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Evolving Gamaliel Tradition in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, Acts 5:38–39: A Novel Application of Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM)

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Abstract: This article challenges the common scholarly conviction that Acts in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D05) represents a single cohesive textual tradition, arguing instead that D05 should be understood as an *evolving text*, consisting of multiple textual layers without any trace of unified editorial activity. The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM), together with detailed internal considerations, is used to show that it is possible to differentiate intermediary variants in Acts 5:38–39 between the shorter readings in B03 (Codex Vaticanus) and the longer ones in D05. Such intermediary textual stages are also found among the so-called Western readings, revealing how Gamaliel tradition gradually grew over time as new pieces were added to the text from various sources. These findings challenge the notion of the Western text as a definable textual entity.

Keywords: Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, Acts of the Apostles, Textual Criticism, Gamaliel the Elder, Western Text, Coherence-Based Genealogical Method, Textual Evolution

Ever since scholars began to classify New Testament manuscripts into groups according to their textual characteristics, Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D05)[1] has been seen as the foremost witness of the Western[2] text,[3] a term that refers to a text-type, cluster, recension, edition, or redaction (also known as trajectory).[4] Assumed in some of these models (viz., edition and

[1] Codex Bezae is a fifth-century bilingual manuscript that includes the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in Greek (D05) and Latin (d5). These two versions are treated as separate texts, since they are not identical, though they bear evidence of influences on one another. Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 70–71, 103.

[2] Recent scholarship has questioned whether the conventional textual groups, *Alexandrian*, *Western*, and *Byzantine*, groups ever existed. See, e.g., Holger Strutwolf, "Alexandrian, Western, Byzantine? The Theory of Local Text Types: A Plea for a Paradigm Shift in New Testament Textual Research" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Washington, DC, 19 November 2006). I use the terms here as a matter of convenience.

[3] The first firm basis for the classification of New Testament manuscripts was given by Johann Bengel (1687–1752). See Thomas Hartwell Horne, John Ayre, and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, eds., *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, vol. 4, 13th ed. (London: Longmans, Green, 1872), 66–70.

[4] For more information about these models, see Eldon Jay Epp, "Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary*

recension) is the attribution of the Western text of Acts to a particular individual.[5] Others (viz., redaction and trajectory) see it as the result of a long process that took place over multiple stages,[6] while the rest (viz., text-type and cluster) fall somewhere in between the two.[7] Whether this text is associated with D05 as a whole[8] or located in the variants where D05 agrees with other important Western witnesses,[9] it is maintained that in D05 or beneath its more recent layers exists an early and distinctive Western text. This is often justified by comparing the text of D05 against Codex Vaticanus (B03), which is seen as representing the other textual form of Acts, known as the Alexandrian text.[10] For years, however, different scholars have observed that the witnesses of the Western text, though sharing many readings, significantly differ from

Research: Essays on the Status Questionis, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed., NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill 2013), 519–77; Georg Gäbel, "Western Text, D-Text Cluster, Bezan Trajectory, Or What Else?—A Preliminary Study," in *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior; The Acts of the Apostles* [hereafter *ECM*], Holger Strutwolf et al. eds. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017), III/3: 83–136.

5 Friedrich Blass, *Euangelium secundum Lucam sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber prior, secundum formam quae videtur Romanam* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897), XLII; Albert C. Clark, *The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1914), VI–VII; James Hardy Ropes, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Text of Acts*, vol. 3.1 of *The Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan, 1926), esp. CCXXIII; P. H. Menoud, "The Western Text and the Theology of Acts," SNTS Bulletin 2 (1951): 19–32; C. K. Barrett, "Is There a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament presented to Matthew Black*, ed. Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 15–27; W. A. Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 185–89; Michael W. Holmes, "Codex Bezae as a Recension of the Gospels," in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, ed. D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux, NTTS 22 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1996), 123–60.

6 Although the redaction/trajectory model underlines the nature of change in the Western text, it is nevertheless dependent on the assumption of some main redaction (Hauptredaktion), which explains the agreements between D05 and other Western witnesses. Barbara Aland, "Entstehung, Charakter und Herkunft des sogenannten westlichen Textes untersucht an der Apostelgeschichte," *ETL* 62 (1985): 5–65, esp. 22–23, 63; Georg Gäbel, "The Text of 𝔓127 (P.Oxy. 4968) and Its Relationship with the Text of Codex Bezae," *NovT* 53 (2011): 107–52, esp. 150–52.

7 It seems that there is no clear-cut definition of text-types or the Western text within the text-type/cluster model. Some in favor of this model understand the Western text as a textual revision, while others underscore the nature of change of all text-types or argue that the Western text was the result of a wild textual growth. See, e.g., Ernest C. Colwell, "Method in Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, NTTS 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 1–25, esp. 15; Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 276, 307; Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, *Fundamentals of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 78.

8 Jenny Read-Heimerdinger and Josep Rius-Camps, *Acts 1.1–5.42: Jerusalem*, vol. 1 of *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition*, JSNTSup 257 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 10.

9 This group of Western witnesses includes manuscripts such as Greek papyri 𝔓38, 𝔓48 and 𝔓127, Latin-Greek majuscules Codex Bezae and Codex Laudianus (E08), minuscules 383 and 614, Latin Palimpsestus Floriacensis (h55), Codex Gigas (gig), Coptic Codex Glazier (mae), and Syriac Harclean (sy^{h**}). See, e.g., Eldon Epp, "Text-Critical Witnesses and Methodology for Isolating a Distinctive D-Text in Acts," *NovT* 59 (2017): 225–96, esp. 232–23.

10 See Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, SNTSMS 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), esp. 1–40.

one another, bringing into question the very existence of such a text.[11] Thus, we must ask ourselves if there ever was such a thing as the Western text. How should we then understand Acts in D05, if we discard the notion that some cohesive Western entity exists within its text?

Georg Gäbel concludes in his recent study that there is no need for the main redaction hypothesis (contrary to his earlier claims) to explain the text of D05. He uses, instead, the enigmatic term *many variants*, even though he sees some redactional activity in long and elaborate variants.[12] I think, however, that David Parker is correct in suggesting that D05 is not a defined text but a *genre* or *free text*. Comparing the Greek and Latin columns, Parker concludes that the text of D05 emerged "due to evolution rather than a single comprehensive revision."[13] This point of view is adopted here, approaching D05 as an *evolving text*, according to the genealogical method, which treats manuscripts as individual witnesses.[14] This evolutionary perspective[15] can enrich our studies, since it discounts the need to seek out some theological mastermind, recension, or edition behind the textual changes. Instead, we can move from this static view to a living picture of our manuscripts, enabling us to account for all aspects of a given manuscript without the need to fit them into some wider theological idea or identify them as characteristics of some text-type.[16] The texts were the subjects of constant change, adapting to the surrounding social-theological environment.[17] Although these ideas are not new, they can be evaluated for the first time with new computational-based tools, such as the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM), developed at the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) by Gerd Mink.[18]

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11 Ernest C. Colwell, "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," in Colwell, *Studies in Methodology*, 56–62; David Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 171; Klaus Wachtel, "On the Relationship of the 'Western Text' and the Byzantine Tradition of Acts—A Plea Against the Text Type Concept," in *ECM* III/3: 137–48.

12 Gäbel, "Western Text," 124, 133–34.

13 David Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 280, 284; Parker, *Introduction*, 289.

14 Westcott and Hort combined the genealogical method of Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) with the earlier grouping approach. Genealogical method, however, treats manuscripts as individual witnesses. Strictly speaking, there is no place for families or classes within the genealogical approach. See Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix to the Text Revised* (New York: Harper, 1882), 39–66; Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 48.

15 The evolutionary point of view is seen as a direct descendant of the genealogical approach, giving a more dynamic view of the interaction between the texts and the surrounding social-theological environment. This approach entirely rejects the ideas of teleological or progressive evolution, as in evolution biology, using the notion of evolution as a tool to describe processes in manuscripts. See Yii-Jan Lin, *The Erotic Life of Manuscripts: New Testament Textual Criticism and the Biological Sciences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 136–37.

16 See Epp's point of view concerning the matter in "Methodology for Isolating," 227.

17 It seems that B. H. Streeter was the first to borrow such notions from Darwin's theory of evolution for the purposes of New Testament textual criticism. See B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan, 1924), esp. 35–39; D. W. Riddle, "Textual Criticism as a Historical Discipline," *AThR* 18 (1936): 220–33; David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 79–80; Lin, *Erotic Life*, 77–86.

