“Defending General Atonement in Luke”

A Narrative Textual Criticism on Luke 22:19b-20

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ANF	*The Ante-Nicene Fathers*
AngThR	*Anglican Theological Review*
BDAG	Bauer Greek Lexicon
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
Bib	*Biblica*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
FGNK	Forschungen *zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
INTF	Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
J. Eccles. Hist.	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
J. Relig	The Journal of Religion
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JETS	*Journal of Evangelical Theological Studies*
LNTS	*Library of New Testament Studies*
LQ	*The Lutheran Quarterly*
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NTS	*New Testament Studies*

NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
SBEC	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SD	Studies and Documents
SNT	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
Theol. Stud	*Theological Studies*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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ABSTRACT

The significance of the Last Supper account in the Lukan Gospel cannot be overstated as the text provides a foundation for essential New Testament studies, e.g., atonement theology, early Christian worship and ritual and the historical Jesus, etc. However, in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis and some old Latin MSS, Luke 22:19b-20 is omitted from the "institution narrative," a passage that conveys an important message on Christian soteriology. It is the aim of this thesis to perform the "two-fold" task of NT textual criticism regarding the Lukan eucharistic text, a methodological approach also known as Narrative Textual Criticism (NTC). After an extensive investigation on the external and internal evidence, the thesis will establish the baseline text or the *Ausgangstext*, a starting point that makes a historical study on the textual transmission possible. Once the "longer-reading" is ascertained as the *Ausgangstext*, the thesis gives an account on the narrative behind the Western reading of the Lukan eucharistic text. It will be argued that scribes, when confronted with the appearance of an additional cup in the Lukan "institution narrative," decided to harmonize the text so that the Gospels could resemble each other. However, the reason for excising the second cup instead of the first is that the scribes were disturbed by the idea of limited atonement implied in the "institution narrative," and decided to eradicate the vv. 19b-20 in order to stress the Markan message of "salvation for many."

CHAPTER 1. METHODOLOGY

1.1. An Introduction to the History of Research

A textual critic is confronted with a dilemma when observing textual alterations that do not seem to be simple scribal mistakes. Indeed, while textual errors were and still are objects for emendation,[1] the reader is often confused when he observes different ancient MSS attesting to significant variant readings, both in meaning and length.[2] Regardless of the authenticity of variant readings, such a phenomenon naturally leads the critic to ask, "Why such an alteration of the text?" This is more perplexing to the researcher whose quest is for the "original text" of the Bible amidst the large number of variant readings. Are intentional scribal alterations a mere hindrance in the search for the *Urtext* or a useful instrument in understanding the scribes involved in the transmission process of a textual tradition?

One example of such cases is the Lukan account of the Last Supper, otherwise known as the "institution of the Eucharist" narrative, in which *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (D, 05) and a few old Latin MSS exhibit the "institution narrative" with Luke 22:19b-20 omitted, providing a "shorter-reading" of the text.[3] Ever since Westcott and Hort introduced their "Western Non-interpolation" hypothesis, scholars have preferred the reading attested by Western text-type MSS[4] over "neutral texts"[5] as being closer to the autograph in certain Biblical passages that are in textual dispute, e.g., the last three chapters of the third Gospel.[6] The hypothesis advanced

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[1] Both ancient readers and modern researchers alike find it extremely difficult to distinguish between simple errors and intentional textual alterations. Contemporary NT textual critics have managed to summarize unintentional errors by the scribes. For instance, Metzger and Ehrman give a survey on errors in human perception such as "faulty eyesight, hearing, memory and judgments (a practice of certain scribes who considered their alteration as correction)." Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 251-58; See also Kurt and Barbara Aland on what specific cases, e.g., dittography, haplography, homoioteleuton, homoiarcton, and itacisms, of these unintentional modifications are found in the scribes throughout the Biblical texts. 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.*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989), 282-96.

[2] Eldon Epp openly debates with regard to the term "textual variant" that it should be considered as proper term for "meaningful reading" in contrast to "insignificant reading" (simple errors and minor details) in determining a text critical nomenclature. See Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of the New Testament Textual Criticism* (SD 45; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993), 48-61.

[3] MSS that support the "shorter-reading" of Lk 22 are as follows: D, a, ff^{2}, i, l, b, e; scribes rearrange verses to a large degree in the following MSS: syr^{c}, syr^{s}, syr^{p}, cop^{bo}. A more detailed study on these ancient MSS will be offered in the second chapter of the paper.

[4] The genealogical categorization of Western MSS is not without problems, especially if *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (D, 05), a manuscript that is believed to convey a Western text-type, might have originated from the regions of Berytus (modern day Beirut), and not Lyon, as argued by David Parker. See D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 261-78. The issue of the nomenclature regarding this categorization will be further addressed in the next chapter.

[5] Texts represented by *Codex Vaticanus* and *Codex Sinaiticus*.

[6] B. F. Westcott and J. F. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, vol. II* (Cambridge and London, 1881; 2nd ed., 1896), 175-77; the notion of Western Non-interpolation, now an outdated idea in the discipline, is well-discussed (and defended) in Michael W. Martin, "Defending the 'Western Non-Interpolations': The Case for an Anti-

by these giants in NT textual criticism contributed to making the "shorter-reading" the dominant view among critics, only to be challenged by two leading German NT scholars, Heinz Schürmann and Joachim Jeremias. By arguing for the authenticity of the "longer-reading" in the Lukan "institution narrative" and providing a possible scenario that could have induced such an alteration, Schürmann and Jeremias made a great breakthrough in the early 20th century. Still, the debate on the disputed verses is an ongoing issue that continues to exercise scholars.

The textual dispute about the Lukan "institution narrative" will be examined throughout the three chapters of the thesis, beginning with presenting the research history of the topic and considering some methodological issues in understanding the goal of NT textual criticism. In the following chapters, the thesis gathers evidence, both external and internal, and measure its significance, which will turn out to be in favor of one of the contrasting views regarding the controversial text. After concluding that Lk 22:19b-20 is unlikely to be an interpolation, it is my hypothesis that the textual alteration was a "faithful interpretation" by the scribes struggling to demonstrate superiority of Christianity over Roman imperial ideology.

The present chapter consists of two main parts, beginning with an overview of the research history that gives an explanatory account of the textual alteration, rather than reiterating internal evidence presented by the researchers in their works. The first part aims to introduce possible motives that might have induced omission of vv. 19b-20 in the "institution narrative" of the third Gospel. Next, in the second part, there will be an extensive discussion on the methodological issue of NT textual criticism by first examining a) the traditional goal of textual criticism that seeks to recover the "original text," and then describing b) the emergence of Narrative Textual Criticism (NTC) and some further considerations in applying NTC to the texts of the Bible.

1.1.1. George G. Monks and Heinz Schürmann

A large number of researchers from NT scholarship as well as those who have taken a keen interest in the origin of the Eucharist have committed themselves to solving the textual dispute in the Lukan Last Supper account. However, it was George G. Monks and Heinz Schürmann who first strived to give a detailed and meticulous explanation of the omission of Lk 22:19b-20 as a deliberate scribal alteration. Although Monks is not certain about whether the alteration was intentional or not, he argues that if it was deliberate, the excision of vv. 19b-20 was a harmonization by the scribes who were unfamiliar with the Jewish tradition.[7] Monks also refers to George Salmon's hypothesis that there is a possibility of scribes compressing the text due to the limited space of the papyrus.[8]

Likewise, in his article, "Lk 22, 19b-20 als ursprüngliche Textüberlieferung" (Luke 22:19b-20 as the Original Textual Tradition), Heinz Schürmann is also against the form-critical approach that regards vv. 19b-20 as an "independently transmitted unit" and perceives this part

Separationist Tendenz in the Longer Alexandrian Readings," *JBL* 124 (2005): 269-294.

7 See George G. Monks, "The Lucan Account of the Last Supper," *JBL* 44 (1925): 253-54.

8 George Salmon, *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Ld., 1897), 100 in Monks, "The Lucan Account of the Last Supper," 255.

of the narrative to be an indispensable element.[9] Schürmann argues that the omission was caused by scribes being influenced by the great liturgical upheaval in the 2nd century CE, i.e., the separation of the Eucharist from the congregation meals, and thus harmonizing the Lukan text with the other Synoptic Gospels.[10]

While they are not alone in advocating the "longer reading" as the authentic Lukan text, what makes their research different compared to the previous studies is that these authors have set aside a considerable portion of their study to expounding the reason for the alteration. Such a pattern of research demonstrates that textual critics in the early 20th century are slowly acknowledging that their mission is not only to infer the "original text," but also to interpret textual variants as meaningful data.

1.1.2. Joachim Jeremias

Compared to the researchers before him, Joachim Jeremias takes the textual research to another level when he asserts that there was a particular motive for the scribes to conceal this significant passage from ordinary readers. First of all, Jeremias strongly believes that the account of the Last Supper circulated as an "independent piece of tradition," considering the following factors as supporting evidence: a) Paul's statement in 1 Cor 11:23-25 and b) idioms in the Pauline "institution narrative" that do not harmonize with the apostle's style.[11]

In agreement with Monks and Schürmann,[12] Jeremias believes that scribes devised a way to prevent other esoteric cults in the 1st century CE, e.g., Gnosticism, magic, and pagan philosophy from profaning the sacred teachings, which was by concealing the teachings of Jesus from non-believers in the form of *disciplina arcani*.[13] This concern "to protect the sacredness of the Eucharist and the eucharistic words from profanation" resulted in a phenomenon such as referring to the ritual in a particular way or simply keeping silent about the liturgical formula.[14] Jeremias assumes that one of the copyists involved in the transmission, when requested by a pagan in the 2nd century CE for a copy of the Lukan Gospel, omitted the "sacramental formula" before handing him the text in order to prevent any profanation.[15]

Although Jeremias' *Disciplina Arcani* theory is evidenced by ample data, it is highly unlikely that the early Christian Church chose to protect certain sayings of Christ and his teachings by concealing them from others like the pagans and heretical cults in the first century.[16] Moreover, *Disciplina Arcani*, contrary to Jeremias' appropriation, is a theory that

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9 Heinz Schürmann, "Lk 22, 19b–20 als ursprüngliche Textüberlieferung," *Bib* 32 (1951): 522-23.

10 Schürmann, "Lk 22, 19b–20 als ursprüngliche Textüberlieferung," 540-41.

11 Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, trans. Norman Perrin (London: SCM Press, 1966), 101; 104. First published in Germany as *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1935).

12 According to Billings, Jeremias did not support the "longer reading" until he changed his view in the second edition of *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (1949). See Bradly S. Billings, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Disputed Works in the Lukan Institution Narrative (Luke 22:19b-20): An Historico-Exegetical, Theological, and Sociological Analysis* (LNTS 314; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 91n.

13 Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 125-32.

14 Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 136.

15 Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 159.

16 Indicating that text alone is not enough to fully understand the historical facts of early Christianity in the 2nd

was used to support the "shorter-reading" of the eucharistic text, which scribes later added the missing words to complete the esoteric passage that Luke intended to hide.[17] Billings makes the critical point that one cannot observe an esoteric attitude analogous to that of Greco-Roman religion or ancient Judaism in the early Christian community, and presents Justin Martyr's description of the Eucharist to the Roman emperor as counter-evidence.[18] Nevertheless, what Jeremias has demonstrated in his work radically differs from studies conducted before him on scribal activity, showing that some textual alterations are indeed carried out with a specific intention. Scribes who were involved in the textual transmission did engage with the text as editors prepared to interpret the text within a certain context, a notion that contradicts the conventional understanding of scribes as faithful copyists.

1.1.3. Bart D. Ehrman

Latent among textual critics was the unorthodox idea of scribes being more than mere copyists and such a controversial claim became fully acknowledged with the appearance of an American textual critic who devoted an entire book to discovering the theological motives for the textual variations that arose between the second and third century. There was a significant advance for NT scholarship when Bart Ehrman published his groundbreaking work, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, in 1993, regardless of all the disapproval uttered by other critics.[19] On the premise that scribes made polemical use of the Scripture by altering the text in order to promote orthodoxy, i.e., the apostolic faith, against other diverse Christian groups, Ehrman sees Lk 22:19b-20 as one of such cases where scribes interpolated the text with a specific intention.[20]

In his book, Ehrman expresses his strong discontent with the typical internal evidence brought out by the critics who argued for the "longer reading" of the eucharistic narrative. Especially, he indicates that previous theories, e.g., a) harmonization and b) *Disciplina Arcani*, as possible reasons are unsatisfactory in explaining the omittance of vv. 19b-20.[21] Instead, inspired by the history of early Christians struggling against Docetic teachings, Ehrman contends that vv. 19b-20 were interpolated to affirm the orthodox doctrine of soteriology that argues for salvation through the "real flesh and blood" of Christ.[22] Despite the fact that the presupposition of the Ehrman argument is not without problems, he made a great contribution to the discipline by showing that scribes in the 2nd century CE were faithful interpreters who

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century CE, Robert Grant is highly skeptical about *Disciplina Arcani* but admits the possibility of *Arcanum* or the secret knowledge. See Robert M. Grant, "'Development' in Early Christian Doctrine," *J. Relig* 39 (1959): 121.

17 G. D. Kilpatrick, "LUKE XXII. 19b-20," *JTS* 47 (1946): 53; N. H. Bate, "The 'Shorter Text' of St Luke XXII 15-20," *JTS* 28 (1927): 368 in Billings, *Do This in Remembrance of Me*, 92.

18 Billings, *Do This in Remembrance of Me*, 120-22.

19 Ehrman's discovery and his contribution to NT textual criticism will be further discussed in subsection 1.3. "Development of Narrative Textual Criticism and Its Principles."

20 Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 198-209.

21 Ehrman also blatantly criticizes the *Disciplina Arcani* hypothesis for being inconsistent, in that it fails to explain why the eucharistic formula in First Corinthians, Mark and Matthew remains intact, showing no signs of textual alteration by later scribes. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 207-08.

22 Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 181; 197; 209.

would often go beyond the task of simply replicating the text.

1.1.4. Bradly S. Billings

On the other hand, while accepting the idea that scribes were undoubtedly involved in altering the text, Bradly Billings took this methodology to argue that manuscripts are products of their "social and theological world" that reflects the "social world of early Christianity."[23] Billings establishes his idea on the historical-sociological context of textual transmission, believing that the Great Persecution of Lyon (177 CE) induced scribes to take out the controversial passage in the exemplar (or the mother-text) of *Codex Bezae* or D 05, a content potentially liable to give wrong impressions to the non-believers who perceived early Christians as participants in a "Thyestean Banquet," i.e., members of a cannibalistic society.[24]

Billing's bold attempt is much appreciated for widening the horizon of the new quest of NT textual criticism, yet his research contains some critical flaws. First, his appeal to the argument of the majority reading[25] which is not a valid argument in solving textual disputes. What matters more than the number of MSS and their dating is the quality of the "tradition" they convey. Second, already mentioned by Ehrman, what was the reason for the scribes not to make similar textual alterations in other parallel "institution narratives" in the NT Bible? Moreover, could this textual alteration have prevented the anger of the mob or be effective in averting violence? Likewise, would the believers who were already aware of the sayings of Jesus be satisfied with the tampered text?

Eldon Epp criticizes Billings' refusal to accept the possibility of texts being amended for theological reasons as being contradictory and also indicates that this kind of attitude does not harmonize with his theory of textual alterations due to socio-cultural milieu.[26] Furthermore, Epp criticizes that a) considering the possibility of D 05 originating from Berytus, Billings should have addressed the vast gap of 600 years between the Great Persecution of Lyon and D's certain presence in the 9th century CE and b) there is no evidence for the existence of the parent text of D with Lk 22:19b-20 missing from the third Gospel, especially since Irenaeus, who was the Bishop of Lyon at the time of the persecution, attest to the longer reading in his work *Adversus Haereses*.[27] To sum up, Billings' research well describes the current trend of NT textual criticism with a rather unconvincing conclusion.

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23 Billings, *Do This in Remembrance of Me*, 137.

24 Bradly S. Billings, "The Disputed Words in the Lukan Institution Narrative (Luke 22:19b-20): A Sociological Answer to a Textual Problem," *JBL* 125 (2006): 515, "It seems reasonable, then, to maintain that the scribe who produced D wrote the 'shorter reading' because it came to him in his exemplar and therefore genuinely represented the textual tradition he sought to transmit"; See also his monograph *Do This in Remembrance of Me*, 173.

25 "To this end it becomes immediately obvious that the strongest single argument in support of the authenticity of the longer reading is of course the fact that it is attested to by the overwhelmingly majority of the external manuscript evidence." in Billings, *Do This in Remembrance of Me*, 22.

26 Eldon J. Epp, "The Disputed Words of the Eucharistic Institution (Luke 22,19b-20): The Long and Short of the Matter," *Bib* 90 (2009): 407-416 republished as "Chapter 6" in Eldon J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism, Vol. 2* (SNT 181; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020), 176.

27 Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism, Vol. 2*, 181-82.

1.2. The Emergence of Narrative Textual Criticism

So far the thesis has presented the research history of the textual dispute about the Lukan Last Supper account with a focus on introducing the hypothetical context that could explain the scribal alteration. One can easily observe from the previous section that the binary approach, a text-critical perspective that regards variant readings as a hindrance in inferring the "original text," is no longer in effect. Critics are now utilizing variant readings to understand the scribes responsible for the textual transmission, studying how they engaged with the given text as readers. NT textual criticism is a discipline that now studies not just the text itself, but also the scribes who functioned as copyists and, at the same time, as editors of the text.

In contemporary textual criticism, scholars now acknowledge textual variants as windows for identifying certain issues in church history, analyzing how certain believers (scribes) in the early Christian Church interpreted the text handed down to them.[28] Often labeled as Narrative Textual Criticism (NTC), the paper will elaborate on how this new textual criticism with the "two-fold task"[29] developed over the years before moving on to the next chapter. It is also the aim of this paper to apply NTC in exploring the textual dispute about Lk 22:19b-20.

1.2.1. The Notion of "Original Text" Revisited

What is the ultimate goal of NT textual criticism? Or, if we are more conscious of the modern trend, what has been the purpose of textual criticism? From the time of the Church Fathers to modern-day textual critics, the purpose of textual criticism has always been to recover the "original text,"[30] a hypothetical text that is assumed to be documented in the autograph.[31]

Naturally, one might then inquire about the purpose of NT textual criticism from a modern-day perspective, which seems to have diverged into two different direction, one being the consistent endeavor to search for the original[32] and another being the new methodological

[28] Michael Holmes also states that contemporary researchers appreciate variant readings as "worthy of study in their own right." Michael W. Holmes, "From 'Original Text' to 'Initial Text': The Traditional Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Contemporary Discussion," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* 2nd Edition (NTTSD 42; Boston/Leiden: Brill, 2013), 637.

[29] "Two-fold task" is a term coined by Eldon Epp. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism, Vol. 2*, xxxviii.

[30] This is not only confined to Biblical studies. Paul Maas, who is considered to be one of the founders of modern textual criticism, defined the goal of textual criticism regarding Greek and Roman manuscripts as "to produce a text as close as possible to the original." This *constitutio textus* can also include the dictation of the original author when overseeing the overall revision of the written document. See Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (1st German ed. 1927; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 1.

[31] An extensive review of the history of NT textual criticism is provided by Chris Stevens in his recently published doctoral thesis. Chris S. Stevens, *History of the Pauline Corpus in Texts, Transmissions and Trajectories: A Textual Analysis of Manuscripts from the Second to the Fifth Century* (TENTS 14; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020), 5-19.

[32] Michael Holmes defines the three tasks related to the search for the "original text" as follows: a) "gathering and organizing the evidence," b) "evaluating and assessing the significance and implications of the evidence," and c) "reconstructing the history of the transmission of the text to the extent allowed by the evidence." See Michael W. Holmes, "New Testament Textual Criticism" in *Introducing New Testament Interpretation*, ed. Scot McKnight (GNTE 1; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989), 53 in Holmes, "From 'Original Text' to 'Initial Text,'" 637.

approach argued by a handful of leading NT scholars.[33] However, the search for the "original" is still the main concern for most scholars and a necessary task for NTC since this "baseline text" is crucial in understanding variant readings.[34] Perhaps it is most appropriate to refer to two of the best-known editors of the critical text of the Greek New Testament universally used in the present day, Nestle-Aland's *Novum Testamentum Graece* and the *Greek New Testament* by the United Bible Society (UBS).

Despite the fact that Bruce M. Metzger does not explicitly disclose his personal opinion, he outlines the aim of textual criticism to be "ascertaining from the divergent copies which form of the text should be regarded as most nearly conforming to the original"[35] since the autograph is no more.[36] More straightforward than Metzger are Kurt and Barbara Aland who define the purpose of this academic discipline by stating that "only one reading can be original…" that "…best satisfies the requirements of both external and internal criteria."[37] It seems that Barbara Aland's position has slightly changed since then.[38] However, although textual critics in the past did acknowledge their incapability and limited resources in recovering the original, only a few pioneers in the discipline have embarked on an inquiry into the meaning of "original." So, what exactly is an "original text?"[39]

As Eldon Epp rightly notes, when it comes to understanding the implications of the term "original text," the idea cannot be comprehended apart from the notion of "canon and authority"

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[33] Instead of the common binary approach in eclecticism, variant readings can serve as data to help explain, as Ehrman calls it, the "social history of early Christianity." See Bart D. Ehrman, "The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity." In *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1995), 361-79. Reprinted as Chapter 20 in *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 33; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 100-101.

[34] Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*, xxxix; cf. J. Eugene Botha, "New Testament Textual Criticism is Dead! Long Live New Testament Criticism!" *HTS Theological Studies* 63 (2007): 561-573.

[35] Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, v; the term "reconstruction of the original text" is briefly mentioned as an assumed goal of the discipline on page 280.

[36] Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), xiii.

