

The Text and Margin of Gregory-Aland 274^{*}

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Bibliothèque nationale de France Suppl. Gr. 79, also known as Gregory-Aland (GA) 274, is a tenth-century minuscule manuscript of the gospels. Perhaps due to the common character of its main text, its only feature that has received any detailed discussion in scholarly literature is the inclusion of the rare intermediate ending of Mark in its margin. What other scholars have missed is that many of the nearly one hundred other notes that also appear in the margin preserve uncommon and early variations on the text. In this study, I attempt to close the information gap by providing the first comprehensive survey of the marginal readings of this manuscript. I first identify readings in the main text of GA 274 that may have been derived from sources other than its presumed Byzantine exemplar. I then examine all of the marginal readings of GA 274, distinguishing between those that represent corrections to common errors, those that are related to lectionary usage, and those that indicate knowledge of textual variants. On the basis of an extensive collation of 140 Greek manuscript witnesses, I evaluate the textual affinity of the readings in the last category and find that these readings agree frequently with the decidedly non-Byzantine manuscripts GA 33 and 1342. A commentary offering details of the collation and justifications for my classifications of the marginal notes is included as an [appendix](#). Questions about the hands responsible for the marginal notes, the critical sigla used in the margin and their functions, and the role of block mixture in the production of the manuscript all receive attention. The results of this examination show that despite this manuscript's ordinary text, the extraordinary content preserved in its margin commends it for consideration in future text-critical work on the New Testament.

1. The Manuscript

General Description

Bibliothèque nationale de France Suppl. Gr. 79, hereafter denoted by its Gregory-Aland identifier GA 274, is a gospels manuscript written in minuscule script, dated to the tenth century.¹ Its pages are 231 mm in height and 172 mm in width, with twenty-four to twenty-six lines of text

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¹ Kurt Aland et al., *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, ANT 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 63.

per page.² It features many paratextual elements common to medieval copies: inscriptions and subscriptions, traditional chapter numbers and titles, the Eusebian canon tables (including Eusebius's letter to Carpianus as a preface, although only the last portion is extant), and corresponding section markers in the text, lectionary notes (including those for the Synaxarion and Menologion), *ekthesis* with drop-capital letters at the start of new paragraphs, and illustrations at the beginnings of the gospels. The only extant illustrations are depictions of the evangelists Matthew and Luke; presumably, there were similar images for Mark and John, but the beginnings of these books are no longer extant.³

Provenance and History

The extant part of the manuscript preserves no explicit information about who copied it, where it was copied, or when. Johann Martin Augustin Scholz, who examined the manuscript in Paris no later than 1823,⁴ claimed that “from the script and the lectionary equipment, it can be assumed that its place of origin is Constantinople or a city nearby.”⁵ He recorded the following note of ownership at the end of the manuscript: το παρον τετραευαγγελιον υπαρχε καμου παναγιωτου προτοκανοναρχου καλιουπολεως του επονομαζομενου εκ προγονου μαξιμου.⁶ This note, when it was extant, constituted the only surviving detail that the manuscript preserved of its own history: it belonged to the protocanonarch of a place called Callipolis, whose name was Panagiotes and whose surname was Maximus.⁷ According to the Bibliothèque nationale de France's description of the manuscript's history, this note was located on the last folio, which is now lost. Scholz dated the note to the eleventh century and used this and a paleographical analysis of the manuscript's main text and marginal notes to conclude that the manuscript “may well have been written there [i.e., in or near Constantinople] shortly before, in the 10th century” and that “the book cannot have been written after the 10th century.”⁸ Kurt Weitzmann later wrote that the manuscript's portraits of the evangelists have a style and framing similar to those of the tenth-century Athens manuscript National Library of Greece 56 (GA 773), although some of its ornamental capitals resemble forms found in Asia Minor, and

² Charles Astruc et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs: Supplément grec numéros 1 à 150* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003), 186.

³ It is distinctly possible that they were stolen—a misfortune that frequently befell manuscripts.

⁴ Johann Martin Augustin Scholz, *Biblisches-kritische Reise in Frankreich, der Schweiz, Italien, Palästina und im Archipel, in den Jahren 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, nebst einer Geschichte des Textes N. T.* (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1823), 1.

⁵ Scholz, *Biblisches-kritische Reise*, 38: “aus der Schrift und der kirchlichen Einrichtung lässt sich vermuthen, dass ihr Vaterland Konstantinopel oder eine Stadt in der Nähe ist.”

⁶ Scholz, *Biblisches-kritische Reise*, 38.

⁷ Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students*, ed. Edward Miller, 4th ed. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1894), 226, apparently interpreted the note of possession to mean that Panagiotes was the *protocanon* at Callipolis, referring to a high position in a religious order. But the note actually says that he was a *protocanonarch*, which traditionally refers to the role of a lector who would read to the choir the words they were to chant, in advance, from a manuscript. The historical importance of this role is explored in Christian Troelsgård, “What Kind of Chant Books Were the Byzantine *Sticheraria*?” in *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Ninth Meeting, Esztergom and Visegrad 1998* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 2001), 563–74. I thank Georgi Parpu-lov and Alexander Lingas for bringing this information to my attention.

⁸ Scholz, *Biblisches-kritische Reise*, 38: “so mag es wohl auch dort kurz vorher im 10ten Jahrhundert geschrieben seyn” and “das Buch kann also nicht nach dem 10ten Jahrhundert geschrieben seyn.”

he suggested a date between the middle and third quarter of the tenth century.⁹ Maria Luisa Agati, *contra* Weitzmann, preferred a date within the first half of the tenth century.¹⁰

We know nothing more about Panagiotes than his position and his surname. As for Callipolis, discovering anything definitive is difficult in large part because, as Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener wrote, “there were many places of this name.”¹¹ Scholz noted that another manuscript, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S. 23 sup. (GA 346), was “bought at Callipoli in the Salentine region in 1606.”¹² This identification was later supported by Robert Devreesse, who considered it to correspond to the Gallipoli district in the Terra d’Otranto region of Italy.¹³ M.-L. Concasty, on the other hand, suggested that it refers to the Gallipoli of the Dardanelles, a city in modern-day Turkey known in antiquity as Thracian Chersonese.¹⁴

According to Scrivener, John W. Burgon owned a photograph of the manuscript and considered it “a specimen of the transition period between uncial and cursive writing”; unfortunately, Scrivener did not cite any written work by Burgon to this effect.¹⁵ Clarence Russell Williams later provided some context to this statement, explaining that Burgon held this opinion not of the minuscule hand of the manuscript in general, but of the majuscule hand responsible for the intermediate ending of Mark in its margin.¹⁶ Williams seems to have drawn his material on Burgon from a source other than Scrivener, as he additionally quoted Burgon as calling the manuscript “peculiarly interesting and important” and pointing out other details about the manuscript (e.g., that the marginal note was written in red ink), but he neglected to attribute this quote to a source.

The only written source by Burgon with any mention of the manuscript that I could trace was *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark*.¹⁷ There, his discussion of GA 274 was limited to a single footnote, in which he expressed his frustration with trying, unsuccessfully, to see the manuscript in Paris.¹⁸ It seems unlikely that the manuscript disappeared from the library after Scholz saw it only to return sometime after Burgon attempted to do so. More likely, the designation that Scholz gave for the manuscript in 1823 was either incorrect or out of date by the time Burgon visited the library. (At some point after Scholz examined it, the manuscript’s shelf number changed from “Reg. 79” to “Suppl. Gr. 79,” so this may have been the cause of Burgon’s confusion.) So it would appear that, at least before his book was published in 1871, Burgon did not examine the intermediate ending of Mark in the manuscript. If he had

⁹ Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Mann, 1935), 21.

¹⁰ Maria Luisa Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”* (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1992), 299.

¹¹ Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 226.

¹² Scholz, *Biblich-kritische Reise*, 70: “zu Callipoli im Salentinischen Gebiet 1606. gekauft.”

¹³ Robert Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l’Italie méridionale (Histoire, classement, paléographie)*, Studi e Testi 183 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955), 35.

¹⁴ M.-L. Concasty, “Manuscrits grecs originaux de l’Italie méridionale, conservés à Paris,” in *Atti dell’ VIII Congresso di Studi Bizantini* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1953), 32–33. Georgi Parpulov also considers the identification with this location likely and notes that since it was a metropolitan see, the church choir of which Panagiotes was protocanonarch would have been quite large (personal communication, 4 November 2020).

¹⁵ Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 226.

¹⁶ Clarence Russell Williams, “The Appendices to the Gospel according to Mark: A Study in Textual Transmission,” *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 18 (1915): 418.

¹⁷ John W. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark, Vindicated against Recent Critical Objectors and Established* (Oxford: Parker, 1871).

¹⁸ Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel*, 124 n. a.

acquired a photograph of this portion of the manuscript by the time Scrivener mentioned this in his work, then this must have happened between 1871 and 1894.

2. The Text

General Features

The text of the gospels is almost fully preserved in the manuscript. Lacunae occur in the following seven passages: Mark 1:1–17, Mark 6:21–54, John 1:1–20, John 3:18–4:1, John 7:23–42, John 9:10–27, and John 18:12–29. Five of these missing texts are supplied by what appear to be five distinct later hands in supplements, all of which are all dated to the seventeenth century.¹⁹ The two texts not supplied are Mark 1:1–17 and John 1:1–20.²⁰ Folios 62 (containing Matt 27:17–35) and 69 (containing Mark 1:36–2:9) have been swapped, presumably having been re-bound incorrectly after falling out.

The text is largely Byzantine in character, agreeing with the majority of later manuscripts. Frederik Wisse applied the Claremont Profile Method to GA 274 using test passages in Luke 1, 10, and 20 and found that it represented the Byzantine K^x profile in Luke 1 and Luke 20, while the method was inconclusive in Luke 10. His findings broadly agree with Hermann Freiherr von Soden's classification of GA 274 as part of the K^x family.²¹ Roger Lee Omanson did not include GA 274 in the list of manuscripts of Mark that he classified using the same method.²² The manuscript is classified as Byzantine in the *Text und Textwert* volumes; in Matthew, it exhibits non-Byzantine readings at two *Teststellen*, agreeing with the critical text at none; in Mark, it exhibits non-Byzantine readings at five *Teststellen*, agreeing with the critical text at two; in Luke, it exhibits non-Byzantine readings at three *Teststellen*, agreeing with the critical text at two; and in John 1–10, it exhibits non-Byzantine readings at six *Teststellen*, agreeing with the critical text at none.²³ The manuscript contains the *pericope adulterae* (PA) at John 7:53–8:11,

¹⁹ Astruc *et al.*, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, 187.

²⁰ Scrivener (*Plain Introduction*, 226) gives the impression that all seven lacunae are filled by a later hand, but supplemental pages for Mark 1:1–17 and John 1:1–20 are not present in current microfilm images of GA 274. Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911), 1.1:134, clarifies this matter by explicitly stating that the pages containing these two passages are missing.

²¹ Frederik Wisse, *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence as Applied to the Continuous Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke*, ed. Irving Alan Sparks, SD 44 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982), 58. For von Soden's evaluation, see previous note.

