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# THE BEZAN TEXT OF ACTS

A Contribution of Discourse  
Analysis to Textual Criticism

JENNY READ-HEIMERDINGER





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**Jenny Read-Heimerdinger**

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## PREFACE

This study of the text of Acts was initially presented as part of a doctoral thesis at the University of Wales in 1994 and had as its aim the exploration of the ways in which the approach of discourse analysis could contribute to evaluating variant readings of New Testament MSS. The research was based on a comparison of Acts in the main textual traditions. In its updated form, a sharper focus has been given to the text of Codex Bezae but, although some modification has been carried out (intentionally and by me, the original author, textual critics please note!), the earlier analyses remain substantially the same.

In the first section of the book, the theoretical framework of the research is set out. Codex Bezae and the MSS selected for comparison are presented and the general theory of discourse analysis is introduced. The second section deals with the analysis of linguistic categories in which variant readings frequently occur.

In my doctoral dissertation, a third section had been devoted to applying the results of the analyses to an exegetical study of continuous sections of text. This section has been omitted from the present work because it is to be incorporated in a forthcoming full textual and exegetical commentary on the book of Acts which will have as its aim the examination of how the message of Acts differs in the distinct manuscript traditions. This is a joint project being undertaken in collaboration with Josep Rius-Camps of the Facultat de Teologia in Barcelona on whose Catalan work, *Comentari als Fets dels Apòstols* (Barcelona: Herder, 1991–2000), the commentary in English will be based. His assistance in preparing the present volume for publication, as that of the church community in Montcada i Reixac, has been immensely appreciated.

My introduction to textual criticism was in 1982 through Monsieur Christian-Bernard Amphoux, Director of the Espace Jean Duplacy in Lunel, France. His spirit of enquiry has been a source of inspiration and I should like to express my gratitude to him for the opportunities he has given me to meet other scholars working in the field of textual criticism and to try out my ideas both in private discussion and public debate.

I should like to thank London Bible College for the opportunity to pursue MA research and for the time that I later spent there as Associate Research Fellow. For the first three years of doctoral study at the University of Wales, I received a grant from Tyndale House, Cambridge. I initially carried out research under the supervision of Professor Max Wilcox whose help was invaluable, not least his counsel to 'trust in hunches'. After his departure, I worked under the guidance of Professor Keith Elliott of Leeds University for whose support I am deeply grateful. I have continued to benefit from his extensive knowledge of the diverse field of textual criticism, long after his guidance of my thesis ceased. The two examiners of my thesis, Dr David Parker and Dr Margaret Thrall, generously provided extensive comments of which careful note has been taken in the revision for publication.

For the linguistic aspects of the research, my special thanks are due to Dr Stephen Levinsohn, Dr John Callow and Mrs Kathleen Callow of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and to Professor Stanley Porter of McMaster Divinity College, Canada, who also, with unflinching patience, advised on the revision of the original thesis. None of these people, however, is responsible for any of the shortcomings of the work.

At the International Colloquium on Codex Bezae held in 1994 to celebrate 400 years of the rediscovery of the manuscript, the President, Monsieur Jean Charlet, concluded by remarking that among the participants there were both 'les amis et les amants du Codex de Bèze'. My hope is that as the text of this manuscript becomes more widely known, the number of both its friends and its lovers may increase.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABD</i>	David Noel Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
<i>ANRW</i>	Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase (eds.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1972–)
B-A-G	W. Bauer, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (ed. and trans. W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich; Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1957)
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
EBib	Etudes bibliques
<i>FN</i>	<i>Filologia neotestamentaria</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series</i>
JSOTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
NA <sup>26</sup>	K. Aland et al. (eds.), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 26th edn, 1979)
NA <sup>27</sup>	B. Aland et al. (eds.), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 27th edn, 1993)
<i>NOT</i>	<i>Notes on Translation</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Optat</i>	<i>Occasional Papers and Technical Articles for Translators</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RCatT</i>	<i>Revista catalana de teologia</i>
<i>RSPT</i>	<i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SNTS	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series

<i>START</i>	<i>Selected Technical Articles Related to Translation</i>
UBS <sup>4</sup>	B. Aland <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>The Greek New Testament</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 4th edn, 1993)
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

*Text-Critical Signs and Abbreviations*

The following conventional signs and abbreviations are used:

cj.	conjectured reading
lac.	lacuna
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
<i>vl, vll</i>	variant reading, variant readings

After a manuscript letter or number, in superscript:

*	original hand
2	second hand
corr	corrector (followed by the letter assigned to successive correctors of the manuscript)
ms, mss	one or several manuscripts only

*Principal manuscripts cited*

Ⲁ01	Codex Sinaiticus
B03	Codex Vaticanus
D05	Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis: Greek pages
d05	Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis: Latin pages

## DETAILS OF PREVIOUS PLACES OF PUBLICATION

The following chapters have been published in an earlier or modified form.

- Chapter 1 J. Heimerdinger, 'The "Short" and the "Long" Texts of Acts: A Closer Look at the Quantity and Types of Variation', *RCatT* 22 (1998), pp. 245-61.
- Chapter 3 J. Heimerdinger, 'Word Order in Koine Greek: Using a Text-Critical Approach to Study Word Order Patterns in the Greek Text of Acts', *FN* 9 (1996), pp. 139-80.
- Chapter 4 J. Heimerdinger and S.H. Levinsohn, 'The Use of the Definite Article Before the Names of People in the Greek Text of Acts with Particular Reference to Codex Bezae', *FN* 5 (1992), pp. 15-44.
- Chapter 6 J. Read-Heimerdinger, 'Variation in the Use of Prepositions between Codex Bezae and the Alexandrian Uncials', in C.-B. Amphoux and J.K. Elliott (eds.), *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity* (Lausanne: Editions du Zèbre, forthcoming).



# I

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## Chapter 1

### THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ACTS: QUANTITY AND TYPES OF VARIATION

The text of the book of Acts is one over which there has been a long history of debate and disagreement, and even today it remains a far from settled matter. Both exegetes and textual critics commonly recognize this. A principal cause for the lack of textual certainty is the existence of the text of Codex Bezae, which witnesses to a state of the text not attested by any other MS and which is especially unlike that of the MSS textual critics have often preferred—those of the Alexandrian tradition. I propose to study afresh the Bezan text and to examine some of its linguistic features, comparing them with the usage of the Alexandrian text. The tools adopted for the analysis will be those of discourse analysis, an approach not generally followed in textual criticism but one which I believe has an important contribution to make to the evaluation of variant readings because of the understanding it offers of the causes of language flexibility.

In this first chapter, we shall be looking at the place occupied by Codex Bezae as a witness to the text of Acts and considering the MSS that provide the data for a comparative linguistic analysis. By establishing an overall picture of the kind of variation that exists among them, and of its distribution through the book of Acts, we shall be in a better position to deal with individual linguistic aspects that are affected by variant readings. The method of discourse analysis that will be applied to the study of the variation will be presented in the following chapter.