[37] Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 280.

[38] Epp refers to the meeting of Studiorum Novi Testamentum Societas in Halle (2005) when Barbara Aland distinguished between *Ausgangstext* and "original text" as she was delivering a presidential address to the audience. See Epp *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism, Volume 2*, 365. Epp also refers to J. K. Elliott's testimony that Barbara Aland revealed in a German broadcast in 1999 that the aim of textual criticism is to "attain the *Ausgangstext* which is not the same with the original text"; 365n61. If Epp is right, then J. E. Botha's memory of the SNTS meeting in Halle is an oversimplification as he understood her message to be a traditional search for the "original text." See Botha, "New Testament Textual Criticism is Dead," 562.

[39] The concept of "originality" also poses a problem for the authorship of the NT books as well since a) it seems evident that Biblical authors do not convey the firsthand source of the Gospel but collected the traditions that were being circulated at the time and b) even books that are assumed to have been written by Jesus' disciples are in dispute regarding their authorship (Matthew, Peter, John). For instance, Luke consciously reveals that his book is a compilation of the "word delivered to them," a phrase that David Wenham pays special attention to. Should reinterpretation of the original source, e.g., the third Gospel by Luke, be regarded as original as well? David Wenham, "Source Criticism," in *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Carlisle: The Paternoster Press, 1977), 139.

and is perhaps the a more complicated concept than any other in NT studies.[40] However, identifying the "original text" in relation to canon is anachronistic since the word Κανών in the 2nd century CE indicated an authority that could direct the norms of the believers, and only in the middle of 4th century CE would it come to refer to Christian writings, e.g., Athanasius' *Decrees of the Council of Nicaea*, yet even then the term could also indicate the "list" for the Church.[41] Before reviewing Epp's revolutionary article "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism" first published in the *Harvard Theological Journal* in 1999, it is crucial to take note that there were other scholars in the past who already perceived the limits of eclecticism in textual criticism due to the problematic term "original text."

While it is true that textual critics, even the Church Fathers themselves,[42] have always acknowledged their limits in attaining the *Urtext*, yet it was Richard Bentley who suggested a more realistic term "oldest recoverable text," the text that is assumed to have circulated at the time of the Nicene Council.[43] Karl Lachmann followed suit as he sought after the "oldest attainable text" that was likely to have been used in the Eastern Church in the 4th century instead of the "original text."[44] Since then, the belief in the "original text" has continuously been challenged and often rejected. Stevens refers to Marvin Vincent and the following scholars as pioneers among those who spoke out against the traditional understanding, Vincent explicitly stating that "the text of Scripture, in the best form in which critical scholarship can exhibit it, presents numerous errors and discrepancies."[45] Kirsopp Lake expresses his adamant rejection of the long-established quest and regards the reconstruction of the original to be entirely impossible as there will always be corruptions found in local texts, with alterations induced by

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[40] Eldon J. Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism," *HTR* 92 (1999): 245-281. Reprinted as Chapter 20 in Eldon J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism* (SNT 116; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 552.

[41] Harry Y. Gamble, *The New Testament Canon: Its Making and Meaning* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 16-17; cf. Michael J. Kruger, *Canon Revisited: Establishing the Origin and Authority of the New Testament Books* (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway, 2012).

[42] Stevens briefly mentions how Church Fathers, e.g., Irenaeus, Origen, Jerome and Augustine, as textual critics came to realize their limits in recovering the "original text" and expressed concerns on the unreliability of certain variant readings. See Stevens, *History of the Pauline Corpus in Texts, Transmissions and Trajectories*, 5-9.

[43] See R. Bentley, letter to Archbishop Wake, 1716, in A. Dyce (ed.), *Richard Bentley: The Works Vol. 3* (London, 1838; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1971); 477-79, 477 quoted in D. C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 25. See also Eldon J. Epp, "In the Beginning was the New Testament Text, but Which Text? A Consideration of 'Ausgangstext' and 'Initial Text'," (NTTSD 47; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014) republished as chapter 11 in Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism, Volume 2*, 379. Epp also argues that while it was Bentley who first made the attempt to demolish the authority of the *textus receptus*, only Lachmann was able to do so. See Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism, Volume 2*, 320

[44] E.g., Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 11; Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism, Volume 2*, 320-22; 379; 517; Frank Stagg, "Textual Criticism for Luke-Acts," *Perspective in Religious Studies* 5 (1978): 142; Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 170; Stevens, *History of the Pauline Corpus in Texts, Transmissions and Trajectories*, 14.

[45] Marvin Vincent, *A History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London: MacMillan & Co., LTD, 1899), 3, in Stevens, *History of the Pauline Corpus in Texts, Transmissions and Trajectories*, 157.

doctrinal purposes further complicating the quest for the original.[46] Most intriguing is the proposition advanced by D. W. Riddle when he criticizes "original text" as an "academic abstraction" and suggests that critics should utilize variants as traditions that could enrich the historical knowledge of Christianity.[47] J. R. Harris takes up the task of refuting Westcott and Hort's observation of "no signs of deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes"[48] in his short article, arguing that anti-Judaism did play a role within textual transmission.[49] Such dissenting voices, after all, are inevitable as even simple philological and trivial textual issues cannot be understood in isolation from the realm of theology.[50]

1.2.2. From "Original Text" to *Ausgangstext*

In the previous subsection, a summary was provided focusing on the history of significant figures who raised objections to the obsession with the *Urtext*. In the past (along with a few contemporary critics), there was a general consensus among critics that the term "original text" is to be perceived as equivalent to the notion of the autograph, only to be substituted later by the term "earliest attainable text," which is still not without problems.[51]

Such an understanding of the "original text" has undergone a radical revision in the last four decades, as the goal of recovering such a hypothetical "original text" has become virtually impossible ever since Helmut Koester highlighted the probable discrepancy between the autograph and the archetype of MSS in the early 2nd century CE and the tendency of early Christian writers to harmonize[52] Gospel stories.[53] Therefore, what critics can do is to engage in the examination of the authenticity of the variant readings after deciding what text among the many early versions of the Gospel (or other NT books) should be regarded as original.[54] This, of course, is beyond the abilities of researchers since not only are they without the

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[46] Kirsopp Lake, *The Influence of Textual Criticism on the Exegesis of the New Testament: an Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Leiden, on January 27, 1904* (Oxford: Parker and Sons, 1904), 7.

[47] Donald W. Riddle, "Textual Criticism as a Historical Discipline," *AngThR* 18 (1936): 220-33.

[48] Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, vol. II*, 282.

[49] J. Rendel Harris, "Was the Diatessaron Anti-Judaic?" *HTR* 18 (1925): 103-109.

[50] Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 288.

[51] Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*, 561.

[52] For a more detailed account of scribal harmonization, see Cambry G. Pardee, *Scribal Harmonization in the Synoptic Gospels* (NTTSD 60; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019), 1-38; James R. Royse, "Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 239-52.

[53] Helmut Koester, "The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission*, ed., W. L. Petersen (CJA 3; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 19-37; cf. William Warren, "Who Changed the Text and Why? Probable, Possible, and Unlikely Explanations," in *The Reliability of the New Testament* ed. Robert E. Stewart, 105-23 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011); Gamble also speculates that early Christian literature (that would later become the Holy Scriptures) wawot free from emendation as scribes and editors strived to promote a particular perspective, orthodox or heterodox alike. He also contends that in the 2nd century CE, the texts that belonged to Christian community were neither rigidly fixed nor closed, but open to corrections. See Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 123-26.

[54] Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*, 564-65; cf. Michael W. Holmes, "Text and Transmission in the Second Century," in *The Reliability of the New Testament*, 61-79.

autograph, but also lack data on the texts that circulated in the second century.[55] Taking into account all these impediments coming from the inappropriate nomenclature, Epp brings out the multidimensional implications of the "original text" to four text-forms: "predecessor text-form" (texts that represents the earlier stage before canonization), "autographic text-form" (texts produced by the Biblical authors themselves), "canonical text-form" (texts that gained "consensual authority" during canonization), and "interpretive text-form" (reinterpreted texts that would replace the "original" during the reformulation period).[56]

So, if the search for the "original text" of the NT in the traditional sense is an invalid quest, what then should be the goal for textual critics? Eldon Epp suggests that the search should aim for the "earliest attainable text".[57] Instead of searching for a hypothetical *Urtext*, the textual critic should study the "earlier stages of composition and earlier texts" that predate what scholars assume to be the "original text," since various "originals" were formulated by the scribes who were driven by specific theological intent.[58] Simply put, if the reconstruction of the autograph is beyond the scholar's reach, then the redefined goal of textual criticism should be to investigate the earlier stages of the text going back as far as possible. In this regard, textual variants can be categorized into two groups: Category 1 that signals "pre-original compositions" and Category 2 that signals "post-original interpretative activity," adapting the earlier tradition.[59]

Moreover, Epp's phrase "earliest attainable text" may interchangeably be used with the term *Ausgangstext* or the initial text,[60] a term, conceived by Gerd Mink, that indicates "a hypothetical, reconstructed text, as it presumably existed, according to the hypothesis, before the beginning of its copying," where text is not to be regarded as the "original text," but an archetype that can solve the mystery behind the rise of variant texts.[61] In the next chapter, the paper will discuss how scholars of textual criticism advanced the notion of *Ausgangstext* with their theories in regard to textual transmission and as a result prompted the rise of Narrative Textual Criticism.

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[55] H. Strutwolf concludes that the earliest textual tradition a critic can attain would probably belong to the middle of the second century. Holger Strutwolf, "Original Text and Textual History," in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes (Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 41.

[56] Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*, 586-87.

[57] Eldon J. Epp, "In the Beginning Was the New Testament Text, but Which Text? A Consideration of '*Ausgangstext*' and the 'Initial Text'," A paper originally presented for the SBL Annual Meeting in Georgia, Atlanta (2010). Reprinted as Chapter 11 in Eldon J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism Volume 2* (SNT 181; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020), 369.

[58] Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*, 571-72; 576; 584.

[59] Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*, 578-79.

[60] Epp, "A Consideration of '*Ausgangstext*' and the 'Initial Text'," in *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism Volume 2*, 404.

[61] Gerd Mink, "Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition, The New Testament: Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy," *Studies in Stemmatology II* (ed. P. van Reenan, A. den Hollander, and M. van Mulken; Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 25-26 in Epp, "A Consideration of '*Ausgangstext*' and the 'Initial Text'," 387n48. Wachtel provides an alternate methodology by categorizing the "original text" into three phases: "authorial text," "initial text," and "archetypal text," meaning cri tics should now also investigate whether the initial text had authority or not. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes, "Introduction," in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research* (Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 5-8.

1.3. Development of Narrative Textual Criticism and Its Principles

Previously, the last subsection demonstrated how scholarly voices on the invalidity of the quest for the "original text" developed over the years, prompting the development of a new methodology of NT textual criticism as a result. Lachmann and textual critics of later generations, e.g., Vincent, Lake, Riddle, Harris etc., already sharply pointed out the ineffective eclecticism in reconstructing the hypothetical originals (or autograph) of the NT texts. Does this mean that eclecticism in NT textual criticism is in jeopardy? Not necessarily.

As previously stated, there must be a baseline text ("autographic text-form") established prior to discerning Epp's "interpretive text-form" in order to conduct the new text-critical research, in which critics now should strive to recover Mink's *Ausgangstext* that provides a foundation text once interpreted by scribes in a certain period of reception. In other words, the goal of NT textual criticism is now twofold: a) to reconstruct the *Ausgangstext* with all possible methods and b) to discover "the theological, liturgical, and ethical contexts of textual variants in the life of the church."[62]

It is essential to note that the new direction of textual criticism became publicly recognized due to the works of Bart D. Ehrman and David C. Parker, who consolidated this new quest by abandoning the outdated practice and instead explored the alternative uses of textual variants. Clearly, these two theologians contributed to acknowledging the identity of the second century scribes as both copyists and authors, making the use of textual variants available for historical data. Textual variants are now valuable assets in understanding the motif for textual alteration, especially in relation to the socio-historical world of the ancient MSS and their scribes. Therefore, the next subsection aims to introduce the works of Ehrman and Parker that contributed to consolidating the new methodology known as Narrative Textual Criticism, followed by two of Ehrman's students who further developed Ehrman's methodology and ending with Epp's evaluation of NTC.[63]

1.3.1. Bart D. Ehrman

With a provocative title as its headline, Ehrman published *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* in 1993, a display of his academic conviction that theological disputes over Christology induced scribes to make "polemical uses" of the Scripture through textual emendations (or alterations)

[62] Eldon Jay Epp, "It's All About Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism," *HTR* 100 (2007): 294. For a new approach to categorizing ancient MSS, see also Stanley E. Porter, "Textual Criticism in Light of Diverse Textual Evidence for the Greek New Testament: An Expanded Proposal," in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 305-37.

[63] The scholars introduced in the present subsection derives from the list of "1.3 Significant Practitioners and Practices of NTC" in Ch.7 of Steven's work, which were added in accordance with the purpose of the thesis. See Stevens, *History of the Pauline Corpus in Texts, Transmissions and Trajectories*, 162-68.

directed towards a more "orthodox"[64] Christianity.[65] This monumental book by Ehrman not only repudiates Westcott and Hort's belief that textual transmission is free from theological contamination, but also strives to provide concrete cases of textual alteration actuated by theological motives.

Inspired by Walter Bauer's *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (1934),[66] Ehrman asserts that early Christianity was more diverse than previously understood.[67] Ehrman's hypothesis is well summarized in a sentence as follows: "scribes of the second and third centuries in fact altered their texts of Scripture at significant points in order to make them more orthodox on the one hand and less susceptible to heretical construal on the other."[68] Ehrman contends that this "orthodox" movement survived the diverse world of early Christianity and historians are obliged to analyze this historical dynamic, rather than favoring one specific party.[69] From this statement, one could easily assume that it is also the task of textual critics to study the historical and theological context of the intentional scribal activity reflected in the variant readings.

While *Orthodox Corruption* explores the early Christian history, Ehrman's methodological approach to textual variants is clearly outlined in a work written two years after this book: the variants serve as an instrument to reveal the socio-historical world of early Christianity.[70] For instance, traces of "internal struggle within early Christianity," "certain attitudes towards Jewish-Christian relations," and "systematic oppression against women" can be observed in the variant readings of NT MSS.[71] Textual critics should now, after establishing the *Ausgangstext*, examine the historical issues revealed by the various textual attestations documented in ancient MSS. While Ehrman's theory on "insurgent orthodoxy" received an enormous amount of criticism especially from North American evangelical NT scholars,[72] he has successfully solidified the

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[64] Ehrman defines "orthodoxy" as a theological orientation that upholds the "true faith based on the eyewitness accounts of the apostles," a perspective that can be traced back to the Book of Acts. Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 6.

[65] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 3-15; 25. Ehrman also claims on p. 19 that it was this orthodox perspective that gave rise to the formation of the canon.

[66] The English translation of the book came out four decades later as Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, ed. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel, trans. Paul J. Achtemeier (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971).

[67] Ehrman, however, dismisses Bauer's contention for a systematic persecution of the Roman Church that gradually dominated other theological voices. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 8-9. Cf. Thomas A. Robinson, *The Bauer Thesis Examined: The Geography of Heresy in the Early Christian Church* (SBEC 11; Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1988) originally published as "Orthodox and Heresy in Western Asia Minor in the First Christian Community: A Dialogical Response to Walter Bauer," PhD. diss, McMaster University, 1988).

[68] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 25.

[69] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 12.

[70] Ehrman, "The Text as Window," 362.

[71] See Ehrman, "The Text as Window," 362-67.

[72] E.g., Craig L. Bloomberg, *Can We Still Believe the Bible? An Evangelical Engagement with Contemporary Questions* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2014), 17-28; Bloomberg is wrong when he mentions in p.15 that *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* is Ehrman's doctoral dissertation, because his dissertation, written in Princeton Theological Seminary, was later published as Bart D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (NTGF 1; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986); Andreas J. Köstenberger and Michael J. Kruger, *The Heresy of Orthodoxy: How Contemporary Culture's Fascination with Diversity Has Reshaped Our Understanding*

claim that was once an unresolved thesis: some scribes in early Christianity were definitely more than mere copyists.

1.3.2. David C. Parker

David C. Parker's *The Living Text of the Gospels* is a relatively short, but groundbreaking work that exercises a powerful influence on NT textual critics even today. According to Parker, textual criticism is a "human communication," or "the act of understanding what another person means by the words laid before me,"[73] a definition that is unique compared to the typical goal of reconstructing the *Urtext*. In the book *The Living Text*, the author claims that the "causes of the intentional alterations" in the ancient NT MSS should be understood, which is a task not just for textual experts, but for everyone.[74] For Parker, there is no such thing as an "original text" and such an academic illusion is unproductive. Instead, critics should focus on the editorial activity in the transmission process or as Parker narrates, "study the way in which sayings and stories continued to be developed by copyists."[75] Parker provides a more clear-cut methodological approach to MSS and their texts in his later work when he states that "textual criticism is the analysis of variant readings in order to determine in what sequence they arose."[76]

Such a claim derives from the speculation that there was a massive "oral tradition" being circulated and that the documentation of the Gospels was a complement to this oral tradition, rather than substituting it, within the competitive communities in early Christianity.[77] Moreover, Parker reminds his readers of the premise that textual critics should bear in mind that "Gospel texts exist only as a manuscript tradition" and "the text grew freely in the beginning."[78] For Parker, MSS themselves are the tradition, or to be more specific, a "living tradition," and not just a simple courier of a random folklore.[79]

However, not all have welcomed Parker's innovative idea. One of the dissenting voices is Daniel Wallace, a prominent figure in North American evangelical textual criticism. Wallace, though not so convincingly, points out that Parker's analogy used to explain the purpose of textual criticism fails to consider two aspects: that a) the text gained authority when it left the hands of the author and that b) surrendering the quest for the original dilutes the author's intention.[80] What Wallace argues is valid to a certain degree, yet he leaves out the important

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of Early Christianity (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway), 23-40 under the title "The Bauer-Ehrman Thesis: Its Origin and Influence"; Michael J. Kruger, "Early Christian Attitudes towards the Reproduction of Texts," in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 71-80.

[73] David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

[74] Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*, 2.

[75] Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*, 4-6; 45.

[76] D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 159.

[77] Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*, 19; 22.

[78] Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*, 203

[79] Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*, 209-10.

[80] Daniel B. Wallace, "Challenges in New Testament Textual Criticism for the Twenty-First Century," *JETS* 52

element that there must be an appropriate explanation of the numerous textual alterations that is intimately related to the theological and social context of scribal reception. Wallace's endeavor for the "primary goal" of textual criticism[81] contributes to his failure to see the theological significance of the textual alterations during the second century, often referred to as the Dark Age of NT textual history.[82] Despite all the dissenting voices, one thing is certain: variant readings are the marks left by scribes who functioned as copyists and, at the same time, editors.

In the post-Ehrman and -Parker period, textual critics are now turning their focus to a new methodological approach known as Narrative Textual Criticism, the term that makes its first appearance in a book review by Parker where he labels the new trend of textual approach with a new nomenclature.[83] NTC contributes to disclosing the early Christian history concealed within the textual transmission of the New Testament. An intriguing fact to note is that while textual research based on NTC is carried out on numerous passages of NT texts, one may observe that these analysts do not specifically refer to their methodology as NTC. Studies on the variant readings for a certain passage are being carried out, yet there is practically no consensus on how to properly term this "variant conscious approach" employed by scholars.[84] Henceforth calling this particular historical approach NTC as proposed by Epp in 2020[85] could contribute to preventing possible misunderstanding on the use of proper terms and fostering methodological study simultaneously.

1.3.3. Kim Haines-Eitzen

Kim Haines-Eitzen, a former doctoral student of Ehrman, has continued to carry on Ehrman's legacy and his academic contribution in the field of NT textual criticism, by categorizing the functions and defining the identity of the scribes who were usually considered mere copyists. Research on the identity and function of early Christian scribes is indeed an enlightening study since strikingly little attention was given in the past to the transmitters of the Scripture themselves as recovering the hypothetical *Urtext* was the sole aim of scholars.[86] Haines-Eitzen

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(2009): 81-84.

[81] Wallace, "Challenges in New Testament Textual Criticism," 85.

[82] J. Birdsall also raises doubts on the origin of the Gospel having a multiple tradition as there are no evidence that could support Parker's claim. See J. Neville Birdsall, review of David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) in *JTS* 50 (1999): 279.

[83] D. C. Parker, review of Bart Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of the Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament,* in *JTS* 45 (1994): 704-708 in Epp, "It's All About Variants," 288.

[84] This term first appears in Epp's article "It's All about Variants."

[85] Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism Vol. 2*, 184.

[86] The author devotes an entire chapter to outlining the role and function of scribes in the Greco-Roman world. In the first chapter, Haines-Eitzen categorizes the types of scribes in the Greco-Roman world according to their status and role in society, i.e. "public professional scribes," "private secretarial scribes," "multifunctional scribes," "non-professional scribes," etc. See Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of the Letters: Literary, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 22-36. In the last chapter of her book, she also makes a comment on the scribal activity that, "As (re)producers of literary texts, scribes held a certain control over the texts, and ancient authors were fully cognizant of the potential for scribal error, erasure, or emendation," in *Guardians of the Letters*, 130.

begins her thesis by describing the scribal culture in early Christian literature, as early as the Pauline Epistles (1st century CE) and *Shepherd of Hermas* (2nd century CE).[87] The identity of scribes involved in the transmission varied from time to time, and, contrary to Greco-Roman culture, this transmission did not reflect a sharp distinction between the producer and the user. These Christian scribes in the early period engaged with the text within a specific theological and social context, exercising a certain amount of influence on the text.[88] Therefore, one of the primary objectives that textual critics now must embrace is to understand the scribes hiding behind the text, which would enrich the knowledge of textual transmission within the early Church.[89]

Nevertheless, this scribal activity does not indicate alteration to such an extreme degree that it obscures the boundary between the author and the scribe. Haines-Eitzen points out that it is "unwise to assume that private channels of transmission permitted complete freedom to manipulate the texts themselves, and, by contrast, that scriptoria were the only settings in which control over texts was maintained."[90]

1.3.4. Wayne C. Kannaday

Wayne C. Kannaday, another former student of Ehrman, argues for intentional (apologetic) scribal emendations in order to safeguard the image of Jesus distorted by the abusive hermeneutical activities of pagans.[91] Within his lengthy research that illustrates the intense struggle between pagan opposition and the apologetic response by the early Christians,[92] the statement below perhaps best represents Kannaday's understanding of scribal activity in early Christian history.