²² Roger Lee Omanson, "The Claremont Profile Method and the Grouping of Byzantine New Testament Manuscripts in the Gospel of Mark" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1975).

²³ Citations for the individual volumes follow:

For Matthew: Kurt Aland, Barbara Aland, and Klaus Wachtel, eds., in collaboration with Klaus Witte, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, vol. 4: Die Synoptischen Evangelien, num. 2: Das Matthäusevangelium, band 2.1: Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*, ANTF 28 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 120.

For Mark: Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, eds., in collaboration with Klaus Wachtel and Klaus Witte, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, vol. 4: Die Synoptischen Evangelien, num. 1: Das Markusevangelium, band 1.1: Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*, ANTF 26 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 164.

For Luke: Kurt Aland, Barbara Aland, and Klaus Wachtel, eds., in collaboration with Klaus Witte, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, vol. 4: Die Synop-*

which is marked with one asterisk at the beginning (where the lection is marked as skipping the passage) and another at the beginning of John 8:12 (to indicate where the lection should skip). In this passage, the manuscript's text is closest to that of von Soden's μ^6 profile.²⁴ Of 249 variation units where it is extant in John 18, it disagrees with the majority of manuscripts at four and agrees with the critical text at two.²⁵ It is excluded from the collations of Luke and John done by the International Greek New Testament Project (IGNTP).²⁶

Since, to my knowledge, GA 274 has not been previously transcribed, I have digitally transcribed its entire text of the gospels using the Online Transcription Editor (OTE) developed by the Institute of Textual Studies and Electronic Editing (ITSEE).²⁷ In compliance with prevailing digital humanities standards, the raw transcription files are XML documents adhering to the schema of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) and the guidelines specified by the IGNTP.²⁸ These raw files are freely available online.²⁹

Hand

Regarding the first hand, Scholz wrote that “the text is in minuscule script, but it is still very close to the uncial [of the paratext], and many letters have its shape.”³⁰ As was noted in the discussion of the manuscript's provenance, this was one of the factors that led him to date the manuscript to the tenth century. More specifically, this hand has been classified as a specimen

tischen Evangelien, num. 3: Das Lukasevangelium, band 3.1: Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung, ANTF 30 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 118.

For John: Kurt Aland, Barbara Aland, and Klaus Wachtel, eds., in collaboration with Klaus Witte, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, vol. 5: Die Johannesevangelium, num. 1: Teststellenkollation der Kapitel 1–10, band 1.1: Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*, ANTF 35 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 186.

The *Text und Textwert* manuscript clusters tool (accessible online at http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/), also provides valuable information on the textual affinities of GA 274 across these *Teststellen*. In Matthew, it agrees with sixty-three manuscripts more often than it agrees with the majority, with GA 477, 683, 1188, 1242, and 2132 exhibiting the highest agreement at sixty-three out of sixty-four *Teststellen*. In Mark, the count of close manuscripts drops to thirty-six, with maximum agreement coming uniquely from GA 2142 at 172 out of 175 *Teststellen*. In Luke, the count increases to 274, with 100 percent agreement at fifty-four *Teststellen* coming from GA 1295, 1347, 2176, and 2297. In John 1–10, the count drops to forty-one, with the highest agreement at 140 out of 144 *Teststellen* coming from GA 14, 140, 1343, 2224, and 2522.

²⁴ For information, see von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 487–90.

²⁵ Michael Bruce Morrill, “A Complete Collation and Analysis of All Greek Manuscripts of John 18” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2012), 88.

²⁶ For Luke, see *The Gospel according to St. Luke: Part One, Chapters 1–12*, ed. the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984) and *The Gospel according to St. Luke: Part Two, Chapters 13–24*, ed. the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987); for John, see <http://www.iohannes.com/>.

²⁷ The tool can be accessed at <https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/ote/transcriptiontool>.

²⁸ For more information, see <https://tei-c.org/> and H. A. G. Houghton, *IGNTP Guidelines for XML Transcriptions of New Testament Manuscripts (Version 1.5)*, 2016, manual, International Greek New Testament Project (unpublished), accessible at <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1892/>.

²⁹ <https://github.com/jjmccollum/ga-274>.

³⁰ Scholz, *Biblisch-kritische Reise*, 38: “der Text ist zwar mit Kursivschrift, aber diese nähert sich noch sehr der Unzial, und viele Buchstaben haben ganz ihre Form.”

of *bouletée* minuscule, a script not uncommon to manuscripts of the tenth century.³¹ Agati elaborates on Scholz's evaluation extensively:

Small minuscule that crosses the staff, with a slight *bouletage* at the end of the lines. Similar to a "bouletée", it presents the letters detached from each other and tending slightly to lean to the right. There is something hard and angular in them, but you can see, for example, the low and vertically split uppercase *kappa*, the curved uppercase *delta* and *lambda*, the squat *rho*, the shaped *psilon*, the excessively shortened *chi*, with *boules*, all typical elements of the "canon". At the same time, there is no lack of cursive forms, such as raised vowels at the end of the staff, the *epsilon* + *rho* ligature in the ace-of-spades style, or that of the lowercase *delta* that links with *omicron*, or that of tall uppercase *tau*.³²

The presence of features from the "ace-of-spades" style, which was popularized between the ninth and tenth centuries and is generally agreed to be a Greco-Italian script,³³ is potential evidence for Devreesse's identification of the last place of the manuscript's ownership (and also, presumably, its place of origin) with a region in Italy. Nevertheless, I agree with Agati's judgment that the script of the first hand is *bouletée* rather than "ace-of-spades," as the majority of this hand's work consistently exemplifies the former style and only inconsistently exhibits the more cursive features (e.g., ligatures, abbreviations, double-stroked ascenders) of the latter.

The similarity of some of this hand's letterforms to those of the majuscule paratextual elements (specifically, the *kephalaia*, the lectionary notes, and most of the marginal readings) is one piece of evidence that both were the work of the same hand; we will examine other evidence for this identification in the corresponding subsection of the "Marginal Readings" section.

Unusual Readings

In a handful of passages, the main text of GA 274 diverges from the Byzantine text in ways that are unlikely to be accidental. Many of these deviations can be explained as being derived from sources other than the primary (Byzantine) exemplar of GA 274, but where other explanations are possible, they are listed. These deviations are detailed in table 1, where the reading of the Byzantine text is taken from Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont's 2018 edition of the Greek New Testament (hereafter denoted RP).³⁴

³¹ Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 299. For a helpful introduction to *bouletée* minuscule (and Greek paleography in general), see T. Janz, "Greek Paleography from Antiquity to the Renaissance," ed. A. Berloco, <https://spotlight.vatlib.it/greek-paleography>, esp. §5.A.

³² Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 299: "Piccola minuscola che attraversa il rigo, con un lieve *bouletage* alla fine dei tratti. Affine ad una «bouletée», presenta le lettere staccate tra di loro e tendenti leggermente a inclinarsi a destra. Vi è in esse qualcosa di duro e di angoloso, ma si vedano, ad es., il *kappa* maiuscolo basso e separato in due verticalmente, il *delta* e il *lambda* maiuscoli ricurvi, il *rho* tozzo, l'*epsilon* sagomato, il *chi* eccessivamente accorciato, con *boules*, tutti elementi tipici del «canone». Contemporaneamente, non mancano forme corsiveggianti, come vocali sopraelevate a fine rigo, la legatura *epsilon* + *rho* ad asso di picche, o quella del *delta* minuscolo che lega a occhio con *omicron*, o quella de *tau* maiuscolo alto."

³³ An introduction to "ace-of-spades" minuscule is found in Janz, "Greek Paleography," §6.A. Discussion of its place of origin can be found in Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale*; P. Canart, "Le problème du style d'écriture dit «en as de pique» dans les manuscrits italo-grecs," in *Atti del 4° Congresso storico calabrese*, (Napoli: Fiorentino, 1969), 55–69, and Constant de Vocht, "L'«as de pique» hors d'Italie?," *Byzantion* 51.2 (1981), 628–30.

³⁴ Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont, eds., *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform 2018* (Nürnberg: VTR Publications, 2018).

Table 1: GA 274's substantive deviations from the RP 2018 Byzantine text. *Nomina sacra* have been expanded for ease of comparison.

Location	RP Reading	GA 274 Reading	Note
Matt 5:44	καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς	<i>omit</i>	The omission is well-known and is shared by a few notable witnesses (see appendix for details), though none are closely related to GA 274, and the GA 274 reading could have arisen independently by homoioteleuton.
Matt 7:6	τὸ ἅγιον	τὰ ἅγια	The plural found in GA 274* (and subsequently corrected to the RP reading) is relatively rare, being found in several later minuscules and patristic citations from the fourth century (see appendix for details).
Matt 10:13	ἐλθέτω	[εἰς]ελθέτω	The first-hand reading of GA 274, which is a more difficult fit with the corresponding phrase ἐπ' αὐτήν, is otherwise only found in a few later manuscripts, including GA 1342, 2597, and 2786.
Matt 15:25	ελθοῦσα	ἀπελθοῦσα	The prefixed verb is found in just a few manuscripts, including GA 041*, <i>f</i> ^{1pt} , and 2786, although the GA 274 reading may have arisen independently as a subconscious assimilation following three words prefixed with ἀπ- in the previous verse.
Matt 16:2–3	ὀψίας γενομένης λέγετε, εὐδία· πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός. καὶ πρωῖ, σήμερον χειμῶν· πυρράζει γὰρ στυγνάζων ὁ οὐρανός. ὑποκριταί, τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γινώσκετε διακρίνειν, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν οὐ δύνασθε;	<i>omit</i>	The omission is well-known and shared by GA 01, 03, 033, 036, <i>f</i> ¹³ , 157, and 579 (which technically transposes this saying to the end of v. 9), although some Byzantine witnesses (e.g., GA 2*) also omit here.
Matt 22:5	ἐμπορίαν	ἐμπορεῖαν	A rare spelling found in earlier witnesses (GA 05, 017, and 0233) and some important later ones (GA 1093 and 1342)
Matt 23:3	ὑμῖν	ὑμεῖν	A rare itacism for GA 274 and other later manuscripts, but one commonly found in earlier manuscripts in other passages
Matt 23:30	ἡμεν (twice)	ἡμεθα (twice)	The middle form is rare in the Byzantine text but is found in most of the majuscules and several minuscules.