18 Gerd Mink, "Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition: The New Testament Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses," in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, ed. Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander, and Margot van Mulken, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Benjamins 2004), 13–85; Mink, "CBGM Presentation" (presented at the Münster Colloquium on the Textual His-

CBGM uses the computer program Genealogical Queries[19] to evaluate genealogical relationships between individual manuscript texts. It combines computational analysis with subjective philological judgments that are based on the conventional canons of textual criticism, taking into account external and internal evidence alike.[20] Thus, it can be seen as a kind of hybrid between statistical analysis and traditional textual-critical methods.[21] While CBGM tells us nothing about why different readings came into being, it does open up new avenues into the evaluation of the genealogical structure of Acts.

I approach CBGM here as a toolbox that provides information for tracking different textual states of a single manuscript. While there have been many studies about the different layers of Codex Bezae,[22] I will show that one is able to differentiate multiple layers even within the earliest Western readings—that is, when D05 agrees with other important Western witnesses in one place of variation.[23] This undermines the possibility that some early cohesive text could have existed in D05.[24] Thus, Codex Bezae can be seen as an accretion of multiple textual layers, comprising material from different texts and New Testament manuscripts that point to its evolving nature.[25] To my knowledge, this is the first time that CBGM has been applied for such a study. There are, however, particular obstacles for applying CBGM to Codex Bezae that must be addressed.

The main challenge is that D05 vastly differs from all other witnesses (also from other Western witnesses), meaning that Codex Bezae does not have any particularly close relatives. This implies that D05 represents a textual branch of the New Testament along which most witnesses have been lost in time, distancing Codex Bezae from the other witnesses and preventing CBGM from drawing a close relationship between D05 and any other manuscript.[26] The lack of close relatives is a problem, since the purpose of this investigation is to reconstruct the textual history that might have led to the text of D05 in Acts 5:38–39. Thus, the same lack of homogeneity that was noted earlier in connection with the Western text is also a major ques-

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tory of the Greek New Testament, Münster, 3–6 August 2008); Tommy Wasserman and Peter J. Gurry, *A New Approach to Textual Criticism: An Introduction to the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017).

19 The program version containing Acts is available in Genealogical Queries for Acts (Phase 4), http://ntg.cceh.uni-koeln.de/ph4/.

20 The external evidence or criteria pertain to the manuscripts and their texts themselves, while internal criteria focuses on philological and paleographical evidence. In other words, CBGM accounts for all existing evidence of New Testament manuscripts. Klaus Wachtel, "Towards a Redefinition of External Criteria: The Role of Coherence in Assessing the Origin of Variants," in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, TS 3/6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 109–27, esp. 114.

21 Lin, *Erotic Life*, 124–25.

22 Aland, "Entstehung," 5–65; Holmes, "Codex Bezae as a Recension," 123–60; Gäbel, "Text of 𝔓127," 107–52.

23 According to Epp, one reaches the D-Text (the Western text), when two or three primary witnesses of this textual cluster agree in a given variation unit. See Epp, "Textual Clusters," 567.

24 This study picks up where Gäbel left off in "Western Text" by concluding that there is no unified redactional activity to be seen along the long and elaborate variants of D05 in Acts 5:38–39. See Gäbel, "Western Text," 134.

25 It seems that INTF sees the term *evolution* as somewhat problematic for describing the texts of the New Testament. I will, however, demonstrate that it indeed describes the phenomena we are seeing in D05 well. See Lin, *Erotic Life*, 173–81.

26 Klaus Wachtel acknowledges this limitation when he admits that CBGM does not provide the appropriate tools for studying the Western text in *ECM* III/1.1: 31*; Mink, "Problems," 22.

tion for the genealogical approach. Some critics have bypassed this problem by ignoring minor differences between the Western witnesses and by concentrating on the big picture.[27]

Due to these factors, I am obliged to rely more on internal reasoning—in other words, determining which reading best explains the rise of other variants that concur, for instance, with the style, vocabulary, and argumentation of the author. According to Mink, the weaker the pregenealogical coherence (i.e., the amount of agreements between witnesses) is between different readings, the more internal evidence is needed to establish a genealogical relationship between variants.[28] I comply herein with this principle, adopting the following procedure. First, the theoretical framework of CBGM, outlined below, and the data provided by Genealogical Queries for Acts are taken as a starting point for analysis. In this first stage, I evaluate the different interpretative possibilities that the data of Acts 5:38–39 yield.[29] Second, the insights and ideas from the first stage are advanced by detailed internal reasoning. This way, it is possible to make use the data of CBGM without being restricted to its limitations around D05.[30] The Gamaliel tradition in D05 is used in this context as an exemplar, since we can see here how the tradition gradually grew over time as new pieces were added to the text.

Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM)

The Contamination and Coincidental Emergence of Variants

CBGM comes as a direct response to some of the most difficult textual critical problems of the New Testament—that is, the contamination and coincidental emergence of variants.[31] The answers to these problems are integral to understanding the history of the New Testament, since the changes between manuscripts do not, according to CBGM, originate in a certain edition or recension as has been earlier assumed.[32] Instead, the differences result from a process of contamination, meaning that scribes used more than one manuscript, or source, in the process of copying a given text. This is a crucial point, since the textual tradition of the New Testament is heavily contaminated.[33] This does not, however, mean that the texts of the New Testament were exposed to radical eclecticism, since scribes used texts that were in their disposal, and these were, for the most part, closely related to one another.[34] In some cases, scribes invented new readings, which occasionally led to the coincidental emergence of variants—that is, the same reading can be found in texts that are not closely related.[35]

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27 Epp, "Textual Clusters," 561–62; "Methodology for Isolating," 229, 233, 282.

28 Mink, "CBGM Presentation," 192.

29 CBGM does not make the decisions for the critic but gives tools and evidence on the basis of which we can make decisions. Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 25, 31.

30 I agree here the conclusions made by Wachtel that in order to deal the problems of the Western text one should focus on individual witnesses and their relations with one another and on the Western variants. Wachtel, "'Western' Text and Byzantine Traditions," 147–48.

31 Mink, "Problems," 24; Parker, *Introduction*, 169; Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 21–26.

32 On how scholarly views on the Byzantine text have changed, see Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in the Original Greek*, 132–35; Parker, *Introduction* 305–8; Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel, "The Greek Minuscule of the New Testament," in Ehrman and Holmes, *Text of The New Testament*, 69–91.

33 Mink, "Problems," 13; Parker, *Introduction*, 167; Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach,* 22.

34 Mink, "Problems," 14; Wachtel, "Towards a Redefinition," 113.

35 Although this possibility is not excluded, the basic assumption is that scribes preferred to copy the texts with fidelity. See Mink, "Problems of a Highly-Contaminated Tradition," 25.

Since scribes used texts that were closely related to one another and their primary goal was to copy the text with fidelity rather than to invent new readings, it follows that a basic coherence can be detected between the texts—that is, all New Testament witnesses are related to one another. Starting with this basic coherence, CBGM can identify loci of contamination and coincidental emergences of variants, since it detects every disturbance in basic coherence, which in turn points to the creative work of separate scribes.[36]

Because of the heavy contamination of the textual tradition of the New Testament and the creative work of the scribes, each manuscript of the New Testament contains readings from different times.

Genealogical and Pregenealogical Coherence

To determine the genealogical relationships between individual New Testament texts and the different points of coherence among them, large amount of quantitative data are needed.[37] As it happens, the Genealogical Queries of CBGM offers us just that. The most important and representative Greek manuscripts are digitally stored in its database, and a local stemma is constructed from every point of variation along with a hypothesis about which variant precedes the other.[38] The editors base these local stemmata on the conventional text-critical evidence, external and internal alike, to determine which readings are most likely original.[39] However, in CBGM, proportional agreements between witnesses are also counted—that is, agreements between texts.[40] This sort of coherence, which describes how closely texts relate to one another, is called pregenealogical coherence.[41] If, for instance, we assume that variant *a* is the source of variant *b*, the witnesses that contain these variants must be closely related to one another—that is, the level of proportional agreement has to be relatively high.[42] If the pregenealogical coherence is low, it is unlikely that there is a genealogical connection between the variants. However, this description does not indicate the direction of textual flow—that is, which texts represent earlier textual states relative to others.[43] To determine the direction of textual development, we need to look at a separate criterion of coherence, that of genealogical coherence.

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36 Tommy Wasserman, "Criteria for Evaluating Readings in New Testament Textual Criticism," in Ehrman and Holmes, *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 579–612, esp. 596; Wasserman, "The Coherence Based Genealogical Method as a Tool for Explaining Textual Changes in the Greek New Testament," *NovT* 57 (2015): 206–18.

