

## T. C. Skeat, $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^4$ , and the Problem of Fibre Orientation in Codicological Reconstruction\*

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Because of the uniformity of the text, NT papyri are well suited to codicological reconstruction. If there are two or more pieces of papyrus from the same codex, sound reconstructions are often possible. But good methodology will account for the fibre orientation of the fragments. Flawed conclusions are the inevitable result of neglecting such analysis. Skeat erred in this direction as regards  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ . Nevertheless, his contribution in the area was substantial and enduring. It only remains for scholars to appreciate the insights that codicology can bring to the study of the NT text.

Towards the end of his long life, T. C. Skeat attempted to bolster a theory he had advanced several years earlier: that Christians adopted the codex around 100 CE because it could hold the four gospels in a format that delimited them against heterodox rivals.<sup>1</sup> While conceding that without any fragments of an early second-century, four-gospel codex the theory remained conjectural, he now claimed to have proved that  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  came from a four-gospel, single-quire codex whose ancestors ‘must go back well into the second century’.<sup>2</sup> Throughout his article Skeat avoids ‘any mention of recto or verso, terms which cause hopeless confusion when used in connection with a papyrus codex, since to papyrologists they inevitably suggest the sides with horizontal and vertical fibres respectively, which is irrelevant and confusing [in]...the case of a codex’.<sup>3</sup> While it

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1 T. C. Skeat, ‘The Origin of the Christian Codex’, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 263–8. He calculated that the Chester Beatty gospels would require a ‘completely unhandleable’ 30 metre roll (263–4).

2 T. C. Skeat, ‘The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?’, *NTS* 43 (1997) 1–34 (32). This article is reprinted in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat* (ed. J. K. Elliott; NovTSup 113; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 158–92.

3 Skeat, ‘Oldest Manuscript’, 11.

is true that confusion can easily result from trying to account for fibre orientation in codicological reconstructions, or from the different traditional and papyrological meanings of recto and verso (the reason why → and ↓ as indicators of fibre direction are to be preferred),<sup>4</sup> this methodological dictum is misleading.<sup>5</sup> Analysis of fibre direction is an essential part of codicology<sup>6</sup> and when ignored the inevitable result is inaccurate conclusions.

### The Codicology of P<sup>67</sup>

P<sup>64+67</sup> (Gr. 17, Magdalen College, Oxford + P.Bar.c./Montserrat inv. 1,7 Abadia de Montserrat)<sup>8</sup> consists of five small fragments from the same two-column codex of Matthew. It is probably to be dated to late 11,<sup>9</sup> and is summarised

- 4 See E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16; Actes de XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie, Première Partie; Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1978) 8–25, 54–60, 63–5.
- 5 Cf. two examples given by J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires Juifs et Chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne; Série 'Papyrologie' 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976) 7 n. 17, 158, and one discussed by E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1977) 79–80 (cf. idem, *The Terms Recto and Verso*, 26–7), in which a failure to account for fibre orientation has adversely affected codicological reconstruction.
- 6 Cf. the space devoted to the subject in Turner's *Typology*.
- 7 P.Bar.c. inv. 1, now housed in the Abadia de Montserrat near Barcelona, has received a new inventory number based on its old designation. See K. Jaroš, ed., *Das Neue Testament nach den ältesten griechischen Handschriften: die handschriftliche griechische Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments vor Codex Sinaiticus und Codex Vaticanus* (Wien/Würzburg: Franz Philipp Rutzen Rühpolding/Mainz Echter, 2006) 54 n. 2.
- 8 For editions of P<sup>64</sup> see C. H. Roberts, 'An Early Papyrus of the First Gospel', *HTHR* 46 (1953) 233–7; idem, 'Transcripción del P Magd. de Oxford' and 'Complementary Note' in R. Roca-Puig, *Un papiro griego del Evangelico de San Mateo, 2.a edición con una note de Colin Roberts* (Barcelona: Grafos, 1962) 57–60. For editions apart from those of Roberts see C. P. Thiede, 'Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17 (Gregory-Aland P<sup>64</sup>): A Reappraisal', *ZPE* 105 (1995) 13–20 and pl. 9, and the provisional reconstruction of Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 12–13, which has differences from Roberts' 1960 edition. For editions of P<sup>67</sup> see R. Roca-Puig, 'P.Bar.c. inv. n. 1 (Mt. III, 9, 15; V, 20–22, 25–28)' in *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* (3 vols; Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1956–7) 2.81–96 and plate; reproduced with modifications in R. Roca-Puig, 'Nueva publicación del papiro número uno del Barcelona', *Helm.* 37 (1961) 5–20, 103–22; idem, *Un papiro griego*; and K. Aland, 'Neue neutestamentliche Papyri', *NTS* 3 (1956–7) 261–86; 9 (1962–3) 303–16.
- 9 Late 11, Roberts, 'An Early Papyrus', 237 (citing Bell, Skeat and Turner); idem, in Roca-Puig, *Un papiro griego*, 60; Turner, *Typology*, 25; and van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 336; c. 200, K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2nd ed. 1994) 12. C. P. Thiede proposes a late 1 date for P<sup>64</sup> (and not much later for P<sup>4</sup>): see 'Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17', 13–20, where unconvincing comparison is made with 8HēvXII gr and texts from Qumran (4QLXXLev<sup>a</sup> and pap4QLXXLev<sup>b</sup>) and

as follows:  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$ , fol. A $\downarrow$  (Matt 3.9), fol. A $\rightarrow$  (3.15); fol. B $\rightarrow$  (5.20–22), fol. B $\downarrow$  (5.25–28);  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$ , fol. C consisting of fr. Ca $\downarrow$ 1 (26.7), fr. Cb $\downarrow$ 1 (26.10), fr. Cc $\downarrow$ 2 (26.14–15); fr. Cc $\rightarrow$ 1 (26.22–23), fr. Ca $\rightarrow$ 2 (26.31), fr. Cb $\rightarrow$ 2 (26.32–33). The dimensions of each piece are: fol. A: 1.2  $\times$  1.9 cm, 5 ll.; fol. B: 5  $\times$  5.5 cm, 14 ll.; fol. C consisting of three scraps, fr. Ca: 4.1  $\times$  1.2 cm, 4 ll.; fr. Cb: 4.1  $\times$  1.3 cm, 3 ll.; fr. Cc: 1.6  $\times$  1.6 cm, 5 ll.<sup>10</sup> Roberts describes the hand as ‘an elegant literary hand’, ‘a carefully written book hand’,<sup>11</sup> and a ‘less uniform and regular’ predecessor of so-called Biblical Majuscule.<sup>12</sup> According to Skeat, the script of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  is identical to that of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ , and this assess-

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Herculaneum. The hand of 8 $\text{H}\epsilon\text{vXII gr}$  is not a predecessor of Biblical Majuscule and the decorative serifs and partial ligatures in the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll are not found in  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$ : cf. the plates in E. Tov in collaboration with R. A. Kraft, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (HεvXIIgr) (The Seiyal Collection I)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990; reprinted with corrections 1995). The same objections might be raised against pap $^4$ QLxxLev $^b$ , while the hand of 4QLxxLev $^a$  is even more dissimilar: see P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4, IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992) plates xxxviii and xxxix. Cf. the response of K. Wachtel, ‘ $\mathfrak{P}^{64/67}$ : Fragmente des Matthäusevangeliums aus dem 1. Jahrhundert?’, *ZPE* 107 (1995) 73–80. See also D. C. Parker, ‘The Magdalen Papyrus of Matthew: Was Matthew Written Before 50 CE?’, *ExpT* 107 (Nov. 1995) 40–54; P. M. Head, ‘The Date of the Magdalene Papyrus of Matthew (P.Magd.Gk. 17 = P64): A Response to C. P. Thiede’, *TynBul* 46 (1995) 251–85; and the criticism of Thiede’s papyrological credentials by H. Vocke, ‘Papyrus Magdalene 17 – weitere Argumente gegen die Frühdatierung des Angeblichen Jesus-Papyrus’, *ZPE* 113 (1996) 153–7.

- 10 Cf. K. Aland, ed., *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*, vol. 1: *Biblische Papyri: Altes Testament, Neues Testament, Varia, Apokryphen* (PTS 18; Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1976) 293–40; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 336; Jaroš, *Das Neue Testament*, 54.
- 11 Roberts, ‘Complementary Note’, 59–60. In his edition of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  Roberts cites P.Oxy. 5.843 (Plato, *Symposium*, late II; see G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla Maiuscola Biblica* [STP 2; Florence: Le Monnier, 1967] plate 5) as the closest parallel, and notes other similar hands in P.Oxy. 13.1620 (Thucydides, II/III), P.Oxy. 15.1819 (Homer, II), and P.Oxy. 3.405 (fragment of Irenaeus, end II/early III). In the last of these and the Magdalen fragments ‘the minute omikron and the flat omega, common in third century hands, are absent’ (‘An Early Papyrus’, 236–7). In 1960 Roberts listed a number of new parallels from II: P.Oxy. 4.661 (Callimachus, II $^{3-4}$ ; see C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands, 350 BC–AD 400* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1955] plate 16a), P.Berol. 7499 (Homer, III; see W. Schubart, *Das Paläographie: erste Teil, griechische Paläographie* [Munich: Beck, 1925] 136), P.Dura 84, 91, 92 (Appian, III $^{1-2}$ ; see Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, plate 16b), which all look ‘less uniform and regular’ and earlier, and P.Oxy. 9.1179 (Apollonius Rhodius, II $^4$ –III $^1$ ): Roberts, ‘Complementary Note’, 60. Skeat prefers a late II dating for all three papyri based on comparison with P.Oxy. 4.661, P.Ryl. 1.16, and as the closest parallels, P.Vindob. G. 29768 and 29784 (see Cavallo, *Ricerche*, plates 12a and 15a), in particular the latter (‘Oldest Manuscript’, 27). These parallels are indeed very similar.
- 12 Biblical Majuscule was beginning to form towards the end of II (‘An Early Papyrus’, 235, citing Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, 136). The best treatment of the subject is Cavallo, *Ricerche*.

ment is almost certainly correct.<sup>13</sup> It is by no means unusual for two or more papyri to be traced back to a single scribe.<sup>14</sup> Lectional aids show the manuscript was produced to be read aloud.<sup>15</sup> The scribe used accents, aspiration, and paragraphoi. Final  $\nu$  is written as a supralinear stroke and there is one certain and several possible singular readings.<sup>16</sup> Further comment is needed on singular readings<sup>17</sup> and scribal habits, but for the moment it will suffice to say that  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  will confirm what can only be hinted at in these few small fragments, that  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  is the elegant product of a careful scribe.