Location	RP Reading	GA 274 Reading	Note
Mark 7:26	ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς	τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς	The omission of ἐκ following ἐκβάλη results in a stylistically harsher reading; GA 274 may have copied this reading from a non-Byzantine source, as it is only known to be found in GA P45, 019, <i>f</i> ¹ , <i>f</i> ¹³ , 544, 565, and 700; alternatively, the scribe may have omitted independently by a simple oversight of a two-letter word.
Mark 7:33	ἀπολαβόμενος αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου	ἐπιλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου	While many manuscripts have ἐπιλαβόμενος for ἀπολαβόμενος and a few substitute ἐκ for ἀπὸ, only two other manuscripts (GA 792 and 1326) are known to preserve this wording in both places.
Mark 8:19	πλήρεις	<i>omit</i>	The omission is found in some manuscripts of <i>f</i> ¹³ .
Mark 9:34	ἐν τῇ ὁδῶ	<i>omit</i>	The omission is shared by GA 02, 05, 037, 041*, 1079, and a few other minuscules.
Mark 11:18	πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ... ἐξεπλήσσετο	πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ... ἐξεπλήσσοντο	The pairing of the singular noun phrase with the plural verb is only found in GA 01 and a handful of later manuscripts.
Mark 13:19	τοιαύτη	<i>omit</i>	The omission is found in only a few other witnesses, including GA 044, 892, and 2786.
Mark 15:15	ἀπέλυσεν	ἀπέστειλεν	Only one other manuscript (GA 565) is known to share GA 274's reading.
Mark 15:17, 20	ἐνδύουσιν αὐτὸν ... ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν	ἐνδύουσιν αὐτῶ ... ἐνέδυσαν αὐτῶ	Only a few other minuscules consistently use the dative following ἐνδύω; interestingly, GA 274 agrees with the majority of manuscripts in reading ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν in v. 20.
Luke 1:15	τοῦ κυρίου	τοῦ θεοῦ	GA 274 preserves a rare reading found in GA 038, 044, <i>f</i> ¹³ , and various non-Byzantine minuscules.
Luke 1:42	ἀνεφώνησεν	ἀνεβοήσεν	The reading of GA 274 is shared by the early majuscules GA 01 and 04 and by various minuscules, including those of <i>f</i> ¹³ .
Luke 7:36	Φαρισαίων	Ἰουδαίων	GA 274 preserves a rare reading otherwise only found in GA 031 and 1351.
Luke 11:39	ὁ κύριος	ὁ Ἰησοῦς	GA 274 preserves a rare reading otherwise only found in GA 030, 16, and 1071, although its reading could possibly be an assimilation to the more common phrase or the result of paleographical confusion (ΚΣ to ἸΣ).
Luke 18:16	τοῦ θεοῦ	τῶν οὐρανῶν	A rare substitution of a Matthean phrase for the typical Lukan one, shared by GA 039*, 157, and 579
Luke 22:61	ὁ κύριος	ὁ Ἰησοῦς	The GA 274 reading is also found in GA 05, <i>f</i> ¹ , 1241, and L844. Interestingly, the phrase τοῦ λόγου τοῦ κυρίου later in the verse is preserved as-is in GA 274.
John 12:5	τραϊκόσιων	διακόσιων	The GA 274 reading is also found in a handful of later manuscripts, including those of <i>f</i> ¹³ .
John 19:27	ἔλαβεν ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτῆν	ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ μαθητῆς ἐκεῖνος	GA 274 is joined by a minority of later witnesses, including some from <i>f</i> ¹ .

As we will explore in more detail later, there appears to be some overlap between locations where marginal notes of textual significance occur and segments of the text where deviations from the Byzantine profile occur. This is suggestive of block mixture in the production of GA 274. Scholz, who was focused on the manuscript's marginal notes, suspected that its scribe may have derived its readings from multiple sources, some of which may have preserved an earlier text:

Sometimes a certain critical feeling cannot be completely denied him, although the principles of a science that was only created centuries later are completely alien to him, which is why he does not use any specific critical signs in his marginal remarks. Many additions that are otherwise in the text of older relatives are only written in the margin, probably after the example of very old documents. Some were used as closing formulas for the pericopes, and for this purpose these are also marked with the usual musical symbols. One could also draw from this the conclusion that he had an ancient manuscript in front of him, in which these additions were not present at all, and that he only transferred them from another into his own for church use. Out of conscientiousness, he believed that others had to be noticed as additions or deviations from his original texts.³⁵

Scribal Habits

In all four gospels, the scribe of GA 274 seems most prone to the same errors common to most Greek scribes: itacism, o-ω interchanges, αι-ε interchanges, omission of small words by oversight, and changes motivated by narrative style.³⁶ While most of these types of errors are considered trivial for the purposes of making text-critical judgments, their frequency will be germane to the discussions of marginal readings in the [appendix](#).

General orthographic preferences are readily noticeable. The spelling Ναζαρέθ is preferred to Ναζαρέτ so consistently that it was likely normalized throughout the corpus at some point. Βηθσαϊδάν is preferred to Βηθσαϊδά. Βηθφαγή is used in place of the more Byzantine spelling Βηθσφαγή. Χοραζείν, a spelling found in many witnesses old and new, is consistently preferred to the spelling Χοραζίν. *Gethsemane* is spelled inconsistently as Γεθησημανί in Matthew and Γεσσημανή in Mark. As we would expect, the manuscript features later orthographic forms like ἔννατος (as opposed to ἔνατος), but it also retains non-Byzantine forms, such as κράβατος (as opposed to κράββατος). It often features the double augment in words like ἤμελλον, ἔρρηθη, ἠύδοκησα, and ἠύρέθη, even where RP prefers a single augment. On the other hand, in Luke 8:19, it prefers ἐδύνατο where RP prefers ἠδύνατο; in Luke 24:27, it has the unaugmented form διεμήνευεν; and in John 6:18, it has the unaugmented form διεγείρετο. Even more notable is its

³⁵ Scholz, *Biblisch-kritische Reise*, 37: “Es kann ihm ein gewisses kritisches Gefühl bisweilen nicht ganz abgesprochen werden; obgleich ihm überhaupt die Grundsätze einer Wissenschaft, die erst nach Jahrhunderten geschaffen wurde, ganz fremd sind, weshalb er sich auch in seinen Randbemerkungen keiner bestimmten kritischen Zeichen bedient. Viele Zusätze, die sonst in ältern mit ihm verwandten Denkmälern im Texte sich befinden, sind hier nur an den Rand, wahrscheinlich nach dem Beispiele sehr alter Dokumente geschrieben. Einige dienten bei den Perikopen als Schlussformeln, und diese sind für diesen Zweck auch mit den gewöhnlichen musikalischen Zeichen bezeichnet. Man könnte hieraus auch den Schluss ziehen, dass er eine uralte Handschrift vor sich hatte, worin diese Zusätze sich gar nicht befanden, und dass er diese erst aus einer andern in die seinige zum kirchlichen Gebrauche übertrug. Andere glaubte er aus Gewissenhaftigkeit gleichfalls am Rande als Zusätze oder als Abweichungen von seinem ursprünglichen Texte bemerken zu müssen.”

³⁶ These tendencies are readily apparent from a comparison between the text of GA 274 and the normalized RP text. For the interested reader, full collations of GA 274 (and its supplements) against this text in the gospels, with variation units tagged by their type(s), are available at <https://github.com/jjmccollum/ga-274>.

consistent use of ἀπεκατεστάθη with two augments (the common spelling being ἀποκατεστάθη). Nearly everywhere, it conjugates ὀράω without augmenting the omicron (e.g., ἑώρακα, ἑώρακαμεν, ἑώρακατε, ἑώρακεν, ἑώρακασιν, ἑορακώς, ἑορακότες). In Matt 5:34 and 23:16–22, the scribe consistently substitutes the spellings ὁμῶσαι, ὁμῶση, and ὁμῶσας for the common spellings ὁμόσαι, ὁμόση, and ὁμόσας, although in Matt 5:36 (ὁμόσης) and Luke 1:73 (ᾧμοσεν), it reverts to the common spelling. Most noteworthy are the handful of orthographic anomalies scattered throughout its text. In Matt 13:54, GA 274 rejects the Attic spelling ἐκπλήττεσθαι found in the Byzantine text in favor of ἐκπλήσσεσθαι. In Luke 13:34, it reads ἀποκτείνουσα against the Aeolic spelling ἀποκτένουσα adopted in RP. In Mark 12:32, it reads εἶπες where the Byzantine text normalizes to εἶπας. In Luke 2:5, it reads ἐνκύω in place of the more typical spelling ἐγκύω. Throughout Luke, it wavers between the spellings Μωϋσῆς and Μωσῆς for Moses's name. In John 6:8, it uses the spelling ἀνέπεσαν in place of the more common normalized spelling ἀνέπεσον. In a quotation of the Psalms in John 10:34, it normalizes the εἶπα found in the Byzantine text and the LXX to εἶπον. In John 15:16, it prefers δῶη to δῶ as found in RP.

GA 274 also reveals certain tendencies in matters of abbreviation. The word θεός (God) is almost always abbreviated in the usual way using the *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$, except when it is used as a common noun (θεοί and θεούς are spelled in full in John 10:34–35) and at the end of the Lukan genealogy (Luke 3:38). The word πνεῦμα (*spirit*) is typically abbreviated with $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$, except when referring to unclean spirits. The word κύριος (*lord*) is normally abbreviated $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, but explicit references to earthly masters are spelled in full. The word σταυρός (*cross*) is abbreviated with $\overline{\sigma\tau\varsigma}$, a shorter alternative to $\overline{\sigma\tau\rho\varsigma}$. One idiosyncrasy worth noting is the scribe's inconsistency in abbreviating the word υἱός: the preferred *nomen sacrum* alternates between two-letter ($\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$) and three-letter ($\overline{\upsilon\iota\varsigma}$) forms throughout the manuscript.³⁷

3. The Marginal Readings

Until now, the only detail that has made GA 274 noteworthy to most textual critics is its preservation of what is known as the “intermediate ending of Mark” between Mark 16:8 and 9 in its margin.³⁸ While this observation is important in its own right, scholars should have taken it as an invitation to study the contents of the margin of GA 274 in full, but to the best of my knowledge, none did.³⁹ I have attempted to rectify this situation by discussing and classifying

³⁷ In general, $\overline{\upsilon\iota\varsigma}$ is preferred to $\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$. In Matthew, $\overline{\upsilon\iota\varsigma}$ occurs thirty-six times and $\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$ only eight; in the original portion of Mark (i.e., the text found in the original manuscript and not in the supplement), $\overline{\upsilon\iota\varsigma}$ occurs nineteen times and $\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$ only two; in Luke, $\overline{\upsilon\iota\varsigma}$ is used exclusively in thirty-nine instances; in the original portion of John, $\overline{\upsilon\iota\varsigma}$ occurs twenty-two times and $\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$ only two.

³⁸ For more on the textual problem of the ending of Mark, including discussion of the intermediate ending of Mark and its attestation in GA 274, see 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), 322–27; D. C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 124–47; Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 102–6; Philip Wesley Comfort, *A Commentary on the Manuscripts and Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic, 2015), 197–206; and Nicholas P. Lunn, *The Original Ending of Mark: A New Case for the Authenticity of Mark 16:9–20* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014).

³⁹ Scholz, *Biblisch-kritische Reise*, 35–37, lists many of the marginal notes that appear in GA 274, but he does not list them exhaustively (he skips the instances in Matthew completely), he does not offer further comment on most of them (the exceptions being the addition of Matt 7:7–8 at Mark 11:26 and the intermediate ending), and some of them are better classified as lectionary notes than as marginal variants (e.g., the long note under Luke 20:47).

all of the ninety-one marginal notes he has identified in GA 274.⁴⁰ Obvious lectionary notes, which are readily recognized by their ornate majuscule script and the presence of common lectionary dates and incipits, are not included in this analysis. While even these notes occasionally contain information of text-critical value,⁴¹ I will focus primarily on marginal notes that are written or marked in ways that lectionary notes are not.

