JOHN D. MEADE & PETER J. GURRY

SCRIBES & SCRIPTURE

THE AMAZING STORY OF
HOW WE GOT THE BIBLE

"This is the book I've been waiting for! With skeptical claims against the Bible readily available online, this book will be a resource I will refer to again and again. Looking for an accessible yet thorough explanation of how you got your Bible? Look no further than *Scribes and Scripture*."

Alisa Childers, author, *Another Gospel?* and *Live Your Truth and Other Lies*; Host, *The Alisa Childers Podcast*

"Many Christians love the Bible and yet know little of the fascinating story of what happened between its original composition and the book we can hold in our hands today. In *Scribes and Scripture,* John Meade and Peter Gurry provide a succinct and yet amazingly detailed overview of how the Bible was written and copied, canonized, and translated. This book will enable Christians to understand why Protestants have a different canon than Roman Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox. It will teach them how to respond to secular critics who claim the Bible has been hopelessly corrupted over time or that the process of canonization was the arbitrary result of power struggles in the early church. And it will encourage them that we can trust our Bibles without ignoring or downplaying the messy realities of scribal errors, variant manuscripts, or disagreements about canonicity in the church. Properly considered, these 'human' elements in the story of the Bible in no way detract from the Bible's authority as the word of God. I enthusiastically recommend this timely, unique, wise, and God-honoring book to anyone who wonders how we have received the Bible we have today. It will be the first book I recommend on the subject to any curious inquirer."

Gavin Ortlund, Senior Pastor, First Baptist Church of Ojai; author, *Finding the Right Hills to Die On*

"Misconceptions and myths about the Bible's origins lead many to reject it and continue to confuse sincere believers. Now, at last, we have a book that shatters these misconceptions. This impressively informative book is based on solid scholarship, yet it is accessible, easy to read, and profitable for any reader at any level. Not for a generation have we seen such a helpful book on this topic! I heartily recommend it to everyone."

Peter J. Gentry, Distinguished Visiting Professor of Old Testament and Senior Research Fellow of the Text & Canon Institute at Phoenix Seminary

"Questions proliferate today on the Bible as scholars, and even laypeople, debate whether the Scriptures were accurately copied and transmitted, whether the books accepted as canonical are the right ones, and whether our many translations are accurate or needed. Meade and Gurry give us a sane and responsible tour on all these questions. One of the striking features of the book is its fairness and its reasonableness. No book, of course, is written without a perspective, but Meade and Gurry aren't trying to win a debate or to demonize opponents. They carefully present and analyze the evidence so that readers can make their own judgments. I can't think of another book that introduces in such a brief and illuminating way matters of text, canon, and translation."

Thomas R. Schreiner, James Buchanan Harrison Professor of New Testament Interpretation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

"The history of the Bible is complex: it involves multiple languages (ancient and modern), and it divides into two very much distinct (but also overlapping) branches we call the Old and New Testaments. Christians need trusted guides to lead us through that history. This is why I am so grateful for the work of Old Testament specialist John Meade, New Testament specialist Peter Gurry, and their Text & Canon Institute. They represent the newest generation of evangelical historians of the Bible, and they are both able and eager to keep a foot in the academy and a foot in the church. There are many threats to the orthodox viewpoint on text, canon, and translation. *Scribes and Scripture* is their attempt to serve the church by guiding Christians toward an accurate and faith-filled grasp of the Bible's history."

Mark Ward, Editor, *Bible Study Magazine*; author, *Authorized: The Use and Misuse of the King James Bible*

Scribes and Scripture

Scribes and Scripture

The Amazing Story of How We Got the Bible

John D. Meade and Peter J. Gurry

WHEATON, ILLINOIS

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To my parents, John and Phyllis Meade, who bought me my first Bible and taught me to love it.

JOHN D. MEADE

To my mother, who, like Lois, taught me from childhood to know the Holy Scriptures (2 Tim. 3:15).

PETER J. GURRY

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Preface

WE HAVE HAD a long interest in the history of the Bible, going all the way back to our student days. We have continued to research and teach on this subject as professors and now directors of the Text & Canon Institute at Phoenix Seminary. In the last few years, we have been teaching the material in this book to church audiences around the country in our Scribes & Scripture conferences. Doing this has honed the material for church audiences and has confirmed to us that a new book on the history of the Bible is needed. We would like to start by thanking our church audiences for listening to earlier forms of this material and, in several cases, for providing encouraging and constructive feedback on it.

In the course of writing, we also have been helped and encouraged by many. First, we thank the experts who read early sections of the book: Timothy Berg, Anthony Ferguson, Ed Gallagher, Peter Gentry, Peter Head, Elijah Hixson, Drew Longacre, Kaspars Ozoliņš, Maurice Robinson, James Snapp, and Mark Ward. Second, the following pastors and laypeople who read the whole manuscript and offered invaluable feedback deserve thanks: Jenny Clark, Dru-Lynn Gentle, Marty Gurry, Jenny Hillyard, Kit Donald, Rich Richardson, and Cindi Steele. Third, thanks to Todd and Elisa Watson for lending us their cabin in northern Arizona so that we could complete the final stages of writing this book.

Last, but certainly not least, we thank our wives, Annie and Kris, and our children. Their sacrifice made the writing of this book possible.

John D. Meade and Peter J. Gurry
Rim Country, AZ

Introduction

MARY JONES WAS ABOUT eight years old when she became a Christian. Having learned to read, she wanted to own a Bible in her native Welsh language. But in 1800, Bibles were expensive and hard to come by in Wales. A Bible owned by a relative of Mary's, who lived several miles from her home, was her only access. So she saved for six years until she had enough money to buy one of her own. When she sought out a Bible, she was told that a Mr. Charles was her best hope. The only problem was that he lived some twenty-five miles from Mary's home. Undeterred, she walked the entire way, barefoot, to find Mr. Charles and fulfill her dream of owning her own Bible. Mary's story lives on today at a visitor's center in Wales dedicated to her memory.[1]

Mary's story reminds us of two realities that lie behind the book you're reading. The first is why people care about the Bible at all. Today, especially in the West, some care mainly for historical or cultural reasons. The Bible is, as you probably know, the bestselling book of all time, and that proliferation has given it an extraordinary influence on history—on Western history certainly, but increasingly on the history of people across the globe. These reasons alone would be enough to warrant a book on how we got the Bible. But as much as the Bible has influenced art, politics, philosophy, economics, language, and so

1 It is known as the Byd Mary Jones World (https://www.bydmaryjonesworld.org.uk/). Mary's story is told on the Bible Society's website (https://www.biblesociety.org.uk/about-us/our-history/) and in William Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1904), 465–70.

much else, it is the Bible's own claim about itself—that it is the word of God—that gives us reason to care about its history. It is the million untold stories like Mary's—personal stories of treasuring the Bible as divine revelation—that inspired us to write this book.

