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FROM EGYPT TO CAPPADOCIA:
RE-EVALUATING THE PROVENANCE OF CODEX REGIUS (L 019)

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Introduction

Codex Regius (L, 019) is a Greek majuscule manuscript (MS/MSS) that contains the four canonical Gospels. In his appraisal of it, Frederick Scrivener found Codex Regius to be "by far the most remarkable document of its age and class."[1] New Testament (NT) textual critics have long held that it was produced in Egypt in the eighth century. This paper will trace the rise of this consensus among textual critics and challenge this presumed provenance of Codex Regius by comparing it with the findings of modern paleography. At the turn of the millennium, Eldon Epp looked to the "promising venues of cooperative research,"[2] but unfortunately, there has been surprisingly little interaction between textual criticism and paleography regarding Codex Regius. This is significant, since the latter field holds contrary opinions, and when their assessments are consulted, we shall see that a very different picture of provenance emerges for this MS.

The Proposition of Egyptian Provenance for Codex Regius

When John Calvin was returning to Geneva, the MS surnamed Codex Regius was moving to France. At some point, the MS had found its way to Renaissance Venice. We are indebted to the meticulous work of Xavier Rincel, which identifies Guillaume Pellicier, the French ambassador to Venice under Francis I, as the one who purchased Codex Regius for the

[1] Frederick H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament: For the Use of Biblical Students*, ed. Edward Miller. 4th ed., volume I (London; New York: George Bell & Sons, 1894), 137.

[2] Eldon Jay Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism," *Harvard Theological Review* 92, no. 3 (1999): 281.

King's library in late 1541 or early 1542.[3] Codex Regius was apparently undisturbed for several years until 1546, at which time it was collated by Henri, the eldest son of Robert Stephanus.[4] This collation was in preparation for his father's forthcoming and groundbreaking third edition of

[3] Xavier Rincel, "Les Collectionneurs Français de Manuscrits Grecs du Moyen Age à la Révolution Française" (Ph.D. Diss., Université Paris Sciences et Lettres, 2022), 264-65. This purchase would be one of about 200 MSS Pellicier bought and shipped to the King's library during his tenure in Venice (1539-42). This leads Rincel to attribute to Guillaume Pellicier the most important part of Francis I's Greek library at Fontainebleau. According to Rincel, 240, the ambassador came under suspicions of espionage by the Venetian government which forced his hasty return to France in the summer of 1542, which places the MS's arrival in France within this short time frame. Venice was a major hub for the trade of Greek MSS, and Pellicier's ambassadorship provided three productive years gathering such for his king (Rincel, "Les Collectionneurs Français," 252). The catalyst for this endeavor was an edict issued by King Francis I, who wished to enhance his library and to promulgate higher learning in his kingdom (Antoine Coron, "The First Libraries: Blois, Fontainebleau, Paris," in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, ed. Prosser Gifford and Marie-Hélène Tesnière (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 157-58). Rosa Maria Piccione, "Greek Books in Renaissance Venice: Methodological Approaches and Research Perspectives," in *Greeks, Books and Libraries in Renaissance Venice*, Transmissions, Volume 1, ed. Rosa Maria Piccione (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 1-2, explains that in the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople (1453), Greek refugees fled to Venice, quickly making the city "the European capital of Greek printing…and gave rise to burgeoning production of Greek manuscripts." Further, Ciro Giacomelli, "Greek Manuscripts in Padua: Some New Evidence," in *Greeks, Books and Libraries in Renaissance Venice*, Transmissions, Volume 1, ed. Rosa Maria Piccione (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 197-98, describes how "scribes and scholars came from the East, bearing ancient manuscripts."

[4] Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, 143-44; cf. Henricus Stephanus, *Novum Testamentum* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1587), preface, eighth paragraph (there are no page numbers in the preface, but the comments quoted by Wettstein are found on page 6). See also Jan Krans, *Beyond What Is Written: Erasmus and Beza As Conjectural Critics of the New Testament*, New Testament Tools and Studies (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 212-13 (with attention to 212 fn. 6).

the Greek New Testament (GNT) which would be published in 1550.[5] The year 1550 is also when Codex Regius was first recorded in the catalogue of the royal library.[6]

When Codex Regius was studied by Johann Wettstein in the early eighteenth century, he thought it must have been produced in Alexandria before the seventh century.[7] Wettstein recognized its value,[8] especially its unusual readings that often varied from the traditional text, he yet generally considered it to be a Latin interpolation.[9] Regarding its Egyptian heritage, Wettstein found the script to be similar to the sixth-century Codex Laudianus (E^a, 08),[10] which he

[5] Importantly, this edition would be the first GNT to incorporate variant readings in the inner margin. The elder Stephanus signified Codex Regius as η′, "the eighth" of the fifteen manuscripts consulted for his text and listed in the marginal readings. See J. K. Elliott, "Manuscripts Cited by Stephanus," *New Testament Studies*, 55 (2009): 390-91.

[6] Henri Omont, *Catalogues des Manuscrits Grecs de Fontainebleau sous Francois Ier et Henri II* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889), xxvi-xxvii. It was assigned number 204 of 546 Greek MSS in the library at Fontainebleau. The total number of MSS inventoried at Fontainebleau is noted by Omont, *Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), VIII, XVI-II. Per Omont, *Catalogues*, 71, Codex Regius was subsequently assigned several different shelf numbers, and by the year 1740 it received its current catalogue number, Grec 62. See also Henri Omont, *Anciens Inventaires et Catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Introduction et Concordances* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1921), 26-27, which outlines the shelving system implemented by Nicolas Rigault, and pp. 61 and 89, which reconciles the catalogue number of Pierre and Jacques Dupuy in 1645 (MS 1558) and Nicolas Clement in 1682 (MS 2861), with the modern catalogue number.

The Codex was designated as "L" by Johann Jakob Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum.* Tomus I: *Continens Quatuor Evangelia* (Amstelaedami: Ex Officina Dommeriana, 1751), 41. Sometimes Codex Regius (019) is signified as L^e to distinguish it from Codex Angelicus (020), a MS containing Acts and the epistles, which also carries the designation L, and is sometimes signified as L^{ap} for distinction. As Silvia Castelli, *Johann Jakob Wettstein's Principles for New Testament Textual Criticism: A Fight for Scholarly Freedom* (Boston: Brill, 2020), 7, explains Wettstein was the first to use capital letters to denote majuscule MSS and Arabic numbers for minuscules, an approach which ultimately led to the modern Gregory-Aland system.

[7] Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum* Graecum, 41.

[8] Ibid. Wettstein disputed the opinion of John Mill who believed the MS to be a poor specimen Importantly, Mill never inspected the MS himself, but insinuated from how Stephanus made use of it that it must have been of a poor quality. See John Mill, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: J. Friedrich Gleditsch, 1710), 118, section 1168, where the derogatory term πονηροῦ κόμματος is used to describe the alleged aversion of Stephanus to the readings of Codex Regius; see also the summary provided by An-Ting Yi, "The Critical Apparatus of Stephanus' Greek New Testament of 1550: Early Printed Editions and Textual Scholarship," in *The Future of New Testament Textual Scholarship: From H.C. Hoskier to the Editio Critica Maior and Beyond*, ed. G. V. Allen, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (WUNT); Vol. 417 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 325, fn. 81.

[9] Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, 41

[10] Codex Laudianus is a Greek-Latin diglot of *Acts of the Apostles* housed in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (MS. Laud Gr. 35).

also judged to be of Egyptian origin.[11] This is important because it has influenced the perception of Codex Regius ever since.