In what follows, all images of GA 274 are derived from the Bibliothèque nationale de France's gallery of images.⁴² Where images of other manuscripts are included, their sources will be noted.

Marginal Hands

One of the most noticeable features of the marginal notes is that they are the contribution of more than one hand. In almost all instances, they are the work of the same hand responsible for the *kephalaia* and lectionary notes, a hand that is characterized by a clean, consistent majuscule script with wide, square proportions for most letters, and more rectangular proportions for rounded letters, which Agati describes as “Constantinopolitan small capital.”⁴³ I will refer to it as hand 1. The most extensive continuous sample of its text is the extant portion of the Letter to Carpianus, pictured in figure 1. One of its more extensive marginal notes, which also features a bold rubricated heading, ⁴⁴ is depicted in figure 2.

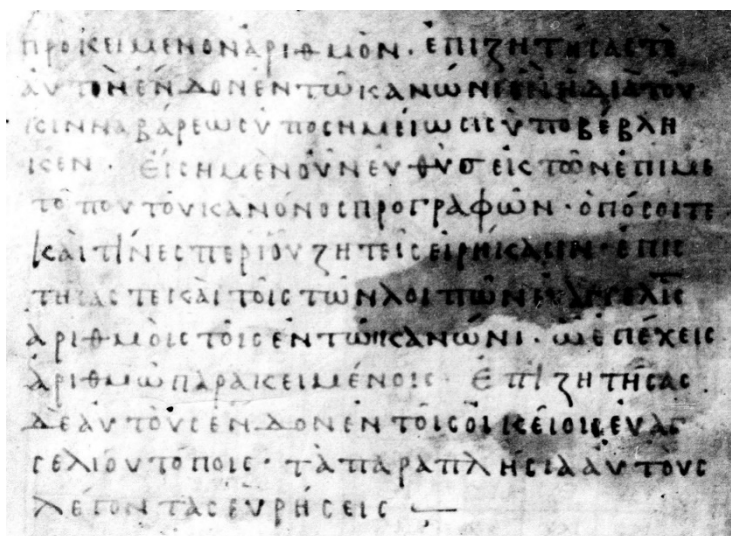


Figure 1: The extant portion of the Letter to Carpianus, written in the majuscule script of hand 1 (folio 1^r).

⁴⁰ The full commentary can be found in the [appendix](#) to this article.

⁴¹ In folio 197^v, for instance, the text begins John 11:1 with with ἦν δέ τις λάζαρος, but the lectionary incipit restores the missing word ἀσθενῶν.

⁴² Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. The photographs for GA 274 are accessible at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11005077n>.

⁴³ Maria Luisa Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée,"* 299.

⁴⁴ Scholz, *Biblisches-kritische Reise*, 35, informs us that the phrase ἄλλου εὐαγγελ(ίου) is written in red ink.

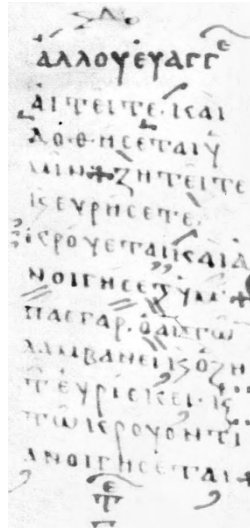


Figure 2: A marginal note on Mark 11:26, written in the majuscule script of hand 1 (folio 91^v).

As was stated earlier, similarities in form between this script and the minuscule script of the main text in some letters are one indication that the hand responsible for these notes is the same as the first hand. We will now consider three other pieces of evidence for this identification.

First, in Luke 9:52, the note *τόπον* is written by hand 1, not in its usual place in the margin but directly next to the main text (see fig. 3). Side by side, the two scripts are seen to bear a remarkable resemblance, both in terms of the size and shape of their letterforms and in terms of the color of their ink, which, as far as the black-and-white photograph allows us to discern, is identical. It is conceivable that the first-hand scribe could have written what was supposed to be a marginal note as part of the text absentmindedly, but why would a later editor choose to place such a note here?

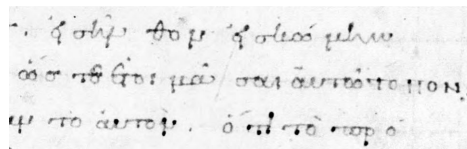


Figure 3: A note written in the majuscule script of hand 1 next to the minuscule script of the first hand in Luke 9:52 (folio 136^r).

Second, we can identify numerous places where the first hand anticipated the work of hand 1. We find the vast majority of these instances in the spaces allocated by the first hand at the beginnings and ends of lections, where hand 1 later added the corresponding *ἀρχή* and *τέλος* marks, but this phenomenon is detectable even in connection to the marginal notes. In Mark 7:4, it is clear, even without the arrow sigla surrounding the phrase *τὴν κοιλίαν*, that the first-hand scribe intended to distinguish that phrase from the preceding text (see fig. 4). These sigla match others that are undoubtedly the work of hand 1. It seems likely that the first hand added the initial space separating the phrase in question from the rest of the line so that there would be room to add the sigla.

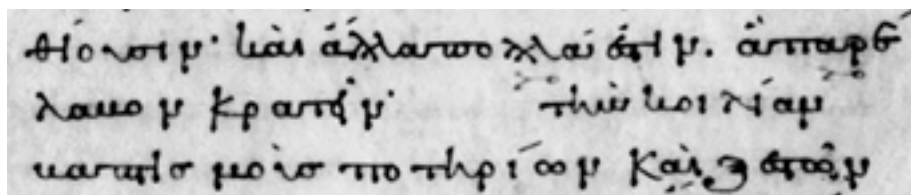


Figure 4: A note in Mark 7:4 where the first hand separates the phrase τήν κοιλίαν from the rest of the line by a wide space, seemingly in anticipation of the text-critical sigla (produced by hand 1) surrounding the phrase (folio 80^r).

Third, we can observe a possible link between the minuscule of the first hand and the majuscule of hand 1 in a marginal correction at Luke 9:12 (see fig. 5). This correction stands out among the marginal notes in that it is written with the same thick pen and dark ink used for the section numbers on this page. The same pen and ink were used for a couple of inline corrections or re-inkings (τοὺς and -τοὺς) farther down the page, near the spine margin. While the initial *eta* of the marginal note looks a bit clumsy, the remaining minuscule letters exhibit several features of the first hand—the upright curve of the *delta*, the short descenders of the *mu*, *nu*, and *rho*, the connecting loop of the *epsilon*, and the tail of the final *alpha*. Early into the second line, the script abruptly shifts to majuscule, and it bears an uncanny resemblance to the work of hand 1—the generally square letterforms outside of the rectangularly proportioned *omicron*, the flat top and longer descender of the *xi*, and the separation of the two strokes of *kappa*. In the third line, the hand returns to the minuscule of the first line. Clearly, one hand was responsible for both scripts in the note, so if indeed these scripts are those of the first hand and hand 1, then we have a clear link between the two. The timing of the correction may explain why the pen and ink are different than usual. If the scribe was adding the section numbers to this page at a later stage of the manuscript's production and then noticed the absence of the introductory phrase here, then this note may have been the result of a hasty correction made with the pen and ink being used to add the section numbers. The minor corrections with the same appearance farther down the page lend further support to this conclusion. This, in combination with the other factors just outlined, furnishes additional evidence that the marginal notes of hand 1—and, by implication, the *kephalaia*, lectionary notes, and most other paratextual elements—are the work of the same hand that copied the main text.

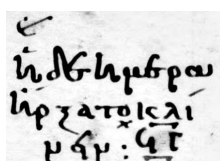


Figure 5: A note in Luke 9:12 written with the same pen and ink used for the section numbers and other corrections on the page (folio 133^v).

The same hand may be at work in an isolated note in Luke 5:19 that appears to have been written in bold with a different color ink (see fig. 6). From a comparison to the bold heading in figure 2, we might venture a guess that it was written in red ink. It is difficult to judge whether this is the same hand that wrote the heading in figure 2 on the basis of just three letters that do not occur in that heading. Compared to the general style of hand 1, the letterform for *pi* seems less rigid, and that of *sigma* seems wider. Erring on the side of caution, I will identify this hand as hand 1b.



Figure 6: A note in Luke 5:19 (πῶς) written in the bold majuscule script of hand 1b (folio 121^r).

In a few other scattered locations, notes are written in various minuscule scripts that differ from one another and from the hands already described. We observe only six such notes throughout the manuscript. I will now proceed to classify them by the hands that produced them.

The first two notes of this variety are found in Matt 1:11–12. They are depicted in figure 7. Compared to the minuscule script of the first hand, the script in these notes exhibits a general preference for narrower letterforms (see the instances of *nu*, the compact style of *omega*, and especially the *tau* in τὸν). More broadly, in contrast to the *bouletée* script of the first hand, this hand exhibits the features of the *Perlschrift* style,⁴⁵ so I would conclude that the two are in fact distinct. It is difficult to determine on the basis of one letter (*eta*) whether the second note was written by the same hand as the first note, but the proximity of the two notes and the similarity of the ink in which they were written suggests that they were the product of the same hand. I will refer to this hand as hand 2a. Based on its features, it can be dated to the year 940 at the earliest.⁴⁶

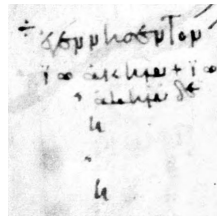


Figure 7: Two notes in Matt 1:11–12, written in hand 2a (folio 6^v).

The third and fourth notes are depicted in figure 8. Their contents feature enough similarity in various features—the slight angle of letters, the closed, looping shape of the *pi*, and the pointed terminal strokes of letters like *iota*, *nu*, and *tau*—that I can confidently judge them to be the work of the same hand, but one that is distinct from the first hand. I will denote this hand 2b. It can be dated to the tenth century.⁴⁷

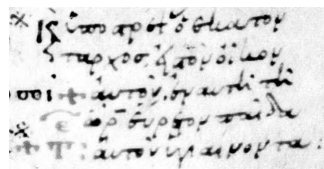
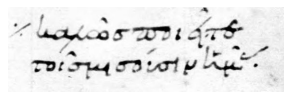


Figure 8: Two notes in Matt 5:44 and 8:13, written by hand 2b (folios 14^r and 19^r).

⁴⁵ For an introduction to this script, see Janz, “Greek Paleography,” §5.B. For a recent discussion, see Marco D’Agostino and Paola Degni, “Considerations on origin and development of the *Perlschrift*,” in *Griechisch-byzantinische Handschriftenforschung*, ed. Christian Brockmann, Daniel Deckers, Dieter Harlfinger, and Stefano Valente (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 171–94.

⁴⁶ Georgi Parpulov, personal communication, 4 November 2020.

⁴⁷ Georgi Parpulov, personal communication, 4 November 2020.

