presentation of titles, which are all the work of the original scribe, and appear in alternating red and black ink.[43] Through no fault of its own, however, the codex's beginning is missing, and so we have no opening title for Matthew, but we do have running headers, which are spelled or abbreviated in a variety of ways: κατα μαθθαιον, κατ μαθθαιον, κατα μαθθεον, κατ μαθθ, and κα μαθθ, with some pages omitting headers altogether.[44] Rather than having a separate subscript title at the end of Matthew, it has a colophon announcing the conclusion of Matthew and the beginning of John: ευαγγελιον κατα | μαθθαιον ετελεσθη | αρχεται ευαγγελιον | κατα ιωαννην.[45] There is a title at the top of John (κατα [ιωαννην], or κατα [ιωανην]), but in the same (shorter) form as the running titles, and it may well have been simply a routine page heading rather than a deliberate superscript title marking the beginning of the gospel. The variety of running headers becomes positively bewildering: κατ ιωαν, κατ ιωαννην, κατ ϊοαν, κατ ϊωαν, and κατα ιωαν (as in Matthew, with some pages where a header is omitted). Again, at the end comes a colo-

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41 On the strength of Parker's dating D to c. 400, I have placed D here before A and C. See Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 281.284. A probably predates C.

42 Information is derived from Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis: Quattuor Evangelia et Actus apostolorum complectens Graece et Latine. Sumptibus Academiae phototypice repraesentatus (Cambridge 1899), the CSNTM website, and an examination of the manuscript (9.ii.2012). I am extremely grateful to Dr Patrick Zutshi (Keeper of Manuscripts), Ms Jayne Ringrose (Deputy Keeper of Manuscripts) and Mr Frank Bowles (Superintendent, Manuscripts Reading Room) all of the University Library, Cambridge, for their permission and assistance.

43 See Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 22–23.

44 For a comprehensive list of D's headers, see Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 14–16.

45 See Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 11.

phon, with the same colour pattern as before: ευαγγελιον κατα | ιωανην (cf. ιωαννην above) ετελεσθη | αρχεται ευαγγελιον | κατα λουκαν. The longer version of the title, ευαγγελ· κατ λουκαν, appears again above the beginning of Luke's text (centralised, i.e. in the same position as the running titles), and the running titles proper fluctuate unpredictably between κατ λουκ and κατ λουκαν. As before, at the end comes ευαγγελιον· κατ λουκαν | επληρωθη· (cf. ετελεσθη after John) αρχεται κατ μαρκον: the shorter title for Mark here may have appeared because the scribe did not have enough space to include ευαγγελιον in the two-line colophon; on the facing page he wrote *euang secund lucam explicit | incipit euang secund marcum* – here again the pressures of space are evident in the abbreviation of *euangelium*. The full title comes at the top of Mark: ευαγγελιον κατ μαρκον. The running header is usually either κατ μαρκον, or κατ μαρκ, but one also finds the fuller κατα μαρκον, and one real oddity – presumably influenced by the Latin side of the scribe's brain – κατ μαρσον (fol. 296b)! No subscript title survives from the original copy, as the manuscript breaks off at Mark 16.15 (fol. 347b).[46] Many of these inconsistencies on the Greek side are paralleled on the Latin side, as will be seen in § 2.2 below.

1.8. Codex Washingtonianus (032 W) – Mt-Jn-Lk-Mk – 1 col. – iv–v[47]

Codex Washingtonianus (sometimes Washingtonensis or Washingtoniensis), from the Freer biblical manuscripts, is a four-gospel codex. A date of 4th–5th century is given in the *Liste*, although this is sometimes contested.[48] The first page of Matthew has an initial title, centralised in the header: [ευα]γγελιον κατα μαθ[θαι]ο[ν].[49] The subscript title is the same except for a different spelling of Matthew's name: ευαγγελιον κατα | μαθθεον (cf. μαθθεος in Matt.

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46 The end is re-copied in a later hand, with ευαγγελιον καταμαρκον | ετελεσθη. See Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 45–49 for the argument for a ninth-century date.

47 The evidence here is drawn from the CSNTM website (http://www.csntm.org/manuscript), checked against H.A. Sanders, Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Freer Collection, Ann Arbor, MI 1912. Although not strictly relevant to the matter of the titles, it is perhaps worth noting that accompanying the picture of the evangelist Mark in W is + μαρκος written vertically alongside him; similarly the end of Luke's name survives: certainly the *alpha*, and a trace of the *sigma* as well. According to C.R. Morey, The Painted Covers of the Manuscript, in: Sanders, Facsimile, vii–x, however, these are 7th–8th century.

48 See e.g. U. Schmid, Reassessing the Palaeography and Codicology of the Freer Gospel Manuscript, in: L.W. Hurtado (ed.), The Freer Biblical Manuscripts: Fresh Studies of an American Treasure Trove, Atlanta, GA 2006, 227–250.

49 This is perhaps not so legible now as it was a century ago: H.A. Sanders, The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection, London 1912, 145, printed [ευ]αγγελιον κατα μαθθαιον, but [ευα]γγελιον κατα μαθ[θαι]ο[ν] might be nearer what is now evident from the online photographs. Parker, omitting reference to ευαγγελιον, gives κατα μαθθα[ιον] (Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 12).

9.9, as also in Lk. 6.15 and Mk 3.18; in Matt. 10.3 it is ματ'θαιος). After Matthew comes John, at the beginning of which is a replacement quire for Jn 1,1 – 5,12a (pages 113–128 in the codex) copied by a different, perhaps eighth-century hand.[50] Scribe Wˢ as he is usually called (as in the NA apparatus) is thus responsible for the initial title ευαγγελιον κατα ϊωαννην at the beginning of John. (The other titles are all contemporaneous with the rest of the text.[51]) The subscript title appears in the short form, καταϊωαννην. Luke has two similar longer titles, an initial title ευαγγελιον καταλουκαν, and a subscript extending over two lines, ευαγγελιον | καταλουκαν. Mark's gospel has ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον initially, and after W's distinctive ending (and an αμην probably marking the end of the codex[52]), a subscript title, again over two lines, but this time divided ευαγγελιον κατα | μαρκον.[53] There are no running headers in the codex. More than compensating for this, however, are the attractive birds in each coronis accompanying the subscript titles of Matthew, John and Luke.[54]

1.9. Codex Alexandrinus (02 A) – Mt-Mk-Lk-Jn – 2 cols. – v[55]

In Codex Alexandrinus, the titles are not necessarily all executed by the scribes as they go along, though they are part of the original production of the codex.[56] Matthew's Gospel is missing its first twenty-five leaves, but in what survives, there are running headers which carry not the title of the gospel, but the *kephalaia* or *capitula*. At the end of the gospel we do find a title, after a line-long pattern and elaborate drawing: ευαγγελιον | καταματ | θαιον, in a different, though not necessarily later, hand. Next, after another line-long pattern, is του κατα μαρκον ευαγγελιου αι περιοχαι (all in *scriptio continua*, in the same hand as the *subscriptio* to Matthew), introducing the list of *capitula*. Then there is a superscript at the very top (some way above where the columns of text begin) of the next page above the beginning of Mark's gospel,

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50 J.R. Royse, The Corrections in the Freer Gospels Codex, in: Hurtado (ed.), Freer Biblical Manuscripts (see n. 48), 185–226, here 186. Cf. the remark of Sanders that these leaves 'seem to be earlier' (Facsimile [see n. 47], v).

51 Sanders, Facsimile (see n. 47), v; L.W. Hurtado, Introduction, in: idem (ed.), Freer Biblical Manuscripts (see n. 48), 1–15, here 8. The birds (see above) are obvious evidence of a particular consistency in the colophons for the first three gospels in the codex.

52 Hurtado, Introduction (see n. 51), 9.

53 There is a further, much later colophon after the subscript title.

54 Noted in Hurtado, Introduction (see n. 51), 8.

55 The data here is taken from The Codex Alexandrinus. In Reduced Photographic Facsimile, London 1909.

56 See H.J.M. Milne / T.C. Skeat, Appendix II: Scribes of the Codex Alexandrinus, in: iidem, Scribes and Correctors (see n. 35), 91–93. They clearly assume the contemporaneity of the colophons and the main text (they use them to distinguish between the hands), and there is no reason from the appearance of the script to assume that the opening titles of Mark and Luke are from a later period.

and stretching across the whole first column (the first column of the front of leaf 30):

[ευαγγε]λιον >——< κα >——< τα >——< μαρκον

Thereafter come running headers consisting of *capitula* again (e.g. αρνησις πετρου in col. 2 of the front of leaf 41), with sometimes more than one in the header because of the length of the columns. Finally, at the end of the gospel after a line of patterning there is a subscript title spread over five lines of diminishing length: ευαγγελιον | κατα | μαρ | κο | ν. Luke's gospel begins (at the start of leaf 43) similarly, with a *capitula* list to which is appended τουκαταλου | κανευαγγε | λιουτακε | φαλαια. At the top of the next leaf, stretching across almost the whole length of the page (spanning both columns, unlike the Mark title above) is widely spaced:

ευαγ γελιον   κατα   λουκαν

Again at the end of the gospel, following a pattern filling a line and an elaborate drawing, the subtitle ευαγγελιον καταλουκαν is written. With John we also have a *capitula* list (beginning at leaf 66), though a rather more modest one (only 18 *capitula* by comparison with 48 in Mark and 83 in Luke), and with no equivalent to του κατα … ευαγγελιου αι περιοχαι / κεφαλαια. The paratextual material is generally less extensive in John: there is no superscript title at the commencement of the gospel, and no running *capitula* either. A title does appear at the end of the gospel, where we find, in a box, ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην.

1.10. Codex Ephraemi rescriptus (04 C) – Mt-Mk-Lk-Jn – 1 col. – v[57]

The most neglected of the great uncials is the palimpsest, Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus, whose gospel text survives underneath Greek text of Ephraem. Here, the superscript titles to Matthew and Luke are not mentioned by Nestle-Aland; Parker omits those of Luke and John.[58] Once the text has been restored to its original order, the title ευαγγελιον κατα ματθαιον (as in A, the *tau-theta* spelling) appears at the beginning. There is no list of *capitula*, and no running headers; since the extant text concludes at Matt. 28.14, the ending where there may have been a *subscriptio* is lost. The loss extends into the beginning of Mark as well, so there is no opening title. Again, as for all four gospels, there are no running headers, but there is a subscript title, centralised and in *scriptio continua*: ευαγγελιονκαταμαρκ[ον]. Luke's gospel begins with a *capitula*

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57 Data from Tischendorf, Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (see n. 7). R.W. Lyon, A Re-examination of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus, NTS 5 (1958/59) 260–272, here 264, provides very helpful details of some of the subscript titles. I examined the manuscript at the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris (7.ii.2012), and am very grateful to Christian Förstel, the curator of Greek manuscripts, for his kind assistance.

