Papyrus 52 contains punctuation.¹

Do ancient Greek manuscripts contain punctuation?

Ancient Greek manuscripts typically contain abundant punctuation. However, much of this punctuation is either

inconsistent or differs

Figure 1. One school exercise contains continuous script.

from standard modern conventions.

For example, it is not uncommon for a manuscript to contain some or even all words in a continuous script, without any spaces or any other mark between words.²

However, many have exaggerated this phenomenon, claiming that ancient Greek



manuscripts contain absolutely or virtually no punctuation.3

Much of the punctuation in ancient Greek manuscripts escapes attention, for various reasons. The fragmentary nature of the manuscripts makes it possible to overlook explicit punctuation, and easy to miss subtle punctuation forms. Since the punctuation does not always follow modern convention, one can miss what is clearly present but not being looked for.

^{1.} Copyright © 2017. All rights reserved. Graydon L. Stephenson, Graydon.Stephenson@yahoo.com.

^{2.} Consider, for example, the schoolboy exercise written on a wax tablet from the second century AD, located at the British Museum in London, England, catalogue Addition 34186. It contains no word divisions, neither in the master's exemplar, nor the schoolboy's copies below. However, the copied phrase is a complete proverb from Menander—a single, complete proverb is itself a form of punctuation. The space between the exemplar and the copies provides a unit division. The student repeats the copy twice, terminating the first copy at line end. The text is also written between guidelines. It would be incorrect to claim that this text contains no punctuation at all.

Greg Stafford, "Punctuation in Early Greek New Testament Texts," Elihu Online Papers, no. 3 (Elihu Books, 2010), pp. 1-25, http://www.elihubooks.com/data/elihu_online_papers/000/000/003/Elihu_Online_Papers_3_Punctuation_in_early_NT_ texts_9.4.2010_Greg_Stafford_revised_2.7.2011.pdf lists many of these claims.

Following is an attempt to carefully identify the punctuation of one important manuscript fragment, papyrus 52.¹ This important papyrus provides an exemplar of the extent of punctuation in ancient Greek manuscripts.

Characterize punctuation types.

Punctuation is any written orthographic phenomenon other than an alphabetic character. Punctuation often secondarily separates text into units.

Figure 2. The letter of Arrios Eudaimon contains punctuation.

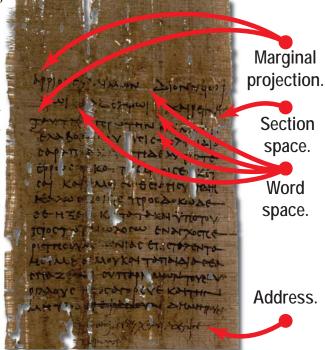
Ancient Greek literature includes both literary and personal texts. An author produces a literary text for general consumption, like a book of proverbs, a song, a historical account, or a narrative. A personal text typically has a more narrow audience, like a personal letter² or a bill of sale. The Christian Bible contains both types. The gospel of John is better categorized as a literary text.

Punctuation can take an active form, using explicit glyphs.

In the second century BC, Dionysius Thrax discusses three levels of punctuation stops.

There are three punctuation marks: a period, a colon,

and a comma. A period marks the end of a complete thought. A colon marks a dependent clause. A comma marks an incomplete thought. It is a clause.³



^{1.} Gregory-Aland papyrus 52 is likely the earliest currently published manuscript of the Greek Christian Bible. It was originally published in *An unpublished fragment of the fourth gospel in the John Rylands Library*, ed. Colin Roberts (Manchester, England: The Manchester University Press, 1935). There are several manuscripts which purportedly are prior, but are not yet released for public consumption.

^{2.} Consider the second century AD letter of Arrios Eudaimon, Papyrus Oxyrhychus 31.2559, online at http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?e=p-000-00---0POxy--00-0--0prompt-10---4-----0-1I--1-en-50---20-about---00031-001-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL5. The extent of punctuation in this manuscript is not exceptional among Greek letters of the period.

Dionysius Thrax, The Art of Language. The Greek text is available online at https://web.archive.org/web/20040825223124/ http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/graeca/Chronologia/S_ante02/DionysiosThrax/dio_tec0.html. The English translation is provided by the author.

Dionysius irrefutably establishes that a punctuation convention exists in early Greek literature.¹

Active forms of Greek punctuation have other expressions. For example, since a breathing mark locates the beginning of a word, it also serves to separate a word from its predecessor. Sometimes a di-

eresis functions in the same way in the manuscript tradition, even though technically it would otherwise be superfluous at the beginning of a word. An accent also might signal a unit division.

A bar placed over a sequence of letters can mark a word unit. This bar can signal an abbreviation or a numeral.