The fifth note, depicted in figure 9, features generally square letterforms, with several letters (*delta*, *epsilon*, *eta*, *nu*) resembling majuscules more than minuscules. Apart from these minor differences, it could plausibly be identified with the first hand, but in the interest of making a conservative judgment, I have deemed it the unique work of a separate hand, which will be denoted hand 2c. On the basis of its similarities to the first hand and hand 1, it can be dated to the tenth century.

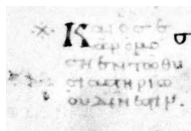


Figure 9: A note in Matt 23:18, written by hand 2c (folio 50^v).

Sigla

For the text-critical sigla employed to connect marginal notes to words or phrases in the text, this study will use existing names where they are known; for sigla that, to my knowledge, have not been identified in the literature, I have supplied new names. The sigla, along with their descriptions and representative images, are detailed below.⁴⁸

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Figure 10: Example of the distigme siglum.

The *distigme* (alternately called an *umlaut* in the literature) is a variation on one of the classical Aristarchan text-critical symbols, the *stigme*.⁴⁹ While the two-dot version does not appear to have been used by Aristarchus, it occurs frequently in the fourth-century biblical text of Codex Vaticanus. In that manuscript, the distigmai are believed to be contemporary with the manuscript's production, and they have been argued to mark places where scribes knew of textual variants.⁵⁰ In GA 274, this siglum is used only twice, and both times in the same verse

⁴⁸ All sigla portrayed are taken from images of GA 274.

⁴⁹ See Kathleen McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 26 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1992), 8, 15 n. 31.

⁵⁰ See Philip B. Payne, "Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1 Cor 14.34–5," *NTS* 41 (1995): 240–62; Curt Niccum, "The Voice of the Manuscripts on the Silence of Women: The External Evidence for 1 Cor 14.34–5," *NTS* 43 (1997): 242–55; Philip B. Payne and Paul Canart, "The Originality of Text-Critical Symbols in Codex Vaticanus," *NovT* 42 (2000): 105–13; Philip B. Payne and Paul Canart, "Distigmai Matching the Original Ink of Codex Vaticanus: Do They Mark the Location of Textual Variants?" in *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209): Introduction au fac-similé, Actes du Colloque de Genève (11 Juin 2001), Contributions supplémentaires*, ed. Patrick Andrist (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2009), 199–226; J. Edward Miller, "Some Observations on the Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34–35," *JSNT* 26 (2003): 217–36; Philip B. Payne, "The Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34–35: A Response to J. Edward Miller," *JSNT* 27 (2004): 105–12; Christian-B. Amphoux, "Codex Vaticanus B: Les points diacritiques des marges de Marc," *JTS* 58 (2007): 440–66; Edward D. Gravely, "The Text Critical Sigla in Codex Vaticanus" (PhD diss., Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009); Peter M. Head, "The Marginalia of Codex Vaticanus: Putting the Distigmai (Formerly Known as 'Umlauts') in Their Place" (lecture delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New Orleans, LA, 2009); Edward D. Gravely, "The Relationship of the Vaticanus Umlauts to Family 1," in *Digging for the Truth: Collected Essays regarding the Byzantine Text of the Greek New Testament; A Festschrift in Honor of Maurice A. Robinson*, ed. Mark Billington and Peter Streitenberger (Norden: FocusYourMission

(Matt 3:6), but in both cases, it marks an addition not typically found in Byzantine manuscripts (πάντες in 3:6a and ποταμῶ in 3:6b). On the basis of this small sample, then, it appears that the person responsible for these marginal notes used this siglum to indicate knowledge of textual variants, as some suspect the Vaticanus scribes to have done. While in Vaticanus, distigmai are typically written horizontally, the clearest instance of a distigme in GA 274 is written diagonally, as pictured in figure 10.

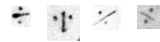


Figure 11: Examples of the lemniskos siglum written in different orientations.

The *lemniskos* (also known by the longer name *obelos periestigmene*) is a later form of another of the Aristarchan text-critical sigla, the *obelos*, which was originally intended to mark short segments of text deemed spurious.⁵¹ The obelos is one of two Aristarchan sigla employed by Origen to a similar end in his work on the Old Testament, though it is not clear whether he used the dotted or plain form.⁵² As the sample images in figure 11 demonstrate, this siglum is written in several orientations in GA 274.



Figure 12: Example of the looped lemniskos siglum.

The siglum depicted in figure 12 appears to be unknown in the literature, so I will refer to it as a *looped lemniskos* due to its appearance.



Figure 13: The double lemniskos siglum.

The siglum depicted in figure 13 is also, to the best of my knowledge, unnamed, so I will refer to it as a *double lemniskos*. While it does not seem to have been given a name in the literature, previous studies have identified sigla with a similar appearance.⁵³



Figure 14: The diplo periestigmene siglum, as found in its only occurrence in GA 274.

The *diplo periestigmene* is another of the Aristarchan sigla, whose classical function was to indicate passages where the textual critic disagreed with the decision of another textual critic.⁵⁴ This siglum is typically written with the point of the diplo facing to the right, with one dot above the point and one below, but GA 274 only contains the form pictured in figure 14, with the diplo reversed.

KG, 2014), 54–72; Philip B. Payne, “Vaticanus Distigme-obelos Symbols Marking Added Text, Including 1 Corinthians 14.34–5,” *NTS* 63 (2017): 604–25; Pietro Versace, *I Marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, Studi e Testi 528 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2018), 68–70; and Jan Krans, “Paragraphos, Not Obelos, in Codex Vaticanus,” *NTS* 65 (2019): 252–57.

⁵¹ McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 9 n. 4.

⁵² See Francesca Schironi, “The Ambiguity of Signs: Critical σημεία from Zenodotus to Origen,” in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren R. Niehoff (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 87–112, esp. 102, and McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 12 n. 18.

⁵³ James Shiel, “A Set of Greek Reference Signs in the Florentine MS. of Boethius’ Translation of the *Prior Analytics* (B.N. Conv. Soppr. J. VI. 34),” *Scriptorium* 38.2 (1984): 327–42. A symbol that looks like an obelos with four dots is depicted in entry iv e in the table on p. 328.

⁵⁴ McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 9 n. 4.



Figure 15: Examples of the various types of arrow sigla.

A dizzying variety of symbols sharing a basic arrow shape are found throughout GA 274. The simplest form at the left of figure 15 could plausibly be read as a diplo,⁵⁵ but with the addition of dots and loops at one or both ends and shapes and strokes in the middle, the siglum quickly becomes unrecognizable as such. For this reason, and because these sigla appear not to be named in existing literature, I will dub them *arrows*.



Figure 16: Examples of the ancora siglum written with different tips and directions.

The *ancora* is a text-critical sign whose usual function is to restore omitted text, although it is occasionally also used to mark general textual variation.⁵⁶ The text and margin of GA 274 preserve this symbol in the traditional upward and downward orientations, but it also preserves the occasional right-facing ancora. Examples of all of these variations are shown in figure 16.



Figure 17: Example of the asteriskos siglum.

The *asteriskos* (pictured in fig. 17) is another of the Aristarchan text-critical signs. Its traditional function was to mark the original location of a passage that had been spuriously added or transposed from another source,⁵⁷ and Origen employed it for the similar job of indicating where the Hebrew Bible preserved a passage not found in the Septuagint.⁵⁸



Figure 18: The *chi* siglum.

The siglum depicted in figure 18 has been described as “a rapid form of *chi*.”⁵⁹ While the chi siglum does not appear to have one exclusive function assigned to it, scribes generally treated it like the Aristarchan diplo, using it to highlight a noteworthy passage or to direct the reader to a comment on such a passage.⁶⁰



Figure 19: Example of the *s* siglum.

⁵⁵ The forms found in column viii of the table in Shiel, “Set of Greek Reference Signs,” 328 certainly bear a resemblance to some of the shapes presented in our images; Shiel classifies all of these as diplai morphed by a cursive hand (336). Nevertheless, GA 274 uses diplai in the margin to indicate lines that reference other scriptural passages, and these diplai look unaffected by cursive influence.

⁵⁶ Shiel, “Set of Greek Reference Signs,” 11–13.

⁵⁷ Shiel, “Set of Greek Reference Signs,” 9 n. 4.

⁵⁸ See Schironi, “Ambiguity of Signs,” 102–3, and McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 12 n. 18.

⁵⁹ Shiel, “Set of Greek Reference Signs,” 337. The siglum corresponds to entry xiv g in the table on p. 328.

⁶⁰ McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 19–21.

This zig-zag-shaped symbol shown in figure 19 has been dubbed the ^s siglum in a recent treatment of its occurrence in Codex Vaticanus.⁶¹ In that manuscript, at least in Matthew, it appears to indicate knowledge of a variant reading found in an alternative exemplar.



Figure 20: Various forms of the whisker siglum.

This siglum, which, up to minor variations, consists of a wavy line with a loop at one end, has not received any treatment in the literature to the best of my knowledge. I will therefore refer to the forms depicted in figure 20 (from left to right, respectively) as an *upward whisker*, a *downward whisker*, and a *stroked whisker*.

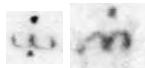


Figure 21: The *omega* and inverted *omega* sigla.

The siglum depicted variously in figure 21 also appears to lack an existing name, so I will refer to its forms in GA 274 as *omega* and *inverted omega*.



Figure 22: Example of the *γράφεται* abbreviation siglum.

The siglum pictured in figure 22, a common abbreviation for *γράφεται*, is an explicit indication of an alternate reading found in other manuscripts.

Summary of Findings

Table 2 summarizes this study's findings on the marginal readings of GA 274. The first column gives the passage at which the marginal variant occurs. The second column indicates which siglum, if any, was used for the note. If the siglum is unclear (typically due to an attempted erasure of the note), then this uncertainty will be indicated with the “?” symbol. The third and fourth columns offer the reading of the main text and the marginal reading associated with it. In most cases, this correspondence was established in the usual way, by the presence of matching sigla in the text and margin. In some cases, the siglum was only present in one location. In other cases, there was no siglum at all, but text was present in the margin. In certain rare cases, a “marginal” reading was written in the text rather than the margin, but by the same majuscule hand (hand 1) frequently used in the margin. For the sake of completeness, I have noted all exceptional situations in the [appendix](#). The fifth column indicates which hand appears to have written the note, using the identifiers assigned in the Marginal Hands subsection. If the first hand was responsible for the note, then this will be indicated by the “*” symbol; if it is unclear which hand wrote the note, the “?” symbol will be used. Finally, the sixth column indicates my classification of the marginal reading. Each marginal reading was classified into one of the following types: A for alternate readings deemed to be adopted from non-Byzantine sources; C for corrections, both in cases of obvious errors and in cases of conformation to the common text; L for readings deemed to be derived from lectionary usage; and S for scholia.

⁶¹ Charles E. Hill, “A Neglected Text-Critical Siglum in Codex Vaticanus and Its Import for the Matthean Text,” *TC* 24 (2019).

Table 2: Summary of marginal readings in GA 274.