58 Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 12: 'C has only one heading extant'.

list, preceded by the heading: τουκαταλουκαν ευαγγελιου τακεφαλαια, followed by no fewer than eighty *capitula*. The beginning of Luke has the title ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν, and a *subscriptio* with the same wording, except in *scriptio continua*: ευαγγελιονκαταλουκαν. John's gospel comes with a similar pattern, although there is no title connected to the *capitula* (which are in any case very incomplete, numbering only 15). The superscript title is ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην, and the subscript, when restored, is the same: ευαγγελιον | κ[ατα ιωαν]νην. This difference in form of the subscript title (going over two lines, unlike Mark's and Luke's) is one factor which leads Lyon to wonder whether a different scribe has copied John.[59] As is clear from this remark, he sees the subscript titles as by the main scribe: I have seen no reason to dispute this having examined the manuscript, and the different subscript to John might be easily explicable as a flourish at the end of the four gospels.

2. The Evidence of Latin Manuscripts

As Tertullian implies, translations of parts of the Bible were made into Latin already in the second century (*Adv. Marc.* 2.9). The present form of the Old Latin text, however, 'cannot be traced back beyond the time of Cyprian of Carthage'.[60] Of the Old Latin Gospel manuscripts recently surveyed by Burton, fourteen can be dated to the fifth century or earlier, of which ten give evidence relevant here.[61] In addition are two early Vulgate manuscripts from the fifth century. Some problems have attended use of Latin titles, such as insufficient care in representing them (see e.g. scholars' corrections of each other sub 2.1 and 2.3 below), the varieties of OL manuscripts employed in printed editions of the New Testament[62], and mention of the OL tradition *en bloc*, rather than with sensitivity to the various different texts.[63]

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59 Lyon, Re-examination (see n. 57), 264.

60 P.H. Burton, The Old Latin Gospels. A Study of their Texts and Language (OECS), Oxford 2000, 30 n. 1.

61 Burton, Old Latin Gospels (see n. 60), 14–28. Various different dates appear in earlier editions, but those supplied in Burton represent the current *communis opinio*.

62 See Elliott, Old Latin Manuscripts (see n. 9), 225–248.

63 M. Hengel, Studies in the Gospel of Mark, London 1985, 66, notes: 'The long form is also supported by the Old Latin translation', with a footnote to Jülicher. Cf. Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 11 ('in fact very little information is provided' in Jülicher).

2.1. Codex Vercellensis (a = Beuron 3) – Mt-Jn-Lk-Mk – 2 cols. – iv[64]

The first two pages of Vercellensis, which do not in any case have an *inscrip-
tio*, do not date back to the fourth century.[65] John and Luke have no titles at
the beginning. A colophon survives between Luke and Mark, occupying the
whole of the column to the left of the beginning of Mark (523a): *euang secun
| lucanum | exp [i]nc | secundum | marcum*. The colophon at the end of Mark
(which is again in a later hand) simply follows directly on from the main text:
explicit euuangelium secundum marcum.[66] The colophons have alternating red
and black lines.[67] As far as running headers are concerned, Buchanan had re-
marked that: 'In *a* the whole title of the three words is on each page'.[68] Gas-
quet corrects this observation: 'In no case is « the whole title of three words
» written « on each page » , as Mr. Buchanan has been led to suppose'.[69] He
adds in a footnote: 'The mistake has arisen no doubt from an examination
of the last 9th century page at the end of St. Mark's Gospel where *Sec.* is
found over one column and *Marcum* over the other'.[70] Gasquet states posi-
tively: 'At the top of the pages in minute uncials are written the titles of the
Gospel: on the left hand page is *secundum*, *secund.* or sometimes *sec.* only; on
the right *Mattheum : Ioannen*[71] *: Lucanum* etc.'[72] Parker has *sec·* and *secu* but
not *secundum* (though this last does appear once in the electronic edition)[73],
with *mattheum* and *mattheum·*, *iohannen* and *iohannem*, *Lucanum* and
marcum·.[74]

2.2. Codex Bezae (d = B5) – Mt-Jn-Lk-Mk – 1 col. – iv–v[75]

The Greek side of Codex Bezae has already been treated above (§ 1.7), and
the placements and forms of the titles are very similar in the Latin half. The
beginning of Matthew does not survive, and running headers to Matthew ap-
pear in the form *sec matthaeum/ mattheum* with various abbreviations of the

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64 Sources: A. Gasquet, Codex Vercellensis, 2 Vol. (CBLa 3), Rome 1914, including plates;
P. McGurk, Latin Gospel Books from AD 400 – AD 800, Amsterdam 1961, 92; Parker,
Codex Bezae (see n. 6), and www.iohannes.org.

65 Gasquet, Codex Vercellensis I (see n. 64), 1, note 'a', confirmed by McGurk.

66 McGurk, Latin Gospel Books (see n. 64), 92.

67 Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 13.

68 E.S. Buchanan (ed.), The Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis (*b*) (Oxford Old-Latin
Biblical Texts 6), Oxford: Clarendon, 1911, ix–x.

69 Gasquet, Codex Vercellensis I (see n. 64), xii.

70 Gasquet, Codex Vercellensis I (see n. 64), xii, n. 1.

71 Or *iohannen,* or *iohannem*, as the www.iohannes.org edition attests, and Gasquet's own
plate confirms.

72 Gasquet, Codex Vercellensis I (see n. 64), xii.

73 According to www.iohannes.org, at p. 182.

74 Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 22.

75 For the text, see the facsimile, Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (see n. 42), and for discussion,
Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6).

evangelist's name: *matthae, matth, matt*, and at one point, reflecting the same kind of bilingual interference which we saw above, μαθθ (fol. 99). A colophon concludes the gospel: *euangelium sec | mattheum explicit | incipit euangelium | sec iohannen* in red and black. Thereafter, the first Latin pages of John are missing, and running headers are consistently *sec iohan*, with again an interesting Graecising exception: *sec ιωαν* (*fol.* 125). The next colophon reads: *euangelium secund · | iohanen explicit | incipit euangelium | sec lucan.* Luke provides evidence also for additional superscript titles in the Latin which have not survived for Matthew and John, with *euang sec lucan* appearing above the beginning of Luke. Running headers come in the shorter form: *sec lucam* or *sec lucan*, and occasionally *sec luc*; Parker also rightly notes a rogue instance of *sec lueam* (*fol.* 243).[76] At the end comes a colophon *euang· secund· lucam explicit | incipit euang secund marcum.* A further title comes at the top of Mark's gospel proper (*euang secundum marcum*, with running titles thereafter in the forms *sec marcum* or less commonly *sec marc*). As noted above, the end of Mark is not extant in the original hand.[77]

2.3. Codex Bobbiensis (k = B1) – Mk-Mt – 1 col. – v[78]

The order Mark-Matthew (Mk 8,8–11.14–16; 8,19 – 16,9; Mt 1,1 – 3,10; 4,2 – 14,17; 15,20–36) suggests a Gospel codex John-Luke-Mark-Matthew. Running headers *euang·* (or *euangel·* or *euangelu·*) *cata· marc·* and *euang·* (or *euangel·*) *cata· matthe·*[79] appear across each opening, with Matthew's name sometimes appearing by mistake above Mark's text.[80] Between the two Gospels appears a colophon, lines alternating between red and black:[81]

e   uangelium· cata· | marcum· exp· | incip· cata mattheum | feliciciter[82]

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76 Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 15.

77 The (perhaps) ninth-century hand has: *euangelium s̄c̄d̄ marc̄ū | explicit·.*

78 Source: Fascimile edition in C. Cipolla (ed.), Il codice evangelico 'k' della Biblioteca Universitaria Nazionale di Torino, Turin 1913. Cf. J. Wordsworth / W. Sanday / H.J. White (eds.), Portions of the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew. From the Bobbio ms. (k) … (Old-Latin Biblical Texts 2) Oxford 1886, with Plate, to which see the corrections in C.H. Turner, A Re-collation of Codex k of the Old Latin Gospels, JThS 5 (1903) 88–100, and F.C. Burkitt, Further Notes on Codex k, JThS 5 (1903) 100–107.

79 The forms *math·* and *matth·* and *mattheum* can also be found (cf. Parker, Codex Bezae [see n. 6], 22).

80 The editors note that, in the text of Mark's Gospel, 'Folia 32,33 habent *cata* . MATTH *bis lapsu*' (Wordsworth et al., Portions of the Gospels [see n. 78], 19). Turner, Re-collation (see n. 78), 89, correcting Wordsworth, adds the further instance *cata matth* above the text of Mark's Gospel on fol. 1, and to this can be added fol. 26. Mark's name appears above the text of Matthew on fol. 44.

81 Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 13.

82 Sic. Before the colophon there is an enigmatic word, *praedicationis*, at the end of Mark (see Plate).

Here we see the first Latin instance of a fairly common pattern, in which the initial title apears in the short form, and the subscript title in the longer.

2.4. Codex Palatinus (e =B2) – Mt-Jn-Lk-Mk – 2 cols. – v[83]

This famous manuscript, written in silver on purple vellum, is missing the beginning of Matthew and the end of Mark. The following colophons appear between the Gospels:[84]

secundum mattheum | explicit incipit | secundum iohannem

euuangelium | cata iohannem | explicit incipit | cata lucan

There is nothing between Luke and Mark. Tischendorf remarks as follows on running headers: 'In the upper margin the author of the Gospel is consistently noted, such that it contains what one has on the left-hand leaf, *secundum*, and on the right hand leaf, *mattheum* or *iohannem* or *lucan* or *marcum*'.[85]

2.5. Codex Veronensis (b =B4) – Mt-Jn-Lk-Mk – 2 cols. – v[86]

This Gospel codex, also written in silver on purple vellum, has silver and gold colophons in a form otherwise similar to those of other OL codices. The beginning of Matthew's Gospel and the end of Mark's Gospel do not survive, but the following are written in the relevant places:

euang · sec · | mat · expl · | incip · sec · | iohannen·

euangelium | sec · iohan · | explicit in dō

sec · lucaᐨ · exp· | inc· sec· marcuᐨ ·[87]

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83 The most helpful information for the present purposes appears in C. Tischendorf, Evangelium Palatinum ineditum, Leipzig 1847; H. Vogels, Evangelium Palatinum: Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der lateinischen Evangelienübersetzung, Münster 1926, 1, comments that there are two columns, but provides no information about titles. See also the errata in www.iohannes.org, which in addition gives not only the Johannine information but also the incipit to Luke.

