

1Cor. 4:6 – a Scribal Gloss?

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In Honor of Joachim Dalfen on His 70th Birthday*

1Cor. 4:6 has always been a topic of discussion for New Testament scholars, especially the function and meaning of τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται. In 1884, Johannes Baljon assumed that this phrase was not part of Paul's original text but rather a marginal gloss written by a scribe. This scribe, who saw in his archetype the μὴ of ἴνα μὴ εἶς κτλ. written above the last letter of ἴνα, restored this interlinear μὴ to the text he was writing and noted in the margin, "The μὴ was written above α, [i.e., the alpha of ἴνα ...]."¹ Therefore, according to Baljon, τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται should be removed from the biblical text. Baljon's suggestion "gave a sense clearly acceptable for the Pauline passage, and indeed a preferable one in view of the context, and it has attracted many of the subsequent commentators;² but editors still keep it safely down in the apparatus"³ – if they mention it at all, as there is no textual evidence for this speculative theory so far.

In this article I focus on scribal glosses in biblical as well as non-biblical manuscripts – most of them published recently – to get some hints for the plausibility or non-plausibility of this theory.

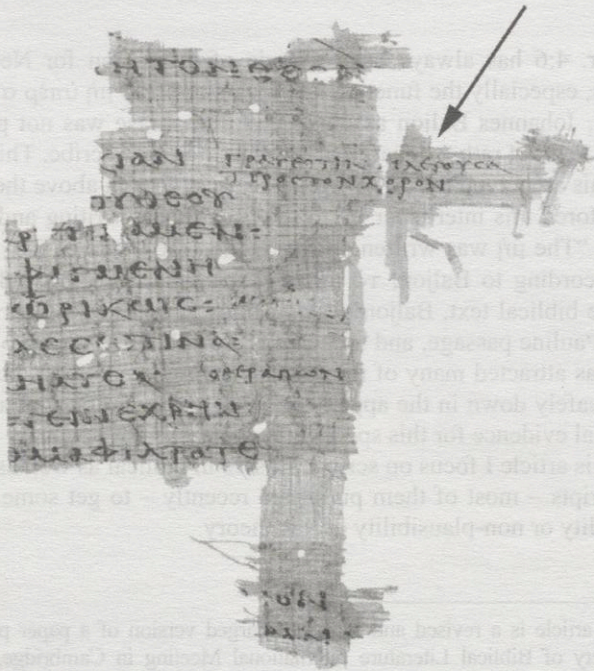
* This article is a revised and slightly enlarged version of a paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting in Cambridge, UK, July 25, 2003. About two years earlier, Joachim Dalfen, my teacher in Classics at Salzburg University who also introduced me into the marvelous world of ancient manuscripts, gave me many hints and encouraged me to work on this subject.

¹ Baljon, *Tekst* 49-51 (cited according to Strugnell, *Plea* 556).

² It is followed by Legault, *Things*, who also remarked that the "double ἴνα is Pauline", referring to Gal. 3:14; 4:5 (p. 231 with note 1; cf. also 1Cor. 7:5; 2Cor. 9:3; 11:12), and others (cf. Strugnell, *Plea* 556 note 32; Thiselton, 1Cor. 352 note 285; cf. also Trobisch, *Kunst*). – Critical against the gloss theory especially Ross, *Not above What Is Written*; Kilpatrick, *Emendation* 351-352. – A variant of the gloss theory, avoiding the difficulties listed by Ross, has been suggested by Strugnell, *Plea* 555-558: the scribe copying the archetype read a text without μὴ, inserted it between ὑμῖν and μάθητε, and is saying in his gloss that "the μὴ is beyond what was written". Strugnell's theory is followed by MacDonald, *Emendation*; Murphy-O'Connor, *Interpolations* 84-85.

³ Strugnell, *Plea* 555-556.

Critics have dismissed Baljon's rendering of the phrase τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται ("the μὴ is written above α") as an unimportant comment on a somewhat useless observation of a scribe. But, a similar "unimportant" comment would be a note in fragment 3 of P.Oxy. LXVI 4521 (2nd cent. CE),⁴ a part of an elegant papyrus roll containing ll. 687-705.726-731.957-970 of Aristophanes's *Plutus*.



1. P.Oxy. LXVI 4521 fr. 3

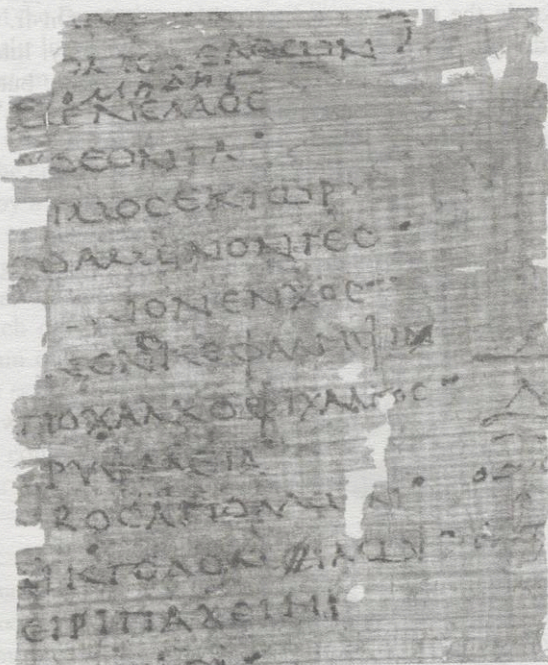
On the right margin of this papyrus fragment we find an annotation reading: γραυς ἐστιν ἡ λέγουσα πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ("it is the old woman who is speaking to the choir"). Also this note (on Aristophanes, *Plutus* 958) might appear to us as quite useless, as in the line before a ΧΟΡΟΥ can be reconstructed⁵. Even if the change of speakers were not indicated on the left margin, which of these fragments is lost, we might think that a simple γραυς would have been sufficient. However, the manuscripts allow us to assume "that the transmitted scholion recalls a tradition to which the papyrus"

⁴ Abbreviations of papyri, ostraca, and tablets according to Checklist.