Greek manuscripts have other glyphs that separate larger units, such as the paragraph marker, or paragraphos.² The paragraphos signals a new section. A paragraphos can take several forms, such as a dashed line over the first word in a new line, a long dash, or a glyph like the modern semicolon.

Titles, colophons, headings, subheadings, abbreviations, page numbers, and decorations also function as unit divisions.

Punctuation can be also take passive forms.

For example, a space is not a written symbol, but the lack of an explicit symbol. Just as in modern usage, Greek spaces may separate words, but they are also might separate clauses, sentences, paragraphs, and larger sections. Spacing can be vertical or horizontal. Ancient Greek spacing conventions are considerably more varied and inconsistent than modern usage.

Indentations can also separate units. Indentations may encroach into the column of text, but just as easily they may project into the margin.

With fragmentary manuscripts, it is often necessary to hypothesize the content of missing text. This can lead to implied conclusions about what might or must have existed. Sometimes this leads to conclusions about punctuation.

^{1.} Similar comments regarding punctuation occur in other works from the fourth century BC: Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 15.59 and Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric* 3.8.

^{2.} Observe the horizontal bars in the first century AD manuscript of Thucydides, Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 49.3451, image number 10, located at the Sackler Library at Oxford University in Oxford, England, online at http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?e=p-000-00---0POxy--00-0-0--oprompt-10---4-----0-1I--1-en-50---20-about---00031-001-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL5.

For example, if the missing text is known, but there is not enough room for an expected sequence of characters, a typical abbreviation might hypothetically resolve the problem.

Characterize Greek syllables.

The core of a syllable is a vowel, or a diphthong vowel combination. Each syllable must contain exactly one, and only one, vowel or diphthong. A word contains exactly the same number of syllables as the sum of distinct vowels and diphthongs.

A single consonant preceding a vowel begins the syllable including that vowel, for example, $\delta i \cdot \delta \omega \cdot \mu \iota$ or $\epsilon \dot{\upsilon} \cdot \delta \upsilon \varsigma$.

Final consonants in a word end the preceding syllable, for example, δί·δω·μεν or στράνξ.

Consonant clusters that can be pronounced together begin the syllable of the following vowel, for example, $\dot{\epsilon} \cdot \pi \lambda \eta \cdot \rho \dot{\omega} \cdot \sigma \alpha$. Consonant clusters that cannot be pronounced together split between the preceding and following syllables, for example, $\dot{\epsilon}\chi \cdot \theta \rho \delta \varsigma$. Double consonants are split between the preceding and following syllable, for example, $\ddot{\alpha}\gamma \cdot \gamma \epsilon \cdot \lambda \circ \varsigma$.

The syllables of compound words must divide at their joint, for example, ἐκ·λύ·ω or ἀν·τί·χρι·στος.

A given word may split between two lines in a manuscript. However, in virtually all early manuscripts, it is unusual for a syllable to split between two lines. Thus, a word or syllable at the end of a line is a passive form of punctuation. Since line breaks typically cannot separate a syllable, this is itself a passive form of punctuation.

Describe papyrus 52.

In 1920, Bernard Pyne Grenfell purchased a set of manuscripts discovered in Egypt. It was not until 1935 that Colin Roberts discovered the significance of Papyrus Rylands Greek 457, also known as Gregory-Alands papyrus 52.²

It contains a very early text of the gospel of John. It was likely produced in the early second century.

This fragment is about the size of three fingers. The original complete page was about 18 cm by 22 cm. The paper was manufactured from the papyrus plant. The format was an early codex, formed by folding larger sheets into a bound quire of pages, like a modern book.

^{1.} Every consonant combination that can begin a word should be pronounced together.

^{2.} It is currently located in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester in Manchester, England. It is catalogued as Papyrus Rylands Greek 457.

Each side contains 7 lines from a page that likely included 18 lines. Each line contained about 30 characters. Figure 4. View the front of papyrus 52.

The front page, John 18:31-33 and following, falls on the back, or rough, side of the leaf. The front contains portions of the top left-inside beginning of the first seven lines nearest the spine.

The front side of papyrus 52 narrates the Jews presenting Jesus to the Roman governor Pilate.

- 1. οι ϊουδαι[ο]ι ημε[ιν ουκ εξεστιν αποκτειναι]
- 2. ουδενα ϊναολο[γος του ιησου πληρωθη ον ει]-
- 3. πεν σημαινω[ν ποιω θανατω ημελλεν απο]-
- 4. θνησκειν ισ[ηλθεν ουν παλιν εις το πραιτω]-
- 5. ριονο π [ιλατος και εφωνήσεν τον ιήσουν]
- 6. και ει π [εν αυτώ συ ει ο βασιλευς των ιου]-
- 7. [δ]αιω[ν απεκριθη ιησους απο σεαυτου συ του] ...