84 Tischendorf, Evangelium Palatinum ineditum (see n. 83), xii: 'Nulla est evangeliorum subscriptio nisi simplicissima illa, quam in editione exhibuimus: explicit hoc, incipit illud.'

85 Tischendorf, Evangelium Palatinum ineditum (see n. 83), xii: 'in superiore margine passim notatur auctor evangelii, ita ut, quod ad sinistram folium habeas, „secundum", quod ad dextram „mattheum" sive „johannem" sive „lucan" sive „marcum" contineat.' This is confirmed by Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 22.

86 Information from Buchanan, Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis (see n. 68), with Plates. The information on John has been checked against the edition at www.iohannes.org.

87 Thus Buchanan; McGurk, Latin Gospel Books (see n. 64), 93, says this colophon is 'almost undecipherable'.

On the running headers, Buchanan comments: 'The headlines of the Gospels are in small uncials written with severe simplicity … in *b sec* without *euangelium* is on one page and the name of the Gospel on the opposite page'.[88] These names are written as *matthaeum, iohannen, lucan* and *marcum*.[89]

2.6. Codex Corbeiensis (ff² =B8) – Mt-Jn-Lk-Mk – 2 cols. – v[90]

The beginning is lost, with the text starting at Matt. 11.16. Buchanan's edition helpfully sets out the text on the page in the same format as the manuscript, and also supplies some facsimiles. The codex has running headers across the openings throughout, with, for the first three Gospels, *euangelium sec* on the left hand page, and then *matteum, iohannem* and *lucanum* on the right hand pages. For Mark, finally, the left hand pages have *euangelium* and the right hand pages have *sec marcum* . Colophons accompany the ends/beginnings of each Gospel, as well as the *capitula* of Luke and Mark, and the *argumentum* of Luke:

euangel | secundu¯ |matheu¯ | exp · inc | euangeli^u¯ | secundu¯ | iohannem

euangeliu¯ | sec iohanne¯ | expl< inc< | euangelium | secundum | lucanum | amen | capitula euangeli | lucani

capitula euan | geli | lucan< epl< | inc eiusdem< | argumentum<

expl · ar< | gu<men | <tum< | incipit | euan<ge<| lium<sec | lucanum

expl eua¯ | gelium sec | lucanum | incp<capitula | euangelii< | secundum | marcum

capitula | euangeli | secundum | marcum | explicit | incipit< euan< | secundum | marcum

explicit | euangelium | secundum | marcum

This great array of titles is notable for the form used in the opening and ending of the *capitula* of Luke: *capitula euangeli | lucani* and *capitula euan | geli | lucan<*. In the former case at least, it is evident that, very unusually, the *genetivus auctoris* is used of the Gospel writer.

2.7. Codex Vindobonensis (i = B17) – Lk-Mk – 1 col. – v[91]

There are no opening or closing titles, as neither the beginnings nor the ends of either Gospel survive. Belsheim notes the running titles *secundum lucanum*

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88 Buchanan, Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis (see n. 86), ix–x.

89 Buchanan is confirmed by Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 22.

90 Source: E.S. Buchanan, The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis (ff or ff2) (Oxford Old-Latin Biblical Texts 5) Oxford 1907, with, on viii, a date of 375–425 CE; also McGurk, Latin Gospel Books (see n. 64), 62. Burton notes a fifth-century date. The information on John has been checked against the edition at www.iohannes.org.

91 Source: J. Belsheim, Codex Vindobonensis, Leipzig 1885. The plate, a single leaf, has *lucanum* at the top.

and *secundum marcum* across openings, which are partly confirmed by the plate included with his edition.

2.8. Fragmenta Curiensia (a² = B16) – Lk – 2 cols. – v[92]

This fragment consists merely of two leaves of Luke (11,11–29 and 13,16–34). According to the Ranke edition and as is evident from the photograph supplied with it, the header *secund> lucan·* runs across openings.

2.9. Sangallensis 1394 (n = B16) – Mt-Jn-Mk – 2 cols. – v[93]

The striking similarities in script and format have led scholars to conclude that this manuscript is very probably from the same scriptorium as the Chur fragments (*a²*, 2.8 above).[94] All three gospels have running titles in the forms *secund· mattheum, secund· iohannen*, and *secund· marcum* spread across openings. A subscriptio at the end of Matthew also survives: *secund· mattheu̅ euangelium*.

2.10. Codex Claromontanus (h = B12) – Mt – 2 cols. – v[95]

The beginning of Matthew's gospel is missing, but there is a colophon: 'S. Matthew ends on the first column of fol. 66 *a.* At the end of the column is written *euangeliū secundum | mattheum | exp*'.[96] Headers (e.g. *secund. mattheum*) can be found across openings.[97]

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92 The information here is derived from E. Ranke, Ein kleiner Italafund, ThStKr 45 (1872) 505–520; idem, Curiensia Evangelii Lucani Fragmenta Latina … (Marburg 1872), reprinted as idem, Fragmenta antiquissimae evangelii Lucani versionis Latinae: E membranis Curiensibus, Vienna 1873. Of the books, the former, at least in the Cambridge University Library edition, includes a plate of a half-page (the right hand column), whereas the later edition had a full opening, where the complete running title can be seen. Cf. Wordsworth et al., Portions of the Gospels (see n. 78), xxxiv–xxxvii.

93 Excellent electronic images are available at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/1394; cf. Wordsworth et al., Portions of the Gospels (see n. 78), 57–65 (Mt), 66–67 (Jn), 68–72 (Mk), with Plate. See also the introductory remarks of White (pp. xxiii–xxxi and 56).

94 White, in Wordsworth et al., Portions of the Gospels (see n. 78), xxxvi–xxxvii, while arguing against the identification of the two (by Batiffol) as from the same manuscript.

95 Source: J. Belsheim, Evangelium secundum Matthaeum ante Hieronymus latine translatum e codice olim Claromontano nunc Vaticano, Christiania 1892; F.C. Burkitt, On Codex Claromontanus (h), JThS 4 (1903) 587–588.

96 Burkitt, Claromontanus (see n. 95), 587–588, here 588.

97 Neither Belsheim nor Burkitt mentions any running headers, but Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 20 notes that they are extant. I have found only one image (http://www.flickr.com/photos/sannikov/6355294487/in/set-72157628029825621/), which confirms Parker and contains the text noted above.

2.11. Codex Sangallensis 1395 (S) – Mt-Mk-Lk-Jn – 2 cols. – v[98]

As the first of two Vulgate witnesses, we can survey the evidence of what C.H. Turner published as 'The Oldest Manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels'. Two colophons survive: the one between Matthew and Mark survives complete, but that between Luke and John is partially incomplete at the end of each line because the outer margin is lost.

euuangelium | sec· mattheū | expl |
item incipit | sec· marcum

euuange[lium] | secund[um] | lucan e[xpl]
item inc[ipit] | secundu[m] | iohann[em]

Turner notes that the running headers appear, on those occasions where the pages are preserved sufficiently, in the form *secund(um)* + the name of the evangelist, viz. '*matth(eum), marc(um), lucan*[99]*, iohan(nem)*'[100], on alternate openings.[101]

2.12. Autun, Bibl. mun. 21/ BnF 1628 Nouv. acq. lat. (N) – Mt-Mk-Lk-Jn – 2 cols. – v[102]

On the running titles, Royet writes: 'Au sommet des pages on lit encore sur 22 feuillets ces titles: *cata math., iuxta marcū, secundū lucā, iuxta iohann*', in smaller script.[103] The subscriptiones to Matthew and Luke, which are the only other titles to survive, are written by contrast 'en grandes capitales'.[104] Unfortunately, they are damaged, and Royet's edition indicates that there is text missing prior to the subscriptiones to Matthew's and Luke's Gospels:[105]

[…] | iuxta ma | t[…..]m
[…] | secundum luc[…]

As a result, the subscriptiones are not very useful for text-critical purposes, and will not be used as evidence here.

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98 Text from the images at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/csg/1395. Cf. C.H. Turner, The Oldest Manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels. Deciphered and Edited with an Introduction and Appendix, Oxford 1931.
99 Might *lucan*, on analogy with the others , be *lucan(um)*?
100 Turner, Oldest Manuscript (see n. 98), xxv.
101 Parker, Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 22.
102 Source: A. Royet, Un manuscrit palimpseste de la Vulgate hiéronomienne des Évangiles, RB 31 (1922) 518–551 (with plate); 32 (1923) 39–58.213–237.372–382.
103 Royet, Un manuscrit palimpseste (see n. 102), 520 for the wording, 521 on the script of the running titles.
104 Royet, Un manuscrit palimpseste (see n. 102), 521.
105 See Royet, Un manuscrit palimpseste (see n. 102), 551, (1923) 237.

2.13. Conclusion

Elements here are clearly distinctive to Latin manuscripts, such as the *feliciter* in Bobbiensis.[106] Some features on the other hand are the product of slavish reproduction of the Greek, not only in the word *euangelium* but also in the use of *cata* by *e*, *k* and N, and in the use of Greek case endings.[107] This is not necessarily a mark of extreme reverence, but is characteristic of manuscripts with Latin translations of Greek works.[108] In general terms, two differences mark the Latin manuscripts in contrast to the Greek. First, "linking" colophons, with *incipit* and *explicit*, abound in the Latin texts, and secondly, there is great consistency in the inclusion of running titles, which only appear in א, B and D in the Greek tradition (and are also absent in the great many early fragments not surveyed in the Greek section above).[109] The Latin manuscripts are, overall, quite similar in form to one another: there is no marked difference in form between the African (Bobbiensis and Palatinus) and the European codices (the other OL mss.), nor between the OL and the Vulgate manuscripts.[110] There are some variations, however.

The greatest consistency appears in the running headers, which are almost always in the shorter form. Only *k* and *ff²* depart from the rule here. Least regular are the opening titles, where manuscripts without *euangelium* in the *incipit*s outnumber those with by 4:2. There is a much more consistent pattern in the closing titles, where all manuscripts have a longer title, although *b* and *e* also have examples in the shorter form, without *euangelium*.