⁵ On the insertion and meaning of ΧΟΡΟΥ cf. N. Gonis in P.Oxy. LXVI p. 171.

annotation belongs”, and other examples allow “us to assert that this type of attribution goes back to ancient commentaries.”⁶

Another example is a gloss in P.Oxy. LVI 3827 that can be attributed to Homer, *Ilias* 11,403.



2. P.Oxy. LVI 3827 (part)

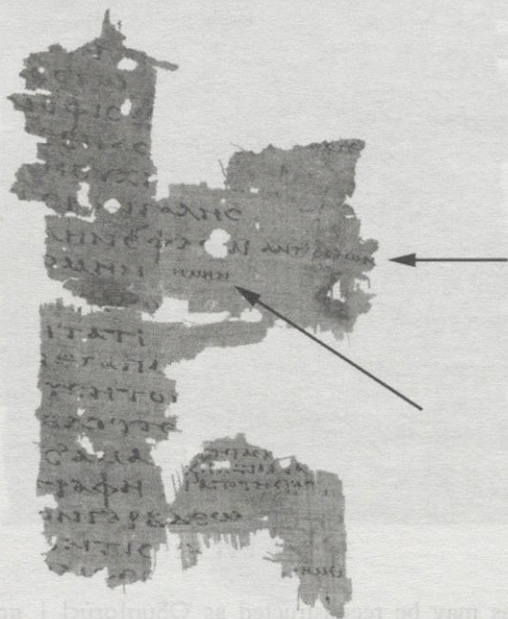
The gloss may be reconstructed as Ὀδυσ[σεύς] | πρ(ὸς) | ἐαυτό[ν] (“Odysseus to himself”).⁷ The informational value of this annotation is absolutely low, as the Homeric text reads Ὀδυσσεύς ... εἶπε πρὸς ὄν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν (“Odysseus spoke to his greathearted spirit”). These two examples prove that it is not our turn to assess an annotation or gloss as useful or useless as long as we do not know anything about the intention of the scribe who wrote it.

But, the question now is: Was there some kind of tradition to introduce or comment on corrections or glosses? The answer is yes and no. There is a sufficient number of cases in which a gloss or correction is just inserted

⁶ N. Gonis in P.Oxy. LXVI p. 171 (referring to P.Oxy. XXXV 2741 and LXVI 4508,10-11).

⁷ The Δ most plausibly marks vs. 400 (on the reconstruction see P. Schubert in P.Oxy. LVI p. 28).

between the lines or in the margin without any further comment. But there are also examples where corrections or variants are commented upon or introduced: In P.Oxy. LXVI 4521 we find two glosses introduced by ἀντ(ι τοῦ). On fr. 3 (see illustration 1) we find ἀντ(ι τοῦ) κατ[ἄ καιρόν], glossing ὠρικῶς in the text (Aristophanes, *Plutus* 962). On fr. 1 we find ἀντ(ι τοῦ) ἔθλων glossing ἔφλων in l. 694 of this comedy. Interestingly, just one line below, the ἦν in the text is glossed by ἦμην, but this time without the introduction ἀντ(ι τοῦ)!⁸



3. P.Oxy. LXVI 4521 fr. 1

Another detail of this fragment is of some importance for Baljon's theory: J.M. Ross argued that a scribe would not have written τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται, but τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τὸ α γέγραπται ("the μὴ is written above *the* α").⁹ In the Aristophanes papyrus the ἀντί is abbreviated, and it "is not

⁸ Though ἀντί τοῦ ἦμην ἀττικῶς is well attested in the Scholia vetera 29a (cf. N. Gonis in P.Oxy. LXVI p. 169). – Cf. also the annotation [---]λε οὐ(τως) ἐν (ἐτέρῳ) μό(νον) in P.Oxy. XXVII 2452 fr. 1,7 (cf. fr. 2,16.19; the form οὐ(τως) ἦν μό(νον) ἐν ἐτ(έρῳ) appears in P.Oxy. IX 1175 fr. 5, col. i 20).

⁹ Cf. Ross, *Not above What Is Written* 216; Murphy-O'Connor, *Interpolations* 85.

clear whether the abbreviation employed ... stands for ἀντ(ι) or ἀντ(ι τοῦ).” However, “ἀντί, accompanied or not by τοῦ, is standard in commentators’ jargon for ‘(this word is used) instead of’¹⁰ ..., as a means of introducing a gloss. It is well represented in the papyri, and of course in the scholia of the Byzantine manuscripts.”¹¹

In early literary papyri there is no *regular* phraseology for a marginal note about an omission in a scribe’s copy.¹² The form “οὐκ ἦν τὸ X” is found e.g. in P.Oxy. XXXIV 2687, a papyrus that preserves five columns of a metrical work by Aristoxenus. The papyrus can be dated to the 3rd century CE. At the end of col. iii, there is a gloss to l. 26 (see illustration 4) which is marked by a dipole sign (<)¹³ and reads οὐκ ἦν τὸ ἀττῶ. In l. 26 (note the < prefixed to that line), ἀττῶ has been corrected to the plural form ἀτταῖς. The marginal mark refers to the similar mark at the beginning of the gloss. John Rea, the editor of this papyrus, remarks: “It is not clear whether the text which did not have ἀττῶ was the exemplar or a second copy.”¹⁴ I myself am quite sure that the gloss has to be interpreted in the following way: the scribe of P.Oxy. XXXIV 2687 found ἀτταῖς in his exemplar, but, by his own mistake, wrote ἀττῶ and then corrected it to ἀτταῖς. Fearing that this could be easily misunderstood as *his* correction of an error in the exemplar he had to copy, he appended a gloss at the end of the column

¹⁰ Cf. Turner, Papyrus 5.