37 Computers can process vast amounts of data, keeping track of all witnesses and their locus in the history of transmission. This makes it unnecessary to group witnesses into a few premeditated types. Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 9.

38 The selection is based on test passages (Teststellen), where nearly all continuous Greek manuscripts are collated to identify which of these deserve closer examination. In Acts, this means that 550 Greek manuscripts were collated from 104 test passages. From these, 183 Greek witnesses were chosen for the critical apparatus of *ECM* Acts, resulting in 7446 variation units. *ECM* III/1.1: 28*; Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 29–31, 37–38, 112–13.

39 Wachtel, "Towards a Redefinition," 114; Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 31.

40 Gerd Mink, "Guide to '*Genealogical Queries*' (Version 2.0)," http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbgm2/guide_en.html.

41 Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 27–28.

42 The average agreement level, for example, in Catholic Letters between witnesses is 87.6 percent. Gerd Mink, "Contamination, Coherence and Coincidence in Textual Transmission: The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) as a Complement and Corrective to Existing Approaches," in Wachtel and Holmes, *Textual History of the Greek New Testament*, 141–216, esp. 157.

43 Mink, "Problems," 16; "CBGM Presentation," 146–47.

Due to the active work of the scribes of each manuscript, each manuscript text is effectively an amalgamation of different textual states. It is nevertheless possible to determine whether each text is a potential ancestor or descendant of any given witness by measuring the amount of prior and posterior readings.[44] In the local stemmata, each source variant is prior and each developed form posterior. If witness *x* has more prior readings than witness *y*, then *x* is likely a potential ancestor of *y*. That is, potential ancestors are those witnesses that contain a higher proportion of prior readings than posterior ones in comparison with each given witness. This genealogical coherence is directed such that textual flow runs predominantly from potential ancestors to potential descendants, assuming that there is a general textual flow from earlier to later textual states.[45] Here, it is not the age but the textual state of the manuscript that matters, since a relatively recent manuscript could contain a relatively old text. This possibility is the primary reason why CBGM is oriented at texts rather than manuscripts.[46]

This coherence-based method can be successfully applied only if a significant number of coherencies exist between witnesses; however, as was pointed out above, D05 has extremely little coherence with all other manuscripts. While, for example, the witnesses of the Alexandrian text have agreement rates exceeding 90 percent, D05 has the highest pregenealogical coherence in Acts with 𝔓^{74}, with an agreement rate of 68.8 percent. In addition, D05 has an extremely high number of potential ancestors but only one potential descendant, 𝔓^{127}. This suggests that the readings of D05 are often secondary, though not in every place of variation, as will become clear in the following analysis.

Even though CBGM cannot closely relate D05 with any other manuscript due to its low number of coherencies, it is possible, I argue, to reconstruct genealogies by using internal considerations as a kind of additional method for narrowing the gap between D05 and the other witnesses. This can be achieved by focusing on individual readings and their relations with one another in one place of variation. Whenever poor coherencies limit the drawing of relevant genealogical relationships, internal considerations can be used to delve deeper into the history of the text and draw possible links between variants, even when manuscripts that carries these readings are not closely related.[48]

Evolving Gamaliel Tradition

Preliminary Remarks

In the narrative of Acts 5:14, more and more people have been joining ranks with the burgeoning Christian movement, when the Sadducees lose their patience and begin to arrest the apostles (5:17–18). Peter, John, and other apostles are brought before the Sanhedrin. However, the apostles do not show any sign of remorse, bravely accusing the council members of Sanhedrin of killing Jesus. The council is enraged by this accusation, and its members express their desire to kill the apostles, when a Pharisee by the name of Gamaliel (Φαρισαῖος ὀνόματι Γαμαλιήλ) suddenly emerges onto the scene (5:34) and orders the apostles to be led out while he addresses his colleagues.

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44 Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 28–29.

45 Mink, "Problems," 31, 114, 156–60.

46 Mink, "Problems," 29; Wachtel, "Towards a Redefinition," 113; Wasserman, "Criteria," 597.

47 Wachtel, "'Western' Text and Byzantine Traditions," 142; *ECM* III/1.1: 31*.

48 I want to emphasize that these ideas are my interpretations of CBGM and how it can be used in connection with D05 and the Western text, though still based on the ideas of Mink and Wachtel in Mink, "CBGM Presentation," 192; Wachtel, "'Western' Text and Byzantine Traditions," 148.

Gamaliel is described as a teacher of the law (νομοδιδάσκαλος), highly respected among his fellow Jews (τίμιος παντὶ τῷ λαῷ). It seems that later Jewish tradition also saw him as the embodiment of unadulterated Pharisaism: "When Rabban Gamaliel the elder died, the glory of the Torah ceased, and purity and abstention perished" (m. Sotah 9:15). Thus, even though Gamaliel died already in 62 CE, he was remembered and continued to be honored, and his reputation was probably also familiar to the first readers of Luke.[49] Luke styles Gamaliel as a man of authority, one who orders the apostles to be led out for a brief period of time. Regardless of the historicity of this detail, it gives the impression that Gamaliel commanded considerable influence over the Sanhedrin, despite his depiction in Luke-Acts as merely one of the member of the Sanhedrin (τις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ).[50] Luke likewise wanted to connect this famous teacher to his own teacher, Paul (22:3), though Paul himself is completely silent about his own relationship with Gamaliel.[51] Gamaliel asks the council to think hard about what they plan on doing with these men, reminding them that the earlier movements had enjoyed support for some time but dissipated in the end, since they were not of God (5:36–37). If this new movement is of God, they can do nothing about it (5:38–39). These ideas resonate with the Pharisaic teaching that God is lord over all and needs no help from man to fulfill his purposes.[52]

In Acts 5:38–39, we come across some interesting textual variations. Table 1 compares the readings of B03 (Codex Vaticanus) and D05 with all other relevant readings and their witnesses. It should be noted that, in this analysis, these codices are not seen as representatives of text-types, textual groups, or families. B03 is rather understood as a codex close in time to the starting point of the textual tradition.[53] D05, on the other hand, contains a much later textual state than that of B03. Hence, these manuscripts must be located at different stages in the textual evolution of Acts.

In table 1, the texts of B03 and D05 can be seen to differ significantly from one another. The main question to ask here, then, is whether we can find intermediary readings between the texts of B03 and D05 or whether there exists a cohesive early textual entity in D05, known as the Western text, which would explain its variant readings.[54]

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[49] Read-Heimerdinger and Rius-Camps, *Acts 1.1–5.42*, 351.

[50] Interestingly, D05 contains the reading ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, meaning either "a certain Pharisee from the Sanhedrin" or "a certain member of the Sanhedrin, a Pharisee." Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB 31 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 339; Read-Heimerdinger and Rius-Camps, *Acts 1.1–5.42*, 347.

[51] Though his past as a Pharisee is well known: Gal 1:13–14; Phil 3:5–6.

[52] F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, rev. ed. NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 114–16; Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 250.

[53] Perhaps it is not surprising that, even in the diagrams of CBGM, Codex Vaticanus is still the most reliable manuscripts—that is, representing the oldest known text as a whole. See, e.g., Wasserman, "Criteria," 599.

[54] It is alarming how casually textual critics have treated this passage as one coherent tradition. See Epp, *Theological tendency*, 130–32; Epp, "Methodology for Isolating," 282–83; Read-Heimerdinger and Rius-Camps, *Acts 1.1–5.42*, 349–54.