3. *The Evidence of Syriac Manuscripts*

Syriac translation of the Gospels probably comes soon after the Latin, around the beginning of the third century.[111] The Old Syriac Gospel manuscripts most probably date to before 500 CE, as do a few Peshitta Gospel manuscripts.[112]

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106 See the helpful remarks on this word in R.P. Oliver, The First Medicean MS of Tacitus and the Titulature of Ancient Books, TPAPA 82 (1951) 232–261, here 256, with further examples on 238 and 252. To these can be added ms. F of Apuleius' *De Platone*.

107 See also B.M. Metzger, The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance, Oxford 1987, 302 n. 5.

108 See K.-E. Henriksson, Griechische Büchertitel in der Römischen Literatur, Helsinki 1956, passim.

109 Running headers are the norm for manuscripts of this period, as E.A. Lowe, Some Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts, CQ 19 (1925) 197–208, here 206, remarks.

110 One often noted difference of another kind is that by contrast to the Vulgate, OL texts tend to have the "Western" (Mt-Jn-Lk-Mk) order. See e.g. Burton, Old Latin Gospels (see n. 60), 7.

111 See P.J. Williams, Syriac Versions, in J. Carleton Paget / J. Schaper (eds.), The New Cambridge History of the Bible, Cambridge 2012, on the scholarly consensus about the priority of the Diatessaron vis-à-vis the Old Syriac Gospels.

112 S.P. Brock, Bible in the Syriac Tradition, Piscataway, NJ 2006, 49, refers to 'a few' Peshitta mss. from the fifth century.

One can make a good case for three Peshitta manuscripts originating in the fifth century, although some scholars would include more in this chronological span.[113]

3.1. Syrus Sinaiticus (Sin. Syr. 30) – Mt-Mk-Lk-Jn – 2 cols. – iv–v[114]

The text of this famous palimpsest begins at Matt. 1.1, but there is no *inscriptio*. Running headers do appear, however, though not invariably, whether as a result of scribal inconsistency or deletion or fading. These appear across openings with one word on each page, in Matthew, ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ ('Gospel of Matthew'). The end of Matthew and the beginning of Mark do not survive, but Mark's text also has running headers in the same form and place: ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ ('Gospel of Mark'), across openings. A colophon comes at the end, with the same title, ܫܠܡ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ | ܕܡܪܩܘܣ ('Here ends the Gospel of Mark'), and an inscriptio marking the beginning of Luke: ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܠܘܩܐ ('Gospel of Luke').[115] Running headers (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܠܘܩܐ) continue, followed by an *explicit* for Luke (ܫܠܡ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ | ܕܠܘܩܐ) and an inscriptio to John (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ).[116] After running headers to John in this same wording, the codex ends not with a title of John, but with a colophon to the whole *tetraevangelium*. There is thus consistency in the form of the title, where –ܕ, rather than a closer equivalent to κατά, is employed.

3.2. Codex Curetonianus (BM Add. 14451) – Mt-Mk-Jn-Lk – 2 cols. – v[117]

The Curetonian differs from the Sinaitic not least in the order of its Gospels. Fewer titles survive. The inscriptio to Matthew is preceded by the heading of

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113 In the case of Cod. syr. Phillipps 1388, A. Allgeier, Cod. syr. Phillipps 1388 und seine ältesten Perikopenvermerke, OrChr 2/6 (1916) 147–152, prefers a late fifth-century date, whereas most recently A. Juckel, A Re-examination of Codex Phillipps 1388, Hugoye. Journal of Syriac studies 6 (2003) 3–36, cites with approval the 5th–6th century view of E. Sachau, Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, 1. Abtheilung, Berlin 1899, 10–15 (no. 7), who gives the *inscriptiones* and colophons to the manuscript (10–11), which are very similar to other Peshitta manuscripts; the date is 'gegen Ende des 5. oder zu Anfang des 6. christlichen Jahrhunderts' (13).

114 Brock, Bible in the Syriac Tradition (see n. 112), 48: fifth century; Williams, Syriac Versions (see n. 111): 4th–5th century. The texts are drawn from the edition, R.L. Bensley / J.R. Harris / F.C. Burkitt (eds.), The Four Gospels in Syriac Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest. With an Introduction by Agnes Smith Lewis, Cambridge 1894, checked against the facsimile: A. Hjelt, Syrus Sinaiticus, Helsingfors 1930. Also consulted here and for the other mss. was G.A. Kiraz (ed.), Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels: Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshîttâ and Ḥarklean Versions, Leiden 1996.

115 Bensley et alii, Four Gospels (see n. 114), 131.

116 Bensley et alii, Four Gospels (see n. 114), 232.

117 Brock, Bible in the Syriac Tradition (see n. 112), 48; Williams, Syriac Versions (see n. 111). I examined the text in the British Library on 23.i.2012.

the *tetraevangelium* manuscript as a whole. One finds above the first page of Matthew: ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܫܬܐ . ܡܬܝ [.][118], i.e. 'The Separated Gospels' preceding the simple 'Matthew'. Since this manuscript is fragmentary, many of the openings and endings do not survive. In addition to the superscription to Matthew, only the ending of Mark and the beginning of John are extant: | ܥܠܡ . ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ ('Here ends the Gospel of Mark') is followed by ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ . ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ('the Gospel of John').[119] Running headers appear sporadically throughout the manuscript, and inconsistently in form. When they do appear, they are usually written in red. Both long and short forms appear, with the latter slightly predominating. Thus the forms are: ܕܡܬܝ, ܕܝܘܚܢܢ and ܕܠܘܩܐ,[120] with or without a prefixed ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ.

3.3. Paris Syr. 296 1° – Lk – 2 cols. – mid-late v[121]

This manuscript is perhaps the clearest example of a pre-500 Peshitta manuscript, because it is strongly suspected to have been copied by the same scribe which wrote another, dated manuscript (BM Add. 14425) from c. 463–464 CE. The first (and earliest) section consists only of Lk 6,49 – 21,37, so no *inscriptio* or *subscriptio* survives, but there are irregular running headers in the form ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܠܘܩܐ. These, seemingly in the same hand as the main text, are written in red on three pages only (9b, 23b, 33b), that is, on the right hand page of the relevant openings.

3.4 BM Add. 14459 – Mt-Mk – 1 col. – v[122]

This manuscript contains the text of Matthew and Mark in *foll.* 1–66, frequently thought to have been copied the fifth century, bound with a later text

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118 This point is restored by Burkitt, as is half of the seyame above the mem in ܕܡܦܪܫܬܐ (the first dot is visible, and in the place of the second there is a hole in the manuscript). See F.C. Burkitt, Evangelion da-Mepharreshe: The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels, 2 Vol., Cambridge 1904, I,2; II,33.

119 A later hand has added ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܡܪܝ ܕܝܐܬܝܩܐ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܣܒܪܐ | ܥܠܡ ܗܕܐ ܢܦܩ ܒܐܪܬ ܐܘܡܣܘܪ in the lower margin, a colophon in the style of those in the Peshitta.

120 None of Mark's survive, as all that is extant is the last page with the colophon.

121 Catalogue entry: Manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Journal Asiatique 9.8 (1896) 241 (§ 296). Discussion: A. Vööbus, Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Vetus Syra in den Evangelienhandschriften, Stockholm 1953, 12–13; idem, Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac II, Leuven 1987, 69–72. I examined the manuscript at the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris (6.ii.2012), and am very grateful to M. Laurent Héricher, the curator of Oriental manuscripts, for his kind assistance.

122 P.E. Pusey / G.H. Gwilliam, Tetraevangelium sanctum juxta simplicem Syrorum versionem, Oxford 1901, x (5th cent.). I saw the manuscript in the British Library on 23.i.2012.

of Luke and John.[123] The beginning of the codex is lost, the text beginning at Matt. 6.20. This manuscript is better known than the other Peshitta manuscripts considered here, having been studied by Gwilliam in an article which also discusses the titles.[124] The beginning of Matthew is lost, but a colophon of the type common in Peshitta manuscripts comes at the end:

[125]ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܬܝ ܫܠܝܚܐ | ܐܟܪܙ ܘܐܟܬܒ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ |

('Finished is the holy Gospel of Matthew the Apostle, which he preached and wrote in the Hebrew tongue, in the region of Palestine.')

This is followed by: ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ ('The holy Gospel, the preaching of Mark'). At the end of Mark there is again a substantial colophon:

ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ | ܕܡܪܩܘܣ ܡܣܒܪܢܐ [126]ܕܡܠܠ ܡܠܠ ܪܗܘܡܐܝܬ | ܒܪܗܘܡܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

('Finished is the holy Gospel, the preaching of Mark the Evangelist, which he spoke in Latin, in the city of Rome')

These colophons appended to Matthew and Mark are accompanied by blessings upon the Trinity. There are running headers in red, in the forms ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ and ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ. They appear very often in Matthew and less frequently in Mark, and always on the right hand page of the openings.

3.5. BM Add. 17117 – Mt-Mk – 2 cols – v[127]

This little-studied manuscript is also of relevance, with titles all in red. It opens with the superscription, ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ | ܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܝ ('The holy gospel, the preaching of Matthew'), and between Matthew and Mark is the colophon: ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ ܫܠܡ | ܕܡܠܠ, ܐܟܬܒ|, followed by ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ ('Gospel of Mark').[128] The end of Mark does not survive. There are sometimes running headers, usually in the longer forms, ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ and ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ.

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123 G.H. Gwilliam, An Account of a Syriac Biblical Manuscript of the Fifth Century, in: S.R. Driver / W. Sanday / J. Wordsworth (eds.), Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica: Essays in Biblical Archaeology and Criticism and Kindred Subjects, Oxford 1885, 151–174, here 154–155.

124 Gwilliam, Account (see n. 123), 154–156 (description of ms.) and 157 (titles). For an image, see Kiraz, Comparative Edition I (see n. 114), 458 = Plate 5.

125 Not ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ, which Gwilliam, Account (see n. 123), 157, prints.

126 Not ܡܣܒܪܢܐ, which Gwilliam, Account (see n. 123), 157, prints.

127 For the date, see Vööbus, Studies (see n. 121), 89 n. 54 and 98 n. 24 ('about 500 A.D.', and even, 'written in the year 499–500'); Pusey/Gwilliam, Tetraevangelium sanctum (see n. 122), x (c. 500). I saw the manuscript in the British Library on 23.i.2012.