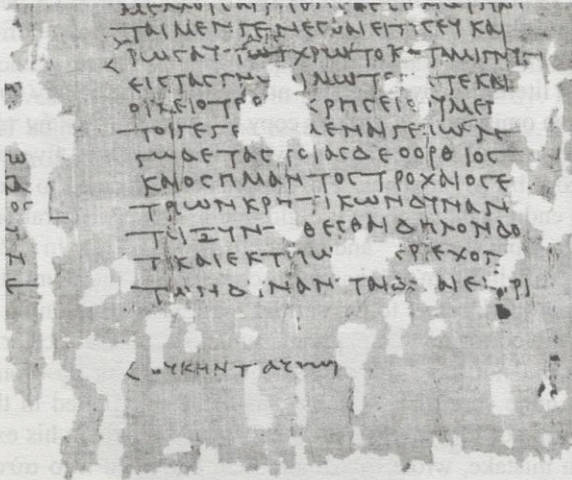
¹¹ N. Gonis in P.Oxy. LXVI p. 169; Gonis adds: “It occurs in both hypomnemata and marginal notes, in most cases written in shortened form, usually as α^v or ας or αν^v” (on the abbreviations α^v, ας and αν^v cf. McNamee, Abbreviations s.v. ἀντί, ἀντι τοῦ). On the shortened form found in P.Oxy. LXVI 4517 N. Gonis further remarks: “I have not found this particular abbreviation elsewhere. The short sinuous stroke placed high after τ appears regularly in documentary writing to mark a suspension, regardless of what letters are actually omitted at the word-end” (N. Gonis in P.Oxy. LXVI p. 169); for examples in the annotation of literary texts see McNamee, Abbreviations xvi.

¹² Strugnell, Plea 557 note 35, notices that after the 2nd century CE “a form such as λείπει τὸ X becomes standard”.

¹³ Also the simple dipole (<) is assigned a wide range of purposes; cf. the *Anecdota Romanum*: “to combat wrong glosses, to mark words used only once, to mark polemical and disputed places and many other figures and inquiries” (cited according to Turner, Papyri 117). The same is true for the sign χ; cf. the list in Turner, Papyri 116, and the summary in White (ed.), Scholia, Index I s.v. χ (p. 344): “χ, a sign of Aristarchus placed before a line to indicate a comment on something notable in the line, e.g. dissent from a reading ..., two duals ..., a figure ..., an inconsistency ..., gender ..., a Homeric parallel ..., a quotation” (cf. Turner, Papyri 116-117).

¹⁴ J.R. Rea in P.Oxy. XXXIV p. 24.

which is telling the reader of *his* copy, that the form αὐτῶ was *not* in the exemplar, but that there, too, was αὐταῖς.¹⁵



4. P.Oxy. XXXIV 2687, col. iii (lower part)

Perhaps, also a gloss in the form τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται could be interpreted in a similar way.¹⁶ It is possible that the scribe had an exemplar reading ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνὸς κτλ., and by mistake he himself omitted μὴ, but afterwards inserted it above the α of ἵνα. Fearing that this could be easily misunderstood as *his* insertion of a word that was missing in the exemplar he had to copy, he appended the gloss τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται to indicate that the μὴ was not missing in the exemplar but that he himself corrected his own mistake and inserted it above the line. In this case the gloss would signify the following: “the μὴ has been written above the α”, meaning “it has been written there *by me* instead of writing it down within the line right after ἵνα, the place where it is written in the manuscript which I copied”.¹⁷ I admit, of course, that this is a

¹⁵ Glosses in the form οὕτως ἦν (generally in the shortened form οὐ(τως) ἦν) clearly refer to the exemplar or to a commentary presenting a variant, cf. e.g. P.Oxy. IX 1174, col. i 8.22 etc. (the stereotyped form οὐ(τως) ἦν ἐν τ(ῶ) Θεώ(νος) refers to the grammarian Theon); XXVII 2468 fr. 1, col. ii 13; PSI IX 1091, col. i 9.17; P.Oxy. XLVII 3326,6.

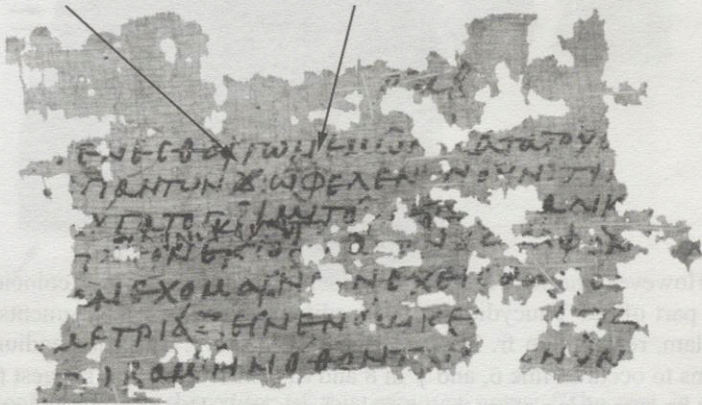
¹⁶ Strugnell, Plea 557 note 35, already remarked that “τὸ X οὐκ ἦν [sic!] ... is virtually indistinguishable in meaning from our τὸ X ὑπὲρ ἃ [sic!] γέγραπται”.