An initial step is to clarify the situation regarding the text of Acts. It is a well-known fact that it has been transmitted in two main forms, and that there are witnesses to both of them among the earliest Greek MSS as well as among the early versions and the writings of the Church Fathers. This knowledge, however, is frequently accompanied by generalized notions and inaccurate information that prevent a true picture of the MS tradition of Acts from being seen. The perpetuating of these popular ideas about the state of the text of Acts tends to reinforce prejudices concerning the rela-

tive value of the MSS and hinders an objective analysis. While the work of determining which is the text that corresponds most closely to the original version is a long and complex matter, one that the linguistic analyses will help to tackle in part, there is factual information concerning the quantity and the types of the variation in the MSS that can be given relatively easily and with some precision. That information is set out in the first three sections of this chapter. In the final section, a summary is presented of the overall differences in the message communicated by the book of Acts in Codex Bezae and in the MSS used for the comparative analyses.

Before considering specific MSS, a popular misconception concerning the grouping of the MSS of Acts needs to be cleared up. It is customary to think of the MSS that contain Acts as falling into two families, those with the Alexandrian text and others with the Western text.<sup>1</sup> The former is named after the place where a recension is thought to have been made, either based on or giving rise to MSS that closely resemble each other. The label 'Western' originally described the divergent group of MSS associated with the Latin-speaking world and, although other MSS of this type have now also been found in the East, the name has stuck and is used for convenience. While the twofold grouping of MSS corresponds broadly to the reality of the situation, it masks the fact that among the witnesses of each group there are significant variant readings. This is true to a small extent of the Alexandrian MSS which, despite agreement most of the time, differ in some of the details. It is especially true of the Western MSS whose chief point of agreement is that they differ from the Alexandrian text!<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, most of the MSS that display a Western text are early versions (Latin, Syriac, Aramaic, Middle Egyptian) and so many of what may have been points of difference in their exemplars are obscured by translation. The variety among the MSS in each group means that global comparisons between the two main traditions are likely to produce mis-

1. For a survey of the scholarly investigation of the textual problem of Acts, see W.A. Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts* (SNTSMS, 71; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-34; also C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, I (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994), pp. 2-29.

2. The lack of the homogeneity of the Western text is readily acknowledged by textual critics. See D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 284; Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts*, pp. 35-38; L. Vaganay and C.-B. Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* (trans. J. Heimerdinger; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 110.

leading results. A comparison of actual representatives of the two groups allows more accurate conclusions to be drawn.

For the purpose of the analysis presented in this book, two MSS have been taken as representative of the Alexandrian tradition, Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲛ01, otherwise known as) and Codex Vaticanus (B03). Both are well-preserved fourth-century uncial MSS that have the text of Acts in its entirety.<sup>3</sup> There are a fair number of small disagreements between them but all of these have been noted and are mentioned in the analysis wherever they involve one or other of the linguistic features under consideration. The text of Ⲛ01/B03 is essentially that of the current printed editions of Acts. A fuller idea of the variation between the Alexandrian and Bezan texts could be obtained by bringing other MSS of the Alexandrian tradition into the comparison, but restricting the number to the two main witnesses will help to keep the discussion clearer than it might be otherwise.

Among the so-called Western witnesses, Codex Bezae (D05) is the only MS in Greek to have a text that differs consistently from the Alexandrian text. It is a bilingual Greek–Latin codex dating from around 400 CE, with a large number of readings in Greek that are unattested in any other ancient witness to Acts, not even in its own Latin pages.<sup>4</sup> Theories have been advanced to account for the existence of such a divergent text, some concluding positively in favour of its authenticity but most rejecting any such claim, usually decrying it as the work of imaginative and over-

3. Codex Sinaiticus is available in an edition by D.R. Ford (trans. and ed.), *Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ The New Testament: Sinaitic Version; In Greek and English* (New York: Vantage Books, 1993). A colour reproduction of Codex Vaticanus was edited by P. Canart and C.M. Martini in 1965 (*Τὰ Ἱερὰ Βιβλία: Codex Vaticanus graecus 1209: Phototypice expressus iussu Pauli PP VI Pontificis Maximi: Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ* [Vatican City]). The B03 text of Acts is also available in transcription in J.H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts. III. The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles* (ed. F.J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake; 5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1926).

4. There is a transcription by F.H. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (repr.; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1978), that is generally accurate for Acts. This edition is now out of print but Scrivener's transcription of the Greek side of Codex Bezae has been reproduced in a new edition by A. Ammassari, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1996). The actual MS has been examined in thorough detail by Parker, *Codex Bezae*. A continuous exegetical study of its text of Acts has been made by E. Delebecque, *Les deux Actes des Apôtres* (EBib, NS, 6; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1986). The Bezan text of Acts has also been compared with the Alexandrian text from an exegetical point of view by J. Rius-Camps, *Comentari als Fets dels Apòstols* (4 vols.; Barcelona: Herder, 1992–2000).

enthusiastic scribes. Whatever their outcome, the majority of studies relating to the Bezan text tend to encompass the Western text generally rather than concentrating specifically on Codex Bezae. This methodological procedure is flawed, as will be argued in the following chapter, and I suggest that it is a cause of the lack of consensus on the status of the Bezan text. In applying the linguistic analyses to an actual MS rather than a hypothetical text reconstructed from a range of witnesses, my aim is to produce results that derive from a more sure basis.

Although none of these actual MSS dates from before the fourth century, it should be borne in mind that the text they transmit is of an earlier date. This much is known from readings of both the Alexandrian MSS and Codex Bezae that are found among the oldest papyri, versions and Church Fathers. How much earlier are the texts as entire documents, and how the two texts relate to each other in terms of date, are questions for which the linguistic analyses will be able to suggest answers.

A quantitative analysis of the differences between the selected MSS was obtained by comparing Codex Bezae with Codex Vaticanus in terms of the number and types of variant readings. The results are set out in the tables and the discussion that follow. Similar numerical results would have been produced if Codex Sinaiticus had been used instead of Vaticanus for comparing with the Western MS.<sup>5</sup> It is unfortunate that the lacunae in the Bezan text (at 8.29–10.14; 21.2–10, 16–18; 22.10–20 and 22.29–28.31), mean that the analysis had to be restricted to something less than the entire book of Acts but in the absence of a complete Greek witness to a text like that of Codex Bezae, there is no way to avoid this shortcoming.

The variant readings are considered in three different ways. First, they are taken *en masse* and counted, in the MSS overall as well as in the individual chapters. This gives a general idea of the size of the difference between the MSS and shows the distribution of the variation throughout the book of Acts. In the second analysis, the global number of variants is broken down into different types of variation that are numerically compared among themselves, again in the MSS overall and then in the individual chapters. This allows the initial picture to be refined and more detail to be filled in. A final step is to compare the amount and distribution of variant readings in the narrative portions of the text with those in direct speech in order to see if the two kinds of discourse are affected differently by variation.

5. B03 agrees with D05 against N01 at 103 places, whereas N01 agrees with D05 against B03 at 114 places. The majority of these disagreements between N01 and B03 occur within the category which I refer to as 'alternative material' (see §II).