Pass	Siglum	Text	Margin	Hand Class	
Matt 1:11	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	εγεννησεν τον ιωακημ ιωακημ δε	2a	A
Matt 1:11-12	^s	ε (twice)	η (twice)	2a	C
Matt 2:13	arrow	αναχωρησαντων δε αυτων	αναχωρησαντων των μ(α)γ(ων)	1	L
Matt 3:6a	distigme	<i>omit</i>	παντες	1	A
Matt 3:6b	distigme	<i>omit</i>	[ποταμω]	?	A
Matt 3:8	obelos	καρπον αξιον	ους (twice)	1	A
Matt 3:11	ancora (upward)?	<i>omit</i>	[και πυρι]	?	A
Matt 4:13	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	κ(αι) καταλιπων τη(ν) ναζαρεθ	1	C
Matt 5:44	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	καλως ποιειτε τοις μισουσιν ημας	2b	C
Matt 6:22	arrow	<i>omit</i>	ουν	1	C
Matt 7:6	arrow	τ[α] αγι[α]	[το αγιον]	?	C
Matt 8:13	asteriskos	<i>omit</i>	και υποστρεψ(ας) ο εκατονταρχος εις τον οικον αυτου εν αυτη τη ωρ(α) ευρε τον παιδα αυτου υγαινοντα	2b	A
Matt 12:42	^s	ο	ω	1	C
Matt 13:32	none	<i>omit</i>	παντων	1	C
Matt 15:28	ancora (rightward)	θελης	θελεις	1	C
Matt 19:27	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	δε	1	L
Matt 20:22	none	<i>omit</i>	ν	1	C
Matt 20:23	^s	<i>omit</i>	274A*: add τουτο before ουκ εστιν εμον δουναι 274AC: add τουτο after ουκ εστιν εμον and before δουναι	1	A
Matt 23:9	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	[υμ]εις δε παντες αδελφοι εστε	1	A
Matt 23:12	none	<i>omit</i>	και οστις ταπεινωσει εαυ(τον) υψωθ(η)σειτ(αι)	1	C
Matt 23:18	asteriskos	<i>omit</i>	και ος εαν ομοση εν τω θυσιαστηριω ουδεν εστιν	2c	C
Matt 24:2	none	<i>omit</i>	μη	1	C
Matt 25:19	^s	ε	αι	1	C
Matt 25:29	none	<i>omit</i>	ταυτα λεγων εφωνει ο εχων ωτα ακουειν ακουετω	1	L
Matt 26:28	arrow	εστι	γαρ εστιν	1	C
Matt 26:39	asteriskos	<i>omit</i>	και αναστας απο της προσευχης	1	L
Mark 1:34	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	χν ειναι	1	A
Mark 2:16	arrow	<i>omit</i>	ελεγον τοις μαθηταις αυτου τι οτι μετα των τελωνων και αμαρτωλων	*	C
Mark 2:25	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	κ(αι) επεινας(εν)	1	C
Mark 5:21	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	εις γενησαρετ	1	A

Pass	Siglum	Text	Margin	Hand Class	
Mark 6:55	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	ον	1	C
Mark 7:2	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	οτι	1	A
Mark 7:4	arrow	<i>omit</i>	την κοιλιαν	*	S
Mark 7:13	double lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	του θυ	1	C
Mark 7:26	arrow	συρα φοινικισσα	συροφοινικισσα	1	C
Mark 8:26	none	<i>omit</i>	τον	?	C
Mark 9:11	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	κ(αι) οι φαρισαιοι	1	A
Mark 9:42	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	τουτων	1	L
Mark 9:44	asteriskos	<i>omit</i>	πας γαρ εν πυρι αλισθησεται	1	L
Mark 11:26	arrow	<i>omit</i>	αλλου ευαγγελ(ιου) αιτειτε και δοθησεται υμιν ζητειτε κ(αι) ευρησετε κρουεται και ανοιγησεται υμ(ιν) πας γαρ ο αιτω(ν) λαμβανει κ(αι) ο ζητ(ων) ευρισκει κ(αι) τω κρουοντι ανοιγησεται	1	L
Mark 12:26	^s	του	της	1	A
Mark 13:2	looped lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	ωδε	1	C
Mark 13:18	looped lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	μηδε σαββατου	1	A
Mark 14:27a	diple periestigmene	<i>omit</i>	υμεις	1	A
Mark 14:27b	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	τ(ης) ποιμν(ης)	1	A
Mark 14:47	ancora (rightward)	ε	αι	1	C
Mark 16:1	arrow	αυτον	τον ιν	1	L
Mark 16:8	asteriskos	<i>omit</i>	Intermediate ending	1	A
Mark 16:9	arrow	<i>omit</i>	ο ις	1	L
Luke 2:21	ancora (upward)	αυτον	το παιδιον	*	L
Luke 2:51	arrow	και η	η δε	*	L
Luke 3:38	<i>chi</i> , asteriskos	<i>omit</i>	γενεα οζ	*	S
Luke 4:24–25	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	οτι ουδεις προφητης δεκτος εστιν εν τη πατριδι αυτου επ αληθειας δε λεγω υμιν	1	C
Luke 5:19	none	ποιας	πως	1b	A
Luke 5:39	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	οινον	1	A
Luke 6:2	arrow	<i>omit</i>	ποιειν	1	C
Luke 6:10	γρ	ο δε εποιησεν	κ(αι) εξετεινεν	1	A
Luke 6:29	lemniskos	ε	αι	1	C
Luke 8:15	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	ταυτα λεγων εφωνει ο εχων ωτα ακουειν ακουετω	1	L
Luke 8:41	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	εισελθειν εις το(ν) οικον αυτ(ου)	1	C
Luke 9:12	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	η δε ημερα ηρξατο κλινειν	*/1	C
Luke 9:35	γρ	ο αγαπητος εν ω ευδοκησα	ο εκλελεγμενος	1	A
Luke 9:39	arrow	μογισ	μολις	1	A
Luke 9:50	whisker (upward)	<i>omit</i>	ου γαρ εστιν καθ υμων	1	A

Pass	Siglum	Text	Margin	Hand Class	
Luke 9:52	none	<i>omit</i>	τοπον	1	A
Luke 10:36	<i>omega</i> (inverted)	<i>omit</i>	τουτων	1	C
Luke 11:29	<i>omega</i>	<i>omit</i>	γενεα	1	L
Luke 12:21	whisker (stroked)	<i>omit</i>	ταυτα λεγων εφωνει ο εχω(ν) ωτα ακουειν ακουετω	1	L
Luke 12:49	ancora (upward)	εις	επι	1	L
Luke 14:24	whisker (downward)	<i>omit</i>	πολλοι γαρ εισιν κλητοι ολιγοι δε εκλεκτοι	1	L
Luke 17:35	asteriskos	<i>omit</i>	εσονται β αληθουσαι επι το αυτ(ο) η μια παραληφθησεται κ(αι) η ετερα αφεθησεται	1	C
Luke 18:1	arrow	προσεχειν	προσευχ(εσ)θαι	1	C
Luke 20:19	ancora (downward)	<i>omit</i>	τον λαον	1	L
Luke 21:4	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	ταυτ(α) λεγ(ων) εφωνει ο εχ(ων) ωτ(α) ακουειν ακουετ(ω)	1	L
Luke 21:24	lemniskos	ε	αι	1	C
Luke 22:43–44	asteriskos	ωφθη δε αυτω αγγελος απ ουρανου ενισχυων αυτον και γενομενος εν αγωνια εκτενεσπερον προσηυχετο εγενετο δε ο ιδρωσ αυτου ωσει θρομβοι αιματος καταβαινοντες επι την γην	<i>omit</i>	?	L
Luke 24:1	arrow	<i>omit</i>	γυναικες	1	L
John 1:21	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	και λεγει ουκ ειμι ο προφητης ει συ	1	C
John 1:28	whisker (downward)	εν βηθανια	εν βηθαβαρα	1	A
John 2:12	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	κ(αι) οι μαθ(η)ται αυτ(ου)	1	C
John 3:2	arrow	αυτον	τον ιν	1	L
John 6:24	lemniskos	<i>omit</i>	εις	1	C
John 7:19	ancora (downward)	<i>omit</i>	κ(αι) ουδεις εξ υμων ποιει τον νομον	1	C
John 10:12–13	ancora (upward)	<i>omit</i>	και ο λυκος αρπαξει αυτα κ(αι) σκορπιζη τα προβατ(α) ο δε μισθ(ωτος) φευγη	*	C
John 11:13	^s	αυτοι	εκεινοι	1	C
John 12:1	arrow	<i>omit</i>	ο ις	1	L
John 13:9	obelos	<i>omit</i>	μου	1	C

Pass	Siglum	Text	Margin	Hand Class	
John 19:13	whisker (upward)	ο ουν πιλατος	τοτε ο πιλατος	1	L
John 19:35	arrow	αυτου εστιν η μαρτυρια	εστιν η μ(α)ρτυρια αυτ(ου)	1	C
John 19:38	ancora (upward)	μετα ταυτα	τω κ(αιρ)ω	1	L
John 21:19	^s	ε	αι	1	C

As the table demonstrates, the scope and purpose of the marginal readings vary widely. We will briefly discuss the marginal readings of each class in the subsections that follow.

Corrections

Of the ninety-one marginal notes described above, forty were judged to serve the practical purpose of correcting obvious or perceived errors in order to bring the text into conformity with the Byzantine standard. The marginal notes that consist of isolated letters rather than words typically fall into this category, as they often address minor misspellings in the main text. The type-A note in Matt 3:8 is a rare outlier in this respect.

It is worth noting that not all corrections in GA 274 took place in the margin, and not all of the corrections listed under this category are strictly located in the margin. The “marginal” additions at Matt 13:32, Matt 20:22, Matt 24:2, and Mark 8:26 are written at the appropriate locations in the main text, but because they are written in the majuscule hand used for most marginal notes, I considered them worthy of inclusion in this study. Most of the corrections written in the margin concern additions or substitutions of letters or words; corrective omissions were almost always carried out through erasure of the (perceived) error in the text, although occasionally, the text to be omitted was surrounded with omission marks or crossed out.⁶² While we might expect the asteriskos siglum to be used to mark passages for erasure, it does not seem to be used this way in GA 274; it typically marks passages to be skipped or transposed in connection to lectionary usage, and for all other purposes, it is only used to mark readings to be *added*. We can also see, besides the numerous corrective omissions made directly in the text, that the scribe or a later editor would occasionally erase a portion of the text and write over it.⁶³

This raises the question of whether the in-text corrections and marginal corrections constitute different strata of editorial work and, if so, which layers are earlier than which. While most of the marginal notes are the work of the same hand, it is not completely certain that this hand was the same as the first hand, and in the case of omissions by erasure, we have no simple means to determine who was responsible for which correction.

⁶² In Matt 3:7, the addition ὁ Ἰωάννης has an *x* written on each side of it, and in John 11:39, οὖν is struck out with a thin line.

⁶³ A most unusual example appears in Matt 2:1, where the first hand wrote Ἱεροσολυμα, the spelling for Jerusalem most commonly found in this gospel, and the corrector (apparently the same scribe, given the similarity of the hands) erased it and wrote in the less common spelling Ἱερουσαλημ. Another notable example occurs in Matt 23:18, where hand 2c erased and wrote over one letter to change ἐὰν to δ’ ἄν in accordance with a marginal correction.