But what is most notable for the purposes of this article is that in fol. A of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$   $\downarrow$  (Matt 3.9) precedes  $\rightarrow$  (Matt 3.15), while the opposite is the case in fol. B where  $\rightarrow$  (Matt 5.20–22) precedes  $\downarrow$  (Matt 5.25–28).<sup>18</sup> In his Spanish edition Roca-Puig does not discuss this except to say that the different orientation of the fibres distinguishes fol. A from fol. B.<sup>19</sup> But in a note at the end of that edition Roberts expresses uncertainty as to whether the codex containing  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  was single-quire or not.<sup>20</sup> Kurt Aland's examination of the fragments made him think that the codex probably had more than one quire,<sup>21</sup> while Turner seems to have regarded

13 While  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  are small, comparison of many letters can be made. The idiosyncratic  $\kappa$  and tilt of  $\epsilon$  and  $c$  are most notable.  $\alpha$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\xi$ ,  $\phi$  and  $\chi$  are formed in the same way, as are the often wide  $\eta$ ,  $\tau$  and  $\pi$ . Working from full-sized photographs of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ , Skeat provides a detailed description of all the letters ('Oldest Manuscript', 3–5, 9). Cf. the palaeographical comparison in *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts* (ed. P. W. Comfort and D. P. Barrett; Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 2001) 49. According to Comfort, the hand of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  has finer, thinner pen strokes, but 'the difference seems to have been in the stylus and ink, not in the scribe' (48). However, this is not really noticeable when comparing high-resolution graphic images.

14 See E. G. Turner, 'Scribes and Scholars of Oxyrhynchus', *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien 1955* (ed. H. Gerstinger; *MPER* n.s. 5; Vienna: R. M. Rohrer, 1956) 141–6; and W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004).

15 See C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Schweich Lectures, 1977; London: Oxford University, 1979) 21–2.

16 The certain singular is:  $\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha\nu$  :  $\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha\nu$  (26.32). Two singular omissions are likely, but not certain (cf. Thiede, 'Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17', 14–15):  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu[\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  :  $\omicron\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (26.14);  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau[\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  :  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (26.31). Another possible singular,  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\nu[\tau\omega\ \mu[\eta\tau\iota$  (26.22; identified by Roberts, 'An Early Papyrus', 236 n. 22), might also have read  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\nu[\tau\omega\nu[\ \mu\eta\tau\iota$  (Thiede, 'Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17', 15), a reading attested in a number of witnesses.

17 See below for discussion of the same in  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ .

18 I am grateful to Sofía Torallas Tovar for visiting the Abbey at Montserrat and verifying that the fibre orientation of the two fragments as given in the edition of Roca Puig is correct.

19 Roca-Puig, *Un papiro griego*, 27.

20 Roca-Puig, *Un papiro griego*, 59. Cf. Roberts, 'An Early Papyrus', 234.

21 Aland, *Repertorium*, 293.

that possibility as certain.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, taking his lead from Roberts' later work, in his detailed codicological analysis of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ , Skeat proposed that they came from the same single-quire, four-gospel codex.<sup>23</sup> Despite its undoubted value, this analysis does not adequately address the codicology of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$ . Based on the juxtaposed fibre direction in the two folios it will be shown that  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  almost certainly had *at least* two quires.

The reconstructed columns of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  (fols. A and B) have an average of about 16 letters per line.<sup>24</sup> Based on the NA<sup>27</sup> text and allowing for *nomina sacra*,<sup>25</sup> in fol. A there are about 532 letters or 33/34 lines missing between the reconstructed end of the ↓ and beginning of the →. This implies a total of 38/39 lines per column in the originally complete codex.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, in fol. B there are 350 letters or 22 lines missing between the reconstructed end of the → and beginning of ↓, which means its columns had a total of 36 lines. The discrepancy between fols. A and B in the number of lines is probably to be explained by the scribe relaxing after the first few pages.<sup>27</sup> On Roberts' estimate,  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  also had 15–16 letters per line and approximately 35–36 lines to a column.<sup>28</sup> It follows then that the scribe was quite consistent from fol. B to fol. C. Working from the relatively extensive remains of fol. B, each column measured c.  $4.5 \times 14.5$  cm, so the written area including inter-

22 See *Typology*, 98–9, where  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  is given as an example of an early multiple-quire papyrus codex.

23 'Oldest Manuscript', 1–34. Skeat (2) takes as his point of departure the comments of Roberts (*Manuscript*, 13, 22–3) on the character and relatedness of the three papyri.

24 Roca-Puig's reconstruction is sound because it is based on the beginnings of a number of lines that are intact on both sides of fol. B.

25 The words Θεός, Χριστός, Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, πνεῦμα and πνευματικός are contracted in  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ . Calculations of numbers of letters in  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  take into account the contractions of these words as found in  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  (Θς, χς, κς, ις, πνα, πνι, πνς). In such calculations allowance should also be made for numbers written as numerals.

26 Cf. the hypothetical reconstruction of Matt 3.10–18 by Jaroš, *Das Neue Testament*, 56–8, which often exceeds the average number of letters per line in arriving at a figure of 31 intervening lines. As a result he finds that the number of lines in fol. A is the same as fol. B (based also on a lower count of letters between the last and first reconstructed lines respectively of fol. A ↓ and →).

27 For example, in P.Beatty 6 (Numbers and Deuteronomy) the number of lines per column ranges from 31–38, with an average of 36 in the early part of the manuscript and 32 in the later part: see F. G. Kenyon, ed., *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*, Fasc. 5: *Numbers and Deuteronomy, Text* (London: Emery Walker, 1935) viii. Likewise, the first page of P.Bodmer 2 has 25 lines plus the title. The number then falls to 20 lines by pp. 6 and 7: see the comments of V. Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer II: Evangile de Jean chap. 1–14* (Cologne/Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1956) 15.

28 'An Early Papyrus', 233. Cf. Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 9–14. The reconstruction is sound because fr. Cb retains some margin from the bottom of the column.

columnar space was c.  $10.5 \times 14.5$  cm and the codex itself about  $13.5 \times 17\text{--}18.5$  cm.<sup>29</sup> This places the codex along with  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  in Turner's Group 9 Aberrant 1 category, a sub-class which he regards as competing for 'the earliest form of the papyrus codex'.<sup>30</sup>

### Fibre Orientation Limits Possible Codicological Reconstructions

Following Skeat,<sup>31</sup> if each leaf had two columns on its front (cols. 1 and 2) and two columns on its back (cols. 3 and 4), then fols. A and B came from (the outside) cols. 2 and 3 of two separate leaves, and 6 columns separated fols. A and B, comprising col. 4 of leaf A + 1 complete leaf (= 4 cols.) + col. 1 of leaf B (see Fig. 1).<sup>32</sup> This arrangement can be confirmed. After accounting for *nomina sacra*, on my count about 3836 letters are missing between the last line of fol. A and the first line of fol. B. At an average of 16 letters per line that equals c. 240 lines of missing text. To account for the decrease in the number of lines per page from 39 to 36, the number of lines per column can be averaged. If the average number of lines per column was 37, about 6.5 columns of text would be missing; if there was an average of 38 lines per column, 6.3 columns would be missing. The extra third to half column (c. 14–18 ll.) makes provision for the text in the outside columns below fol. A→ and above fol. B→. I will use the designations: A = Leaf A, B = Leaf B, L = intervening leaf, F = front, and B = back.

If we are dealing with the first half of a single-quire codex with its fibres oriented in the usual way ( $\downarrow \rightarrow \downarrow \rightarrow$ ),<sup>33</sup> it is obvious that the fibre direction of fol. B is a

29 Roca-Puig calculates that there was 1.6 cm between the  $4.5 \times c. 15$  cm columns, and the dimensions of the page were 12–13  $\times$  18–20 cm (*Un papiro griego*, 38). In Aland's reconstruction the codex had 1.5 cm of space between columns, a written area of  $10.5 \times 15$  cm, and a page size of  $14 \times 20$  cm (*Repertorium*, 293). Roberts calculates that the written area of fol. C ( $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$ ) measured  $10.5 \times 16.8$  cm ('An Early Papyrus', 233). The slight difference in column height is probably due to the fact that he was working with smaller fragments preserving only a few lines each. Turner's rule of thumb that 2.3 is generally the proportion of upper to lower margins is followed here (*Typology*, 25). Thus, a 1 cm upper margin should have a 1.5 cm lower margin (total 2.5 cm), and a 1.6 cm upper margin should have a 2.4 cm lower margin (total 4 cm). So in the absence of physical evidence, 2.5 cm (the hypothetical lower limit) and 4 cm (the hypothetical upper limit) are added to estimates of column height, while side margins are assumed to be 1.5 cm wide (total 3 cm).