Table 1. Comparison of B03 and D05

B03	D05
38 καὶ [1] νῦν	38 καὶ τὰ[1] νῦν
	εἰσὶν[2] ἀδελφοί[3]
λέγω ὑμῖν	λέγω ὑμεῖν
ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ τῶν	ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων τούτων	ἀνθρώπων τούτων
καὶ ἄφετε[2]	καὶ ἐάσατε[4]
αὐτούς	αὐτούς
	μὴ μιάναντες τὰς χεῖρας[5]
ὅτι ἐὰν ᾖ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων	ὅτι ἐὰν ᾖ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη	ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη
ἢ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο,	ἢ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο,
καταλυθήσεται,	καταλυθήσεται,
39 εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστιν,	39 εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστιν,
οὐ δυνήσεσθε καταλῦσαι	οὐ δυνήσεσθε καταλῦσαι
αὐτούς,	αὐτοὺς,
	οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς
	οὔτε τύραννοι[6]
	ἀπέχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν
	ἀνθρώπων τούτων[7]
μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε.	μήποτε θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε
ἐπείσθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ	...ἐπεισ...ες δὲ αὐτῷ

[1] om B03 E08 1884
[2] 𝔓[74] ℵ01 A02 B03 C04 Ψ044 88 915 1175 1409 1642

[1] 𝔓[74] ℵ01 A02 C04 D05 𝔐
[2] D05
[3] D05 d5[55] h55 mae
[4] D05 E08 014 025 049 0140 33 35 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 𝔐
[5] D05 d5 mae; μὴ μολύνοντες τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν E08 1884 e50 h55
[6] D05 876 913 1611 2138 d5 h55 sy[h**] mae; οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν E08 1884 e50 gig51 ar61
[7] D05 913 d5 h55 mae; ἀπόσχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων 431 614 876 1127 1292 1611 2138 2401 2412 sy[h**]

Analysis

Acts 5:38/24[56]

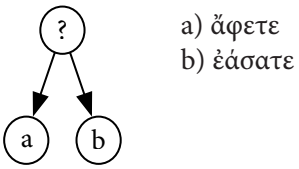
The first reading of D05 to consider is that of ἐάσατε ("leave; let alone"), included in D05, but, in B03, we find ἄφετε ("let go, set free, leave alone"). The reading of B03 (ἄφετε) is witnessed by the prominent majuscules ℵ01 A02 B03 C04 and 𝔓[74], suggesting that the text is very early, though, as Mink himself warns, decisions cannot be made in favor of some variant simply because it is found in B03, despite being the closest witness to the hypothetical initial text.[57]

[55] For the sake of clarity, all Latin witnesses are identified in the following analysis by combining the systems of Gryson and Nestle-Aland, resulting in a letter-number combination. See *ECM* III/2: 136.
[56] The system used in this analysis is that of *ECM*, wherein the variant address is entered based on chapter, verse, and word number of the beginning and end of the variant passage, with the letter representing the variant reading. See *ECM* III/1.1: 24–5*.
[57] In the context of CBGM, this refers to the starting point of the textual tradition, not the original text as such. See Mink, "Problems," 25–27; Mink, "Contamination," 203.

Interestingly, D05 here contains a variant that is supported by the majority of our witnesses, which means that this is not a Western variant as such. We can use the data of CBGM more readily in this variation unit, with fewer internal considerations needed, since the poor coherence is not a major problem here as it is in variation units that contain Western readings.[58] It is, nevertheless, possible that D05 represents here an older textual stage than that of B03, despite the secondary nature of D05 as a whole.

Figure 1 below diagrams the local stemma of this place of variation, the hypothesis about the relationship between different readings in this variation unit. As can be seen, there is some uncertainty in the stemma, since the source variant is left open, indicated by a question mark. The following graphs and figures are available in Genealogical Queries for Acts (phase 4), module coherence and textual flow.[59]

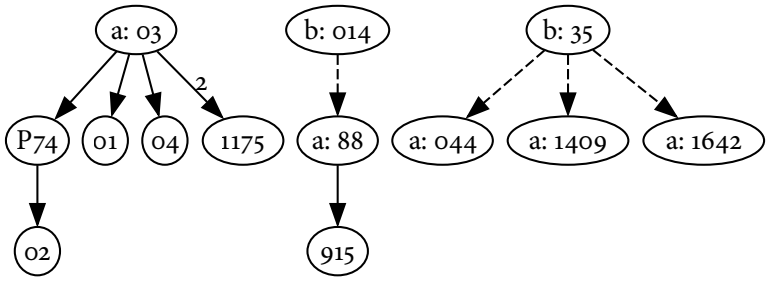
Figure 1. Local Stemma of Acts 5:38/24



The editors could not agree on or decide how readings *a* and *b* developed, so they left the source variant here open. This may suggest that there is not sufficient pregenealogical coherence between these variants, meaning that the witnesses containing readings *a* and *b* are not closely related and that it is subsequently difficult to establish a genealogical relationship between these readings.[60]

In the textual flow diagram below (fig. 2), on the other hand, reading *b* seems to be the source of reading *a*:

Figure 2. Coherence in Attestation of 5:38/24a (ἄφετε)



This figure displays the relationships between the witnesses containing reading *a*. Here, we see that B03 agrees with all other well-known manuscripts, such as ℵ01 (Sinaiticus) and A02 (Alexandrinus). B03 is displayed as the closest potential ancestor of 𝔓[74], ℵ01, and C04, as well as the second-most potential ancestor of 1175, indicated by the 2 along the shaft of the arrow in the diagram. On the other hand, there are four other witnesses—namely, 88, 044, 1409, and 1642—that contain the same reading while not being closely related to B03 (or even to one another); instead, their closest potential ancestors are 014 and 35, the latter two containing read-

[58] This is because D05 has numerous non-Western manuscripts to support it in this variation unit. When the Western elements prevail, the coherence with other witnesses is weaker and vice versa. ECM III/1.1: 31*.

[59] http://ntg.cceh.uni-koeln.de/ph4/.

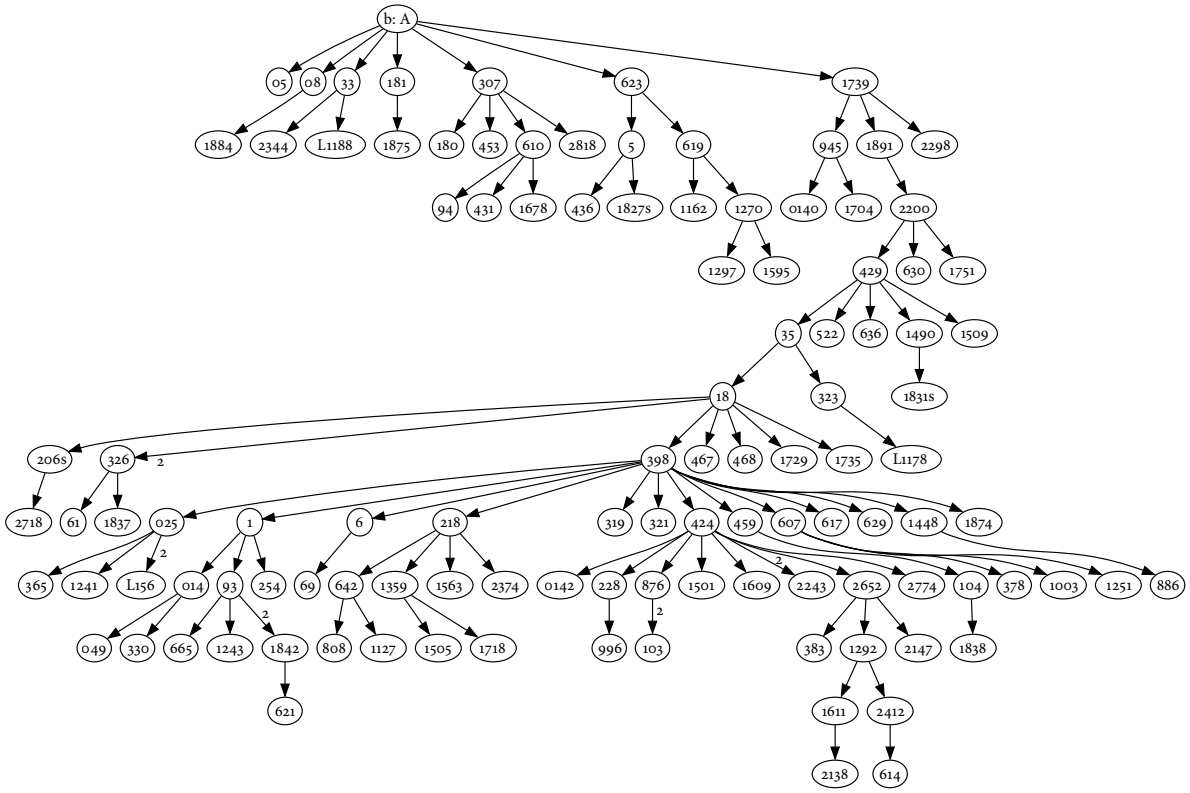
[60] Mink, "CBGM Presentation," 192; Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 30.

ing *b*. This is indicated by the dashed arrows drawn from 014 and 35.[61] The value of connectivity is set to 5, meaning that the program is set to search for 5 of the closest potential ancestors within the same attestation.[62] If potential ancestors are not found, the program then searches for them from the attestations of other variants.[63] Since 014 and 35 were detected as the closest potential ancestor of 88, 044, 1409, and 1642, there must be strong pregenealogical coherence between these witnesses. For example, the agreements between 014 and 88 or between 35 and 1409 are over 90 percent, meaning that the relationship is relatively strong.