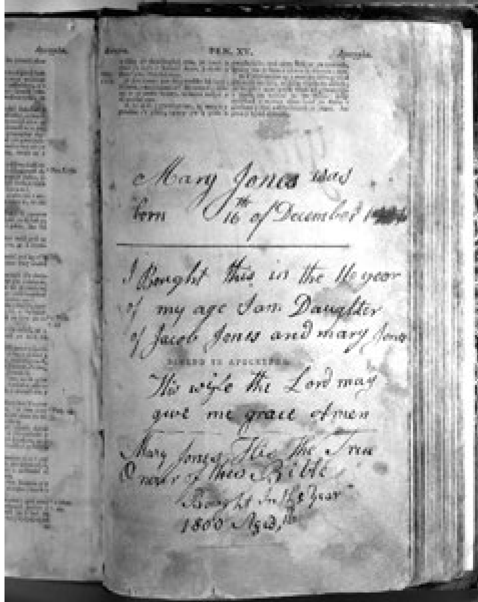

Fig. 0.1. A note in Mary Jones's own hand, at the end of the Apocrypha, gives her birthdate and the date she acquired her Bible.

Besides the love that so many have for the Bible, the second reality is that there is a Bible for people to love. That's why this book is not about the stories *in* the Bible, but rather the story *of* the Bible. It's the story of how we got this book that's been translated, forbidden, feared, argued over, abused, died for, and, above all, treasured. How did a collection of books written across millennia, gathered over centuries, copied by hand, and then printed become a single book we know as the Bible? Behind the question of how someone like Mary Jones acquires a Bible lies the much larger question of how there is a Bible for someone to acquire. And why do different

branches of Christianity have different Bibles? Why were some books included and others left out? Who copied these books, and did they do a decent job?

There are different answers to these questions. Sometimes the story told is one of scandal, innuendo, and even conspiracy. The books that make up the Bible, it is said, were chosen at a council by power-hungry male bishops who suppressed the manuscripts that threatened their status. These same books were then copied by scribes eager to edit out the parts they didn't like, so now we are left with bad translations. The distinct impression is that our Bible is the product of chance, a mere accident of history, something whose current form no one could have predicted. The implication is that it can't be God's word. This story often appeals to a secularizing culture that is deeply suspicious of claims to authority and more inclined than ever to reject some of the Bible's unfashionable morality. But is it true?

Christians sometimes overreact to this first story by downplaying the human element and attributing everything about the Bible to God's immediate work. The Bible's history can seem like a two-act play in which God inspires the original authors, who then hand their works over to English translators. When the curtain rises, we have a leather-bound Bible, complete with chapter headings and cross-references. In this story, the line from God to us is very straight and very short. But is this true?

Between these two stories lies a wide spectrum of ideas about the process of how we got the Bible. We have regularly been asked about whether Hebrew scribes destroyed their copies if they made a single mistake, whether the canon was decided at the Council of Nicaea, or whether apocryphal Gospels were suppressed by church leaders. These are the common questions in the popular imagination, ones we answer in what follows.

Why This Book?

We chose to write this book because we see numerous benefits of knowing the history of the Bible.

Antidote

Sincere questions like those listed above are the first reason we have written this book. We want to offer a corrective to some common misconceptions. Few people have the luxury to study the history of the Bible at the depth scholars do. We hope this book is a service to those who want to know more. We also hope it serves as an inoculation against unhealthy skepticism. Those who love the Bible a great deal sometimes know next to nothing about how we got it. When they encounter "problem areas," especially from skeptical sources, the effects can be jarring. This is especially true for young people raised in the church. Once they enter college, they discover that the secular academy has long treated the Bible like any other ancient book, human from beginning to end. Upon discovering the "human history" of the Bible, Christians can feel betrayed if they've never heard that the Bible has a history. A book that once seemed in a category by itself now looks all too human. Can they still trust it?

The wonderful thing about the Bible's history is that so much of it is concrete—we are dealing with a book, after all. The facts are often what they are. Sometimes they do raise questions, and our goal is not to minimize those. In this history, there is much to agree on by all parties. But the question is how to interpret the evidence. To take one example, not all of the Dead Sea Scrolls align closely with the medieval Hebrew manuscripts on which our modern English Bibles are based. How do we interpret that? Should we take these unaligned texts as the rule or as the exception? In the case of the canon, do debates about certain books in the early church give us less confidence in the result or more? We are convinced that a fair interpretation of the evidence does not challenge the authority of the Bible. In many cases, it supports it. The difference is often not the evidence itself so much as how we explain it. Our goal is to offer a Protestant explanation that is honest with the evidence and shows why we think the Bible's history supports its authority. Such an explanation can instill a greater appreciation and confidence in the Bible.

Inspiration

Beyond its apologetic value, the story of the Bible is a fascinating one. It's full of twists and turns, heroes and villains, hard work, and innovation. All of this history provides much inspiration. A Christian can hardly read about Origen's herculean textual work, the Masoretes' care in copying, or William Tyndale's death for his pioneering English translation without being moved to a greater appreciation for the Bible as we have it today. Just as noteworthy—maybe more so—is the army of anonymous scribes, those unsung heroes who copied letter by letter, sometimes in the cold, sometimes for little pay, but often because they valued the text over their own lives. Theirs was a thankless task, and without them we would have no Bible to speak of. All this should fill us with gratitude. We have been handed an incredible legacy—one we should be careful not to take for granted.

Interpretation

A third benefit of knowing the history of the Bible is that it improves our reading of the Bible. This is not the case for most books. If you buy the latest novel, you probably don't need to know who published it, how it was typeset, or who picked the chapter titles in order to understand it. But the Bible has a history measured in millennia. It has not always looked the way it does now. When reading the Bible today, it helps to know something of the difference between its earliest forms and those in which we now encounter it. It helps to know how the books came to be in their current order. It helps to know what Bible footnotes mean when they say, "Some manuscripts have . . ." It sometimes surprises people to learn that the Bible did not always have verses or chapter headings; footnotes or red letters; cross-references or maps; headings; or even punctuation. All these were added to aid comprehension. But they can also hinder it when misunderstood. Knowing this history can lead to better interpretation.

Curiosity

A final motivation in writing this book is to spark your curiosity. As much as we tried to canvass the full story from ancient scribes to

modern translations, we had to be selective. There is far more to discover, more to study, and so much more to learn. We would love for this book to inspire you to dig deeper, to investigate the story further. For some, learning this story may even inspire a lifelong academic study of this subject as it did for us—it certainly deserves it. There is no shortage of scholarly work to be done. For this reason, at the end of each chapter, we have pointed to books that will take you further. So, dig in.

