

A Textual Commentary

on the

Greek Gospels

Vol. 4b

The Pericope de Adultera: Jo 7:53 - 8:11
(Jesus and the Adulteress)

BY

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Latest variant:

*... and Jesus asked his mother to leave the place for a few minutes.
And then he said: "Let the one without sin cast the first stone"...*

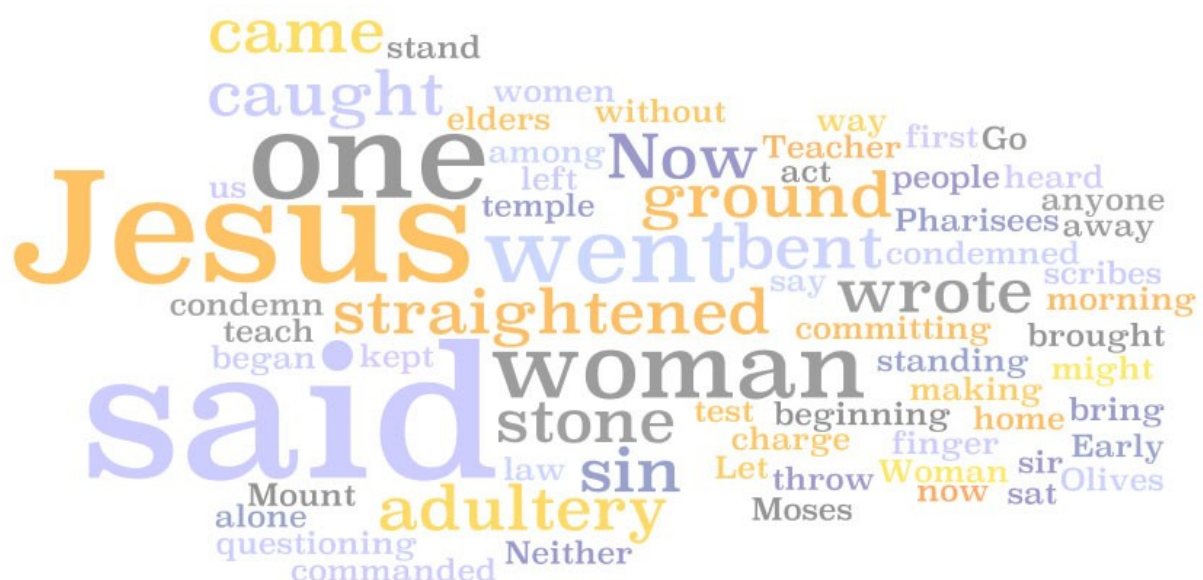
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Florence, Laurenziana cod. Plut, VI, 23 (= Greg.-Aland 187), fol. 184v

7:53 Then each of them went home,
8:1 while Jesus went to the Mount of Olives. 2 Early in the morning he came again to the temple. All the people came to him and he sat down and began to teach them. 3 The scribes and the Pharisees brought a woman who had been caught in adultery; and making her stand before all of them, 4 they said to him, "Teacher, this woman was caught in the very act of committing adultery. 5 Now in the law Moses commanded us to stone such women. Now what do you say?" 6 They said this to test him, so that they might have some charge to bring against him. Jesus bent down and wrote with his finger on the ground. 7 When they kept on questioning him, he straightened up and said to them, "Let anyone among you who is without sin be the first to throw a stone at her." 8 And once again he bent down and wrote on the ground. 9 When they heard it, they went away, one by one, beginning with the elders; and Jesus was left alone with the woman standing before him. 10 Jesus straightened up and said to her, "Woman, where are they? Has no one condemned you?" 11 She said, "No one, sir." And Jesus said, "Neither do I condemn you. Go your way, and from now on do not sin again." [NRS]



The manuscript evidence

T&T #100

omit: P66, P75, 01, A^{vid}, B, C^{vid}, L, N, T, W, X, Y, Δ, Θ, Ψ, 070^{vid}, 0141, 0211, 22, 33, 157, 213, 397, 713, 799, 821, 849, 865, 1241, 1424, pm²⁶⁰, it(a, f, l*, q), Sy, sa, bo^{pt}, pbo, ac², arm^{mss}, geo^{mss}, aeth, goth, Ir, Cl, Or, Chrys, Tert, Cyp, Hier^{mss}, Aug^{mss}

Lacuna: P45, A, C, 070 (but from space considerations it is improbable that they contained the text.)

txt Uncials: 5th: D, d, e

6th, 7th: Old Latin, Greek Alex. MSS^{acc. to Syriac scholia}

8th: E, (L), 047³⁻¹¹, 0233

9th: F^(lac), G, H, K, Π^(lac), M, U, V, (Δ), Λ, Ω

10th: S, Γ

(f1), (f13), 28, (565), 579, 700, 892, 1071, Maj¹³⁵⁰ + ca. 470 Lectionaries

Lat(aur, b?, c, d, e, ff²(omits verse 53), j, l^c, r¹, vg), Sy-Pal, bo^{pt},

Hier^{mss, 4th CE}, Ambrose^{4th CE}, Pacian^{4th CE}, Aug^{5th CE}, **Bois**

- Codex L^{8th} and Δ^{9th} both have a large space after 7:52, indicating knowledge of the PA.
- MS 047 omits verses 7:53 - 8:2.
- pc¹⁸ omit 8:3 - 11 only
- F has a lacuna from 7:28 up to 8:10 (it starts here with πλῆν).
- Π has a lacuna from 8:6 (it ends with κάτω) to 8:44.
- 0233 is a palimpsest (Muenster): M. Robinson notes that the PA portion is basically impossible to read, even under UV light.
- The following manuscripts have the passage with obeli:
E, M, S, Λ, Π, Ω, 1424^{mg}, pm²⁷⁰

B: umlaut (1361 C 3 R)

52 ... προφήτης οὐκ ἐγείρεται. 8:12 Πάλιν οὖν ...

Additional umlaut at the end of Jo (1382 A 33 L)

On Sept. 12th 2006 M. Robinson notes on the ETC blog:

"Klaus Wachtel, Ivo Tamm and I jointly had gone over the T&T listing during its pre-publication state, in order to weed out errors and to make certain that we were on the same track. I can say that 43 additional MSS containing the PA were collated at the INTF during the Spring of 2005. If these are added to my lectionary log total, the number of MSS + lectionaries that contain the PA is at least 1350+43+470 = 1863 total MSS (there are somewhat more than 280 continuous-text MSS that do not include the PA (excluding lectionaries, where the PA only appears sporadically, when certain specified saints happen to be honored therein)."

The following manuscripts have the PA at other positions in the NT:

- f1, 565, al²³ at the end of Jo (of f1 only 1, 565, 1582 and 2193 have it at the end of Jo, 118 et al. have it here at 7:52)
- f13, 1434 post Lk 21:38, (but 174, 230, 1689 only in John!)
- 225, 1128 post Jo 7:36
- al¹⁷ post Jo 8:12
- 2691 post Jo 8:14a
- 981 post Jo 8:20
- geo^{mss} post Jo 7:44
- 1333 between Lk and Jo. M. Robinson Oct. 2002 on the TC list: "Lk ends on one page bottom, recto, with 5 lines left empty (leaf 148). Next page (verso of leaf 148) contains the pericope complete before the list of kephalaia for Jn. It is written in a darker ink, but not necessarily by a different scribe, since there are a number of similarities to the style of the opening segment of John which follows. The title of the PA page reads EUa EIS T> K/ TOU OKTWs Tu OSias PELAGIAS (= the lectionary reading for Pelagia, Oct 8th). Also, the PA is written in 2 cols., 26 ll per page, as in the rest of the MS. In the main text of John, the PA is not present. However, in loc. 7:53 there is a stylized cross at the end of 7:52, and written in the margin between columns is something regarding "... Η ΠΕΡΙΚΟΠΗ ΤΟΥ ... ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ", part of which was not decipherable."
Robinson adds in 2008 on the ETC blog: "In addition, the PA, as included on this separate leaf, is clearly labeled as EK TOU KATA I(WANN)W."

In Family 1 there is an abnormally long space between Jn 7:52 and 8:12 in the text. The pericope itself is added at the end of the Gospel of John after the following statement: (from 1582)

τὸ περὶ τῆς μοιχαλίδος κεφάλαιον·

Ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀντιγράφοις μὴ κείμενον· μὴ δὲ παρὰ τῶν θείων πατέρων τῶν ἐρμηνευσάντων μνημονευθὲν. φημὶ δὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ κυρίλλου ἀλεξανδρείας· οὐ δὲ μὴν ὑπὸ θεοδώρου μώψου ἐστίας. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν παρέλειψα κατὰ τὸν τόπον· κεῖται δὲ οὕτως. μετ' ὀλίγα τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πατρὸς κεφαλαίου· ἐξῆς του (Jo 7:52) ἐρέυνησον καὶ ἴδε ὅτι προφήτης ἐκ τῆς γαλιλαίας οὐκ ἐγείρεται· Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ...

The comment has been written by the original scribe Ephraim (10th CE). The text of 1582, as well as 1739 is closely related to Origen/Caesarea. The archetype has been assigned to the late 5th CE.

1582: The last part of the PA has been supplied by a different hand. The last original page extant ends with 8:7 ὁ ἀναμάρτη-. On the next page the rest of the text has been supplied from a different text type.

565:

Note that 565 is a member of f1 in John. Maurice Robinson comments:

"The PA text of 565 is now completely lacking, with only the beginning of a faded introduction to the PA being present (this introduction appears similar to what appears in MS 1). The last page is missing (or never was completed; the microfilm only goes to the point described. But I suspect no unfilmed blank page follows, or such would have been stated by earlier researchers, particularly Belsheim."

T&T list 565 for the omission. Klaus Witte checked the film and writes: "ms 565 hat am ende von jo. teile der perikope". This is not exactly right. It has the intro to that passage only.

Burkitt ("Two lectures on the Gospels", 1901, Note 1, p. 83) is giving this text:

Τὸ περὶ μοιχαλίδος κεφάλαιον ἐν τῷ παρὰ Ἰωάννου εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς ἐν τοῖς νῦν ἀντιγράφοις μὴ κείμενον παρέλειψα· κατὰ τὸν τόπον δὲ κεῖται οὕτως ἑξῆς τοῦ οὐκ ἐγγέρται.

The reading can be seen on the film though it is very hard to decipher.

Comment in 1006:

In the minuscule MS 1006 (11th CE) we find the following strange marginal note:

το κεφάλαιον τουτο του κατα θωμαν ευαγγελιου εστιν.

Perhaps the scribe meant Εβραίου εὐαγγελίου ? Becker and Lührmann suggest a different Gospel of Thomas.

"Umlauts" in Codex Vaticanus:

Codex B does not contain the PA.

The codex contains textcritical symbols, so called umlauts, double-dots, of unknown age. There are two of these umlauts that can be associated with the PA. The first is next to the line which has the end of Jo 7:52. It is possible that the umlaut indicates the missing PA. On the other hand this umlaut may equally well indicate the word-order variant at this position, where B reads:

ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας προφήτης οὐκ ἐγγέρται but the Byzantine majority: προφήτης ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας οὐκ ἐγγέρται.

Another umlaut is found at the end of Jo, roughly in the middle of the free space beneath the colophon. It is not clear what this means. It is in principle possible that this indicates the PA, too.

It is very difficult to evaluate this evidence, because currently there is no consensus as to the age of these umlauts. It is in principle possible that they are as old as the codex.

For detailed information on the umlauts, please check:

willker.de/wie/Vaticanus/index.html

Codex W/032:

This codex has a blank page (recto+verso blank) between the end of the Gospel of John and the beginning of the Gospel of Luke. No such space appears between Mt and Jo or between Lk and Mk. It is possible that this indicates knowledge of the PA.

On the manuscripts with lacunae:

The following manuscripts have lacunae at the PA, but from space calculations the existence or non-existence of the PA can be deduced:

b: The relevant sheet is missing from the codex now, but it is probable that the MS had the PA originally (so Buchanan in the ed.pr.).

P45: TC Skeat makes a reconstruction of the codex and concludes that it is "highly unlikely" that it contained the PA (reference see below).

A: lacuna 6:50-8:52 (Tregelles 1854 noted omission)

A has a lacuna from 6:50-8:52a. It is certain that A did not contain the PA. I have made a reconstruction of this from Robinson's Byzantine text with nomina sacra. It fits the space exactly without the PA (+ 1,5 lines) taking into account the following phenomenon: Some people noted that at the beginning of the first existing folio two extra lines in slightly smaller letters have been added and speculated about its implications for the contents of the lost folios. But there is a simple explanation: A* omitted Jo 8:52 due to homoioteleuton: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα - εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. A scribe added the missing verse in part at the bottom of the last missing page and in part on top of the first existing page. M. Robinson concurs with this view.

C: lacuna 7:3-8:34 (calculated by Tischendorf, see ed. pr. p. 31)

070 has Jo 7:42-8:12 in Coptic without the PA. The Greek runs from 7:3-12 and 8:13-22.