30 Turner, *Typology*, 22, 25. He speculates that a  $12 \times 17$  cm format might represent that of the parchment *membranae* (34 n. 6).

31 Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 17.

32 My thanks to Carolynne Zambo for creating the three diagrams for this section. Readers might also compare the discussion in this difficult section to constructed models. A number of sheets of paper with fibre direction (and where necessary, columns) marked on each side can be folded in half to make a quire.

33 Among single-quire codices there are very few exceptions to this rule (see Turner, *Typology*, 58–60, Table 6). The Mississippi Crosby codex has  $\rightarrow$  preceding  $\downarrow$  in its first eight leaves and

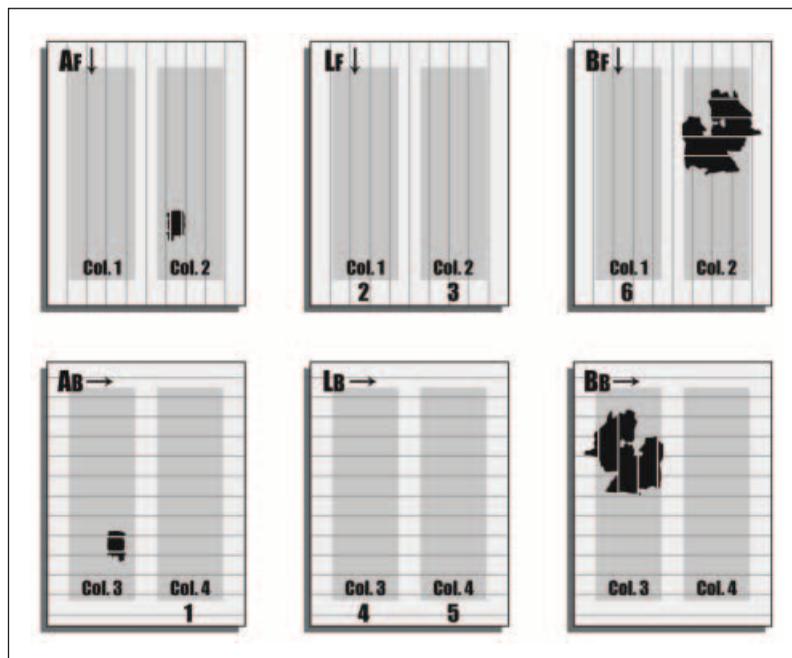


Figure 1

problem:  $AF\downarrow$ ,  $AB\rightarrow$ ,  $LF\downarrow$ ,  $LB\rightarrow$ ,  $BF\downarrow$ ,  $BB\downarrow$ . The fibre direction of fol. B should be  $BF\downarrow$   $BB\rightarrow$ , but is actually  $BF\rightarrow$ ,  $BB\downarrow$  (see the opposite alignment of the fragment fibres in Fig. 1), so the idea that  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  came from the first half of a single-quire codex immediately looks dubious. There are several possible explanations for this. Fol. B may have come from a single leaf (i.e. half of a sheet) of papyrus that was inserted at this point.<sup>34</sup> In that case it might have been inserted with the  $\rightarrow$  facing up, while all other right-hand pages would have had  $\downarrow$  facing up. But this would take away from the uniform appearance of the codex. Moreover, single leaves were more likely to be inserted at the end of a codex when the scribe had run out of room.<sup>35</sup> But might a single leaf have replaced one that had been ripped out and lost? In that case it could reasonably be expected that fol. B would be written in a

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then  $\downarrow\rightarrow\downarrow$  to its centre. Turner also lists two fourth-century miniature codices as possible exceptions, P.Ryl. 1.28 and  $\mathfrak{P}^{62}$  (P.Oslo inv. 1661). On the orientation of the fibres in the latter, see L. Amundsen, 'Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection', *SO* 24 (1945) 121–40 (126).

<sup>34</sup> Turner (*Typology*, 73) provides several examples of single leaves being added to codices, and cites H. A. Sanders ('A fragment of the *Acta Pauli* in the Michigan Collection', *HThR* 31 [1938] 75) who thought a single sheet had been added to  $\mathfrak{P}^5$ .

<sup>35</sup> Turner, *Typology*, 60, 64.

different and later hand. Another possibility, that a careless scribe might confuse the order of succession,<sup>36</sup> is ruled out by: (i) the fact that this is a quality, literary codex produced by a careful scribe;<sup>37</sup> and (ii) the simple probabilities of preservation. For example, the scribe of  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  seems to have confused the fibre direction of his sheets on only two occasions.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, since only a few small fragments of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  survive, they are probably fragments of correctly placed sheets.

But instead of the usual  $\downarrow \rightarrow \downarrow \rightarrow$  arrangement found in the vast majority of single-quire codices, could we be dealing with a codex in which the sheets were alternated with like facing like ( $\downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow \downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow$ )?<sup>39</sup> This is the case in  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ , which contains single sheet gatherings (or uniones) that must be arranged  $\downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow$  followed by  $\downarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \downarrow$ .<sup>40</sup>  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ , which contains a number of different gatherings, also has like facing like on the inside.<sup>41</sup> In this case, *only two arrangements are possible* regardless of the size of the quires (because like must face like throughout). But neither arrangement allows like to face like, whether we work forward from Leaf A (see Fig. 2): (a)  $AF\downarrow, AB\rightarrow, LF\rightarrow, LB\downarrow, BF\rightarrow, BB\downarrow$ ; or backwards from Leaf B (see Fig. 3): (b)  $AF\downarrow, AB\rightarrow, LF\downarrow, LB\rightarrow, BF\rightarrow, BB\downarrow$ . In (a)  $LB\downarrow$  and  $BF\rightarrow$  clash, and in (b)  $AB\rightarrow$  and  $LF\downarrow$  clash, and the alternating sequence is destroyed.

Staying with the same arrangement, if fols. A and B came from leaves in single-sheet quires, might a single leaf have been inserted between them? Again, the reconstruction is incompatible with the actual fibre direction of the fragments: (a)  $AF\downarrow, AB\rightarrow, LF\rightarrow, LB\downarrow, BF\rightarrow, BB\downarrow$  (Fig. 2); or working backwards, (b)  $AF\downarrow, AB\rightarrow, LF\downarrow, LB\rightarrow, BF\rightarrow, BB\downarrow$  (Fig. 3). In both cases this would destroy the harmonious arrangement of the quire, and it is hard to see why it would be necessary. When a scribe had finished copying the four pages of a single-sheet quire, he simply started on the four pages of the next single-sheet quire. So the need to insert an extra leaf should not have arisen. In fact, a harmonious like-facing-like arrangement could only be maintained by the insertion of two additional leaves as follows: (c)  $AF\downarrow, AB\rightarrow, L1F\rightarrow, L1B\downarrow, L2F\downarrow, L2B\rightarrow, BF\rightarrow, BB\downarrow$ . But this would result in 10 columns instead of the required 6 columns between the folios and is therefore an hypothesis which can be excluded.

Another arrangement might involve like facing like in an alternating quire whose outside or first page was  $\rightarrow$ , and which consequently was arranged

<sup>36</sup> Again Turner, *Typology*, 67–8, provides several examples.

<sup>37</sup> It is reasonable to assume that a careful scribe would be less likely to confuse the order of the sheets.

<sup>38</sup> See T. C. Skeat, 'A Codicological Analysis of the Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex of Gospels and Acts (P45)', *Hermathena* 155 (1993) 27–43, esp. 33–4, 40, 42. On the second occasion, having again filled an incorrectly folded quire with writing, the scribe may have decided to finish the rest of the book with similarly oriented single-sheet quires.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Turner, *Typology*, 65–7, who notes papyrus codices did not imitate parchment codices in this regard.

<sup>40</sup> P.Beatty 6 may be another codex of single-sheet gatherings (Turner, *Typology*, 71 n. 17).

<sup>41</sup> Turner, *Typology*, 66–7, Table 11.