Preview of the Book

The book is divided into three parts: (1) the writing and copying of the Bible, (2) the canonizing of the Bible, and (3) the translating of the Bible. We have illuminated the story by choosing relevant pictures and crafting sidebars to give further detail. They can often be read independently but will make the most sense when read as part of the story's main thread. To better guide your reading, here is a brief overview of where we're headed.

Part 1 details how the Bible was first written and then copied and transmitted by scribes. Given that scribes were human and made mistakes, these chapters explain how modern scholarship works to identify the original text of the Bible.

Part 2 describes the history of how we got the books in the Bible, or the question of the biblical canon. Chapters 4 and 5 unpack the Old Testament canon's history up to the Reformation and beyond. Chapter 6 explains how we got the New Testament canon and also what early Christians thought about other books not finally recognized as canonical.

Part 3 chronicles the history of Bible translation, showing how God's words were translated from early on by both Jews and Christians up to the time of the Reformation. The final two chapters in this section focus on the history of the English Bible, ending with a look at why we have so many English translations to choose from today.

The book's conclusion addresses the major theological question raised by the preceding chapters: Does the human history of the Bible negate its divine origin? To the contrary, we argue that God

has not left us without a sure word, just as he did not leave Mary Jones without one either.

Mary's Legacy

The story of Mary Jones's Bible does not end with her. In 1802, at a meeting with church leaders in London, Mr. Charles recounted her dedication to owning her own Bible. He was there to urge a solution to the lack of affordable Bibles in Wales. A pastor there named Joseph Hughes asked if a new society could be formed. But he went further, asking, "If for Wales, why not for the [united] kingdom? And if for the kingdom, why not for the world?" That question was eventually answered, with the help of William Wilberforce and other members of the famous Clapham Sect, by the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Today, it works with an international network of other Bible societies to produce and distribute millions of Bibles in hundreds of languages around the world. All this stems from one girl's determination to own her own Bible.

In many ways, this is the story of the Bible. It is the story of those who have longed to have God's word and the story of those who have labored to supply it. We hope it inspires you to do both.

PART 1

TEXT

1

Writing the Bible

WE READ THE BIBLE today through a number of media, such as physical books, computers, smartphones, and tablet devices. Perhaps we do not think much about the different reading experiences that technology has produced: turning bound pages in a physical book, scrolling through text with a mouse, or sliding a finger on a phone screen to advance a story or news article. These media represent advances in book and information technology. Each of them brings about a new way to experience reading and communication, but our modern terms *tablet* and *scrolling* actually come from the world of ancient writing.

Similarly, ancient writers, scribes, and grammarians adopted and adapted the latest and greatest technology for producing, copying, and even interpreting the Bible. Although reading the Bible on a screen represents the latest advance in book technology for us, throughout millennia, Israelites, Jews, and Christians have engaged with scriptural texts by appropriating and advancing media technology. In this chapter, we will answer why the ancients, living in an orally dominant culture, began to write down anything at all, and we will show some of the social mechanisms and advances in material media that were in place when the Bible was written and first copied.

Why Write?

Let's begin with a question you've probably never asked: Why was anything written down for someone else to read in the first place? Reading

and writing seem natural to us today, but these arts had to be invented, passed down, and adapted for new circumstances. In cultures where stories were recited and transmitted orally among scribes and where not many people could read and write, what would have been the use of writing? Many biblical books were written and transmitted during the period when writing or scribal culture was being passed from eastern Mesopotamian kingdoms to western Semitic peoples, who in turn made major adaptions to the tradition they received. Even at the roots of Christianity, Papias (ca. AD 130) esteems oral sayings of the apostles above what he reads in books, "for I did not think that information from books would profit me as much as information from a living and abiding voice."[1] And yet, authors and scribes did eventually commit their accounts and views to writing because that ensured that what was worth knowing would be preserved for perpetuity (see Luke 1:3; 2 Pet. 1:15).

Fig. 1.1. The ancient Near East and some of the locations mentioned in this chapter

1 Cited in Eusebius, *Church History* 3.39, in *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed., ed. and trans. Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007), 735. Unless otherwise noted, translations of ancient and medieval sources are our own.

Although we cannot know definitively why people began to write down speech, writing appears to have been invented alongside the human desire to communicate accurately. Kings and diplomats would communicate with each other by sending couriers with their written messages. The ancient Sumerian epic *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (ca. 2000–1700 BC) imagines King Enmerkar as the inventor of writing on clay tablets in the messenger context:

> His [Enmerkar's] speech was very grand, its meaning very deep; the messenger's mouth was too heavy; he could not repeat it. Because the messenger's mouth was too heavy, and he could not repeat it, the lord of Kulab [i.e., Enmerkar] patted some clay and put the words on it as on a tablet. Before that day, there had been no putting words on clay; but now, when the sun rose on that day—so it was: the lord of Kulab had put words as on a tablet—so it was! (lines 500–506)[2]

Enmerkar's message was too difficult for the messenger to remember and recite to the lord of Aratta, and thus the king wrote the message on a tablet and sent it with the messenger so that he would convey the message accurately. The desire and need for accurate human communication inspired the invention of writing, and human beings have diligently innovated and advanced writing and reading technology ever since. As then, so now, the desire to communicate in writing accompanies advances in technology.

Writing Materials

If the Bible wasn't written on a laptop or on golden plates from heaven, how was it written? Archaeologists have discovered that ancient scribes wrote on a number of surfaces with various instruments. Generally, scribes used a chisel and other cutting tools on stone, wet clay, and pottery, while they used ink and pen on papyrus (from the plant) and parchment (from

2 Cited in Herman Vanstiphout, *Epics of Sumerian Kings: The Matter of Aratta* (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 85.

sheep or goat skins; vellum, a parchment of a finer quality, was made from calf or kid skins). But they also used ink and a reed pen on pottery and plaster. Rarely, they inscribed texts on metals such as copper and silver.