Johann Griesbach found the script of Codex Regius to evoke the ninth century.[12] He rejected the idea that it was a Latin interpolation, and carefully compared it to Origen and other MSS to demonstrate that it is rather an excellent representative of the so-called Alexandrian text.[13] He did not address the provenance of Codex Regius outright, but rather implied Egyptian origins by the very fact that the MS reflects the Alexandrian Recension. According to Griesbach, Alexandrian readings are defined as those which most often agree with the Alexandrian Fathers and the versions produced in Egypt.[14] So rather than describe its provenance by external features, he seems rather to infer it by internal features instead. This is a trend that has persisted among textual scholars.

Leonhard Hug affirmed the assessments of Wettstein and Griesbach. He seconded Wettstein's opinion of the Greek characters and advanced the theory of Egyptian origins.[15] He also took from the orthographical examination of Griesbach and further advocated that Codex Regius contained a text reflecting the Alexandrian Recension and was probably copied in the ninth century.[16] It should be noted that Wettstein himself admitted that his examination of the MS

[11] Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, 41

[12] Johann Jacob Griesbach, *Symbolae Criticae Ad Svpplendas Et Corrigendas Variarum N.T. Lectionum Collectiones*, Volume I (Halle: Curtius, 1785), LXVII.

[13] Ibid., LXXVI.

[14] Ibid., CXVIII-CXIX.

[15] Leonhard Hug, *Introduction to the New Testament*, translated by David Fosdick, Jr. with notes by M. Stuart (Andover: Gould and Newman, 1836), 176.

[16] Ibid.

had been a hurried one,[17] and that Hug placed enormous emphasis on his theory that its text was a direct result of the recension work by the Egyptian bishop, Hesychius.[18]

In 1846, Tischendorf published the complete text of Codex Regius. He sided with the high opinion of Griesbach and further praised it for its precise text, being impressed by its agreement with Codex Vaticanus.[19] He joined with Wettstein on provenance, considering Codex Regius it to be written by an Egyptian scribe who struggled with Greek.[20] In contrast, Griesbach did not see any reason to doubt whether the scribe was Greek, since the orthographical errors resemble those frequently found in lectionaries written by Greeks for the use of Greeks.[21] Be that as it may, Tischendorf's evaluation of a date from the eighth century and a provenance in Egypt have remained the standard description to the present day.

A brief perusal of the modern descriptions of Codex Regius will serve to prove the point. Scrivener, relying heavily on the research of Tischendorf, determined that the scribe "was more probably an Egyptian."[22] In 1912, Frederic Kenyon observed that the text of Codex Regius was "generally regarded as having an Egyptian origin."[23] The Aland's also describe it as Egyptian in their 1981 textbook.[24] The "Egyptian" moniker is apparently employed to convey provenance in

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[17] Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, 41.

[18] Hug, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 115-22 (especially, 119-22).

[19] Constantin von Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita, sive, Reliquiae antiquissimae textus Novi Testamenti graeci ex novem plus mille annorum codicibus per Europam disperses* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1846), 16.

[20] Ibid., 21.

[21] Griesbach, *Symbolae Criticae*, CIV.

[22] Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction*, 138.

[23] Frederic G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1912), 108.

[24] Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1989), 113.

connection with their appraisal of its text as Alexandrian. Textual scholars, however, have not distinguished between geography and text type which has only solidified assumptions of provenance.

For example, in 1971 Gordon Fee used Codex Regius as an example of the Alexandrian text type which he also labeled as Egyptian.[25] In 1982, he referred to Codex Regius as "Egyptian evidence."[26] More recently in 2011, Matthew Morgan described Codex Regius as having an Egyptian text "whose biological heritage comes from early Alexandria."[27] Clearly the influence of the early studies of Codex Regius by Wettstein, Griesbach, and especially Tischendorf have served to color the perception of this MS. Furthermore, while textual critics have presented paleographical opinions, the work of modern paleographers has been overlooked.[28]

A Paleographical Assessment of Codex Regius

Establishing the historical setting of a given MS is challenging on multiple fronts; therefore, as Bruce Metzger once said, "the importance and utility of paleography" should be much appreciated.[29] According to Pasquale Orsini, majuscule MSS present particular complications in determining their history due to the wide chronological span of their

[25] Gordon D. Fee, "The Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria: A Contribution to Methodology in the Recovery and Analysis of Patristic Citations," *Biblica* 52, no. 3 (1971): 370.

[26] Gordon D. Fee, "Origen's Text of the New Testament and the Text of Egypt," *New Testament Studies* 28 (1982): 350.

[27] Matthew P. Morgan, "The Legacy of a Letter: Sabellianism or Scribal Blunder in John 1:1c?" in *Revisiting the Corruption of the New Testament: Manuscript, Patristic, and Apocryphal Evidence*, ed. Daniel B. Wallace (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2011), 104. This paper was initially delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society (ETS) in 2008.

[28] As a case in point, Philip W. Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography & Textual Criticism* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2005), 83, does not include the opinions of paleographers in his brief description of Codex Regius.

[29] Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), preface.

production, the varied regions in which they were produced, and the fact that "there are no explicitly dated and localized manuscripts…before the ninth century."[30] Indeed, this has led to criticisms of the field for being too subjective, but Orsini counters that "subjectivity is not an equivalent of arbitrariness."[31] This echoes Sir Eric Turner's contention that the "subjective illusion can be guarded against by basing classification on considerations which can be apprehended objectively."[32] Both scholars urge a methodological approach which balances paleography as an art acquired by experience and a science based on reliable evidence.[33]

The point to be underscored is that there are aspects of writing, format, and style which may provide a general indication of a MS's origin, or at the very least, help to identify regional stylistic influences borne out by the form of its production. For example, Codex Laudianus, as mentioned earlier, was considered Egyptian by Wettstein. Today, however, the features displayed by its script lead most paleographers to reckon it as a sixth or seventh-century product of Italy.[34]

Importantly, Codex Regius is a significant example of a script written in upright pointed majuscule.[35] This was a popular script style during the medieval Byzantine era, from the ninth to

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[30] Pasquale Orsini, *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), IX.

[31] Ibid., XIII.

[32] Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 24.

[33] See Orsini, *Studies*, XIII and Turner, *Manuscripts*, 24. The latter provides an important reminder that "in the last resort a judgment has to made—and judgement is fallible."

[34] Orsini, *Studies*, 79-81, places Codex Laudianus with the "western area" group of MSS, explaining that their "main characteristic is the influence of Latin uncial script in the formation of certain letters: the influence of the uncial script employed in Rome on Biblical majuscule can mainly be seen in the flattening of the curves of letters consisting of rounded forms." See also, Edoardo Crisci and Paola Degni, eds., *La scrittura greca dall'antichità all'epoca della stampa: Una introduzione* (Rome: Carocci, 2011), 153, who place the MS in Rome or Sardinia; Guglielmo Cavallo, *Ricerche Sulla Maiuscola Biblica* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967), 105-06, points out that some lean toward its production in a Byzantine scriptorium.

[35] It should be noted that in the literature, which is dominated by Italian scholarship, this script also goes by term "upright ogival majuscule" (maiuscola ogivale diritta).

twelfth centuries, when it was used for both secular and liturgical codices, especially gospels.[36] Guglielmo Cavallo contends that upright pointed majuscule is found primarily in codices from Asia Minor and Syria, and he further states that such script is not found in MSS of probable Egyptian origin.[37] This opinion is seconded by Edoardo Crisci who affirms that Codex Regius shows the influence of graphic forms from Cappadocia, or a region affected by it in some way.[38] This contradicts the popular opinion in text critical scholarship that Codex Regius was produced in Egypt.