This diagram also suggests that variant *a* arose several times independently, since the reading is found on witnesses that are not closely related, downgrading its position as a source variant[64]—that is, there has to exist a close relationship between different attestations in one place of the variation to determine genealogical relationship between the different variants.[65] As has been pointed out above, there is good pregenealogical coherence between 014 and 88, as well as 35 and 1409. Despite the uncertainty in the local stemma depicted in figure 1, there seems to be evidence to suggest that *b* is the source of *a*.

We can find additional evidence in support of this view in figure 3, which depicts the level of coherence of the reading *b* ἐάσατε. Here, the value of connectivity was also set to 5 and the hypothetical initial text (A) added to the calculations.

Figure 3. Coherence in Attestation of 5:38/24b (ἐάσατε)



[61] See further Mink, "CBGM Presentation," 207–17; Mink, "Problems," 43–44.

[62] A connectivity value of 1 was also applied without any significant change. I do not want to lower or raise this value, since the variant in question represents, at least to my mind, a reading that was relatively easy for scribes to produce, though not perhaps without a source. See more Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 68–69.

[63] Wachtel, "Towards a Redefinition," 116–17; Mink, "CBGM Presentation," 214.

[64] For example, the pregenealogical coherence between 044 and 1175 is under 85 percent.

[65] Mink, "CBGM Presentation," 180–92; Mink, "Contamination," 158–59.

As we can see, the initial text (A) is displayed as the closest potential ancestor of not just one, but seven different witnesses: D05, E08, 33, 181, 307, 623, and 1739. Nearly all descendants are connected to their most closely related ancestor. There are only 5 descendants connected with second-most closely related ancestors. More importantly, it seems that this reading arose only once, since all witnesses are connected to each other. This is an example of perfect coherence, where the position of the source variant is clearly indicated.[66] This diagram suggests that the reading ἐάσατε arose only once and possesses stronger genealogical coherence than the variant ἄφετε, making reading *b* a strong candidate for the source variant in this locus of variation.

It must, nevertheless, be acknowledged that witnesses 𝔓74, א01, A02, B03, C04, and 1175, which contain variant ἄφετε, are all closely related to the hypothetical initial text, the agreement value ranging from 93 percent to 96 percent. Due to this close proximity to the initial text, it is possible that these witnesses contain the source variant also in this variation unit. The internal evidence, however, supports the *b* –> *a* hypothesis.

That is, ἐάω is characteristic in Acts, while ἀφίημι is practically unused. While Luke does often use ἀφίημι in his gospel (31x),[67] he does not, for whatever reason, make use of the verb in Acts. Apart from 5:38, ἀφίημι is found only in 8:22 and 14:17. On the other hand, ἐάω is a relatively rare word in the whole of the New Testament, found only eleven times, seven (or eight if we count Acts 5:38) of which occur in Acts (14:16; 16:7; 19:30; 23:32; 27:32, 40; 28:4). Thus, in Acts, ἐάω is much more characteristic of Luke word than ἀφίημι, so that, in Acts 5:38, Luke would likely have preferred ἐάω to ἀφίημι.

I argue, then, that the reading of D05, at this locus of variation, represents the oldest known textual layer.[68] This means that the local stemma in figure 1 should be revised so that *b* is given as the source variant and *a* as being derived from it; thus, *b* –> *a*. In other words, even in places where D05 contradicts B03, D05 should not automatically be assumed to be secondary.[69] This should serve as a reminder that no surviving witness should be considered immune to scribal alterations or mistakes, not even Codex Vaticanus.[70]

Acts 5:39/19

In verse 39, Gamaliel warns the members of the Sanhedrin that there is nothing they can do if the movement of the apostles is of God. At first, this statement sounds strange, uttered from the mouth of the famous teacher of the law, but the sentiment in fact follows sound Jewish theology. The same idea is found already in Deut 18:21–22 as well as in the Mishnah:

> Every gathering that is for the sake of Heaven, its end is to endure. And every gathering that is not for the sake of Heaven, its end is not to endure.… Every argument that is for (the sake of) heaven's name, it is destined to endure. But if it is not for (the sake of) heaven's name, it is not destined to endure. (m. Abot 4:11; 5:17)[71]

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[66] Mink, "CBGM Presentation," 225–28; Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 62–63.

[67] Matthew uses the word most frequently, with 47 instances.

[68] This conclusion is worth highlighting, since it also departs from that of NA28. In *ECM* III/1.1: 168, however, the initial text (the source) is left open.

[69] Although Menoud believed that D05 (with B03) represents a recension of a lost primitive text, he maintained that every textual change of D05 should be scrutinized in isolation from one another. See Menoud, "Western Text," 20–21.

[70] Another poignant example of a secondary reading of B03 is the missing article τά in 5:38/4.

[71] See further Fitzmyer, *Acts of the Apostles*, 341; C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 1 of *Preliminary Introduction and Commentary on Acts 1-14*, repr. ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 297–98; Bruce, *Book of the Acts*, 117; Bock, *Acts*, 251–52.

Some scribes, however, apparently thought that the text needed reinforcing, since we find in D05 the following addition, which is absent from B03: οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι, ἀπέχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων ("neither you, nor kings, nor tyrants; thus, keep away from these men"). This addition makes it clear that not even the most powerful people on earth could stop these men, if their mission was of God.[72] The variant of B03 (omission) represents, in this variation unit, a much earlier textual layer than that of D05. As can be seen from table 1, the prominent Western witnesses D05, Latin d5, and h55, along with Coptic mae,[73] contain this addition. Thus, we have here a long, elaborate Western variant that suggests some coherent layer within the text of D05.[74] Does this long variant point to redaction, some editorial activity, or even a particular textual cluster?[75]

To maintain an evolutionary point of view, intermediary variants would have to be sought out between B03 and D05. There are, in fact, witnesses with high probabilities for representing the intermediary stage between these codices. In minuscules 431, 614,[76] 1127, 1292, 2401,[77] and 2412, there is the simple exhortation ἀπόσχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων. On the other hand, Greek E08, 1884 and Latin e50, gig51, and ar61 contain οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, which resembles the first part of the longer addition of D05. Thus, it seems that the long addition of D05 might have been constructed from separate parts. The question then becomes whether we can genealogically connect the shorter readings to the longer one in D05.

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72 See Barrett, *Acts 1–14*, 297.

73 Codex Glazier contains several Western readings, but here it is unclear whether mae represents the variant in question or the other long addition. For the sake of convenience, mae is here seen as agreeing with D05. See *ECM* III/1.1: 169.

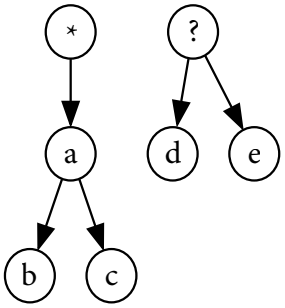
74 These are the types of variants that caused Gäbel to propose that "it is plausible to assume some redactional activity, and in still others, it may be necessary to posit a main redaction in order to explain long, elaborate variants shared by several witnesses of the Bezan Trajectory." Gäbel, "Western Text," 134.

75 This variant fits well with Epp's method of triangulation of witnesses, which focuses on these types of agreements between the Western witnesses. This reading in particular is important, since there are not three but four primary Western manuscripts (five, if one takes syh** to represent the same reading, since it does not change the meaning) witnessing the reading that is absent from the Alexandrian textual cluster. See Epp, "Textual Clusters," 567–71; Epp, "Methodology for Isolating," 232–37.

76 One is reminded that the minuscule 614 or the group 614 was evaluated by Aland and Gäbel as containing the textual basis for the main redaction. The group 614 (as named by Gäbel) includes the minuscules 383, 614, 1292, 1501, 1751, 2147, 2412, and 2652. Three of these minuscules (614, 1292, and 2412) contain the shorter reading, giving reason to suggest that here we have a part of the common textual base of the main redaction. By looking the diagrams of Genealogical Queries, however, it is evident that the connection between 614 (or the group 614) and D05 is highly exaggerated. Epp has also stated that 614 contains numerous Western readings, but in the chapter 5 of Acts, for example, 614 contains only two other readings that can be seen as Western: additional words in 5:36 (μέγαν) and 5:41 (ἀπόστολοι). The witnesses in the group 614, in addition, seem to be closely related to each other rather than to D05. The differences are so numerous and agreements so scarce between D05 and the other witnesses that I do not see here any ground to explain ἀπόσχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων within the lines of the redaction hypothesis. Epp, "Theological Tendency," 31; Aland, "Entstehung," 22, 63–5; Gäbel, "The Text of 𝔓[127]," 111, 150–51.