> Scribes consciously modified texts related to the person and character of Jesus in a way that mirrors apologetic efforts to defend Jesus against antagonistic character assassination, on the one hand, and, on the other, to foster the cause of making him more tenable to a pagan audience.[93]

It is Kannaday's conclusion that scribes were not just copyists, but "defenders of faith" who perceived their hermeneutical activity as an essential part of their Christian conviction.[94] If we take Kannaday's theory into account, variant readings attested in ancient NT MSS are no longer textual debris, but they are hermeneutical responses to the particular issues that arose in the early Christian Church. Textual criticism is not only about literary analysis, but is a "historical

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[87] Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of the Letters*, 36-38.
[88] Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of the Letters*, 130.
[89] Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of the Letters*, 132.
[90] Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of the Letters*, 107.
[91] Wayne C. Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition: Evidence of the Influence of Apologetic Interests on the Text of the Canonical Gospels* (SBL; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 5; 104-05.
[92] Kannaday asserts that the large number of textual variants in the New Testament are the very traces of this theological struggle. Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition*, 21; 104.
[93] Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition*, 104.
[94] Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition*, 234-35.

discipline" that no longer treats the text as an unchanging "relic of the distant past," but "as something that lived and was adapted in response to change."[95]

On the other hand, are all textual variants a counter-response to pagan assault on Christian literature and theology? While Kannaday presents evidence on apologetic traces, this is an issue that requires further investigation. Still, what Kannaday has contributed is significant for NT scholarship and church history alike since it sheds light on the theological issues that were disputed in the second century. Variant readings in ancient MSS are perhaps the primordial reception history of NT texts, an interpretation that predates even the Church Fathers themselves. It seems that the faithful understanding of the scribes on the "received words" was later incorporated into the Holy Scripture.

1.3.5. Eldon J. Epp

While scholars have already conducted research based on NTC, the term for this methodological approach has not been fully recognized by other textual critics, and only in a recently published thesis by Stevens (2020) is there an entire chapter that explicitly labels this methodology with its proper name. In the seventh chapter of Stevens' published doctoral thesis, he defines NTC as "looking at the MSS in new ways to ask sociohistorical questions of the historical documents."[96] This is, however, a somewhat oversimplified understanding of NTC since, as noted by Ehrman, textual critics are also confronted with particular theological issues of the early Church that are documented in the variant readings of the text, and these conflicts in early Christian history stimulate the textual dynamic in ancient MSS.[97] In this sense, Epp's definition seems to be more methodologically valid and practical when he states that NTC is an approach that views "textual variants, especially those readings rejected in critical editions, as informative about issues of concern in the early churches."[98]

NTC is about understanding the motive or the intention behind a textual alteration that ultimately contributes to revealing the conflicts, concerns, and ideas that circulated within the early Church in the 2nd century CE, a relatively unknown era of Christian history.[99] To quote the renowned British textual critic James Keith Elliott, "textual criticism of the New Testament should never be practiced outside church history."[100] Nevertheless, the textual critic should also consider the possible flaws and weaknesses that NTC may display. Stevens summarizes some of his speculations on the methodological flaws of NTC as follows:[101]

- There is no absolute criterion for evaluating the motivation(s) for textual alterations determined by NTC research.

[95] Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition*, 242-43.
[96] Stevens, *History of the Pauline Corpus in Texts, Transmissions and Trajectories*, 157.
[97] J. K. Elliott, "The New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Challenge for the Twenty-First Century," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: The Application of Thoroughgoing Principles* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 16.
[98] Epp, "It's All About Variants," 288.
[99] Elliott, "The New Testament Text in the Second Century," 13.
[100] Elliott, "The New Testament Text in the Second Century," 21.
[101] Stevens, *History of the Pauline Corpus in Texts, Transmissions and Trajectories*, 170; Stevens deals with the methodological concerns of Parker and Ehrman in a brief manner throughout 171-72.

• A critic is not able to determine the identity of the scribes responsible for textual alterations in MSS. Are textual changes the representative thoughts of a community or the proclivities of an individual scribe?
• It is impossible to reconstruct a metanarrative of Christian history with the discoveries brought forth by studies based on NTC.

However, these opinions do not seriously undermine the purpose of NTC but are concerns rather than criticism with strong evidence. For instance, the discontent that NTC lacks "firm criteria" completely ignores the context of the textual study on the 2nd century CE, in which NTC strives to reconstruct the hypothetical context of the early Church history by utilizing variant readings as historical evidence. In fact, such a problem is also the weakness of the conventional quest of NT textual criticism since, after all, all textual research, unless proven wrong or right by discovering the (probably perished) autograph, is hypothetical in essence. Still, there is a need for textual critics to first become a skilled exegete and an insightful historian in order to come up with a plausible explanation of the variants. As long as the text and its various forms (or traditions) are the sole evidence left for the critic, inferring motivations for the scribal alterations is the major responsibility of textual criticism.

Stevens misses the point entirely when he makes the second point by asking whether textual changes in ancient MSS are a product of an individual or a statement of the community.[102] Of course, one cannot be certain whether the variant reading came into being through a collective decision or not, yet this is not the question that NTC seeks to answer. What the NTC practitioners seek to answer is not whether the historical issue portrayed in the variant reading was a representative case or not, but what historical issue can be seen in this certain pattern of scribal activity that is distinct from other ancient MSS, e.g., anti-Jewish, anti-female etc. In other words, NTC is concerned with the motives (or pattern) of textual alterations in MSS, not with the status of scribes involved in manuscript production.

Finally, the third point by Stevens is a typical strawman fallacy that misrepresents NTC, probably arising from his ignorance of the goal of the discipline. Creating a metanarrative on early Christianity with variant readings is not the goal of NTC and neither does it claim to do so. As mentioned briefly in the previous paragraph, the search for the motive regarding textual alteration is the goal of NTC and is not an analysis of whether the theological (or social) motive in early Christian history was a representative case. Therefore, the borderline must be clear: variants tell a story about an issue that scribes were concerned about; one simply cannot know whether the issue played a large part in Christian history. With all these things in mind, NTC could further itself as an instrument for exploring the 2nd (and 3rd) century CE Christian Church and go beyond the limits of the outdated search for the original. In this regard, one could say that the two horizons of textual criticism and hermeneutics have merged.

1.4. Conclusion

[102] Considering that the production of MSS and the copying of texts for a Christian community was not just a literary undertaking, but one believer's effort to convey the divine message to another, one could say that variant readings do represent a collective view to a certain degree.

In the first chapter, the paper has carefully discussed, first, the research history of the textual dispute about the Lukan eucharistic text, and second, the new methodology of NT textual criticism in two parts, a) the invalid quest for the "original text" and b) the emergence of Narrative Textual Criticism as an alternative approach. It is the conclusion of this paper that NTC is a valuable tool for setting the baseline text, otherwise known as the *Ausgangstext*, and at the same time effectively using the variant readings as historical data of the Church in the 2nd century CE.[103]

What NTC implies is also important in appreciating the modern day Bible. A strong resistance towards recognizing editors[104] as interpretive authors should be overcome since a dogmatic view that attributes the authorship of NT books to a single author is unreasonable as it fails to consider the textual transmission of early Christian writings. With the help of NTC, evangelicals will struggle no more with the quest for the hypothetical "original text" and should be able to realize that editors (or scribes) share both authority and responsibility with the Biblical authors.

Most importantly, considering the theological significance embedded in these two verses, NTC is the best approach to the disputed Luke 22:19b-20 since textual critics must inquire the possible reason for the bold excision carried out by the scribes. The paper will develop its argument from the perspective that accepts the "longer reading" of the Lukan eucharistic text as the authentic (or initial) Lukan passage, attempting to present a concrete historical context of the omission of the passage.[105]

As vv. 19b-20 convey essential elements of the Christian foundation, e.g., the vicarious death of Christ (atonement theology), an account of the Last Supper, the origin of the Eucharist (Christian liturgy) etc., it is crucial to find the possible motive for the passage being absent from its place.[106] It is the aim of this paper to answer the question, "what was the reason for the scribes to omit these meaningful verses in the Lukan 'institution narrative'?"

In the second chapter, the thesis looks into the external evidence of each readings, weighing their physical evidence. With the majority text argument excluded, the chapter takes into account the date, geographical distribution and text-types of each reading. A careful use of Patristic evidence is also a part of the chapter, analyzing the works of the Church Fathers that is presumed to have used (or referred to) the early version of Luke. It is the conclusion of this chapter that the possibility of vv. 19b-20 being a non-Lukan interpolation is relatively low.

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[103] Could the critic, in the era of new NT textual criticism, replace the terminology "interpolation/omission" with "added interpretation/theological emendation" when confronted with a textual alteration that seems to have been made with deliberate intention? The problem of NT textual criticism nomenclature is an ongoing issue and perhaps deserves a separate chapter apart from this paper.

[104] The reason for using the term "editors" instead of scribes is that normally, it is assumed that the role of scribes was limited to copying documents, word for word, which was not the case for 2nd century CE scribes and only in the 4th century CE do professional elite copyists appear due to the process of canonization in the fourth century.

[105] The omitted verses (vv. 19b-20) in the Western reading are as follows: τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον. All Greek NT texts are taken from NA28.

[106] For an extensive overview of the theological themes in the Lukan Gospel, see Part II in Darrell L. Bock, *A Theology of Luke's Gospel and Acts: Biblical Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 99-427; see also Jonathan Knight, *Luke's Gospel* (NTR; London: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005), 163-85.

In the third chapter, each subsections aim to refute the “non-Lukan style” logic advanced by the “shorter-ending” advocates who question the authenticity of Lk 22:19b-20 as these verses portray foreign vocabularies, unfamiliar grammar, and theology strange to Luke. Linguistically speaking, the alien features of Lukan eucharistic text are traces of Luke using an already established tradition, an independent source that was circulated among the early Christian churches to compose the beginning part of his “passion narrative.” In regard to theology, while there seems to be no explicit expression of atonement in the third Gospel, it is hasty to conclude that Luke does not convey atonement, since there are allusions that do imply soteriological meaning to certain parts of the Gospel. It is my conclusion that textual alteration was made by scribes who knew the Markan version of the eucharistic text and decided a) to take out one of the cups for harmonization and b) most importantly, to emphasize the theology of general atonement (τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν vs. ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον).

Lastly, I try to draw a scenario that scribes reflecting the effort of early Christian believers who strived to conquer, or at least be distinct from other popular religions in the Roman Empire. While religions in the Greco-Roman world tended to promote ideas of particular deities protecting certain sects or groups of people devoted to them, early Christian believers advanced the idea of an almighty God saving the entire humanity through the sacrifice of His son. In sum, it was the theological motive that inspired certain scribes to take out Lk 22:19b-20 from the text in order to emphasize the theology of general atonement (or to eliminate the theology of limited atonement), opening up the way of salvation to many, not just to a certain kinds of people.

CHAPTER 2. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

The Lukan Last Supper account[1] has a unique status within the Synoptic Gospels as it differs vastly from both the Gospel of Mark and Paul in First Corinthians.[2] The difficulty of understanding the Lukan eucharistic text is increased by readings in certain MSS that omit passages related to the liturgical formula and sayings of Jesus in regard to the Last Supper. Unlike other parallel texts, there are variant readings in the Lukan "institution narrative" that display a textual alteration to a large degree.

While no words in the eucharistic text can afford to be neglected of for their role and significance, the absence of Lk 22:19b-20 is certainly troublesome for two reasons: a) the sayings of Jesus in vv. 19b-20 establishes the foundation of Lukan soteriology and b) the appearance of the additional cup in vv. 19b-20 indicates the existence of a liturgical tradition that is different, perhaps earlier as well, from that of Mark and Paul. Therefore, it is the goal of this chapter to single out a specific reading among several variants as the probable *Ausgangstext* by reviewing the external evidence of the ancient documents, some of which attest differently from the majority reading.

In the first section, MSS will be categorized into their text-types in order to observe their date, location of origin and the significance of the readings that are genealogically related, which will all be considered in giving preference to a specific reading as the *Ausgangstext*. Then the following section will review patristic testimonies documented in early Christian literature that refer to the early form of the Christian liturgy of the Eucharist. Critics, by analyzing the words of the Church Fathers who referred to the Lukan text, should be able to

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[1] As briefly mentioned in the introduction of the previous chapter, the Lukan Last Supper narrative has various names, e.g., the "institution of the Eucharist" or simply the "institution narrative," and the "eucharistic text," etc. It should be noted that referring to the text in connection with the Eucharist may be both anachronistic and misleading as the author's intention regarding the Last Supper account is difficult to verify, i.e., whether Luke intended to establish an eucharistic tradition or is merely give a historical account of the ceremonial gathering before crucifixion. Still, I will refer to v. 14 to v. 20 in Luke 22 under various titles in order to prevent unnecessary redundancy. Furthermore, most of the Bible versions and NT commentaries normally demarcate the text of the Last Supper account as Lk 22:14-23, in which the finale of the narrative publicizes the betrayal by Judas Iscariot. In this paper, however, the textual pericope of the narrative will be limited to vv. 14-20, leaving out the betrayal plot since the goal of this study is to examine the variant readings related to the liturgical formula and the sayings of Jesus.

[2] Despite the dispute regarding the source of the Lukan "passion narrative," scholars are in agreement that the narrative has its root in the Markan source or at least, as asserted by M. Goulder, admit that the Lukan passion narrative closely follows that of the Markan Gospel. Michael. D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm I* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 720. Goulder also understands Lk 22:19b-20 as a combination of Mark and First Corinthians in Goulder, *Luke*, 723. Luke Johnson states that "Attempts to locate a separate written Lukan source for the passion have not proven successful." In Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (SP 3; Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 334; Nolland contends that Luke had access to both Mark and a secondary source when the author was composing the passion narrative unit in his Gospel. John Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53* (WBC 35^{C}; Dallas, Texas: Word Books Publishers, 1993), 1023; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV* (AB vol. 28; Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1985), 1362; 1365-66. A more extensive analysis on Luke using certain sources (or traditions) to illustrate his own Last Supper account will be further discussed in one of the sections of chapter 3 (subsections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2). See also David P. Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel's Legacy, Theologian of Israel's 'Christ': A New Reading of the 'Gospel Acts' of Luke* (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016) on how Luke composes his writing as a Hellenistic historian.

observe an early version of the Lukan Gospel. This is, of course, a limited avenue, but at the same time, it offers the vista of Fathers having access to the altered texts.

2.1. Categorization of Variant Readings

A perplexing issue in the Lukan Last Supper account is that while scribal activity in regard to the Lukan liturgical formula of the "cup-bread-cup" sequence is evident, it is indeed a mystery that vv. 19b-20, the passage that explains the purpose of the supper hosted by Jesus is omitted in certain ancient documents. To be more specific, there are five variant forms of readings, in which these diverse readings follow one of the following: a) omit vv. 19b-20, b) omit v. 20 (Form 4 rearranges the order of the sentence), c) omit vv. 17-18 or d) rearrange the order of the sentence.[3]

Form 1: vv. 15-20	=	Majority Reading[4]
Form 2: vv. 15-19a	=	D (05), a (3), ff^2 (8), l (11), i (17)[5]
Form 3: vv. 15, 16, 19a, 17, 18	=	b (4), e (2)[6]
Form 4: vv. 15, 16, 19, 17, 18	=	Syr^c (Curetonian Syriac)
Form 5: vv. 15, 16, 19, 20a, 17, 20b, 18	=	Syr^s (Sinaitic Syriac)[7]
Form 6: vv. 15, 16, 19, 20	=	Syr^p (Peshitta Syriac), cop^{bo} (Bohairic Coptic), cop^{sa} (Sahidic Coptic), l^{32} (Lectionary 32)

Form 4 and 5 are unlikely to be candidates for the possible *Ausgangstext* as they are singular readings, the latter reading being relatively less significant as it encompasses all verses from the reading in Form 1 but does rearrange the order of words. The most problematic forms of the "institution narrative" in Lk 22 are the ones that omit certain passages, i.e., vv. 19b-20 and vv. 17-18, eliminating these lengthy passages on the "pouring of wine" (and the sayings of Jesus that follow) in the Last Supper. Taking out the "cup sequence," i.e., the second cup in

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3 While Nestle-Aland 28th only mentions D and it (old Latin MSS) as supporting documents for the "shorter-reading," textual critics have conducted an intensive examination of MSS that omit vv. 19b-20 in the Lukan "institution of the Eucharist." A comprehensive review of MSS first appears in 1925 by Monks, "The Lucan Account of the Last Supper," 230. Monk's analysis on MSS is still used today by other researchers in NT scholarship yet Metzger provides a more thorough review on the Syriac and Coptic MSS. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 173-76. See also Bradly S. Billings, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Disputed Words in the Lukan Institution Narrative (Luke 22.19b-20): An Historical-Exegetical, Theological and Sociological* Analysis (LNTS 314; London: T & T Clark, 2006), 7-8; Burton H. Throckmorton, Jr., "The Longer Reading of Luke 22:19b-20," *AngThR* 30 (1948): 56; G. D. Kilpatrick, "LUKE XXII. 19b-20," *JTS* 47 (1946): 49; John C. Cooper, "The Problem of the Text in Luke 22:19-20," *LQ* 14 (1962): 39-40; Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53*, 1041.

4 $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, ℵ, B, L, 579, r^1; MSS that change the word order of v. 20 by putting ὡσαύτως in front of καὶ τὸ ποτήριον: A, K, N, W, Γ, Δ, Θ, Ψ, $f^{1.13}$, 565, 700, 892, 1424, 2542, *l* 844, 𝔐, lat, $sy^{(p).h}$. According to George Kilpatrick, the following old Latin MSS also attest to the longer reading: c, f, q, r^1 , r^2, *aur δ*. See Kilpatrick, "LUKE XXII. 19b-20," 49.

5 The name of the codices that attest to Form 2 are as follows: *Codex Bezae Cantabrigensis* (D) *Codex Vercellensis* (a), *Codex Corbeiensis II* (ff^2), *Codex Rehdigerianus* (l), *Codex Vindobonensis Lat. 1235* (i).

6 *Codex Veronensis* (b), *Codex Palatinus* (e)

7 20a: καὶ μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι; 20b: τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμα μου ἡ διαθήκη ἡ καινὴ.

Form 2 (and 3) and the first cup in Form 6, implies that later scribes were seriously concerned about the liturgical formula in the Lukan eucharistic text.[8] While most scholars pay attention to the missing vv. 19b-20 in old Latin MSS, it is intriguing to see that vv. 17-18 are also omitted in some Syriac and Coptic MSS. Perhaps this particular text may have functioned as something of an "open-tradition text," where scribes had no problem in changing its content to a certain degree.[9] Still, what is most likely to have happened is that scribes in the early period were confused about the text that differed from the Markan Gospel and struggled to harmonize the narrative with that of Mark.[10] This explains easily why there are different readings that deal with the appearance of the cup in their own manner.

Textual critics are left with these variant readings, which clearly demonstrate that a) the source of the Lukan Last Supper account is distinct from that of Mark[11] and b) there were struggles of scribes attempting to harmonize the text with the Markan Last Supper tradition. Most importantly, the readings that omit vv. 19b-20 (Forms 2 & 3) reuqire an explanation for the textual alteration as the passage conveys indispensable ideas on Christian soteriology and the origin of the eucharistic formula. Form 6, on the other hand, will not be dealt with in the thesis for two reasons: a) it simply offers a forceful scribal harmonization with the Markan

[8] Perhaps, even at this moment in the analysis, the critic could infer that the easiest way to explain both Form 2 (and 3) and Form 6 coexisting is to assume that the reading in Form 1 is what Luke actually wrote, and its receivers were able to manipulate (or amend from their point of view) the lengthy text of Form 1 according to their needs. Assuming those readings that attest to only one cup to be original would make the existence of other readings difficult to explain. In order for Form 2 (and 3) and Form 6 to coexist, the reading attested in Form 1 must be the foundation text that later scribes had access to. Of course, it is also possible to think that considering the relatively late age of Form 6 (Syr^{p}), scribes might have referred to Form 1 after vv. 19b-20 was interpolated into Form 2. However, a better explanation is to assume the scenario that it was possible for the later scribes to take out one of the cups in the Last Supper account because there were already two cups in the first place. For a review of the old Syriac versions, see Jean-Claude Haelewyck, "The Old Syriac Versions of the Gospels: A Status Quaestionis (From 1842 to the Present Day)," *BABELAO* 8 (2019): 141-179.

[9] E. Mazza suggests that with the liturgical upheaval that strictly separates eucharistic rite and ordinary meal in the second century, the early Christian Church reinterpreted the Last Supper account so that it could highlight the essential elements of the Christ's commandment τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν (Do this in remembrance of me). See Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 21. The possibility of Lk 22:14-20 being an "open-tradition text" to the scribes will be further discussed in one of the subsections of chapter three.