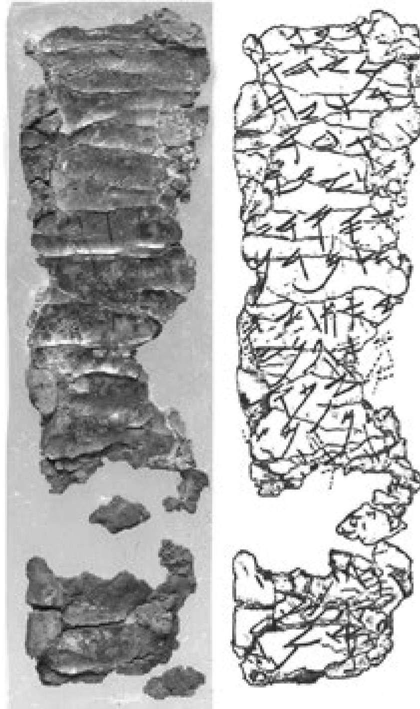

Fig. 1.2. The silver amulets of Hetef Hinnom contain the first resemblance to a text from the Bible (the Aaronic blessing in Num. 6:24–26).

The Bible refers to these media. For example, Job wishes that his words are written down (Job 19:23–24). He first wishes that they are inscribed on a scroll made of papyrus or parchment (v. 23). Then he wishes his words to be etched or engraved in stone with the use of an iron stylus and lead (v. 24). The stylus (also said to be made of iron and having a diamond point in Jer. 17:1) was the well-known tool of the scribe (see Ps. 45:1; Jer. 8:8). "Lead" refers either to tablets or more probably to the material that filled the grooves of the etched stone. The Lord instructs Isaiah to write on a large tablet (stone, clay, or possibly

wood) "with a man's chisel" (Isa. 8:1). The same word translated here as "chisel" can be found in Exodus 32:4 as the instrument Aaron uses to fashion gold into the golden calf. Thus, the scribe would inscribe or engrave a message with this tool.

God writes the Ten Words (known as the Ten Commandments) "with his finger" on two stone planks or tablets (Ex. 31:18). The writing was on both sides of each tablet—that is, there were two copies of the Ten Words (32:15), since when kings made a covenant in those days, a copy of the covenant was placed in the shrine of each king (see below). But in Israel's case, there was only one God; therefore, both copies were placed in the ark of the covenant (Deut. 10:2). Since the word *tablet* refers to a "surface" (see the bronze surfaces of the ten stands in 1 Kings 7:36), an author had to specify the material. The term refers to the wood planks on the altar or on a ship, or to a door (Ex. 27:8; 38:7; Ezek. 27:5; Song 8:9). Isaiah writes down a judgment oracle on a tablet and inscribes it in a scroll (Isa. 30:8). It's not clear on what material Isaiah records the message, but either wood or stone would be natural. These various materials, especially stone, show permanence.

In the New Testament, Jesus writes in the dirt in the famous story of the woman caught in adultery (John 8). Many readers have been so curious about what Jesus writes—about which the text is silent—that they have missed a far more important feature about which the text is explicit. He writes "with his finger" (v. 6), just as God wrote the Ten Words (Ex. 31:18). The point is that Jesus, unlike the woman's accusers, has the same divine authority as God, and this makes his mercy all the more remarkable. (For the textual problem with this passage, see chap. 4.)

Not only does Jesus write, but he also reads. In Luke 4:16–20, Jesus reads from the "book" (*biblion*) of Isaiah. While we don't know the book's physical material, we do know its format. This "book" must be a scroll, not a codex like a modern book, since Luke is careful to say that Jesus unrolls it and rolls it back up.[3] Jews did not adopt the codex

3 For a careful study of the terminology and text, see Roger S. Bagnall, "Jesus Reads a Book," *Journal of Theological Studies* 51, no. 2 (2000): 577–88.

form until much later. Elsewhere, we learn of Paul's eagerness to have Timothy bring him "the books [*biblia*], particularly the parchments" (2 Tim. 4:13). What these contain we can't be sure, but copies of Old Testament books are very possible. Some have even suggested that "the parchments" may refer to codices, but this is uncertain. The scroll format is certainly still in view in Revelation, where we meet a "book" with seven seals that contains God's eternal decrees (Rev. 5:1). What's quite unusual is that it is written "inside and behind." Only reused scrolls, called opisthographs, were written on both sides, and this is not what's in view here. More than likely, the imagery is meant to point us to the similarly written scroll in Ezekiel 2:10 and is one more way John alludes to the Old Testament without citing it.

Fig. 1.3. A fresco from Pompeii showing various writing tools on the second row, including wax tablets, the precursor to the codex

One of the great advances in writing technology was a book format that allowed writing on both sides of the page, with leaves bound together along one edge to form a spine. This codex format—what we know as the book—was developed from wax tablets. By tying several tablets together, one could write much more. Replacing the

tablets with papyrus or parchment sheets gave birth to the codex. While Jews continued to prefer the scroll format, Christians were early and eager codex adopters. All but a few of our copies of the New Testament are in codex format. Many theories have been offered to explain this distinctly Christian enthusiasm.[4] It's been suggested that the codex was a way for Christians to distinguish their sacred texts from profane ones; that it better accommodated collections such as the four Gospels or Paul's letters; that it was more portable for Christian missionaries; or that it was simply more economical and convenient. There was probably no single cause, and we may never know all the reasons.

What we can say for sure is that the codex format encouraged further innovations. Two of the most important were Origen's six-column Bible and Eusebius of Caesarea's cross-referencing system in the Gospels.

Christian Innovation of the Codex Technology

Origen's Hexapla

Having moved to Caesarea, Origen (ca. AD 184–253), a Christian scholar, began work on his *Hexapla* or "six-columned" Old Testament around 235. No complete copies of the *Hexapla* exist today, but early Christian sources describe its form as follows:

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5	Column 6
Hebrew	Hebrew in Greek letters	Aquila	Symmachus	Septuagint	Theodotion

The Hebrew column contained the text of the Old Testament of Origen's time without vowels. The second column (called *Secunda*) contained the Hebrew text written in Greek letters—what we call a

4 For a survey, see Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 61–83.

transcription. Since the Hebrew text didn't include vowels at this time but the Greek did, this column would have allowed Origen and other Christian scholars to read the Hebrew text according to the traditional Jewish interpretation. In fact, the ability to read the text aloud was the first, crucial step to correcting and interpreting ancient copies of texts. In columns 3–6, Origen arranged the four prominent but different Greek translations of the Hebrew: Aquila (ca. AD 130), Symmachus (ca. AD 200), the Septuagint (ca. 280–100 BC), and Theodotion (40 BC–AD 40?). For some books, such as Psalms, Origen found two more anonymous Greek translations that he called "the Fifth" and "the Sixth" translations. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion were sometimes grouped together and called "the Three." This shows a remarkable flowering of translation activity in a single language that would really be matched again only in the modern period. It shows how important it was for early Christian readers to have the Bible in a language they could read.