77 The transcribing process of this minuscule is unfinished. It is not included in the database of CBGM or the critical apparatus of *ECM* Acts. See the list of the Greek manuscripts included in the critical apparatus in *ECM* III/2: 5–6.

Figure 4. Local Stemma of 5:39/19



a) om
b) οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν
c) ἀπόσχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων
d) οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι ἀπέχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων
e) οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι ἀπόσχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων

The task would certainly be an easy one if the local stemma would indicate the shorter readings as the source variants and the whole addition that we have in D05 as having derived from them. This is not the case, however, as can be seen in figure 4 above, which shows that the editors could not decide on the precise genealogical relations of these attestations. The asterisk in the local stemma represents the initial text from which variant *a* (omission) descended and, from that, the *b* and *c* readings. It is encouraging to see that variant *a* is judged as the source of both *b* and *c*. There are interestingly two longer additions. D05 and minuscule 913[78] are the two Greek witnesses that contain reading *d*, along with Latin d5 and h55 and Coptic mae. There are also three Greek minuscules 876, 1611, 2138, along with Syriac sy^{h**},[79] which contain the other longer reading, *e*. The question remains whether it is possible to connect the shorter readings *b* and *c* to the longer ones, *d* and *e*.

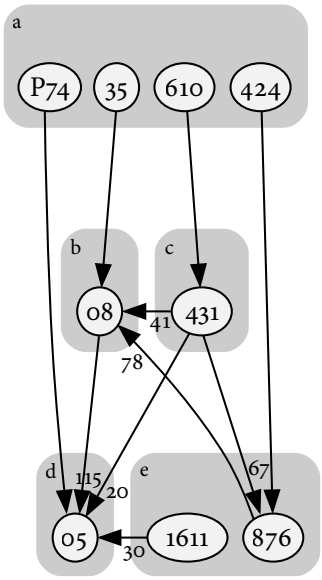
The major problem here is the lack of pregenealogical coherence between the shorter readings and the longer ones, making it difficult to connect these variants with the tools of CBGM. The matter becomes clearer when using the module *coherence at variant passages* in 5:39/19. This module displays relationships not only between variants, but also between witnesses of different variants. The connectivity value is set to *absolute*, since this connects a given witness to any potential ancestor, if it supports another variant. This enables us to test how far one must go to establish a relationship between witnesses of these different variants.[80]

[78] The text of this minuscule is not yet transcribed in the database of INTF, but I am indexing and transcribing it in the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room. Online: http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/.

[79] Contrary to mae, it is quite sure that sy^{h**} contains the other long addition *e*. See *ECM* III/1.1: 169; Epp, "Methodology for Isolating," 236, 283.

[80] This module is found under the module "Coherence and Textual Flow," http://ntg.cceh.uni-koeln.de/acts/ph4/coherence. See Wachtel, "Toward a Redefinition," 116–17; Wasserman and Gurry, *New Approach*, 64–65, 68–69.

Figure 5. Coherence at Variant Passages 5:39/19 (Connectivity Absolute)



This figure supports the hypothesis that variant *a* is the source for all other variants due to the low pregenealogical coherence of any other theory. The relationship between variants *c* and *d* is distant, as minuscule 431 is displayed as the 20th-closest potential ancestor of D05, with a low agreement value (67.5 percent). Other possible genealogical relations are even weaker than this: *c* –> *e* has the ranking number of 67 between 431 and 876, and *b* –> *d* the ranking number 115 between 08 and 05. These numbers testify to the distance between these witnesses, thus preventing any secure establishment of relevant genealogical connections between them. It is, on the other hand, completely impossible to imagine that readings *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e* could have come into being without any influence on one another due to the complex nature of the variants. We are thus obliged to consider the internal evidence.

The internal considerations favor the idea that the longer readings are constructed from different parts. The first part is most likely an allusion to the book of Wisdom: οὔτε βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι δυνήσεταί σοι περὶ ὧν ἀπώλεσας ("No king or ruler on earth can accuse you of punishing those people unfairly," Wis 12:14). The context, however, is the opposite in Wis 12:14: none shall be able defend those whom God has punished.[81] On the other hand, this does not explain the reference to "you" in the longer variants, suggesting that the variant in E08 (οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν) exerted some influence on them. The tone in E08 is more critical and the text directly addresses the assembly and the people represented by them (that is, the Jews): you (Jews and their leaders) are powerless before the apostles. This variant suits rather well an earlier time, when Christ followers were still closely related with Jews, albeit involved in disputes with one another. Variants *d* and *e* instead represent a more universalistic perspective, which better fits later periods, since the text is not directed at Jewish leaders as such but at a much wider audience: absolutely no one in this world is able to stop the apostles—that is, the Christian movement.[82] It is easy to imagine that some scribe wanted to widen the standpoint of the text included in E08, perhaps to make the text better suited to the expanding Christian realm, found useful material from the book of Wisdom, and combined

[81] See Read-Heimerdinger and Rius-Camps, *Acts 1.1–5.42*, 349; Barrett, *Acts 1–14*, 297; Bock, *Acts*, 251–52.

[82] This kind of universalism is one of the peculiarities of D05—for example, 2:17, 47; 4:31. See, e.g., Menoud, "Western Text," 29; Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 66–119.

these two sources.[83] In other words, as the Christian movement gained more followers, New Testament texts were altered to reflect changing circumstances.

The second part of the addition, ἀπόσχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρών τούτων, is relatively neutral, enhancing the defensive aspect of the Gamaliel's speech: keep away from these men. It is a kind of empty repetition of 5:38/24 (ἄφετε/ἐάσατε αὐτοὺς), though it serves as an appropriate connection to the later μήποτε.[84] Thus, it works as a literary device to smooth out the text, a tendency that possibly point to later scribal habits, already detected in the mid-fourth century.[85] We can see here how the two parts of the longer additions have a completely different purpose and tone, suggesting separate origins. Likewise, both οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι and ἀπόσχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων make sense in isolation of one another—that is, they look like separate readings from separate sources. Thus, we can conclude that some innovative scribe must have combined the *b* variant and Wis 12:14 with variant *c*,[86] resulting in the longer readings of *d* and *e*.[87] However, given the fact that a scribe responsible for the variant *e* copied reading *c* verbatim, whereas in D05 (*d* variant) we find small changes, I propose that D05 is dependent on reading *e*, thus representing the latest known textual stage in this variation unit.

The scribe of D05 apparently changed the text from ἀπόσχεσθε to ἀπέχεσθε and from τῶν ἀνδρῶν to τῶν ἀνθρῶπων, since these variations are found only in D05 and 913. The use of ἄνθρωπος is natural, since it is used in every other place that refers to "men" in verses 38 and 39. Thus, we can see this reading as a harmonization with the immediate context of the passage. The use of ἀπέχεσθε can be seen along similar lines, since ἀπόσχεσθε is an otherwise unattested form of ἀπέχω in the New Testament, whereas ἀπέχεσθε and its infinitive form (ἀπέχεσθαι) are much more familiar (Acts 15:20, 29; 1 Thess 4:3; 5:22; 1 Tim 4:3; 1 Pet 2:11).[88] Thus, the scribe of D05 would have harmonized the verses in a way that was familiar to him.

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[83] This concurs with Wachtel's intuition that the use of other sources best explains most of Western variants. Wachtel, "'Western Text' and Byzantine Tradition," 147.

[84] Bernhard Weiss, *Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte: Textkritische Untersuchung* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897), 66.

[85] This smoothing-out tendency of D05—seen, for example, in Acts 1:11, 15, 26; 3:8; 4:8; 7:1, 32—can be interpreted as one of the latest layers of the text, paving the way to later developments that resulted in the ecclesiastical text, serving the purposes of the Byzantine church. This focus on the smoothness of the language is seen already in the mid-fourth century in Cappadocia, as shown by Jean-Francois Racine, *The Text of Matthew in the Writings of Basil of Caesarea* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 349.

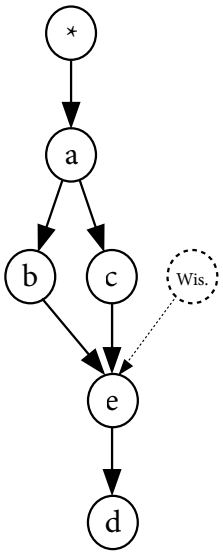
[86] This scribe is not, however, the Western editor or the διορθωτής, as imagined by Holmes in the context of the gospels. There is no sign of unified editorial work in this passage. See Barrett, "Is There a Theological Tendency," 26–27; Barrett, *Acts 1–14*, 297; Holmes, "Codex Bezae as a Recension," 142–50.