[10] In addition, there is also the possibility that the Lukan "institution narrative" looked different in the hypothetical "Proto-Luke," and that Luke himself might have emended the eucharistic text. For instance, Mazza also contends that the "institution narrative" originally ended with v. 19, but v. 20 was added later by the author himself due to its significance. Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 27; Thomas O'Loughlin illustrates a scenario in which there were "two separate versions" of Luke that conveyed different traditions of the Last Supper, and in which in the later period (2nd or 3rd century CE) of canonization, the editor who was concerned with uniformity decided to produce a longer reading. Thomas O'Loughlin, "One or Two Cups? The Text of Luke 22:17-20 Again," in *Liturgy and the Living Text of the New Testament. Papers from the Tenth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. Hugh A. G. Houghton (T&S 16. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2018), 67. However, due to the limited space of the present thesis and the methodological difficulties of such a study, an investigation into Proto-Luke concerning Lk 22:19b-20 will not be pursued.

[11] In the Gospel of Matthew, the following MSS attest to a variant reading καινῆς διαθήκης instead of διαθήκης in Mt 26:28: A, C, D, K, W, Γ, Δ, f$^{1.13}$, 565, 579, 700, 892, 1241, 1424, *l* 844, *l* 2211, 𝔐, latt, sy, sa, bo; Ir^{lat}.

eucharistic text and b) the theological idea conveyed in vv. 17-18 is of less value than that in vv. 19b-20. In the following subsection, external evidence of ancient MSS will be weighed to determine a specific reading as the possible *Ausgangstext*.

On a superficial level, the disputed passage does not seem to be much of a problem when the critic considers the genealogy and the number of ancient MSS that support Form 1 in the disputed Lukan "institution narrative."[12] Most significant is the discovery of Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV ($\mathfrak{P}^{75}$), an ancient document that is considered to be a second- or third-hand product attesting to the reading in Form 1.[13] In addition, the reading with the shorter ending is a tradition supported in its earliest form by *Codex Vercellensis Evangeliorum* (a, 3), indicating that the reading can only be confirmed in its physical form in a fourth century manuscript. If the earliest dating of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ is to be accepted, then there is at least a two-hundred-year gap between the two traditions.

However, a reliance on the "age of the witness" and the "number of witnesses" is considered to be an invalid methodology since MSS are vessels of traditions.[14] What matters more than the number and date of MSS is the quality of the "tradition" of the text that is passed down to the MSS of later generations.[15] J. K. Elliott, for instance, concludes that a reading attested by coherent internal criteria should be preferred even if it has only few supporting MSS. This methodological approach, so-called "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism," therefore puts emphasis on the significance of internal criteria.[16] Still, as Aland and Aland have stated in their twelve principles of textual criticism, only after rigorously scrutinizing the external evidence of ancient MSS can the critic begin an investigation of internal criteria of the variant readings.[17] The approach that this thesis adopts on is "reasoned eclecticism" as it takes both external and internal evidence into careful consideration.

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[12] For a further introduction to the methodological approaches in NT textual criticism, see Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, *Fundamentals of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015), 88-99.

[13] For further analysis of P. Bodm. XIV-XV, see Victor Martin and Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV: Evangiles de Luc et Jean, Tome 1: XIV: Luc chap. 3-24* (Cologne-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1961). B. Nongbri, on the other hand, concludes that the document is a 4th century CE product. See Brent Nongbri, "Reconsidering the Place of Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV (75) in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *JBL* 135 (2016): 405-43.

[14] Supporters of David Parker's notion of the "living text," of course, would disagree with such a perspective. But in regard to the *Ausgangstext*, Parker's silence does not contribute to inferring the baseline text. Similar to Parker's understanding of MSS as tradition itself, the "single text method" understands certain MSS, e.g., *Codex Sinaiticus*, not as a part of tradition, but as a critical text that was once used in the early Church. See Porter and Pitts, *Fundamentals of New Testament Textual Criticism*, 95-96.

[15] Jacob W. Peterson, "Math Myths: How Many Manuscripts We Have and Why More Isn't Always Better," in *Myths and Mistakes in New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Elijah Hixson and Peter J. Gurry (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2019), 48-49; Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 280-81; Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 302. Vaganay and Amphoux, for instance, identify the aspects of number, age, and quality of MSS that critics normally take into account as external evidence as "three defective principles" in NT textual criticism. See Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, 2nd ed. trans. Jenny Heimerdinger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 62-65.

[16] Elliott, "The New Testament Text in the Second Century," 44. See also 48-49 that summarize the features of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism, which pursues a goal and methodology similar to that of NTC.

[17] Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 280; Porter and Pitts, *Fundamentals of New Testament Textual Criticism*, 101.

2.1.1. Text-Type: Dates and Geographical Distribution of Manuscripts

External evidence first requires an analysis of the date and text-type that provides physical evidence endorsing a particular reading as a possible candidate for the *Ausgangstext*. As for the dating of MSS, the manuscript that was produced in the earliest period will represent each tradition of reading, i.e., P. Bodm. XIV-XV for the "longer ending" and *Codex Vercellensis* for the "shorter ending" of the Lukan eucharistic text. As previously mentioned, the dates of the MSS indicate that the "longer ending" tradition existed at least in the early third century and maybe even in the late second century, while the tradition of the "shorter ending" first appears in the late fourth century. When considering the date of the Lukan Gospel, which is normally accepted by scholars to have been composed around 80-85 CE[18], even the earliest dating of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ indicates a hundred-year gap between the hypothetical autograph and the earliest manuscript available to readers. A century (and perhaps more) is a time long enough for scribes to make emendations and add their own interpretations to the text.

The following table is the categorization of text-types of MSS according to Metzger and Ehrman, and according to the traditional understanding of the text-type categorization, the quality of the "longer ending" tradition that includes vv. 19b-20 far outweighs the "shorter ending" of the Western reading.[19] However, note that the term "Western" derives not from a geographical categorization (e.g., Aland and Aland, judging by its paleographical features, point to North Africa and Egypt as a possible provenance of D), but as an adjective indicating the typical characteristics of certain MSS that are treated as genealogically relevant data.[20] As critically pointed out by J. K. Elliot, the term is now largely rejected by scholars and the notion "may have worked when fewer manuscripts were studied but now, with an increasing number of collations, such terminology is either restricted to small family trees or is wide and general."[21] As an alternative, Eldon Epp proposed in his essay presented for an international conference under the theme "Gospel Traditions in the Second Century" to first rename the term "text-type" as "textual group" or "textual cluster" before categorizing variants into certain text-types.[22] Most recently, a textual scholar at the INTF, Georg Gäbel, offers the term "the Bezan trajectory" instead of Epp's "D-text cluster" to emphasize the "dynamic nature of a tradition" that is developed over a period of time.[23] However, does this mean that the critics should totally

[18] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX* (AB vol. 28; Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1981), 52-57.
[19] Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 305-13.
[20] Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 51-52; Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 276-77.
[21] J. K. Elliot, "Greek New Testament Papyri and Their Text in the Second-Third Centuries," in *Gospels and Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Experiments in Reception*, ed. Jens Schröter, Tobias Nicklas and Joseph Verheyden (BZNT 235; Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 12.
[22] Epp, "Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text," republished in *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*, 360-61. On how modern-day textual critics have abandoned the notion of text-type for a more coherent methodological approach, see Epp, "Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism, Vol. 2*, 556-58.
[23] Georg Gäbel, "'Western Text,' 'D-Text Cluster,' 'Bezan Trajectory,' Or What Else?" in *Novum Testamentum*

discard the notion of "Western text-type" in the textual study of investigating the genealogical relationship between certain MSS? On this matter, Bart Ehrman shares his opinion as follows.[24]

> Text-types must refer to groups of manuscripts that agree in the total number of their variant readings at a statistically significant level. No one has been able to establish the existence of the so-called Western text on such grounds, and so we must continue to speak of it in inverted quotation marks. At the same time, and at the other extreme, these studies have shown that our so-called Western witnesses do in fact share a number of significant variant readings, and that in these readings these witnesses have to be understood as genealogically related. This point as well needs to be stressed emphatically: Codex Bezae agrees with a range of Old Latin and Old Syriac manuscripts in a number of important readings, many of which are also attested by several church fathers of the second century (with Heracleon now being the best documented) and by codex Sinaiticus in the opening eight chapters of John and by several of our fragmentary papyri.

So, what does the discussion of the nomenclature of the text categorization indicate for the critics? It should be acknowledged that the critics should not hastily give a certain text-type a superior status, critics often assuming Western readings to be inferior in tradition when compared to those readings documented in Alexandrian text-types. For instance, Monks, by referring to B. H. Streeter's criticism of those who take a binary approach to "Western Non-interpolation," suggests that variant readings should not be oversimplified by text-type categorization, but critics should review each case separately.[25] In her textual study of Acts, Jenny Read-Heimerdinger also notes this phenomenon of treating "Western" readings as secondary, whereas, after a thorough analysis, she concludes that both *Codex Bezae* and *Codex Vaticanus* are products of "extremes of period of development," in which the former seems to represent an earlier extreme.[26] In regard to the Lukan Gospel, it is also her conclusion that the "Bezan text predates the Alexandrian one."[27] Klaus Wachtel also indicates the important fact that MSS that attest to variants categorized as Western text-type do not concur with each other in other textual features.[28] It is his conclusion that the notion of Western text-type is invalid

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Graecum ECM Part 3(Studies): The Acts of the Apostles (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017), 86; 90-91.

24 Bart Ehrman, "The Text of the Gospels at the End of the Second Century," in *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 77.

25 B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, & Dates* (Macmillan and Co.: London, 1924), 142 In Monks, "The Lucan Account of the Last Supper," 241-42.

26 Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, "Luke-Acts: The Problem of Editing a Text with a Multiple Textual Tradition," in *Textual Research on the Psalms and Gospels: Papers from the Tbilisi Colloquium on the Editing and History of Biblical Manuscripts* (Recherches textuelles sur les psaumes et les évangiles: Actes du Colloque de Tbilisi, 19-20 septembre 2007), ed. Christian-B. Amphoux and J. Keith Elliott with Bernard Outtier (SNT 142; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 150. Georg Gäbel, on the other hand, discovered two aspects while working on the *ECM* of Acts: a) "Western" variants are secondary in most of the cases and b) the variants categorized as the Bezan trajectory lack evidence in demonstrating the existence of "one early, unified 'Western' text." See Gäbel, "'Western Text,' 'D-Text Cluster,' 'Bezan Trajectory,' Or What Else?" 83.

27 Read-Heimerdinger, "Luke-Acts," 153.

28 Klaus Wachtel, "On the Relationship of the 'Western Text' and the Byzantine Tradition of Acts," in *ECM Part*

and textual critics, apart from particular variants in certain texts, should abandon the idea of Western texts being circulated in the second century.[29]

In short, one can reach the conclusion that a) the critic must be careful in using the term Western text-type and abandon the assumption of a neatly organized hypothetical text-type and b) just because the Alexandrian text-type features a "conscious and conscientious control" in its readings,[30] one cannot simply endow a superior status to its variants over "Western" readings. Nevertheless, as the readings attested in Alexandrian text-type MSS are considered textually "stable" in regard to textual transmission and copying practices, the critic could at least conclude that the possibility of Alexandrian readings being corrupted (altered) is relatively low compared to other text-types.

MSS with Longer Ending	MSS with Shorter Ending
Primary Alexandrian: $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, ℵ, B (3) Secondary Alexandrian: L (1) Byzantine (koine): A, K, N, W, Ψ (5) Caesarean: Θ, 565, 700 (3)	Western Text-Type: D, a, b, e, l, i (6)

Regardless of the number of the MSS, the longer reading is attested by Alexandrian text-type documents (*Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Vaticanus*), where the longer reading is not only stable in textual transmission compared to the Western reading but is also supported by diverse traditions such as the Caesarean and Byzantine reading.

Not only the dates and text-types of MSS, but also an investigation of the geographical distributions of a particular tradition is important when it comes to indicating a specific reading as a possible *Ausgangstext*. MSS that attest to the longer ending of the Lukan "institution narrative" are located in various regions according to their presumed origin of production. The provenance of these Alexandrian text-type MSS is uncertain. Scholars have indicated Alexandria, Rome, Cairo, Caesarea, etc., as possible locations of origin.[31] Nevertheless, the wide-ranging geographical distribution of longer-reading MSS that managed to carry on the Byzantine text-type demonstrates that the Alexandrian reading was considered to be the norm by later scribes at least. On the other hand, the shorter reading of the Lukan eucharistic text seems to have circulated only in the regions of old Italy, with the origin of D being in question as scholars dispute where the manuscript originated from.[32] The shorter reading of the Lukan eucharistic text, according to its textual history and text-type, seems to have originated in a confined region of Europe.

3(Studies): The Acts of the Apostles, 138.

[29] Wachtel, "On the Relationship of the 'Western Text' and the Byzantine Tradition of Acts," 147

[30] Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 277-78.

[31] A relatively recent article by T. C. Skeat argues the Palestinian origin of ℵ and B. See Theodore C. Skeat, "The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine," *JTS* 50 (1999): 583-625.

[32] Among possible provenances such as Southern Gaul, North Africa, Italy, Egypt, Antioch, David Parker singles out Berytus (Beirut) as the plausible origin of *Codex Bezae*. See David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 261-78.

2.1.2. Rejecting Western Non-Interpolation

Despite the overwhelming external evidence presented to the critic, the genesis of this textual dispute all starts from what Westcott and Hort argued in their work in three pages, that critics should opt for the Western reading instead of the so-called "neutral text" in certain passages. Westcott and Hort termed these unique passages[33] Western Non-interpolations and favored these Western readings over the Alexandrian readings of the "neutral text" in order to give an explanation of the contradictory phenomenon that goes against the typical characteristics of the Western text-type.[34]

In the modern days of NT textual criticism, however, the notion is rejected by most scholars, Metzger pointing out that one of the problems of Western Non-interpolation is that the passages selected by Wescott and Hort are highly arbitrary, and that they do not consider other omissions of Western readings with the same magnitude.[35] Kurt and Barbara Aland are also highly critical of the idea suggested by Westcott and Hort, dismissing this century-old hypothesis as a "relic of the past" that came into existence because these British scholars had no access to 2nd century CE material, the Greek papyri.[36] Moreover, they conclude that manuscript D does not convey the Western reading of the second century but must have referred to an exemplar of the third century.[37] Also belonging to the Western text-type, Sinaitic (Syr^s) and Curetonian Syriac (Syr^c) cannot represent the second-century tradition as they present the revisions of that of the fourth century.[38] Most importantly, scholars have abandoned the theory of Westcott and Hort with the discovery of P. Bodm. XIV-XV ($\mathfrak{P}^{75}$).[39]

2.2. Testimonies of the Church Fathers

As Ehrman comments at the beginning of his article, the significance of patristic evidence has been largely overlooked by textual critics as they considered it to be secondary knowledge in inferring the original source.[40] However, Ehrman suggests that critics should overcome this

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[33] Lk 22:19b-20 is one of nine Western Non-interpolation passages that Westcott and Hort have identified, the other eight passages being: Mt 27:49; Lk 24:3, 6, 12, 36, 40, 51, and 52

[34] Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 180. For an overview of the Western text-type, see Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 307-10.

[35] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 191-92.

[36] Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 236.

[37] Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 15;18.

[38] Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 18.

[39] Giuseppe Capuana refers to Kenneth Clark and Carlo Martini as advocates of this view. Giuseppe Capuana, "Rethinking the Western Non-interpolations: A Case For Luke Re-editing His Gospel," (Master's thesis, University of Divinity, 2018), 66-67. See also Kenneth W. Clark, "The Theological Relevance of Textual Variation in Current Criticism of the Greek New Testament," *JBL* 85 (1966): 1-16; Carlo M. Martini, "Problema recensionalitatis codicis B in luce papyri Bodmer XIV (P75)," *VD* 44 (1966): 192-196.

[40] Bart Ehrman, "The Use and Significance of Patristic Evidence for NT Textual Criticism," in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis, and Church History: A Discussion of Methods*, ed. B. Aland and J. Delobel (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1994): 118-35. Reprinted as Chapter 13 in *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 247. Metzger states that the difficulty arising from the use of patristic literature as textual evidence is largely due to a) later editors meddling with the work of the Church Fathers and b) lack of information on what

groundless bias when it comes to the quest for the "original text," appealing to the "possibility of the quotes of the Church Fathers conveying the authentic traditions" (as they had access to the earlier texts now lost) and to the "geographical diversity" of the patristic literature in contrast to the papyri available to modern critics.[41] William Petersen goes further as he develops from Westcott and Hort that patristic evidence must lead the critic to date the origin of the Western text-type to the middle of the 2nd century CE, indicating that the earliest evidence of the Gospels can be discovered in the quotations of the Church Fathers.[42] Moreover, since it is generally believed that the texts of the Church Fathers referred to in their works is "Western," their witness to the eucharistic formula could be an counter-evidence that argues against the interpolation theory of the Lukan "institution narrative" text.

Bruce Metzger, on the other hand, is relatively hesitant about using patristic evidence, recommending that critics refer to the Patristic source only when the literature differs significantly from NT MSS, and it must be decided in advance whether the passage in the Patristic literature has been harmonized with the overall context or not.[43] Most importantly, the critic must be aware that it is not always the case that the Church Fathers had access to the "original text" or the text that departed from the hands of the Biblical authors themselves, intended to arrive at its aimed destination untouched. In other words, there is a possibility that even the Fathers referred to an altered text. It is in this context that critics should pay heed to Marion J. Suggs who advises that textual critics must be familiar with the background of the Father and examine the quality of the tradition he bears witness to prior to using his testimony as textual evidence.[44]

Bearing in mind the cautionary words from Metzger and Suggs, we should realize that a patristic witness that attests to a eucharistic liturgical formula that is different from Mark's "bread-cup" sequence[45] and at the same time similar to Luke's "cup-bread-cup" formula increases the probability of the second cup being authentically Lukan. In the following subsection, a few items of patristic literature have been selected that are known a) to have used the Gospel of Luke as their source when mentioning the Last Supper account or b) draw a different picture of the Eucharist distinct from that of Mark. If the portrayal of the eucharistic rite in patristic quotes conveys the omitted words of the Lukan Last Supper account (vv.19b-20) or at least portrays a liturgical form quite different to Mark's "bread-cup" formula, the critic should seriously consider the possibility that the particular eucharistic formula in the Lukan Gospel is not necessarily an interpolated passage that later editors added according to their needs.[46] In sum, it is the aim of this subsection to first illustrate how Church Fathers used the

source (manuscript or memory) the Church Fathers referred to. See Bruce M. Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *NTS* 18 (1972): 379-80; 386.

[41] Ehrman, "The Use and Significance of Patristic Evidence for NT Textual Criticism," 249.

[42] Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, vol. II*, §170, 120 in William L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: It's Creation, Dissemination, Significance, & History in Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 15.

[43] Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," 395.

[44] Marion Jack Suggs, "The Use of Patristic Evidence in the Search for a Primitive New Testament Text," *NTS* 4 (1952): 143.

[45] The eucharistic formula in Paul (1 Cor 11:23-26) evidences the same "bread-cup" sequence as in Mark.

[46] As emphasized by scholars in the discipline, patristic evidence has its limits as critics cannot be certain about

Last Supper account, where some refer to the Lukan version, in their literature, and then to examine the relationship between the patristic work and its Lukan source. It is also intriguing to see that the diverse world of the early eucharistic liturgy depicted by the Church Fathers shows the form of eucharistic rites in the early period was in a fluid state, rather than being a fixed ecclesiastical ceremony.

2.2.1. The "Cup-Bread" Sequence in the *Didache*

The *Didache*, or "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," is an ancient text discovered by Philotheos Bryennios in 1873 and is considered one of the most important and earliest texts available today as some date the document to the late 1st century CE.[47] With this ancient document, scholars were able to see an earlier versions of Christian practices as the *Didache* not only bears witness to the ethical teachings known as "two paths," but to Christian rituals, i.e., baptism and Eucharist.[48] Chapters 9 and 10 of the *Didache* give a general description of the Eucharist, followed by chapter 14 with a brief explanation of the meaning of the gathering as pure sacrifice. Johannes Betz suggests that the tradition of the "Meal Prayers" antedates the eucharistic text itself, deriving from the "pre-*Didache* Aramaic community."[49]

According to the liturgical formula of the Eucharist in the *Didache*, the ritual is performed in the "cup-bread" sequence (πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου… περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσμος), a tradition that is different from that of Mark (and Matthew).[50] In light of the Eucharist in the *Didache*, the Lukan formula of "cup-bread-cup" is no mystery despite the fact that Luke adds another cup in the liturgy. Still, the "cup-bread" sequence is attested in the earliest testimonies of early Christian believers. Such a discovery strengthens what Mazza previously pointed out, that the early liturgical formula of the Eucharist was variously reinterpreted by the Christian community. In this sense, one may consider the possibility that certain scribes who were familiar with the early tradition of the "cup-bread" Eucharist decided to harmonize the text with their own tradition in the later period.

However, a few scholars disagree with the view that the meal referred in the *Didache* is

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what reading the Church Fathers had access to. A favorable piece of patristic evidence increases the possibility of a specific reading, rather than functioning as an ultimate testimony.

47 Johannes Betz mentions in his article that Alfred Adams argues 95 CE as the date of Didache's production while Audet assumes a date that does not go past 70 CE. See Johannes Betz, "The Eucharist in the Didache," in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 244; 245n6; Alfred Adams, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte I: Die Zeit der alten Kirche* (Gütersloh: Mohr, 1965), 85; J. P. Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres* (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), 189.

48 *Didache* from *The Apostolic Fathers,* vol I. ed. Bart D. Ehrman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 403. For a comprehensive summary of the literature of the *Didache*, see Shawn J. Wilhite, "Thirty-Five Years Later: A Summary of Didache Scholarship Since 1983," *CBR* 17 (2019): 266-305.

49 Betz, "The Eucharist in the Didache," 245. The Jewish root of the Eucharist is well explored in H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser, "The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity" (CRINT: Section III Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature, 5; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press).