128 Pusey/Gwilliam, Tetraevangelium sanctum (see n. 122), 198, notes this title in the apparatus.

3.6. Conclusion

Syriac manuscripts in this early period lend support to the long title. Initially, in Syrus Sinaiticus and the Curetonian, the titles appear with –ܢ, but as Burkitt has argued, the Peshitta texts attempt more closely to replicate the κατά: the formula 'the holy gospel, the preaching of…' potentially makes the relationship between gospel and evangelist slightly less straightforward than does the simple –ܢ.[129]

4. The Evidence of Coptic manuscripts

Coptic translations of NT books were probably first made in the mid-late third century.[130] The dates of our manuscript witnesses to these translations are a great puzzle, however. Coptic palaeography is a notoriously inexact science, although some important steps have been taken to establish that science on a sound footing.[131] By comparison with the Syriac evidence, there are many fewer dated manuscripts from the early period to enable comparison.[132] The dates of the manuscripts here, even if based on *communis opinio*, are by no means completely watertight.[133] The criterion of dialect is more secure than palaeographical criteria for our period[134], and so the most secure evidence is that of the minor dialects, because, with the exception of Fayyumic, they flourished only for a relatively short time in the early stages of Coptic (4th–5th centuries).[135] Sahidic texts especially, on the other hand, cover a wide chronological sweep, and so their significance needs to be assessed more cautiously. Eight manuscripts generally considered pre-500 CE contain evidence of titles.

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129 Burkitt, Evangelion da-Mepharreshe II (see n. 118), 30–31.

130 W.-P. Funk, The Translation of the Bible into Coptic, in: Carleton Paget/Schaper (eds.), Cambridge History of the Bible (see n. 111).

131 See B. Layton, Towards a New Coptic Paleography, in: T. Orlandi / F. Wisse (eds.), Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies, Roma, 22–26 September 1980, Rome 1985, 149–158.

132 Gwilliam, A Syriac Biblical Manuscript (see n. 123), 155–156, notes the comparatively large number of dated Syriac manuscripts.

133 Dates of manuscripts are listed in P.E. Kahle, Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt I, Oxford 1954, 269–278; Metzger, Early Versions (see n. 12), 108–125. Cf. also F. Feder, Die koptische Übersetzung des Alten und Neuen Testaments im 4. Jahrhundert, 72 and elsewhere, taking a somewhat maximalist stance; conversely, on more cautious is C. Askeland, What Constitutes an Early Coptic Biblical Manuscript?, in: R. Boutros (ed.) The Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta) Louvain forthcoming.

134 For some later manuscripts, we know rather more about their origins from archaeological evidence, and of course their colophons.

135 H.-M. Schenke, Art. Mesokemic (or Middle Egyptian), Coptic Encyclopedia 8 (1991) 162–164, here 162, comments that Middle-Egyptian Coptic 'probably flourished only briefly in the early period of the Coptic language (fourth and fifth centuries)'. Cf. P. Nagel, Art. Akhmimic, Coptic Encyclopedia 8 (1991) 19–27, here 19, who remarks that Akhmimic apparently began to be displaced in the fifth century.

4.1. P. Osl. Inv. 1661a (Bilingual Greek-Akhmimic) – Mt – 2 rows – iv[136]

This text was considered above in the discussion of Greek manuscripts. A title is found at the beginning of the manuscript, probably in the Coptic part (the top half) of the bilingual page: ⲉⲩⲁ[ⲅ]ⲅⲉⲗ[ⲓ]ⲟⲛ | [ⲡⲕⲁ]ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ.

4.2. P. Bodmer III (Bohairic) – Jn – 1 col. – iv[137]

This manuscript is our only Bohairic example. The text has the subscriptio ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ | ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ.

4.3. Codex Schøyen (Middle-Egyptian) – Mt – 1 col. – iv[138]

The plates in Schenke's edition of this controversial text[139], despite having been produced by placing the manuscript on a photocopier[140], are finely produced and show that the first surviving page begins with Matt. 5.38. There are no running headers, but the last page has a title at the end of the Gospel: ⲡ ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ | ⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ | ⲑⲉⲟⲥ.

4.4. Codex Scheide (Middle-Egyptian) – Mt – 1 col. – iv–v[141]

This manuscript has no inscriptio legible on the first page[142], but has a handsome colophon in red and black ink: ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ | ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁⲙⲁⲑʼⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ | ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ.[143]

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136 See the photo printed above.

137 R. Kasser, ed. Papyrus Bodmer III. Évangile de Jean et Genèse I – IV, 2 en bohaïrique (CSCO.SC 25), Louvain 1958. Askeland, What Constitutes …? (see n. 133) has questioned this early date.

138 H.-M. Schenke, Das Matthäus-Evangelium im Mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Schøjen) (Manuscripts in the Schøjen Collection. I. Coptic Papyri 1), Oslo 2001. For the date, see H.-M. Schenke, Ein anderes Matthäusevangelium im Dialekt M, in: M. Immerzeel / J. van der Vliet (eds.), Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies I (OLA 133), Leuven 2004, 209–220, here 209; T. Baarda, The Reading "Who Wished to Enter" in Coptic Tradition: Matt 23.23, Luke 11.52, and Thomas 39, NTS 52 (2006) 583–591, here 583.

139 Schenke thought the text went back to a Greek Matthew independent of canonical Matthew.

140 As reported to me by James Leonard, during the *viva voce* examination of his dissertation on Codex Schøyen.

141 H.-M. Schenke, Das Matthäusevangelium im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Scheide), Berlin 1981. For the date, see also Metzger, Early Versions (see n. 12), 117–118.

142 Schenke, Codex Scheide (see n. 141), Plate 3.

143 Schenke, Codex Scheide (see n. 141), Plate 14.

4.5. P.Bodmer XIX (Sahidic) – Mt – 2 cols. – iv–v[144]

This codex preserves the second half of Matthew and the beginning of Romans. At the top of each page are page numbers rather than running headers, and there is no title at the beginning of Romans. There is a subscriptio at the end of the gospel, standing alone in the middle of the right-hand column: ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ | ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁⲙⲁⲑⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ.

4.6. P.Palau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181–183 (Sahidic) – Mk-Lk-Jn – 2 cols. – v[145]

This is one instance where the general view is of a fifth-century date, although Askeland has raised significant concerns about such an early time-frame.[146] Again there are page numbers rather than titles in the headers. The inscriptiones at the beginnings of the Gospels are rather erratic: first, ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ[147], then ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ[148], then nothing for John.[149] The subscriptiones are more consistent, however:

ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ | ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ[150]
ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ | ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ[151]
ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ | ⲛ | ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ[152]

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144 R. Kasser, Papyrus Bodmer XIX, Évangile de Matthieu XIV,28 – XXVIII,20, Épitre aux Romains I,1 – II,3 en sahidique, Cologny/Geneva, 1962. Again, Askeland has questioned this date (What Constitutes …? (see n. 133)).

145 For the date, see H. Quecke, Das Markusevangelium saïdisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182, Barcelona 1972, 59; K.H. Kuhn's review of Quecke, Markusevangelium (JThS 25 [1974] 164–165), remarks on the Akhmimic and 'Sub-Achmimic' influence on the Sahidic language of the manuscript, regarding this as a reassuring sign of the manuscript's early date, though the Achmimicisms are not necessarily exclusively such. Plates are published in Quecke's edition of the inscriptio to Mark, and of the *subscriptiones* to Mark and Luke; otherwise I am dependent upon the transcriptions of Quecke and Schüssler (for the latter, see http://www.biblia-coptica.com/ebooks/bibcop05/biblia_coptica_05.html).

146 C. Askeland, John's Gospel: The Coptic Translations of its Greek Text, PhD Thesis, Cambridge 2011, 73–78.

147 Quecke, Markusevangelium (see n. 145), Plate I.

148 According to the transcription in H. Quecke, Das Lukasevangelium saïdisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181, Barcelona 1977, 95.

149 According to the transcription in Schüssler's electronic text (see n. 145); cf. H. Quecke, Das Johannesevangelium saïdisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 183, Barcelona 1984, Plate I.

150 Quecke, Markusevangelium (see n. 145), Plate III.

151 Quecke, Lukasevangelium (see n. 148), Plate III.

152 According to the transcription in Schüssler's electronic text (see n. 145); cf. Quecke, Johannesevangelium (see n. 149), 222.

4.7. Vienna K 2591 (Sahidic) – 2 cols. – Mt – v[153]

'Unter dem Text Zierabschluß, darunter Titel in Rahmen', remarks Till elliptically in his catalogue entry for this manuscript.[154] He had earlier printed the subscript title, which appears in the first column of the hair side in small letters: ⲡϫⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲁ | ⲙⲁⲑⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ.[155] The ⲡϫⲁⲉ ('The end…') is interesting here, as such an *explicit* is paralled widely across the versions.

4.8. P. Mich. Inv. 3992 (Sahidic) – 1 col. – Jn – iv[156]

Finally, one tantalising fragment cannot be completely excluded, even though its evidence is slim in the extreme. The top line of this fragment has ⲕ̄[… which at first sight is most likely to be either (i) the beginning of a title (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ) or (ii) a page number ('twenty-something'). Given that the page (6v) only covers Jn 15,25 – 16,4, however, it is unimaginable that a page number could be anything between 20–29 (it would be more like 120–129!), if the text was originally a continuous text beginning at John 1. It is, then, more likely to be a running header: ⲕ[ⲁⲧⲁ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ], although it could be something else altogether. There are no other running headers (nor any page numbers) visible in the fragments.

4.9. Conclusion

Some scribal practices are distinctive in the early Coptic tradition when compared with the other textual traditions which we have considered. A number of manuscripts, for example, have page numbers, rather than running titles, in the top margin. One notable conclusion from the Coptic evidence is that it supplies little support for the shorter title without ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ. This may be explained in various ways: it could be that the longer titles were those encountered in the Vorlagen of the Coptic translators, or alternatively it could be that the longer

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153 For the text, see W. Till, Kleine koptische Bibelfragmente, Bib. 20 (1939) 241–263, here 263 (§ 26); for other information, see idem, Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien: Katalog der koptischen Bibelbruchstücke. Die Pergamente, ZNW 39 (1940) 1–57, here 22.