Inscription on Folio 3v

Nestled between the list of τίτλοι (section titles) and the first page of Matthew's Gospel on folio 3v of Codex Regius, there is an inscription in Greek minuscule text, written in a much

[36] Bianconi, Daniele, Edoardo Crisci, and Paola Degni, *Paleografia Greca* (Rome: Carocci, 2021), 80-81. They add that as this script style faded from use for entire codices, it remained as reference model for distinctive script in minuscule MSS.

[37] Cavallo, *Ricerche Sulla Maiuscola Biblica*, 122-23. He categorizes Codex Regius 019, which he dates to the eighth century, with Codex Turicensis (seventh-century purple Psalter), Codex Campianus 021 (ninth-tenth century), Codex Harleianus *l*150 (A.D. 995), and Codex Tischendorfianus IV 036 (tenth century). For a skeptical opinion of Cavallo's geographic assessments, see Nigel Wilson, "Greek Paleography," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 105; also, Nigel Wilson, review of *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, by Guglielmo Cavallo, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57 (August 1971): 238–40.

[38] Edoardo Crisci, "La Maiuscola Ogivale Diritta: Origini, Tipologie, Dislocazioni," *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 9 (1985): 121, 124. He posits that Codex Laurensis 044 (eighth-tenth century), Codex 047 (eighth century), and Codex Campianus 021 (ninth century, a narrower date than Cavallo) all demonstrate signs of originating from or being influenced by the same region of Cappadocia.

later hand, which may provide a glimpse into its history before it came into French custody.[39] While the words received passing remarks by Wettstein, Griesbach, and Tischendorf, not much (if anything) has been written about them since.[40] The inscription indicates that Codex Regius was once part of a collection of liturgical books. The full inscription is divided into two parts. The first is: "George of Liaskoviti arrived at the house of John, son of Paul. Five books (literally, *papers*): an Evangelion [Gospel book],[41] a Euchologion [Book of Prayers],[42] a Horologion [Book

[39] There is another late inscription on folio 256v, written in the upper margin of the page which contains John 20:27b-21:3a. This scrawl records the first line of John Damascene's magnification of the *Theotokos* (*All Creation Rejoiceth*), a hymn added to the special Lenten celebrations of the Byzantine liturgy in the fourteenth century. The literal rendering of the inscription contains a multitude of phonetic misspellings: επὶ σὶ χερη καιχαρητόμενη πασα ἡ κτησησ αγγελο τὸ σείστημα κ[αὶ] ἀσ[νθρώπων]. It is properly rendered, Ἐπὶ σοὶ χαίρει, Κεχαριτωμένη, πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις· Ἀγγέλων τὸ σύστημα καὶ ἀνθρώπων (All creation rejoiceth in thee, O thou who art full of grace: the angelic hosts and the race of men). The English text is from the Department of Liturgics of the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America. Vlad Bedros, "The Saturday of the *Akathistos*," in *The* Akathistos *Hymn in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Traditions: The History of a Liturgical Masterpiece Between Text and Image*, ed. Emanuela Timotin, Lidia Cotovanu, and Ovidiu Olar (Heidelberg: Herlo Verlag Ug, 2024), 119, 125, explains that this hymn extolling the *Theotokos* was added to the *Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil*, which is celebrated during Lent, around 1360. For an insightful discussion on the significance of this hymn in the Greek Orthodox tradition, see Lydia Gore-Jones, "The Cultic Function of the *Theotokos* in the Worship of the Eastern Orthodox Church," *Phronema* 33, no. 40(2) (2025): 35-55.

[40] Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, 21, fn. 2, notes that it is very difficult to read, holding this to be the reason Wettstein and Griesbach only quote a brief portion of it in their own assessments. Tischendorf's transcription of first part: ἀφίκαιν ω γεωργηως του λιασκόβιτη · εἰς του · ιωαννου του παυλου το οσπίτιον χαρτια ε̄ · ευαγγέλιον · εὐχωλόγιον · ὀρωλόγιον · ἠρμωλωγιον · ωκταειχειν (or ωκταηχιον). Transcription of second part: ἐπήρεν (or εσπηρεν) καὶ ω στέφανος · παρακλίτηκών · δια τὴ τά σπειρεν από τῷ βέλτιον · καὶ εἰφερέ τα εις τὴν β σὲβὰ (or σαβα).

Johann Jakob Wettstein, *Prolegomena ad Novi Testamenti Graeci: Editionem Accuratissimam* (Amstelaedami: Apud R. & J. Wetstenios & G. Smith, 1730), 19, quotes only the first five words thus, αφηναν ὁ γεωργιως του Λιασκίβιτη, and considers them to be a note by a librarian or owner. Johann Jacob Griesbach, *Symbolae Criticae*, LXX, quotes the words as ἀφηκαν ὁ Γεωργιος του Λιασκόβιτη, though he disagrees with Wettstein's surmise that the librarian could have written it, but acknowledges that that the hand is more recent than that of the scribe.

[41] John Lowden, "Luxury and Liturgy: The Function of Books," in *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. Rosemary Morris (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1986), 264, says that "For Byzantines the Gospel, and specifically the volume they termed the *Evangelion*, was *the* book. In the early period, the word *Evangelion*…could mean the lection from the Gospels, and the book of the Gospels." He further explains that in later centuries, the *Evangelion* as lectionary was distinguished from continuous-text Gospel books which were eventually called τετραευαγγέλιον.

[42] Michael Zheltov, "Euchologion," in *Byzantine Liturgical Books: An Introduction*, ed. Stefanos Alexopoulos et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2025), 201, explains that while it had "no fixed contents," this *collection of prayers* refers to "a liturgical book containing priestly prayers and diaconal litanies, as well as some other texts such as selected Biblical readings, appropriate hymnographical pieces, rubrical instructions, etc. of various church services."

of Hours],[43] a Heirmologion [Book of Liturgical Hymn Melodies],[44] and an Ocktoechos [Book of Eight Tones (a liturgical hymn book)]."[45]

The second part is nearly illegible in certain places.[46] Based on Tischendorf's transcription, Paola Degni has offered a possible translation: "And Stephen the assistant took them, because he had scattered (or, *sowed*) them from the better [owner/place], and brought them on the second Saturday."[47] This rendering seems to imply that the collection was taken from their rightful place and brought to a new location. However, when Georgi Parpulov reviewed this inscription for me,[48] he questioned Tischendorf's reading and proceeded to render it differently.[49]

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[43] Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, "The Palestino-Byzantine Horologion," in *Byzantine Liturgical Books: An Introduction*, ed. Stefanos Alexopoulos et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2025), 223, explains that this is "the basic book of…regular, public liturgy" and "contains the fixed parts of the services of the daily cycle: the psalms, responsories, hymns and prayers which recur every day or once (or more) a week in the services offered throughout the day and the night."

[44] Christian Troelsgård, "Byzantine Musical Manuscripts: A Chrono-Typological Overview," in *Byzantine Liturgical Books: An Introduction*, ed. Stefanos Alexopoulos et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2025), 336-37, explains that these books provided "melodic notation for each of the model stanzas (*heirmoi*) to be applied during the singing of canons, which are polystrophic hymnographical components of the Byzantine morning service." He further describes them as "reference books for choirmasters, singers and/or poets entrusted with the task of composing hymnography for a new office."