The earliest quotations

2nd CE:

- **Papias (125 CE):** Eusebius writes in his church history (III, 39): ... ἐκτέθεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. "He [Papias] also notes another story about a woman, who has been accused of many sins before the Lord, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains."
- **Protogospel of James:** A case has been made by Becker and later W. Petersen, that the author of the Protogospel of James (early 2nd CE) knew a Gospel of John which contained the PA. Note the phrase (16.2): ... οὐδὲ ἐγὼ κρίνω ὑμᾶς. But this is not compelling. The phrase is not peculiar enough to draw this conclusion. Compare: Petersen, William L. "Oude egw se [kata]krinw. John 8:11, the Protevangelium Iacobi, and the History of the Pericope Adulterae." In William L. Petersen et al. eds., "Sayings of Jesus: Canonical and Non-Canonical: Essays in Honour of Tjitze Baarda". Leiden: Brill, 1997, 191-221.

3rd CE:

- **Didascalia Apostolorum** (3rd CE, ch. 7, translated from Syriac, Codex Sangermanensis (MS Syr 62 of the Bib. Nationale, 8th or 9th CE): "do as he also did with her that had sinned, whom the elders set before him, and leaving the judgment in his hands, departed. But he, the searcher of hearts, asked her and said to her: 'Have the elders condemned you, my daughter?' She says to him: 'Nay, Lord.' And he said to her: 'Go your way: neither do I condemn you.' "

4th CE:

- **Ambrose** (338-397, c. 374, several times, e.g. Epistle 25,7): "Recedentibus ergo illis, remansit solus Jesus, et elevans caput ad mulierem, ait: 'Ubi sunt, qui te accusabant? Nemo te lapidavit? Et illa respondit: Nemo. Dicit ei Jesus: Nec ego te damnabo. Vade, et vide amodo ne pecces.' "
Epistle 26,2: "Ac semper quidem decantata quaestio, et celebris absolutio fuit mulieris ejus, quae in libro Evangelii quod secundum Joannem scribitur, adulterii rea oblata est Christo. Id enim Judaeorum commentata est tergiversatio, ut si contra legem absolveretur, contra legem probata Domini Jesu sententia tenerentur; si autem damnata esset ex lege, vacare Christi videratur gratia."

- **Ambrosiaster** (366-384, "Quaestiones ex Utroque Mixtim - CII: Contra Novatianum", PL Migne Vol. 35, 2303): "dominus autem oblatae sibi meretrici pepercit, ei videlicet quam in adulterio se deprehendisse majores judaeorum dixerunt; ut quia pia praedicatio incoeperat, non condemnandum, sed ignoscendum doceret". [anonymous work, assigned to Augustinus in earlier times, but now considered to be by Ambrosiaster.]
- **Pacian of Barcelona** (c. 370-390, Epistle 3, 39, PL 13:1077): "Nolite in Evangelio legere quod pepercerit Dominus etiam adulterae confitenti, quam nemo damnarat." ["Why delay ye, O Novatians, to ask eye for eye, tooth for tooth, to demand life for life, to renew once more the practice of circumcision and the sabbath? Put to death the thief. Stone the petulant. Choose not to read in the Gospel that the Lord spared even the adulteress who confessed, when none had condemned her."]
- **Apostolic Constitutions**, based on the Didascalia (c. 380 CE, book 2, ch. 24): και αλλη τινι αμαρτωλω γυναικι λεγει, Αφεωνται σου αι αμαρτιται αι πολλαι, οτι ηγαπησας πολυ. Ετεραν δε τινα ημαρτηκυιαν εστησαν οι πρεσβυτεροι εμπροσθεν αυτου, και επ' αυτω θεμενοι την κρισιν εξηλθον. ο δε καρδιογνωστης Κυριος, πυθομενος αυτης, ει κατεκριναν αυτην οι πρεσβυτεροι, και ειπουσης οτι ου. ειπεν προς αυτην, Υπαγε, ουδε εγω σε κατακρινω. ["He says also to another, a woman that was a sinner: 'Your sins, which are many, are forgiven, for you lovest much.' (Lk 7:47) And when the elders had set another woman which had sinned before him, and had left the sentence to him, and were gone out, our Lord, the searcher of the hearts, inquiring of her whether the elders had condemned her, and being answered No, he said unto her: 'Go your way therefore, for neither do I condemn you.' "]
- **Didymus the Blind** († 398): φερομεν ουν εν τισιν ευαγγελιοις· γυνη, φησιν κατακριθη υπο των Ιουδαιων επι αμαρτια και απεστελλετο λιθοβοληθηναι εις τον τοπον, οπου ειωθει γινεσθαι. ο σωτηρ, φησιν, εωρακως αυτην και θεωρησας οτι ετοιμοι εισιν προς το λιθοβολησαι αυτην, τοις μελλουσιν αυτην καταβαλειν λιθοις ειπεν· ος ουκ ημαρτεν, αιρετω λιθον και βαλετω αυτον. ει τις συνοιδεν εαυτω το μη ημαρτηκεναι, λαβων λιθον παισατω αυτην. και ουδεις ετολμησεν. επιστησαντες εαυτοις και γνοντες, οτι και αυτοι υπευθυνοι εισιν τισιν, ουκ ετολμησαν καταπταισαι εκεινην. (Didymus' Commentary on Ecclesiastes, according to the Tura Papyrus). ["We find, therefore, in certain gospels: A woman, it says, was condemned by the Jews for a sin and was being sent to be stoned in the place where that was customary to happen. The savior, it says, when he saw her and observed that they were ready to stone her, said to those who were about to cast stones, 'He who has not sinned, let him take a stone and cast it. If anyone is conscious in himself not to have sinned, let him take up a stone and smite her.' And no one dared. Since they knew in themselves and perceived that they themselves were guilty in some things, they did not dare to strike her."]

5th CE:

- **Jerome** (ca. 415 CE, PL 23:553): "in ev. sec. Ioh. in multis et Graecis et Latinis cdd. invenitur de adultera muliere quae accusata est ap. dominum". ["in the Gospel according to John in many manuscripts, both Greek and Latin, is found the story of the adulterous woman who was accused before the Lord."]
- **Augustinus** (354-430, c. 400 CE): De Adulterinis Conjugiis II 6, 7.: "Sed hoc videlicet infidelium sensus exhorret, ita ut nonnulli modicae fidei vel potius inimici verae fidei, credo, metuentes peccandi impunitatem dari mulieribus suis, illud, quod de adulterae indulgentia Dominus fecit, auferrent de codicibus suis, quasi permissionem peccandi tribuerit qui dixit: Iam deinceps noli peccare, aut ideo non debuerit mulier a medico Deo illius peccati remissione sanari, ne offenderentur insani." [Certain persons of little faith, or rather enemies of the true faith, fearing, I suppose, lest their wives should be given impunity in sinning, removed from their manuscripts the Lord's act of forgiveness toward the adulteress, as if he who had said, Sin no more, had granted permission to sin] -- Augustinus mentions the pericope at least 9 more times (compare Becker and Houghton)
- Burgon adds: Faustus the African (400), Rufinus (400), Chrysologus (433), Sedulius a Scot (434), Victorius or Victorinus (457), Vigilius of Tapsus (484), Gelasius Bishop of Rome (492), Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great and other Fathers of the Western church.

6th and 7th CE Alexandrian manuscripts:

Ehrman notes the following (from Becker):

"A notably different form of the PA in Syriac is preserved in the **Church History of Zacharias Scholasticus**, the Monophysite Bishop of Mitylene (d. after 536). A Syriac translation of this original Greek composition was expanded and later incorporated into a larger work that still survives. In a portion of this expanded edition, completed in the year 569, the story of Jesus and the adulteress is told with a note that it 'was found in the Gospel of Mara, Bishop of Amid'. In 525 CE the Bishop Mara fled to Alexandria, where he acquired a large library ... Thus there can be little doubt that Mara found the PA in the Gospel books of Alexandria in the early 6th CE. If the interpolation was common knowledge by the early 6th CE - so that visitors to Alexandria became acquainted with it - would it not have occurred in a much earlier period?"

"Although the oldest Syriac versions of John omit the PA, some later Syriac manuscripts include it either after Jo 7:52, in the margin, or as an appendix to the entire Gospel. In several of these manuscripts, ranging from the 9th to the 15th CE, the passage is accompanied by a note claiming that it derived from a certain 'Abbot Paul', who found it in Alexandria. [...] It remains unclear whether this scholion refers to Paul of Tella, the translator of the Syro-Hexaplar of the OT, who was known to have accompanied Thomas Harkel on his journey to

Alexandria, or, as is somewhat less likely, the 'Abbot Paul' who translated the works of Gregory Nazianzus into Syriac on Cyprus. In either case, the scholion indicates that the PA was found in Alexandrian manuscripts of John by the early 7th CE." (Ehrman, footnote 18)

The work *Historia Ecclesiastica* was mistakenly attributed to Zacharias Rhetor. Actually it is the work of an anonymous Greek chronicler, who used Zachariah of Mitylene's *Chronicle* as a source, among other sources. Book 8 is the author's own contribution. The work is preserved in Syriac.

Historia Ecclesiastica 8.7 reads:

"Now there was inserted in the Gospel of the holy Moro the bishop, in the 89th canon, a chapter which is related only by John in his Gospel, and is not found in other manuscripts, a section running thus:

It happened one day, while Jesus was teaching, they brought him a woman who had been found to be with child of adultery, and told him about her. And Jesus said to them, since as God he knew their shameful passions and also their deeds, 'What does He command in the law?' and they said to him: 'That at the mouth of two or three witnesses she should be stoned.' But he answered and said to them: 'In accordance with the law, whoever is pure and free from these sinful passions, and can bear witness with confidence and authority, as being under no blame in respect of this sin, let him bear witness against her, and let him first throw a stone at her, and then those that are after him, and she shall be stoned.' But they, because they were subject to condemnation and blameworthy in respect of this sinful passion went out one by one from before him and left the woman. And when they had gone, Jesus looked upon the ground and, writing in the dust there, said to the woman: 'They who brought you here and wished to bear witness against you, having understood what I said to them, which you have heard, have left you and departed. Do you also, therefore, go your way, and commit not this sin again.' "

(F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks "The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene", London 1899)

J. Knust in his 2006 JECS article wonders if the pregnancy noted here is an influence of the *Protevangelium Jacobi*.

12th CE:

Euthymius Zigabenus (*Comm. on the Gospels*, John 7:52):

Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἄχρι τοῦ, Πάλιν οὖν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· παρὰ τοῖς ἀκριβέσιν ἀντιγράφοις ἢ οὐχ εὔρηται ἢ ὠβέλιστα. Διὸ φαίνονται παρέγγραπτα καὶ προσθήκη· καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον τὸ μηδὲ τὸν Χρυσόστομον ὅλως μνημονεῦσαι αὐτῶν. Πειρατέον δὲ ὅμως ἡμῖν καὶ ταῦτα διασαφῆσαι· οὐκ ἄμοιρον γὰρ ὠφελείας οὐδὲ τὸ ἐν τούτοις κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένης γυναικός.

But it is necessary to know that from there until "Then, again, Jesus spoke to them, saying, I am the light of the world" among the accurate copies is neither found nor obelized. Wherefore

these words appear written alongside the text and as an addition; and the proof of this is that Chrysostom does not remember them at all. But nevertheless we must attempt to elucidate even these things; for the section in these texts concerning the woman caught in adultery is not without benefit.

Zigabenus (or Zigadenus) is the first Byzantine Greek writer who is noting the pericope in some copies of the Gospel of John. He lived in a monastery near Constantinople and wrote several commentaries. He died 1118 CE.

Notes on the earliest quotations

Regarding the Didascalia:

- The Didascalia, is a Church Order, composed, according to recent investigations, in the first part, perhaps even the first decades, of the third century, for a community of Christian converts from paganism in the northern part of Syria. The work is modeled on the Didache and forms the main source of the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions. The unknown author of the Didascalia seems to have been of Jewish descent. A bishop with a considerable knowledge of medicine, he lacked special theological training. He makes ample use of Holy Scripture and borrows from the Didache, Hermas, Irenaeus, the Gospel of Peter and the Acts of Paul. The text can be reconstructed from the Apostolic Constitutions, a few Greek fragments, a complete Syriac translation, an old Latin translation of about half, and the Arabic and Ethiopic Didascalia that depend on the Didascalia Apostolorum. [J. Quasten (Patrology, 1958, vol. 2, pp. 147-148)]
- The earliest mention of the work is by St. Epiphanius, who believed it to be Apostolic. He found it in use among the Audiani, Syrian heretics. The few extracts he gives do not quite tally with our present text; but then he is notoriously inexact in his quotations. [Catholic Encyclopedia "Didascalia"]
- Both the Didascalia and the Apostolic Constitutions have been placed in Syria, possibly Antioch: "Syria would appear to be the place of origin of this work, and the interest of the compiler in men and things of Antioch would point to that city as the centre of his activities. His interest in the Ignatian Epistles, his citation of the Syro-Macedonian calendar, his use of the so-called Council of Antioch as one of the chief sources of the "Apostolic Canons", and his construction of a liturgy on Antiochene lines confirm the theory of Syrian origin. [Catholic Encyclopedia "Apostolic Constitutions"]
- Harnack on the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions: "by a critical analysis and comparison, comes to the conclusion that pseudo-Clement, *alias* pseudo-Ignatius, was a Eusebian, a semi-Arian, and rather worldly-minded anti-ascetic Bishop of Syria, a friend of the Emperor Constantius between 340 and 360; that he enlarged and adapted the *Didascalia* of the third and the *Didache* of the second century, as well as the Ignatian Epistles, to his own view of morals, worship, and discipline, and clothed them with Apostolic authority." [Harnack 'Teaching' in 'Texte und Untersuchungen', ii. pp. 246-268, Leipzig, 1884]

Silent fathers:

None of the early Greek fathers commented on the passage, e.g. Origen and Chrysostom wrote commentaries about the Gospel of John, but did not discuss the PA. Unfortunately Origen's commentary on John is fragmentary. After book 13 discussing ch. 4, it continues with book 19 and Jo 8:19. But if one is gathering all quotations throughout the commentary (i.e. looking at an index), one finds that Origen quotes Jo 7:25-30, 37-42, 46-48 and 51-52. Then 8:12-25, 28-34 etc.