In the survey in this chapter, little attempt will be made to interpret the significance of the figures. An accurate evaluation of the patterns and the fluctuations that appear in the tables and charts will necessarily depend on a thorough examination of the reasons for variation passage by passage. That exercise properly belongs to a detailed comparative commentary on Acts.

### *I. Proportion of Text Affected by Variation*

In the first instance, the two MSS were compared and every difference between them noted.<sup>6</sup> The number of words in the Bezan text was counted, using the transcript of the MS; likewise, the number of words that varied from the text of Codex Vaticanus. The total number of words affected by variation is over three and a half thousand. The exact figure needs to be compared with the number of words in the book overall to see what proportion of the whole it represents. (It should be remembered that D05 has lacunae and that the sections of B03 corresponding to these gaps are therefore not included in the word count in Codex Vaticanus.)

Table 1.1. *An Overall Comparison of D05 with B03*

		<i>Percentage of text affected by variation</i>
<i>Number of vll</i>	3,642	
<i>Total words in D05</i>	13,904	26
<i>Total words in B03</i>	13,036	28

The overall difference in the length of the two texts is 868 words. This represents 6.6 per cent of B03; in other words, this is the amount by which the D05 text of Acts is longer than that of B03.

These global results already shed light on the nature of the differences between the Alexandrian and the Western traditions. They tend to tell a somewhat different story about the state of the text of Acts from that traditionally presented. The two texts are often referred to as the 'short text' and the 'long text', as if the greater length of the Western text were the most remarkable feature that distinguished it from the Alexandrian text. This idea is bolstered by figures given by F.G. Kenyon who compared the text of

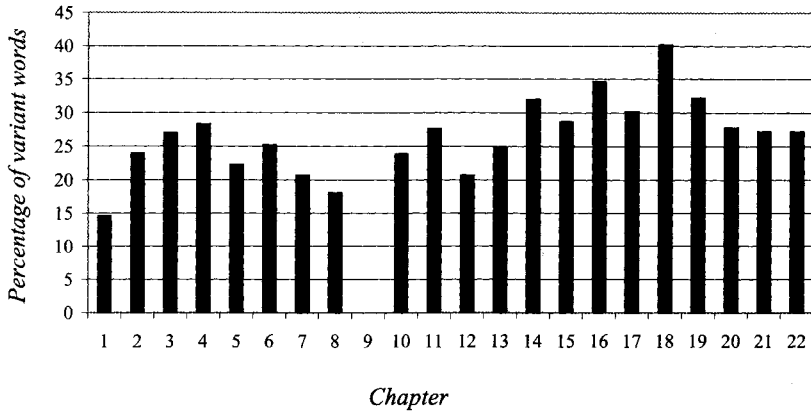
6. Eberhardt Nestle's collation of Codex Bezae against Tischendorf's edition of the Greek New Testament (*Novi Testamenti Graeci: Supplementum editionibus de Gerbhardt Tischendorfianis; Codicis Cantabrigiensis Collatio* [Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1896]) is a valuable aid for checking variant readings in both  $\aleph$ 01 and B03.

Westcott and Hort (Alexandrian) with that of A.C. Clark (Western) and found the latter to be 8.5 per cent longer. Kenyon's figure has generously been rounded up to 10 per cent in more recent publications.<sup>7</sup> When the two MSS selected for this study were examined exhaustively, it was found not only that the difference in the overall number of words in D05 compared with B03 was much less than 10 per cent but also that, as we shall see in §II, there are other types of variation than those of addition/omission which means that difference in length is only one aspect of a more complex state of affairs. The use of the terms 'longer' and 'shorter' to describe the two texts can, in consequence, be somewhat misleading although it may be convenient when referring to specific units of variation where one text is longer.

The next step is to see how this variation is distributed across the chapters of the book of Acts. For this analysis, the number of variant words in each chapter of D05 was counted and compared with the total number of words in the chapter, and then the relationship between the two figures expressed as a percentage. The block graph, Figure 1.1, displays the quantity of variation in each chapter (the figures on which it is based can be found in the right-hand column of the final line of Table 1.3, §II). Readers should bear in mind the lacunae of Codex Bezae.

From Figure 1.1 it can be seen that there is a general difference in the proportion of text affected by variation between the two halves of the book of Acts. The opening chapter of Acts has the lowest proportion of variation, following which the figure climbs to a first peak at Acts 4. The highest figures correspond to the journeys of Paul in chs. 14–19. At Acts 20, the level drops once more and appears to even out; unfortunately, however, what can be inferred from the change at this point is rendered uncertain by the absence of the final eight chapters of the book. The figures for those chapters with lacunae may possibly have been different if the entire chapter could have been taken into account, although this would not necessarily be the case since the figures that are given are based only on the extant Bezan material.

7. E.g., see B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2nd edn, 1994), p. 223, where reference is made to Kenyon's calculations. In contrast, Strange (*The Problem of the Text of Acts*, p. 213) makes a more rigorous comparison between the MS traditions by setting the number of words in D05 (which he counts as 14,062 rather than my 13,904) against the number of words in the NA<sup>26</sup> text (13,236) taken as the Alexandrian base. According to Strange's figures, the difference in length is 6.24%, which again is considerably less than Metzger's 'one tenth'.

Figure 1.1. *A Comparison of the Quantity of Variation in Each Chapter*

The reasons for the fluctuation in the amount of variation may have something to do with the subject matter of the individual chapters. For the most part, a detailed exegetical comparison of the texts is necessary to establish in what way the number of variant readings reflects the difficult or sensitive nature, for example, of particular passages. Another possibility, which can be more easily determined from a numerical count, is that there may be significant differences in the amount of variation contained in the apostolic or missionary speeches. A way to explore this possibility is to separate the variation in speech in each chapter from the variation that occurs in the narrative. For this purpose, the tables in §III display a comparison of the proportion of variation in speech and in narrative. It is also worth noting that variation is often concentrated in the introductions to new episodes or in the transitions and summaries between episodes that transmit the narrator's comments and evaluation. Moreover, this variation is frequently complex. Its placing and complexity both suggest that it is not the work of a copyist. Introductions and conclusions to episodes as well as transitions between them are part of the signposts that a narrator uses to make sure that the meaning of the narrative is clear.<sup>8</sup> In so far as Acts is concerned, they are points at which Luke establishes what in his view are the connections between incidents, or at which he steps outside the story to make his own observations. As such, they are of critical importance for communicating the intended message and for building up a

8. K. Callow, *Man and Message: A Guide to Meaning-Based Text Analysis* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), pp. 180-81.

rapport with the audience. Because of the special role of these particular verses, the variation in them should be seen as expressing not scribal fancies but differences in the viewpoint and the purpose of the editor of each text.

## II. *Categories of Variation*

Within the total amount of variation, four categories can be identified which help to break down the large number of words into something more workable.<sup>9</sup> Although for practical purposes the categories take Codex Bezae as their starting point, that is a pragmatic decision that is not intended to be a statement at this stage about the primary or secondary nature of one text or the other. The four categories are:

1. Additional—present in D05, absent in B03.
2. Alternative—same material in a different form.
3. Word order—same words in a different order.
4. Omitted—absent in D05, present in B03.