Probably a single line in the *Hexapla* contained just one Hebrew word and the corresponding Greek equivalents in each line at about forty lines per page. As a result, the *Hexapla* would have filled almost forty codices of eight hundred pages per codex.[5] That is massive by any standard, especially an ancient one! Thus, the entire *Hexapla* was probably never copied, and perhaps only individual books, such as Psalms, were ever reproduced. It was thus lost. Today, therefore, we have access only to the remains of the *Hexapla* and "the Three" through fragments preserved in the margins of manuscripts, patristic commentaries, and ancient translations.

Unfortunately, Origen did not explain exactly why he compiled his *Hexapla*. But we know he wasn't the first to invent the literary form of the multicolumned, bilingual text. The Romans had already invented Latin-Greek columnar synopses (including a transcription column) for the purpose of teaching Latin language (alphabet, letter sounds, and

5 Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 104–5.

pronunciation of words) and literature to Greek speakers. Information technology, such as a Latin-Greek synopsis, may have inspired Origen to extend and innovate this method for the purpose of studying the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old Testament. Thus, Origen probably constructed the *Hexapla* with several intentions: learning Hebrew, reading the Hebrew text aloud, textual criticism, apologetics (i.e., in controversies with the local Jewish community), and exegesis of the Scriptures. In short, he was a Christian scholar in the service of the church as he made scholarly editions of the Bible based on copies that contained many differences. Origen's work anticipated—by over one thousand years—the printed polyglot editions of the Bible that would flourish during and after the Reformation. Today, his novel approach can still be seen in Bibles that print two languages (such as English with Spanish) and in parallel Bibles that print several different English translations side by side for comparison. The remains of the *Hexapla* are still important for English Bibles today, as we will examine in the next chapter.

Eusebius's Gospel Canons

Origen was not the only innovator at work in Caesarea. In the fourth century, the church leader Eusebius (AD 260–340) developed a unique system of cross-references known as the Eusebian canons or tables. Using an earlier harmony, he numbered the four Gospels into sections. These were like our modern chapters but shorter (there were 355 in Matthew, for example). Having identified the parallels, he grouped the sections by those passages found in all four Gospels, in three, in two, and in just one. This gave him a total of ten tables (he excluded some possible combinations). By placing the section number and its table numbers in the text itself, Eusebius gave the reader an immediate indication of whether a given passage had a parallel or not. If it did, the reader could look it up using the tables. This elaborate cross-referencing system started in Greek but quickly spread to other languages. In some cases, the system was simplified so that the data in the tables was placed at the foot of the page, eliminating the middle step entirely.

What made Eusebius's system so helpful was that it allowed the Gospels to be read together while preserving the literary integrity of each—a feat that earlier approaches to the Gospels failed to achieve. His numbering system is still used in printed Greek New Testaments today and still provides a valuable lesson in how to read the four Gospels.

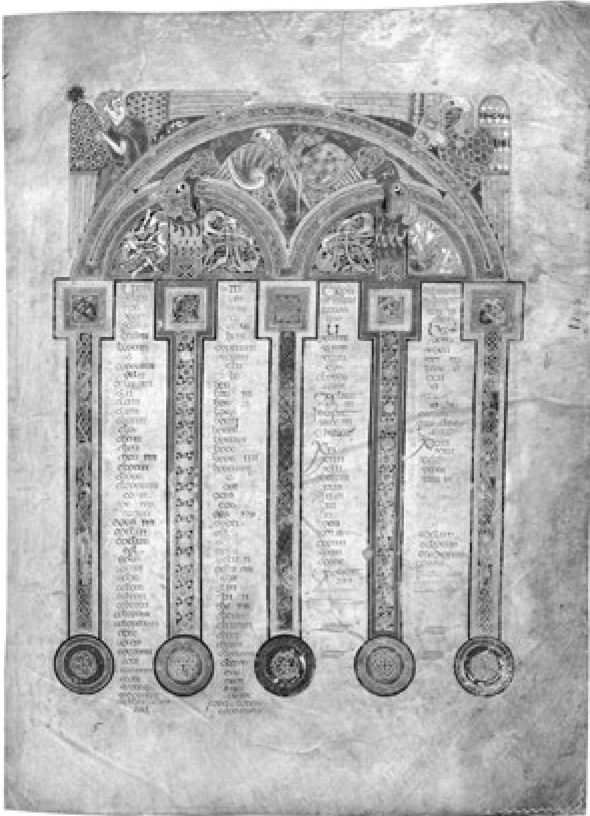

Fig. 1.4. The elaborate Eusebian canon tables in the Book of Kells (9th c.)

These are just two notable examples of how writing materials and information technology advanced before the invention of the printing press. Scribes would continue to make technological advances for the purpose of copying and interpreting the Bible. But how were they able to write in the first place?

Writing the Alphabet and Education

All learning begins with the alphabet, or the ABCs. From the end of the fourth millennium BC, Mesopotamians and Egyptians used written signs to represent spoken language. The Mesopotamians wrote in cuneiform, or wedges, while the Egyptians used pictorial hieroglyphs (*hiero*, "sacred"; *glyphē*, "carving"). These systems represented language at the word or syllable level, while the alphabet attempts to capture language at the level of sounds. For our purposes, we're concerned with the development of this last system of writing.

Earliest Traceable History of the Alphabet

The search for the early history of the alphabet continues. The earliest agreed-upon evidence for an alphabetic writing system comes from two Egyptian locations: (1) Serābiṭ el-Khâdem, a mining settlement in the Sinai Desert (usually dated to around 1700 BC), and (2) Wadi el-Ḥol, a valley along an Egyptian trade route in the desert of Middle Egypt, where two alphabetic graffiti have been discovered (usually dated to around 1800 BC). Archaeologists working in Thebes more recently (2015) discovered a pottery shard (known as an ostracon) containing an Egyptian hieroglyphic-Semitic practice alphabet known as an abecedary (see sidebar below).[6] All alphabetic writing (e.g., Phoenician, Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, etc.) comes from this singular early alphabetic. The early alphabetic signs were originally pictographs, drawn using lines and thus called "linear" instead of the fixed wedges of alphabetic cuneiform (as at Ugarit, ca. 1300 BC). For example, the letter *ʾaleph* meant "ox" and had the form of an ox-head (ð); the letter *bêth* meant "house" and took the form of a house (□); and so on. Thus, scholars debate whether Egyptians or Semitic peoples, who were familiar with the Egyptian writing system, invented the alphabet. But in any case, by the end of the Late Bronze Age (1200 BC) and into the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200–980 BC), the early alphabet, with its pictographs, had evolved into a simpler alphabet with simplified linear forms. The result is called Early Canaanite or Phoenician.

6 Thomas Schneider, "A Double Abecedary? *Halaḥam* and *ʾAbgad* on the TT99 Ostracon," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 379 (2018): 103–12.