[87] This variation unit demonstrates how long and elaborate variants can come into being. Decisions here were made by different individual scribes. The majority of scribes followed the source text, while some made changes or followed another exemplar. Some applied material from other sources. As time passed, these decisions accumulated, forming texts like that which we now have in D05, with its long and elaborate variants. There is no need for any notion of redaction or editorial activity to explain the long, elaborated variants in D05. See Gäbel, "Western Text," 134–35.

[88] It is probable that ἀπέχεσθαι in D05 is an example of the result of faulty hearing, since, from the second century CE onwards, it became difficult to differentiate ε from αι, because they were both pronounced as a short /e/ sound. Thus, -εσθε and -εσθαι would have been pronounced precisely the same way. See Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 255; Eleanor Dickey, "The Greek and Latin Languages in the Papyri," in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 149–69, esp. 152.

Considering all this evidence, the following picture emerges, summarized in the local stemma below.[89] I have also implemented, rather unconventionally, Wis 12:14 to the stemma as a kind of external source. The analysis shows that there is no unified text to be found in 5:39/19 but an accumulation of at least four textual layers beneath D05 that originate from different times, adopted from different sources by different scribes.

Figure 6. Revised Local Stemma of 5:39/19

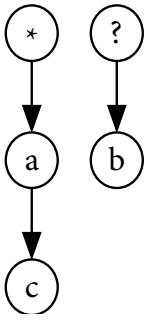


a) om
b) οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν
c) ἀπόσχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων
d) οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι ἀπέχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων
e) οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι ἀπόσχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων

Acts 5:38/27

In this variation unit, D05 and E08, along with minuscule 1884, represent relatively unique textual traditions with slight differences. As we can see, the local stemma in this variation unit is also inconclusive:

Figure 7. Local Stemma of 5:38/27



a) om
b) μὴ μιάναντες τὰς χεῖρας
c) μὴ μολύνοντες τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν

D05, d5, and Coptic mae are the only witnesses with the reading μὴ μιάναντες τὰς χεῖρας ("do not defile the hands").[90] On the other hand, E08, 1884, and Latin e50, along with h55, unani-

[89] Though this graph closely resembles the stemmata produced by CBGM, I coded it myself with Graphviz visualization software. See Emden R. Gansner and Stephen C. North, "An Open Graph Visualization System and Its Applications to Software Engineering," *Software: Practice and Experience* (2000): 1203–33.

[90] It is difficult to decide whether mae contains reading *b* or *c* in this locus of variation. Here, mae is interpreted as containing the reading of D05. See *ECM* III/1.1: 168.

mously read μὴ μολύνοντες τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν ("do not defile your hands").[91] The local stemma indicates that variant *c* descended from *a* (omission), meaning that the shorter text is given priority in this variation unit, while judging *c* as an addition. This raises question of the possible relation between variants *b* and *c*. As can be seen from the stemma, CBGM is unable to genealogically connect these readings to one another due to the poor pregenealogical coherence between D05 and E08 (65.5 percent). However, it would be odd for two separate scribes to have come up with the same theological idea independently from one another, it seems, given the nature of the addition, that a genealogical relationship would exist between these readings.

Both readings most likely refer to Eccl 7:18, since this is the only place where one finds the exact phrase of *defiling hands* in LXX. However, Eccl 7:18 is not without difficulties of its own, since the majority of LXX manuscripts here read καί γε ἀπὸ τούτου μὴ ἀνῇς τὴν χεῖρά σου ("and by this do not relax your hand"). Witnesses א01, A02 and B03, which also contain the Greek Old Testament, have changed μὴ ἀνῇς to μὴ μιάνῃς—thus, "and by this do not defile your hands."[92] The context is somewhat obscure, but the later seems to be an exhortation to abstain from wicked deeds, as in Acts 5:38/27. Thus, we can suggest that scribes responsible for the variants *b* and *c* were familiar with this later textual tradition of Eccl 7:18.

The relationship between E08 and D05 in this variation unit can be seen along similar lines as in 5:39/19, that is, E08 seems to represent older textual stage than D05. In both variation units, E08 exhibits particular interest in the gathered leaders of the Jews, addressing them directly: do not defile *your* hands in vain, for if this movement is of God *you* and *your* leaders can do nothing to stop them. D05, on the other hand, seems to be more relaxed towards the Sanhedrin (or Jews), omitting "you" and using the same verb (μιαίνω) as Eccl 7:18, instead of μολύνω, which has somewhat different meaning.

In the New Testament, μολύνω occurs in Cor 8:7 and Rev 3:4; 14:4, while μιαίνω occurs in John 18:28, Titus 1:15, Heb 12:15, and Jude 8. In these passages, there seem to be clear differences between these two verbs, with μολύνω carrying a more literal meaning, used to describe the literal staining of one's clothes or the figurative staining of one's conscience, and μιαίνω carrying a similar meaning but more often connected with ritual impurity. This is especially clear in John 18:28 and Heb 12:15, though there are also countless examples of μιαίνω in connection with ritual impurity in LXX.[93] In addition, many of these instances are linked with the temple of Jerusalem. Isaiah 59:3 is a particularly revealing example, as μολύνω is used to describe hands which are tainted with actual blood.[94] These passages especially exemplify the more literal meaning of μολύνω in comparison with μιαίνω, which, on the other hand, carries a stronger connotation with ritual impurity.[95] The same holds true in the texts of Flavius Josephus, who uses μιαίνω in his *Jewish Antiquities* (17x) and *Jewish War* (22x).[96] His use of the

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[91] According to Epp's interpretation, h55 contains the same reading as D05, d5, and mae. This is due to his methodological choice to ignore minor changes that do not change meaning. It is quite clear, however, that h55 follows another reading, that of E08 and 1884, in this locus of variation. Also, I will show that variants *b* and *c* do not carry the same meaning. See Epp, "Methodology for Isolating," 282; *ECM* III/1.1: 168.

[92] Due to the close proximity between these variants, μὴ μιάνῃς may be an error that emerged from μὴ ἀνῇς. See C. L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 255.

[93] Lev 15:31; 18:24, 30; Deut 21:23; 2 Chr 36:14; Ps 79:1; Jer 2:7; 7:30; Ezek 5:11; 7:22; 9:7; 20:7, 18, 30–31; 22:3–4, 11; 23:7, 17, 38; 36:17; 37:23; 44:25; Hos 6:10.

[94] Perhaps the most preferable translation would then be the following: do not stain your hands. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, AB 19B (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 188.

[95] See Read-Heimerdinger and Rius-Camps, *Acts 1.1–5.42*, 349.

[96] Word frequency information for μιαίνω, *Perseus Digital Library*, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/wordfreq?lang=greek&lookup=miai%2Fnw.

word usually reflects the ritual aspect of impurity in accordance with Jewish law. In most cases, Josephus uses μιαίνω in connection with the temple, the land or area, and holiness.[97]

Thus, the use of either of these verbs can hardly be a coincidence; on the contrary, scribes must have been aware of the different nuances these verbs carry. That is, μιαίνω emphasizes the ritual impurity that would have resulted had the members of the council ordered the apostles to be killed. In other words, Gamaliel is made to speak on the behalf of the apostles as innocent men, whom it would be sacrilege to injure.[98] On the other hand, μολύνω carries a more literal meaning, portraying the council members as having actual blood on their hands. Thus, one wonders whether the scribe of E08 wanted to portray the members of the Sanhedrin as willing to kill the apostles by themselves and thus in a negative light. It is possible, then, to imagine that a scribe, seeing the word μολύνω in the source text, might have felt that this word was out of place, since it would have been impossible for the leaders of the Jews to kill the apostles themselves, as this would have had tremendous consequences not only for themselves but for the entire land of Israel (Num 35:33–34). Thus, the scribe would have changed the verb from μολύνω to μιαίνω, following Eccl 7:18, which better fits the context, since the idea of the variant is to refer to the ritual purity that would have been jeopardized, had the Sanhedrin ordered the killing of the apostles. This, on the other hand, suggests that the scribe responsible for the change in D05 was familiar not only with LXX but also with Jewish law.[99] This leads to the conclusion that the local stemma, based on internal considerations, should be revised so that variant *c* is the source of *b*, thus *a* –> *c* –> *b*.