The first category of variants represents material (which can be anything from an article to several verses) that is found in Codex Bezae but not in Codex Vaticanus.

The second category is more diverse. It groups together words, phrases or sentences that are present in both texts but not in identical form. The difference may be lexical (synonyms are used) or grammatical (e.g. tense or number vary) or syntactical (the sentence is constructed differently). The only variation in this category that was disregarded when it came to the actual count of words, was spelling differences that are purely orthographical and can have no possible effect on the meaning of the word. These include changes of vowel/diphthongs and single/double consonants—changes that

9. M. Wilcox ('Luke and the Bezan Text of Acts', in J. Kremer [ed.], *Les Actes des Apôtres: Tradition, rédaction, théologie* [Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1979], pp. 447-55) also identifies four categories that correspond to some extent to the four identified here. Wilcox divides the variant readings into: (a) additions, (b) omissions, (c) substitutions and (d) alterations to sense. In this grouping, my category of word order change is included either in category (c) as a substitution or in category (d) as an alteration to sense, according to whether the alteration in word order affects the meaning or does not. The problem with Wilcox's sub-division is that it is often not apparent which variants do or do not affect the meaning until the whole passage in which they are found is analysed both linguistically and exegetically, and even then some of the decisions are necessarily tentative.

may reflect regional or historical differences of pronunciation.<sup>10</sup> The disregarded variants do not include the variation in the spelling of the city of Jerusalem since the difference in that case is more than one of pronunciation, involving a choice between a Hellenistic and a Hebrew-derived form. The variation in the spelling of Jerusalem will be discussed in Chapter 10.

Occasionally, it is the alternative syntax that produces a different number of words (e.g. πρὸς αὐτόν/αὐτῷ). In such cases, the additional words are not included in the count of words in Categories 1 or 4 because they do not properly constitute supplementary material. Such a variant is counted in Category 2 as alternative material, the number of words being those of D05.

The third category is specific to variation in word order, where identical words are used but in a different order. Where alternative words (Category 2) are found in a different place in the sentence (Category 3), such words are counted for both categories, unless the change in the position of the words is due to a grammatical constraint (e.g. καί occupies first place in a clause, whereas the alternative conjunction δέ cannot do so).

The final category consists of material found in B03 but not in D05, so creating a category the reverse of the first.

Table 1.2 shows the amount of variation for each category as it is found in the whole of the extant text of D05.

Table 1.2. *The Distribution of Categories of Variation between D05 and B03*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	1448	1352	263	579	3642
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	39.7	37.1	7.2	16	100

10. J.H. Moulton and W.F. Howard (*A Grammar of New Testament Greek. II. Accidence and Word-Formation* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1929], pp. 40-46) give a summary of the shifts that occurred in pronunciation in the first centuries CE. He essentially finds that there was a great deal of fluidity and that the situation varied very much according to locality as much as to social class, the same class adopting different standards at different periods. His conclusion is that 'A history of Greek pronunciation in the Hellenistic period is greatly needed, showing both when and where the various developments first appeared... Such a history would have an important bearing on textual questions' (p. 46). Although among the manuscripts generally there is a great deal of variation and inconsistency, a fair degree of regularity can be observed within the text of Acts in Codex Bezae itself with regard to such things as reading εΙ for ε, υ for οΙ, v for vv. Given the unusual extent of consistency, a history of pronunciation could potentially be of value for determining with some precision the date of the Bezan text.

The highest percentage of variation is accounted for by additional words in D05. It is important to note, however, that the amount of variation brought about by alternative forms is almost as high. Word order variation is comparatively small but the reasons for its occurrence need to be carefully studied, looking to see how the variation corresponds to the diverse word order of the text where there are no variant readings. This question is the subject of Chapter 3 on word order. Words omitted by the Bezan text represent a considerable proportion of variation, again showing that the portrayal of D05 as an expanded text is somewhat simplistic.

From Table 1.2 it is possible to obtain a general idea of the distribution of the types of variation in the two texts of Acts under consideration. It will be interesting to see if the variation is evenly spread throughout the chapters or whether, on the contrary, it tends to cluster around certain points. The next table, Table 1.3, sets out the figures for each chapter of Codex Bezae. Against the chapter number, the total number of words in that chapter is given. The first line of the breakdown of figures then displays the number of variant words in each of the four categories, which add up to the total number of variant words in the fifth column (cf. Table 1.2). The middle line expresses the relationship between each category of variant reading as a percentage of the total number of variant words. This allows the changes in the proportion of each type of variation that occur from chapter to chapter to be observed. The last line expresses the number of variant words as a percentage of the overall number of words in the chapter. Thus, the figures displayed in the right-hand column of the final line are those that were used to construct the chart of Figure 1.1.

Table 1.3. *The Distribution by Chapter of the Categories of Variation between D05 and B03*

*Chapter 1 Total text: 540 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>VII</i>	31	28	6	14	79
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	39.25	35.4	7.6	17.75	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	5.8	5.1	1.1	2.6	14.6

*Chapter 2 Total text: 839 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>VII</i>	60	76	16	49	201
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	29.8	37.8	8.0	24.4	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	7.2	9.1	1.9	5.8	24.0

*Chapter 3 Total text: 501 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	56	49	7	24	136
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	41.2	36	5.2	17.6	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	11.2	9.8	2.0	5.0	27.0

*Chapter 4 Total text: 498 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	53	49	9	30	141
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	37.6	34.8	6.4	21.2	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	10.6	9.9	1.8	6.0	28.3

*Chapter 5 Total text: 831 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	82	54	21	28	185
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	44.3	29.2	11.4	15.1	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	9.8	6.8	2.5	3.3	22.4

*Chapter 6 Total text: 317 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	50	19	5	6	80
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	62.5	23.8	6.2	7.5	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	15.8	6.0	1.8	1.8	25.2

*Chapter 7 Total text: 989 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	68	98	17	22	205
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	33.2	47.8	8.3	10.7	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	6.9	9.9	1.7	2.2	20.7

*Chapter 8 Total text: 480 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	31	33	7	16	87
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	35.6	37.9	8.1	18.4	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	6.5	6.8	1.5	3.3	18.1

## Chapter 10 Total text: 667 words

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	67	58	15	20	160
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	41.9	36.2	9.4	12.5	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	10	8.7	2.2	3.0	23.9

## Chapter 11 Total text: 591 words

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	71	57	6	29	163
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	43.5	35.0	3.7	17.8	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	12.1	9.6	1.0	4.9	27.6

## Chapter 12 Total text: 556 words

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	50	42	12	11	115
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	43.5	36.5	10.4	9.6	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	9.0	7.6	2.1	2.0	20.7

## Chapter 13 Total text: 1008 words

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	112	90	13	36	251
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	44.6	35.9	5.2	14.3	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	11.1	8.9	1.3	3.6	24.9

## Chapter 14 Total text: 542 words

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	85	60	9	20	174
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	48.9	34.5	5.1	11.5	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	15.7	11.0	1.7	3.6	32.0