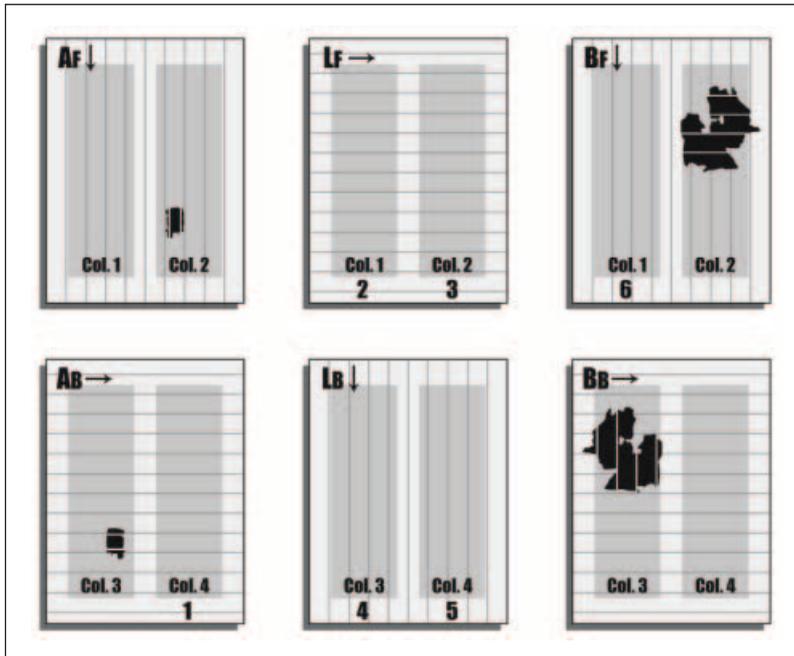


Figure 2

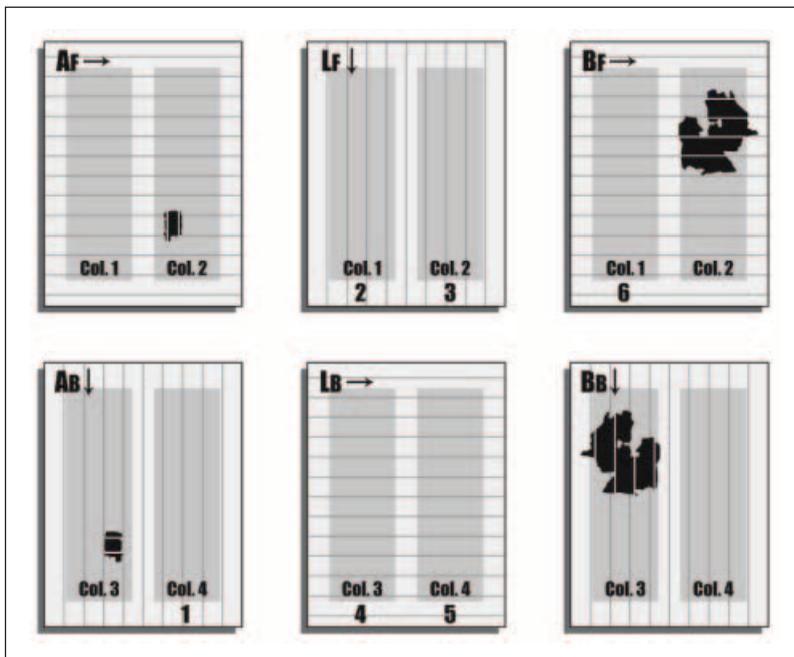


Figure 3

$\rightarrow\downarrow\downarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\downarrow\downarrow$  etc. In this case, if working forward  $\text{AF}\downarrow$  would be located on the second of two  $\downarrow$  pages, or if working backward  $\text{BF}\rightarrow$  would be located on the first (i.e. the second in order of reading) of two  $\rightarrow$  pages. But we arrive again at the same impossible alternatives:  $\text{AF}\downarrow$ ,  $\text{AB}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{LF}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{LB}\downarrow$ ,  $\text{BF}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{BB}\downarrow$  (see Fig. 2); or (b)  $\text{AF}\downarrow$ ,  $\text{AB}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{LF}\downarrow$ ,  $\text{LB}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{BF}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{BB}\downarrow$  (see Fig. 3). In fact, regardless of the size of the quires or whether they begin with  $\rightarrow$  or  $\downarrow$ , *like must always face like* throughout such a codex.

Therefore, we are dealing here with a codex arranged in the normal way ( $\downarrow\rightarrow\downarrow\rightarrow$ ). Furthermore, the codex containing  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  could not have been single-quire, because the middle of a quire must have fallen between fols. A and B of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$ . This would allow the following arrangements:  $\text{AF}\downarrow$ ,  $\text{AB}\rightarrow\parallel\text{LF}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{LB}\downarrow$ ,  $\text{BF}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{BB}\downarrow$ , or  $\text{AF}\downarrow$ ,  $\text{AB}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{LF}\downarrow$ ,  $\text{LB}\rightarrow\parallel\text{BF}\rightarrow$ ,  $\text{BB}\downarrow$ . Given the significant objections to the possible insertion of a single leaf, this is certainly the most attractive and straightforward of solutions. At some point after that, the quire containing  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  ended and a second quire was started which contained  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  (fr.  $\text{Ca}\downarrow_1$ ,  $\text{Cb}\downarrow_1$ ,  $\text{Cc}\downarrow_2$ ,  $\text{Cc}\rightarrow_1$ ,  $\text{Ca}\rightarrow_2$ ,  $\text{Cb}\rightarrow_2$ ) in its first half. Therefore,  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  had at least two quires, and there may have been more. It is worth noting in this connection that according to Turner, the evidence does not support the presupposition that the multiple-quire codex was derived from the single-quire papyrus codex.<sup>42</sup> None of these various possibilities as regards the fibre direction of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  are discussed by Skeat, whose argument assumes that  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  both lay in the first half of the same quire.

#### Identification of $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ with $\mathfrak{P}^4$

$\mathfrak{P}^4$  (Suppl. Gr. 1120 [2], Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)<sup>43</sup> is composed of five fragments of four leaves from a two-column codex: fr.  $\text{A}\downarrow_1$  (Luke 1.58–59, 62–64); fr.  $\text{A}\downarrow_2$  (1.65–73); fr.  $\text{A}\rightarrow_1$  (1.74–2.1); fr.  $\text{A}\rightarrow_2$  (2.6–7); fr.  $\text{B}\rightarrow_1$  (3.8–14); fr.  $\text{B}\rightarrow_2$  (3.15–20); fr.  $\text{B}\downarrow_1$  (3.20–30); fr.  $\text{B}\downarrow_2$  (3.30–4.2); fr.  $\text{Ca}\downarrow_1$  (4.29–32); fr.  $\text{Cb}\downarrow_2$  (4.34–35); fr.  $\text{Ca}\rightarrow_1$  (5.3–5); fr.  $\text{Cb}\rightarrow_2$  (5.6–8); fr.  $\text{D}\downarrow_1$  (5.30–36); fr.  $\text{D}\downarrow_2$  (5.36–6.4); fr.  $\text{D}\rightarrow_1$  (6.4–10); fr.  $\text{D}\rightarrow_2$  (6.10–16).<sup>44</sup> The fibre directions given here are based on his viewing of the

42 Even though it ‘may be readily admitted that many undoubtedly early codices do follow this make-up’ (Turner, *Typology*, 98–9). Cf. the lists of multiple-quire codices given in Tables 6–10 (58–64).

43 For editions see V. Scheil, ‘Archéologie, Varia’, *RB* 1 (1892) 113–5; idem, ‘Fragment d’Évangile’, *MMAF* 9.2 (1893) 216 and plate on facing page (incorrectly labeled ‘Manuscrit de Philon N° 1’); J. Merell, ‘Nouveaux fragments du papyrus 4’, *RB* 47 (1938) 5–22; E. M. Schofield, ‘The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Louisville, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1936) 100–106; M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique textuelle*, vol. 2: *Critique rationnelle* (Paris: Gabalda, 1935) 118–24, who reproduces the four columns edited by Scheil; and K. Aland, *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (ANTT 2; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967) 108–10.

44 I am very grateful to Alain Blanchard for visiting the Bibliothèque Nationale on my behalf.

papyrus.<sup>45</sup> It seems Merell in his edition was mistaken when he gave the fibre directions in  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  as Fr. A→↓, Fr. B→↓, Fr. C→↓, Fr. D↓→.<sup>46</sup> This is yet another irony in terms of past scholarship on  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ . The dimensions of the fragments are: fr. A, 10 × 15.2 cm; fr. B, 12.2 × 15.6 cm; fr. Ca, 5.1 × 5 cm; fr. Cb, 4.3 × 4.7 cm; fr. D, 13.9 × 17 cm.<sup>47</sup> Aland, Turner, Roberts and Skeat all date the codex to III or perhaps III/IV.<sup>48</sup>

The layout of the reconstructed codex can be summarised as follows.<sup>49</sup>

Lost or extant	Approx. contents	Number of letters					A.B. Total	like	usual D <sup>like</sup>	D <sup>usual</sup>
		Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3	Col. 4	Col. 5				
1	Lost 1.1–25	—	—	—	—	2101	↓→	↓→	↓→	
2	Lost 1.26–57	—	—	—	—	2101	→↓	↓→	↓→	
3	fr. A 1.58–2.8	518	553	538	500	2109	↓→	↓→	↓→	
4	Lost 2.8–36	—	—	—	—	2188	→↓	→↓	→↓	
5	Lost 2.36–3.8	—	—	—	—	2193	↓→	→↓	→↓	
6	fr. B 3.8–4.2	513	557	545	511	2126	→↓	→↓	→↓	
7	Lost 4.2–29	—	—	—	—	2169	×	↓→	↓→	
8	fr. C 4.29–5.9	—	—	—	—	2118	↓→	↓→	↓→ ×	
9	Lost 5.9–30	—	—	—	—	2116	→↓	↓→	↓→ →↓	
10	fr. D 5.30–6.16	537	574	551	507	2169	↓→	↓→	↓→ →↓	

The column headed *like* contains the required fibre orientation of the leaves if like faced like throughout the manuscript. The codex could not have been arranged in this way because the lost leaf 7 would clash with fr. B or C. As regards the fibre orientation of fr. D, Blanchard is not completely sure because of reflection difficul-

45 *Per litt.* 4 Nov. 2006. Blanchard's observations can be confirmed with a fair degree of certainty from the images reproduced in Jaroš (*Das Neue Testament*, 108, 123, 138, 153, 168, 181, 194, 209). But autopsy was necessary because it can be difficult if not impossible to make definite judgments about fibre direction based on images alone.