Chrysostom: Jacobus de Voragine (ca.1230-1298) once wrongly connected him with the PA. Preaching a sermon on the pericope on the third Saturday of Lent, he offered a list of by then traditional suggestions regarding what Jesus wrote:

Ambrosius dicit quod scribebat in terra: *Terra terram accusat*. Augustinus dicit quod scribebat illud quod postea uoce expressit: *Qui sine peccato est uestrum, primus in eam lapidem mittat*, etc. (Ioan. 8, 7). Glossa dicit quod scribebat eorum peccata, que illi legebant, et pre uerecundia exierunt. Chrysostomus dicit quod scribebat in terram: *Absorbe hos uiros abdicatos*, id est aperte condemnatos. (Sabbato Sermo 1.45-48)

But this is not from Chrysostom, but from Ambrose, too. Compare Epistle 50.4:

"Quid scribebat nisi illud propheticum: Terra terra scribe hos viros abdicatos, quod de lechonia lectum est in Hieremia propheta?"

There are no known references to the PA in the extant writings of John Chrysostom.

But also several Latin fathers are silent. Remarkable are:

Tertullian (ca. 200-220 CE):

Tertullian is an important witness against the PA. In "De Pudicitia" (On Modesty) Tertullian has become disgusted with the complacent willingness to forgive almost anything, evinced especially by an edict of a bishop, allowing adultery and fornication. He writes (ch. 1):

"I hear that there has even been an edict set forth, and a peremptory one too. The Pontifex Maximus, that is, the bishop of bishops, issues an edict: 'I remit, to such as have discharged (the requirements of) repentance, the sins both of adultery and of fornication.' "

[Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex scilicet maximus, episcopus episcoporum, edicit: Ego et moechiae et fornicationis delicta paenitentia functis dimitto.]

ch. 6:

"Plainly, if you show by what patronages of heavenly precedents and precepts it is that you open to adultery alone, and therein to fornication also, the gate of repentance, at this very line our hostile encounter will forthwith cross swords."

[Plane, si ostendas, de quibus patrociniis exemplorum praeceptorumque caelestium soli moechiae et in ea fornicationi quoque ianuam paenitentiae expandas, ad hanc iam lineam dimicabit nostra congressio.]

Tertullian then discusses a lot of scriptural evidence, and holds strictly to his view that adultery cannot be forgiven. With no word he mentions the PA. It is evident that he did not know it; otherwise the whole work would be unthinkable.

Cyprian († 258), likewise, wrote about adultery a mortal sin, but also mentions the possibility of repentance and resumption: In letter 51 Cyprian is citing Jo 5:14 and 2.Co 12:21:

"And, indeed, among our predecessors, some of the bishops here in our province thought that peace was not to be granted to adulterers, and wholly closed the gate of repentance against adultery. Still they did not withdraw from the assembly of their co-bishops, nor break the unity of the Catholic Church by the persistency of their severity or censure; so that, because by some peace was granted to adulterers, he who did not grant it should be separated from the Church. While the bond of concord remains, and the undivided sacrament of the Catholic Church endures, every bishop disposes and directs his own acts, and will have to give an account of his purposes to the Lord.

[...]

Or if he appoints himself a searcher and judge of the heart and reins, let him in all cases judge equally. And as he knows that it is written, *Behold, you are made whole; sin no more, lest a worse thing happen unto you*, [Jo 5:14] let him separate the fraudulent and adulterers from his side and from his company, since the case of an adulterer is by far both graver and worse than that of one who has taken a certificate, because the latter has sinned by necessity, the former by free will. [...] And yet to these persons themselves repentance is granted, and the hope of lamenting and atoning is left, according to the saying of the same apostle: *I fear lest, when I come to you, I shall bewail many of those who have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness which they have committed*. [2Co 12:21] "

(To Antonianus: About Cornelius and Novatian, Epistle 51:21+26)

Compare also letter 61, where Cyprian writes about virgins and the possibility of repentance:

"And what shall Christ and our Lord and Judge think, when He sees His virgin, dedicated to Him, and destined for His holiness, lying with another? How indignant and angry is He, and what penalties does He threaten against such unchaste connections!" (Epistle 61:3)

Is it conceivable that he would not mention the PA in this respect? Or would not those who read the letter put their finger on it and say, "But ..."?

It is inconceivable to think that this important story could have been suppressed by deleting it from manuscripts. It would have been well known nevertheless.

To the contrary, one can get the idea that at this time, when the idea came up to forgive mortal sins, the PA was added to the Gospel of John, probably from an extracanonical source.

Eusebian Canon tables

The PA is normally not included in the canon tables from Eusebius. But a fragmentary canon table has been found in Egypt from the 6th CE, which makes it probable that the PA had its own number. Unfortunately the table is fragmentary, but from the remains one can see that "all numbers in the row for John are from some number after seventy and before ninety-one, one digit ahead of the normal sequence." The most probable explanation is that the PA received its own number. Compare: Carl Nordenfalk "Canon Tables on Papyrus" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 36, (1982), pp. 29-38 (available through JSTOR)

Discussion of the external evidence

Even though the PA is a well known textcritical problem, it is not really difficult, because the external evidence is overwhelmingly against it being authentically Johannine. Nevertheless the story is very old. It has been transmitted probably both through oral tradition and in apocryphal Gospels.

The earliest manuscripts that actually have the pericope are: D, b*, d, e, ff², all from the 5th CE. Several Latin Church fathers from the 4th CE on know the pericope in John. It is not mentioned by any Greek fathers before the 12th CE (except Didymus and except the church history attributed to Zacharias Rhetor). Jerome mentions around 415 CE Greek and Latin manuscripts which contain the PA. His NT revision, which started 383, also requires such codices.

Thus the PA was clearly present in Latin codices and also probably in Greek codices in the second half of the 4th CE. No witness is known from before the 4th CE. From this we can conclude that the PA entered the Greek manuscripts therefore probably sometime in the 3rd or early 4th CE. This happened probably first in "the West".

This does not mean on the other hand that the story was unknown earlier. We have seen that already Papias knew it and that it is included in the Syriac Didascalia, from the 3rd CE.

It is possible that the first manuscripts that had the PA in John were Latin ones. There are a few other traces of apocryphal material in the Latin codices.

Papias:

Eusebius tells us that Papias in his lost books (Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις) told a story "about a woman, who has been accused of many sins before the Lord" and that it was apparently also included in the Gospel of the Hebrews (so Eusebius). It is possible, even probable that the story is basically the same as

the one we know today. This is already the understanding of Rufinus, a contemporary translator of Eusebius, who specifically labels the woman an adulteress.

That Papias (ca. 125 CE) knew the story means that it existed ca. 100 CE already. This again makes it quite probable that the story contains a genuine Jesus tradition.

U. Becker in his PA book suggests that one referred to the old authority of Papias to defend the pericope against various attacks.

The early history of the story:

Ehrman (1988) suggests that Didymus read the story in the Gospel of John in Alexandria already in the 4th CE. Didymus writes: "we find, therefore, in *certain gospels* ...". It is possible that Didymus means the Gospel of John AND the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Didymus elsewhere mentions this Gospel). In this case there existed manuscripts with and without the PA in Alexandria in the 4th CE.

Ehrman notes significant differences between the story in Didymus and the one told in the Didaskalia, the setting and actions differ a lot. He proposes that our common PA is probably a conflation of two originally different stories:

Didaskalia

Do as he also did with her that had sinned, whom the elders set before him, and leaving the judgment in his hands, departed.

But he, the searcher of hearts, asked her and said to her: 'Have the elders condemned you, my daughter?' She says to him: 'Nay, Lord.' And he said to her: 'Go your way: neither do I condemn you.' "

Didymus:

A woman, it says, was condemned by the Jews for a sin and was being sent to be stoned in the place where that was customary to happen.

The savior, it says, when he saw her and observed that they were ready to stone her, said to those who were about to cast stones, 'He who has not sinned, let him take a stone and cast it. If anyone is conscious in himself not to have sinned, let him take up a stone and smite her.' And no one dared.

Ehrman thinks that the Didymus story ends with "And no one dared", but this is not clear. It is only the point where Didymus stops the citation.

According to Eusebius' Papias quotation it appears probable that the woman was brought to Jesus for judgment. This would fit better to the Didaskalia version, because in the Didymus version she was already condemned by the Jews. Eusebius says this (Papias') story was also found in the Gospel according to the

Hebrews. But it is probable that also Didymus read it in this Gospel. So, it is not at all clear if both stories were originally really different, or if both versions only represent different loose allusions to the same story. Ultimately Ehrman's case is not convincing. So also Lührmann (1990).

Lührmann suggests that Didymus' story is basically that which was in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. On the other hand the story in the Didaskalia is basically that which we know from the Gospel of John. Lührmann thinks that this second version has been created sometime in the 2nd half of the 2nd CE to deal with the repentance problems (Montanists etc.). He does not deal with the question at what point the story entered the Gospel of John.

What the evidence shows is that the story as such floats around already in the 3rd CE in Syria, it is present in the 4th CE in Alexandria and in the West. But we don't know for sure if it was present in John before the 4th CE.

We know that the pericope was present in the 4th CE in manuscripts of John in "the West". In the early 6th CE manuscripts are known to contain the PA in Alexandria, probably even already in the 5th CE.

U. Becker suggests that the pericope has been included into the canon in the 3rd CE in either Alexandria or Antiochia, as the two main centers of conflict between orthodoxy and heresy. Becker tends to Antioch.

Around the 8th CE the final lectionary system has been set up in the East from an NT text probably without the PA. But at around the same time the PA has been accepted in the Eastern text. There are three uncials from the 8th CE and 10 from the 9th CE.

Codex Edschmiadzin # 229 (989 CE):

F. C. Conybeare (Expositor December 1895, p. 406) gives the translation of a shorter recension of the story which he discovered in the same Edschmiadzin Codex of the Gospels that contains the note ascribing the longer conclusion of St. Mark to Ariston. The story stands at the common place after Jo 7:52:

A certain woman was taken in sins, against whom all bore witness that she was deserving of death. They brought her to Jesus (to see) what he would command, in order that they might malign him. Jesus made answer and said, "Come ye, who are without sin, cast stones and stone her to death." But he himself, bowing his head was writing with his finger on the earth, to declare their sins; and they were seeing their several sins on the stones. And filled with shame they departed, and no one remained, but only the woman. Saith Jesus, "Go in peace, and present the offering for sins, as in their law is written."_

This story makes the impression of being told from memory. Conybeare thinks that it is the form that was in Papias and the Gospel of the Hebrews. Burkitt

writes that it "has a decidedly ancient air". But he argues that it is "somewhat difficult to see why the Edschmiadzin Codex should place the section after John 7:52, if it be a mere quotation direct from Papias. The insertion of the narrative at the same point that it is inserted in the Western texts argues some community of origin, and the absence of the Pericope, both from the Diatessaron and all early forms of the Four Gospels in Syriac, makes it improbable that it should have had a place in the earliest form of the Armenian New Testament.

The Lectionary hypothesis:

The main lectionary reading for Pentecost is Jo 7:37-52 + 8:12. It is difficult to imagine how a new pericope could have been inserted into these verses if the lectionary system was already into existence. It has thus been suggested that all peculiarities of this pericope have to do with lectionary usage. Of course it is very probable that the insertion points before 7:37 or after 8:12 and also possibly at the end of John originate from lectionary usage. It is also probable that the markings with asterisks and obeli are the result of this lectionary usage. But is it also the case for the complete omission?

The question is if it has been inserted before or after the selection of the Pentecost reading. It is in fact difficult to imagine the insertion of the PA into an existing and globally accepted lection. The addition of an extra verse (8:12) from further down to a continuous paragraph is unparalleled in the Synaxarion. The time of the creation of the final lectionary system is generally put around the 7th to 9th CE. It therefore seems probable that at the time of the creation of the lectionary system, or at least at the time of the fixation of the Pentecost reading, the PA was not present in John.