## Chapter 15 Total text: 784 words

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	114	69	15	27	225
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	50.7	30.7	6.6	12	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	14.5	8.8	1.9	3.5	28.7

*Chapter 16 Total text: 793 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	129	89	20	36	274
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	47.1	32.5	7.3	13.1	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	16.3	11.2	2.5	4.6	34.6

*Chapter 17 Total text: 696 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	59	80	22	49	210
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	28.1	38	10.5	23.4	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	8.5	11.5	3.2	7.0	30.2

*Chapter 18 Total text: 579 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	111	66	19	37	233
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	47.6	28.3	8.2	15.9	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	19.1	11.4	3.3	6.4	40.2

*Chapter 19 Total text: 808 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	98	107	17	38	260
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	37.7	41.2	6.5	14.6	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	12.2	13.2	2.1	4.7	32.2

*Chapter 20 Total text: 712 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	62	96	9	31	198
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	31.3	48.5	4.5	15.7	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	8.7	13.5	1.3	4.3	27.8

*Chapter 21 Total text: 628 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Vll</i>	46	82	7	36	171
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	26.9	48	4	21.1	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	7.3	13.0	1.1	5.8	27.2

*Chapter 22 Total text: 345 words*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>VII</i>	13	50	11	21	95
<i>Percentage of VII</i>	13.7	52.6	11.6	22.1	100
<i>Percentage of total text</i>	3.8	14.5	3.2	6.0	27.5

When a comparison is made of the distribution of the four types of variation in each chapter some interesting facts emerge, for it is now possible to consider the fluctuation in the quantity of variation in each chapter (displayed in Figure 1.1) in the light of the figures given here in Table 1.3. The category of variation that contributes least to the fluctuation can be seen to be that of variation in word order: the proportion of the total text affected by variation in the order of words is typically between 1 and 2.5 per cent of words in a chapter, except in Acts 17, 18 and 22 where it rises above 3 per cent. In other words, word order variation is constantly a minimal factor in the difference between Codex Bezae and Codex Vaticanus. It is nevertheless an important aspect of textual divergence and is examined in Chapter 3.

The range of variation represented by omitted material is a little greater than that of word order (1.8 and 7 per cent). Of the chapters where the figure for this category is particularly high (2, 3, 4, 17, 18, 21 and 22), three (17, 18 and 22) are the ones that have just been noted as having exceptionally high figures for word order variation. Some of the chapters also show a peak for overall variation in Figure 1.1 (3, 4, 18). What these associations might mean cannot be explored further without undertaking detailed examination of the contents of the chapters in question, and of the combination of the particular variants.

More telling is the information about the additional and alternative material. On the one hand, both categories show their highest figures in the second part of the book from Acts 14 onwards. On the other hand, the category of alternative material can be seen to dominate the picture in this latter part of the book first in Acts 17 and then more consistently as the category of additional material drops away after a peak in Acts 18. The phenomenon may well have something to do with the subject matter of the latter chapters, which move on from Paul's missionary activity to focus on his journey to Jerusalem and his relations with the churches. Again, a detailed consideration of the variant readings may shed further light on the reasons for the change in the pattern of the types of variation in these chapters.

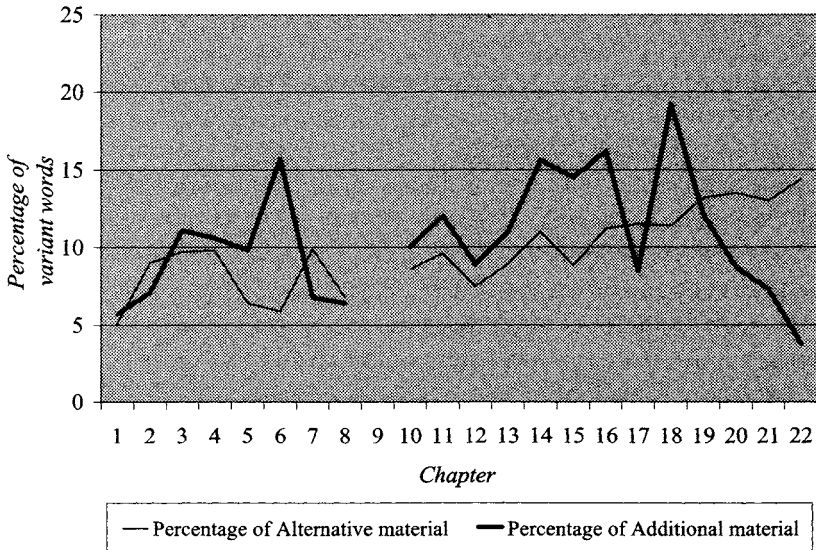
The change in pattern may, however, be a clue to account for another matter. In his study of the MS of Codex Bezae, D.C. Parker made some

suggestions about the original contents and length of the MS.<sup>11</sup> He noted that if Acts were the final book of the codex, then the end chapters of the text of Acts, which have been lost from Codex Bezae, must have been 'very compressed' if they were to fit into the number of leaves that he calculated as missing. If those final chapters continued to contain relatively less additional material than those up to Acts 18, and if they also maintained a high figure for omitted material, this could perhaps account for the latter chapters of Acts taking up rather fewer leaves than could be expected from a projection based on the average number of leaves taken up by the other chapters.

Most of the types of variants selected for linguistic analysis in the second part of this book fall into the category of alternative material, although examples of the selected features are also found in the additional material of one MS or the other. In fact, the additional material provides useful data for extending the linguistic analyses of the text, when patterns observed in the common material can be looked for in the additional material.

In the following graph, Figure 1.2, the figures that indicate the percentage of the total text of each chapter represented by the additional and the alternative material (i.e. given in the third line for each chapter in Table 1.3) are displayed in graph form in order to show the shift from one to the other more clearly. (Readers should bear in mind the existence of Bezan lacunae.)

Figure 1.2. *A Comparison of the Distribution of Additional and Alternative Material*



11. Parker, *Codex Bezae*, p. 8.

### III. *Narrative Text Compared with Direct Speech*

It is useful to consider the narrative discourse, which makes up the majority of the text of Acts, separately from the portions in direct speech in order to examine if there is any difference in the amount of variation by which the two types of discourse have been affected during the transmission of the text. Direct speech includes, of course, the apostolic speeches but also, without distinction, any other exchanges or utterances that are recorded in Acts.

Table 1.4 takes the figures of Table 1.2 and subdivides them to show the distribution of variation for narrative and speech. The analysis does not show at this point what proportion of each kind of text is affected by variation; this will follow in Table 1.5. The aim here is only to indicate the distribution of the four different categories of variation in narrative text and in speeches.

Table 1.4. *The Distribution of Types of Variation in Narrative and in Speech*

	<i>Additional</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Omitted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Narrative vll</i>	960	797	150	341	2248
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	42.7	35.5	6.7	15.1	100
<i>Speech vll</i>	488	555	113	238	1394
<i>Percentage of vll</i>	35.0	39.8	8.1	17.1	100
<i>Overall total vll</i>					3642

Overall, the greater proportion of additional material is found in the narrative text. In contrast, there is more alternative material in the speeches. The proportion of variant readings represented by word order variation and omitted material is likewise slightly higher in the speeches than in the narrative sections of the text.