46 Merell, 'Nouveaux fragments du papyrus 4', 6. He seems to have used the terms *recto* and *verso* in the papyrological and not the traditional sense.

47 Cf. Aland, *Repertorium*, 219; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 403; Jaroš, *Das Neue Testament*, 54.

48 Aland, *Liste*, 3; Turner, *Typology*, 145; C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1985) 40–1. Turner and Roberts also allow that a slightly later dating is possible. Later dates were generally given by earlier scholars (cf. *Repertorium*, 219) because nineteenth- and early twentieth-century palaeographers thought the codex did not exist before III: Roberts, 'An Early Papyrus', 234.

49 Here I have modified Skeat's table in 'Oldest Manuscript', 15. A.B: directions given by Blanchard.

ties associated with the papyrus being mounted under glass.<sup>50</sup> If in fact fr. D was aligned  $\rightarrow\downarrow$ , a like-facing-like arrangement is still impossible (see the column headed *D<sup>like</sup>*), and the codex would have had to be arranged in multiple quires as per *D<sup>usual</sup>* (with  $\parallel$  symbolizing the centre of the quire). But under the circumstances, it would seem best to accept Blanchard's considered preference (fr.  $D\downarrow\rightarrow$ ).<sup>51</sup> Therefore, the codex was probably arranged in the normal way, perhaps as given above (see the *usual* column) or in quarterniones ( $\downarrow\rightarrow, \downarrow\rightarrow$ , fr.  $A\downarrow\rightarrow \parallel \rightarrow\downarrow, \rightarrow\downarrow$ , fr.  $B\rightarrow\downarrow, \rightarrow\downarrow \parallel$  fr.  $C\downarrow\rightarrow, \downarrow\rightarrow$ , fr.  $D\downarrow\rightarrow$ ).<sup>52</sup> The latter option is more likely if another gospel preceded Luke.

These fragments were used as glued reinforcing in the leather cover of a codex containing two books of Philo<sup>53</sup> found at Coptos in Upper Egypt in 1889.<sup>54</sup> This is the oldest known codex cover dated by Roberts and Turner to 111.<sup>55</sup> Skeat argued that the fragments reinforcing the cover must have had enough time to deteriorate sufficiently to be put to this use, so that an early 111 dating at the latest would be closer to the mark.<sup>56</sup> He also speculated that the high quality of the Philo codex meant that it could not have been produced at Coptos, and that a major Christian centre was its more likely place of origin.<sup>57</sup> But regardless of its provenance, the *old* gospel must have been on hand for use as packing for the cover.<sup>58</sup> That only

50 'Fr. D recto (foncé) et verso (clair) paraissent d'abord avoir tous les deux les fibres horizontales : le papyrus étant sous verre (qui miroite), il est très difficile de décider quel côté a finalement des fibres verticales : c'est peut-être... le recto' (Blanchard, *per litt.* 4 Nov. 2006).

51 Which for what is worth is also that of Merell.

52 Cf. Turner, *Typology*, 62–3.

53 Suppl. Gr. 1120 (1), Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit; De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*. See V. Scheil, 'Deux Traités de Philon', *MMAF* 9.2 (1893) iv–viii, 151–215. This manuscript was dated 111 by Kenyon and Hunt: see van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 695.

54 There is a typographical error in Sheil, 'Archéologie, varia', 113, who has the date as 1880.

55 Turner, *Typology*, 244 (Pack2, 1345; listed as P.Parisinus inv. G 1120, Suppl. gr. 2); Roberts, *Manuscript*, 8, 13 (late 111). Hunt (P.Oxy. 9.1173) and Kenyon (*Palaeography of Greek papyri* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1899] 145) also date the Philo codex to 111. Cf. the comments of J. van Haelst, 'Les origines du codex', *Les débuts du codex: actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris les 3 et 4 juillet 1985* (ed. A. Blanchard; Bibliologia, Elementa ad Librorum Studia Pertinentia 9; Turnhout: Brepols, 1989) 13 n. 1. See the Mertens-Pack3 Database Project at <http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/pages/mp3anglais.htm> (accessed 14 June 2006), which updates R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, rev. ed. 1965).

56 'Oldest Manuscript', 25–6.

57 'Oldest Manuscript', 25–6. He adds that it might have been the scriptorium of Pantaeus at Alexandria.

58 C. H. Roberts, *Buried Books in Antiquity* (London: The Library Association, 1963) 12–14, also suggested the Philo manuscript may have come from Caesarea because its text is based on a Caesarean exemplar (as argued by L. Cohn and P. Wendland, eds., *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt* [6 vols.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1896–1930] 1.xiii). This would make the

the four divine names and  $\pi\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$  are contracted in the manuscript may also support an earlier dating for this papyrus.<sup>59</sup>

Portions of the upper and lower and outside margin are intact on fr. B, while the inner margin is preserved on fr. D. According to Merell, the codex has an average of 36 lines per column, 12–19 letters per line, and approximate dimensions of 13.5 × 17 cm (Turner's Group 9 Aberrant 1).<sup>60</sup> Thus the written area including inter-columnar space is about 10.5 × 13.5 cm.<sup>61</sup> None of the pages are numbered. The left-hand edge of each column is justified, but not the ends of the lines.<sup>62</sup> The 2 mm high script is again a square, upright forerunner of Biblical Majuscule.<sup>63</sup> Final  $\nu$  written as a supralinear stroke begins centrally above the preceding vowel and extends out into the margin. The only ligature occurs between  $\tau$  and  $\upsilon$  where the cross-bar of the  $\tau$  and the top of  $\upsilon$  are written with a single line.<sup>64</sup> Aland estimates a codex of 44 leaves would have held Luke, or one of 140–70 leaves the four gospels.<sup>65</sup>

Reading aids are again present. The diaeresis is used occasionally above initial  $\iota$  and  $\upsilon$ ,<sup>66</sup> and there is one certain use of the apostrophe (fr. A→2, l. 22, 1.69).<sup>67</sup> Scheil thought the codex was punctuated with high, low, and medial stops signifying varying pauses,<sup>68</sup> but Skeat found that only a single point, variously positioned, was used.<sup>69</sup> Text division is by dicolon (:) which is usually accompanied by ekthesis of the first full line of each new section, often with a paragraphos in the

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gospel papyri Palestinian, and representative of an early Caesarean text (P. W. Comfort, *The Quest for the Original Text of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992] 82–3). But as Skeat notes 'it might equally well have been a copy made in Egypt from an Egyptian exemplar' ('Oldest Manuscript', 25).

59 Skeat notes Turner's later dating of  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  (AD 225–75: see *Typology*, 95; cf. 20, 24, 59, 93, 150) and suggests the less developed system of *nomina sacra* in  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  may indicate it is earlier ('Oldest Manuscript', 31).

60 Merell, 'Nouveaux fragments du Papyrus 4', 7. I follow the *ed. pr.* here, while noting the slightly larger dimension (14 × 18–19 cm) of Aland (*Repertorium*, 219) and van Haelst (*Catalogue*, no. 403). Although  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  may have been slightly taller, this difference should not be pressed based as it is on reconstruction.

61 Aland, *Repertorium*, 219; Turner, *Typology*, 145.

62 Merell, 'Nouveaux fragments du Papyrus 4', 7.

63 See again Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 3–5.

64 Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 5.

65 Aland, *Repertorium*, 219.

66 Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 5.

67 The apostrophe occurs after the Hebrew name  $\delta\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\delta$  at Luke 1.69.

68 'Archéologie, varia', 113. Scheil did note that on a number of occasions the system was confused: 'La ponctuation varie selon la triple position du. . . La plus longue pause est généralement indiquée par le point en haut, la moindre par le point en bas; quelquefois tout est confondu'.

69 Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 6–7.

form of a line above the outset characters.<sup>70</sup> The scribe is ‘scrupulously accurate both in the text and orthography, except that  $\epsilon\iota$  is sometimes used for long *iota*’.<sup>71</sup> There is one uncorrected instance of dittography,<sup>72</sup> and the scribes self-corrects once.<sup>73</sup> Head<sup>74</sup> identifies a number of singular readings<sup>75</sup> in the genealogy,<sup>76</sup> sev-

70 Perhaps, as Roberts (*Manuscript*, 23) asserts, the organization evident in sectioning with a system like that in used  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  and ‘some of the great fourth-century codices’, was ‘clearly not personal to this scribe’ or ‘specifically Egyptian but of wider application’. It should be noted, however, that Skeat could not find any of the ‘omission and quotation signs’ Roberts refers to. The former should occur where mistakes were made, but there is only one at Luke 5.36 where the scribe self-corrects (‘Oldest Manuscript’, 6–7).

71 Skeat, ‘Oldest Manuscript’, 7.

72  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\omicron\upsilon$  (fr. B $\downarrow$ 1, l. 28, 3.27). According to Jaroš, uncorrected mistakes are rare, but he mentions no other cases (*Das Neue Testament*, 55).