John Burgon notes a lectionary reading of the PA:

"The great Eastern Church speaks out on this subject in a voice of thunder. In all her Patriarchates, as far back as the written records of her practice reach - and they reach back to the time of those very Fathers whose silence was felt to be embarrassing - the Eastern Church has selected nine of these twelve verses [John 8:3-11] to be the special lesson for October 8." [The Causes of the Corruption ..., p. 259-260]

That this is dubious evidence will become clear from these comments (textualcriticism list, Dec. 2004):

Andrew Criddle:

"The celebration of the feast of Pelagia the reformed courtesan on October 8th begins relatively late c 500 CE. The feast of Pelagia the virgin martyr on the same day is much older but the use of the pericope is only suitable for Pelagia the reformed courtesan who is almost certainly a legendary development of Pelagia the virgin martyr. Hence the lectionary evidence here probably does not go back before 500 CE. However the lectionary usage is IMO highly

relevant. Once the pericope became widely used in the Greek church on October 8th there would be a strong tendency for it to be added to continuous text gospels that previously lacked it."

Steve Puluka:

"John's continuous weeks are from Easter to Pentecost. As I suspected, this pericope is skipped during this time frame and does NOT appear as a normal Sunday reading. The reading IS added as the SECOND commemoration for St. Mary of Egypt the Fifth Sunday of the Great Fast (lent). St. Mary lived in the sixth century, so obviously this assignment is NOT early. St. Pelagia died in the Fifth century, so this would not be an early assignment. In addition, I checked on an eastern cantors' list to expand my own references and we can see no readings specified for this day in the typikon, menaion or Gospel lectionary in Greek or Slavonic editions. I'm not sure where this assignment of this pericope to Pelagia is made, but these are the standard sources for readings and it is not here. Perhaps this is from a Syriac or Ethiopian source that holds a high regard for St. Pelagia and does not use the Byzantine lectionary system. Those resources I don't have access to. But this is clearly NOT a universal assignment."

"One of our Greek Cantors was finally able to find this scripture pericope reference to St. Pelagia on October 8. However, this is part of a vigil rank service written sometime following World War II by the late Monk Gerasimos of St. Anne Skete in Mt. Athos and was approved by the Holy Synod. This service would only be used by a parish or monastery dedicated to Pelagia, not for general parish usage. In addition, all of these vigil rank updates occurred for the same purpose in the Greek Church, special use by parishes dedicated to the saint, and AFTER the 16th century. So even if this is not the only one for St. Pelagia, and so far we think it is, the oldest possible one would have NO connection to the canonization process for John's Gospel."

Andrew Criddle adds:

"The Greek New Testament (GNT) 3rd and 4th edition gives references to several early Greek text lectionaries which have the pericope in the Menologion probably for October 8th, though possibly for Mary of Egypt in April. Several are from the 11th or 12th century and one may be as early as the 9th century (l 514). It may be worth noting in response to your suggestion about Syriac lectionary usage that the pericope is also found in the Palestinian Syriac lectionary; manuscripts of which date from the 11th and 12th century but which seems based on much older material."

The placement in f13:

In f13 the PA can be found after Lk 21:38. On this Hort writes (in a note on Lk 21:38):

"The section was probably known to the scribe exclusively as a church lesson, recently come into use; and placed by him here on account of the close resemblance between vv. 37, 38 and Jo 7:53; 8:1,2. Had he known it as continuous text of St. John's Gospel, he was not likely to transpose it."

I think that it is possible that the scribe of the exemplar of f13 wanted to avoid separating Jo 8:12 from 7:52 (the lectionary reading) and therefore placed the pericope at some other appropriate place. Lk 21:37-38 has a similar setting. Compare:

Lk 21:37 Every day he was teaching in the temple, and at night he would go out and spend the night on the Mount of Olives, as it was called.

21:38 And all the people would get up early in the morning to listen to him in the temple.

22:1 Now the festival of Unleavened Bread, which is called the Passover, was near.

PA 7:53 Then each of them went home,

8:1 while Jesus went to the Mount of Olives.

8:2 Early in the morning he came again to the temple. All the people came to him and he sat down and began to teach them.

The redactor of f13 omitted 8:2b to avoid repetition.

Von Soden notes the interesting fact (p. 1108), that this position in Lk is also the end of the Jesus ministry and that at 22:1 the passion narrative begins. To place the PA here is therefore similar to its placement at the end of John in f1. Von Soden notes that the pericope fitted well here also, because in Lk the Anointment story at the beginning of the Passion is missing and the PA perhaps was considered as a substitute.

The lectionary reading for Oct. 7th was Lk 21:12-19 and the PA was read on Oct. the 8th often, as noted above. Perhaps this has to do with the insertion here, too.

That a single MS (the exemplar of f13), and a very unreliable at that, preserves the true place of the PA is very improbable.

Note also that f13 also transposes the "agony, bloody sweat" incident from Lk 22:43,44 to after Mt 26:39.

Of f13 the text of manuscript 346 has been largely conformed to the Byzantine text.

The placement in minuscule 225:

225 places the PA after Jo 7:36. 225 is a lectionary containing a full, continuous Gospel text, not a selection of lessons. But at several places the text has been altered for liturgical reasons, so also in this case.

The readings of the lectionary are:

Tuesday	Jo 7:1-13
Wednesday	Jo 7:14-30
Thursday	Jo 8:12-20
Friday	Jo 8:21-30
Saturday	Jo 8:31-42
Pentecost	Jo 7:37-52 + 8:12

As one can see, Jo 7:31-36 is not part of the lectionary cycle. It seems probable that the PA has been excised from the Pentecost reading and added after Jo 7:31-36 to create a larger block of non-liturgical material.

Compare:

T. van Lopik "Once again: Floating words ..." NTS 41 (1995) 286-291

A little curiosum added here for completeness sake:

Harris, "Codex Bezae", p. 195, notes the following:

In Codex D in Jo 7:53 we read:

D: καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἑκάστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ

d: et abierunt unusquisque in domum suam

At Act 5:18 D alone adds a very similar phrase:

D: καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἑκάστος εἰς τὰ ἴδια

d: et abierunt unusquisque in domiscilia

A rather remote idea might be noted here also, which is that Simon Magus traveled with a certain woman, called Helene. Simon's enemies accused Helene of being a whore, which probably even was true.

The PA in the Diatessaron

The PA is not found in the Eastern witnesses to the Diatessaron of Tatian (the Arabic Harmony, and the Syriac commentaries of Ephrem). It is however found in all the Western Diatessaron witnesses (Fuldensis, Heliand, Liege Harmony, Pepsian Harmony), here at different positions.

It therefore appears probable that the PA was not in the original Diatessaron, but has been added early, perhaps already in the late 2nd CE to the Western, Latin branch of the Gospel harmony.

It has been suggested that it was taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Speculation:

We know that the Old Latin Gospels were influenced by the Latin Diatessaron. It could be therefore that it was on this route that the PA entered the Gospel manuscripts. Unfortunately the position of the PA in the various Diatessaronic witnesses is variable. If one takes the Fuldensis location to be the oldest and original, Tom Hennell suggested that "the logical place to insert it [into the separate Gospels] would be in John; after one of the Nicodemus references. John 3:21 might be possible, but the succeeding text relates to John the Baptist. John 7:52 is another Nicodemus reference, and is then followed by further Pharisee conflict, and hence would be more logical."

On the other hand it is also possible that the PA entered the Old Latin Gospels and the old harmonies independently. I think the data are too limited to decide this.

The sources:

1. Codex Fuldensis (Codex Bonifacius 1)

Codex Fuldensis is a Gospel harmony, written ca. 545 CE by Victor of Capua based on an older source. Victor found an Old Latin version of Tatian's arrangement and substituted the Vulgate for the Old Latin. So the text is Vulgate, but the order is (possibly) Tatianic.

In Fuldensis the PA is located after the Nicodemus incident (Jo 3:1-21).

The PA is included in chapters 119 and 120, and is explicit in the chapter title of 120, and hence must have stood in Victor's source. Chapter 119 has the story of Nicodemus coming by night, from John 3; followed by the PA to 8:2. 120 gives the rest of the PA. Chapter 121 gives the cursing of the fig from Matthew (21:18-22).

The corresponding headlines read:

CXVIII	De Nicodemo qui venit ad Ihesum noctae
CXX	De muliere a Iudaeis in adulterio deprehensa
CXXI	Ubi Ihesus maledixit ficulneam et aruit

1b. Codex Sangalensis 56: Codex Sangalensis 56 is a copy of Codex Fuldensis and was written in the 9th CE. Images can be found at: <http://www.cesg.unifr.ch/en/index.htm>
Chapter 119 starts with image 196. The headlines can be found on image 022.

2. Heliand ("fitt 47")

In the Heliand the PA is found after Mt 22:22, the question about paying taxes.

3. Liege Harmony

Internal evidence

The wording of the PA is quite un-Johannine, but has several Lukan characteristics. E.g.

ὅρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν	(4 times in Lk)
οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι	(only 3 times in Lk),
πᾶς ὁ λαός	(3 times in Lk),
καθίσας	(4 times in Lk),
ὄρθρος	("early morning", once in Lk, once in Acts),
ἐπιμένω	(6 times in Acts),
ἀνακύπτω	(2 times in Lk)
κατακρίνω	(3 times in Lk),
πλήν	(15 times in Lk !),
ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν	(5 times in Lk, once in Acts)

Additionally appear some of Luke's preference words:

πορεύομαι, λαός, ἄγω, ἐρωτάω.

On the other hand there are also some rare terms, e.g.:

ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ	("in the very act", only Jo 8:4 in the Greek Bible),
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι	("and by the conscience being convicted").
ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς	(2 times Mt, 3 times Mk, not in Lk),
κατέγραφεν	(only Jo 8:6 in the NT),
ἀναμάρτητος	(only Jo 8:7 in the NT),
κατακύψας	(only Jo 8:8 in the NT),
κατελείφθη	(in passive only Jo 8:9 in the NT),

Compare also:

δὲ/οὖν ratio: Mt 0.11, Mk 0.04, Lk 0.06, Jo 0.94, PA 0.09

πρεσβύτερος only Jo 8:9 in John (12x Mt, 7x Mk, 5x Lk)

Also longer sentences with relative clauses etc. are missing. The simple style can be compared with that of Mk.

To the contrary it is difficult to name typically Johannine words. Perhaps:

- τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν (cp. Jo 6:6, 7:39, 11:51, 12:6, 12:33, 21:19 and others. The phrase is textually insecure, see below)
- μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε (Jo 5:14)
- λιθάζειν (4 times in Jo, twice in Acts, καταλιθάζω in Lk 20:6)
- γύναι vocative: 5x in John, 2x Lk, 1x Mt

It is interesting to note that Lukan characteristics also appear in the secondary variants, e.g. ἐκπειράζω (8:6), ἔχω + Inf. (8:6), εἰς ἕκαστος (8:9), συνείδησις (8:9), κατήγορος (8:10), προσποιέομαι (8:10).

This means that a special "Lukan" influence can be excluded. The authors of Luke and the PA simply share a similar vocabulary and style. U. Becker in his PA book suggests a late revision ("2nd CE?") of the original.

So, from its wording, the text of the PA does not appear characteristically Johannine, but also not characteristically Lukan. On the other hand it is also not dramatically different from John and Luke. The evidence is indecisive.

An important argument against a secondary omission is, that it is difficult to explain, why the first three verses (7:53 - 8:2) have been omitted, too. These verses would have fitted well to the following verses too and there is no reason for an omission.

The verses are similar to Lk 21:37-38. Compare:

NA28 John 7:53 καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ,

8:1 Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἔλαιων.

8:2 Ὁρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

7:53 Then each of them went home, 8:1 while Jesus went to the Mount of Olives. 2 Early in the morning he came again to the temple. All the people came to him and he sat down and began to teach them.

NA28 Luke 21:37 Ἦν δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος ἠυλίζετο εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Ἐλαιῶν· 38 καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὠρθριζεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ.

"Every day he was teaching in the temple, and at night he would go out and spend the night on the Mount of Olives, as it was called. 38 And all the people would get up early in the morning to listen to him in the temple."

Note that the PA is following these verses in Lk in f13!

The similarity between the verses is obvious, but what does it mean? These three verses are a nice creation, but I don't think that one can deduce anything about the origin of the PA from this.

It has also been argued that Jo 7:52 fits good to 8:12 ff:

7:37 On the last day of the festival, the great day, while Jesus was standing there, he cried out, "Let anyone who is thirsty come to me, 38 and let the one who believes in me drink. As the scripture has said, 'Out of the believer's heart shall flow rivers of living water.'" 39 Now he said this about the Spirit, which believers in him were to receive; for as yet there was no Spirit, because Jesus was not yet glorified.

40 When they heard these words, some in the crowd said, "This is really the prophet." 41 Others said, "This is the Messiah." But some asked, "Surely the Messiah does not come from Galilee, does he? 42 Has not the scripture said that the Messiah is descended from David and comes from Bethlehem, the village where David lived?" 43 So there was a division in the crowd because of him. 44 Some of them wanted to arrest him, but no one laid hands on him.

45 Then the temple police went back to the chief priests and Pharisees, who asked them, "Why did you not arrest him?" 46 The police answered, "Never has anyone spoken like this!" 47 Then the Pharisees replied, "Surely you have not been deceived too, have you? 48 Has any one of the authorities or of the Pharisees believed in him? 49 But this crowd, which does not know the law-- they are accursed." 50 Nicodemus, who had gone to Jesus before, and who was one of them, asked, 51 "Our law does not judge people without first giving them a hearing to find out what they are doing, does it?" 52 They replied, "Surely you are not also from Galilee, are you? Search and you will see that no prophet is to arise from Galilee."