154 Till, Papyrussammlung (see n. 153), 22.

155 No plate available; this is the text as printed in Till, Kleine koptische Bibelfragmente (see n. 153), 263.

156 I am very grateful to Dr Adam Hyatt (Papyrology Collection Manager, University of Michigan) for granting me permission to see the images of this manuscript, and to Dr Hans Förster (University of Vienna) for his helpful observations on the text. See description in Metzger, Early Versions (see n. 12), 111, and in the Michigan catalogue http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-16134. The catalogue, and Kahle, date it to the fourth century (Bala'izah I [see n. 133], 270).

version was a preferred convention among Coptic scribes.[157] The clear excepti-
ons are the inscriptio ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ in P.Palau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182, and *Vienna K 2591*'s
colophon ⲡⲣⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ. This last case is the only instance in the Coptic
manuscripts from this period of an *explicit*, a feature much more common in
the Latin and Syriac tradition. Overall, however, the Greek influence is extre-
mely strong, as is evident from not only from the use of ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ, but also in
the consistent use of ⲕⲁⲧⲁ.

5. *The Titles in the Earliest Manuscripts and in NA²⁷*

This final section proposes some revisions to the text and apparatus of NA²⁷
in the light of the manuscripts discussed above. When we come to assess what
to print as the main text, an important question arises. Should the editor treat
each gospel title on a case-by-case basis, or together? This question arises be-
cause, as we will see, the quantity of Greek manuscripts varies from gospel to
gospel: Matthew and John each have two early papyri with titles, Luke has one
and Mark has none. In the cases of Matthew and John, this evidence is a very
important factor in shifting the balance from the shorter *inscriptio* to the lon-
ger, whereas Mark has no such advantage, and Luke little more. In subsections
5,1–4 below, we will treat the titles on a case by case basis, but then consider in
§5.5 what the consequence would be if they were taken as a group, as one might
prefer to do if it were thought that all the gospels received their current titles
together.[158] In either case, we are seeking the initial text or *Ausgangstext*, that is,
'the archetype of the tradition', or 'the starting-point for the rest of the textual
tradition', without specific regard to what the individual evangelists themselves
wrote.[159] For the sake of clarity, I only include in the apparatus below the evi-
dence discussed above.

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157 Cf. Parker's comment about the Latin form of colophons in Codex Bezae (see n. 6), 11–
     13.
158 Taking them individually would be required on the hypothesis of Hengel, that the title
     was affixed from the beginning to Mark's gospel and then was taken over by the other
     evangelists (Hengel, Evangelienüberschriften (see n. 11), 566–567; cf. idem, The Four
     Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ, London 2000, 242). On the other hand, the
     view of Trobisch, Heckel and others of a single event in which all the gospels are given
     matching titles would require treating the titles en bloc from a text-critical point of view.
     See e.g. D. Trobisch, The First Edition of the New Testament, Oxford 2000, 38. Petersen,
     Evangelienüberschriften (see n. 11), 267–274, has a helpful taxonomy and discussion of
     the various views.
159 D.C. Parker / K. Wachtel, The Joint IGNTP/INTF *Editio Critica Maior* of the Gospel of
     John, http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/754/, p. 9.

5.1. Matthew

Assembling the results specific to Matthew from the above survey, we find the following data:[160]

Initial titles			End titles		
𝔓⁴	*flyleaf*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαθ'θαιον	A	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα ματθαιον
𝔓⁶²	*flyleaf*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαθθαιον *vid*	B	*subscriptio*	κατα μαθθαιον
א	*inscriptio?*	κατα μαθθαιον	D	*colophon exp.*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαθθαιον
B	*inscriptio*	κατα μαθθαιον	W	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαθθεον
C	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα ματθαιον	it^b	*colophon exp.*	euangelium secundum matthaeum
W	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαθθαιον	it^d	*colophon exp.*	euangelium secundum mattheum
it^k	*colophon inc.*	cata mattheum	it^e	*colophon exp.*	secundum mattheum
syr^c	*inscriptio*	ܡܬܝ	it^{ff2}	*colophon exp.*	euangelium secundum matheum
syr^p	*inscriptio*	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ... ܕܡܬܝ	it^h	*colophon exp.*	euangelium secundum mattheum
co^{ac}	*flyleaf*	ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ	itⁿ	*subscriptio*	secundum mattheum euangelium
			vg^S	*colophon exp.*	euuangelium secundum mattheum
			syr^p	*colophon exp.*	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ (...)
			co^{mae(pt)}	*subscriptio*	ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ
			co^{mae(pt)}	*subscriptio*	ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑ`ⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ
			co^{sa(pt)}	*subscriptio*	ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ
			co^{sa(pt)}	*colophon exp.*	(ⲡ)ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ

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160 Here and subsequently, the text provided for the "running header" is in each case an approximation of the predominant usage.

We can compare this with NA²⁷:

⌜ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΝ ⌝

Inscriptio: ⌜ ευαγγελιον κ. Ματθ. (Ματθ. W) D W *f¹³* 33 𝔐 bo · αγιον ευ. κ. Μ. *f¹* al (boᵐˢ) · αρχη συν θεω τον κ. Μ. ευ—ου 1241 al · εκ του κ. Μ. L al · txt (ℵ B)

VARIAE LECTIONES MINORES: *ut txt, sed secunda manu* ℵ B

The first point to note is that NA²⁷ omits reference to the 𝔓4 fragment, which may well be consistent with its principle of not making use of fragments which are not continuous NT text. As we have remarked earlier, however, it was clearly intended as part of a continuous text of Matthew (as K. Aland recognised). 𝔓62 is also omitted, perhaps because the title is not followed by the beginning of the gospel but by an excerpt from Matthew 11, but it should be included (as indeed it is in NA²⁷'s apparatus to Matt. 11). It is also an error to attribute the reading ευαγγελιον κ. Ματθ. to D, which has no surviving inscriptio at all: the beginning of Matthew in Codex Bezae is not extant. C, on the other hand, is not mentioned in the apparatus, but does have the initial title ευαγγελιον κατα ματθαιον. As far as the uncial manuscripts are concerned, the weight of early evidence is in favour of the shorter reading. There is, however, a danger of misinterpretation in the description of the titles of ℵ and B as *secunda manu*, because they are part of the production of the original manuscript. Against the evidence of ℵ and B, however, that of 𝔓4 and 𝔓62 should not be neglected. Also notable is the absence of reference to any versional evidence, except for the Bohairic Coptic; the other Coptic dialects and the Syriac are ignored, although the omission of the Curetonian Syriac from the evidence is justifiable on grounds of its difficulty.¹⁶¹

    An alternative presentation of the data might appear as follows:

Inscriptio
°ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΝ

Inscriptio: ° ℵ B itᵏ · txt 𝔓4 𝔓62vid (Ματθ. C) W syᵖ coᵃᶜ

When it comes to the subscript titles, Vaticanus, together with a single Old Latin and a single Coptic manuscript constitute the only evidence for the shorter version of the title:

Subscriptio
°ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΝ

Subscriptio: ° B itᵉ coˢᵃ⁽ᵖᵗ⁾ · txt A D W it^{b.d.ff2.h.n} vgˢ syᵖ co^{mae.sa(pt)}

Readers, especially but not exclusively those without knowledge of textual cri-

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161 See § 3.2 above: the solitary ܏ appears immediately after a heading to the *tetraevange-lium* as a whole, where it would be extremely cumbersome to repeat ܏.

ticism, presented with the data in this way would gain a rather different – and, it is suggested, more accurate – picture of the evidence.

5.2. Mark

The following emerges from the Markan manuscript tradition:

Initial titles

ℵ	*inscriptio*	κατα μαρκον
A	*capitula list inc.*	το κατα μαρκον ευαγγελιον
A	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον
B	*inscriptio*	κατα μαρκον
D	*colophon inc.*	κατα μαρκον
D	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον
W	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον
it^a	*colophon inc.*	*secundum marcum*
it^b	*colophon inc.*	*secundum marcum*
it^d	*colophon inc.*	*euangelium secundum marcum*
it^d	*inscriptio*	*euangelium secundum marcum*
it^ff2	*capitula list inc.*	*euangelium secundum marcum*
it^ff2	*capitula list exp.*	*euangelium secundum marcum*
it^ff2	*colophon inc.*	*euangelium secundum marcum*
vg^S	*inscriptio*	*secundum marcum*
syr^p	*inscriptio*	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ (...)
co^sa	*inscriptio*	ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ

End titles

ℵ	*subscriptio*	ευαγˈγελιον κατα μαρκον
A	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον
B	*subscriptio*	κατα μαρκον
C	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον
W	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον
it^ff2	*colophon subs.*	*euangelium secundum marcum*
it^k	*colophon subs.*	*euangelium cata marcum*
syr^s	*colophon subs.*	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ
syr^c	*colophon subs.*	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ
syr^p	*subscriptio*	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ... ܕܡܪܩܘܣ
co^sa	*subscriptio*	ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ

This can be compared with NA[27]:

⸀ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ⸃

Inscriptio: ⸀ ευαγγελιον κ. Μ. A D L W Θ *f*[13] 1. 33. 2427 𝔐 lat · το κ. Μ. αγ. ευαγγ. 209. 579 *al* (vg^cl) · *txt* (ℵ B) *pc*

VARIAE LECTIONES MINORES: *ut txt, sed secunda manu* ℵ B

Here, especially given the absence of any papyri, and Mark's *inscriptio* being lost from C, NA[27] has reasonably enough followed the evidence of Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, despite the counterevidence of A D W. The evidence of Codex Bezae is divided here, in fact, because there are two opening titles, that of the colophon in the short form (though NA[27] misses this), and the free-standing title in the longer form. The versional evidence is similarly mixed, making a final decision a very close call. In the end, the short version is perhaps preferable, though (bearing mind the fourth factor in the introduction) it may be more "positive" to place a ⸀ before the short form, rather than ⸂ … ⸃ around it, as follows:

Inscriptio

⸀ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ

Inscriptio: ⸀ ευαγγελιον A (*et in cap.*) D W it[d.ff2] syr[p] · Μαρκος co[sa] · *txt* ℵ B D it[a.b] vg[S]

If a critical edition of the text were to print a *subscriptio*, however, it would be difficult to deny that the longer version was better attested. Of all the Greek and versional evidence, B is the only manuscript with a short subscript title.