¹⁷ The impersonal passive form is typical for glosses, cf. e.g. the gloss to P.Oxy. IX 1174, col. iv 13: [δ]ιανύχ(τα) οὐ(τως) τὸ (πρῶτον) | [ἄ]περγ(απτο) ἐν τ(ῶ) Θεώ(νος), and the quite common γράφεται or γράφεται καί, that is used in medieval manuscripts to in-

vague interpretation, but it is one which can present a clear reason for the scribe to write such a gloss. Concerning the wording of τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται, there would have been nothing really strange in such a gloss. Furthermore, such an interpretation makes more sense than assuming that the *next* copyist found the μὴ written above the α of ἴνα and therefore commented what he and anyone else could see.

All the observations so far still do not explain if and how a later copyist could have interpreted the gloss τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται not as a comment, but as an accidental omission to be re-inserted. So, let us turn to some examples of glosses that have been interpreted as omissions and were, therefore, subsequently inserted into the text by later copyists.

A quite simple one is found in P.Oxy. LXI 4094, a papyrus with parts of Menander's *Aspis*:



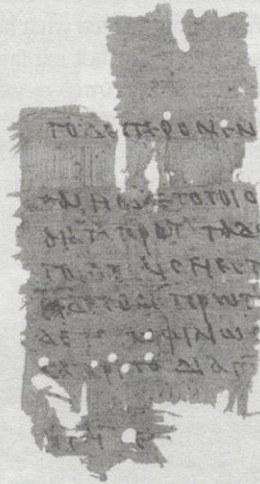
5. P.Oxy. LXI 4094 (part)

In l. 2 of the papyrus (= Menander, *Aspis* 171) we see a δ, later on cancelled by the scribe. The reason is clear: the interlinear nota personae for Daos, indicated by δα above the ω and φ of φελεν, was at first mistaken for δ!¹⁸

roduce a textual variant presented in a marginal annotation, e.g. in Codex Vindobonensis 54. suppl. phil. Gr. 7 (= Stallbaumii Vind. 1; Burnet Codex W), containing the tetralogies V and VI of Plato (cf. in the apparatus of J. Burnet's edition, e.g. 155 a5, 157 c1, d6, e4, 158 b1, c7, 166 b8, 172 d1, 175 e3, 209 b7, 219 d2, 222 b7, 277 d5, 284 b6, 286 e7, 297 c3, 298 d4); cf. also Olympiodorus' commentary on Plato's *Gorgias* 25,7 (on Plato, *Gorgias* 482 a6); 30,11 (on Plato, *Gorgias* 495 a5); 45,7 (on Plato, *Gorgias* 521 e8-522 a1; for these hints I am very thankful to Joachim Dalfen, Salzburg, and for the checking of Codex Vindobonensis 54. suppl. phil. Gr. 7 to Johannes Diethart, Vienna).

¹⁸ Cf. E.W. Handley in P.Oxy. LXI p. 13.

A more elaborate example is fragment 9 of P.Oxy. LXI 4109; this piece of papyrus is one among several fragments belonging to a set of rolls written in the 2nd century that contain several parts of book VIII of Thucydides.



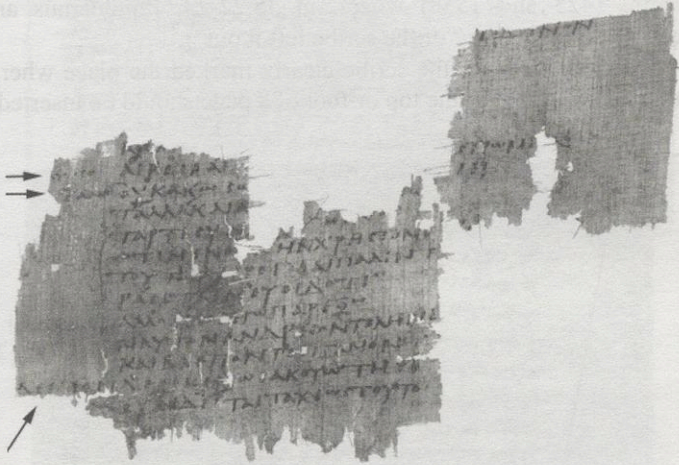
6. P.Oxy. LXI 4109 fr. 9

However, the text of fr. 9 is unidentified and “does not coincide with any part of our Thucydides.”¹⁹ The editor of the papyrus fragments, M.W. Haslam, remarks on fr. 9: “It may be commentary. The compendium $\mu(\acute{\epsilon}\nu)$ seems to occur in line 6, and γ in 8 and $\epsilon\iota(?)$ in 10 similarly suggest that this may be something other than regular book-text. The best guess I can make is that it is a note associated with the mention of Doreus at viii 35, adducing the bk. iii reference to him (that runs $\eta\gamma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \text{Ὀλμπιάς ἢ Δωριεύς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκᾱ}$). But notes belong in the margin, whereas what we have here has every appearance of the beginning of a regular column of the Thucydidean text. But I see no reasonable way of taking it as actually Thucydidean. Thus I take it that we are confronted with a case of elevation of scholiastic material into the body of the text, the incorporation being due presumably to a copyist who mistook the marginal note for a portion of text inadvertently omitted by his predecessor.”²⁰

¹⁹ M.W. Haslam in P.Oxy. LXI p. 81.