8:12 Again Jesus spoke to them, saying, "I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness but will have the light of life." 13 Then the Pharisees said to him, "You are testifying on your own behalf; your testimony is not valid."

Jo 8:12 is tied up to 7:37-39.

40-43 is the discussion of the crowd, 45-52 is the discussion of the Pharisees.

There would be no real difference if 7:53-8:2 would be present or not.

P. Comfort (Bibletranslator 40, 1989, 145-47) argues that Jo 8:12 is drawn from Isa 9:1-2

Isaiah 9:1 ... the land beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations. 2 The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light; those who lived in a land of deep darkness-- on them light has shined.

<u>Jo 8:12</u>		<u>Isa 1-2</u>
-		Galilee of the nations
I am the light of the world	=	have seen a great light
will never walk in darkness	=	who walked in darkness
but will have the light of life	=	lived in a land of deep darkness

Jesus appears to argue to the Pharisees' assertion that no prophet comes from Galilee, by referring to Isa 1-2.

Conclusions on the internal evidence:

The internal evidence also tends to support a secondary addition of the PA. Even though it is not completely out of place at this position in John, a closer look shows that it is not really fitting (see also below). Since the text of the PA is very insecure, it is difficult to evaluate syntax, style and wording, but overall it does not appear to be specifically Johannine.

Overall conclusion:

The earliest external evidence shows no knowledge of the pericope in John. The earliest clear evidence for the PA in John is from the 4th CE. On the other hand a story of this kind was known from the earliest times (Papias, Didaskalia). The PA entered the Gospel of John somewhere in the 3rd CE, but remained in dispute. It took a long time until its universal acceptance.

There is absolutely no convincing evidence that the PA was originally part of the Gospel of John.

The remaining questions are:

Why and when has the story been added to the Gospel of John? And why at this place? Such a large addition is unique (except for Mk 16:9-20).

Why has the story been added after Jo 7:52 ?

1. Papias: It is possible that the story has been added at this position, because Papias noted the story in his interpretation of e.g. 7:24 ("Do not judge by appearances, ...") or 8:15 ("You judge according to the flesh ..."). This would depend on knowledge of Papias' works though.
2. The story illustrates the statements about judgment that Jesus makes at the feast. In Jo 7:24 Jesus says: "Do not judge by appearances, but judge with right judgment." In 7:50-52 the Pharisees are accused of inappropriate judgment. Ehrman notes that interestingly the story itself shows that all judgment is wrong, but that in its Johannine context the focus of the story is transformed. Now it illustrates John's opposition to hypocrisy.
3. Becker assumes that the PA has originally been placed at the end of John, as an appendix, fitting to the last verse of John, which mentions many other things that Jesus did. He admits though that there is no evidence for this assumption. It would also require one more step to explain and to overcome, the move from the end of John to its present place after Jo 7:52.

When has it been added?

We have positive evidence that the PA was extant in manuscripts of John in the second half of the 4th CE (see above). Church fathers in the 4th CE also quote it. We have earlier evidence of the story as such, but no evidence that it actually was in the Gospel of John.

Why has it been added at all?

The debate about forgiveness was a major one in the 2nd and 3rd CE (compare Tertullian above). It was probably difficult in the long run to argue here with a

non-canonical Jesus story. The story has been accepted rather fast in the West, due to the authorities of Ambrosius, Augustinus and Jerome, but only very hesitantly in the East, where it found no advocates.

The history of the PA remains largely in darkness. We have only occasional spots of light, but the connecting lines are unknown.

It is very unusual that such a long passage has been added at so late a date. Perhaps one must look at it more in terms of the canonization of the NT books and not so much as a textcritical variant. Several NT books took very long to be ultimately accepted or rejected (compare Revelation or 2nd Peter). Perhaps one should see the PA as such a disputed "book".

Textual groups

Plummer (1893, in his commentary) notes 80 variants in 183 words (and there are probably many more), which makes the PA that portion of the NT with the most variants.

It is an interesting fact that the witnesses for the PA group differently than in the rest of John. Also interestingly there is NO Byzantine text of the PA. Robinson (*Preliminary Observations*): "The same manuscripts which generally contain a Byzantine consensus text throughout the Gospels nevertheless divide significantly within the text of the PA." Robinson thinks that there are about 10 different "texttypes" of the PA. The version in Codex D is clearly not the parent of any of these, but it "must represent a near-final descendant of a complex line of transmission." Two minuscules, 1071 and 2722 have a very similar text as D in the PA (see below). The close relation of 1071 to D has been discovered by K. Lake, that of 2722 by M. Robinson. 1071 and 2722 are more closely related to each other than D/1071 or D/2722 in the PA (9 agreements against 2 and 3).

The following table is the result of a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) from Swanson's data (image see below):

Textual groups:	TCG name	von Soden	no. of dev.	
			from txt	no. of MSS
• M, Γ, f1, 892, 1049, <u>NA</u>	f1-text	μ^1	4-8	>5
• S, Ω, 28	S-text	μ^2, μ^3	8-9	>60
• (E, G, H), K, 2, 579	E-text	μ^5, μ^7	17-21	μ^5 280; μ^7 260
• D, 1071, 2722	D-text	μ^1	13-14	3
• U, 700	U-text	μ^6	19	250
• Λ, f13, 1424 ^{mg}	f13-text	μ^4	17-20	>30

892 and 1424^{mg} have been added from NA/SQE.

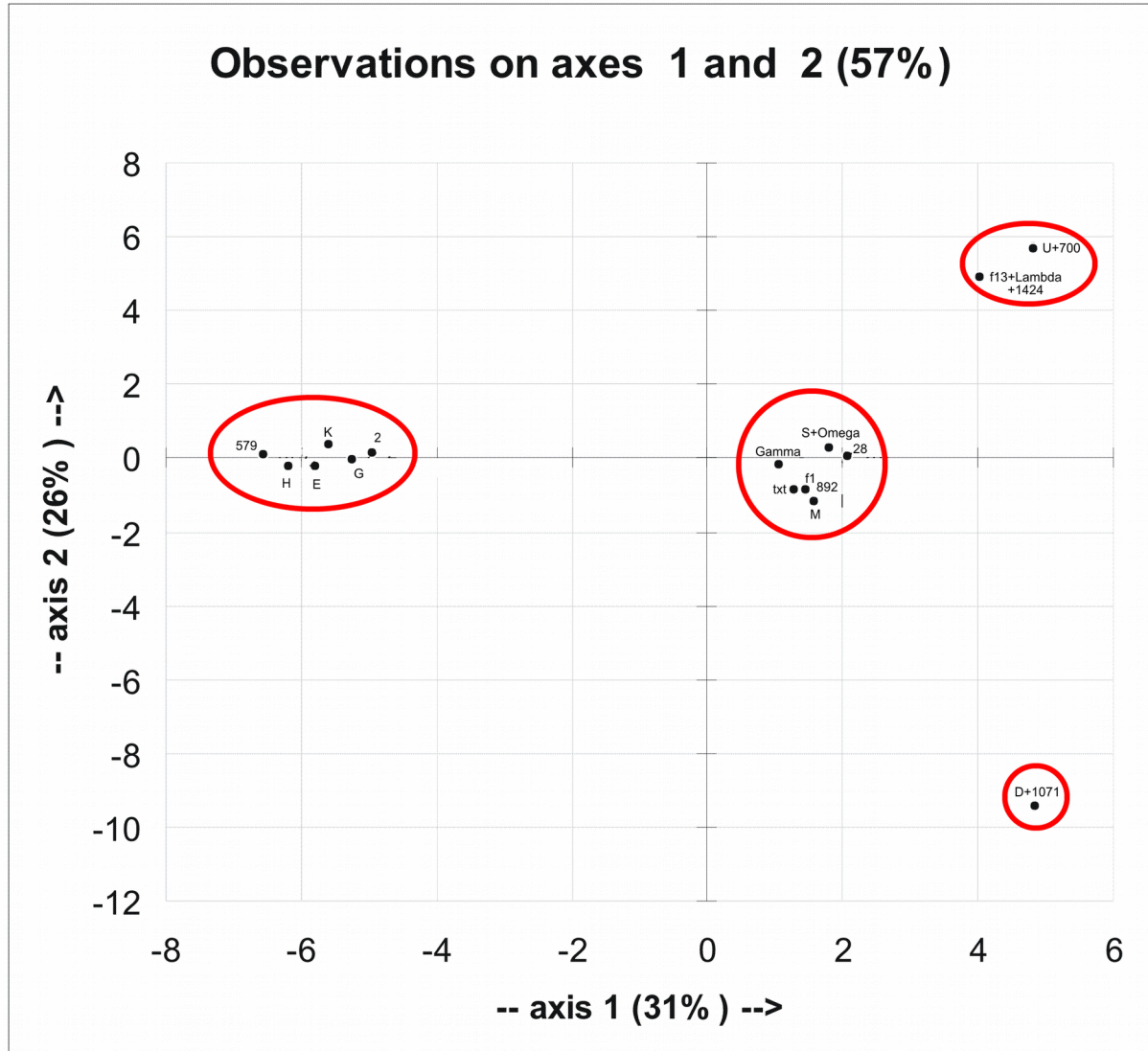
The first two groups are very similar, the last two are also clearly related. Basically there are four extreme groups:

1. the f1, S-text: (M, Γ, f1, 892), (S, Ω, 28), Lat^{see below}
2. the E-text: (E, F, G, H), K, Π, 2, 579
3. the D-text: D, 1071, 2722
4. the U, f13-text: (U, 700), (Λ, f13, 1424^{mg})

The group that comes nearest to the reconstructed autograph (NA) is the f1-text. This is a remarkable and almost unknown fact for f1. Note that f1 has the PA at the end of John. The S-text is also quite good.

The other three groups are roughly equally far remote from the original text, but in different directions.

Principal Component Analysis for the PA, based on Swanson's data (57 readings):



Please note that this image shows 2 dimensions only. Taking the third dimension into account one gets an additional, but smaller separation, e.g. (U, 700) is somewhat removed from (Λ , f13, 1424^{mg}). I can differentiate the above mentioned 6 groups.

To check the correctness of the above result, I have carried out the same PCA analysis with the data from SQE. Even though the noted witnesses in NA are not completely the same, the result is the same; we get the same 4 major groups noted above.

Von Soden's labels are not very fitting, e.g. he puts f1 into the same group as D, but they are very different. On the other hand he distinguishes μ^2 and μ^3 , μ^4 and μ^6 and μ^5 and μ^7 , which are very similar respectively. Strange.

Unfortunately I have no reliable information as to how many manuscripts support each group. The numbers above are from Hodges & Farstad's Majority Text edition, derived from von Soden. Acc. to von Soden the U-text μ^6 and the E-text μ^5 were the definitive types of the Byzantine era. But one cannot trust von Soden, his groupings are partly wrong and misleading.

With more data from more manuscripts, it is probably possible to make more precise statements regarding the f1- and S-texts. It might be that there are clearly distinguishable subgroups, the same is possible within the E-text.

It is also possible that completely new groups show up.

Regarding f13 M. Robinson mentions the following on the ETC blog (Aug 21, 2013): My data show only the already-established members of fam.13 transposing to the Lukan location - namely 13, 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983; and this with 1689 as noted in the normal Johannine location.

...

Besides GA 1689 having a fam.13 type of PA text in the johannine location, there also are the following MSS that have a basically fam.13 type of PA text in Jn: GA 166, 174, 211, and 591mg.

Also, there is the fam.13 lectionary, L-574, which has the PA within the Lukan section of the Synaxarion, Friday of Week 11 in Lk.

...

Just for the record, here are a few other MSS that otherwise are not family 13 but which have a family 13 type of text in the PA:

230, 395, 926, 1205, 1367, 2660, 2725, L-4 (in part)

Also, Yvonne Burns had claimed MS 873 was family 13, but clearly not so in the PA; the same applies to MS 1709 (in relation to Lafleur's recent NovT article).

The Old Latin

The textual evidence of the Old Latin is given in the appendix at the end of this file.

An analysis of the variants (not counting d) shows, that the Old Latin text is nearest to the (M, Γ , f1, 892) group, thus representing a text very close to NA. This is quite remarkable, first, because all Old Latins basically represent the same text type (including e), and second, because the Old Latin otherwise is not a very reliable witness.

The Old Latin actually is then (by far) the oldest witness to this type of text!

If one is looking at the evidence a little closer, one can distinguish 3 groups:

e
c, ff²
j, l, r¹, 11A, Vulgate

The three groups seem to be independent translations of an M-type text, with c, ff² showing a few deviations (additions).

This is also an interesting result, because it shows that the Old Latin cannot be traced back to one Latin original.

It is interesting that we see here the "European" Old Latin split into two traditions. This has also been found by Philip Burton ("The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of their Texts and Language", Oxford 2000) for the rest of the Gospel of John. The Synoptic Gospels seem to go back to only one tradition.