[45] Luigi D'Amelia, "The Liturgical Book of the Oktoechos: Function, Forms, and Manuscript Tradition," in *Byzantine Liturgical Books: An Introduction*, ed. Stefanos Alexopoulos et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2025), 301-02, explains that the Oktoechos is one of the most important Greek liturgical books. Its name comes from the fact that it is divided into eight sections, and "each of them comprises liturgical offices for a week, and is sung in one of the eight modes of Byzantine music, the four authentic and the four plagal modes."

[46] Under this second part, someone duplicated the first line: ἐπήρεν καὶ ω στέφανος · παρακλίτηκών · διὰ τί τά. The handwriting is markedly distinct from the previous portions, and it is scrawled at a slight angle, whereas the previous portions are written fairly straight.

[47] I am indebted to Dr. Paola Degni of Ca' Foscari University in Venice, who graciously offered translation assistance via personal email correspondence, March 13, 2026.

[48] I am indebted to Dr. Georgi Parpulov, a research fellow at the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing, University of Birmingham, who shared his expertise on this subject via personal email correspondence, September 24, 2026.

[49] ἀφίκαιν ω γεωργηως του λιασκόβιτη · εἰς του · ιωαννου του παυλου το οσπίτιον χαρτια ε̄ · ευαγγέλιον · εὐχωλόγιον · ὀρωλόγιον · ἠρμωλωγιον · ωκταηχιον. | ἐπήρεν καὶ ω στέφανος · παρακλίτηκών · διὰ τί τά επειρεν από τῷ βέλτητζι καὶ εἰφερέ τα εις τὴν Βερβὰ. In the first part, he argues that ἀφίκαιν (properly, ἀφίκεν) is not from ἀφίημι but from its modern Greek derivative αφήνω, "to leave," that is, the books were *left* at the house: "George of Liaskoviti left…Five documents…"

His major alterations come in the second part where his translation reads: "And Stephen brought a Parakletike, because he took them from Beltsista [Veltsista] and carried them to Berbas [Verva]."[50] Importantly, Parpulov's translation would indicate that this collection of books was sent to the Balkan peninsula, although the possible toponyms are not easily traced.

Following Parpulov's lead, this inscription suggests possible movements of the MS before Venice. For instance, "George's" surname may be Slavonic which may further hint that the collection traversed the Balkan region.[51] Also, the term εὐαγγέλιον was used to describe the continuous text four-Gospel codex until the twelfth century when it was replaced by the term τετραεὐαγγέλιον.[52] This may suggest that Codex Regius and its sister documents had arrived in the Balkan region by then. In 1453, the Byzantine empire fell to its Ottoman conquerors. Rincel explains that many Greek MSS were sold during this time to help impoverished ecclesiastical communities and carried by refugees to places like Venice, Florence, and Rome.[53] Importantly,

[50] Parpulov, additional email correspondence, September 4, 2026, notes that "διά τι literally means 'why,' but this does not fit the context here." Therefore, he renders it *because*. He also treats παρακλίτηκών as another book, the Parakletike, rather than a predicate adjective describing Stephen. D'Amelia, "The Liturgical Book of the Oktoechos," 301-02, notes that the Parakletike is virtually synonymous with the Oktoechos (see fn. 45 above).

[51] Georgi Parpulov, personal email correspondence, September 4, 2026, states that while the name sounds Slavonic, he does not believe it to be a specific toponym. Just east of the major capital of Veliko Tarnovo, there is a small town named Lyaskovets, which may be represented by George's surname. While it goes too far to say that George himself was from this particular area, his name does imply a connection to the Balkan region. Moreover, the inscription carries hints that the author may have written phonetically. Examples include ω γεωργηως instead of ὁ γεωργός; ω στέφανος instead of ὁ στέφανος; ὀρωλόγιον instead of ὡρολόγιον; ἠρμωλωγιον instead of εἰρμολόγιον; ωκταειχειν / ωκταηχιον instead of ὀκταήχιον; παρακλίτηκών instead of παρακλητικῶν or παρακλητική. See the discussion of phonetic scribal activity by Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 494-96.

[52] Christopher Robert D. Jordan, "The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th–11th Century)" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2009), 114, cf. pg. 3. Lowden, "Luxury and Liturgy," 264, offers the same opinion, adding that although εὐαγγέλιον eventually came to refer specifically to a gospel lectionary, the term could previously be used to mean the Gospel lectionary or the Gospel book.

[53] Rincel, "Les Collectionneurs Français," 12-13. Primarily, they worked to preserve and copy biblical MSS, as well as those of the Church Fathers, and to a lesser extent MSS of medicine, grammar, literature, law, and science.

most of the MSS sold in Venice arrived from the Balkans.[54] This fits the reassessment of the provenance of Codex Regius, which was ultimately purchased in Venice.

A Re-evaluation Supported by Paleography

Despite the assessments of Codex Regius by paleographical scholars over the last sixty years, the view of a provenance in Byzantium, if not Cappadocia, seems to have gone unchecked by textual critics. This seems largely due to a simple lack of interaction between the two fields. Moreover, the geographic terminology of text types which has prevailed in textual criticism for hundreds of years,[55] has no doubt influenced textual scholarship leading to the unfounded, if not subconscious assumption of Egyptian provenance.

The paleographical evidence, as assessed by leading scholars in that field, leads me to re-evaluate the claims of Wettstein, Griesbach, and Tischendorf. In cooperation with the field of paleography, textual critics should disfavor the opinion that Codex Regius was produced in Egypt during the eighth century. Moving forward, Codex Regius should be described as a product of Byzantium[56] with the influences of Cappadocia.[57] Paleographers have dated it between the eighth and tenth centuries, so placing it in the ninth, as assessed by Georgi

[54] Rincel, "Les Collectionneurs Français," 13.

[55] For example, see Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 177-80, 277-78, 312-13.

[56] Bianconi, et al., *Paleografia Greca*, 81. The capital of Constantinople, Cappadocia, the Syro-Palestinian region, including Cyprus, or even Southern Italy could all be contenders.

[57] Cavallo, *Ricerche Sulla Maiuscola Biblica*, 123.

Parpulov,[58] is more appropriate than its usual text-critical assignment to the eighth century.[59] My hope for Codex Regius is that, set in its rightful provenance, many in the field will begin to see that it is much more than a supplemental witness to Codex Vaticanus. As the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) has demonstrated in Mark, Codex Regius stands as a key witness to the transmission of the text.

A Brave New World of Textual Criticism

NT textual criticism is a field in flux. Many things have changed and are changing in the theories and nomenclature, triggered by the profound implications of Gerd Mink's CBGM. The list of methodological and philosophical changes incorporated by the Institute for New Testament Textual Research (INTF) in producing the *Edito Critica Maior* (ECM) over the last thirty years is as provocative as it is remarkable: the theory of recensions, demolished; the theory of text types, abandoned; the antiquity of MSS, devalued; the Byzantine text, newly appreciated.

All of this has also led to a complete reformulation of what the reconstructed text is, of what the *Ausgangstext*, or initial text, is, and how it is presented in the critical edition. For instance, the *Ausgangstext* can now be represented by two options on a split guiding line in the primary text (as in the ECM) or by a diamond in the apparatus (ECM, UBS[6]). Under the CBGM, certain variants are granted status as the *Ausgangstext*, even if they are not listed as the editorial

[58] "Manuscript Catalog (All): [GA 019]," New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room, Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF), accessed November 14, 2026, https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-catalog?docID=20019. Parpulov's assessment is shared by the manuscripts department at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF). See *Evangelia IV*, 9th century, MS Grec 62, Département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc23691w.