²⁰ M.W. Haslam in P.Oxy. LXI p. 81. A well known and often discussed example is perhaps Cicero, *De officiis* 3,31,112 *ad fin.* (“though that seems to be a deliberate interpolation”, M.W. Haslam in P.Oxy. LXI p. 81).

The manuscripts clearly show that a scribe could not always be sure about the meaning and importance of a marginal note: it could be a gloss, a comment, a correction, or a textual variant. Each one of them can be written in the same size on the same page or in the same column of a manuscript; they all can be interlinear or marginal. An example of special interest is P.Oxy. LXVI 4517, the lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex from the 4th century CE containing ll. 592-605.630-647 of Aristophanes's *Ranae*.



7. P.Oxy. LXVI 4517

Nicolaos Gonis, the editor of this papyrus, notes: “The text is richly provided with lectional signs. All may have been written at the same time as the text (same ink).”²¹ In the line, which corresponds with l. 596-597 in Aristophanes's comedy, we see αὔθις in the margin, which belongs to the text, thus representing a correction for an omitted word. Below this insertion we can read ξανθ, signifying that there is a change of speakers; the following lines are spoken by Ζανθίας.²²

Most interesting is δεινον in the margin some lines below. It must belong to the text, but the other codices have δειν. Nicolaos Gonis notes: “δεινὸν δ' ἔοικεν makes no sense, but it is not clear how δεινὸν came to enter the text. It might stem from δεινόν in 592, or from misreading; but

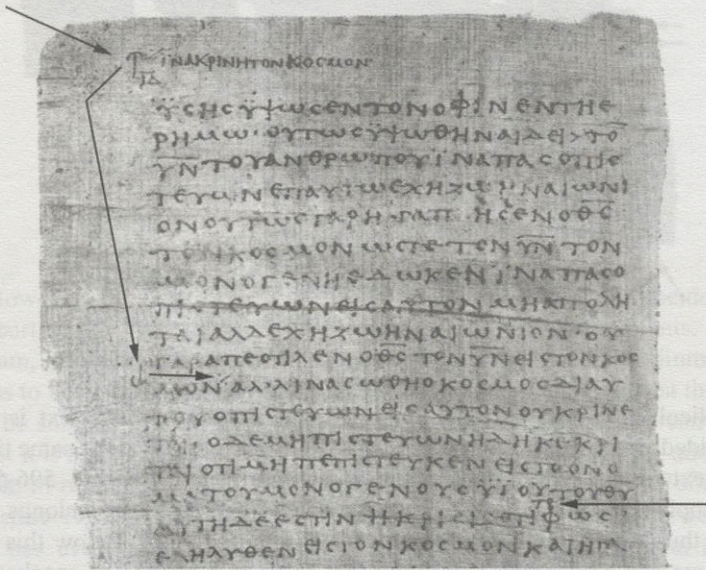
²¹ N. Gonis in P.Oxy. LXVI p. 152.

²² Cf. P.Bodmer 25 p. 18,26.27 (= Menander, Samia 733-734), and the interlinear notes above P.Oxy. LXII 4306 fr. 1, col. i 14 and 22 (both corrections), 26 (a variant), 28 (an abbreviation); the papyrus can be dated to the 1st or 2nd century CE.

note that the papyrus shows signs of careful correction. Another possibility is that it is interpolated: δεινόν may have been influenced by the significance of the preceding βλέποντ' ὀρίγανον, or it may be meant to illustrate Xanthias' emotional state following the knock on the door (604). In this case it may be worth considering the possibility of an intrusive gloss²³!

A probable omission of a portion of text by a scribe is attested by a literary papyrus from Herculaneum containing Philodemus, *De poematis V* (= P.Herc. 1425 and 1538) where, in 35,22-23, Philodemus argues ἢ γρα|φεὺς παραλέλοιπε (“or the scribe left it out”).²⁴

In several manuscripts the scribe clearly marked the place where omissions that he had added at the top or foot of a page should be inserted.

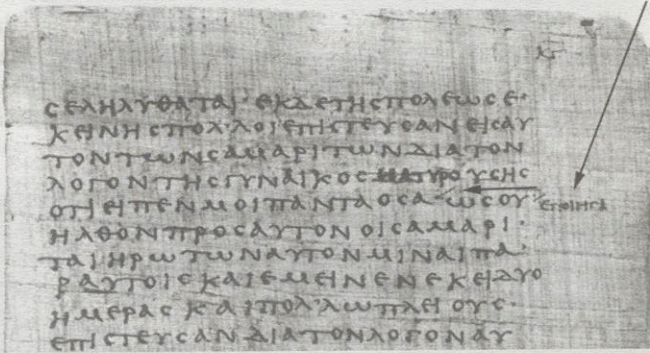


8. P.Bodmer II p. 14 (Tafel Bd. 8, 106)

²³ N. Gonis in P.Oxy. LXVI p. 155. See also P.Oxy. LIII 3719,7 (line following Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 918) and the problems commented by M.W. Haslam in P.Oxy. LIII p. 149.

²⁴ For this hint I am very thankful to Jeffrey Fish, Baylor University, Waco / TX (cf. in the forthcoming edition *On Poems V*, edited and translated by David Armstrong, James Porter, Jeffrey Fish, and Cecilia Mangoni).