How Did a Student Learn to Write?

Our word *alphabet* comes from the first two letters of the Hebrew and Greek alphabets: *ʾaleph-bet* and *alpha-beta*. Ancient evidence from the part of the Middle East known as the Levant shows that scribes learned the alphabet by writing it in the form of abecedaries. These were probably scribal school exercises that were not much different from how children learn to write today. The word *abecedary* comes from the order of the letters, or ABCs. Two orders of the alphabet existed in the Levant from around 1100 BC: the *halaḥam* order and the *ʾabgad* order (both names based on the order of the first four letters of each alphabet). The *halaḥam* order is now known from the fifteenth century BC and probably came from Egypt, while the *ʾabgad* order is first clearly attested in the eleventh century BC at Izbet Ṣarṭa, and perhaps from the fifteenth century in Egypt. The relationship between the two need not detain us here, but the *ʾabgad* order did eventually become the standard and the one used for the alphabetic writing systems of the Levant. Ancient abecedaries at the fortress of Kuntillet ʿAjrud in the ninth century BC and at Ugarit in the thirteenth century BC probably show two hands, the one of a master scribe and the other of a less accomplished scribe.[a] Greek abecedaries have also been found at several sites of the late Second Temple period, such as the Jewish fortress at Masada near the Dead Sea. These abecedaries were school exercises, showing that some Jews undertook Greek education alongside Hebrew.

a William M. Schniedewind, *The Finger of the Scribe: How Scribes Learned to Write the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 28.

But this exciting field keeps turning up new discoveries. In 2021, Glenn Schwartz published research on what appears to be linear early alphabetic letters written on small clay cylinders discovered in

Syria.[7] Archaeologists have dated the layer where they found the cylinders to around 2300 BC. The cylinders may have functioned as tags that provided information about the contents in ceramic jars found at the same site, or about their origins or recipients, but we await further analysis of the writing they preserve. Scholars advise caution in interpreting the evidence, but one epigrapher has already carefully referred to this discovery as a "potential game changer," since now the history of the alphabet may begin earlier than the second millennium BC and in the Levant—not Egypt.[8] Such is the exciting state of this research.

This means that, in one form or another, an alphabet was available to Moses and the other writers of the Hebrew Scriptures. Which system Moses used, we do not know. His life and work occurred during the evolution from the early alphabetic (or pictographic) to simplified linear systems. Alphabetic cuneiform is also not impossible.

Acrostics and Numerical Interpretation of Letters

One way the Bible leverages the central importance of the alphabet is with its several acrostic poems (see Pss. 9–10; 25; 34; 37; 111; 112; 119; 145; Prov. 31:10–31; Lam. 1–4). In an acrostic poem, each line or verse begins with a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Thus, in Psalms 111 and 112, for example, the poems progress by beginning the first word of each subsequent line with the next letter of the Hebrew alphabet—from A to Z, so to speak. In Proverbs 31:10–31, the writer structures the poem about the virtuous woman (the concretizing of personified wisdom earlier in the book) acrostically. Just as wisdom takes the concrete form of an actual wife, so the description of her takes the very concrete form of the acrostic. The form matches the content: the acrostic graphically or visually displays order and completeness in writing (attributes of wisdom and education), while the content

7 Glenn M. Schwartz, "Non-Cuneiform Writing at Third-Millennium Umm el-Marra, Syria: Evidence of an Early Alphabetic Tradition?," *Pasiphae* XV (2021): 255–66.

8 Christopher Rollston, "Tell Umm el-Marra (Syria) and Early Alphabetic in the Third Millennium: Four Inscribed Clay Cylinders as a Potential Game Changer," April 16, 2021, http://www.rollstonepigraphy.com/.

concretizes abstract wisdom in the person of the virtuous woman. In the original, the literary artistry is on full display, but translation diminishes the literary form.

In Revelation 1:8, God proclaims his complete sovereignty by reference to the first and the last letters of the Greek alphabet: "I am the Alpha and the Omega." The point in using the first and last letters is to declare that there is nothing beyond his jurisdiction. This statement corresponds to God's being "the beginning and the end" (21:6) and to Christ's being "the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end" (22:13 ESV). It is no accident that God the Father and the risen Christ use the same self-designation since they are both fully divine in John's theology. In John's hands, even the humble alphabet becomes a vehicle for the most sublime truth.

Other uses of the alphabet include what is known as gematria, or the representation of words as numbers or numbers as words. Before the invention of Arabic numerals, Hebrew and Greek letters were used as numbers, so that $\alpha = 1$, $\beta = 2$, and so on. Matthew's opening genealogy is a good example (Matt. 1:1–17). In verse 17, Matthew summarizes Christ's genealogy under three groups of fourteen generations. The third set is a bit of a puzzle since it doesn't obviously add up to fourteen, but he probably intends us to count David twice since he lists him twice in the summary. David's prominence is further signaled by the fact that the three Hebrew consonants that spell his name add up to fourteen: $d = 4$, $v = 6$, $d = 4$. Thus, the threefold "fourteen" in Matthew's genealogy signals the birth of the ultimate Davidic king to the attentive ancient reader (22:41–46). The same principle of gematria lies behind the infamous number of the beast (666), which John tells us is "the number of his name," a name that must be "calculated" (Rev. 13:17–18). Many names can be calculated from 666, including Caesar Nero, a particularly nasty Roman emperor infamous for burning Christians to light his gardens at night.

Beyond the ABCs

After learning the alphabet, an ancient apprentice scribe would continue in his elementary education by learning to write and memorize

vocabulary lists. One Old Babylonian text says, "If you have learned the scribal art, you had recited all of it, the different lines, chosen from the scribal art, (the names of) the animals living in the steppe to (the names of) artisans you have written (but) after that you hate (writing)."[9] Here we see the dynamic between writing and reciting (memorizing) names of animals and professions. Many Hebrew inscriptions from ancient Israel, as well as biblical texts, reveal the same practice of listing the names of people (e.g., David's warriors in 2 Sam. 23:8–12; Jesus's ancestors in Luke 3:23–38), places (e.g., Levitical cities in Josh. 21), and things (e.g., king's provisions in 1 Kings 4:22–23).

In 1 Kings 4:33, the narrator presents Solomon in the mold of an ancient scribe or scholar who discoursed "about trees, from the cedar which is in Lebanon to the hyssop which grows in the wall, and . . . spoke about beasts, birds, reptiles, and fish." Solomon had cataloged the trees from great to small and the animals according to their kinds, and he could recite them as the scribes of the ancient Near East did.