[59] The Center for the Study of New testament Manuscripts (CSNTM) lists the ninth century as an alternative date, whereas it is the eight-century date which should be assigned as the alternative (https://collections.csntm.org/manuscripts/MNTGRCGA019?page=0001).

preference of the committee.[60] What Epp once called the "multivalent" text of the NT, has now arrived in print.[61]

Mink emphasizes that "the most important principle of the CBGM" is "the strict distinction between manuscripts and the texts they contain."[62] As he explains, a MS is the physical artefact which contains the text, but, importantly, the text "may be considerably older than the manuscript itself."[63] For this reason, Mink adopts the term "witness," and as he makes clear, "the witness of a variant is the text, not the manuscript."[64]

This remarkable departure from traditional text-critical analyses leads to one of the most controversial features of the CBGM, namely the dispensing of text-type theory as a means of categorizing MSS and determining the significance of their readings. As Mink has long held this

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[60] E.g., H. A. G. Houghton, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2025), 97-98, makes clear that the editorial committee endorses the shorter reading of Mark 9:29 (which omits καὶ νηστείᾳ) despite the fact that the longer reading is signaled as a possible candidate for the *Ausgangstext* in the ECM under the formulations of the CBGM.

[61] Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text,'" 281, remarked, "Now, however, reality and maturity require that textual criticism face unsettling facts, chief among them that the term 'original' has exploded into a complex and highly unmanageable multivalent entity."

[62] Gerd Mink, "Manuscripts, Texts, History, and the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM): Some Thoughts and Clarifications," in *The New Testament in Antiquity and Byzantium: Traditional and Digital Approaches to Its Texts and Editing; A Festschrift for Klaus Wachtel*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, David C. Parker, and Holger Strutwolf, Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Band 52 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 281. The key term here is "text," a concept which Mink, "Zur Stemmatisierung neutestamentlicher Handschriften," in *Bericht der Hermann Kunst-Stiftung zur Förderung der neutestamentlichen Textforschung für die Jahre 1979 bis 1981* (Münster: Hermann Kunst-Stiftung, 1982), 104-05, deliberately separates from the MS as an artefact. As he explains, due to contamination, it is a hopeless cause to attempt to identify how each MS in the tradition is related to one another, as such a feat would require exhaustive knowledge of every MS ever copied.

[63] Gerd Mink, "Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition: The New Testament," in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, edited by Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander, and Margot van Mulken (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004), 29. Mink affirms that it is quite possible to discern the relationship of texts, that is the contents of MSS, with one another. In Mink's estimation, "Contamination, Coherence, and Coincidence in Textual Transmission: The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) as a Complement and Corrective to Existing Approaches," in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, eds. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes, Text-Critical Studies 8 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 146, the MS evidence "from the early phases of transmission is not likely to be representative of the text in those times; therefore, we have to rely on later sources to trace older variants."

[64] Mink, "Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition," 29.

"should be avoided in favor of the structure that will emerge if we focus on the relationships between all individual witnesses and thus determine their places in the transmission history."[65] Klaus Wachtel explains that text types have become obsolete because they were based on a theory of a third-century recensions which no longer holds water.[66] Due to the resounding coherence of the majority of late MSS, the single textual grouping to be accepted under the CBGM as "a clearly unified entity" is the Byzantine text.[67]

In juxtaposition to the partitions created by text-type theory, Wachtel views the transmission of the GNT text as forming a continuum.[68] In this continuum, the Byzantine

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[65] Mink, "Contamination, Coherence, and Coincidence in Textual Transmission," 148. He further warns that text-type theory cannot hold the weight imposed upon it by the complexities of the MS evidence (fn. 16). He points to his earlier findings which cast doubt upon the traditional structure of text types in his article, "Was verändert sich in der Textkritik durch die Beachtung genealogischer Kohärenz?" in *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism*, ed. Wim Weren and Dietrich-Alex Koch (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 47-49. This call to disregard text-type theory has, of course, been met with some measure of resistance, with some attempting to hold onto it. For example, see Eldon J. Epp, "Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed. New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 556-58, presents his case for maintaining MS groupings and challenges Wachtel and Strutwolf's pleas for disregarding text-type theory, asserting the CBGM is just as subjective. Epp calls for "tolerance for methods that might be more appropriate for certain tasks and patience for new methods to be understood and perhaps adjusted to varying situations" (572). According to Klaus Wachtel, "Notes on the Text of Mark," in *Markusevangelium*, Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior 1/2, Part 3: Studies, ed. Holger Strutwolf, Georg Gäbel, Annette Hüffmeier, Marie-Luise Lakmann, Gregory S. Paulson, and Klaus Wachtel (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2021), 1, this is understandable, as it was a foundational concept in textual criticism in the twentieth century and has undergirded the critical editions of the GNT since the seminal publication of Westcott and Hort in 1881. See Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, vol. 2, *Introduction and Appendix* (London: Macmillan, 1881), 119-146, for their own accounting of recensions and text types.

[66] Wachtel "Notes on the Text of Mark," 1, points out that pushback against the *Textus Receptus* and an overrated view of the so-called Alexandrian text type fueled resentment against the Byzantine textual tradition. Unfortunately, the anti-Byzantine bias of important figures, like Bruce Metzger, had far-reaching influence which continues to enforce an antiquated textual prejudice. Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 212, who affirmed that discarding the Byzantine text is justified because it is based on the recension of Lucian of Antioch, "who deliberately combined elements from earlier types of texts."

[67] Peter J. Gurry, *A Critical Examination of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method in New Testament Textual Criticism*, New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents: Volume 55 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 67-69. Wachtel, "Notes on the Text of Mark," 5, cautions against the continued use of the term "Byzantine text," but accepts it as a shorthand for the "late Byzantine majority text." Even so, he explains, "we should be aware that it refers to the last phase of a process that began before witnesses like Vaticanus and Sinaiticus were produced."

[68] Wachtel, "Notes on the Text of Mark," 5.

tradition often shares close agreement with the initial text of the ECM. Charles Quarles has highlighted this remarkable feature, saying, "the initial text has such a high level of agreement with the majority text that, if the initial text belonged to an extant artifact, it too would have been classified as Byzantine in the apparatus of the ECM."[69] The CBGM has reinforced certain opinions, such as the prestige afforded Codex Vaticanus,[70] but it has also led to surprising revelations about the Byzantine text and the emergence of MS witnesses which had been undervalued and overlooked.[71]

Brief Examples of Textual Character of Codex Regius

Codex Regius stands apart from other medieval MSS because it bears a much older text. For example, in John 1:18 Codex Regius supports the reading μονογενὴς θεὸς, in concert with the text of Origen and other ancient witnesses.[72] In fact, Holger Strutwolf has shown in the Gospel of Mark, that Codex Regius favors the third-century readings of Origen more than any other MS.[73] Under the CBGM, additional features emerge. For instance, Codex Regius contains more prior readings than all of its historical predecessors save one, Codex Vaticanus. (See table A.)

[69] Charles Quarles, "Use of Editio Critica Maior Matthew in Classroom Instruction" (Joint session, *Reflections on the New Editio Critica Maior of the Gospel of Matthew*, 2025 SBL Annual Meeting, Boston, MA, November 22-25, 2025). Notably, in the ECM, thirty-six readings were conformed to the Byzantine text in the Catholic epistles and twenty-one in Mark.