73 The scribe wrote  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota$  |  $\omicron\upsilon$  instead of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  |  $\nu\omicron\upsilon$ , then erased  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota$  and wrote  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  and added  $\nu$  before  $\omicron\upsilon$  on the next line (fr. D $\downarrow$ 1, ll. 33–34, 5.36): see Skeat, ‘Oldest Manuscript’, 7. The distinctive  $\kappa$  shows this was a self-correction.

74 P. M. Head, ‘Observations on Early papyri of the Synoptic Gospels, Especially on the “Scribal Habits”’, *Bib* 71 (1990) 240–7 (243). In referring to this article, J. R. Royse, ‘Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text’, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis: A Volume in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes; SD 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 239–52, 247 n. 51, questions the criteria used in identifying singular readings. As a result, in a follow-up study Head defined ‘a singular reading to be one that is not known from NA<sup>27</sup>, Tischendorf, von Soden, and Swanson’ (‘The Habits of New Testament Copyists: Singular Readings in the Early Fragmentary Papyri of John’, *Bib* 85 [2004] 399–408, 400). Consequently, I have checked all of Head’s singular readings in his 1990 *Biblica* article against C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece: ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit Commentationem Isagogicam praetextuit Constantinus Tischendorf: Editio octava critica maior*, vol. 1: *κατὰ Μαθθαίον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκάν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην* (Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869); H. F. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, vol. 4: *Text und Apparat* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913); and R. Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus*, vol. 1: *Matthew*, vol. 2: *Mark*, vol. 3: *Luke*, vol. 4: *John* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic/Pasadena: William Carey International University, 1995).

75 As B. Aland notes, the method of analyzing singular readings ‘is still useful, although it should be underscored that there are no singular readings in the strictest sense. There is no way of knowing that what we regard as singular readings were not also to be found in the great mass of manuscripts that have been lost’ (‘The Significance of the Chester Beatty Papyri in Early Church History’, *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels—The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P45* [ed. C. Horton; JSNTSup 30; London: T&T Clark International, 2004] 108–21 [114]).

76  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\alpha\iota$ , Luke 3.25;  $\epsilon\lambda\mu\alpha\sigma\alpha\mu$ , 3.28;  $\iota\omicron\beta\eta\tau$ , 3.32. These variants were checked against the apparatus of The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel According to St. Luke, Part One, Chapters 1–12* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).

eral additions,<sup>77</sup> and a number of others.<sup>78</sup> The few additions<sup>79</sup> were probably made for reasons of respect and clarity. Like the omissions in  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ , they indicate a willingness to make minor improvements without affecting meaning, and do not detract from the fact that the scribe was a careful and conscientious workman.

Roberts was the first to declare with confidence that  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  were from the same codex.<sup>80</sup> Before that only the possibility or at most the probability had been mooted.<sup>81</sup> For Skeat the extravagant  $\kappa$  alone should have indicated  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  were the work of a single scribe. Working from full-sized photographs of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  he discusses obstacles that had previously prevented connecting the hands.<sup>82</sup> Several other pieces of papyrus were found with the Lukan fragments, one with the words ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΝ.<sup>83</sup> He agrees the hand that wrote this title is indeed different<sup>84</sup> and later (III) than both  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ , but argues that it is probably a flyleaf from the beginning of the manuscript rather than the first page. Thiede, after examining the papyri, had previously argued that  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  and

77 του before  $\overline{\kappa\nu}$  (1.76); τω before ετερω, and αυτου after δεξια (6.6).

78 δε : και (5.3); χαλασαι (5.4); αυτον : αυτους (5.31); and ρηγγυσι : ρηξει (5.37). According to IGNTP *Luke* the transposed word order, ανεωχθη παραχηρημα το στομα αυτου (1.64), is also found in Lvt (q). This variant can thus be classified as a sub-singular reading.

79 J. K. Elliott ('Singular Readings in the Gospel text of P45', in *The Earliest Gospels* [ed. Horton] 122–31 [125]) observes that 'words like 'add' or 'omit' are loaded in favour of the view that we can know precisely what the original text contained. . . All we can note. . . by comparing one manuscript with another is that one has a longer or shorter text'. While this is strictly true, these terms are convenient and useful when comparing manuscripts to the critical text.

80 Roberts, *Manuscript*, 13.

81 The possibility was first suggested by K. Aland, 'Neue neutestamentliche Papyri II', *NTS* 12 (1965/6) 193–210. He noted the close similarity between  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ , but did not argue then or subsequently that they were from the same codex. The reason seems to have been the difference in colour (193). Cf. Aland, *Studien*, 104, 108–10; and see the different dates and text descriptions in K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (trans. E. F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd ed. 1987) 96, 100. Cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 146: 'Probablement le même codex que celui du'  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ .

82 Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 9. The very bad damage to  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  diminishes small irregularities in writing which are highlighted in  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ , fr. B and D are shown at reduced size and against a black background in *Revue Biblique* making comparison very difficult, and because  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  are small fragments the impression conveyed by a whole page of text is wanting (8–9).

83 Merell, 'Nouveaux fragments du Papyrus 4', 6. This fragment is mounted under glass with fr. Ca and Cb (Blanchard, *per litt.* 6 Nov. 2006).

84 Cf. P. W. Comfort, 'Exploring the Common Identification of Three New Testament Manuscripts  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$ ', *TynBul* 46 (1995) 43–55, and the response of C. P. Thiede, 'Notes on  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  = Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Supplementum Graece 1120/5', *TynBul* 46 (1995) 55–7; and P. W. Comfort, 'New Reconstructions and Identifications of New Testament Papyri', *NovT* 41 (1999) 214–30.

P<sup>64+67</sup> are not from the same codex because: (i) there are slight differences in formation of letters; (ii) P<sup>4</sup> projects two letters rather than one into the margin to mark new sections beginning on the previous line; and (iii) the Paris fragment is darker and has a different fibre to the light Oxford and Barcelona fragments. He ends by calling for further analysis as to whether all three papyri might have been ‘written by the same person or at the same copying centre, using different styli, at different periods, and for different customers’.<sup>85</sup>

The first objection is the most easily dismissed. Thiede’s contention that the scribe of P<sup>4</sup> raises ω and ο above the base line and keeps ρ and τ on the line cannot be sustained. Although consistent, the scribe is not strictly bilinear, and ρ and τ often dip beneath the notional base line just as ω often sits on it.<sup>86</sup> It is true, however, that ο is often suspended from the upper line (although its position varies and sometimes it too sits on the notional base line),<sup>87</sup> but there is no discrepancy with P<sup>64+67</sup> in this regard. Thiede’s findings on the second point are more difficult to gainsay. In P<sup>4</sup> Skeat finds 2 cases of 2–letter ekthesis, 8 of 1.75 letters, 2 of 1.5, and 1 case of ‘just over one letter’. This might suggest that ‘the scribe made no attempt to achieve any particular amount of projection within these limits’.<sup>88</sup> But there is one instance of 1–letter ekthesis in each of P<sup>64</sup> (Matt 26.31) and P<sup>67</sup> (Matt 5.25), and a second reconstructed occurrence in a lacuna of the latter (Matt 26.21) was probably very close to one letter as well.<sup>89</sup> So the scribe seems to have used different amounts of projection in the two manuscripts.

Given that Thiede had personally examined P<sup>4</sup>, his third criticism is also hard to deflect. All of the extant leaves of P<sup>4</sup> are affected in varying degrees by brown surface patches. The Philo codex was found encrusted with mortar, its pages matted together with small grains of salt, where it had been hidden in a wall.<sup>90</sup> Its pages are the same colour as the Lukan fragments, suggesting that both were similarly affected by their interment, but they are clean without any brown patches.<sup>91</sup> This means that the brown patches of P<sup>4</sup> were caused either by proximity to the

85 Thiede, ‘Notes on P<sup>4</sup>’, 55–7.

86 As regards ρ and τ, Skeat states that the upright always reaches down below the lower line (‘Oldest Manuscript’, 3–4). Cf. Comfort and Barrett, *Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, 49.

87 So Skeat, ‘Oldest Manuscript’, 5.

88 Skeat, ‘Oldest Manuscript’, 7.

89 On Skeat’s reckoning the ekthesis in the lacuna was ‘almost certainly of two letters’ (‘Oldest Manuscript’, 7). However, close examination of the image and reconstructed text does not support this contention. The position of the reconstructed text, ο | [τ ι ε ρ] ρ ε β η τ ο ι ς α ρ χ α ι ο ι ς | [ο υ] φ ο ν ε υ ς ε ι ς, was very probably: τ ι ε ρ ρ ε β η  
ο υ φ ο ν ε υ ς ε ι ς

90 Merell, ‘Nouveaux fragments du Papyrus 4’, 6.

91 Blanchard, *per litt.* 4 Nov. 2006.

leather cover, perhaps resulting from its decomposition,<sup>92</sup> or derive from contact with organic material prior to it being used as stuffing for the cover. This may be the more likely scenario; presumably in a Christian setting (Philo was virtually an adopted church father) only a damaged manuscript of this quality would be put to such a use. As a result of these misadventures the Lukan text has often ‘disappeared or been obliterated or obscured by set-offs and other extraneous marks’.<sup>93</sup>

While admitting that the colour ‘of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  is generally darker than that of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ , Comfort (who has also seen the fragments), claims that there are ‘a few portions’ of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  where the lighter brown colour of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  can be seen.<sup>94</sup> In direct contrast, Thiede concluded the ‘dark brown of the Paris fragments’ as compared with the Oxford and Barcelona fragments was ‘organic’ and not because of ‘different means of preservation and conservation’.<sup>95</sup> While prior wear and tear might account for the generally darker and coarser appearance of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  in comparison to  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  in particular, doubts nevertheless remain. Comfort also states that several very small fragments of ‘the same lighter brown’ papyrus, which are kept in a small envelope in the box which holds the glass-mounted fragments of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ , contain parts of Luke 1.79, 5.33 and 6.12.<sup>96</sup> But there are serious question marks hanging over these identifications and certainly one should be rejected.<sup>97</sup> Thus, when the differences in ekthetic projection and colour are added to issues arising from

92 This possibility was raised by Blanchard who also confirmed the brown colour of the patches (*per litt.* 6 Nov. 2006). They appear to be black in the images reproduced in Merell (‘Nouveaux fragments du papyrus 4’, plates 1–7) and Jaroš (*Das Neue Testament*, 108, 123, 138, 153, 168, 181, 194, 209).