The back page, John 18:37-38 and following, falls on the front, or smooth, side of the leaf. The back contains portions of the top right-inside end of the first seven



The back page opens with the private conversation between Jesus and the Roman governor Pilate.

- 1. [βασιλευς ειμι εγω εις το]υτο γ[ε]γεννημαι
- 2. [και εληλυθα εις τον κο]σμον ϊναμαρτυ-
- 3. [ρησω τη αληθεια πας ο ων] εκ τηςαληθε[ι]-
- 4. [ας ακουει μου της φωνης] λεγειαυτω
- 5. [ο πιλατος τι εστιν αληθεια κ]αιτουτο
- 6. [ειπων παλιν εξηλθεν προς] τουςιο[υ]-
- 7. [δαιους και λεγει αυτοις εγω ουδ]εμι[αν]
- 8. [ευρισκω εν αὐτω αιτιαν] ...

It is hypothetically possible to reconstruct the missing text from these fragments.¹



^{1.} Reconstructions are provided by the author.

lines nearest the spine.



Figure 6. View a reconstruction of the front page of papyrus 52.

OLIOTZZIOIHUEINOYKEZECTINATOKTEINAI OYDENAINAODOLOCTOTIHCOTEDHOWEI TEEN CHURINWNTCOIN BANATWHUERAENATEO ONH CKEINICH A BEN OYNTE AZIN EICTO TEPAITO PIONOTE I DATOCKA LE OWNHE ENTON I HEOTH KAI EITTEN ATTW CYTICBACIAEYCTWN IOY DAIWN ATTEK PIBHIHCOYCATTOCEAYTOYCYTOY TOZETCICHADOIETTONCOITTEPIELLOTATTEK PIBHOTEIRATOGNHTIEFWIOYAZIOCEMITO GONOC TOCONKA i O i apxiep E i CTE APE AWKAN CEELLOITIETTOIHCACATTEKPIOHIHCOYCH BacineiaHEMHOTKECTINEKTOYKOCHOT TOYTOYE' GK TOY KOCK OYTOY TOY HN'HBA CI reight whit THE FT ai OI EMOINT WNIZON TO aNING MHTTZ, a LOBOUT OICIOYA ZIOCNYN DEHBACIAFIA HELL HOTKECTIN ENTEYDEN GITTEN OYN AY TWOTE MATOCOYKOTH BACI REYCEION ETTEKPIBHOIHCOYCZETEICOTI

Describe papyrus 52. Page 6 of 17.

Figure 7. View a reconstruction of the back page of papyrus 52.

BACIZEYCEMIETWTOYTOFEFENNHUZI KAIEAHAY BA EICTONKOCHOK I HALLANTY PHCWTHARHOEIATTACOWNEKTHCARHOEI acakore I MOVTHCOWNHON EVERYTU OT IZATOCTIECTINAZHBEIZ KALTOYTO EITEWN TRAIN EZENBENTEPOCTOYCLOT DATOYCKAIDERE AYTOICERWOYDELIAN EYPICKWENDYTWDITIONECTINDECYN HEERYMININZENZATEOZYCW YMINEN TOTE & CX & BOY DEC BE OY NATEO AYOU YALIN TONBACIA E ATUNIOY DAIWHEKPAYTACAN OYNTAXIN REPONTEC MHTOYTONAXXA TONB APABBANHNAE OBAPABBAC, HICTHS TOTE OYNE 22 BEN OTCI 2 ATOCTON I H COTH KAI EMACTIWEEN KAIOICTPATIWTAI TE DE EANT ECCTE PANONE EAKANBUNETT EBHRANAYTON THKE GARH KAILLIATION πορφτροτηπεριεβαλον αντονκαι

Describe papyrus 52. Page 7 of 17.

Identify papyrus 52 punctuation.

The front page of papyrus 52 includes portions of ten distinct sentences.¹

- 1. οι ϊουδαι[ο]ι ημε[ιν ουκ εξεστιν]
- 2. [αποκτειναι] ουδενα
- 3. ϊνα ο λο[γος του ιησου πληρωθη]
- 4. [ον ει]πεν
- 5. σημαινω[ν ποιω θανατω]
- 6. [ημελλεν απο]θνησκειν
- 7. ισ[ηλθεν ουν παλιν εις το πραιτω]ριον ο π[ιλατος]
- 8. [και εφωνησεν τον ιησουν]
- 10. [συ ει ο βασιλευς των ιουδ]αιω[ν]

The text displays only three of the nine transitions between sentences, that is, sentence 2-3, 4-5, and 6-7. The other transitions are not visible in the manuscript. The text also displays the beginning of sentence 9, but not the end of sentence 8.