50 πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλον Δαυὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διά Ἰησουδιὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσμος, Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας in Ehrman's *Didache* IX. 2-3, 430.

the Eucharist (or the Last Supper), but rather see it as a meal proper, or in a terminology raised by J. Jeremias, "Agape."[51] Betz provides a solution to this dilemma when he proposes that the Eucharist and "Agape" are interpretations of a tradition from a different time perspective or as Betz states, "viewing the same tradition at different stages of its development."[52] Alistair Steward, on the other hand, postulates that the thanksgiving saying in chs. 9 and 10 is not likely to be used in a private sphere, but is a formal interpretation of a divine grace, though he suggests that this does not apply to the contents of Ch. 14.[53]

In short, the critic may hypothesize, with the testimony of the *Didache*, that the omission of Lk 22:19b-20 was a scribal act that adopted the "cup-bread" eucharistic liturgy (as described in the ninth and tenth chapters of the *Didache*) that circulated in early Christian churches. Such a hypothesis can explain in part why the Lukan Eucharist differs from the Markan and Pauline "bread-cup" sequence formula and at the same time how scribes concerned about the additional appearance of the "pouring of the cup" eliminated the confusing passage.

2.2.2. The Institution Command in Justin Martyr's *First Apology*

Born into a wealthy pagan family, Justin Martyr is one of the prominent second century Christian apologists who defended the Christian faith against the attacks of those who were keen on bringing down the Church.[54] One of his representative works (others being *Dialogue with Trypho*, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, and *the Monarchy or the Rule of God* etc.,), the *First Apology* is a petition addressed to Marcus Aurelius Augustus and a work produced in Rome around 138-156 CE.[55] Despite the "bread-cup" order, there is a striking phrase in the *First Apology* ch. 66, where Justin attests to the words τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου (Do this in remembrance of me), a phrase that appears only in Luke (Lk 22:19b).[56] Since Justin does not mention the "new covenant," it is probable that Justin formed his apologetics by referring to the Gospel source only, which means that there was a fully intact version of Lk 22:19 when the author referred to his Lukan source. E. C. Ratcliff suggests that the chapter on the sacrament is composed of Matthean and Lukan material, an argument based on his grammatical analysis and the composition of Justin's writing.[57] On the relationship between Luke and Justin, Susan

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[51] Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 118.

[52] Betz, "The Eucharist in the Didache," 251; Jeremias also argues that the Agape was immediately followed by the Eucharist. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 118.

[53] Alistair C. Steward, "Didache 14: Eucharistic?" *Questions Liturgiques* 93 (2012): 5; 9-11. Enrico Mazza also deals with the problem of the nature of the meal mentioned in the three chapters of the *Didache* in E. Mazza, "*Didache* 9-10: Elements of A Eucharistic Interpretation," in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 284-89.

[54] Thomas, B. Falls, *St. Justin Martyr: The First Apology, the Second Apology, Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks, Discourse to the Greeks, the Monarchy or the Rule of God* (The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, ed. Ludwig Schopp. Vol. 6; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1965), 9-10.

[55] Falls, *St. Justin Martyr*, 25.

[56] τὸν Ἰησοῦν λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου (Hoc facite in meam commemorationem), τοῦτ' ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου· καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι - Ejusdem Justini, *Apologia Prima Pro Christianis: Ad Antoninum Pium*, LXVI in *Patrologiae Course Completus* (Series Graeca), 429.

[57] E. C. Ratcliff, "The Eucharistic Institution Narrative of Justin Martyr s First Apology," *J. Eccles. Hist.* 22

Wendel points that some scholars have even concluded that the Church Father had access to both Luke and Acts judging by the similar writings on the "post-resurrection appearance of Christ."[58] With the affinity between Luke and the works of Justin being thus highly probable, Justin's reference to the "institution command" decreases the possibility of Form 2 being the authentic Lukan writing.

2.2.3. The Institution Command in Tatian's *Diatessaron*

An early Christian document assumed to be written by Tatian in the late second century (ca. 165-80),[59] the *Diatessaron* is a work that attempted to harmonize the four Gospels into one single narrative as a historical outline.[60] As noted by Petersen, scholars are in agreement that the text is "more ancient than the present Canonical texts" and is occasionally the "most primitive form of the gospels."[61] However, while the original language and the provenance of the work are disputed,[62] most scholars are in favor of Rome as its location, even by the Syriac-*Diatessaron* advocates, since the text of the *Diatessaron* concurred with the variants in old Latin Gospels as explained by Petersen.[63] What makes the study of the *Diatessaron* extremely difficult is that there is no surviving autograph (as in the case of NT texts) and the present text available to the readers represents versions that have been reconstructed from later Arabic and Syriac translations. Despite the extreme difficulty arising from the unstable transmission of the testimonies in the *Diatessaron*, it is still important to review what the work testifies on the "institution narrative" in the hope of discovering the traces of an early version of Luke

In the Latin translation of the Arabic Diatessaron, there is clear presence of Lk 22:19b,

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(1971): 98-99.

[58] Susan Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation and Community Self-Definition in Luke-Acts and the Writing of Justin Martyr* (SNT 139; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), 6. A. Gregory argues for Justin's knowledge of Lukan Gospel only. See Andrew Gregory, "The Reception of Luke and Acts and the Unity of Luke-Acts," *JSNT* 29.4 (2007): 459-472.

[59] Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 426-27. It was Theodor Zahn, who was also responsible for the reconstruction of the *Diatessaron*, that first argued the date of the ancient work as ca. 172 CE. See T. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, FGNK 1 (Erlangen, 1881).

[60] Nicholas Zola refers to Francis Watson for an intensive investigation into the intentions of Tatian. Watson argues that the Diatessaron should be regarded as a rewritten Gospel. See Francis Watson, "Towards a Redaction-Critical Reading of the Diatessaron Gospel," *EC* 7 (2016): 95-112 and *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013) in Nicholas J. Zola, "Evangelizing Tatian: The Diatessaron's Place in the Emergence of the Fourfold Gospel Canon," *PRSt* 43 (2016): 399n; M. Crawford argues that it was the intention of Tatian to recreate another version of the Gospel, not just to complement the existing Four Gospels. Matthew R. Crawford, "The Diatessaron, Canonical or Non-canonical? Rereading the Dura Fragment New Text," *NTS* 62 (2016): 253-77.

[61] Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 427-28.

[62] Petersen concludes that the original language of the *Diatessaron* was Syriac, for which he provides argument derived from his analysis in ch.7. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 384-97; 428. See also Daniel Plooij, *A Further Study of the Liege Diatessaron* (Leyden, 1925). Ulrich Schmid, on the other hand, asserts the Greek origin of the language of the *Diatessaron* for two reasons: a) referring to the Gospel texts in Greek and translating it in Syriac simultaneously is work that is unlikely to happen, and b) there is no evidence for Tatian composing his works in a language other than Greek. See Ulrich B. Schmid, "The Diatessaron of Tatian," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 115n5.

[63] Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 428-29.

which is also known as the "institution command" of Jesus, "And thus do ye in remembrance of me."[64] In the Syriac translation, however, the eucharistic text is abridged to an extreme degree, leaving out most of the liturgical sequences and thanksgiving sayings of Jesus.[65] While there is no mention of the extra cup, Jesus' command to institute the Eucharist is clearly a Lukan element, making the critic conclude that the Lukan text that Tatian used to harmonize the Gospels had v. 19 untouched. In short, two hypotheses can be advanced: a) Tatian referred to an ancient version of Luke that resembles Form 4 (omission of v. 20) or b) he referred to the reading attested by the Alexandrian text-type but took out v. 20 in the process of harmonizing the Gospel texts. From a perspective that assumes the Syriac version to be the "authentic Tatianic" tradition, the quest for reconstructing the Lukan eucharistic text through the *Diatessaron* is, of course, invalid.

2.2.4. The "Covenant Sealed in Blood" in Tertullian's *Against Marcion*

Marcion's attempt to produce his own version of the "coherent canon" by "selecting and arranging" authoritative texts predates by almost two centuries the appearance of the canonic lists formulated by non-Marcionites as argued by Jason BeDuhn.[66] Scholars are in agreement that the Marcionic Gospel, or the *Evangelion*, is based on the narratives of the Lukan Gospel, though no specific author or source is indicated as the origin of the heretic's work.[67] However, the Marcionic version of the NT canon is now lost and readers can only infer his work from the quotes made available by the sharp refutations of Marcionic ideas by Tertullian and his monumental work.[68] This is no easy process as there is also the possibility of Tertullian not referring to his own Lukan text to when he criticizes Marcion as noted by Dieter Roth.[69] In other words, there is no knowing whether Tertullian referred only to the Lukan source or refuted

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[64] The following verses are attested in the Arabic Diatessaron § 137 "Institution of the Eucharist" (edited and translated into Latin by Ciasca. Rome, 1888): Mk 14:22a, Mt 26:26b: Mk 14:23a; Mt 26:27b; Mk 14:23b, 24a; Mt 26:28-29; Lk 22:19b in Samuel Hemphill, *The Diatessaron of Tatian: A Harmony of the Four Holy Gospels Compiled in the Third Quarter of the Second Century* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1888), 43. See also the translation and reconstruction by Hope W. Hogg who includes the phrase "And thus do ye in remembrance of me" in Tatian, *Diatessaron* XLV §17 (ANF 09/113).

[65] The Syriac version does not testify to such words regarding the eucharistic text but contains only the following words: "The Lord blessed and brake. Hereafter I will not drink of this fruit of the vine, until the Kingdom of my Father." In the *Commentary of Ephraem Syrus* § 221, 222 "Institution of the Eucharist" (translated into Latin from the Armenian by Moesinger, 1876) in Samuel Hemphill, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, 43.

[66] Jason D. BeDuhn, *The First New Testament: Marcion's Scriptural Canon* (Salem, Oregon: Polebridge Press, 2013), 27-30. See Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God*, trans. John E Steely and Lyle D. Bierma (Durham, North California: The Labyrinth Press, 1990; originally published as *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* in 1924). See also John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1942).

[67] BeDuhn, *The First New Testament*, 66-67; For a detailed analysis on the possible source of Marcion's Gospel, see Dieter T. Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel* (NTTSD 49; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), 46-82.

[68] For an investigation of Tertullian using the Latin text of Luke by Marcion, see A. J. B. Higgins, "The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian," *Vigiliae Christianae* 5 (1951): 1-42; see also Eric Osborne, *Tertullian, First Theologian of the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 88-115 for a discussion on Tertullian's theological agenda against Marcion.

[69] Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel*, 86-87.

the well-known enemy of the Church by also referring to parallel eucharistic texts, i.e., Mk 14: 23-24 and Mt 26:27-28. Still, out of all the uncertainties, inferring the text of Marcion, even though hypothetical and limited, is an important step that could at least provide critics with a hint of an early text of Luke. In regard to dating, Judith Lieu sets the date of the first book of *Adversus Marcionem* at around 207 to 208 CE, meaning that Tertullian's reference to the Eucharist is early third-century product at the earliest, while Marcion is much earlier.

The fourth book of *Adversus Marcionem* criticizes Marcion's interpretation of the Lukan Gospel and ten Pauline Epistles.[70] Compared to other previous witnesses given by the Church Fathers, there is an explicit reference to Luke 22:20 when Tertullian talks about "establishing the covenant sealed with his own blood" in explaining the physical reality of Christ in the Eucharist.[71] It is apparent that the text that Tertullian referred to attested to a reading that documented v. 20 in its entirety. However, as mentioned previously, one cannot be certain whether Tertullian requoted directly from Marcion's texts or used other Gospel sources (Mark and Matthew) to complement his argument on the Eucharist.

An intriguing work published by James BeDuhn in 2013, a reconstruction of the hypothetical *Evangelion*, argues for the omission of the first cup and presents the "bread-cup" formula in the hypothetical Marcionic Gospel.[72] The reconstruction by Roth in 2015 also attests to this passage as Roth assumes the following words to be documented in Marcion's work: λαβὼν ἄρτον ... ἔδωκεν (αὐτοῖς) ... τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον) ... τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ ... διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου.[73] If we are to consider these reconstruction as a serious evidence, one can conclude that the Lukan text that Marcion referred to was either Form 1 or Form 6, in which vv. 19b-20 were present in the eucharistic text. Since the baseline text for Marcion's *Evangelion* is Luke, the reconstructed sentence "This cup is the contract in my blood" indicates the possibility of Lk 22:20 reappearing in the texts of the Church Father. The omission of the first cup in both Marcion and Tertullian is also an intriguing phenomenon worthy of mentioning. Did the early text that these authors referred to omit vv. 17-18 (Form 6) or is this a simple appropriation to avoid redundancy? Not much can be known, but it is likely that the early versions of the Lukan text that both Marcion and Tertullian referred to did convey the words of vv. 19b-20.

2.3. Conclusion

Throughout the second chapter, we have reviewed the textual data documented in ancient MSS

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[70] For a more detailed study on how Tertullian develops his polemical arguments against Marcion, see Judith M. Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic God and Scripture in the Second Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 50-84.

[71] Sic et in calicis mentione testamentum constituens sanguine suo obsignatum substantiam corporis confirmauit in *Adversus Marcionem* Book IV. XL (CCSL 1, 655); cf. BeDuhn, *The First New Testament*, 124 for a hypothetical reconstruction of the Last Supper account in Marcion's *Evangelion*, which depicts the gathering as follows: "And after they had dined, taking a piece of bread, when he had given thanks, he broke it, and gave (it) to them, saying, "This is my body which is being given on your behalf… And (he took) the cup likewise, saying, 'This cup is the contract in my blood…'"

[72] BeDuhn, *The First New Testament*, 124; Roth, 433

[73] Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel*, 433

and some indirect witnesses to the Lukan Eucharist attested in patristic literature. Nothing can be certain at this point, yet the stable tradition of Alexandrian reading, superior in both age and number of manuscripts, leads the present critic to favor the "longer ending" in the Lukan Last Supper account. It is also crucial to note that this specific reading managed to carry on to the Byzantine tradition. Moreover, the broader geographical distribution compared to that of the shorter reading suggests that the possibility of Lk 22:19b-20 being an interpolation is highly improbable.

The patristic witnesses, although indirect evidence, show that the shorter ending is a particular reading that goes against the early witnesses of the Lukan "institution narrative," where critics are able to establish a few points according to the testimonies of the Church Fathers.

• The Markan "bread-cup" eucharistic liturgy is not the sole representation of the Eucharist, but there were other forms that were practiced by the early believers.
• The text that the Fathers referred to did not omit the latter part of v. 19 from the Lukan "institution narrative."
• The text (whether *Ur-Lukas* or not) that Marcion used is likely to have included Lk 22:20; on the other hand, the source utilized by Tertullian, whether Luke or Mark, cannot be verified.

Despite the fact that there is no ultimate evidence that could bring an end to the textual dispute about the Lukan eucharistic text, external evidence (including patristic witnesses), favors the longer reading of the "institution narrative" as a possible candidate for the authentic Lukan text. In short, while there is no groundbreaking discovery that supports the majority reading (or Form 1), it is also evident that the current textual data militate against Form 2 and 3, making critics opt for other forms of reading. In the next chapter, we will review the internal evidence related to the textual dispute about the Lukan Last Supper account, striving to prove that counting numbers of word occurrences as evidence is a methodological fallacy, similar to that of the logic of majority reading, a methodology also considered to be invalid.

CHAPTER 3. INTERNAL EVIDENCE

The previous chapter on external evidence demonstrated that textual data and patristic literature favor the "longer reading" as an authentic Lukan text, or at least go against the omission of Lk 22:19b. However, despite the dominant standing of the "longer reading" of the Lukan eucharistic text in regard to external evidence, the "shorter reading" advocates chose internal criteria as their frontline, asserting that vv. 19b-20 convey a style that is foreign to Luke.[1] In fact, it is this "particular style" argument that gave rise to the very textual dispute about the Lukan "institution narrative" and prevented external evidence from exercising dominance in discerning the *Ausgangstext*.

In reality, little attention has been given to discussing the criteria of discerning what is Lukan or not, and in most cases, scholars rely on statistical data to designate a specific style.[2] However, characterizing the style of an author according to numbers (occurrences of certain vocabularies and grammatical style) is a reasoning similar to that of the rule of the "majority reading" as it argues numeric superiority in judging textual issues. While numbers are important, they cannot be the sole criterion in defining an authentic Lukan style.

Furthermore, logically speaking, while it is immensely difficult to prove what something is, it is relatively less arduous to prove what something is not. In this context, since it is not easy to illustrate how vv. 19b-20 are an authentic Lukan text, the chapter provides critical reviews of the scholarly claims that support the shorter ending of the Lukan eucharistic text, demonstrating that the arguments made against the disputed texts are weak, increasing the probability that the Lukan "institution narrative" with the longer ending is the *Ausgangstext*.

The present chapter includes three sections that attempt to properly address the arguments raised by the "shorter-reading" advocates in the following order: a) introduction of the main arguments made against the authenticity of vv. 19b-20, b) demonstration of the weakness of those claims, and c) exploration of the possible reasons why such a lengthy and theologically significant passage was omitted during the textual transmission.

3.1. A Linguistic and Theological Analysis of Lk 22:19b-20

In this section, we will review the arguments made by those who reject the authenticity of vv. 19b-20, in which these scholars point out two stylistic aspects that do not harmonize with Lukan usage: vocabulary and grammatical style. Several decades prior to Ehrman and Epp, Henry Chadwick published a short article in the middle of the 20th century, disproving the theories advanced by Joachim Jeremias and Heinz Schürmann with the reasons given below.[3]

[1] E.g., "The external evidence, however, can go back no earlier; it cannot, that is, determine the reading of the autograph. The investigation, then, must be moved to the realm of internal evidence." In Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 199.
[2] Cf. Kobus J. H. Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution of the Lord's Supper (Luke 22:19b-20)," *NTS* 37 (1991): 113-29. It was J. H. Petzer who first made an objection to the conventional Lukan style logic that is determined by the "number" of word appearances and grammatical usage of the author within the text.
[3] Henry Chadwick, "The Shorter Text of Luke XXII. 15-20," *HTR* 50 (1957): 252.

• The "shorter-reading" conforms to the typical rules of NT textual criticism: *lectio brevior potior* and *lectio difficilior potior*[4]
• The disputed verses appear to be an assimilation of 1 Cor 11:24 and Mk 14:24 that was interpolated by later scribes, a typical Western non-interpolation passage
• There are two non-Lukan elements in vv. 19b-20: a. the lack of ἐστίν in v. 20b (Luke would have added the copula in the latter part of v. 20)[5] and b. the phrase τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον seems "clumsy" if intended to go with dative form αἵματι, which then seems to be influenced by Marcan tradition τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου[6]

While the two well-known textual canons do not take into account the complexities of the disputed text, it is the second and third argument that make a strong case against the longer ending of the Lukan eucharistic text. Scholars like Kilpatrick, Ehrman and Epp have asserted that, according to their statistical information, the grammatical usage and the words employed to describe the latter part of the Eucharist do not fit with the typical Lukan style. As briefly mentioned in the opening of the chapter, the second argument legitimizes itself in a misleading way as its proponents fail to understand that a special source may have been used for the Last Supper account but rely on statistical data only. The second argument, which was also advanced by M. D. Goulder, seems to be mere speculation based on lexical similarity that lacks in-depth source-critical underpinning. The critic must inquire about the source, not just for vv. 19b-20, but for the overall eucharistic text itself.

Superficially, the non-Lukan grammar and the appearance of distinctive vocabularies in the Last Supper account do seem foreign. However, the critic should not forget that the Gospel of Luke neither arises from a vacuum nor fully depends on the special Lukan material, but that the author used specific sources, i.e., Mark, Q and L, to compose his Gospel narrative.[7] For

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[4] Chadwick's appeal to the textual principles is problematic as he draws a hasty conclusion without giving careful thought to the matter of the disputed text of the Lukan "institution narrative." One of the textual rules in the first argument, i.e., *lectio brevior potior*, is a principle based on the assumption that scribes tend to harmonize and elaborate words in the text during transmission. However, as Boring points out, this cannot be applied mechanically since it is known that scribes also "omitted and abbreviated" certain parts of the text. See Eugene M Boring, *An Introduction to the New Testament: History, Literature, Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2012), 32; Jeff Miller also criticizes the principle as being "mishandled, unclear, impractical and descriptive." See Jeff Miller, "Breaking the Rules: *Lectio Brevior Potior* and New Testament Textual Criticism," *The Bible Translator* 70 (2019): 82-93. On the other hand, while *lectio difficilior potior* is still considered a golden rule for NT textual criticism, it is extremely difficult to apply this principle to the Lukan text as *difficilior* can imply many things. In other words, what does "difficult" mean in the first place and how should one discern a difficult passage? To whom does it pose a problem? For instance, would not the appearance of an additional cup be more difficult to understand to other readers? In short, Chadwick's hasty appeal to the textual principles loses its ground as he does not provide a detailed explanation of this textual matter.

[5] The absence of the copula being non-Lukan in style was first noted by H. J. Cadbury in his doctoral thesis that was later published in Harvard Theological Studies. Henry J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (HTS VI; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), 149.

[6] Matthias Klinghardt has conducted research, not only on syntactical analysis, but on the meals and rituals in the Greco-Roman world and argues that it is the cup that is being poured out, not the blood, giving the image of a libation. Matthias Klinghardt, "Der vergossene Becher. Ritual und Gemeinschaft im lukanischen Mahlbericht," *Early Christianity* 3 (2012): 33-58.

[7] The Gospel of Luke is the only book among the Synoptic Gospels that declares at the beginning of its narrative

instance, a Roman Catholic perspective is advanced by Enrico Mazza when he argues that there is a separate tradition on the Eucharist that circulated among the early churches, a source called the "Antiochene tradition" that was used by Paul and Luke.[8] However, before going into details on what kind of source Luke referred to when he was composing one of the monumental events of the "passion narrative," a brief summary of the non-Lukan style and theology argument proposed by the shorter ending advocates must first be introduced.