[70] Mink, "Was verändert sich in der Textkritik?" 68. Codex Vaticanus closely aligns with the Ausgangstext.

[71] Ibid.

[72] 𝔓[66], 𝔓[75], 01 (א), 03 (B), and 04 (C) also support this reading at John 1:18.

[73] Holger Strutwolf, "Remarks on the Patristic Evidence," in *Die Synoptischen Evangelien: Das Markusevangelium*, Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior 1/2, Part 3: Studies, Holger Strutwolf, Georg Gäbel, Annette Hüffmeier, Marie-Luise Lakmann, Gregory S. Paulson, and Klaus Wachtel eds (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2021), 99.

TABLE A

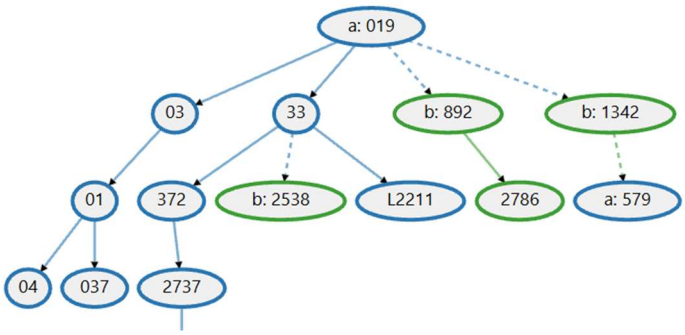
A COMPARISON OF WITNESES (W1) WITH CODEX REGIUS 019 (W2)

Witness	Agreement	W1<W2	W1>W2	Unclear	No Relationship	Direction
01	90.04%	268	181	51	18	01<019
02	83.33%	537	154	110	87	02<019
03	92.19%	132	226	47	6	03>019
04	88.97%	264	141	58	13	04<019
05	71.18%	963	123	231	166	05<019
032	74.80%	806	103	202	169	032<019

In Mark 3, Codex Regius is attributed more prior readings than 03, and so in this section it becomes a stemmatic ancestor of Vaticanus, a rare feat for any MS in Mark.[74] (See diagram 1.)

DIAGRAM 1

TEXTUAL FLOW FOR MARK 3 SHOWING CODEX REGIUS AS THE SOURCE WITNESS



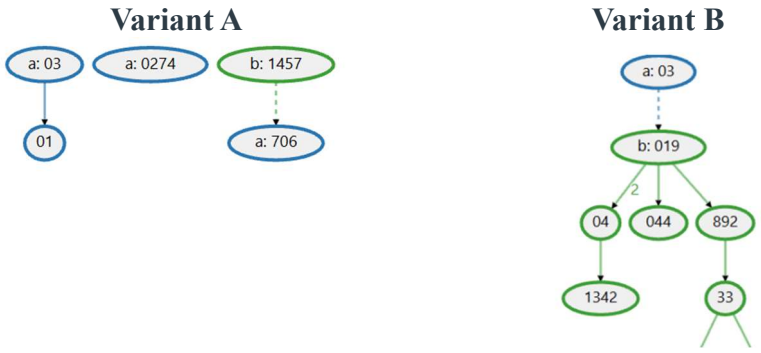
In Codex Regius, Mark 9:29 reads, και ειπεν αυτοις τουτο το γενος εν ουδενι δυναται εξελθειν ει μη εν προσευχη και νηστια (And He said to them, “This kind can come out by

[74] The only other place this occurs is for the eight verses in Mark 16, where 02 and 892 have two and three prior readings respectively against 03 with zero. In Mark 16, 019 also has more prior readings than 03, at two to one.

nothing except prayer and fasting.").[75] Since the witness evidence is slim for the omission,[76] the weight of 01 and 03 together has held sway to keep the additional clause out of the editorial text until the recent reversal by the ECM committee.[77] When assessing this variant in the CBGM, it becomes readily apparent why the clause had to be included as a split-line variant with claim to the *Ausgangstext*. The evidence based upon the coherence of witnesses is unmistakable. When testing for the coherence of witnesses for the omission (reading *a*), the evidence is sparse and incoherent, but when testing for the coherence of witnesses for the inclusion (reading *b*), the evidence is overwhelming in support of the clause. (See diagram 2.)

DIAGRAM 2

COHERENCE IN ATTESTATION FOR MARK 9:29/29 SHOWING THE INCOHERENCE OF VARIAN *A* AND THE COHERENCE OF VARIANT *B*



[75] Conservative evangelical scholars have disagreed on the omission of this clause. In addressing meaningful and viable variants in his video lectures, Dan Wallace opts for the shorter and harder reading, offering that, in his opinion, the longer reading is not original and probably reflects monastic fasting rituals in the middle ages. See Daniel B. Wallace, "Is What We Have Now What They Wrote?" Biblical Training, video lecture transcription, accessed October 1, 2026, biblicaltraining.org. On the other hand, the THGNT, spearheaded by Peter Williams and Dirk Jonkind, has included it. Since the goal of their edition is to provide a reading-text that best reflects the MSS of the first five centuries of the Church, they are clearly taking a stance against this being a later interpolation by aesthetic scribes. See Dirk Jongkind, ed., *The Greek New Testament, Produced at Tyndale House, Cambridge* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2017), 505–6.

[76] Majuscule 0274 is the only other MS to omit the clause.

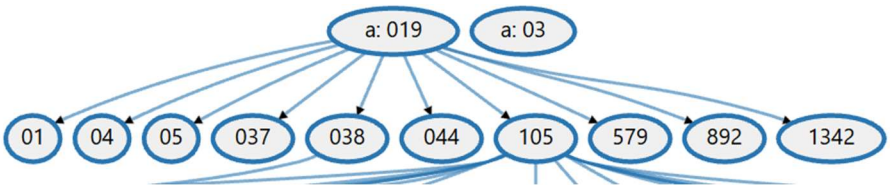
[77] This reversal, however, is not complete. As a split-line diamond variant, this clause is still relegated to the apparatus in the United Bible Societies edition, and will probably be handled similarly in the upcoming twenty-ninth edition of the Nestle-Aland. Even Houghton, *Textual Commentary*, 98 is fairly dismissive about the decision, noting first that "the ubiquity of the phrase in Christian discourse may have led to the addition of the second element." After admitting to the poor attestation of the omission, he further points out that the editorial text follows the shorter reading, reminding readers that "either form is equally likely."

This underscore the fact that 019 carries a text that is very close to the *AT*, while also at key points, moving away from Vaticanus. At these junctures, 019 retains certain textual features which the CBGM is now affirming should be considered as the possible *Ausgangstext*, rather than ignored a priori because they appear to be Byzantine readings.

The ransom logion of Mark 10:45 offers a strange case in point. This verse reads the same in virtually every MS of Mark: καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν (For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give His life a ransom for many).[78] This passage reveals a remarkable point of agreement in the MS tradition of Mark, and also exhibits a place where the witness of Codex Regius stands as the most coherent stemmatic ancestor. (See diagram 3.)