After mastering vocabulary and name lists, the student would learn the common formulas contained in letters, treatises, and legal contracts. The elementary scribe then would begin to transition to a more advanced curriculum in the writing, memorizing, and adapting of proverbial sayings, and after mastering this stage, would finally undergo advanced education. In Mesopotamia, an advanced student would memorize and recite the canonical compositions, such as the Epic of Gilgamesh. The epilogue to the Babylonian creation epic (*Enuma Elish*) gives us a glimpse: "The wise and the learned should ponder them together, *The teacher should repeat them and make the pupil learn by heart*. . . . This is the revelation that an Ancient, to whom it was told, wrote down and established for posterity to hear" (Tablet VII: 145–50, 157–58).[10] The "Ancient" wrote down the epic for future generations *to hear*, and the master scribes had their students understand it or recite it by heart. This text suggests that the advanced student did not copy the text as much as memorize what the master repeated.

9 Cited in A. W. Sjöberg, "The Old Babylonian Edubba," in *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen*, ed. S. Lieberman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 163.

10 Cited in Schniedewind, *The Finger of the Scribe*, 143.

Assuming West Semites adapted the advanced education of the Mesopotamian scribal curriculum, scribes would have been busy writing, memorizing, and adapting their own alphabetic texts. Thus, we may be able to contextualize how scribes eventually augmented the ending of Deuteronomy with the narrative about Moses's death (see Deut. 34) or how they updated some of the place names in the Pentateuch. Genesis 14:14, for example, refers to the city of Dan, which was originally called Laish, according to Judges 18:29. A later scribe ensured his audience would be able to understand where Abram went.

In the New Testament, there is one striking example of learning to write applied to the Christian life. First Peter 2:21 says that, in his suffering, Jesus left behind "an example" (*hypogrammos*) for us to follow in his footsteps. The word translated as "example" here was borrowed from the world of literacy and can refer to a copy of the alphabet for a schoolchild to follow in learning to write. It was not unlike the three-lined tracing sheets that a student would use in school today. Peter knew that suffering well as a Christian can happen only when we carefully trace the lines Jesus has left for us, like kindergartners learning to write.

From these examples, we can appreciate how the Bible was written, and also how the Bible leveraged and incorporated the significance of writing in a less than fully literate culture where being able to write was not taken for granted.

The Bible's Scribes

Ancient scribes copied the Bible anonymously. We do not know who they were. We can describe their education, as well as the work they left behind in manuscripts, but their names and the full extent of their professions remain hazy. They were aware that their work would outlive them, for one common medieval note at the end of a manuscript reads, "The hand that has written lies rotten in the grave, but the writing remains forever."[11] The biblical texts mention only a few scribes by name,

11 Cited in Adam Carter Bremer-McCollum, "The Rejoicing Sailor and the Rotting Hand: Two Formulas in Syriac and Arabic Colophons, with Related Phenomena in Some Other Languages," *Hugoye* 18, no. 1 (2015): 67–93.

and some medieval scribes tell us their names and dates. Archaeology sometimes provides further context.

Old Testament Scribes

For the earlier period of copying, we rely on statements in the Hebrew Bible and on archaeology to help paint the picture of who the scribes were and where they worked. For the later period, we have the manuscripts and comments in the Talmud.

EARLY SCRIBES

The preeminent scribe in Israel's history was Ezra. He was a priest who was also described as "a skilled scribe in the Torah of Moses" (Ezra 7:5–6; see also 7:10). In the ancient world, priests curated texts that were stored in the temple, which functioned as a national archive, and Israel was no exception to this custom (e.g., Deut. 31:24–26; see also 2 Kings 22:8). Even the Jews in the period of the Second Temple archived their law there until the temple was destroyed. Josephus, the first-century Jewish historian, recounts the Romans carrying off a copy of the Jewish Law as the last of the plunder from the temple (*Jewish War*, 7.148–150). In part, then, the temple was a library, a repository for sacred and national documents.

Israel also had scribes in the royal sphere. We mentioned above that Solomon was cast as a scribe. Deuteronomy 17:18 portrays each king of Israel as a scribe as he writes for himself a copy of the law. Seraiah was a scribe in David's administration (2 Sam. 8:17). First Kings 4:3 lists "Elihoreph and Ahijah the sons of Shisha" as scribes. "Sons of Shisha" probably means "apprentices of the master scribe," since Shisha was probably a title, not a name—that is, scribal education was taking place in Solomon's administration. As the psalmist recites his verses to the king, he compares his tongue to the pen of a skilled scribe (Ps. 45:1). Proverbs 25:1 says the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, transcribed this collection of Solomon's sayings (Prov. 25–29). These examples show that the royal administrations of Israel and Judah contained scribes.

But palaces and temples were not the only centers for scribes in ancient Israel. The fortress at Kuntillet ʿAjrud (a ninth-century BC fortress in the central Sinai) and other archaeological sites in Israel probably show the existence of soldier-scribes (master and apprentices) in Israel.[12] Although this is not a common designation in the Bible, Joshua 18:9 describes how chosen men walked through the promised land and wrote a description of it on a scroll according to its towns in seven allotments (see Josh. 18:4, 6, 8). During the conquest, Joshua sent soldier-scribes on a reconnaissance mission to describe the land and write a report for him after the spies had scoped out the land. This shows that scribal activity had a wider reach in Israel beyond just the temple and palace settings of its neighbors.

LATER SCRIBES

As the next chapter shows, we have precious few Hebrew Bible manuscripts from the third to eighth centuries AD, but the meager evidence does show that the Hebrew text was copied in this period with care and accuracy. From a Talmudic text around AD 450–550, we read about the conversation between Rabbi Meir and Rabbi Ishmael:

> But when I subsequently came to R. Ishmael the latter said to me, "My son, what is your vocation?" I told him, "I am a scribe," and he said to me, "Be meticululous in your vocation because your vocation is a task of heaven; should you by chance omit or add one letter you would thereby destroy all the universe." (ʿErubin 13a)[13]

Commenting on this text, the eleventh-century Jewish scholar Rashi noted that if one omitted the letter *ʾaleph* in the word translated as "faithful" (*ʾemeth*) in the verse "God is faithful" (cf. Ps. 31:6; Jer. 10:10), then the verse would say, "God is dead" (*meth*), which would destroy the world. Furthermore, if a scribe accidentally changed "he said" (*dbr*)

12 Schniedewind, *The Finger of the Scribe*, 40–41.

13 All citations from the Talmud are adapted and slightly revised from Isidore Epstein, ed., *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud*, 30 vols. (London: Soncino, 1990).

to "they said" (*dbrw*) by adding a letter to the word, then the verse "and God said" (Gen. 1:3) would read, "and the gods said," which would also destroy everything. A little later in the exchange, Rabbi Meir and Rabbi Ishmael discuss the possibility of a fly landing on ink that has not yet dried and changing a letter like *dalet* (ד) to *resh* (ר) by blotting out the mark or crown that distinguishes them. The scribe had a "heavenly task" and concerned himself accordingly with the minutest of details because an inaccurate text might lead to the undoing of the world by conveying incorrect theology.