The groups Burton suggests are slightly different though for the rest of John: (j, r¹, e) and (c, ff², l, vg).

Compare also Borland's master thesis, which is confirming the above.

Literature

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Harris , edited by Jean-Jacques Aubert and Zsuzsanna Varhelyi, 59-84. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde. Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 2005

- Jennifer Wright Knust "Early Christian Re-Writing and the History of the Pericope Adulterae" J ECS 14 (2006) 485-536 [very detailed article with many citations, thorough and accurate, some good points. Focuses on the variability of the text, depending on its interpretation.]
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- J. Rius-Camps "The Pericope of the Adulteress reconsidered: The nomadic misfortunes of a bold pericope" NTS 53 (2007) 379-405 [Phantastic theory: The PA was originally written by Mark and stood after 12:12, then it was adopted by Luke and placed after 20:19. Yes!]
- Chris Keith "The initial location of the Pericope Adulterae in the fourfold tradition" NovT 51 (2009) 209-31 [rebuttal of Rius-Camps]
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- Jonathan Borland "The Old Latin Tradition of John 7:53 - 8:11" Master Thesis Southeastern Baptist Seminary (M. Robinson) 2009
- J. Knust and T. Wasserman "Earth Accuses Earth: Tracing What Jesus Wrote on the Ground" HTR 103 (2010) 407-46
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- For the readings of fam II compare T. Wasserman's exam paper (available from the TC list server as pdf download).
- For the readings of 1049 compare T. Wasserman's presentation at the SNTS meeting 2008 in Lund. 1049 appears to be a direct copy from M/021.
- For the reconstruction of P45 compare: T.C. Skeat "A Codicological Analysis of the Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex of the Gospels and Acts (P45)", *Hermathena* 155 (1993) 27-43

Rating: 2? (NA probably original)
[for the complete pericope]

External rating: 2 (NA clearly original)
(after weighting the witnesses)

Differences in Codex D

Since the PA is quite different in Codex D, it might be a good idea to present a Synoptic arrangement of its text with that of NA:

Codex D, (1071, 2722)

7:53 καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος
εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ,
8:1 Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ
ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν.
2 Ὁρθρου δὲ πάλιν
παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ
πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν,

-

3 Ἀγουσιν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς
καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐπὶ ἁμαρτία
γυναικα εἰλημμένην καὶ
στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ
4 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ἐκπειράζοντες
αὐτὸν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἵνα ἔχωσιν
κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ.

διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ
κατείληπται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ
μοιχευομένη.

5 Μωϋσῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευσεν
τὰς τοιαύτας
λιθάζειν. σὺ δὲ νῦν τί λέγεις;

6 _____

-

_____ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας
τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν
γῆν.

7 ὥς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες _____
_____, ἀνέκυψεν καὶ εἶπεν
αὐτοῖς· ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν
πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον.

8 καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας τῷ
δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν
γῆν.

NA²⁷

7:53 καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος
εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ,
8:1 Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ
ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν.
2 Ὁρθρου δὲ πάλιν
παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ
πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν,
καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

3 Ἀγουσιν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς
καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι γυναικα ἐπὶ
μοιχείᾳ κατείλημμένην καὶ
στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ
4 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· _____

-

διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ
κατείληπται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ
μοιχευομένη.

5 ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ ἡμῖν Μωϋσῆς
ἐνετείλατο τὰς τοιαύτας
λιθάζειν. σὺ οὖν τί λέγεις;

6 τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες
αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν
αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας
τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν
γῆν.

7 ὥς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες
αὐτόν, ἀνέκυψεν καὶ εἶπεν
αὐτοῖς· ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν
πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον.

8 καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας _____
_____ ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν
γῆν.

9 ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
ἐξήρχετο _____ -
ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
ὥστε πάντας ἐξελεῖν καὶ
κατελείφθη μόνος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν
μέσῳ οὔσα.
10 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν
τῇ γυναικί· _____ ποῦ εἰσιν;
οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν;
11 κάκεινῃ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·
οὐδεὶς, κύριε. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν _____ ·
οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· ὑπάγε,
_____ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι
ἀμάρτανε.

9 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες
ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἷς ἀρξάμενοι
ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων _____
= _____ καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος καὶ ἡ
γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὔσα.
10 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν
αὐτῇ· γύναι, _____ ποῦ εἰσιν; οὐδεὶς
σε κατέκρινεν;
11 ἡ δὲ _____ εἶπεν _____ ·
οὐδεὶς, κύριε. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου,
[καὶ] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι
ἀμάρτανε.

Important variants

Note: A detailed presentation of the Old Latin evidence is given at the end of this file in an appendix.

TVU 1

NA28 John 8:2 Ὁρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν

καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

txt M, f1, 892, Maj-part, Lat, Sy-Pal, bo^{mss}

καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

G, S, U, Λ, Ω, 28, 700, al

καὶ πᾶς ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

Γ, pc

καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἦρχετο , καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

E, H, K, Π, 2, 579, pc, Maj-part, [Robinson²⁰⁰⁵](#), [U. Becker](#)

καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

pc, arm^{mss}

καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς

L185^{mg}

καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν

D, 1071, (2722: [ὄχλος](#)) , pc, d

pc = 1571, 1699, 2463

(fam Π, compare T. Wasserman's study.)

omit:

f13, L185*, [Weiss](#), [[NA²⁵](#), [WH](#)]

[NA²⁵](#), [WH](#) have the phrase in single brackets in the text. They have the PA in double brackets at the end of Jo.

καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν

1049 (possibly parablepsis αὐτόν - αὐτούς)

Compare:

NA28 Mark 2:13 καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

NA28 Luke 21:38 καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὠρθριζεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ.

The phrase is omitted in Weiss and in single brackets in NA²⁵ and WH. This is probably due to the fact that f13 was considered of high antiquity and quality at that time.

The phrase could have been copied from Mk 2:13.

TVU 2

NA28 John 8:3 "Ἄγουσιν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι γυναῖκα

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι f1, 892, pc, arm^{MSS}, geo^{MSS}

For ἄγουσιν δὲ f13 reads: καὶ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ ...

Compare in John:

NA28 John 7:32 καὶ ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ὑπηρέτας ἵνα πιάσωσιν αὐτόν.

NA28 John 7:45 Ἦλθον οὖν οἱ ὑπηρέται πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ Φαρισαίους,

NA28 John 11:47 Συνήγαγον οὖν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι

NA28 John 11:57 δεδώκεισαν δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι

NA28 John 18:3 ὁ οὖν Ἰούδας λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων

Other:

NA28 Matthew 21:45 Καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι

NA28 Matthew 27:62 Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, ἥτις ἐστὶν μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν, συνήχθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς Πιλάτον

γραμματεῖς appears only here in John!

The designation γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι appears 14 times in the Synoptics. γραμματεῖς alone appears 57 times in the Synoptics.

On the other hand οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς appear 21 times in John (62 times in the Synoptics). The combination ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι appears 5 times in John, but only two times in the Synoptics.

If one takes the PA to be an integral part of the Gospel of John, then οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς is certainly to be preferred on internal grounds. γραμματεῖς could be a harmonization to the Synoptics.

On the other hand οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς could be a conformation to context.

Note that f1 and 892 form a PA text group, which is especially close to the reconstructed "original text" in NA (see above). But the Latin reads *scribae et pharisei* unanimously.

TVU 3

Minority reading:

NA28 John 8:3 Ὁὐγουσιν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι γυναῖκα ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένην καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ

ἐπὶ ἁμαρτία γυναῖκα
γυναῖκα ἐπὶ ἁμαρτία

D, d, WH^{mg}

1071, 2722, Sy-Pal^A, 1030 CE

WH have the PA in double brackets at the end of Jo.

mulierem in adulterio	Lat
mulierem in moecationem	ff ²
in peccato muliere mulierem	d*
in peccato mulierem	d ^c (dots above muliere)

Sy-Pal^A has this word also in verse 4 for μοιχευομένη.

Compare next verse:

NA28 John 8:4 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατείληπται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη·

This reading is significant, because the earliest known versions of the story also speak of "sins", not of adultery:

1. Papias and the Gospel according to the Hebrews (both early 2nd CE), cited in Eusebius church history (III, 39:15):

... ἐκτέθεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς
ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου·

"He [Papias] also notes another story about a woman,
who has been accused of many sins before the Lord."

2. Didascalia (3rd CE): "do as he also did with her that had sinned, ..."

3. Didymus the Blind (4th CE): "We find, therefore, in certain gospels: A woman, it says, was condemned by the Jews for a sin"

Lührmann (1990) writes: Perhaps this [D] reading even has to be preferred, because also D in 8:4 renders more precisely the fact of the case Adultery.

TVU 4

NA28 John 8:4 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· _____
διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατείληπται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη·

BYZ John 8:4 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ πειράζοντες
Διδάσκαλε αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατείληπται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη·

Byz (D, 1071, 2722), E, G, H, K, Π, 346, 2*, 579, fam Π, Maj-part,
arm^{mss}, geo^{MSS}

txt M, S, U, Γ, Λ, Ω, f1, f13, 2^c, 28, 700, 892, 1049, 1424^{mg}, Maj-part,
Lat, Sy, bo^{mss}

ἐκπειράζοντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ.

D, 1071, 2722 (at verse 6)

1071, 2722: οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς

εἶπον αὐτῷ: U, Λ, 118, f13, 700

Compare verse 6:

NA28 John 8:6 τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν
κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ.

Compare also:

NA28 Matthew 22:35 καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν [νομικὸς] πειράζων
αὐτόν·

NA28 Mark 8:11 Καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἥρξαντο συζητεῖν αὐτῷ,
ζητοῦντες παρ' αὐτοῦ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, πειράζοντες αὐτόν.
(same in par. Mt 16:1 and Lk 11:16)

NA28 Mark 10:2 Καὶ προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν εἰ
ἔξεστιν ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα ἀπολῦσαι, πειράζοντες αὐτόν. (same in par. Mt
19:3)

NA28 John 6:6 τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν πειράζων αὐτόν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ᾔδει τί
ἔμελλεν ποιεῖν.

A natural addition. An omission to avoid repetition in verse 6 is unlikely. In that case an omission in verse 6 would be much more likely, but there the word is safe.

Note the οἱ ἱερεῖς. In verse 2 we had scribes and pharisees.

The reading of D is discussed at verse 6 below.

TVU 5

Minority reading:

NA28 John 8:5 ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ ἡμῖν Μωϋσῆς ἐνετείλατο τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν. σὺ οὖν τί λέγεις ;

περί αὐτῆς

Μ, Σ, Υ, Λ, Ω, f13, 28, 264, 700, 1049, 1342, 1424^{mg}, Maj-part, c, ff², arm,
[Robinson¹⁹⁹¹]

txt (D, 1071, 2722), K, Π, Γ, f1, 2, 579, Maj-part, Lat, Sy, Robinson²⁰⁰⁵

D, 1071, 2722: Μωσῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευσεν τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν
σὺ δὲ νῦν λέγεις

Compare:

NA28 John 1:22 εἶπαν οὖν αὐτῷ· τίς εἶ; ἵνα ἀποκρισιν δώμεν τοῖς
πέμψασιν ἡμᾶς· τί λέγεις περὶ σεαυτοῦ;

Again a natural addition.

Borland suggests that the D reading may come from a reverse translation of a Latin text. This is possibly true for the whole of the PA in D.

TVU 6

Minority reading:

NA28 John 8:6 τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν.

omit here: D, M, 264, 1049, 1071, 2722

8:6a after 8:4 D, 1071, 2722

8:6a after 8:11 M, 264, 1049

WH have this sentence at this place in single brackets.

U. Becker omits it completely.

Maurice Robinson confirms that 264 reads 6a after verse 11.

M/021: Becker notes a comment from von Soden that the verse was added by a later hand (p. 57), but this is probably a confusion. Robinson says that in his collation data he has no note regarding any apparent change of hand. The text is in the main body, not in the margin.

B.H. Young writes: "The addition of the verse in John 8:6 interrupts the entire flow of the passage by inserting a distracting aside." Compare: B.H. Young " 'Save the adulteress!' Ancient Jewish Responsa in the Gospels?" NTS 41 (1995) 59-70

So already Becker. The instability of the testing motive, it appears in three different locations and in different versions, suggests that the story once circulated without it.

Another possibility is that the D reading arose due to parablepsis.

8:4 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, πειράζοντες,

Διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατελήφθη ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ μοιχευομένη. 5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ Μωσῆς ἡμῖν ἐνετείλατο τὰς τοιαύτας λιθοβολεῖσθαι· σὺ οὖν τί λέγεις; 6 Τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ.

This resulted in:

D: λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἐκπειράζοντες αὐτόν (οἱ ἱερεῖς)

ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ.

Then, after this, the scribe added the omitted words:

Διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατελήφθη ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ μοιχευομένη.

Μωσῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευσεν τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν σὺ δὲ νῦν λέγεις

This has been suggested by Borland (master thesis p. 36-7).