DIAGRAM 3

COHERENCE IN ATTESTATION FOR MARK 10:45/4, 6, 20-22, 28-34

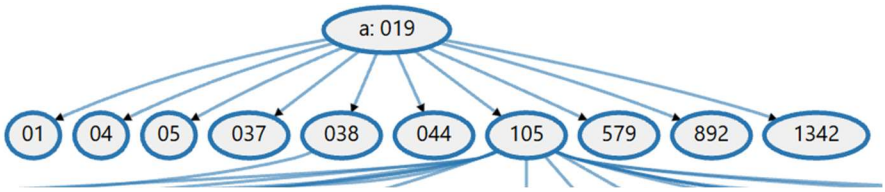


The coherence of witnesses measures coherence at the precise point of variation, and in this case, Codex Regius is considered the most coherent ancestor. Although it is perfectly coherent with the *Ausgangstext*, Vaticanus is not as coherent as Codex Regius with the descendent witnesses in this passage. Additionally, in the textual flow for the full chapter of Mark 10, Vaticanus is removed completely as a witness due to its superfluous genealogical character. (See diagram 4.)

[78] There are four variation units measured by the CBGM in this verse, and for each, there is but a single minuscule or lectionary that departs from the rest of the MS tradition. MS 1506 omits γαρ (10:45/4); MS 826 omits ο (10:45/6); MS 1253 omits αλλα διακονησαι (10:45/20-22); *l*547 reads λυτρον την ψυχην αυτου (10:45/28-34). These late MSS contain the only variants found in any MS for this verse among the witnesses recorded in the ECM.

DIAGRAM 4

TEXTUAL FLOW FOR MARK 10



Conclusion

"And what more shall I say? For the time would fail me" (Heb 11:32, NKJV). Thus, I proffer this epilogue. This paper is not delivered for the disparagement of past opinion, but rather with the same hopefulness that Eldon Epp held for an era of new understanding and renewed cooperation in scholarship. Nearly fifty years ago, the elder dean delivered a re-assessment of "present-day" textual criticism. His words are as fitting today as when he first delivered them:

> Textual critics at large will require a more comprehensive and convincing rationale for the text they accredit as the nearest possible approximation to the original—a rationale that reaches beyond the highly valuable but severely limited assessment of individual variation-units in isolation and a rationale that seeks and finds a broader historical base than the early and precious but narrowly restricted and clearly derivative manuscript witnesses of Egypt. Naturally, to state these desiderata is much easier than to fulfill them, but that difficulty does not relieve the scholar of his obligation to evaluate critically the methods employed by NT textual critics down through the years and the claims they make for the NT texts produced on the basis of their methods and principles of criticism. It is in that spirit that this evaluation is presented.[79]

[79] Eldon Jay Epp, "A Continuing Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism?," *Harvard Theological Review* 73, no. 1–2 (April 1980): 151. His original paper was delivered on November 17, 1979, in New York City at the 115th Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (New testament Textual Criticism section).

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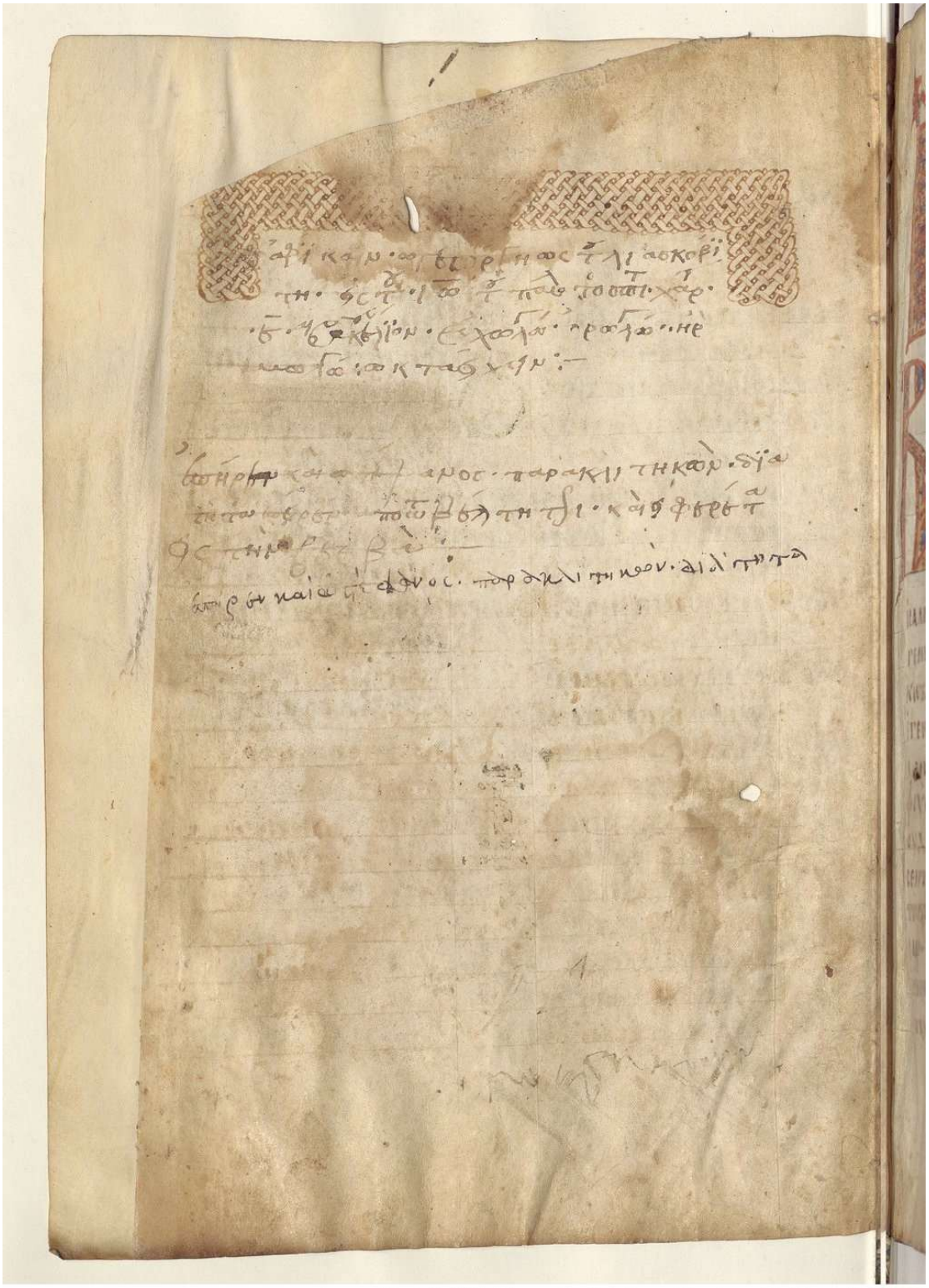
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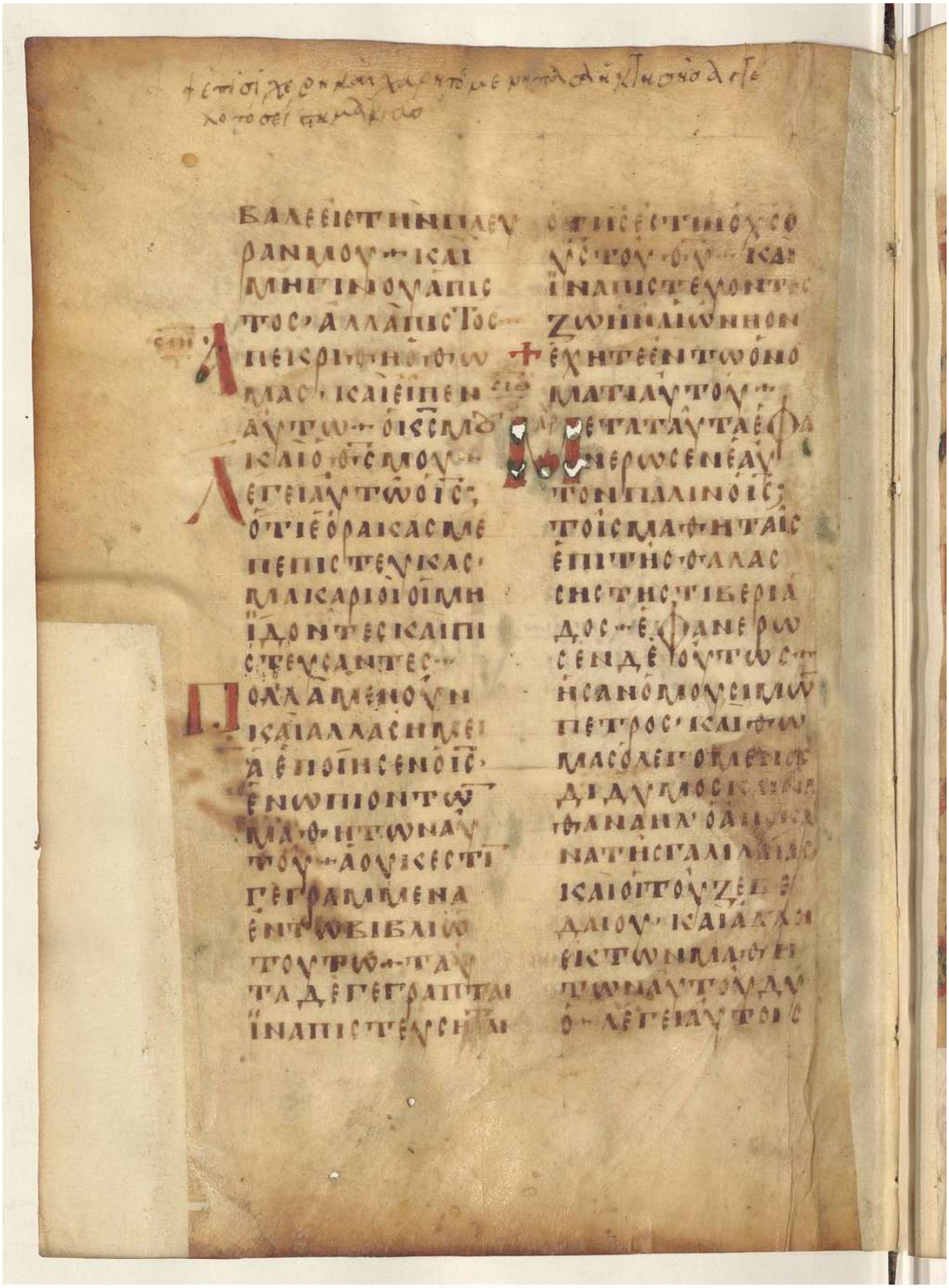
APPENDIX