93 Where leaves have been stuck together impressions of writing can transfer from one page to another and these Skeat calls set-offs: Skeat, ‘Oldest Manuscript’, 8, 18.

94 Comfort and Barrett, *Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, 50.

95 Thiede, ‘Notes on  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ ’, 55.

96 Comfort and Barrett, *Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, 50. The envelope containing these few small fragments is actually kept in a box with the leather cover. The Lukan fragments are kept in a separate box, but both are designated Suppl. Gr. 1120 (2): Blanchard, *per litt.* 4 and 6 Nov. 2006.

97 In an earlier article, Comfort stated that two of the fragments fitted very well with Luke 1.79 and 5.33, and another ‘clearly belonged’ to 6.12 (‘New Reconstructions’, 218). But there is no way to ascertain whether the fragment fits the lacuna at 1.79, perhaps the reason for the concession that it might have come from Matt 26.4 of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  (*Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, 50). Similarly, there is no discussion of whether the fragments match the lacunae at 5.33 and 6.12. Certainly, in the case of the latter it is impossible that a fragment with the letters  $\alpha\nu\kappa\tau\epsilon$  could have come from  $\kappa\alpha\iota \eta\nu \delta\iota\alpha\gamma\gamma[\kappa\tau\epsilon]$  of 6.12, simply because there is no lacuna in the papyrus after  $\iota$ . This raises the question of whether these small fragments might have come from the Philo codex like four other fragments kept in the same envelope (‘New Reconstructions’, 218).

provenance,<sup>98</sup> fibre direction, and copying (discussed below), it is clear that Luke came from another codex entirely.

Basing his conclusion on tracings, Skeat asserts that all of the fragments exhibit the same column and overlap pattern, have a very similar space for each line, and that differences between the width of inside and outside columns are uniform.<sup>99</sup> Since there is 2.5 cm<sup>100</sup> of ragged papyrus at the bottom edge of fr. D of P<sup>4</sup>, the margins were probably even wider. Skeat calculates that the columns in all three papyri were about 13.5 cm, and the regularity in their width suggests that temporary guidelines for columns and the beginnings of lines were marked out using a template.<sup>101</sup>

The double-column format is rare as against the single column found in most of the earliest codices. According to Turner, high-class rolls of Greek prose literature were written in tall, narrow columns, so scribes wanting to produce a prestige codex emulated the same format.<sup>102</sup> But as Johnson demonstrates, a short and very often narrow column characterised *éditions de luxe* in the Roman period.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, that Christian codices emulated literary rolls is hardly in dispute, as the narrow, multiple columns of major codices like Sinaiticus attest. It is therefore significant that four of the eight double-column Christian codices listed by Turner (dated up to IV), contain books of the OT.<sup>104</sup> P<sup>64+67</sup> and P<sup>4</sup> are the only NT codices

98 'The difference in provenance relates to the fact that fragments of Luke (P<sup>4</sup>) were extracted from the leather binding of a papyrus codex of two works of Philo only after the whole codex was in Paris. The whole volume was purchased in Luxor in 1890, and although P<sup>64</sup> was also purchased in Luxor (in 1901), it is difficult to see how the latter could have become separated from the former (as Skeat himself acknowledged)': P. M. Head, 'Is P<sup>4</sup>, P<sup>64</sup> and P<sup>67</sup> the Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels? A Response to T. C. Skeat', *NTS* 51 (2005) 450–7 (451–2). Cf. Roberts, 'An Early Papyrus', 234.

99 'Oldest Manuscript' 18–21.

100 Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 19. As for page size, because none of the edges survive Skeat will not venture more than 'at least 17 cm in height by 13.3 cm in breadth'.

101 P<sup>4</sup> = 13.2–13.4 cm; P<sup>64</sup> = 13.7; P<sup>67</sup> = 13.8 cm. Slight differences as regards P<sup>4</sup> are attributed to 'damage and distortion which the fragments have suffered' (Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 21). Skeat points out that when lines were marked at the beginning with lead which was later erased, it could result in some crooked lines as in P<sup>4</sup>. Because of the cross-fibres the scribe had only to ensure that the rectangular text-block on facing pages matched, so the number of lines per column often varies (as in P. Beatty 6 and P<sup>66</sup>): Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 32–3; cf. 22.

102 Turner, *Typology*, 36–7.

103 Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 122–8, 155–6. Other characteristics were: very wide upper and lower margins, a large tightly written script, and an excessively long roll (91–156). There is somewhat of a shift to narrower, taller columns in ordinary prose texts in the third century (123–4).

104 They are P. Baden 4.56, P. Beatty 6, Berlin Genesis (= OT 1; first 18 pp.), P. Beatty 4 (Genesis): see Turner, *Typology*, 36, Table 3. Cf. Roberts, 'An Early Papyrus', 234; idem, 'The Christian Book and Greek Papyri', *JTS* 50 (1949) 155–68 (162–3).

of this type.<sup>105</sup> They are a ‘thoroughgoing literary production’ and lack the “reformed documentary” and more relaxed literary styles’ of most Christian manuscripts.<sup>106</sup> Despite their differences, both were very probably written by the same scribe at different times using a similar format. For that reason  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  should not be placed at too much of a remove from c. 200.

### A Second Problem: The Fibre Orientation of $\mathfrak{P}^4$

But, it might be said, Skeat could not have known that the fibre orientation of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  as given by Merell (fr. A $\rightarrow\downarrow$ , fr. B $\rightarrow\downarrow$ , fr. C $\rightarrow\downarrow$ , fr. D $\downarrow\rightarrow$ ) was wrong. So if, for the sake of argument, we accept with Skeat that faulty data (and overlook the problem of the fibre orientation of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$ ), his methodology can be examined. He calculated that the average amount of text in the columns steadily decreases from Matthew to Luke ( $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  to  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ ), suggesting that all of the fragments were part of a single-quire codex.<sup>107</sup> Undoubtedly, as Head counters, some (plus or minus) allowance for scribal imprecision was required.<sup>108</sup> The discrepancy between the number of letters per column in the two Barcelona fragments should have made that clear (fol. A: 628; and fol. B: 572).<sup>109</sup> But disregarding the quite different column figures of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ , Skeat decided to work forward on the basis of averages from fol. C of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  and backwards from fr. A of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ .<sup>110</sup> He then calculated that the remainder of Matthew following fol. C would have filled almost 4.5 leaves.<sup>111</sup> Thus it would have ended towards the bottom of col. 2 on the front of the fifth leaf as follows: fol. C $\downarrow\rightarrow$ , L1 $\downarrow\rightarrow$ , L2 $\downarrow\rightarrow$ , L3 $\downarrow\rightarrow$ , L4 $\downarrow\rightarrow$ , L5 $\downarrow$ . Working backwards from fr. A of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  Skeat decided that Luke could not have followed Matthew (L6 $\rightarrow\downarrow$ , L7 $\rightarrow\downarrow$ ,

105 Since four of the eight double-column Christian codices up to the fourth century contain books of the OT, it seems not unreasonable to suggest that NT codices of similar format are more likely to have been produced in a setting where copies of Septuagintal books were also being made.

106 Roberts, *Manuscript*, 22–3.

107 Skeat, ‘Oldest Manuscript’, 16.

108 For telling criticisms of Skeat’s methodology, see Head, ‘Is  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  the Oldest Manuscript?’, 450–7. Moreover, in outlining the figures Skeat neglects to account for the fact that there should be an upward trend in the figures for  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  if it came from the second half of a single-quire codex (456). Cf. Turner’s list of methodological considerations in *Typology*, 8.

109 Skeat, ‘Oldest Manuscript’, 17. Skeat suggests, somewhat implausibly, that the scribe, under pressure to avoid under- or over-running his target (see Turner, *Typology*, 73–4), started determined to keep ahead and then relaxed as he realised that he was ‘well on course to complete his task as the space allowed’. This would seem to be a remarkably early stage to relax in the production of a single-quire codex of the four gospels.

110 It is worth noting that while Head’s criticisms of the methodology of Skeat are cogent, they lose their force where there is no attempt to argue that  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  are from the same codex. Then  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  would each need to be treated on their own merits.