A later Talmudic text called *Tractate Sopherim*, or "Work of the Scribes" (eighth century AD), is devoted to describing the process of copying Torah scrolls and the public reading of them. *Sopherim* directs that sacred texts may not be copied in obsolete Hebrew letters or in the Greek and Aramaic languages, and that every copy suitable for public reading must be in the Assyrian characters—that is, the square Hebrew script (*Sopherim* 1). In contrast to what some Christian scribes are doing, no part of the Hebrew text can be written in gold ink (*Sopherim* 1). When a scribe is writing the divine name or tetragrammaton (Yahweh), he may not respond even if the king greets him (*Sopherim* 5).

What happens when an error is made in copying? *Sopherim* gives laxer and stricter answers: "If a Torah scroll contains an error, it may not be read publically. How many errors disqualify it? 'One in a column,' is the view of R. Judah. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: 'Even if there be one error in three columns the scroll may not be used for the lections'" (*Sopherim* 3). A disqualified scroll cannot be used for public reading. But a little later, the tractate addresses the case of an accidentally omitted line: "If one omits a line in error, he may not suspend it between the lines, but inserts it in close proximity to the place of the error by erasing one adjacent line and inserting two in its place, or by erasing two lines and writing three provided only that he does not erase three lines" (*Sopherim* 5). Any more erasures than three lines would distort the column of writing.

Many more examples could be provided from *Sopherim* and other sources that would show the strict rules for copying Hebrew texts

in the Middle Ages. Although some late evidence suggests that mistakes in copying would disqualify a manuscript's use for public reading, other evidence suggests that some errors in copying were tolerated and could even be corrected by erasure and rewriting or writing between lines. We should not hold earlier Jewish scribes to the strict rules of later Jewish scribes, but rather appreciate the development in scribal practice that took place in the preserving of the Hebrew Bible.

New Testament Scribes

In the case of the New Testament, a similar shift toward more disciplined copying is observable. Our medieval manuscripts show a general level of agreement not matched by our earliest copies. This has a good deal to do with the different contexts. The later we go, the more frequently manuscript production was happening in the disciplined environment of the monastery. In the earliest period, Christians did not have this luxury. As a result, our earliest papyrus copies tend to have a rougher and less disciplined handwriting style than what we find in literary texts of the same period. But bad handwriting and bad copying are not the same. A good stylist may be a bad copyist, and a bad stylist may be a good copyist. When we compare the earliest New Testament scribes' writing styles with the texts they copied, the evidence suggests that many of them were not scribes by trade. However, they were still competent.[14] The result is a range in our earliest manuscripts between something like P75, a third-century copy of Luke and John that is the work of a very careful scribe, and P72, a third-century copy of 1–2 Peter and Jude that is not.

It is sometimes said that the bulk of our New Testament variants come from the first few centuries. As Bart Ehrman says, "The striking and disappointing fact is that our earliest manuscripts of the New Testament have far more mistakes and differences in them than our later

14 Zachary J. Cole, "Myths about Copyists: The Scribes Who Copied Our Earliest Manuscripts," in *Myths and Mistakes in New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Elijah Hixson and Peter J. Gurry (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2019), 132–151.

ones."[15] Actually, this is not true statistically. Where we have robust data, we find that the largest portion of variants is found later, not earlier.[16] But this isn't because later scribes were worse copyists (they were not). It's because our later New Testament manuscripts far outnumber our early ones (see chap. 4). And the more you copy, the more mistakes you create. Our earliest scribes would have had to be downright awful for the earliest manuscripts to have more mistakes than the far more numerous later ones. They weren't.

All this exposes a problem. Comparing earlier and later scribes does not really get us far if we're asking how well the Bible was copied. The comparison is too limited for that job. The reason is that "worse" is not the same thing as "bad." After all, no one would conclude that because LeBron James is a worse basketball player than Michael Jordan, he is, therefore, bad at basketball! The same principle applies here. Early scribes may have been less careful, but they were not bad. In fact, where there is variation among our New Testament manuscripts, we find that most of our later manuscripts share about 90 percent of their text in common with the earliest text.[17] This means that, overall, Christian scribes were good—even if some were better than others.

But they were obviously not perfect. Variants that affect the meaning did arise early so that, by the third century, Origen complained that "the differences between the copies have become more numerous, either from the sluggishness of scribes, or from the wicked recklessness of some either in neglecting to correct what is written, or even in adding or removing things as seems good to them when they do correct"

15 Bart D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 25.

16 See Peter J. Gurry, "How Many Variants Make It into Your Greek New Testament?" *Evangelical Textual Criticism*, May 10, 2016, available online at http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/.

17 See Peter J. Gurry, "The Overall Quality of Byzantine Manuscripts," *Evangelical Textual Criticism*, February 10, 2016, and Peter J. Gurry, "Evaluating Ehrman's Comparative Argument for Textual Unreliability," *Evangelical Textual Criticism*, September 19, 2018, both available online at http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/.

(*Commentary on Matthew* 15.14).[18] It is notable that Origen was able to recognize the problem and that he did not despair of the situation. Instead, he applied his scholarly acumen to the problem, not least in the construction of his remarkable *Hexapla*.

Conclusion

The Bible was written in the ancient world of scribes and the developments they brought in education and information technology. This world was dynamic, not static. Alphabets and scribal curricula were created, transmitted, and adapted. The Old Testament books were written in Hebrew and Aramaic during such times. Those texts were then copied while later books were still being composed. During the final years of the Second Temple period, the apostles and their associates wrote the New Testament books in Greek. Scribes continued their ancient craft of copying and innovating methods for interpreting and studying these books. In the world where the Internet reigns, it's easy to take all of this for granted. But without the desire and technology for writing, we would have no Bible.

The unsung heroes in the story of the Bible are scribes. Although mostly anonymous, they developed the story through their work in creating and transmitting biblical texts. The next two chapters in our story attend to how scribes copied the Old and New Testament books by featuring the firsthand evidence of the biblical manuscripts themselves. These chapters explain how the Bible, once written, was then copied, and how scholars today use these copies so that we have a Bible to read, study, and translate.

Further Reading

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18 Cited in Ronald E. Heine, ed., *The Commentary of Origen on the Gospel of St Matthew*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 204. Heine's translation has been modified in places.

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