Subscriptio

°ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ

Subscriptio: ° B · *txt* ℵ A C W it sy co

5.3. Luke

For Luke we have slightly more evidence:

Initial titles			End titles		
ℵ	*inscriptio*	κατα λουκαν	𝔓[75]	*subscriptio*	ευαγʾγελιον κατα λουκαν
A	*capitula list exp.*	το κατα λουκαν ευαγγελιον	ℵ	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν
A	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν	A	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν
B	*inscriptio*	κατα λουκαν	B	*subscriptio*	κατα λουκαν
C	*capitula list inc.*	το κατα λουκαν ευαγγελιον	C	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν
C	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν	D	*colophon exp.*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν
D	*colophon inc.*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν	W	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν
D	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν	it[a]	*colophon exp.*	*euangelium secundum lucanum*
W	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν	it[b]	*colophon exp*	*secundum lucan*

it^d	colophon inc.	euangelium secundum lucan	it^d	colophon exp.	euangelium secundum lucam
it^d	inscriptio	euangelium secundum lucan	it^ff2	colophon exp.	euangelium secundum lucanum
it^e	colophon inc.	cata lucan	vg^S	colophon exp.	euuangelium secundum lucan
it^ff2	colophon inc.	euangelium secundum lucanum	sy^s	colophon exp.	ܪܘܟܠܐ ܚܒܪܘܝ
it^ff2	capitula list inc.	euangelium lucanum	co^sa	subscriptio	ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ
it^ff2	capitula list exp.	euangelium lucanum			
it^ff2	colophon inc.	euangelium secundum lucanum			
sy^s	inscriptio	ܪܘܟⲗⲁ ܚܒܪܘܝ			
co^sa	inscriptio	ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ			

This can be set against what appears in Nestle-Aland:

⌜ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ ⌝

Inscriptio: ⌜ ευαγγελιον κ. Λ. (A) D L W Θ Ξ Ψ 33 𝔐 lat sa^mss bo^pt · το κ. Λ. αγ. ευαγγ. 209. 579 al · αρχη του κ. Λ. αγιου ευαγγελιου 1241 pc · txt (ℵ B) pc vg^st bo^ms

VARIAE LECTIONES MINORES: ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν, sed secunda manu A · ut txt, sed secunda manu ℵ B

In addition to the texts of ℵ and B, NA^27 here cite in support of their shorter reading *pauci codices*, along with the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate and a Bohairic manuscript. The former, vg^st, is of course a modern edition, and interestingly it does not cite any witnesses to its reading: in fact, the earliest Vulgate witness (Sangallensis 1395) attests the long version in the *subscriptio*. The bo^ms is Horner's Θ[162], to which one would not assign much value for the reconstruction of an Ausgangstext, as it was copied in 1272 CE.[163] On the other hand, in support of the longer reading, the *inscriptio* in C is omitted. It is also a pity that A is placed in brackets, as the wording is part of the original production of the codex, though the same applies to ℵ and B.

The question of whether these considerations are sufficient to overturn the NA^27 reading is a difficult one. Perhaps erring on the cautious side, one might print:

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162 G. Horner, The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect. II. The Gospels of S. Luke and S. John, Oxford 1898, 2.

163 G. Horner, The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect. I. The Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Mark, Oxford 1898, cii.

Inscriptio

ᵀ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ

Inscriptio: ᵀ ευαγγελιον A (*et in cap.*) C (*et in cap.*) D W it^(d.ff2) sy^s co^sa · *txt* ℵ B it^e

If one were to present a subscript, however, it would be almost impossible to print anything other than ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν. The *capitula* list titles also confirm the currency of the longer title.

Subscriptio

°ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ

Subscriptio: ° B it^b · *txt* 𝔓^75 ℵ A C D W it^(a.d.ff2) vg^s sy^s co^sa

5.4. John

John's gospel perhaps has fared best as far as evidence of initial titles is concerned:

Initial titles			End titles		
𝔓^66	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην	ℵ	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα ϊωαννην
𝔓^75	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα ϊωανην	A	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην
ℵ	*inscriptio*	κατα ϊωαννην	B	*subscriptio*	κατα ϊωανην
B	*inscriptio*	κατα ϊωανην	C	*subscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην
C	*inscriptio*	ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην	D	*colophon exp.*	ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην
D	*colophon inc.*	ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην	W	*subscriptio*	κατα ϊωαννην
it^b	*colophon inc.*	secundum iohannen	it^b	*colophon exp.*	euangelium secundum iohannen
it^d	*colophon inc.*	euangelium secundum iohannen	it^d	*colophon exp.*	euangelium secundum iohanen
it^e	*colophon inc.*	secundum iohannem	it^e	*colophon exp.*	euuangelium cata iohannem
it^ff2	*colophon inc.*	euangelium secundum iohannem	it^ff2	*colophon exp.*	euangelium secundum iohannem
vg^s	*colophon inc.*	secundum iohannem	co^bo	*subscriptio*	ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
sy^s	*inscriptio*	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ	co^sa	*subscriptio*	ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ϊⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
sy^c	*inscriptio*	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ			

Here it appears more strange that NA^27 (as well, of course, as the SBL Greek NT, for example) prints as follows:

⸀ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ⸃

Inscriptio: ⸀ ευαγγελιον κ. l. 𝔓⁶⁶·⁷⁵ (A) C D L Wˢ Θ Ψ *f* ¹ 33 𝔐 vgʷʷ · αγιον ευ. κ. l. (28) *al · txt* (ℵ B)

ᴠᴀʀɪᴀᴇ ʟᴇᴄᴛɪᴏɴᴇꜱ ᴍɪɴᴏʀᴇꜱ: ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην, *e subscriptione* A · ευαγγελιον αγιον κατα ιωαννην 28 · *ut txt, sed secunda manu* ℵ B

The main text does look rather odd here, as it is so poorly supported by comparison with the longer title. As an alternative, one might prefer:

Inscriptio
°ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ

Inscriptio: ° ℵ (ιωαννην B) itᵇ·ᵉ vgˢ · *txt* 𝔓⁶⁶ (ιωαννην 𝔓⁷⁵) C D itᵈ·ff2 syˢ·ᶜ

And similarly, a *subscriptio* would also probably have to be printed in the longer form:

Subscriptio

°ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ

Subscriptio: ° (ιωαννην B) W · *txt* ℵ A C (ιωαννην D) itᵇ·ᵈ·ᵉ·ff2 coᵇᵒ·ˢᵃ

5.5. An Alternative Approach: Treating the Inscriptiones en bloc

It might perplex some readers that the *inscriptiones* to Mark and Luke appear here in a form different from those in Matthew and John. This is in part a result of the happenstance of which witnesses have survived – a fact which affects the whole enterprise of textual criticism. Perhaps there is some distortion where Mark and Luke are concerned, however, as a result of there being fewer early papyri which have survived for them.

   If we were to treat the four gospels with their *inscriptiones* as a corpus together, different results would fall out. To take the Greek witnesses alone for simplicity's sake, one finds:

inscriptiones in the longer form: 𝔓⁴ 𝔓⁶² 𝔓⁶⁶ 𝔓⁷⁵ A C (D 3/4) W
inscriptiones in the shorter form: ℵ B (D 1/4)

On the basis of this, if one were treating the *inscriptiones* as a *group* for text-critical purposes, perhaps as a result of a particular view of the origins of the titles, this evidence would give a very strong steer to presenting the long form in each case. Historical factors in favour of such a harmonisation might include: (a) absence of consistent differences in the form of the title from one gospel to another in the manuscript tradition: the variations are from manuscript to manuscript rather than from gospel to gospel; and (b) the consistent appearance of κατά, very unusual as a designation of authorship, which might suggest that the gospels were (re-)titled *en bloc* as ευαγγελιον κατα Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. This is an *alternative* approach which might be considered; indeed, it is probably preferable.

5.6. The Titles according to the Manuscripts

If the *inscriptiones* to Mark and Luke were retained in the shorter form, this would not be a particular problem as long as a *subscriptio* in the longer form was printed. It is a common enough pattern in manuscripts that *inscriptiones*, especially when they follow *subscriptiones*, are often truncated. Schironi, for example, has collected a number of examples of manuscripts of Homer where a *subscriptio* or *explicit* is followed either by an abbreviated initial title or no title at all.[164] 'In some codices [*sc.* of epic poetry] the end-titles are combined with beginning-titles, and they are often written in a much reduced form: only the letter to indicate the book, without any genitive of the work.'[165] For example, the Morgan Homer, a 3rd–4th century codex of the Iliad, marks the end of *Il.* 12 with the title and (twice) the book number (ιλιαδος μ μ), but when introducing *Il.* 13 has no title but only (again twice) the book number (ν ν).[166] To cite a Coptic example, in the *Three Steles of Seth*, one finds the second stele concluded with the words 'the Second Stele of Seth' (ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲥⲏⲑ) then followed by the briefer *inscriptio*, 'the Third Stele' (ⲧⲙⲉϩϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲗⲏ).[167]

This pattern is especially prominent in the Latin tradition, with colophons lending themselves especially to such truncation:

georgica | lib · i· explic incip | lib· · ii·

georgicon lib· iii explicit | incipit lib· iiii feliciter

in c· verrem iii·| incipit lib· iiii·| feliciter[168]

apulei madau|rensis de habitudine platonis | liber ii explicit | incipit liber iii feliciter

apulei madaurensis de habitudine platonis liber primus explicit . incipit liber secundus[169]

Against this background, it is worth noting that Codex Sinaiticus, the earliest Old Latin manuscript *a* along with *k* (and less consistently *b* and *e*), the earliest Vulgate manuscript S and the Sahidic *P. Palau Rib.* 182 all have at least some *inscriptiones* in shorter forms but consistently have *subscriptiones* in the longer form. (Interestingly, the converse never appears.) In sum, to print the *inscriptiones* to Mark and Luke in their shorter forms is permissible, but such *inscriptiones* only really make sense alongside the *subscriptiones*.

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164 See Schironi, ΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ (see n. 4), esp. §§ 12.16.28.43. See further Wendel, Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung (see n. 3), 26–27.

165 F. Schironi, Book-Ends and Book-Layout in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry, in: T. Gagos (ed.), Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2010, 695–704, here 701. (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/p/pod/dod-idx?c=icp;idno=7523866.0025.179)

166 Schironi, ΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ (see n. 4), 172–175.

167 NHC VII,5, 124,14–16.

168 The Virgil and Cicero examples come from Oliver, The First Medicean MS of Tacitus (see n. 106), 252.256 and 253 respectively.