TVU 7

NA28 John 8:6 τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν.

BYZ John 8:6 τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν μή προσποιούμενος.

μή προσποιούμενος E, G, H, K, 346, 2*, 579, fam Π, Maj-part, geo^{mss}

ἕνος ἐκάστου αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας 264 (see verse 8)

txt D, 1071, 2722, M, S, U, Γ, Λ, Ω, f1, f13, 28, 700, 892, 1049, 1424^{mg}, Maj-part, Lat, bo^{mss}, U. Becker

Π has a lacuna from here on (up to verse 39).

προσποιέω with μή here: "taking no notice"

There is no reason for an omission.

TVU 8

Minority reading:

NA28 John 8:8 καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν _.

ἑνος ἐκάστου αὐτῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας

"the sins of every one of them"

U, 700, fam Π, al⁶², arm^{mss},

Jerome, Codex Edschmiadzin

264 adds this after verse 6 (see above)

add τῷ δακτύλῳ after κατακύψας: D, 1071, 2722, ff²

The citation of Π is an error in UBS-3c (and Metzger's commentary). Π has a lacuna from verse 6 to 39.

Compare LXX:

LXX Jeremiah 17:13 πάντες οἱ καταλιπόντες σε καταισχυνθήτωσαν ἀφεστηκότες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γραφήτωσαν

"All who forsake you shall be put to shame; those who turn away from you shall be recorded on the ground."

The most imaginative variant, clearly a secondary addition, is given in several Greek and Armenian manuscripts: Here we are told that Jesus is writing the sins of the people into the sand and that everybody could read them.

Probably inserted to satisfy the curiosity about what Jesus wrote on the ground. It is Jerome who connects this addition with the Jeremiah quote (Pelag. 2:17, see Tis).

The Codex Etschmiadzin # 229 (989 CE) reads: "and they all saw their sins on the stones". This is the same codex that has the note "from Ariston" for the longer ending of Mk! The wording in this codex is generally quite different, it reads in full:

"A certain woman was taken in sins, against whom all bore witness that she was deserving of death. They brought her to Jesus (to see) what he would command, in order that they might malign him. Jesus made answer and said: 'Come ye, who are without sin, cast stones and stone her to death.' But he himself, bowing his head was writing with his finger on the earth, to declare their sins; and they were seeing their several sins on the stones. And filled with shame they departed, and no one remained, but only the woman. Said Jesus: 'Go in peace, and present the offering for sins, as in their law is written.' " (compare F.C. Conybeare, Expositor Dec. 1895, p. 406)

Note also the Gospel of Barnabas:

Jesus stooped down and with his finger made a mirror on the ground wherein every one saw his own iniquities. They still pressed for the answer, Jesus lifted up himself and, pointing to the mirror with his finger, said: 'He that is without sin among you, let him be first to stone her.' And again he stooped down, shaping the mirror. The men, seeing this, went out one by one ...

From early on curiosity arose as to what Jesus wrote. Several church fathers made suggestions regarding this.

Ambrose was the first. He suggested "Terra terra scribe hos viros abdicatos." ("Earth, earth, write that these men have been disowned.") Epistle 50.4. He is paraphrasing Jer 22:29-30

Land, land, hear the word of the Lord. Write ye this man an outcast: for there shall none of his seed at all grow up to sit on the throne of David, or as a prince yet in Juda.

Ambrose continues (50.5):

"Cum Iudaei interpellant, in terra scribuntur nomina Iudaeorum, cum adeunt Christiani, non scribuntur in terra fidelium nomina, sed in caelo." ("When the Jews interrupt, their names are written in the ground/earth, but regarding the Christians, their names of Christians are written in heaven.")

Another suggestion seeing often, although its origin is unknown, is: "Terra terram accusat" ("earth accuses earth"). Perhaps it is originating from Augustin, who, preaching on Psalm 2:10, reminded kings that, when they judge people of the earth, "earth itself is judging the earth" (*quia terra iudicat terram*). (Serm. 13.4-6; CCSL 41.11.1:179-80). The earliest evidence for the actual phrase "Terra terram accusat" is a 9th CE Glossa, St. Gall 292, which reads: "Digito scribebat in terra terra terram accusatur" ("with his finger he wrote on the ground "earth accuses earth").



"Terra terram accusat", Codex Egberti, 10th CE Benedictine Abbey at Reichenau.

TVU 9

NA28 John 8:9 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες

ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἰς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὔσα.

BYZ John 8:9 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι,

ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἰς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὔσα

Byz E, G, H, K, 118, 346, 2, 579, Maj-part, bo^{mss}, Aug

οἱ δὲ ἀναγινώσκοντες ... fam Π, pc

txt (D, 1071, 2722), M, S, U, Γ, (Λ), Π, f1, (f13), 28, 700, 892, 1049,
Maj-part, Lat, arm, U. Becker

ἀκούσαντες δὲ

f1, 892, pc, aur, r¹, vg, bo^{mss}, arm

καὶ

Λ, f13, 1424^{mg}, pc, Sy-Pal^A

ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων

D, 1071, 2722, d

Π has a lacuna.

"Reprieved by their conscience": another explanatory gloss similar to that from verse 8.

Borland (p. 48) writes:

"The longer reading of a solid majority of the Greek copies appears to have no support in the Latin tradition. Oddly, the words καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι, if original, could easily have been omitted in the presumed OL Latin archetype: *illi autem cum audissent et a conscientia arguti essent exiebant*. Were such the original reading, the odds are high that some early copyist or editor could have skipped from the *SSENT* of *audissent* to the *SSENT* of *essent* without the slightest disfunction of grammatical sense."

TVU 10

Minority reading:

NA28 John 8:9 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες

ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἰς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὖσα.

<u>ἕκαστος</u> δὲ τῶν Ιουδαίων ἐξήρχετο	D, 1071, 2722, d
<u>εἰς ἕκαστος</u> αὐτῶν	f1, pc
<u>ἐνὸς ἐκάστου</u>	64 (compare Gregory I, p. 143)

txt	K, Π, M, S, U, Γ, Λ, Ω, 118, f13, 28, 579, 700, (892), Maj, Lat, U. Becker
	εἰς καθ' εἰς <u>ἀνεχώρησαν</u> M, 264, 1049, pc, (c, ff ²)
	<u>ἐξηλθεν</u> εἰς καθ' εἰς Λ, 1424 ^{mg} , al
	<u>ἐξηλθον</u> εἰς καθ' εἰς f13 (not 346), pc
	εἰς καθ' εἰς ἐξήρχοντο pc, Lat
	ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' <u>εἰσὶ</u> 892

paulatim secedebant singuli	c, ff ²
unus post unum	Lat
unusquisque	d

εἰς ἕκαστος ist the intensified form of ἕκαστος ("every single one").

TVU 11

Minority reading:

NA28 John 8:9 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες

ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἰς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων _____
καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὖσα.

ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων

S, U, Λ, Ω, 047, 1582, f13, 28, 118, 700, 1424^{mg},

Maj-part, Sy-Pal^A, WH^{mg}, [Robinson¹⁹⁹¹]

usque ad iuniorem

OLat 11A

ὥστε πάντας ἐξελεῖν

D, 1071, 2722, d, WH^{mg}

uti omnes exire

d

omnes recesserunt

c, ff², bo^{mss}, WH^{mg}

usque ad minores omnes regressi sunt

Augustine (Sermon 16A.124)

txt E, G, H, K, M, Γ, 1, 2, 579, 892, fam Π^{pt}, Maj-part, Lat, Sy,

WH, U. Becker, Robinson²⁰⁰⁵

Π has a lacuna.

A natural addition.

WH have in the margin †...†, a symbol indicating a suspected primitive error. They write: "Various evidence makes it probable, that πάντες ἀνεχώρησαν originally followed here as an independent clause; it would be naturally altered or omitted as seeming merely to repeat ἐξήρχοντο."

TVU 12

NA28 John 8:10 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
εἶπεν αὐτῇ· γύναι, ποῦ εἰσιν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν;

BYZ John 8:10 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς

καὶ μηδένα θεασάμενος πλὴν τῆς γυναικός.

εἶπεν αὐτῇ ποῦ εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ κατήγοροί σου; οὐδεὶς σε
κατέκρινεν

Byz E, F, G, H, K, **1582**, 346, 579, Maj-part, geo^{MSS}

εἶδεν αὐτὴν καὶ U, Λ, f13, 118, 700, 1342, 1424^{mg}, al

txt D, 1071, 2722, M, S, Γ, Ω, **1**, 28, 892, 1049, Maj-part,
Lat, Sy-Pal, bo^{MSS}, U. Becker

Π has a lacuna.

1582: The last original page of the PA is missing and has been supplied by another hand from a different text type. The last original page extant ends with 8:7 ὁ ἀναμάρτη-.

A natural expansion. There is no reason for an omission.

TVU 13

Minority reading:

NA28 John 8:10 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ· γύναι, ποῦ εἰσιν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν;

εἶπεν τῇ γυναικί D, 1071, 2722, c, WH^{mg}, Weiss

εἶπεν αὐτῇ· E, F, G, H, K, 2, 579, Maj-part, Robinson²⁰⁰⁵

εἶπεν γύναι U, Λ, f13, 118, 700, 1342, 1424^{mg}, al

εἶπεν αὐτῇ· γύναι M, S, Γ, Ω, f1, 346, 28, 892, 1049, Maj-part, Lat, Sy, arm, WH, [Robinson¹⁹⁹¹]

Compare:

NA28 Luke 13:12 ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἰησοῦς προσεφώνησεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· γύναι, ἀπολέλυσαι τῆς ἀσθενείας σου,

Interesting variation. In Lk the words are safe.

TVU 14

NA28 John 8:10 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ· γύναι,
ποῦ εἰσιν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν;

BYZ John 8:10 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ μηδένα θεασάμενος πλὴν τῆς
γυναικὸς, εἶπεν αὐτῇ
ποῦ εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ κατήγοροί σου; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν

Byz E, F, G, K, 346, 2, 579, Maj-part,
οἱ κατήγοροί σου;
H, S, U, Ω, f13, 28, 700, Maj-part, aur, ff², l, r¹, vg^{cl}, bo^{mss}, Jerome

txt D, 1071, 2722, M, Γ, Λ, f1, 124, 892, 1049, 1342, 1424^{mg}, al,
c, d, e, vg^{st,ww}, Sy-Pal, bo-ms, arm, Aug, U. Becker

omit: 118, 205, 209, pc

Π has a lacuna.

A natural expansion. There is no reason for an omission.

TVU 15

Minority reading:

NA28 John 8:11 ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· οὐδεὶς, κύριε. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου, [καὶ] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε.

καὶ

E, F, G, H, K, Λ, (f13), 2, 28, 579, 1424^{mg}, Maj-part, TR, aur, e, vg, Weiss, Tis, Robinson²⁰⁰⁵
f13 omits καὶ also. 13 reads πορευομένου.

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν

D, pc, ff², WH

καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν

1071, 2722, M, S, U, Γ, Ω, f1, 700, 892, 1049, 1342, Maj-part, c, d, r¹, Sy-Pal, bo, arm, [Robinson¹⁹⁹¹]

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ

118, 205, 209, pc

τὸ λοιπὸν

pc

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν is a typical Lukan phrase (6 times). It appears nowhere else in the Gospels, but in the LXX it appears 29 times (15 times in the apocrypha).

Curiosity from the Old Latin:

"The most striking linguistic fact is the preservation of "i" (= πορεύου or ὑπάγε) in 8:11 by *e*. It is, I believe, the only instance of a monosyllabic derivative of *ire* in Biblical Latin. Its occurrence here at least suggests that the *Pericope* was not read aloud in the public services."