Lection-Related Variants

Twenty-four of the marginal notes, meanwhile, appear to have been intended to alert the reader to a change associated with the lection at a given passage. These notes often occur at the beginning of a lection, where the incipit formula replaces an existing introductory clause (John 19:38) or changes are needed in light of missing narrative context (Matt 2:13; Mark 16:1, 16:9; Luke 2:21, 24:1; John 3:2, 19:13). The incorporation of common lectionary explicits also occurs numerous times (Matt 25:29; Luke 8:15, 12:21, 14:24, 21:4). Several passages that are frequently transposed to different locations in the lectionary tradition are marked, presumably for this purpose, in the margin of GA 274 (Matt 26:39; Mark 9:44, 11:26; Luke 22:43–44). In the few remaining cases, the marginal reading was particularly well-attested in the lectionary tradition and is best explained as preserving the alternate wording to be used for the lection.

Scholia

Only two notes fall under this category. One of them, γενεαὶ ὅζ̄ in Luke 3:38, is easier to classify. This scholion is not technically in the margin, as it occupies the last line of the second column in the usual two-column layout of the Lukan genealogy, but it is surrounded by two sigla, one of which (the asteriskos) often occurs in the margin. It is depicted in figure 23.

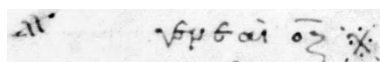


Figure 23: The scholion found in Luke 3:38.

The same scholion appears in two other manuscripts collated for this study: GA 9 (which adds a running count before each generation, placing ὅζ̄ with τοῦ θ̄υ) and 461 (which adds ομοῦ γενεαὶ ὅζ̄, “seventy-seven generations in all,” in its margin). Its common treatment as a paratextual note in these other witnesses suggests that it was intended either as a gloss for the reader’s edification or as a safeguard against scribal errors in a repetitive passage. The sigla surrounding it were likely intended to distinguish it from the text and thus prevent confusion on the part of readers or later scribes.

The purpose of the other scholion, which occurs at Mark 7:4 (already shown in fig. 4), is a bit more difficult to decipher. The first hand adds τὴν κοιλίαν (“the belly”) between κρατεῖν and βαπτισμοῦς, an addition that, among the manuscripts collated for this study, only otherwise occurs in GA 461. In that manuscript, it appears to have been written by the first hand as part of the text before it was later erased almost completely (see fig. 24). In GA 274, the addition is separated from the main text by a space so wide that it must be deliberate. Based on our classification of the similarly marked note in Luke 3:38, the best explanation I can offer is that this note was intended as an interpretive gloss to explain that the Pharisees handed down traditions about what they could eat so as “to master the belly” or that their traditions concerned what was appropriate “for the belly to digest.” The commentary on this note in the [appendix](#) contains further details.

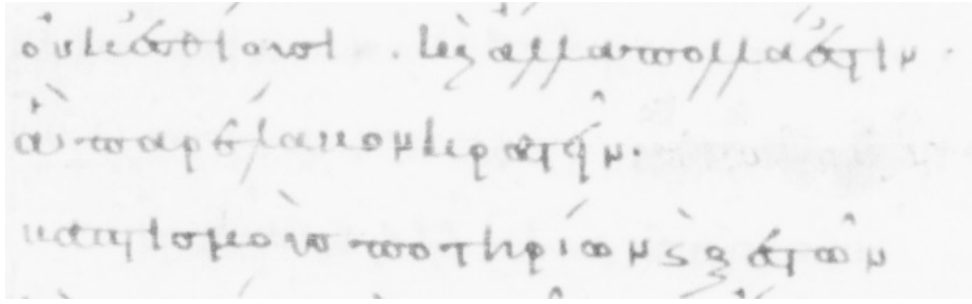


Figure 24: Mark 7:4 on folio 242^r of National Library of Russia Φ. No. 906 Gr. 219 (GA 461), the ninth-century Uspenski Gospels. The long space following κρατείν is actually an erasure that has left only a small trace of the original reading; its size and the discernible penstrokes of the underlying text would accommodate τὴν κοιλίαν well. This image was used with permission from the National Library of Russia (nlr.ru/eng/).

It is noteworthy that GA 461 attests to both of these notes in some form. Like GA 274, it has a generally Byzantine text.⁶⁴ As it can be dated precisely to the year 835,⁶⁵ it is old enough to have been an ancestor of GA 274, but significant textual differences preclude the possibility that any text like that of 461 could have been 274's only Byzantine exemplar.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, as the text and margin of GA 274 echo several other readings and corrections found in 461,⁶⁷ the precise nature of the relationship between these two witnesses is worthy of further investigation.

Alternate Readings

The remaining twenty-five readings were deemed to preserve readings likely derived from outside of the Byzantine and lectionary traditions. Two of these readings, located at Luke 6:10 and 9:35, unambiguously preserve known alternate readings, as they use the γρ(άφεται) siglum intended for exactly this purpose. Nevertheless, the character of the external support for the other marginal readings in this class strongly suggests that their source was not a Byzantine manuscript or a lectionary. In addition, the fact that nearly all of them were written by hand 1, which likely coincides with the first hand, suggests that the scribe responsible for the text was aware of these variant readings and took an interest in noting them. In some cases, a secondary source serves as a more plausible explanation for the marginal reading in question than correction of an error or lectionary usage.

⁶⁴ Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911), 1.2:718–21, 765, assigns it to his K¹ group in the gospels, and Wisse (*Profile Method*, 61) assigns it to the K^x group with GA 274 in Luke.

⁶⁵ Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 102.

⁶⁶ The two most significant differences are that GA 461 contains Matt 16:2b–3, while 274 does not, and that 461 omits the PA, while 274 includes it.

⁶⁷ See the collations and discussion on Matt 1:11–12, 2:13, 3:8, and 7:6 and on Luke 14:24 and 24:1.

4. Textual Affinity of Alternate Readings

For the marginal readings that are likely based on sources other than the Byzantine and lectionary traditions, we would like to know what these sources were. Because many manuscripts of individual gospels exist and some gospel manuscripts are known to exhibit different textual profiles in different books, it is better to analyze the textual agreement of the genealogically significant readings in the GA 274 margin (which I will denote GA 274A) with the other manuscript witnesses collated for this study separately for each of the gospels.

The full collation data for each of the type-A readings in the GA 274 margin can be found in the [appendix](#). For each book, the following subsections will list the manuscripts with the highest number of agreements with the margin of GA 274 and highlight the marginal readings with which they agree. Defective and alternate orthographic forms are normalized for the purposes of comparison. After normalization, only first-hand readings of the collated witnesses are included in these tabulations; corrections, alternate readings, and commentary readings in these witnesses are excluded. If a marginal reading has only partial support from a textual family (e.g., $f^1 p^1$) or one of multiple lections in a lectionary (e.g., L63/2), then the witness is counted as supporting the marginal reading.

Matthew

In Matthew, the ten witnesses that most agree with the eight readings of GA 274A are GA 33, 030, 16, 1216, 04, 021, 042, f^1 , 184, and 449. Table 3 enumerates the passages where these witnesses share the reading of GA 274A.

Table 3: Agreements of GA 274A with other witnesses in Matthew. Note that in 20:23, the indicated agreement is with the reading of 274AC rather than that of 274A*.

Passage	33	030	16	1216	04	021	042	f^1	184	449
Matt 1:11	♦	♦	♦	♦		♦	♦	♦	♦	
Matt 3:6a	♦									
Matt 3:6b	♦		♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦
Matt 3:8	♦	♦								♦
Matt 3:11	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦
Matt 8:13	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦
Matt 20:23	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦					
Matt 23:9		♦								

Notably, GA 33, a ninth-century minuscule known to preserve many earlier Alexandrian readings,⁶⁸ accounts for nearly all of the marginal readings in question. The only type-A marginal reading not covered by this witness is the transposition of the concluding phrase of 23:8 to 23:9. The witnesses that do preserve this marginal reading include GA 030, which also supports most of GA 274's other marginal readings in Matthew, and GA 1342 (not included in table 3 due to insufficient agreement), which shares the rare reading τὰ ἄγρια found in GA 274's text of Matt 7:6 and many of its marginal readings throughout the Synoptic Gospels. Thus, the alternate readings noted in the margin in Matthew appear to have a largely Alexandrian profile.

⁶⁸ See Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 87–88, and Comfort, *Commentary*, 112.

It is worth recalling here that one of GA 274's marginal readings demonstrates an almost exclusive agreement with GA 33. This is the addition of πάντες in 3:6, whose only other support from the witnesses collated for this study comes from a later corrector of GA 04. Given that GA 33 is dated a century earlier than GA 274, it is possible that the scribe of GA 274 had access to it, but it would be more parsimonious to assume that all of GA 274's marginal readings in Matthew came from a single non-Byzantine exemplar that had a text similar to that of GA 33 in Matthew, but also featured the transposition in 23:8–9.

Mark

In Mark, the ten witnesses that most agree with the nine readings of GA 274A are GA 1342, 019, 579, 042, 33, 1071, 1093, 1243, 01, and 03. Table 4 enumerates the passages where these witnesses share the marginal reading of GA 274.

Table 4: Agreements of GA 274A with other witnesses in Mark.

Passage	1342	019	579	042	33	1071	1093	1243	01	03
Mark 1:34	♦	♦		♦	♦					♦
Mark 5:21	♦									
Mark 7:2	♦	♦	♦		♦	♦			♦	♦
Mark 9:11	♦	♦					♦		♦	
Mark 12:26	♦			♦	♦		♦	♦		
Mark 13:18	♦			♦		♦		♦		
Mark 14:27a	♦		♦					♦		
Mark 14:27b	♦		♦			♦	♦			
Mark 16:8		♦	♦							

Here, the textual affinity of GA 274A is also clear: it agrees with GA 1342, a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century minuscule, everywhere except at the addition of the intermediate ending after 16:8. This reading happens to be covered by the next two closest manuscripts, GA 019 (eighth century) and 579 (thirteenth century). While the latter two manuscripts are well-known,⁶⁹ GA 1342 has received slightly less attention; its text in Mark was described and collated by Silva New in 1932,⁷⁰ and D. C. Parker has also offered the following brief remark: “1342 is a manuscript that has an interesting text in Mark; I do not know that its text of Luke has ever been studied.”⁷¹ Given that this witness covers virtually all of the alternate readings found in the margin of GA 274, we have reason to suspect that these marginal readings were copied from a single, now-lost manuscript similar to GA 1342, but with the intermediate ending added.

In multiple places in Mark, GA 274A agrees exclusively or almost exclusively with GA 019, 579, or 1342. In 13:18, where GA 274A, 1342, and a few other witnesses share the reading μηδὲ σαββάτου, GA 019 appears to have derived ἡ σαββάτου from their reading. In 5:21, only GA 274A and 1342 add the phrase εἰς γεννήσαρετ (ignoring variations in spelling). In 9:11, only four collated witnesses, two of which are GA 019 and 1342, join GA 274A in adding any men-

⁶⁹ See Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 77, 89.