3.1.1. Language and Grammar in vv. 19b-20

A century ago, G. D. Kilpatrick argued that Lk 22:19b-20 is unlikely to be Lukan as the linguistic style evidenced in the disputed text does not harmonize with other Lukan passages. Kilpatrick points out that, along with the missing copula mentioned above, it is unnatural for Luke to employ ἐμός as an attribute adjective.[9] Other words that Kilpatrick deems to be non-Lukan are ὑπέρ (a typical Pauline vocabulary) and ὡσαύτως, judging by the number of their occurrences.[10]

After Kilpatrick and Chadwick, notable studies regarding this Lukan textual dispute came from two prominent American NT textual critics, Bart Ehrman and Eldon Epp, who consider vv. 19b-20 to be an interpolation at a later stage of transmission. Ehrman casts doubts on the integrity of the disputed verses as he finds the phrases ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν and ἀνάμνησιν to be hapax legomena in Luke-Acts, and ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη and ἐν τῷ αἵματι to be foreign terms as well.[11]

Moreover, when Petzer demonstrated in his article the bipartite parallelism of the repeating "sign-explanation" structure to support the "abrupt ending" argument,[12] Ehrman was able to produce a more coherent structure (A-B-A´-B´) with Πλὴν and παραδίδωμι making a parallel.[13] Epp, on the other hand, gives a short response on the textual issue when he briefly reviews Bradly Billings' monograph, highlighting the fact that Billings also considers certain words in vv. 19b-20 to be non-Lukan in style and thus not to be totally ignored.[14] According to the linguistic analysis made by scholars, it is possible for a textual critic to conclude that the grammatical style and certain vocabularies could appear to be foreign when compared to the style employed in other Lukan passages.

(Lk 1:1-4) that its source is secondary information (or as Luke declares, "a narrative of the things that have been accomplished among us"), rather than an eye-witness account.

[8] Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 23-28.

[9] G. D. Kilpatrick "Ἐπάνω MARK xiv. 5" *JTS* vos-XLII n1 (1941): 184-186 in Kilpatrick, "LUKE XXII. 19b-20," 51.

[10] Kilpatrick, "LUKE XXII. 19b-20," 51. Cf. Green notes that the phrase ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι is not only non-Lukan, but also non-Pauline. Joel B. Green, *The Death of Jesus: Tradition and Interpretation in the Passion Narrative* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011; originally published as a revised doctoral dissertation in WUNT 2. Reihe 33, 1988 (under the same title), 41.

[11] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 199.

[12] See J. H. Petzer, "Luke 22:19b-20 and the Structure of the Passage," *Novum Testamentum* 26 (1984): 249-52.

[13] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 204-06.

[14] Epp, "The Disputed Words of the Eucharistic Institution (Luke 22,19b-20): The Long and Short of the Matter," in *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism, Volume 2* (originally published in *Bib* 90 (2009): 407-416 under the same title), 175.

3.1.2. The Theology in Lk 22:19b-20

What really makes Ehrman and Epp oppose the authenticity of Lk 22:19b-20 is the theology that the passage promotes, i.e., the "vicarious death" of Christ having atoning effect for the sinner who has entered into a covenantal relationship with Jesus. What Ehrman argues is more radical since he asserts that Luke, as an author, strived to eliminate such a theology in his two texts, and instead portrayed Jesus as a victim of miscarried justice.[15] For Ehrman, Luke should have appropriated two Markan passages if he ever had the attention of emphasizing the atoning effect of the cross: a) Mk 10:45, a verse disclosing the message of Christ's life given as a ransom and b) Mk 15:38-89, a verse confirming the death of Christ as having a salvific effect.[16] Furthermore, Ehrman presents his own exegesis of Acts 20:28 in which the passage should not be interpreted in a soteriological way, but as a declaration of God's sovereignty over the Church that he acquired through the blood of Christ.[17]

However, Ehrman's understanding of salvation in connection with the centurion's confession seems farfetched. Is Ehrman right in saying that the author of the third Gospel endeavored to eliminate the theological idea of atonement when Luke rephrases the Markan term "Son of God" as "innocent" man?[18] The answer to this question is quite simple. Not necessarily. One must understand not only the term itself, but the specific context in which the author employs his terminology. In fact, John Nolland disagrees with the understanding of the Greek term δίκαιος as being associated with political status and prefers to translate it as "righteous," so that the centurion's confession highlights Jesus' faithful commitment towards God.[19] Joel Green identifies the expression δίκαιος in relation not only to his political status, but to the notions of a) the "Suffering Righteous One" (Ps 22, 31) and b) the Isaianic Servant

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[15] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 199-200. Barbara Shellard also concludes that while Mark and John explicitly reveal the "atoning nature" of the death of Christ, Luke makes no specific reference to salvation coming from Christ's death. See Barbara Shellard, *New Light on Luke: Its Purpose, Source and Literary Context* (JSNTSup 215; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 281.

[16] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 200-01. See Darrell L. Bock, *A Theology of Luke's Gospel and Acts: Biblical Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011) for an extensive exegesis of the theological issues in Luke-Acts that assumes the death of Jesus to have an atoning effect.

[17] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 202.

[18] Greg Sterling, for example, interprets the death of Christ not only in the Jewish martyrological tradition, but also in a Socratic tradition, suggesting that Luke depicted Jesus' arrest and death in accordance with that of Socrates. See Gregory E. Sterling, "Mors philosophi: The Death of Jesus in Luke," *HTR* 94 (2001): 383-402. Cf. However, after establishing the model of martyrdom, R. Karris indicates that the death of Jesus does not fit into the category. See Robert J. Karris, "Luke 23:47 and the Lucan View of Jesus' Death," *JBL* 105 (1986): 68-70.

[19] Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53*, 1158-59. John Squire provides an interesting view on Jesus fulfilling the will of God with a clear recognition of his Father's intention regarding salvation. See John T. Squire, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 76; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 167-73. Fitzmyer, on the other hand, assumes that while understanding the meaning of δίκαιος as "innocent" is appropriate at "Stage I of the gospel tradition," he points out that Luke could have meant something more at Stage III. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV*, 1520.

of יהוה (the allusion to Is 52:13-53:12[20] of the use of δίκαιος in Acts 3:13-14).[21] In this case, the Lukan expression δίκαιος does not completely dissociate itself from the Markan phrase "Son of God" in terms of meaning.[22] Rather, the term δίκαιος highlights the salvific significance of the suffering servant that will bring forth redemption for God's people.

Jacob Jervell, while noting that numerous scholars find it difficult to derive a soteriological idea from Acts 20:28, argues that the phrase ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου does indicate the vicarious death of Christ based on the assumption that Luke knew about the "sacrificing death of Jesus."[23] Jervell also stresses that even if this passage does not indicate the death of Jesus as a propitiation for the sins of men, there are still undeniable references in Luke-Acts that relate Christ's death to the salvific plan of God.[24] There is evidently a connection between the death of Jesus and God's salvation, yet it is also true that Luke, as the author of the Gospel, does not illustrate "what Christ's death is intended to accomplish" in his text.[25] In sum, Ehrman is too hasty to classify Lk 22:19b-20 as non-Lukan by arguing that the theology of the text, i.e., the vicarious death of Christ, is incompatible with Luke's tendency to avoid the substitutionary atonement. This discussion regarding whether there is atonement theology in Luke or not will be further discussed in one of the following subsections.

3.2. A Response to the "Shorter Ending" Evidence

In the previous subsections, we have reviewed the "shorter reading" argument advanced by Bart Ehrman who concluded for two reasons that Lk 22:19b-20 is a non-Lukan text that was interpolated by scribes: a) its linguistic style is foreign when compared to other Lukan passages and b) its explicit atonement theology is an idea that cannot be observed in other Lukan texts. Although the present thesis provided several pieces of counter-evidence against Ehrman's

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[20] The term "righteous" as being accountable for the iniquities of men can be seen in LXX Is 53:11: ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὖ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει.

[21] Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1997), 827; 827n62.

[22] M. Easters refers to the explanations of Marguerat, Beck, and Schmidt that "righteous" and "innocent" are not mutually exclusive, but rather these two terms are complementary, alluding to each other. Matthew C. Easter, "Certainly This Man was Righteous: Highlighting a Messianic Reading of the Centurion's Confession in Luke 23:47," *Tyndale Bulletin* 63.1 (2012): 38. See also Daniel Marguerat, The First Christian Historian: Writing the "Acts of the Apostles," (SNTSMS 121; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 69-70; Brian E. Beek, "*Imitatio Christi* and the Lucan Passion Narrative" in *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament*, ed. William Horbury and Brian McNeil (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 42-43; Daryl Schmidt, "Luke's 'Innocent' Jesus: A Scriptural Apologetic," in *Political Issues in Luke-Acts*, ed. Richard J. Cassidy and Philip J. Scharper (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1983): 117.

[23] Jacob Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles* (New Testament Theology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 98n; 98.

[24] The references categorized by Jervell are as follows: a) God's will implied in the death of Jesus (Lk 13:33; 17:25; Acts 3:18), b) Jesus' sayings that validate his sufferings as "divine necessity" (Luke 17:25; 24:26, 44; Acts 3:18; 13:28-30; 17:3), c) Jesus' preaching promoting the message that forgiveness comes from the death and resurrection of Christ (Lk 24:46-47). Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, 98. See also Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, 94-100 for a short review of Lukan soteriology in Luke-Acts.

[25] Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, 98-99.

theory of Luke eliminating the concept of atonement from his text, no arguments have yet been made on linguistic grounds. Therefore, it is the aim of this section to argue that the linguistic style of Lk 22:19b-20 and its theology are not necessarily non-Lukan. The first subsection will argue that some of the peculiarities observed in the Lukan eucharistic passage are traces of Luke using a pre-Gospel tradition of the Last Supper account. Then, in the second subsection, the thesis will make a further investigation into atonement theology in Luke and refute the widespread notion that there is no such soteriological idea in the Lukan Gospel.

Monks, in his century-old article, already compared Lk 22:19b-20 with Mk 14:22-25 and 1 Cor 11:24-25, concluding that certain vocabularies, e.g., ἐκχυνόμενον and ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, are traces of Luke engaging with both the Markan and the Pauline source, and at the same time pointed to the fact that Lk 22:19a (assumed to be authentically Lukan) is also similar to the Pauline text.[26] Fredrich Blass has already mentioned that, stylistically, v. 19a is also what "shorter reading" advocates would call non-Lukan, forcing the critic either to discard the whole text of vv. 19-20 or to accept these two verses as one organic body that belongs to the eucharistic text.[27] Monks also considers the change of scenery in the Western reading, i.e., from Jesus handing out bread to the sudden warning of the betrayal, to be an abrupt break of flow that is comparatively less natural than the narrative in which Jesus offers his life and then talks about the betrayal of his disciple, something that Monks calls a "genuine connection" between v. 20 and v. 21. In terms of literary structure, one could also notice that the sayings of Jesus show a repeating parallelism between vv. 16-18 ("For I tell you…," "For I tell you…") and vv. 19-20 ("This is my body…," "This cup that is…").[28] What can be learnt from Monk's analysis is that the non-Lukan style of the "institution narrative" may be the traces of Luke using a different source than Mark or Paul, i.e., an independent tradition of the Last Supper account.

J. H. Petzer raises an important issue on the textual dispute about Lk 22:19b-20 when he departs from his previous work on Lk 22:19b-20 that employed methodological tradition deeply rooted in South African NT academia, i.e., the search for the literary structure (repeating patterns of parallelism) of the texts in the institution narrative.[29] Petzer critically points out that critics do not engage with the entire "institution narrative," failing to see the textual features of the overall text as they fix their attention on vv. 19b-20 only.[30]

His research first begins by reviewing the linguistic style in vv. 19b-20, especially those phrases and vocabularies that are considered to be non-Lukan, and observes that the non-Lukan styles often bear resemblance to Mark.[31] Most intriguingly, Petzer reminds the reader that in

[26] Monks, "The Lucan Account of the Last Supper," 242-43.
[27] Friedrich Blass, *Philology of the Gospels* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898), 179 in Monks, "The Lucan Account of the Last Supper," 244. Regarding the flow of the narrative, Monks also mentions on p. 245 that with the presence of πλήν in v. 21, omitting vv. 19-20 as a whole in the eucharistic text makes for a more grammatically natural text than both the Western and the majority reading; The word πλήν functions as a discourse marker that indicates a change of atmosphere, or as Blass-Debrunner puts it, is "contrastingly added for consideration" and for "breaking off a discussion and emphasizing what is important" within the text. See BDAG, s.v. "πλήν"
[28] Monks, "The Lucan Account of the Last Supper," 247.
[29] Kobus J. H. Petzer, "Luke 22:19b-20 and the Structure of the Passage," *Novum Testamentum* 26 (1984): 249-252.
[30] Kobus J. H. Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution of the Lord's Supper (Luke 22:19b-20)," *NTS* 37 (1991): 113.
[31] E.g., a) ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, b) ἐμός, c) ἀνάμνησιν, d) ποτήριον, e) ὡσαύτως, f) μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, g) δειπνέω, h) omission

order to verify these non-Lukan elements, one must first analyze the earlier passage of the disputed text (Lk 22:17-19a) as well, in which he points out five words, i.e. δέχομαι, ποτήριον, εὐχαριστέω, γένημα, ἄμπελος, that are also related to the disputed text.[32] It is his conclusion that non-Lukan features are not just limited to vv. 19b-20 (already shown extensively by Monks), and that the "shorter reading" advocates should also regard vv. 17-19a as inauthentic in order to consolidate their logic of "non-Lukan features" as a text-critical instrument.[33]

In regard to "language and style," the reader will soon realize that words and phrases in other parallel texts of the Last Supper account do not show a stylistic harmonization either: vocabularies such as διαθήκη, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν γένημα, ἄμπελος, ἡ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρός in Matthew are clearly non-Matthean; διαθήκη, ἐκχέω, γένημα, and ἄμπελος in Mark are, surprisingly, non-Markan; ἀνάμνησις δειπνέω, λέγων, ὁσάκις ἐὰν in First Corinthians are non-Pauline.[34] Simply put, the methodology promoted by "shorter-reading" advocates becomes invalid when the same methodological approach is applied to the parallel institution narratives.[35] What Petzer provides as an answer to this puzzling phenomenon of the internal incoherency of every institution narrative is that authors of the Last Supper account must have referred to some kind of a common source in which they are hesitant to make radical revisions as is Luke in his institution narrative.[36] Therefore, it is the conclusion of Petzer that authors who documented the Last Supper account relied on a common liturgical source since the language and vocabulary in their institution narratives are foreign to themselves.[37]

Furthermore, an interesting point to make is that one of the words, i.e., διαθήκη, in the third Gospel is neither a foreign term nor a strange idea since in the Synoptic Gospels it is only in Luke that the word διαθήκη is not a *hapax legomenon*. The word διαθήκη first appears in Lk 1:72[38] when Luke explains the reason for salvation: God is being faithful to His promise, or in another term, the covenant. Covenant is indeed an essential idea related to salvation and a significant word that is promoted by Luke himself within his text. It is therefore only natural that the word reappears in the final chapters (Passion Narrative) of the Gospel.[39] Ralph Martin has also indicated that Luke is particularly concerned with the idea of covenant as can be seen in Lk 22:29 (the word διατίθημι appears in Luke-Acts three times).[40] As Luke appears to be a

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of ἔστιν, i) καινός, j) διαθήκη, k) τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, l) ἐκχέω. For a more detailed source-critical and stylistic analysis of Lukan vocabulary, see Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution," 115-20.

32 Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution," 120.

33 Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution," 122.

34 Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution," 124-26.

35 "There is more than grammar to an author's style and that an author's grammatical style ought not to be considered without taking other aspects of style also into account, since the significance of the grammatical deviations from the usual grammar of an author may come into a new perspective when considered against the background of other aspects of his style." In Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution," 129.

36 Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution," 126.

37 Petzer, "Style and Text in the Lucan Narrative of the Institution," 127-28. See also Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 104; "Therefore Lukan style is not to be expected in the case of the words of institution," 155.

38 ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ μνησθῆναι διαθήκης ἁγίας αὐτοῦ - Lk 1:72.

39 See Bock, *A Theology of Luke's Gospel and Acts*, 414-17.

40 Ralph P. Martin, "Salvation and Discipleship in Luke's Gospel," *Interpretation* 30 (1976): 377-78.

"covenant-conscious" historian (and theologian), it is highly improbable that he took out the word διαθήκη and its related vocabularies when he referred to and used the Markan source (Mk 14:24) for his Gospel. After all, the purpose of the meal, according to the Synoptic writers, is to establish the covenant, leading those who enter into this special relationship to redemption.

In this section, it was demonstrated by Monks and Petzer that non-Lukan features of the "institution narrative" in Luke and other parallel eucharistic texts are traces of authors documenting their Last Supper account in reliance of an independent tradition. Not only Luke but also Mark and Paul employed a foreign style when illustrating the Last Supper in their text, indicating that Biblical authors used a separate source and that they were hesitant to make deliberate changes to its words. In the following subsections, the thesis will explore two matters that will support this hypothesis and the longer ending argument: a) the origin of the Last Supper account as an independent tradition and b) atonement theology in Luke.

3.2.1. The Last Supper Account from a Pre-Gospel Source

Jeremias has mentioned in his work that both Mark and Luke drew on a source of an early tradition of the Last Supper account that circulated within the Church, a practice that is already acknowledged by THE Apostle Paul himself in 1 Cor 11:23-25.[41] What is intriguing is that while Matthew and Mark evidently share this source (or Matthew use Mark with only minor changes), Luke's source resembles that of Paul's account of the Last Supper as shown below.[42]

Figure 1. A Comparison between First Corinthians and Luke on the Last Supper Account

1 Cor 11:23d-24	Lk 22:19-20
v. 23d ἔλαβεν ἄρτον v. 24 καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	v. 19 καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
v. 24 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	v. 20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

By comparing Paul and Luke, the critic can trace back the "bread-cup" sequence of the rite and reconstruct the *kerygma* of Jesus that was delivered during the meal. Judging by the close simliarity of the "bread-cup" sequence of the supper and the sayings of Jesus, it is likely that

[41] Jeremias understands Paul's phrases "I have received" (παραλαμβάνω) and "I have delivered" (παραδίδωμι) in 1 Cor 11:23 and 15:1-3 as being similar to the rabbinical rhetorical formulas *kibbel min* (to receive) and *masar le* (hand down). Paul's formulas are used to authenticate the already established tradition of kerygma, or the sayings of Jesus. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 101.

[42] It should also be noted that the meal was no ordinary supper, but a predominantly religious rite that seems to have already established itself as a tradition in the middle of the first century (50 CE). Larry Hurtado, *At the Origins of Christian Worship: The Context and Character of Earliest Christian Devotion* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1999), 84.

Paul and Luke shared a common tradition.[43] Jeremias also infers that it was Paul who used a tradition that he acquired from the "Syrian home church of Luke" and that the longer reading of the Lukan eucharistic text is not a mere compilation of Mark and Paul.[44] In this context, the critic must also ask, "can a specific location of origin of the Last Supper tradition that both Luke and Paul used for their text be identified?" In other words, where did Paul and Luke acquire this "already-established tradition" of the Last Supper account?

In his doctoral dissertation, Amiel Drimbe singles out Antioch (along with Antioch, I. Howard Marshall already indicated Damascus and Jerusalem as possible candidates[45]) as the possible origin of the tradition that Paul and Luke adopted, a possibility also raised by Mazza.[46] Drimbe notices the sudden change of ambiance when Luke departs from his Markan source and documents a tradition that resembles the Pauline formula, indicating that Luke reflected a tradition in the text that was considered to be more significant within his "community."[47] In order to validate his argument, Drimbe gives a brief biographical background of Luke as found in early Christian traditions, e.g., *The Anti-Marcionite Prologues* (*SQE*, 549), Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.4.6) and Jerome (*De vir. ill.* 7), testifying to Luke's Antiochene origin.[48] More significant are the passages in Acts that function as corroborating internal evidence, where Drimbe refers to Richard Glover's discovery of Luke as an author giving "thorough information" that is not present in the Markan source and showing "notable ignorance" on certain issues, e.g., Herod Agrippa I. Glover's study was statistically analyzed by Rainer Riesner.[49]

Mikael Winninge takes a further step in understanding the origin of the Last Supper tradition, especially the historical process of how the eucharistic liturgy expanded into diverse strands of tradition. Winninge refers to Helmut Koester who argues that the passion narratives were not reconstructed in the memory of the disciples but arose out of the sharing of the bread and cup and reading the Scriptures together after Christ's death.[50] With the story of the

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[43] Cf. Bacon, on the other hand, does not identify the Lukan Last Supper account with the Pauline version but considers them to represent different traditions. See Benjamin Wisner Bacon, "The Lukan Tradition of the Lord's Supper," *HTR* 5 (1912): 322-348.

[44] Jeremias argues that the hypothesis of the longer reading depending on Paul should be excluded as the longer ending of the Lukan eucharistic text show two significantly different variations. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 156.

[45] I. Howard Marshall, *Last Supper and Lord's Supper* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1980; repr., Vancouver: Regent College Press, 2006), 102 in Amiel Drimbe, *The Church of Antioch and the Eucharistic Traditions (ca. 35-130)* (WUNT II; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 63.

[46] Drimbe, *The Church of Antioch and the Eucharistic Traditions*, 69. See also pp. 62-69 on the reasons why Drimbe excludes Damascus and Jerusalem as possible locations of origin.

[47] Drimbe, *The Church of Antioch and the Eucharistic Traditions*, 72.

[48] Drimbe, *The Church of Antioch and the Eucharistic Traditions*, 72-73.