It has to be admitted that the variants of E08 in 5:39/19 (οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν) and 5:38/27 (μὴ μολύνοντες τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν) may originate from the same textual layer due to the similar attitudes they contain towards the Sanhedrin. They may even be the work of a single scribe. However, as has been noted, the path from E08 to D05 is long and complex, dotted with all sorts of intermediary steps. The critical and narrow view of E08 has been softened and widened when reaching the text of D05. This testifies to the distance, both textually and chronologically, of these so-called Western readings, raising serious doubts as to whether one can see these witnesses as representing one and the same textual entity. Rather, one should observe these manuscripts as witnessing unique points of view, reflecting different social-historical contexts that cannot, as has been the convention for so long, be seen as fitting in the same box.

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97 Josephus, *A.J.* 2.31; 7.92, 371; 9.151; 10.37; 11.297–300; *J.W.* 2.289, 424; 4.150, 201, 215; 5.10, 380, 402; 6.95.

98 Barrett, "Is There a Theological Tendency?," 26.

99 There may be some link between Codex Bezae and the Recognition, as the author of the earlier Jewish Christian source (1.27–71) uses Acts rather freely. Rec. 1.65.3 may conceal an allusion to 5:38/27: "why do you sin without reason and accomplish nothing?" This contains the same meaning and purpose as Acts 5:38/27: Gamaliel warns the members of the council not to commit a sin and defile their hands by killing the apostles. See F. Stanley, Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source on the History of Christianity: Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions 1.27–71* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 100.

Acts 5:38/7

The last variation unit to be analyzed, possibly the most cryptic reading, is to be found in 5:38/7.[100] Here, we have the reading εἰσὶν ἀδελφοί ("they are brethren"), a singular reading in D05.[101] Interestingly, this reading is not to be found in any other witness and is even absent from Latin d5. This suggests that the addition is very late, possibly the last textual layer of this passage. This last addition quite possibly comes from the scribe who copied the actual manuscript of Codex Bezae. The text of d5 reads *et quae nunc fratres* ("and now brethren"), which roughly follows that of h55 *nunc autem fratres*.

The reading εἰσὶν ἀδελφοί of D05 suggests two possible scenarios. First, the reading can be understood as a mistake, since it is even absent from d5; moreover, the statement about mutual brotherhood comes as a surprise, since Gamaliel has just finished speaking about Theudas and Judas, who were obviously also Jews, yet Gamaliel does not call them brethren. Why, then, would the apostles suddenly be related to the members of the Sanhedrin. Rather, "and now brethren" would fit the context better, since he is, after all, addressing his colleagues.

Second, the reading can be seen as a deliberate addition. In this case, we should interpret the attestation simply as "they are brethren." This meaning would highlight the connection between the apostles and the members of the Sanhedrin, underlining the fact that they all are Jews.[102] Furthermore, the reading of D05 does not contradict other additions or textual layers in these verses, meaning that this alteration may well have been deliberate.

Taking the whole of 5:38–39 into account, the latter option is not completely impossible. A strong interest in reinforcing the speech of Gamaliel has been observed previously.[103] B03 contains two exhortations in verse 38 (ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων καὶ ἄφετε αὐτούς), and D05 adds two further exhortations, each with different points of view. The addition of ἀπέχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων appeals to the council simply to keep away from these men. On the other hand, μὴ μιάναντες τὰς χεῖρας is more of a warning: do not harm these men, lest you wish yourself to be harmed by your own actions. In addition, οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι suggests that there is absolutely no one in the world who can stop these men, if their mission is of God. The final alteration in 5:38/7 thus seems to fit this context well, if the point was to confirm that the apostles are brethren. This is, however, a rather bold statement, as the speech of Gamaliel is here taken one step further: we are brothers with these men. That is, Gamaliel is no longer speaking of "those men" but relates the apostles to himself and the council. One might doubt whether the embodiment of unadulterated Pharisaism, Gamaliel, would have made such a statement. More likely, this addition is part of the strategy of Christian propaganda to style Gamaliel as a secret Christian brother.[104] Subsequent

[100] Although the reading εἰσὶν ἀδελφοί of D05 is seen as an error in *ECM* Acts, I do not here see any reason why it should be judged as such. Certain studies have treated this variant as a correct reading, as it is treated here. See Read-Heimerdinger and Rius-Camps, *Acts 1.1–5.42*, 349; Epp, "Methodology for Isolating," 282; *ECM* III/1.1: 168.

[101] Epp does not acknowledge this singular reading of D05 but treats this as 100 percent identical with d5, h55, and mae, even though he recognizes the variant by enclosing the additional word in brackets. Moreover, if εἰσὶν is taken as the correct variant, it does change the meaning, meaning that Epp does not here follow his own principle. See Epp, "Textual Clusters," 568; Epp, "Methodology for Isolating," 282.

[102] Read-Heimerdinger and Rius-Camps, *Acts 1.1–5.42*, 349.

[103] Barrett, *Acts 1–14*, 297.

[104] Ps.-Clem. *Rec.* 1.65.2. See an interesting account of the role of Gamaliel in Raimo Hakola, "Friendly Pharisees and Social Identity in Acts," in *Contemporary Studies in Acts*, ed. Thomas E. Phillips (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009), 181–200.

(Christian) writers even reported that Peter and John had baptized him, while others claimed that Gamaliel actually preached the gospel.[105] Christians eventually transformed this famous teacher of the law into a full-fledged Christian and saint.[106] The reading of D05 in 5:38/7 is part of this development, suggesting that it is a late textual layer, when the historical incident had faded from cultural memory.[107]

Conclusions

This study has sought to determine whether D05 can be seen in Acts 5:38–39 as an evolving text or whether there exists a cohesive early textual entity in D05, known as the Western text. The results indicate that even within Western readings, several layers of texts can be identified, each representing different theological ideas and periods of time. Different witnesses of varying quality and quantity were found in support of each of the analyzed units. The results suggested that a specific cohesive Western text could hardly be determined. Rather, D05 must constitute an accretion of a wide range of traditions. It is an entirely different matter to try to organize these variants in chronological order. We can say that 5:38/24 is the earliest of these variants, while 5:38/7 seems to be the latest, with all other variants falling somewhere in between.

This survey has led to the following observations. First, by combining the New Testament and LXX manuscript evidence with deuterocanonical sources, it is possible to explain the rise of the so-called Western variants in Acts 5:38–39 of D05. This underlines the idea that there is indeed a living textual tradition here that was constructed piece-by-piece, material having been brought together from a variety of different sources. Second, the conviction of CBGM that scribes did not invent variants per se seems to hold true. The only problem with these Western variants seems to be that scribes did not limit themselves to the text they were copying but applied many other sources as well. This may well be one of the reasons why certain manuscripts seem to be far apart from other witnesses. Third, most variants in D05 prove to be relatively late, raising serious doubts about the conventional dating of the text of Codex Bezae.

One final question to consider is whether evolution is a proper term to describe textual changes in D05. Some critics, for instance, have used the term degeneration.[108] While this term describes the same process in the texts of New Testament, the term contains a heavy bias, as it estimates certain textual variants as being less important than other readings. I reject this idea that the texts of the New Testament should be seen as having degenerated over time. While the texts have manifestly changed, why should these changes be taken as lesser than those at the start of the tradition? My contention is rather that the term evolution describes and explains such changes better and more neutrally than any other term.

This investigation furthermore rejects oversimplified models of the textual history of the New Testament. Its history is not a simple one; on the contrary, it is highly complicated. There are no simple solutions for the questions I pose here. Rather, the previous theoretical frame-

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[105] John Chrysostom, *Hom. Acts* 14; Photius of Constantinople, Codex 171, 199.

[106] In the Gospel of Gamaliel, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Gamaliel are all addressed as most venerable chiefs, as in 11.12–50.

[107] It seems that this variation unit is essential to Read-Heimerdinger and Rius-Camps and their theory of the Jewish perspective of D05 (and its originality). See Jenny Read-Heimerdinger and Josep Rius-Camps, *Luke's Demonstration to Theophilus: The Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles according to Codex Bezae* (London: T&T Clark, 2013), 645.

[108] Klaus Wachtel, in an interview with Yii-Jan Lin, conducted in Münster, Germany, March 10, 2011. See the full interview in Lin, *Erotic Life*, 173–81.

work of New Testament textual criticism has been overly simple and neat in its assumption of a great deal of order in the ancient world. Reality cruelly reveals something else entirely: even a layer beneath putative simplicity lay complexities that far exceed our expectations.

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