⁷⁰ Silva New, “Codex 1342: Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, St. Saba 411 (Greg. 1342, von Soden ε1311),” in Kirsopp Lake and Silva New, eds., *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts*, HTS 17 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2007), 72–94.

⁷¹ D. C. Parker, *Living Text*, 61.

tion of the Pharisees. Similarly, the small handful of Greek manuscripts that add the intermediate ending after 16:8 includes GA 019 and 579.

Luke

In Luke, the ten witnesses that most agree with the seven readings of GA 274A are GA 1342, 03, 019, 032, 040, *f*¹, 75, 157, 371, and 517. Table 5 enumerates the passages where these witnesses share the marginal reading of GA 274.

Table 5: Agreements of GA 274A with other witnesses in Luke.

Passage	1342	03	019	032	040	<i>f</i> ¹	75	157	371	517
Luke 5:19						♦	♦	♦	♦	♦
Luke 5:39	♦								♦	
Luke 6:10				♦						♦
Luke 9:35	♦	♦	♦		♦					
Luke 9:39		♦		♦		♦		♦		
Luke 9:50	♦		♦		♦		♦			
Luke 9:52	♦									

The situation in Luke is less clear. As in Mark, GA 1342 is the top-ranking witness, followed by a variety of non-Byzantine manuscripts, but it only accounts for just over half of the marginal readings in Luke. To complicate matters further, no two of the witnesses in this table can account for all of GA 274's marginal readings; the best we can do with the manuscripts available to us is to consider combinations of at least three of them. There are many such combinations that will work, but the combination that most economically accounts for the marginal readings with the sparsest support is (1342, *f*¹, 517). Alternatively, this difficulty may be an indication that the marginal reading πῶς for ποίας in Luke 5:19, having support from a sizable cross-section of the majority of manuscripts, is better classified as a type-C reading than as a type-A reading. In this case, GA 1342 and 032 alone would account for all of the remaining type-A marginal readings.

Notably, as was the case in Mark, GA 1342 is indispensable in accounting for the marginal readings of GA 274 in Luke. In 5:39, GA 274A and 1342 are two of only four witnesses that add οἶνον after παλαιὸν, and in 9:52, they are the only two witnesses to add τόπον, though they add it in slightly different places (GA 274A adds it after αὐτῷ, while GA 1342 adds it before).

John

Since John features only one type-A marginal reading (ἐν Βηθαβαρᾶ for ἐν Βηθανίᾳ in 1:28), and since this marginal reading is so widely-attested, a table of other witnesses agreeing with GA 274A in John would not be informative here. It would appear that in the copying of John in this manuscript, virtually none of the mixture that we observed in the Synoptic Gospels took place. Indeed, the marginal variant in 1:28 was probably only present because, as the external evidence demonstrates,⁷² the existence of this variant was relatively common knowledge

⁷² Of the manuscripts collated in the [appendix](#), GA 22, 274, 585, 892, and 1192 explicitly note one reading or the other as an alternate reading, and GA 01, 04, 2, 199, 804 are all corrected from one reading to the other.

among scribes.⁷³ The scribe or reader responsible for this marginal note was likely privy to this knowledge.

5. Functions of Critical Sigla

With all marginal sigla catalogued and their corresponding notes classified, we can examine the consistency with which they were used for specific functions. For the purposes of classification, I will assign each siglum to one of the mutually exclusive classes described in table 6.

Table 6: Functional classes of sigla.

<i>Add</i>	The siglum marks an addition or transposition of omitted material.
<i>Sub</i>	The siglum marks a substitution for a phrase present in the text.
<i>Trans</i>	The siglum marks a phrase present in the text as spurious (i.e., having been added or transposed from another source or passage).
<i>Note</i>	The siglum is used to mark an editorial note that does not imply a change to the text.

Table 7 tabulates the observed classes of each occurrence of each siglum detailed in the Sigla subsection of the Marginal Readings section.

Table 7: Classification of occurrences of sigla in GA 274.

Siglum	Add	Sub	Trans	Note	Total
distigme	2	0	0	0	2
lemniskos	12	2	0	0	14
looped lemniskos	2	0	0	0	2
double lemniskos	1	0	0	0	1
diple periestigmene	1	0	0	0	1
arrow	7	10	0	1	18
ancora	13	5	0	0	18
asteriskos	3	0	4	1	8
<i>chi</i>	0	0	0	1	1
^s	2	6	0	0	8
whisker	3	2	0	0	5
(inverted) <i>omega</i>	2	0	0	0	2
γρ	0	2	0	0	2

Based on the spread of the sigla that occur more frequently, the scribes or readers responsible for the marginal notes seem to have been aware of the established functions of some critical signs but used others more loosely. The distigme, looped lemniskos, double lemniskos, diple periestigmene, and *omega* sigla are all used exclusively to mark additions or restorations of

⁷³ This is likely due to discussion of this variant on the part of several church fathers; for more details, see Amy M. Donaldson, “Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings among Greek and Latin Church Fathers” (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009), 426–28, and the discussion in the commentary on this marginal note in the [appendix](#) for more details.

material omitted in the text. The standard lemniskos is almost always used for the same purpose, as we would expect in light of its historical usage; the only exceptions are Luke 6:29 and 21:24, where it marks the substitution of certain letters for others in a misspelled word. In the one place where a siglum resembling a dipole periestigmene is used (Mark 14:27), it does not seem to mark a disagreement between textual critics. For one thing, I am not aware of any text-critical decision at this point that the scribe or reader responsible for the note might be contesting. In addition, the innocuous nature of the variant under consideration (the presence or absence of ὑμεῖς after πάντες) makes the variant an unlikely topic for a critical disagreement. The ^s siglum is used in GA 274 primarily to mark small additions or corrections, usually concerning letters or single words. The *chi* symbol is used only once (and in conjunction with another symbol) to mark a scholion. The asteriskos, in line with its traditional purpose, is the only siglum used to mark passages transposed for lectionary purposes, but in some places, it unexpectedly marks what appear to be longer corrective additions to the text. It is not clear if the author of the corresponding notes was unaware of the traditional function of this siglum, was aware of it and believed the marginal readings to be spurious additions found in other copies, or wanted to clarify that the corrective additions were not taken from the exemplar of GA 274 but from other copies. The arrow, ancora, and whisker symbols seem to be used as general-purpose markers of changes made in the margin.

6. Concluding Remarks

This analysis of the marginal readings of GA 274 has shown that the margin of this manuscript preserves readings of all types, from corrections to lection-related variants to variants of genealogical significance. The twenty-five marginal readings in the last category have a mixed profile throughout the Synoptic Gospels, skewing Alexandrian (in agreement with GA 33) in Matthew, resembling the mixed text of GA 1342 in Mark, and having readings from multiple sources, including GA 1342, in Luke. In John, the marginal readings typically consist of corrections, alterations intended for lections, and variants within the Byzantine text. Based on the marginal notes' connections to GA 1342 in Mark and Luke, further investigation into that manuscript's textual character, particularly in Luke, would be a fruitful future effort; its text throughout the gospels has already been transcribed,⁷⁴ and it is included as a witness in the IGNTP Luke collation, so the data needed for such a study is already available in full.

I have noted that the marginal notes of GA 274 appear to be written by multiple distinct hands, some using majuscule script and others using minuscule script. Specifically, I have identified two distinct majuscule hands and four minuscule hands, although there is strong evidence that the majuscule hand 1 is the same as the first hand responsible for the minuscule main text. The possibility remains that on closer examination, some of the minuscule hands may turn out to be the same.

A more important question is why the notes unrelated to correction or lectionary usage were written in the first place. One explanation is that the scribes or readers responsible for these notes added them simply because they knew of textual issues in these places. Given the textual affinities of these notes in the Synoptic Gospels, the noted variants may have been identified by the scribes or readers responsible checking the text of GA 274 against a single non-Byzantine exemplar or perhaps a few non-Byzantine exemplars. If this was indeed what happened, then the margin of GA 274 would serve as an extensive example of New Testament textual criticism in the Middle Ages.

⁷⁴ New, "Codex 1342."

A more nuanced possibility is that the marginal notes arose through a copying process that involved block mixture. While the text of GA 274 is largely Byzantine, it occasionally does depart from the Byzantine profile; locations where this seems likely to have happened are highlighted in table 1. We also observe clusters of genealogically significant variants in both the text and margin, such as Matt 3 (where four significant marginal variants appear in the span of six verses), Matt 23 (where the text preserves the middle form ἡμεθα and the itacistic spelling ὑμεῖν, and the margin notes a rare transposition of content from the end of v. 8 to the end of v. 9), Mark 9 (where the text inexplicably omits ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ in v. 34, following a genealogically significant marginal variant in v. 11 and preceding two more marginal variants in vv. 42 and 44), and the latter half of Luke 9 (where the margin features four genealogically significant readings). While the long version of Jesus’s rebuke in Luke 9:55–56 is omitted by part of the Byzantine tradition and may well have been omitted by GA 274’s exemplar, its omission might also have been due to the use of a non-Byzantine exemplar, given the prevalence of non-Byzantine marginal readings in this segment of the text. If block mixture is the source of these phenomena, then the genealogically significant marginal readings we observe in these places would have to have been written close to the time the manuscript was produced, as they would represent places where the scribe was copying the text from a non-Byzantine exemplar, noticed that there was a variant in the process of copying, and supplied the Byzantine reading from memory either in the text (as would have happened most often) or in the margin (as was probably the case in Matt 7:6). This dovetails with the suggestion that the many marginal notes of hand 1 are in fact the work of the first hand, and it agrees with Scholz’s suggestion that the scribe of GA 274 “had an ancient manuscript in front of him” from the start.⁷⁵

Based on the general Byzantine character of the main text of GA 274 throughout the gospels, of course, we must qualify Scholz’s remark by saying that if the scribe did have access to an ancient manuscript, then this manuscript probably served as a secondary exemplar or as a supplement to lacunae in a primary exemplar with a more common text. We must also disagree with Scholz’s claim that the author of the marginal notes did not use any specific text-critical sigla to mark the notes—in the Sigla subsection of the Marginal Reading section, we saw that several of the sigla used for marginal readings were known to have text-critical functions in antiquity—although we can concede, based on the findings of the Functions of Critical Sigla section, that whoever used these particular sigla did not always do so consistently or according to their original purposes. We may express a bit more confidence than Scholz in the “critical feeling” we detect in some of the marginal notes, but he is probably right that both text-critical activity and mixture of sources, each in some form, gave rise to the marginal readings.

However GA 274’s marginal notes came into being, it is clear that in a number of cases, they were written with the express purpose of recording non-Byzantine variants, many of which are known to be early. Even apart from the main text of GA 274, which occasionally exhibits unusual characteristics of its own, the margin attests to readings with sparse (in some cases, otherwise singular) support, and for this reason, I would argue that GA 274, or at least its margin, is worthy of further discussion and perhaps inclusion in the apparatus of future critical editions of the New Testament.

⁷⁵ Scholz, *Biblich-kritische Reise*, 37.