[49] Drimbe, *The Church of Antioch and the Eucharistic Traditions*, 74-75. See also Richard Glover, "Luke the Antiochene and Acts," *NTS* 11 (1964): 97-106; Rainer Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1997), 323-24.

[50] Helmut Koester, *Paul and His World: Interpreting the New Testament in Its Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 100-101 in Mikael Winninge, "The Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 11 and Luke 22: Traditions and Development," in *The Eucharist - Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity Volume I*, ed. David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger (WUNT

"suffering Servant of God" in Deutero-Isaiah as the foundation story, Winninge concludes that the early ritual functioned as a link that connected the participants with the past and at the same time established a group identity among the people.[51]

It is also critical to ask why Luke's tradition conveys the liturgical sequence of "bread-cup-bread" in the Last Supper account. One possible reason for the presence of an extra cup in the early Antiochene practice might have lain by the ancient Jewish rite. As noted by Gustav Bickell, it is evident that the Last Supper did not emerge from a theological vacuum when Jesus hosted the Jewish Passover meal.[52] Most importantly, it is Luke himself who makes reference to Passover when describing the Last Supper throughout verses like vv. 1, 7, 8, 11, 13 and 15.[53] One might even say that the Eucharist is the interpretation of the Passover meal by Christ himself.[54] Comparing the liturgy performed in the Last Supper with the Jewish customs of the seder may demonstrate how the Lukan tradition reinterpreted the liturgical formula of the Eucharist.[55]

What information do we have on the seder that was celebrated in the times of Jesus? Although one cannot verify whether the practices of the paschal meal illustrated by the *Pesachim* (פסחים) in the *Mishnah* were current at the time of Jesus or not, a large number of researchers agree that some of the formulas may represent the early tradition of the Passover meal in the Second Temple period.[56] Scholars also recognize the similarity between the thanksgiving prayer and the Jewish prayer known as *Birkat ha-Mazon* (ברכת המזון),[57] a grace which is given right after the meal.[58] However, understanding the Last Supper account within the Jewish context is not without problems as one cannot be entirely certain about the liturgical formula of the Passover Seder practiced during the days of Jesus.[59] One can only infer this

376; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 596.

51 Winninge, "The Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 11 and Luke 22," 597.

52 Gustav Bickell, *The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual*, trans. William F. Skene (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1891), 195-208 in Jack Turner, "Passed Over: The Haggadah and the Origins of the Eucharistic Anaphora Reconsidered," *Studia Liturgica* 43 (2013): 303; Loehr points out that the origin of the Eucharist is difficult to trace, but one should always recognize that the Eucharist was not an ordinary meal and carried an implication of sacrifice. See also Hermut Loehr, "The Eucharist and Jewish Ritual Meals: The Case of the tôdah," *Early Christianity* 7 (2016): 468-69; Monika K. Hellwig, "The Christian Eucharist in Relation to Jewish Worship," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 13 (1976): 323.

53 Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 755-57; see also Stein's explanation of the resemblance between the account of the Last Supper and the requirements for observing the Passover regarding location and time. Stein, *Luke*, 540.

54 Stein contends that while the connection between the Last Supper and the Passover is valid in the Synoptic tradition, the Last Supper is related to the Feast of Unleavened Bread in the Johannine Gospel. Stein, *Luke*, 539-40.

55 Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 9.

56 Joseph Tabory, *JPS Commentary on the Haggadah: Historical Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 2008), 6.

57 *Birkat Ha-Mazon* is a prayer that comes after the Third Cup in the Paschal seder that establishes itself in the command in Deut 8:10. Louis Finkelstein, "The *Birkat Ha-Mazon*," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 19 (1929): 211.

58 Gerard Rouwhorst, "The Roots of the Early Christian Eucharist: Jewish Blessings or Hellenistic Symposia?" in *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into Its History and Interaction*, ed. Albert Gerhard & Clemens Leonhard (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 295.

59 Jack Turner, "Passed Over," 304.

from the tradition collectible from ancient literature that has survived to this day. Below is the liturgy of the Paschal seder reconstructed in its most concise form that can be inferred from the texts of the *Mishnah*.

Figure 2. A Comparison between the Paschal Seder and the Last Supper Account by Luke

Paschal Meal According to *Mishnah*[60]	The Last Supper According to Luke[61]
1. Pouring of the First Cup followed by a recital of blessing	1. Pouring of the First Cup followed by thanksgiving sayings
2. Taking of the unleavened bread, lettuce, *haroset* (fruit), and the "whole" paschal lamb	2. Jesus' *statement* "I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God comes"
3. Pouring of the Second Cup followed by a recital of the Exodus history of Israel	3. Taking of the bread followed by thanksgiving sayings
4. Pouring of the Third Cup followed by a recital of grace after meals	4. Jesus' *command* "Do this in remembrance of me"
5. Pouring of the Fourth Cup followed by a recital of *Hallel* and singings the blessing of the sons.	5. Pouring of the Second Cup
	6. Jesus' *teaching* "This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood"

Clearly, Jesus' liturgical formula in the Lukan Last Supper narrative bears resemblance to the seder such as a) uttering certain sayings after the pouring of the cup and b) the bread eaten by the participants. The difference between the Paschal seder and the Lukan Last Supper is that Jesus concludes the meal with two cups.

An understanding of the Last Supper in the Jewish context does seem to favor the originality of vv. 19b-20 since the number of cups can be more than one according to the Paschal seder, unlike the "bread-cup" formula in other parallel "institution narratives." Still, the Jewish approach on the Last Supper is not without methodological problems since one simply cannot know whether the Paschal tradition reconstructed in the modern era is identical to the liturgy of the Second Temple period or not. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the Last Supper in light of the Jewish celebration does not reveal much about the Lukan account, the reader accustomed to ancient Jewish culture would not have been seriously disturbed by the appearance of an extra cup.

3.2.2. Finding Atonement Theology in the Third Gospel

While Ehrman was successful in highlighting the argument that the lack of atonement theology in the third Gospel can be used as evidence against Lk 22:19b-20, he certainly is not the first to have advanced such idea. A number of scholarly works on Luke-Acts published by prominent NT scholars in the early part and middle of the twentieth century popularized this notion, claiming that Luke does not adhere to the theology of atonement in his work. In this

[60] The formulas and liturgical sequences illustrated in the table are from Tabory's reconstruction of the Paschal Meal in the *Mishnah*. Tabory, *JPS Commentary on the Haggadah*, 6. See also Nolland, *Luke 18:35-25:53*, 1048.

[61] Sayings of Jesus in (2) and (4) are taken from the *English Standard Bible* (ESV).

subsection, I will introduce theologians that represent contrasting perspectives, i.e., those who argue that there is no atonement in Luke and those who argue that there is, weighing the significance of each argument and the underlying data.[62] It is argued in this subsection that although the vicarious death of Christ is not explicitly demonstrated in Luke's two works, the critic cannot hastily conclude that there is no atonement theology in the Lukan Gospel just because the theology is in a latent state. Moreover, not only the third Gospel, but Luke's other work, the Acts of the Apostles, will also be taken into account to see whether Luke indeed lacks atonement theology or not.

The theological perspective that understands of the death of Christ as having no salvific effect can be observed from as early as the beginning of twentieth century in the work of Martin Dibellius. In his book, Dibellius asserts that Christ is the "model of innocent suffering," and concludes that the "literature of this view is that Luke presents the Passion as a martyrdom."[63] It is assumed by Dibellius that Luke anticipated that Christian readers would grasp his intention of portraying Jesus as a martyr as the idea of Jewish martyrdom was already prevalent among Christians and was illustrated in ancient texts, e.g., *Martyrdom of Isaiah* and the second and fourth book of *Maccabees*.[64] On the other hand, this century-old idea has been continuously challenged by NT scholarship.[65] Interpreting the meaning and the function of Christ's death in Luke is still an ongoing issue.

After illustrating how Luke extensively deals with the resurrection and the Messianic hope in his Gospel, Henry Cadbury suggests that the author of the Gospel puts little value on the significance of Christ's death.[66] Cadbury also notes that Luke omits (or does not use) the passages that imply atonement, e.g., Mk 10:45[67] and the shorter-ending of the Western reading of the Lukan eucharistic text.[68] However, Cadbury himself admits that Christ's death was indeed "at least necessary and according to Scripture and is associated by the risen Jesus."[69]

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62 This subsection that provides an overall survey of theologians and their views on Lukan atonement follows the structure already established by Greg Herrick, whose work brilliantly summarized the discussion on finding atonement in Luke-Acts. Greg Herrick, "The Atonement in Lucan Theology in Recent Discussion," *Bible.org* online 1995, https://bible.org/book/export/html/999. Originally, Herrick's online article was a part of his unpublished Master's thesis submitted to Dallas Theological Seminary in 1995 under the same title; see also Hermie C. van Zyl, "The Soteriological Meaning of Jesus' Death in Luke-Acts: A Survey of Possibilities," *Verbum et ecclesia* 23 (2002): 533-57.

63 Martin Dibellius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), 201. First published in German as *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1919).

64 Dibellius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, 201.

65 One of most recent studies is presented by Brian Tabb who argues that the death of Jesus portrayed in the Lukan Gospel bears resemblance to the death of the prophets, rather than that of a Jewish martyr. Still, no explanation is provided on the issue of Jesus' death having an atoning effect for humanity. See Brian J. Tabb, "Is the Lucan Jesus a 'Martyr'?" A Critical Assessment of a Scholarly Consensus," *CBQ* 77 (2015), 280-301.

66 Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 277-79; "The death of Jesus was an act of ignorant wickedness and rejection on the part of the Jews…The resurrection is therefore the significant thing about Jesus. His death is only the prelude." 280.

67 καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν.

68 Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 280.

69 Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 281.

In this context, if the death of Jesus was indeed necessary in completing God's salvation plan, why then should the idea of atonement be completely separated from Christ' death? Moreover, Cadbury's appeal of the omission vv. 19b-20 is faulty as the passage is a disputed text that functions as a double-edged sword; he will be proven wrong if Lk 22:19b-20 turns out to be an authentic Lukan text.

C. H. Dodd also proposes that the primitive teachings in Acts (or the so-called Jerusalem *kerygma*) differ from the Pauline *kerygma* as the former teachings do not understand the death of Christ as having an atoning effect.[70] It is assumed by Dodd that there is the possibility of Stephen and Philip being involved in developing the idea of the Christ as the Isaianic "Servant" in the Jerusalem *kerygma*, and that Paul may have been in contact with the newly advanced idea.[71] Richard Zehnle advises his readers to be wary of Dodd's analysis and conducts his own extensive research on how the life and death of Christ are essential in bringing salvation to mankind in the Lukan Gospel.[72]

Hans Conzelmann also agrees with those predecessors before him who have claimed or suggested that there seems to be no connection between forgiveness of sin and the death of Christ.[73] What is intriguing is that Conzelmann also acknowledges that the title "Christ," which frequently appears in the Book of Acts and is presumed to originate from a Lukan source, highlights the "connection between promise and fulfillment" and that the suffering of Christ seems to be an essential element of the title.[74] As mentioned earlier, one must wonder that if the death of Christ is necessary in order to bring about salvation, it would be rash to say that there can be no atonement in the Lukan Gospel.

On the other hand, there are those who are critical towards the view that there is no atonement theology in the third Gospel. Contrary to the popular view on Lukan atonement, I. Howard Marshall, inspired by the soteriology in the Old Testament, has spoken against the trend by arguing that sinners are redeemed by "virtue of Jesus' exaltation."[75] As glorified Lord, the exalted Jesus now has the power to forgive, "forgiveness" being a term that Luke uses to indicate salvation.[76] Marshall contends that this idea is the underlying reason why Luke's message conveys three unique traits: a) Jesus clearly states that the prophecy by "Moses and

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70 "The result of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ is the forgiveness of sins, but this forgiveness is not specifically connected with his death." in C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments* (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co.,1937), 32.

71 Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments*, 32-33. Cf. T. Bleiben, "The Gospel of Luke and the Gospel of Paul," *JTS* 45 (1944): 137-38.

72 Richard Zehnle, "The Salvific Character of Jesus' Death in Lucan Soteriology," *Theol. Stud* 30 (1969): 420-44.

73 Conzelmann first mentions that Lohmeyer has failed to fully grasp how Luke uses Acts 8:32 and 20:28, adding reasons why Luke does not advance the idea of atonement in his Gospel: a) Luke omits Mk 10:45, b) the notion of Christ bearing the cross and the use of παραδιδόναι are not associated with atonement either. Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), 201. First published in German as *Die Mitte der Zeit: Studien zur Theologie des Lukas* (BHT 17; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1954). See also Ernst Lohmeyer, "Vom urchristlichen Abendmahl," *Theologische Rundschau* 9 (1937): 195-227.

74 Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 171n2.

75 I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1970), 169.

76 Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 169.

the prophets" is about him,[77] the early Church having understood that Jesus is no ordinary Messiah, but the Lord Himself who forgives, b) the salvific effect of the name of Jesus in Acts reflects the OT notion of making connection between the name and the nature of a person, and c) according to Luke, Jesus brought salvation to those in dire need, even before his glorified state.[78] It is Marshall's understanding that Luke describes Jesus as the Isaianic "Suffering Servant" since the Greek term παῖς in Acts[79] alludes to Is 52:13 and 53:11, though it is not certain whether Luke consciously promoted the "Servant Soteriology" or just incorporated traditions that he acquired.[80]

In agreement with Marshall, Darrell Bock also detects the idea of atonement in the Book of Acts, expressed through allusions to the Old Testament. It is argued by Bock that scholars against seeing atonement in Luke fail to understand the theological implications of the three passages in Luke-Acts: Lk 22:37 (Jesus identified as the Servant), Lk 24:46-47 (the suffering of Christ that brings "repentance and forgiveness of sins") and Acts 20:28 (the significance of Christ's blood explained in an expiatory ambiance).[81] Bock also makes a very interesting reference to Geza Vermes when he notes the "appeal to Genesis" in Acts 3, Vermes having understood the Book of Acts as a work that adopted a "pre-Pauline Jewish Akedah theology," a theological perspective that regarded the sacrifice of Isaac as having relation to atonement.[82]

In a recently published doctoral dissertation, John Kimbell investigates the implicit allusions to atonement in Luke-Acts expressed in certain passages, and he introduces some intriguing new ideas unconnected with the typical Isaianic Servant Soteriology.[83] For Kimbell, the following theological themes in the Passion Narrative should be considered Luke's "literary indications" that convey the message of Jesus enduring the divine judgment for the sake of sinners: a) "Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane that God remove the 'cup' of his wrath," b) "The release of the guilty Barabbas in exchange for the condemnation of the innocent Jesus," c) "the salvation of the condemned, yet repentant criminal by the crucified, yet innocent Jesus" d) "the darkness at the cross, which signifies an occurrence of God's eschatological judgement" and e) "the rending of the temple veil, which points to the establishment of the new covenant and the end of

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[77] καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν διερμήνευσεν αὐτοῖς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. - Lk 24:27

[78] Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 169-70.

[79] Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30.

[80] Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 171-72.

[81] Darrell L. Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan Old Testament Christology* (JSNTSup 12; Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 338; n204. See also William J. Larkin, "Luke's Use of the Old Testament as a Key to His Soteriology," *JETS* 20 (1977): 325-35.

[82] "Moreover, the use of Genesis xxii. 18 in Acts iii is much better suited to its theological purpose than the somewhat twisted and confused argument in Galatians iii. Of the two, the interpretation given in Acts is the more straightforward and simple, reflecting positively the original scriptural evidence. This evidence, based on the theme of the Akedah, consequently appears to belong to the primitive Palestinian tradition of Christianity." In Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), 222 in Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern*, 194-96; 359; n132.

[83] The second chapter of Kimbell's work will not be considered as evidence for Lukan atonement as he uses the disputed text to prove his case.

the temple as God's ordained place of forgiveness."[84] It is the first and the last cases that are most appealing in building supporting evidence of atonement theology in the Lukan Gospel. According to Kimbell, the term ποτήριον in the Gethsemane Prayer, a Greek word symbolizing the divine wrath of God used in the literature "prior to and contemporary with" the third Gospel, is clearly a "metaphor for the wrath of God being carried out as a punishment for human wickedness and sin."[85] Regarding Luke's description of the "torn veil" of the Jerusalem Temple, Kimbell notes that the same word καταπέτασμα in Hebrews (Heb 6:19; 9:3; 10:20) is used to interpret the death of Christ as "the offering of an atoning sacrifice that provides for the new covenant forgiveness of sins."[86] However, despite the fact that Kimbell is able to note the literary allusions that point towards the vicarious death of Christ, there still seem to be no explicit statements of atonement theology in the Lukan Gospel.

The present subsection has briefly discussed the two contrasting views advanced by NT scholars. While it is true that Luke does not explicitly address the atoning effect of Christ's death as Mark does, it is also true that there is a tendency in the Lukan narratives to present the death of Jesus as a divine necessity that will bring about the forgiveness of sinners. On the other hand, while Luke's use of OT texts and Second Temple literature does seem to allude to the salvific effect of Jesus' death, it cannot be verified whether these allusions reflect the genuine intention of Luke or not. In conclusion, an implicit expression of atonement can be read in Luke-Acts, but it seems to have occupied only a meager part of Lukan theology. The relentless debate on whether there is the idea of atonement in Luke-Acts or not is an ongoing issue that seems unlikely to be resolved any time soon.

3.3. The Narrative behind the Textual Alteration in the Lukan Last Supper Account

As extensively illustrated in Chapter 1, it is the responsibility of the critic to provide an adequate explanation for the textual alteration. So why the omission of such a lengthy and important passage in the Lukan eucharistic text?[87] One cannot, of course, totally exclude the

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84 John Kimbell, *The Atonement in Lukan Theology* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), 59.

85 Kimbell refers to the following Second Temple texts that portray the "cup" as the act of bearing the wrath of God, e.g., Philo's *On the Unchangeableness of God*, XLII, *Psalms of Solomon* 8:13-14, and *Qumran Habakkuk Pesher* (1QpHab). Kimbell, *The Atonement in Lukan Theology*, 60-64.

86 Kimbell, *The Atonement in Lukan Theology*, 91. See also pp. 91-95 on how Kimbell justifies his intertextual understanding of "tearing of the temple veil" in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of Luke.

87 As an alternative approach to the Lukan textual dispute, O'Loughlin proposes that there were "two separate versions" made by Luke that conveyed different traditions of the Last Supper, so that in the later period (2nd or 3rd century CE) of canonization the editor who was concerned with uniformity decided to produce a longer reading. However, if we were to accept this hypothesis to be valid, there are certain issues to be first addressed. First, there is no evidence for multi-editions of the Third Gospel, and even if they existed, this does not contribute to understanding how vv. 19b-20 came into being. The omission of vv. 19b-20 in Lk 22 is a serious alteration since the theology that could be derived from the sayings of Jesus is profound enough for a doctrine on Christian soteriology to be formulated. If Luke did produce two different texts according to his needs or tradition, the shorter reading would then certainly be a flawed version. Thomas O'Loughlin, "One or Two Cups? The Text of Luke 22:17-20 Again," in *Liturgy and the Living Text of the New Testament: Papers from the Tenth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. Hugh A. G. Houghton (T&S 16. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2018), 51-69.

possibility of vv. 19b-20 being omitted unintentionally by the scribes. However, it seems improbable that scribes would simply fail to notice the omission of such a lengthy and theologically important text that marks the finale of the Last Supper.[88]

What remains then for the critic is the possibility of a conscious scribal activity that made an intentional alteration to the text for a specific purpose. A brief research history of the possible reasons for the omission of Lk 22:19b-20 was given in the first chapter, which also explained why these reasons set out by scholars were unsatisfactory despite their seemingly convincing ideas. The scholars mentioned in the first chapter advanced their ideas by putting emphasis on one particular motive as the reason for the textual alteration. However, considering the fact that no impactful textual alterations were made to parallel Last Supper accounts, e.g., Gospel of Mark (and Matthew) and First Corinthians, the reason for the deliberate alteration in Luke seems more complex. Before illustrating a possible narrative behind the omission of vv. 19b-20, the critic must first take into account the pattern of scribal habits in the Western readings that might have influenced the shaping of such a textual alteration.

3.3.1. Scribal Tendencies in the Western-Text Type

The Western readings in Luke-Acts are known to display distinct alterations when compared to other text-types, which might raise the question, "Is there a distinctive scribal tendency that can be observed in the texts belonging to the Western text-type?"[89] More precisely, the critic should pay attention to the Latin type (D, a, b, e, ff^2, i, l) of the Western text as suggested by Vaganay and Amphoux who understood that there were more than two types in the so-called Western text-type.[90] However, is it possible to infer a specific pattern of scribal activity that might prove beneficial in understanding the characteristics of Western variants? Is this even feasible? After all, only D represents the Greek reading in the Western tradition that shows distinctive textual traits when compared to the Alexandrian reading.[91] Such investigation would go beyond the scope of this thesis. It is therefore most practical to contemplate the previous studies that have defined the general characteristics of the Western variants.

Before Metzger, Sir Frederick Kenyon described the characteristics of the Western reading as involving "all forms-omissions, additions, and differences of wording, sometimes small,

[88] Although the alteration was not entirely unintentional in this theory, Salmon suggests a hypothetical scenario in which scribes, being constrained by the limited space of the papyrus, might have compressed the end of Luke-Acts. George Salmon, *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Ltd., 1897), 100 in Monks, "The Lucan Account of the Last Supper," 255. The intentionality or otherwise of the textual alteration will be further discussed in the next subsection 3.3.2. "Harmonization of the 'institution narrative'" that deals with the scribal practice of "harmonization" of parallel texts.