169 The Apuleius cases come from P. Thomas (ed.), Apulei Platonici Madaurensis De Philosophia Libri, Leipzig 1921, 134.

5.7. The "Real Titles" according to the Manuscripts

An implication of this is that – at least for the scribes – the longer version appears to have been closer to a "real" title, and the shorter version an abbreviation, rather as scholarly footnotes today first cite a title in full and thereafter abbreviate it. This qualification "at least for the scribes" is an important one, however, since the concept of a real ancient title understood along the lines of modern book titles is certainly problematic, as Hoffmann has noted.[170] We can perhaps nevertheless talk of what the title was *for scribal purposes and consequently for the purposes of the users of the manuscripts*. If one wanted to expand this narrow scope, one would have to adduce other evidence, such as Justin's reference to the memoirs of the apostles ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια (*1 Ap.* 66.3), which suggests a conventional usage, albeit one perhaps unfamiliar to his imperial audience. One might also make the common-sense point that titles such as κατα μαθθαιον and κατα λουκαν would sound like gibberish at least to outsiders, rather as talking of "the Browning version" (which Browning? version of what?) or "the Authorised Version" (of what? authorised by whom?) would to those unfamiliar with these short-hands.[171] On the other hand, ancient titles could often be very enigmatic: one thinks for example of Tertullian's *Scorpiace*.[172] For purposes of reference for those who knew of the *Scorpiace*, however, this was sufficient. For scribes and readers of the gospel manuscripts the functional titles were the longer titles, which could in certain circumstances be abbreviated.

6. Conclusion

These data and the accompanying discussion are offered in the hope of stimulating greater reflection on the presentation of gospel titles in hand editions of the NT, especially NA[27] because it is the most widely used. (It may well be that further work should be done of a similar kind on the other New Testament

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170 Reflecting on the Chantilly conference on ancient titulature, he commented: 'Une première conséquence – fondamentale – de notre Colloque est que nous avons pris conscience de l'absolue nécessité de nous défaire du concept *moderne* de «titre», pour essayer de rejoindre, autant que faire se peut, la psychologie littéraire antique ou médiévale.' P. Hoffmann, Titrologie et paratextualité, in: J.-C. Fredouille et alii (eds.), Titres et articulations du texte das les oeuvres antiques. Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly. 13–15 décembre 1994, Paris 1997, 581–589, here 581. Cf. B.M. Metzger, Appendix III: Titles of the Books of the New Testament, in Canon of the New Testament (see n. 107), 301–304. A single work can also be known by different titles: see e.g. H. Zilliacus, Boktiteln i antik litteratur, Eranos 36 (1938) 1–41, here 39.

171 For non-British readers, it may be helpful to note that the Authorised Version is a short-hand for the 1611 translation of the "King James Bible", and the "Browning Version" is a famous translation (by Robert Browning) of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*.

172 See the discussion of the manuscript evidence and the Jerome *testimonium* in Henriksson, Griechische Büchertitel (see n. 108), 173–174.

books.) More specifically, the proposed text and apparatus above is submitted as an alternative to conventional presentations. As stated above, the Nestle-Aland edition is a remarkable achievement, but it is also to the credit of the editors that they are constantly open to re-evaluating the text, as has been happening in the IGNTP and the preparations of both the *ECM* and the NA28 (on which see the Additional Note). This article is a modest contribution concerned merely with a tiny fraction of the text, although the questions surrounding the titles and the attributions of the gospels are of course of wider significance for New Testament study.*

Table 1: Synopsis of Titles by Greek Manuscript

	Initial Titles	Title in *capitula* list	Running header	End Titles
𝔓4	ευαγγελιον κατα μαθ'θαιον (flyleaf)			
𝔓62	[ευαγ]γελιον [κατα μαθθαιον?] (flyleaf)			
𝔓66	ευαγγελιον κατα [ι]ωαννην			
𝔓75	ευαγγελιον κατα ϊωανην			ευαγ'γελιον κατα λουκαν
א	κατα μαθθαιον		κατα μαθθαιον	
	κατα μαρκον		κατα μαρκον	ευαγ'γελιον κατα μαρκον
	κατα λουκαν		κατα λουκαν	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν
	κατα ϊωαννην		κατα ϊωαννην	ευαγγελιον κατα ϊωαννην

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	Initial Titles	Title in *capitula* list	Running header	End Titles
A				ευαγγελιον κατα ματθαιον
	[ευαγγε]λιον κατα μαρκον	το κατα μαρκον ευαγγελιον		ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον
	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν	το κατα λουκαν ευαγγελιον		ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν
				ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην
B	κατα μαθθαιον		κατα μαθθαιον	κατα μαθθαιον
	κατα μαρκον		κατα μαρκον	κατα μαρκον
	κατα λουκαν		κατα λουκαν	κατα λουκαν
	κατα ϊωανην		κατα ϊωανην	κατα ϊωανην
C	εὐαγγελιον κατα ματθαιον			
				εὐαγγελιον κατα μαρκ̣[ον]
	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν	το κατα λουκαν ευαγγελιον		εὐαγγελιο̣ν̣ κατα λουκαν
	ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην			ευαγγελιον κ[ατα ιωαν]ν̣ην
D			κατ(α) μαθθαιον κτλ.	ευαγγελιον κατα μαθθαιον
	κατ(α) μαρκον ευαγγελιον κατ(α) μαρκον		κατ(α) μαρκον κτλ.	{ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον}
	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν (*bis*)		κατ(α) λουκαν κτλ.	ευαγγελιον κατ(α) λουκαν
	ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην		κατ(α) ιωαννην κτλ.	ευαγγελιον κατα ιωανην
W	[ευα]γγελιον κατα μαθ[θαι]ο[ν]			ευαγγελιον κατα μαθθεον
	ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον			ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον
	ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν			ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν
	{ευαγγελιον κατα ϊωαννην}			κατα ϊωαννην

{ } *indicates later hand.*

Table 2: Synopsis of Gospel Titles by Latin Manuscript

	Initial Titles	Running Titles	End Titles
a	*secundum marcum*	*sec(undum) mattheum etc.* *sec(undum) marcum* *sec(undum) lucanum* *sec(undum) iohannem etc.*	*{euuangelium secundum marcum}* *euang(elium) secun(dum) lucanum*
b	*sec(undum) marcum* *sec(undum) iohannen*	*sec(undum) matthaeum* *sec(undum) marcum* *sec(undum) lucan* *sec(undum) iohannen*	*euang(elium) sec(undum) mat(thaeum)* *sec(undum) luca(n)* *euangelium sec(undum) iohan(nen)*
d	*euangelium secundum marcum (bis)* *euangelium sec(undum) lucan (bis)* *euangelium sec(undum) iohannen*	*sec(undum) matthaeum etc.* *sec(undum) marcum etc.* *sec(undum) lucam etc.* *sec(undum) iohan(nen) etc.*	*euangelium sec(undum) mattheum* *{euangelium s(e)c(un)-d(um) marcu(m)}* *euangelium secundum lucam* *euangelium secund(um)· iohanen*
e	*cata lucan* *secundum iohannem*	*secundum mattheum* *secundum marcum* *secundum lucan* *secundum iohannem*	*secundum mattheum* *euuangelium cata iohannem*
ff²	*euangelium secundum marcum (3x)* *euangelium secundum lucanum (bis)* *euangelium lucanum (bis)* *euangeliu(m) secundu(m) iohannem*	*euangelium sec(undum) matteum* *euangelium sec(undum) marcum* *euangelium sec(undum) lucanum* *euangelium sec(undum) iohannem*	*euangel(ium) secundu(m) matheu(m)* *euangelium secundum marcum* *eua(n)gelium sec(undum) lucanum* *euangelium secundum iohannem*
h		*secund(um) mattheum*	*euangeliu(m) secundum mattheum*
i		*secundum marcum* *secundum lucanum*	
k	*cata mattheum*	*euangel(ium) cata matthe(um)* *euangel(ium) cata marc(um)*	*euangelium cata marcum*
n		*secund(um) mattheum* *secund(um) marcum* *secund(um) iohannen*	*secund(um) mattheu(m) euangelium*

	Initial Titles	Running Titles	End Titles
a²		*secund(um) lucan*	
S	*sec(undum) marcum* *secundu[m] iohann[em]*	*secund(um) matth(eum)* *secund(um) marc(um)* *secund(um) lucan(um?)* *secund(um) iohan(nem)*	*euuangelium sec(undum)* *mattheu(m)* *euuange[lium] secund[um]* *lucan*
N		*cata math(aeum)* *iuxta marcu(m)* *secundu(m) luca(m)* *iuxta iohann(em)*	*[…] iuxta mat[…..]m* *[…] secundum luc[…]*

{ } *indicates later hand.*

Table 3: Synopsis of Gospel Titles by Syriac Manuscript

	Initial titles	Running titles	End titles
SyrS	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܠܘܩܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܠܘܩܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܠܘܩܐ
SyrC	ܕܡܬܝ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ	(ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ) ܕܡܬܝ (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ) ܕܠܘܩܐ (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ) ܕܝܘܚܢܢ	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ
Paris Syr. 296 1º		ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܠܘܩܐ	
BM Add. 14459	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ … ܕܡܪܩܘܣ	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ … ܕܡܬܝ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ … ܕܡܪܩܘܣ
BM Add. 17117	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ … ܕܡܬܝ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ	ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ

Table 4: Synopsis of Gospel Titles by Coptic Manuscript

	Initial titles	Running titles	End titles
P. Osl. Inv. 1661a (ac)	ⲉⲩⲁ[ⲅ]ⲅⲉⲗ[ⲓ]ⲟⲛ [ⲡⲕⲁ]ⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ (fly-leaf)		
P. Bodmer III (bo)			ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
Cod. Schøyen (mae)			ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ
Scheide (mae)			ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑˋⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ
P. Bodmer XIX (sa)			ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ
P.Palau Rib. 181–183 (sa)	ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ		ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ïⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
Vienna K 2591 (sa)			(ⲡ)ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ
P. Mich. Inv. 3992 (sa)		ⲕ[ⲁⲧⲁ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ]?	

Additional Note

At the proof stage, the NA[28] was finally released, and so comment can be added here about how much of the discussion applies to this new edition. The text of the Gospel titles in NA[28] is unchanged, and the *apparatus critici* are very similar to those of NA[27]. The differences are as follows. (1) New witnesses are included, though all from the 9th to 13th centuries. (2) Abbreviations of Greek text are filled out. (3) The vague references to *al* and *pc* have been removed. (4) Significantly, brackets have been removed from references to ℵ and B, so that instead of the references to '(ℵ B)' with accompanying notes in the appendix, NA[28] now has the more transparent '– ℵ* B*| *txt* ℵ [1] B[1]'. In sum, with the exception of the remarks pertaining to (4) here, all the rest of the article above still applies to NA[28].