To complete the comparison of narrative text with direct speech, the fluctuation across the chapters shown in Figure 1.1 can now be broken down to distinguish between the two types of discourse and to compare the relative amount of variation in each. Table 1.5 sets out the figures for each chapter, showing the quantity of variation found in (1) narrative, (2) speech, and expressing the number of variant words in each case as a percentage of the total number of words of narrative text and speech respectively.

Table 1.5. *The Quantity of Variation in Narrative Compared with the Quantity of Variation in Speech, by Chapter*

Chapter	Narrative		Speech	
	Total number of words	Percentage of vll	Total number of words	Percentage of vll
1	259	17.7	281	11.7
2	312	29.2	527	20.9
3	195	38.0	306	20.3
4	208	46.6	290	15.2
5	448	22.8	383	21.7
6	225	28.4	92	17.4
7	86	19.8	903	20.8
8	364	17.9	116	19.0
10	223	31.4	444	20.3
11	320	36.6	271	17.0
12	493	22.3	63	11.0
13	433	23.1	575	26.3
14	444	32.4	98	30.6
15	389	35.0	395	22.5
16	617	37.3	176	25.0
17	394	35.0	302	23.8
18	483	43.7	96	22.9
19	548	36.0	260	24.2
20	377	28.6	335	26.9
21	366	28.1	262	26.0
22	102	29.4	243	26.3

When the amount of variation in the narrative portions of the text is compared with that in the speeches, it becomes apparent that there is often markedly more variation in the former than in the latter. Only in Acts 7, 8 and 13, where there is slightly more variation in the text of the direct speech, is the pattern reversed. Acts 7, like Acts 13, is made up of an unusually large proportion of direct speech, in the mouths of Stephen and Paul respectively, but the percentage of these speeches affected by variation is not exceptional compared with the percentage of variation in speeches elsewhere. This means that the explanation for the disruption of the pattern in Acts 7 and 13 is not to be found in the presence there of key speeches. It is rather that in these chapters, as indeed also in Acts 8, the narrative text is somewhat *less* affected by variation than is the narrative text on average in other chapters. The figures for the amount of variation in speech do not appear to be conditioned by the amount of speech in a chapter. Acts 7, for example, with 903 words of direct speech, has only an average 20.8 per

cent of variation; 63 words of speech in Acts 12 have 11 per cent of variation whereas 30.6 per cent of the 98 words in Acts 14 have variant readings, the highest proportion of variation found in speech.

Table 1.5 can be studied alongside Figure 1.1 where the overall fluctuation in the quantity of variation in each chapter is displayed in graph form. The exceptionally low amount of variation indicated there for Acts 1 can now be seen to be brought about by low figures for both narrative and speech portions of the chapter. This is also true of the dip at Acts 12. The troughs in Acts 7 and 8, on the other hand, are a reflection of a marked decrease in variant readings in the narrative portions of those chapters, as was noted in the previous paragraph. Similarly, it is the quantity of variation in the narrative of Acts 4 and 18 that is responsible for the peaks of the graph in Figure 1.1.

The increase in variation in the second part of the book, which is apparent from Figure 1.1, begins at Acts 13 for the speech portions of the text. Indeed, the speeches in which Paul is involved, either as the speaker or as addressee, show considerably more variation than those involving other characters in the first half of the book. The figures for narrative variation, in contrast, rise sharply for Acts 10 and 11, but then fall for Acts 12 and 13. From Acts 14 onwards, the average figures of both narrative and speech variation remain higher in the second part. However, whereas the amount of variation in narrative tails away in the last three chapters, the amount of variation in speech rises at this point. This rise in speech variation is due especially to the increase in the number of variant readings involving alternative material (cf. Figure 1.2).

#### IV. *Conclusions on the Numerical Comparisons*

The usefulness of the analyses reproduced here of the variation between the text of Acts in Codex Bezae and Codex Vaticanus is that they make available precise information that enables the two texts to be compared with greater ease and also greater accuracy. At the same time, it is wise to acknowledge that there are certain limitations to the uses to which the information can be put. These arise because the actual content of the variant readings needs to be examined in order to understand the reasons for the existence of the divergences.

A fluctuation in the amount of variation from one chapter to another becomes apparent from a numerical count of variant words. The peaks and the troughs, however, do not have an obvious connection with the subject matter of the chapters. There is a drawback, in fact, in taking the chapter

divisions as units for measuring quantity or type of variation, which is that it does not allow the uneven distribution of variation within a chapter to show up. It may, therefore, be more profitable to compare episodes rather than chapters. Yet even within episodes, the quantity of variation does not necessarily correspond to the importance of the variation. Peter's speech in Acts 1, for example, has little variation of any kind between the MSS. Nevertheless, that which it has, is of much significance.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, as already noted above (§I), variant readings are often found in clusters at crucial points in an episode, notably at the beginning or the end.

More precise information is derived from the grouping of the variant readings in different categories. This presentation shows that the designations 'long' and 'short' to describe the chief differences between the two textual traditions of Acts are too simplistic when applied to particular MS representatives of the different traditions. Not only is there a fair amount of omitted material from some passages of the Bezan text of Acts, notably in certain speeches, but there are other types of variant readings that do not involve a difference in the number of words at all. It is rather the order of the words, or the choice of vocabulary or grammatical form, that differs.

From the further breakdown of the text of Acts into direct speech and narrative discourse, it emerges that there is less overall variation in the speeches than in the narrative. Moreover, since the figures for the amount of variation in direct speech are contained within a relatively narrow range, it is the variation within the narrative text that is chiefly responsible for the fluctuation in the quantity of variation between the chapters.

The analyses presented here belong to the preliminary stages of comparing the MS traditions of Acts. They prepare the ground for proceeding to the linguistic study that follows in the second part of this work and, as a larger enterprise, an exegetical comparison that seeks to understand the reason for the variation and to discern the inner coherence of each text.<sup>13</sup>

12. The variant readings of the text of Acts are studied exhaustively in Rius-Camps, *Comentari*; Peter's speech in Acts 1 is dealt with in pp. 69-92 of the first volume of this work. See also the shorter account in Spanish, *De Jerusalén a Antioquía: Génesis de la iglesia cristiana* (Córdoba: Ediciones El Almendro, 1989), pp. 47-58; and also 'Las variantes de la recensión occidental de los Hechos de los Apóstoles (III)', *FN 7* (1994), pp. 53-64. I have also written on this speech in Heimerdinger, 'La tradition targumique et le Codex de Bèze: Actes 1.15-26', in A. Borrell, A. de la Fuente and A. Puig (eds.), *La Bíblia i el Mediterrani*, II (2 vols.; Montserrat, Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997), pp. 171-80; and Read-Heimerdinger, 'Barnabas in Acts: A Study of his Role in the Text of Codex Bezae', *JSNT* 72 (1998), pp. 23-66.