Or they can be added on the left or right margin, again with a mark clearly indicating the place where the addition has to be inserted, like ἐποίησα on p. 23 of the same manuscript, which is the last word of John 4:39.²⁵



9. P. Bodmer II p. 23 (Tafel Bd. 8, 115)

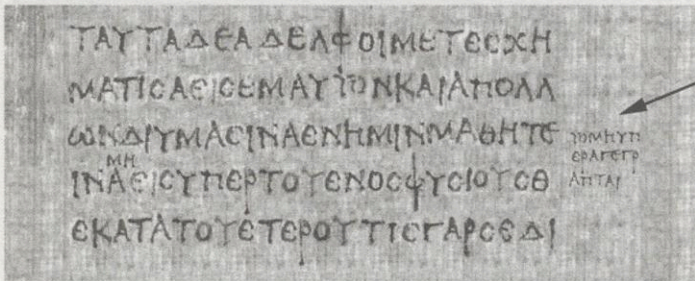
Cases like these are without any problems.

Of great interest is p. 41 of the same manuscript, P. Bodmer II:

10. P. Bodmer II p. 41 (Tafel Bd. 8, 129)

²⁵ Cf. e.g. on p. 54 of P. Bodmer II.

The note on the right margin is just continuing the text of the line, which had been omitted. Of course, the original text \acute{o} τρω|νων would not make any sense. So it is clear that the note on the margin has to be added to the text, now reading \acute{o} τρώγων μο(υ) τὴν σάρκα κα(ι) πί|νων κτλ. (John 6:56).²⁶ This omission added on the right margin is longer than many omissions that have not been added on the margin but on top or at the foot of a page. From this example, it is easy to imagine how a scribe could have misinterpreted a gloss like τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται as an omission, if the original text of the line had ended with μάθητε.

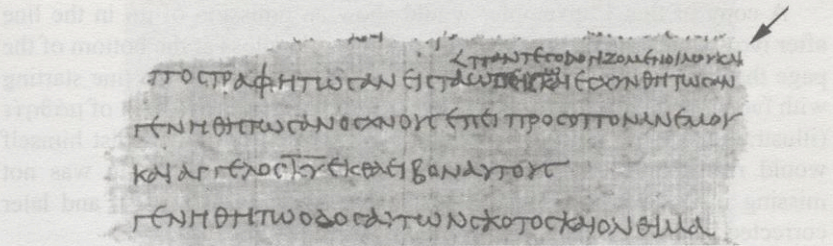


11. Reconstruction: Interlinear MH and marginal gloss; ΜΑΘΗΤΕ at the end of the line before

The same type of mark as in l. 26 of P.Oxy. XXXIV 2687 (see illustration 4), referring to a gloss at the end of the column, has been used by the scribe of P.Bodmer IX, containing Ps. 33 and 34 in LXX version, but he used this mark to indicate a portion of text that has to be added to the line next to the mark.²⁷

²⁶ Quite strange is the mark between μου and τό above line 12. Normally such a mark is indicating the exact place where an omission has to be added. But here this is not the case, it just indicates that the marginal note has to be inserted between line 11 and 12, which means: exactly after line 11 before line 12 starts. – For interlinear insertions of longer portions of omitted text see e.g. P.Oxy. LXV 4458,19a (3rd century CE).

²⁷ P.Bodmer IX (p. 4),2 (= Ps. 34,4 LXX) reads [ἀ]ποστραφήτωςαν εις τὰ ὠπεισω καὶ ἐσχυνθήτωςαν, and then πάντες οἱ λογιζόμενοί μου κακ[ά] is added above the line and marked with “<”. – In manuscripts to Plato a dipole in the form > is often used to mark passages of Platonic doctrine, e.g. P.Oxy. LII 3675, col. ii 6.8 (cf. Diogenes Laertius 3,65).

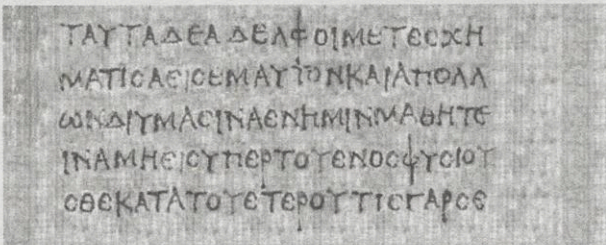


12. P. Bodmer IX p. 4 (Tafel Bd. 8, 300)

Obviously, there was no clear convention how to mark a gloss instead of a textual variant or an omission of text. And, of course, this is reason enough to assume that – at least sometimes – it was quite difficult for a copyist to distinguish between a gloss and a textual variant or an omission that had to be re-inserted into the text.

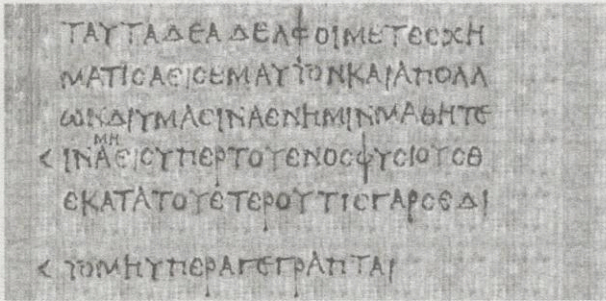
All these observations show clearly that the thesis that τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται in 1Cor. 4:6 is a scribal gloss, is quite plausible. At least, none of the arguments brought up against this thesis is convincing enough to be counted as evidence *against* the gloss-theory. The gloss would seem to be as useless or useful as several other glosses preserved in ancient manuscripts, and there would not be anything strange in the phraseology of such a gloss. The manuscripts show that there were no clear conventions to distinguish glosses from textual variants or omissions and that it could happen – and in fact actually did happen – that a copyist took a gloss for an omission and inserted it into the text.

A reconstruction could look as follows:²⁸ The 1st exemplar would have μάθητε at the end of one line and ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνὸς κτλ. at the beginning of the following line.