[89] As extensively discussed in subsection 2.2.1. in Chapter 2, "Western text-type" is an outdated nomenclature that needs an alternative terminology to properly reflect the characteristics of its categorization. Other terms suggested by textual scholars are e.g., "D-Text Cluster" (Epp) and "Bezan Trajectory" (Gäbel). However, given the circumstance that the conventional use of the term "Western" is familiar even to those who are not acquainted with the discipline of textual criticism, the thesis will stick to the traditional term.

[90] Vaganay and Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, 110

[91] Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition: Acts 13.1-18.23* (LNTS 365; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 1.

sometimes considerable."[92] Similar to Kenyon, Metzger defines the characteristic of the text-type as "love of paraphrase, resulting in clearly secondary features of addition, omission, substitution, and 'improvement' of one kind or another."[93] The lengthy omission of vv. 19b-20 does seem to conform to the description of the textual features of the Western reading, although this phenomenon does not reveal much about the reason for the scribal activity in the Lukan eucharistic text. This, of course, further requires an investigation by comparing the Lukan text with other parallel passages that narrates their own version of the Last Supper account.

3.3.2. Harmonization of the "Institution Narrative"

Earlier in the second chapter of the thesis, it was briefly noted that the various readings of the Lukan Last Supper account reflect scribal concern about the additional appearance of the cup.[94] This concern seems to have resulted in the "harmonization" of the text, a scribal practice that can often be observed in the texts of the Synoptic Gospels due to the "overlapping content and stylistic similarity" between Matthew, Mark and Luke.[95] Kurt and Barbara Aland indicate that "harmonization" could be intentional as scribes would have been seriously confused about parallel passages in the Synoptics being different from each other since "it was impossible that sacred texts should not be in agreement" for them.[96] Cambry Pardee suggests the following conditions for determining whether harmonization was intentional or not.[97]

> a) A scribe may be judged to have intentionally harmonized his manuscript if the readings he has created form a consistent pattern of harmonistic alteration.
> b) Harmonization on an extensive scale may be judged to be deliberate.
> c) When a reading arises as a result of dogmatic sympathies or apologetic interests, that reading may be judged to be deliberate.

While the first criterion demands extensive research on the scribal tendency of the Western (Latin) reading of the Lukan Gospel, the omission of vv. 19b-20 fits well with the second category, and also with the third as will be extensively discussed in the following subsection. It is therefore safe to say for the critics that the omission of these two verses is indeed intentional, and that this intention was driven by a certain motive. So, what exactly was the (offensive) element in vv. 19b-20 that triggered the scribes to take out this lengthy passage in the Lukan Passion Narrative? Perhaps the "bread-cup" liturgy performed by Christ during the

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92 Frederic G. Kenyon, *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 12.
93 Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 308
94 It is the hypothesis of Monks that the Western world's ignorance of Jewish rituals and customs in ceremonies and festivals might have induced scribes to eliminate one of the cups in the "institution narrative" as a solution. Monks, "The Lucan Account of the Last Supper," 253-54.
95 Pardee mentions the following cases of such harmonization within the Synoptic Gospels: a) substitution, b), addition, c) omission and d) transposition. Pardee, *Scribal Harmonization in the Synoptic Gospels*, 2.
96 Aland and Aland, Text of the New Testament, 290.
97 Pardee, *Scribal Harmonization in the Synoptic Gospels*, 9-10.

meal? But if the scribes were concerned about the liturgical formula, why does the Western reading attest to the "cup-bread" sequence by removing the second cup instead of the first? Therefore, the critic is compelled to conclude that it was not only the ritual formula that the scribes were concerned about; there must have been another reason.

3.3.3. Theological Interpretation: Resisting Limited Atonement

Then why the deliberate alteration? What induced the scribes to make such an extensive textual change in the Lukan Last Supper account? The answer becomes clearer when the Lukan text is compared with the Markan parallel, and the critic may soon realize that there is a difference between the two Last Supper accounts regarding the final words of Jesus that explains the purpose of the gathering.

Figure 3. A Comparison Between Mark and Luke on the Last Supper Account

Mk 14:22-24	Lk 22:19-20
v. 22 Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν· λάβετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	v. 19 καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον·τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
v. 23 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. v. 24 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.	v. 20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

Not only is the "institution command" missing in Mark, but the characteristics of the covenant are also different, since the Markan text speaks of τοῦτό ἐστιν *τὸ αἷμά μου* τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* (This is my *blood* of covenant poured out for *many*) while the Lukan account states τοῦτο *τὸ ποτήριον* ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* ἐκχυννόμενον (This *cup* is the new covenant in my blood poured out for *you*). The differences between these two texts are first a) the subject (blood vs. cup) and then b) the object (for many vs. for you).

Considering that the "cup" is the subject in the Lukan text, the ambiance of the account is consistent with the Paschal meal theme while the Markan subject "blood" marks the grand finale of the salvation history. Most intriguingly, the difference between the two texts regarding the covenant is that the Lukan account gives the impression of "limited atonement" as Luke draws a boundary regarding the scope of the covenant and its participants. On the other hand, Mark speaks of general atonement, a once-and-for-all salvation, as the blood of Christ is poured out for "the many." Perhaps it was this difference that would have offended scribes as they considered the Lukan phrase ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν to be cultic when compared to the universal ὑπὲρ πολλῶν in Mark. Indeed, the Markan statement about the covenant is more appropriate as a typical feature of a universal religion while Luke gives a cultic impression on salvation.

The hypothesis is not just mere speculation. Adam Winn indicates that Jesus is portrayed as an "ideal benefactor" like the Roman emperor in the Markan Last Supper account, and its readers, coming from a Roman background, would have perceived the superiority of Jesus when compared to Vespasian.[98] Jesus, according to Mk 10:45; 14:24, is not only a physical benefactor, but a spiritual benefactor whose death brings atonement "for many" as he surrenders his life for his "subjects" on earth.[99] Winn's theory is further supported by Brian Incigneri as he believes that the narratives of the Markan Gospel target the persecutions against the readers in Rome.[100] The triumphant victory of Vespasian in contrast to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple marked a new era of Rome, and this social climate played a pivotal role in the making of the Markan Gospel.[101] Incigneri also points out that Mark was careful to depict Jesus as the true savior in contrast to Vespasian without attaching any political implications to Christ in order to avoid unnecessary misunderstandings.[102]

Such theological propaganda by Mark against the Roman imperial theology would have been recognized by many. It is a likely scenario that scribes, in order to strengthen Mark's message, omitted the theological statements by Luke despite their theological significance as they perceived it to be a stumbling block for Mark's message.[103] Such alterations would have been justified by the scribes as "faithful interpretations" (as extensively demonstrated by Kannaday), since those who were unfamiliar with the additional cup might have felt that they were correcting the corrupted (or interpolated) text by taking out the second cup and its disturbing message.

This hypothesis gains greater support when the sayings of Jesus in the Lukan Last Supper account are compared with the Pauline account in First Corinthians as below.

Figure 4. A Comparison Between Paul and Luke on the Last Supper Account

1 Cor 11:25	Lk 22:19-20
v. 25 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν	v. 20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

While the logion in these two statements is almost identical, the Pauline formula does not include the phrase τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. This difference further strengthens my theory as both the Pauline and Markan eucharistic text are free from considerable textual alterations. In short, it is probable that scribes omitted vv. 19b-20 as they would rather have an ordinary meal than a

98 Adam Winn, *The Purpose of Mark's Gospel: An Early Christian Response to Roman Imperial Propaganda* (WUNT 2/245; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 186-87.

99 Winn, *The Purpose of Mark's Gospel*, 187.

100 Brian J. Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans: The Setting and Rhetoric of Mark's Gospel* (BIS 65; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), 156. For the historical development of the scholarly research on the purpose of the Markan Gospel, see Hendrika N. Roskam, *The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark in its Historical and Social Context* (NovTSup 114; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 2-11.

101 Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans*, 162-67.

102 Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans*, 168; see also pp. 169-72 on how Mark consciously tells his Jesus story as a counter-response to "Vespasian propaganda."

103 On the discussion of the anti-imperial reading of Luke-Acts and its counter-responses, see Seyoon Kim, *Christ and Caesar: The Gospel and the Roman Empire in the Writings of Paul and Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 2008).

hindrance to the powerful message of universal salvation in Mark. In further support of the hypothesis, the following subsection will look into the historical context of the scribal alteration of Lk 22:19b-20, investigating the religious atmosphere of the Roman empire and the success behind the early Christian movement.[104]

3.3.4. Early Christianity in the Second-Century Greco-Roman World

Given the probable date of the third Gospel in the late first century, it can be speculated that the textual alteration in the Lukan "institution narrative" probably occurred between the second and fourth. It is likely that the omission took place in the second century since most of the alterations occurred before the canonization in the fourth century as generally agreed by textual critics, the task of the scribes being limited to copying after the 4th century CE. It is likely that the scribes, when they were making their "faithful interpretations," would have reflected in their alterations the essence of their belief. Considering that the Western reading circulated around the regions of old Italy, it must be part of the theological agenda in the second century Roman Empire that induced Christian scribes to promote their belief by changing the text. However, apart from the fact that its religions were polytheistic, what was the religious environment in the Empire like?

By the first century, the imperial theology of Rome was a foundation for its political legitimacy and was ardently promoted by the ruling classes of the society. Warren Carter summarizes the essence of imperial theology as: a) Rome was chosen by the gods, b) the rulers and the Empire are media of the gods' will that is manifested among men, and c) only those who accept the rule of Rome are able to partake in the divine gifts of the Empire.[105] Furthermore, before the emergence of Christianity, there was a desire for a new religion that "could create enthusiasm and satisfy love," which eventually led to a focus on the theme of "forgiveness" (pardon).[106] Various clubs and associations that were gathered within this purpose began to replace the "cold formalism of the official religion" with the enthusiasm coming from the members of religious society.[107] In the end, however, it was Christianity alone that was able to consolidate itself as "the Church" amidst the diverse religions and philosophies of the Empire, with its acclaimed benevolence to the poor and the socially marginalized.[108] So, how did Christianity not only manage to survive the severe persecution of Rome, but gain dominance over the Empire?

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[104] "It has become an axiom that no religious movement can be adequately interpreted apart from its historic setting. Hence Biblical research tends more and more to stress the contact of Christianity with the age in which it arose." In Henry G. Meecham, *The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949), 1.

[105] Warren Carter, *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2006), 83. See also pp. 85-99 on how Carter interprets the writings of Biblical authors as a rhetoric against the Roman Empire. See also David Nystrom, "We Have No King But Caesar: Roman Imperial Ideology and Imperial Cult," in *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies*, ed. Scot McKnight and Joseph B. Modica (Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Academic, 2013), 24-36.

[106] William E. Addis, *Christianity and the Roman Empire* (London: Sunday School Association, 1893), 17-18.

[107] Addis, *Christianity and the Roman Empire*, 19.

[108] Addis, *Christianity and the Roman Empire*, 196-97.

An interesting theory is advanced by Leif Vaage when he asserts that the gradual dominance of Christianity in the Roman Empire was possible due to its "resistance against the Roman rule," which established itself on the "expressly political tenor of earliest Christianity's various offer of salvation."[109] Vaage points out that certain words and phrases in NT literature are "rooted in the conventional rhetoric of Roman hegemony," demonstrating extensively how Biblical authors use their language to invite comparison with the Roman imperial ideology.[110] Evidently, early Christianity was in rivalry with the Roman imperial theology.

The second century, according to Larry Hurtado, is the era that marks a transition of leadership in which Gentile converts succeeded the Jewish Christians leaders and Christianity began to present itself to the outside world as a distinct religion of its own.[111] Hurtado refers to the works of Hargis and Bernard, which indicate that the Christian movement became a concern for the Roman ruling classes and that by the end of the second century, Christian literature with apologetic concerns was flourishing, striving to overcome the polytheistic religions of the Empire.[112] Christoph Markschies also acknowledges the phenomenon that Christian communities in the second century regarded their religion as the "true philosophy," an awareness evidenced in the works of Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria.[113] This phenomenon is summarized in the words of Markschies as follows.[114]

> The emergence of a "theology" would then be the direct consequence of the Christian claim to absoluteness, which through the universalizing of Jewish monotheism was advocated in the communities at the latest after the death of Jesus.

Consequently, it seems obvious that the second century is the era of early Christianity asserting itself as the "one and only" religion against other pagan religions and Greek philosophy. It is natural to assume that Christian apologists were conscious of this religious context of the Roman Empire, which must have influenced the shaping of Christian theology. Therefore, when the scribes encountered the confusing liturgical formula ("cup-bread-cup") and the disturbing message (limited atonement) of the Lukan eucharistic text, they decided to correct the passage so that the text could facilitate their theological propaganda. To the scribes, Christianity had to offer greater benefits as a universal religion far better than other religions, especially on the issue of salvation. As such, Christianity strived to establish soteriological

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[109] Leif E. Vaage, "Why Christianity Succeeded (in) the Roman Empire," in *Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity*, ed. Leif E. Vaage (ESCJ 18; Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2006), 254.

[110] Vaage, "Why Christianity Succeeded (in) the Roman Empire," 255-57; 260-77.

[111] Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003), 488.

[112] Jeffrey W. Hargis, *Against the Christians: The Rise of Early Anti-Christian Polemic* (Patristic Studies 1; New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 15; L. W. Barnard, *Athenagoras: A Study in Second Century Christian Apologetic* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972), 11-12 in Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 489-91.

[113] Christoph Markschies, *Christian Theology and Its Institutions in the Early Roman Empire: Prolegomena to a History of Early Christian Theology*, trans. Wayne Coppins (BMSEC 3; Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2015) 18.

[114] Markschies, *Christian Theology and Its Institutions in the Early Roman Empire*, 20.

superiority among various religions while refuting the philosophical claims of scholars from a Hellenistic background. It would thus have been imperative for the scribes to emphasize the message of universal salvation that is proclaimed in Mark by taking out the cultic salvation in Lk 22:19b-20.

3.5. Conclusion

In the third chapter of the thesis, we have discussed the arguments made by the "shorter-reading" advocates who concluded that Lk 22:19b-20 is an interpolation on the grounds that the linguistic and theological features of vv. 19b-20 do not seem to harmonize with other Lukan texts. However, an in-depth analysis of the Last Supper account demonstrated that the stylistic discrepancies observable in the "institution narrative" are due to the author's use of an independent tradition that was already circulating among early Christian churches, and probably originated from Antioch.

As Petzer has demonstrated in his article, the linguistic features of the eucharistic text are alien not only to Luke, but to Mark and Matthew as well. Rather, the Greek term διαθήκη (including the verb διατίθημι) is a meaningful term that only Luke among the Synoptic writers employs in his texts (Lk 1:72; 22:29x2; Acts 3:25x2; 7:8), whereas the word διαθήκη is a *hapax legomenon* in the other Synoptic Gospels. Even if Luke did not use a different tradition but used only Mark for his Last Supper account, it is unlikely for this "covenant conscious" author to omit this specific vocabulary when he referred to Mk 14:24, considering the fact that the term "covenant" has a special place for Luke.

In regard to the theological disposition of Luke, it seems difficult to accept that the idea of atonement is a notion that the author explicitly expresses in his texts, because there the reader can only read implicit allusions to salvation in the suffering and death of Jesus. However, it would also be a radical judgement to conclude that there is no atonement theology in Luke, since the author of the third Gospel does emphasize the death of Christ to be a necessary step before forgiveness can be granted to sinners. Atonement theology in the Lukan Gospel is in a latent state, making it extremely difficult for critics to establish their argument either for or against the disputed verses of vv. 19b-20. It would be wise for the critics not to overstate a matter that remains hidden to its readers.

So, what might have induced the scribes to take out such a lengthy and theologically significant passage in the Last Supper account? First, scribes who were unfamiliar with the Antiochian tradition of the Eucharist would have been confused by the appearance of the additional cup. However, the reason for eliminating the second cup instead of the first indicates that scribes were concerned not just about the liturgical sequence, but also about the message and the content of vv.19b-20. What might have offended the scribes such that they took out the passage in the Lukan Passion narrative? This question may be solved by comparing the three traditions of the Last Supper in the NT Bible.

Then how does Luke differ from other eucharistic texts? When compared to the First Epistle to the Corinthians and the Gospel of Mark, Luke grants limited membership of the covenant. The "New Covenant" is said to be "for you," while in Mark, the blood is spilled for "the many" and Paul does not mention for whom the covenant is established. Such a limited scope of salvation in the Lukan eucharistic text would have been an obstacle when the early believers had to battle against Roman imperial theology, unlike Mark who opens the gate to salvation. This hypothesis is further supported by the historical context of the scribal alteration in which second-century Christianity strived to establish superiority against Roman imperial theology and the pagan religions as a both absolute and universal religion.

On the other hand, one might also raise a question on the scope of the alteration. Why did the scribes excise vv. 19b-20 in their entirety instead of simply removing τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν in the Lukan "institution narrative"? The question should be addressed in a manner that considers the multi-dimensional aspect of this scribal alteration. As previously mentioned, scribes failed to understand the appearance of an additional cup and at the same time perceived the message of salvation in the passage to be too narrow. In order to eliminate these problematic elements, the scribes decided to harmonize the text with both Markan and Matthean parallels by taking out the second cup instead of the first since Jesus' saying on the covenant and its partakers did not seem "theologically appealing" to non-believers. But what about the omission of the latter half of v 19? It is possible that scribes chose to remove the "institution command" so that the text resembles the Markan text and at the same time becomes a description of an ordinary meal before the crucifixion.

In conclusion, it seems that scribes, rather than making precise surgical emendations so that the text could resemble more the Markan Last Supper account, erased a sizeable passage that was incomprehensible to them. Perhaps the scribes felt that taking out disturbing passages was more "faithful" than rewriting the narrative itself, as the former scribal activity could be judged heretical.

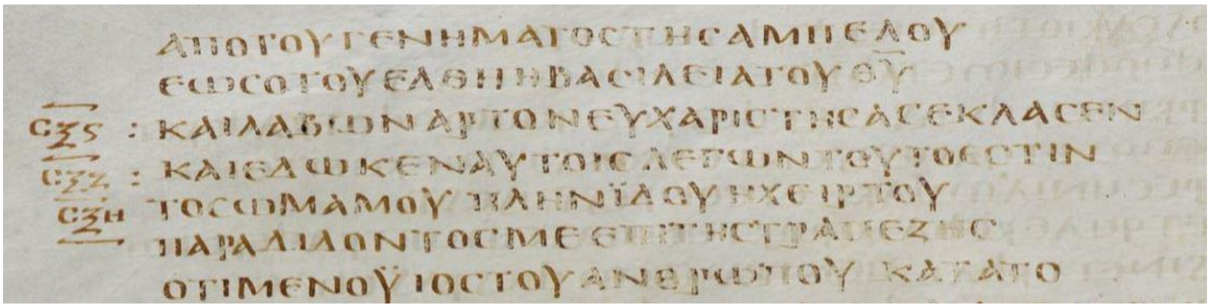
Appendix I[115]

Mk 14:22-25	1 Cor 11:23-26	Lk 22:14-20
v. 22 Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν	v. 23 Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδετο	v. 14 Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα, ἀνέπεσεν καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ. v. 15 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν· v. 16 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. v. 17 καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν· λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς· v. 18 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, [ὅτι] οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.
λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν· λάβετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	ἔλαβεν ἄρτον v. 24 καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	v. 19 καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
v. 23 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. v. 24 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.	v. 25 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.	v. 20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.
v. 25 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.		(v. 18 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, [ὅτι] οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.)

[115] Greek NT texts taken from Aland, Barbara, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini and Bruce M. Metzger, eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece 28th Edition* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

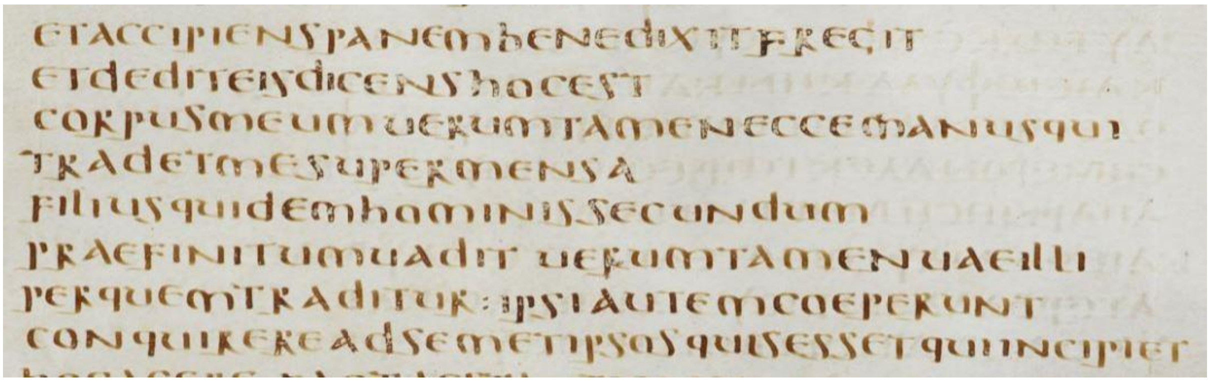
Appendix II[116]

• Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (Greek)



v. 19a καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου (vv. 19b-20 omitted) v. 21 πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης.

• Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (Latin, 253)



v. 19 et accipiens panem benedixit fregit et dedit eis dicens hoc est (vv. 19b-20 omitted) v. 21 corpus meum uerumtamen ecce manus qui tradet me super mensa[117]

[116] All digital images taken from "The Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts" (CSNTM). https://manuscripts.csntm.org/

[117] The Latin transcription is from Frederick H. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis: Being an Exact Copy, in Ordinary Type, of the Celebrated Uncial Graeco-Latin Manuscript of the Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, Written early in the Sixth century, and Presented to the University of Cambridge by Theodore Beza, A.D. 1581* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1864), 250.

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