INSCRIPTION ON FOLIO 3v



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Grec 62

FOLIO 256v WITH JOHN 20:27-21:3
AND FIRST LINE OF *ALL CREATION REJOICETH* IN UPPER MARGIN

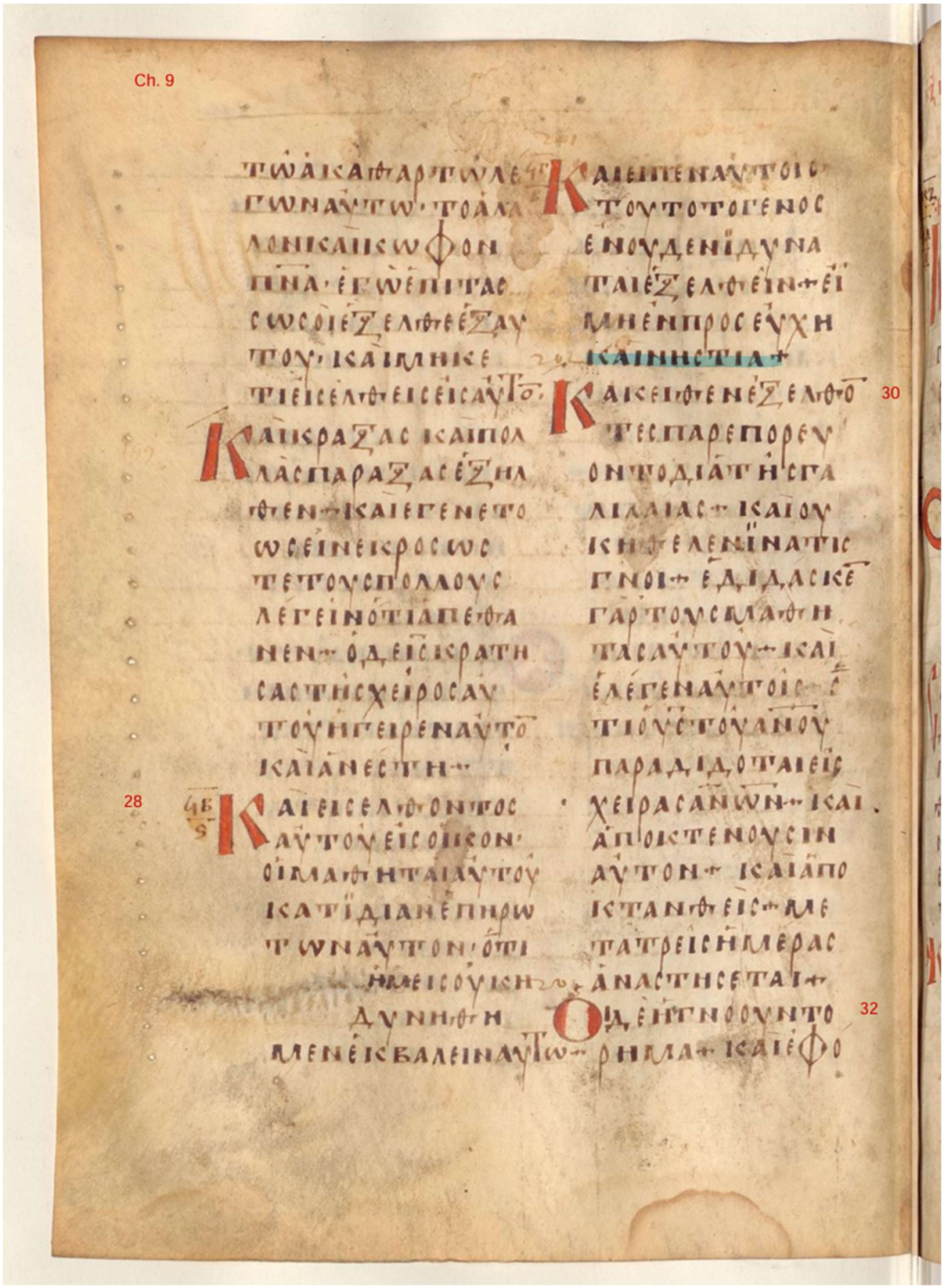


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FOLIO 199r WITH JOHN 1:18 HIGHLIGHTED



FOLIO 94v WITH “AND FASTING” HIGHLIGHTED IN MARK 9:29



FOLIO 98r WITH RANSOM LOGION (MARK 10:45) HIGHLIGHTED



FOLIO 70v WITH THE TITLE PAGE OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK