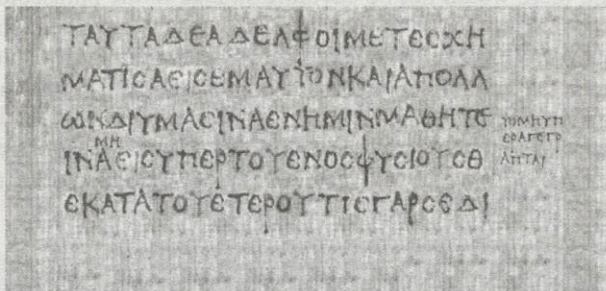
13. Reconstruction of 1st exemplar

²⁸ The letters are taken from P.Oxy. LVI 3823 (1st century CE).

A copy of this 1st exemplar would show an omission of μή in the line after ἴνα, but re-inserted above the α of ἴνα, and a gloss at the bottom of the page that starts with a dipse sign referring to < prefixed to the line starting with ἴνα (illustration 14), or a marginal gloss starting on the right of μάθητε (illustration 15). In both variants, the gloss written by the copyist himself would read τὸ μή ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται, indicating that the μή was not missing in the exemplar but that the copyist left it out at first, and later corrected his own mistake and inserted it above the line.

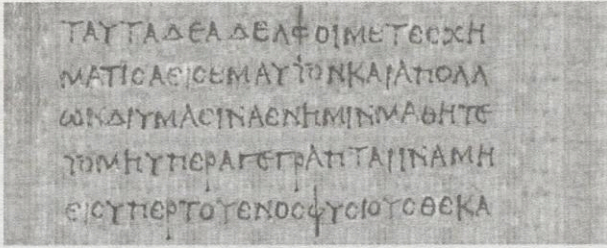


14. Copy of 1st exemplar (variant 1)



15. Copy of 1st exemplar (variant 2)

The copy of this copy would have the gloss inserted into the text, between μάθητε and ἴνα, as a part of it (illustration 16). This copy then would have served as the archetype of all preserved manuscripts.



16. Copy of copy (= archetype of all preserved manuscripts)

Of course, all this does not *prove* that τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται in 1Cor. 4:6 *really* was a gloss. It has often been remarked that there is no textual evidence for the gloss-theory. It is true that all the manuscripts that have been found so far have τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται as part of the text, except the codices D, F, G, and some others that read ὄ instead of ἄ.

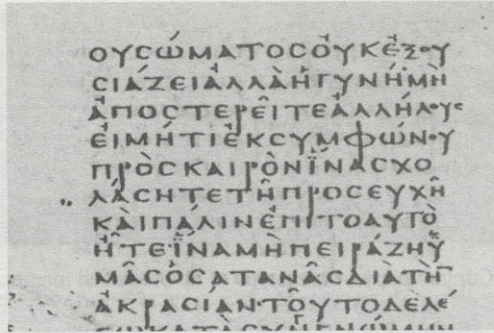
Yet, maybe Codex Vaticanus gives a hint that there was at least one manuscript that read ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνὸς φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου. As Philip B. Payne and Paul Canart recognized in their detailed study of the codex, throughout “the margins of the Vaticanus NT are approximately 765 pairs of dots resembling a dieresis or umlaut”; almost all of them “occur next to lines of text which differ significantly from some other NT manuscripts. The frequency of textual variants in these lines is far greater than in lines that have no umlaut. This strongly supports the conclusion that umlauts in the margins of Vaticanus mark textual variants.”²⁹ Recently there was some discussion on the authenticity of these umlauts,³⁰ as it is known that between the 9th and 11th century a scribe, “apparently concerned with fading, traced over the original ink of every letter or word of Vaticanus unless it appeared to be incorrect.”³¹ Payne and Canart, however, were able to prove that “eleven unreinforced umlauts unambiguously match the original apricot color of unreinforced text on the same page of the codex. ... Nine of these eleven umlauts mark a location where text is omitted, inserted or replaced in other manuscripts.”³²

²⁹ Payne / Canart, *Originality* 106-107.

³⁰ Cf. Niccum, *Voice* 245; see Epp, *Factors* 240-241; Epp, *Junia* 18-19; Payne / Canart, *Originality* 109 note 25.

³¹ Payne / Canart, *Originality* 105.

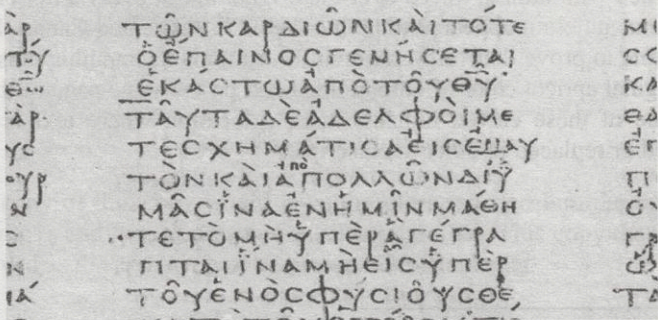
³² Payne / Canart, *Originality* 107.



17. Codex Vaticanus fol. 1466B (umlauts in line 6 – 1Cor. 7:5)

According to Payne and Canart the eleven unreinforced umlauts “establish that at least these umlauts date to the time of the original writing of the codex. They are not limited to a specific section but are scattered throughout the manuscript. Since there is scholarly consensus that a single scribe wrote almost all of the NT of Vaticanus and since the ink of these umlauts matches that of the original text, it is a reasonable inference that the original scribe penned at least these eleven umlauts.”³³ They are, e.g., prefixed to a line of 1Cor. 7:5 (see illustration 17),³⁴ where several manuscripts (like \hat{A}^2 , K and L) insert τῆ νηστεία καί (“fasting and”) before “prayer”, while others such as 330, 451, and John-Damascus add καὶ νηστεία after “prayer”.

Concerning 1Cor. 4:6, there is an umlaut prefixed to the line that reads ΤΕΤΟΜΗΥΠΕΡΑΓΕΓΡΑ (Codex Vaticanus fol. 1464B, line 8), but this one was not identified as unreinforced by Payne and Canart.



18. Codex Vaticanus fol. 1464B (1Cor. 4:6)

³³ Payne / Canart, *Originality* 108-109.

³⁴ Cf. Payne / Canart, *Originality* 108.

Nevertheless, to Payne and Canart it “is implausible if Codex Vaticanus had only eleven original umlauts that a later scribe would have identified their purpose, let alone expanded their use. It is also implausible that a scribe half a millennium later would simply by chance have used the same symbol that the original scribe had used to mark the location of textual variants, especially since it never became conventional after the writing of Vaticanus in the fourth century for scribes to use umlauts for this purpose. Thus, it is far less likely that the reinforcer in the Middle Ages originated these umlauts than that he simply traced over them while reinforcing the rest of the text. It is reasonable to expect that the chocolate-brown umlauts the reinforcer traced, like the text itself and the apricot umlauts that were not reinforced, also date to the original writing of the codex. A small protrusion of the original ink of Vaticanus along the edge of a reinforced umlaut is an ideal confirmation of originality. Canart discovered that the first dot of the umlaut by the final line of 1Cor. 14:33 has a small protrusion toward the left which reveals a color more nearly the apricot of the original text than the chocolate brown of the reinforcement. This strongly supports the presence of an umlaut at this point in the original text. It also reinforces the expectation that the chocolate-brown umlauts in Codex Vaticanus result from the reinforcement of umlauts that date to its original writing.”³⁵

So then we can infer that the umlaut at 1Cor. 4:6 was likewise written by the original scribe in the 4th century in order to indicate a textual variant in the line that reads ΤΕΤΟΜΗΥΠΕΡΑΓΕΓΡΑ, a variant that he had found in another manuscript available to him. This does not, however, automatically mean that the textual variant was an omission of το μη υπερ α γεγραπται. The umlaut may also indicate the well known textual variant to ᾱ in the relative clause ᾱ γέγραπται, instead of which the codices D, F, G and others read the singular form ο, as I have already mentioned. Strictly speaking, we must admit that we do not exactly know which textual variant is indicated by that umlaut at all, as it may also refer to a variant unknown to us so far. Out of about 59 umlauts along the margins of the text of 1Cor.,³⁶ I found 22 without a known textual variant listed in NA²⁷. But, on the other hand, the umlaut in question *may* indicate that the original scribe of Vaticanus had a manuscript at hand without the clause το μη υπερ α γεγραπται, just reading: ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑνὸς φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου – “so that you may learn by us that none of you may be puffed up in favor of one against another”.

³⁵ Payne / Canart, *Originality* 109-110.

³⁶ I checked the text and umlauts in the Codex Vaticanus facsimile edition. In one case I am not sure if there really is an umlaut: fol. 1475C, line 30 (the two dots are wider apart as normally), and NA²⁷ does not list any textual variant to this line.

So, was τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται a scribal gloss? Perhaps! More importantly, I think this possibility should be mentioned in every commentary on this passage of 1Cor. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient reason to introduce this thesis into a modern textcritical edition, as we still do not have any clear textual evidence for it.

Summary

In 1884, J. Baljon put forward the thesis that τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται in 1Cor. 4:6 is a scribal gloss that was introduced into the text by mistake. A close look at scribal glosses in biblical as well as non-biblical manuscripts shows that this thesis is quite plausible. At least, none of the arguments brought up against this thesis is convincing enough to be counted as evidence against the gloss-theory. Nevertheless, we still do not have any clear textual evidence for such a reading.

Zusammenfassung

J. Baljon stellte 1884 die These auf, die Wendung τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται in 1Kor 4,6 sei ursprünglich die Glosse eines Schreibers gewesen und aufgrund eines Missverständnisses in den Text geraten. Eine Untersuchung zahlreicher Glossen in biblischen und außerbiblischen Handschriften zeigt deutlich die Plausibilität dieser These auf; dabei wird deutlich, dass keines der bisher gegen diese These vorgebrachten Argumente stark genug ist, um sie zu widerlegen. Dennoch fehlt für einen klaren positiven Beweis von Baljons These weiterhin ein Beleg aus der Textüberlieferung von 1Kor 4,6.

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NA²⁷ = Nestle-Aland, *Greek-English New Testament. Greek text Novum Testamentum Graece, in the tradition of Eberhard Nestle and Erwin Nestle*, edited by Barbara and Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, English text 2nd Edition of the Revised Standard Version, the critical apparatuses prepared and edited together with the Institute for New Testament Textual Research, Münster / Westphalia by Barbara and Kurt Aland, Stuttgart 9th revised edition 2001 including papyri 98-116 (10th printing 2005).

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List of Illustrations

Illustrations 11, and 13-16 are the creation of the author. All other illustrations have been re-worked for this publication; the original versions can be found as follows:

- 1-3 Egypt Exploration Society,
http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/papyri/the_papyri.html.
- 4 Egypt Exploration Society, P.Oxy. XXXIV, plate ii.
- 5-7 Egypt Exploration Society,
http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/papyri/the_papyri.html.
- 8-10 Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, vol. 8, p. 106.115.129.
- 12 Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, vol. 8, p. 300.
- 17-18 Codex Vaticanus facsimile edition.

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