13. A project to compare the Alexandrian and the Bezan texts of Acts from an

For both those tasks it will be important to consider each text as standing in its own right, in which the variant readings are viewed not as separate and random entities but as parts of larger units of variation. Such a perspective will allow each of the two texts to speak for itself and to reveal its own distinctive message.

#### V. *Differences in the Overall Message*

A consequence of treating variant readings as belonging to larger units is that, in the linguistic analyses, they will be considered in the context within which they are found. At the immediate level, this will be the co-text of the sentence but the context of the episode will also often be seen to be relevant to the meaning of the variants and, indeed, to their cause. At its widest, however, the context of a reading is the whole book. In order to properly assess the significance of a number of variants, it will be necessary to take into account differences between the MSS in the overall message communicated by the separate texts.

This factor does indeed give rise to variant readings, and yet it is not generally appreciated that there is a fundamental difference in the message of the text of Acts according to the Alexandrian text and that of Codex Bezae. Differences in emphases and amount of detail are noted but the overall purpose of the book of Acts is almost universally assumed to be the same in each case—to tell the story of the beginnings of the Christian Church and to present the apostles as heroic models through whom God carries out his plan following the death and resurrection of Jesus (precisely what is the narrator's aim in telling that story is a matter of considerable scholarly debate but one in which the text of Acts is not an issue).

When I first carried out the linguistic analyses of the MSS of Acts, I had not recognized that one of them might be telling the story of the Church's beginnings from a different point of view, one which is more critical than laudatory of the main characters. What I did note in passing, however, was that there was a number of readings in the Bezan text that did not seem to be accounted for by the usual interpretation of Acts: emphases, links or information about motives and relationships that the linguistic examination showed to be present but that did not seem to have a place in the familiar view of the story. As I moved from examining the detail of the

exegetical point of view is underway in collaboration between myself and Josep Rius-Camps, basing our work on Rius-Camps' *Comentari*, his commentary on Acts in Catalan.

variants to consider the broader picture of Codex Bezae, these odd and unaccountable readings became explicable. It is evident that the narrator in this text had a unique perspective that significantly affected the purpose behind the telling of the story and, ultimately, its message. Because that overall message is sometimes directly important for understanding individual readings, and is frequently indirectly relevant, a summary of it is given here so that it can be referred to where appropriate in the course of the analyses.

The most striking difference between the Alexandrian and the Bezan Acts is the portrayal of the apostles, both the original group who had been disciples of Jesus and also Paul.<sup>14</sup> The difference begins already in the Gospel where, in the final chapter, Luke presents the situation the apostles found themselves in after Jesus' death and resurrection. According to the familiar text, the apostles are seen to have finally grasped the role of Jesus as the Messiah and to have understood his teaching. Codex Bezae is not so confident. In this MS, the Eleven are portrayed as failing to fully comprehend their master, some of them more so than others.<sup>15</sup> When Jesus leaves them, they have understood that he is the Messiah of Israel in accordance with the Jewish Scriptures<sup>16</sup> but they have failed to realize how much Jesus' own message about himself goes beyond the Jewish teaching and moves outside the traditional framework of belief. This is the crux of the difference between the two texts. Whereas Luke's position with regard to

14. The weaknesses in the apostles' understanding of Jesus and in their preaching of the gospel is a major theme of Rius-Camps' work on Acts; see his commentary in Catalan (*Comentari*) or, in Spanish, *El camino de Pablo al la misión de los paganos* (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1984) (= Acts 1–12); *De Jerusalén a Antioquía* (= Acts 13–28). Concerning Paul, see *idem*, 'Les obstacles mis à la mission de Paul par le Seigneur Jésus et le Saint Esprit, d'après les leçons du Codex de Bèze', in C.-B. Amphoux and J.K. Elliott (eds.), *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity* (Lausanne: Editions du Zèbre, forthcoming).

15. I have examined in detail the disciples' incomplete understanding of Jesus according to Lk. 24 D05 in 'Where is Emmaus? Clues in the Text of Luke 24 in Codex Bezae', in D.G.K. Taylor (ed.), *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Text and Studies, 3/1; Birmingham: Birmingham University Press, 1999), pp. 229–44; and see also J. Read-Heimerdinger and J. Rius-Camps, 'Emmaous or Oulammaous? Luke's Use of the Jewish Scriptures in the Text of Luke 24 in Codex Bezae', *RCatT* 27 (2002), pp. 23–42.

16. In this book, 'Jewish Scriptures' is used as a general term that encompasses the Hebrew Bible, Aramaic Targums and the Septuagint. When only one of these texts is meant, this is made clear in the discussion.

Israel is difficult to determine in the Alexandrian text of his writings (and therefore the subject of much scholarly controversy), according to the Bezan text the narrator's thinking is clear and it underpins the theology of his work. The teaching is essentially that the plan of God for Israel, as expressed in the Jewish Scriptures, changes progressively during the course of Jesus' ministry and the reason for the change is the build up of rejection of the Messiah by the Jewish leaders. It is effected in a fundamental and unprecedented way, and to such an extent that Israel finally loses its privileged status of God's chosen people. By the time of the ascension of Jesus, the notion that Israel was the people of God into whom the Gentiles were to be welcomed in the end times is no longer a reality. This message is presented as being that taught by Jesus to his disciples.

The apostles' lack of understanding of the full scope of Jesus' message is made apparent right from the opening section of the Bezan text of Acts and the same is also true of Paul from the time that he first encounters Jesus. More than anything else, first the apostles, together with other disciples in Jerusalem, and then Paul are hampered by the way that Jewish traditional expectations shape their system of beliefs. Not only do they limit their view of Jesus as the Messiah of Israel to the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Jewish Scriptures, but, furthermore, they see themselves as being responsible for making sure that subsequent events also happen in such a way as to cause the eschatological prophecies to be realized. However, the situation regarding the disciples of Jesus evolves, for some of them are seen to develop in their understanding as events unfold. This is notably the case with both Peter and Paul. The result is that they replace their original message of salvation with a new one in which the status of Israel is no longer relevant and ancient prophecies relating to it are overturned. Others, in contrast, retain their old ways of thinking and continue to view Jesus in terms of the Messiah of Israel. James, as leader of one of the groups of believers in Jerusalem, is the main representative of these characters.

The spiritual progress of the Christian leaders is the central preoccupation of the book of Acts according to Codex Bezae, with the conflict between the two distinct sets of believers in Jesus a recurring theme that generates much of the intrigue. The models of correct understanding and exemplary conduct, who represent the divine will and who are in tune with the Spirit, are the Hellenists. Chief among these are Barnabas and Stephen in the first part of Acts, and in the latter half, the 'we'-group. It is they who establish the right way of doing things, accurately reflecting the original model, Jesus.

They show up the weaknesses and errors first of the apostles and later of Paul. The latter in particular is portrayed as persistently stubborn in his disregard for the direction given by the Spirit as he energetically pursues the traditional teachings of the Scriptures with regard to the privileged status of the Jews. He is not the great hero of the Alexandrian text but a man who makes mistakes and acts unwisely as he struggles to come to terms with the loss of Israel's status. The book ends when Paul finally understands and accepts the teaching of Jesus and is in harmony with the will of God.