(Burkitt, Two lectures, Note I. 1900)

Appendix: The Latin evidence

This is simplified from the online transcriptions provided by the IGNTP.
For details (and updates!) please check:

Witnesses:

e	02	Codex Palatinus,	5th CE
d	05	Codex Cantabrigiensis,	6th CE
c	06	Codex Colbertinus,	12 CE
ff2	08	Codex Corbeiensis,	5-6th CE
l	011	CodexRehdigeranus,	7-8th CE
r1	014	Codex Usserianus	6-7th CE
j	022	Codex Sarzanensis,	6th CE

7:53

et abierunt	singuli ad domos suas	e
et abierunt	unusquisque in domum suam	d
et duxerunt se	unusquisque in domum suam	c
et reuersi sunt	unusquisque in domum suam	ff2C
et reuersi sunt	unusquisque in domum suam	l-c
et reuersi sunt	unusquisque in domum suam	r1
et reuersi sunt	unusquisque in domum suam	9A
et reuersi sunt	unusquisque in domum suam	11A
et reuersi sunt	unusquisque in domum suam	29
et reuersi sunt	unusquisque in domum suam	30
et reuersi sunt	unusquisque in domum suam	Vulgate

8:1

Iesus autem abiit in montem oliueti	e
Iesus autem abiit in montem oliuarum	d
Iesus autem ascendit in montem oliueti	c
Iesus autem ascendit in montem oliueti	ff2
Iesus autem perrexit in montem oliueti	l-c
Iesus autem perrexit in montem oliueti	r1
Iesus autem abiit in montem oliueti	9A
Iesus autem perrexit in montem oliueti	11A
perrexit autem Iesus in montem oliueti	29
Iesus autem perrexit in montem oliueti	30
Iesus autem perrexit in montem oliueti	Vulgate

8:2a

deluculo autem reuersus est in templo		e
mane autem	iterum uenit in templum	d
et mane cum factum esset	iterum uenit in templo	c
et mane cum factum esset	iterum uenit in templo	ff2*
et diluculo	iterum uenit in templum	l-c
et diluculo	iterum uenit Iesus in templo	r1
et deluculo	iterum uenit in templum	9A
diluculo	iterum uenit in templum	11A
et diluculo	iterum uenit in templum	29
et diluculo	iterum uenit in templum	30
et diluculo	iterum uenit in templum	Vulgate

8:2b

et omnis plebs	ueniebat ad eum et sedens docebat eos	e
----------------	---------------------------------------	---

et omnis populus	ueniebat ad eum	d
et uniuersus populus	conueniebant ad eum et cum consedisset docebat eos	c
et uniuersus populus	conueniebant ad eum et cum consedisset docebat eos	ff2*
et omnis populus	uenit ad eum et sedens docebat eos	l-c
et omnis populus	uenit ad eum et sedens docebat eos	r1
et omnis populus	uenit ad eum et sedens ihs docebat eos	9A
et omnes populus	uenit ad eum et sedens docebat eos	11A
et omnis populus	uenit ad eum et sedens docebat eos	29
et omnis populus	uenit ad eum et sedens docebat eos	30
et omnis populus	uenit ad eum et sedens docebat eos	Vulgate

8:3a

et adduxerunt autem scribae et farisaei	mulierem in adulterio depraehensam	e*
adducunt autem scribae et pharisei in peccato muliere mulierem conpraehensam		d*
scribae autem et pharisei adduxerunt ad eum mulierem in adulterio deprehensam		c
scribae autem et pharisei adducunt ad eum mulierem in moecationem deprehensam		ff2*
adducunt autem scribae et farisei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam		l-c
adducunt autem scribae et farisaei mulierem in adulterio depraehensam		r1*
adducunt autem scribae et pharisei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam		9A
adducunt autem scribae et pharisei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam		11A
adducunt autem scribae et pharisei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam		29*
adducunt autem scribae et pharissei mulierem in adulterio depraehensam		30
adducunt autem scribae et pharisei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam		Vulgate

8:3b

et cum statuissent eam in medio	e*
et statuentes eam in medio	d*
quam cum statuissent in medio	c
quam cum statuissent in medio	ff2*
et statuerunt eam in medio	l-c
et statuentes eam in medio eorum	r1*
et statuerunt eum in medio ante ihm	9A
et statuerunt eam in medio	11A
et statuerunt eam in medio	29*
et statuerunt eam in medio	30
et statuerunt eam in medio	Vulgate

8:4

dixerunt Illi magister	haec mulier depraehensa est sponte moecata	e
dicunt illi temptantes eum sacerdotes ut haberent accusare eum magister		
	haec mulier conpraehensa est palam in adulterio	d
dixerunt ad Iesum Magister	haec mulier deprehensa est in adulterio	c
dixerunt ad Iesum magister	haec mulier deprehensa est in moecatione	ff2*
et dixerunt ei Magister	haec mulier modo deprehensa est in adulterio	l-c
dixerunt ei magister	haec mulier modo depraehensa est in adulterio	r1
dixerunt ei magister	haec mulier modo deprehensa est in adulterio	9A
et dixerunt ei magister	haec mulier modo deprehensa est in adulterio	11A
et dixerunt ei magister	haec mulier modo deprehensa est in adulterio	29
et dixerunt ei magister	haec mulier modo depraehensa est in adulterio	30
et dixerunt ei magister	haec mulier modo deprehensa est in adulterio	Vulgate

8:5

in lege autem nobis moyses	mandauit huiusmodi lapidare tu ergo quid dicis	e
moyses autem in lege	praecepit tales lapidare tu autem nunc quid dicis	d
in lege autem praecepit nobis moyses ut qui in adulterio deprehenditur lapidetur	Tu autem quid dicis de ea	c
in lege autem praecepit nobis moyses ut qui in alturio deprehenditur lapidetur	tu autem quid dicis de ea	ff2*
in lege autem moyses	mandauit nobis huiusmodi lapidare tu ergo quid dicis	l-c
in lege autem moyses	mandauit nobis huiusmodi lapidare tu autem quid dicis	r1
in lege autem moyses	mandauit nobis huiusmodi lapidari tu uero quid dicis (de ea?)	9A
in lege autem moyses	mandauit nobis huiusmodi lapidare tu uero quid dicis	11A
in lege autem moyses	mandauit uobis huiusmodi lapidare tu ergo quid dicis	29
in lege autem moyses	mandauit nobis huiusmodi lapidare tu ergo quid dicis	30
in lege autem moyses	mandauit nobis huiusmodi lapidare tu ergo quid dicis	Vulgate

8:6a

hoc enim dicebant	temptantes illum ut haberent quomodo eum accusarent	e
-		d
haec ideo dicebant	temptantes eum ut haberent causam accusandi eum	c
haec dicebant	temptantes eum ut haberent causam adcusandi eum	ff2*
haec autem dicebant	temptantes eum ut possint accusare eum	l-c
hoc autem dicebant	temptantes eum ut possent eum accussare	r1
... dicebant	temptantes eum ut accusarent eum	j
haec autem dicebant	temptantes eum ut possent accusare eum	9A
haec autem dicebant	temptantes eum ut possent accussare eum	11A
haec autem dicebant	temptantes eum ut possint accusare eum	29
haec autem dicebant	temptantes eum ut possent accusare eum	30
haec autem dicebant	temptantes eum ut possent accusare eum	Vulgate

8:6b

Iesus autem inclinato	capite digito supra terram scribebat	e
Iesus autem inclinatus	digito suo scribebat in terram	d
Iesus autem inclinato	capite digito scribebat in terra	c
Iesus autem inclinato	capite digito scribebat in terram	ff2*
Iesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terra		l-c
Iesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito suo scribebat in terra		r1
Iesus autem inclinans se digito scribebat in terra		j
Iesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terra		9A
Iesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terram		11A
Iesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribaebat in terra		29
Iesus autem inclinato capite deorsum scribebat digito suo in terram		30
Iesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terra		Vulgate

8:7a

cum ergo perseuerarent	interrogantes eum adlebauit capud et dixit illis	e
cum autem inmanerent	interrogantes erexit se et dixit illis	d
cum autem perseuerarent	interrogantes eum erexit se et dicit eis	c
cum autem interrogarent	expectantes eum quid diceret et erexit se et dixit eis	ff2*
cum autem perseuerarent	interrogantes eum erexit se et dixit eis	l-c
cum autem perseuerarent	interrogantes eum erexit se et dixit eis	r1
cum autem insisterent	interrogantes eum leuauit faciem suam et dixit eis	j
cum autem perseuerarent	interrogantes eum erexit se et dixit illis	9A
cum autem perseuerarent	interrogantes eum erexit se et dixit eis	11A
cum autem perseuerarent	interrogantes eum erexit se et dixit eis	29*
cum autem perseuerarent	interrogantes eum erexit se et dixit eis	30
cum autem perseuerarent	interrogantes eum erexit se et dixit eis	Vulgate

8:7b

si quis uestrum sine peccato est ipse prior super illam iniciat lapidem	e
quis est sine peccato uestrum prior super eam mittat lapidem	d
qui sine peccato est uestrum primus in illam lapidem iaciat	c
quisque uestrum sine delicto est prior in eam lapidem iacet	ff2*
qui sine peccato est uestrum primus in illam lapidem mittat	l-c
qui sine peccato est ... lapidem mittat	r1
qui sine peccato est uestrum primus in eam lapidem mittat	j
qui sine peccato uestrum primus in illam lapidem mittat	9A
qui sine peccato est uestrum primus in illam lapidem mittat	11A
qui sine peccato est uestrum primus in illam lapidem mittat	28
qui sine peccato est uestrum primus in illam lapidem mittat	29*
qui sine peccato est uestrum primus in illam lapidem mittat	29C
qui sine peccato est uestrum lapidem primus in illam mittat	30
qui sine peccato est uestrum primus in illam lapidem mittat	Vulgate

8:8

et iterum inclinato capite supra terram scribebat	e
et iterum inclinatus digito suo scribebat in terram	d
et iterum se inclinans scribebat in terra	c
et iterum inclinans se de digito scribebat in terram	ff2*
et iterum se inclinans scriueuat in terra	l-c
et iterum se inclinans scribebat in terra	9A
et iterum se inclinans scribebat in terram	11A
et iterum se inclinans scribaebat in terra	29
et iterum se inclinans scribebat in terram	30
et iterum se inclinans scribebat in terra	Vulgate

8:9a

illi autem cum audissent unus post unum exiebant incipientes a senioribus	e
unusquisque autem iudaeorum exiebant incipientes a presbyteris uti omnes exire	d
illi igitur cum audissent paulatim secedebant singuli incipientes a senioribus omnes recesserunt	c
illi igitur cum audissent paulatim secedebant singuli incipientes a senioribus omnes recesserunt	ff2*
audientes autem unus post unum exiebant incipientes a senioribus	l-c
audientes autem ... post unum exiebant incipientes ... bus	r1
audientes hoc uerbum unus post unum exiebant incipientes a senioribus	j
audientes autem unus post unum exiebant incipientes a senioribus usque ad iuniorem	9A
audientes autem unus post unum exiebant incipientes a senioribus	11A
audientes autem unus post unum exiebant incipientes a senioribus	29
audientes autem unus post unum exiebant incipientes a senioribus	30
audientes autem unus post unum exiebant incipientes a senioribus	Vulgate

8:9b

et relictus est Iesus solus et mulier in medio	e
et remansit solus et mulier in medio cum esset	d
et relictus est solus et ecce mulier illa in medio erat stans	c
et relictus est solus Iesus et ecce mulier illa in medio erat	ff2*
et remansit solus Iesus et mulier in medio stans	l-c
et remansit Iesus solus et mulier in medio stans	r1
... relictus est solus Iesus et ...	j
et remansit solus Iesus et mulier in medio stans	9A
et remansit solus et mulier in medio stans	11A
et remansit solus et mulier in medio stans	29
et remansit solus et mulier in medio stans	30
et remansit solus et mulier in medio stans	Vulgate

8:10

cum adleuasset autem capud Iesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt nemo te iudicauit	e
erigens autem se Iesus dixit mulieri ubi sunt nemo te condemnauit	d
cumque se erexisset Iesus dixit ad mulierem ubi sunt nemo te condemnauit	c
cumque erexisset se Iesus dixit ad eam mulier ubi sunt qui te perduxerunt nemo te lapidauit	ff2
erigens autem se Iesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt qui te accusabant nemo te condemnauit	l-c
erigens autem se Iesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt qui te accusabant nemo te condemnauit	r1
... Iesus ...	j
erigens autem se Iesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt qui te accusabant nemo te [... 8-10 ...]	9A
erigens autem se Iesus et dixit ei mulier ubi sunt nemo te contempnauit	11A
erigens autem se Iesus dixit ei Iesus mulier qui te accusabant ubi sunt Nemo te contempnabunt	28
erigens autem se Iesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt qui te accusabant nemo te contempnauit	29
erigens autem se Iesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt qui te accusabant nemo te contempnabit	30*
erigens autem se Iesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt nemo te condemnauit	Vulgate

8:11a

dixit et illa nemo domine	dixit autem Iesus ad illam	e
ad illa dixit illi nemo domine	ad ille dixit	d
quae dixit Nemo domine	dixit autem illi Iesus	c
et illa respondens	dixit nemo domine dixit autem ei Iesus	ff2
quae dicit nemo domine	dixit autem Iesus	l-c
quae dixit nemo domine	dixit autem Iesus	r1
quae respondit nemo domine	dixit autem ...	j
quae dixit nemo domine	et ait ad illam	9A
que dixit nemo domine	dixit autem Iesus	11A
quae dixit nemo domine	dixit ei Iesus	28
quae dixit nemo domine	dixit autem ei Iesus	29*
quae dixit nemo domine	dixit autem Iesus	30
quae dixit nemo domine	dixit autem Iesus	Vulgate

8:11b

nec ego te iudico	i et amplius noli peccare	e
nec ego te condemno uade	et ex hoc iam noli peccare	d
nec ego te condemnabo uade	et ex hoc iam noli peccare	c
nec ego te damnabo uade	ex hoc iam noli peccare	ff2
nec ego te condemnabo uade	et amplius iam noli peccare	l-c
nec ego te condemnabo uade hinc	et ex hoc iam noli peccare	r1
... condemnabo peccare	j
nec ego te condemnabo uade	et [6-8] iam noli peccare	9A
nec ego te condemnabo uade	et amplius iam noli peccare	11A
nec ego te contempnabo uade	et amplius noli peccare	28
nec ego te contempnabo uade	et amplius iam noli peccare	29*
nec ego te contempno uade	et amplius noli peccare	30
nec ego te condemnabo uade	et amplius iam noli peccare	Vulgate