111 ‘Oldest Manuscript’, 14.

fr. A $\rightarrow$ ↓),<sup>112</sup> because it must have started on the front of a leaf. Therefore, he concluded that Luke must have begun in the second half of the single-quire codex, and that another gospel or even two had intervened in what must have been a four-gospel codex.<sup>113</sup>

What is again remarkable about this discussion is that it proceeds without any explicit reference to the fibre direction of the fragments of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  (if we continue to allow for a moment the incorrect fibre orientation as accepted by Skeat), and consequently ignores the problem presented by fr. D. If  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  came from the second half of single-quire codex, then the fibre direction of another discordant leaf needs to be accounted for. But it is left unexplained, like the fibre direction of fol. B of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$ , and so looms as another fatal flaw in the single-quire, four-gospel hypothesis.<sup>114</sup> Apparently, to account for these discrepancies, K. Jaroš, who endorses the same hypothesis, states that the sheets were stacked with the  $\rightarrow$  side facing up before folding, but the pile accidentally contained a few sheets with the  $\downarrow$  facing up.<sup>115</sup> While there is no reason given for this speculation, the implication is that it could account for the fibre clashes in  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ . But it is better to proceed from what is known and probable, rather than from what is unknown and improbable. In a sizeable codex of c. 40–130 leaves (depending on the number of gospels),<sup>116</sup> from which parts of only seven leaves remain, what are the chances that parts of two<sup>117</sup> of the several sheets that were mistakenly placed wrong side up would survive? Certainly much lower than for leaves placed right side up. If most of the codex survived, then it could be known with certainty whether a few odd sheets had slipped past the scribe. But from the fragments that remain this cannot be known, and the probabilities of preservation and the literary quality of the codex combine to make this the far less likely alternative.

112 See Skeat's reconstruction of the approximate manuscript contents of Luke 1–6 ('Oldest Manuscript', 15).

113 'Oldest Manuscript', 15; Jaroš, *Das Neue Testament*, 56–7, takes the same position.

114 By showing that  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  came from a single four-gospel codex, Skeat aimed to provide crucial support for his four-gospel hypothesis: see T. C. Skeat, 'The Origin of the Christian Codex', *ZPE* 102 (1994) 263–4; idem, 'Oldest Manuscript', 31–3.

115 Jaroš, *Das Neue Testament*, 56.

116 Roberts and Skeat estimated that a four-gospel codex containing  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  would have had 144 leaves or 288 pages (*The Birth of the Codex*, 66). Skeat subsequently reduced this to 120–30 leaves to account for the fact that leaves and inside columns are at their narrowest in Luke ('Oldest Manuscript', 19). While this figure is flawed by the assumption that the codex was single-quire, and a codex containing Luke and possibly other gospels is being discussed here, it will do for the purposes of the point being made.

117 Theoretically, fol. B $\rightarrow$ ↓ of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$  and fr. D $\downarrow$  $\rightarrow$  of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  might have come from facing pages of the same sheet. However, it is hard to see how Matt 5 could face Luke 5–6 in a single-quire, four-gospel codex. If two gospels intervened, Matt 5 should face a chapter towards the end of Luke. If one gospel intervened, Matt 5 should face a page near the end of Mark or John (if the gospels were in the 'Western' order).

For the same reason, if we now consider the correct fibre orientation of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  as provided by Blanchard (fr. A $\downarrow$ →, fr. B→ $\downarrow$ , fr. C $\downarrow$ →, fr. D $\downarrow$ →), the possibility that fr. A–D came from the first half of a quire in which the sheet containing fr. B was unwittingly placed wrong side up can be rejected. Rather, like the fibre direction of fol. B of  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$ , the actual fibre directions of the  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  fragments indicate that the codex had a number of gatherings of the normal kind. Luke must have started in the first half of a quire, but there is no way of knowing if another gospel proceeded or followed it. The same can be said of the multiple-quire codex which held the Matthean fragments.

### Codex Construction and Copying

The Lukan fragments highlight another vexing methodological issue that needs examination. The figures show that cols. 1 and 4 of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  consistently have the lowest number of letters. The actual letter counts as given above for the four columns of three<sup>118</sup> of the fragments are: fr. A: 518, 553, 538, 500; fr. B: 513, 557, 545, 511; fr. D: 537, 574, 551, 507.<sup>119</sup> Skeat's tracing of columns revealed the same amount of overlap on both sides, yet it seems the amount of text outside the shared area varied significantly. The lower letter count for cols. 1 and 4 is verified by his estimate of column widths based on the averaged length of lines in fr. D (col. 1: 4.08 cm; col. 2: 4.39 cm; col. 3: 4.20 cm; col. 4: 3.87 cm).<sup>120</sup> Skeat is unwilling to speculate on the reason for this.<sup>121</sup> Perhaps it is because a right-handed scribe would have been most hindered by writing into the fold when copying col. 4. This is the explanation given by Skeat, and reported in Roberts' editions of  $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$  (P.Ryl. 3.457), for shorter lines on the left-hand page of that manuscript.<sup>122</sup> Likewise, although writing away from the fold, the same would be true in lesser degree of col. 1.

Or did the scribe copy on the front and back of detached leaves before replacing them in their correct place in the stack? In that case he would have worked on

<sup>118</sup> Too little remains of fr. C to estimate the letter counts per column (Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 15).

<sup>119</sup> Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 15. The close letter counts in cols. 1 and 4 of fr. B illustrate that the following discussion must remain hypothetical, even though the weight of evidence supports the argument being made.

<sup>120</sup> Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 21.

<sup>121</sup> 'Why these differentiations were made, and how they were carried out are questions I must leave to others' (Oldest Manuscript', 21).

<sup>122</sup> See C. H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1935); reprinted with corrections in idem, 'An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library', *BJRL* 20 (1936) 44–55; and with critical notes and a bibliography in idem, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (4 vols.; Manchester: Manchester University, 1938) 3.1–3. Presumably, in the case of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  generous inside columns of up to 2 cm did not prevent interference by the margin.

one quire at a time, working up through each stack of sheets writing on the front and back of the left-hand leaf or side first, and then worked back down through the stack writing on the front and back of each right-hand leaf or side in order. If so, the scribe must have deliberately chosen to make the inside columns slightly less wide, perhaps to ensure readability was not compromised by proximity to the fold after the codex was stitched. But why not simply widen the inside margin a little and retain the symmetry of the two columns? And would such a lack of symmetry be acceptable in a two-column, literary manuscript copied in this way?<sup>123</sup> At the very least, one would expect that both front and back inside columns would be the same. Clearly, this is a difficult question that calls for a wide-ranging comparative study of a representative sample of codices. One of the additional questions that might be asked is whether a scribe's hand was restricted in greater degree the closer he came to the centre of a pre-assembled single-quire codex.<sup>124</sup> One might imagine that the outside pages would bend at the binding and open more easily than those on the inside, but it is difficult to know how tight bindings were or how readily such codices opened in various places.

Nevertheless, there is support here for the conclusion that  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  came from different codices that were copied using different methods. Once the scribe of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  had settled into his rhythm, there is no suggestion that he was restricted by the fold. The reconstructed letter count of  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  in cols. 1–4 is 570, 567, 563, 567.<sup>125</sup> So this manuscript could have been copied on to detached sheets.<sup>126</sup> In contrast, the codex that contained  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  may have been pre-assembled. Turner's research led him to conclude that most scribes copied on to detached sheets, but that 'not every scribe copying a single-quire codex did so'. On the other hand, he claims not to have been able to identify another case like that of  $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$ .<sup>127</sup> It seems he may have overlooked  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  (though it is multiple-quire), and  $\mathfrak{P}^{90}$  is probably another example.<sup>128</sup>

### Conclusion

Because of the uniformity of the text, NT papyri are particularly suited to codicological reconstruction. If there are two or more pieces of papyrus from the

123 In  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , which seems to have been copied in this way, symmetry is preserved. In fact, some left-hand pages have longer lines than the right-hand pages (Turner, *Typology*, 74).

124 Cf. Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 16.

125 Skeat, 'Oldest Manuscript', 12–13.

126 While these figures are based on a reconstructed text into which it would be inappropriate to read too much, the preservation of the bottom of a column gives enough confidence for tentative further analysis.

127 Turner, *Typology*, 74.

128 In the case of single-column codices like  $\mathfrak{P}^{90}$ , a scribe might more readily opt to copy into a pre-assembled codex because no space between columns was being wasted.

same manuscript, sound reconstructions are often possible. As part of this process, it is relevant and necessary to account for the fibre orientation of the various fragments. Flawed conclusions are the natural correlate of an absence of such analysis. In this case, the objective facts of the fibre orientation of the surviving fragments declare that  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  come from different multiple-quire codices. Of course, despite salient objections, the slight possibility remains that the scribe might have twice inserted a single leaf or confused the order of succession. But that two such leaves (out of only seven) should survive ahead of many regularly placed leaves is highly unlikely. Rather, differences in ekthetic projection, papyrus colour, and potential copying methods combine to confirm the results of codicological analysis and mandate the conclusion that  $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ , though written by the same scribe, are not from the same single- or indeed multiple-quire codex. That means there is no evidence as yet for an early codex containing the four gospels. But on the positive side, there is reason to hope that advances in methodology can continue to be made. The contribution of T. C. Skeat in this regard was substantial and enduring. It only remains now for scholars to appreciate and utilize the insights that codicology can bring to the study of the NT text.