Such is the broad outline of the design of the book of Acts in Codex Bezae. Much of its message hinges on its relationship with Luke's Gospel of which the Bezan text also differs considerably from the Alexandrian version albeit less than in Acts. It is also essential, in order to clearly grasp the narrator's purpose in the Bezan Acts, to understand the use made of the speeches. Far from representing the narrator's own theology, they are used to express the thoughts of the speakers at the particular point in the narrative at which the speech occurs. It is not surprising, in consequence, that there are contradictions among the speeches, not only those of different speakers, but also of the same speaker, for the narrator uses the speeches to show how a participant is either right, or in error, or even developing, in his thinking about Jesus and the gospel.<sup>17</sup>

Overall, the primary purpose of the Bezan narrative is theological. Whereas the Alexandrian text reads as a historical account of the beginnings of the Church (with whatever other underlying apologetic, biographical or theological aims), the Bezan version continues in the same genre as the Gospel, making use of a historical framework to present a spiritual message. Not only that, but it incorporates devices typical of Jewish exegesis to express that message: such things as symbols, allusions to Scriptural texts, recurring key words, all of which operate in conjunction with one another to create a kind of code.<sup>18</sup>

17. The question of attributing the speeches of Acts to the individual speakers rather than to the narrator is discussed by Rius-Camps, *Comentari*, I, pp. 19-21.

18. For information on pre-Rabbinic methods of Jewish exegesis, the following works have been referred to: B. Barc, *Les Arpenteurs de Temps: Essai sur l'histoire religieuse de la Judée à la période hellénistique* (Lausanne: Editions du Zèbre, 2000); D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara, *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context* (JSOTSup, 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994); M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); I. Jacobs, *The Midrashic Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); J.L. Kugel, *In Potiphar's House: The Interpretative Life of Biblical Texts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); M. Tardieu, *Les Règles de l'Interprétation* (Paris: Cerf, 1987).

Time and time again, the difference in purpose gives rise to variant readings as the Bezan text communicates a theological truth that in the Alexandrian text is expressed as a historical event. A striking example occurs in the opening chapter where, in place of the factual presentation of the election of the replacement apostle, the Bezan text is concerned to demonstrate that the apostles understood so little about Jesus' teaching about Israel that they committed the error of attempting, unsuccessfully in this account, to replace the representative who had been lost.

The consequences of the Bezan rendering of Acts are obviously far-reaching but I will not be seeking to discuss them in this work. That will come later in the anticipated comparative exegetical commentary (see above). The importance of outlining here the chief thrust of the text of Acts in Codex Bezae is that, as the tools of discourse analysis are applied to the variant readings of both texts, the difference in their overall purpose will often emerge as a significant factor.

## Chapter 2

### DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will define the use of discourse analysis as a linguistic tool, examining the general notions with which discourse analysts are concerned and which have a bearing on the interpretation of the New Testament. I will then explain how I apply discourse analysis to the study of the texts of Acts and, finally, I will discuss some general ways in which the perspective of discourse analysis affects the practice of textual criticism.

#### *I. What is Discourse Analysis? Methodological Principles*

##### *I.1. Discourse Analysis as Language in Use*

Discourse analysis is a branch of linguistic science.<sup>1</sup> Its relevance for textual criticism has to do with the way in which discourse analysis looks at language as communication, rather than as a system in isolation as non-discourse oriented linguistics tends to do. It considers the formal features of language, but it also pays attention to the relationship between language and the real-world in which it is spoken or written.

There are different schools and methods of discourse analysis, which sometimes focus more specifically on one aspect than on others. The

1. Discourse analysis is sometimes referred to as text-linguistics. The term 'text-linguistics', however, is used in a variety of ways: e.g. by S.E. Porter ('Discourse Analysis and New Testament Studies: An Introductory Survey', in S.E. Porter and D.A. Carson [eds.], *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics in Biblical Greek* [JSNTSup, 113; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995], pp. 15-35) to refer to the study of the written text (p. 17 n. 16); by A.H. Snyman ('A Semantic Discourse Analysis of the Letter to Philemon', in P.J. Hartin and J.H. Petzer [eds.], *Text and Interpretation: New Approaches in the Criticism of the New Testament* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991], pp. 83-99) to refer to the study of oral and written texts which is distinct from socio- or literary-linguistic studies (pp. 84-86). Some American practitioners, among whom Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) members, use the term as an alternative for 'discourse analysis'. See also n. 4 on the meaning of 'text' as a technical term.

diversity of interests means that the label 'discourse analysis' can be found referring to a range of linguistic approaches that employ a variety of tools.<sup>2</sup> There are nevertheless certain interests and features that characterize all kinds of discourse analysis and it will be helpful to consider them here. As will be seen, an approach that integrates the various aspects is, certainly for the purposes of textual criticism, the most appropriate.

'Discourse' itself, as the object of analysis, can be defined as any portion of unified language communication, whether it be in spoken or written form.<sup>3</sup> It refers to utterances that actually exist rather than those that are theoretically possible or even, according to the rules of traditional grammar, preferable. It takes these utterances and describes what is happening in them rather than prescribing what ought to happen in them. When 'discourse' is used to refer to a communication in written form (a letter or a story, for example) it is often synonymous with the meaning of the term 'text' in literary usage as a way of referring to a piece of writing.<sup>4</sup>

The general object of study for discourse analysts, then, is 'language in use'.<sup>5</sup> The larger concern is with the overall purpose of language as a

2. The introductory text-books on discourse analysis provide detailed presentation of the theory and of the methods used, see especially G. Brown and G. Yule, *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); D. Nunan, *Introducing Discourse Analysis* (London: Penguin Books, 1993). Surveys of the application of discourse analysis to the study of the New Testament can be found in D.A. Black and S.H. Levinsohn (eds.), *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation: Essays in Discourse Analysis* (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1992); S.E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (Biblical Languages: Greek, 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), pp. 298-307; *idem*, 'Discourse Analysis'; S.E. Porter and J.T. Reed, 'Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: An Introduction', in Porter and Reed (eds.), *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results* (JSNTSup, 170; Studies in New Testament Greek, 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 15-19; Snyman, 'A Semantic Discourse Analysis', pp. 84-91.

3. Nunan, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 5-7; cf. Porter, 'Discourse Analysis', p. 17 n. 16.

4. Brown and Yule (*Discourse Analysis*, pp. 5-6) distinguish 'discourse' from 'text', using the latter 'as a technical term, to refer to the verbal record of a communicative act', in other words, as the representation of discourse. Cf. F.P. Cotterell and M.M.B. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (London: SPCK, 1989), pp. 231-32; Nunan, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 6-7. M.K. Halliday and R. Hasan (*Cohesion in English* [London: Longman, 1976]) are more precise about the scope of the meaning of 'text': 'any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole' (p. 1). Because of the specific sense in which 'text' is used in text-critical studies, I shall also be using 'text' when referring to the contents of a MS.

5. Brown and Yule (*Discourse Analysis*, p. 1): 'The analysis of discourse is,