The sentence 2-3 transition in line 2 contains a space and a dieresis over the first letter of sentence 3, ουδενα ϊνα. The sentence 4-5 transition in line 3 contains a space, [ει]πεν σημαινω[ν]. The sentence 6-7 transition in line 4 contains a space, [απο]θνησκειν ισ[ηλθεν]. Sentence 9 begins at the beginning of line 6, και. So, every existing sentence transition on this page has some form of punctuation.

The text displays ten transitions between words. 4 of the 10 transitions have no apparent punctuation, $\text{ind} \circ \text{lo}[\text{gos}]$ in line 2, and $[\pi \text{paitw}] \text{pion} \circ \pi [\text{ilatos}]$ in line 5. Both of these cases involve a sentence subject and its associated article. The other six word transitions are clearly punctuated, in every case with a space, two in line 1, oi ioudai[o] i hme[in], and one each in lines 2, oudena ina, 3, [ei] pen ohain[n], 4, [apo] hnotein ina[n], and 6, xai $\text{ei} \pi [\text{en}]$. Two of those cases commence the second word with a dieresis, lines 1 and 2.

Each of the seven lines begins with either a new word, lines 1, 01, 2, 00 deva, and 6, kai, or the beginning of a syllable, lines 3, $[\epsilon i]/\pi \epsilon v$, 4, $[\alpha \cdot \pi o]/\theta v \eta \cdot \sigma \kappa \epsilon i v$, 5, $[\pi \rho \alpha \cdot i \cdot \tau \omega]/\rho i \cdot o v$, and 7, $[iou]/[\delta]\alpha i \cdot \omega[\nu]$.



Figure 8. The front of papyrus 52 contains punctuation.

^{1.} For the purpose of this investigation, a sentence is defined as a single verb along with its subordinate subject phrases, object phrases, adverbs, and direction clauses.

The back page contains twelve distinct sentences.

- 1. [βασιλευς ειμι]
- 2. [εγω εις το]υτο γ[ε]γεννημαι
- 3. [και εληλυθα εις τον κο]σμον
- 4. ϊνα μαρτυ[ρησω τη αληθεια]
- 5. [πας ο ων] εκ της αληθε[ιας]
- 6. [ακουει μου της φωνης]
- 7. λεγει αυτω [ο πιλατος]
- 8. [τι εστιν αληθεια]
- 9. [κ]αι τουτο [ειπων παλιν]
- 10. [εξηλθεν προς] τους ιου[δαιους]
- 11. [και λεγει αυτοις]
- 12. [εγω ουδ]εμι[αν ευρισκω εν αὐτω αιτιαν]

Figure 9. The back of papyrus 52 contains punctuation.



The text displays only one of the eleven transitions between sentences, sentence 3-4 transition, [κo] $\sigma \mu o \nu \ddot{\nu} \alpha$. The other transitions are not visible in the manuscript. The text also displays the beginning of sentence 7, $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \iota$, but not the end of sentence 6.

The sentence 3-4 transition in line 2 contains a space and a dieresis over the first letter of sentence 3. Sentence 7 begins in line 4. Although the text of sentence 6 is not present, the transition between sentence 6-7 is marked by a space. So, every existing sentence transition on this page has some form of punctuation.

The text displays nine transitions between words. 5 of the 9 transitions have no apparent punctuation, $\text{ina } \mu\alpha\rho\tau\nu[\rho\eta\sigma\omega]$ in line 2, $\tau\eta\varsigma$ algoes[ias] in line 3, legel autw in line 4, [emigration in line 5, and tous iou[daious] in line 6. The other four word transitions are clearly punctuated, in every case with a space, [to]uto $\gamma[\epsilon]\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\mu\alpha$ 1 in line 1, [emigration in line 2, ex $\tau\eta\varsigma$ in line 3, and [function in line 4. [emigration in line 4. [emigration in line 3] are the second word with a dieresis, line 2.

Lines 1, $\gamma[\epsilon]\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\mu\alpha\iota$, 4, $[\epsilon\iota]\pi\epsilon\nu$, and 5, touto, end with a word. Lines 2, $\mu\alpha\rho\cdot\tau\upsilon/[\rho\eta\cdot\sigma\omega]$ and 3, $\alpha\cdot\lambda\eta\cdot\theta\epsilon[\iota]/[\alpha\varsigma]$ likely end with a syllable, but the text is too fragmentary to determine with certainty. Lines 6, $\iota\sigma[\upsilon]/[\delta\alpha\iota\cdot\upsilon\upsilon\varsigma]$, and 7, $[\upsilon\upsilon\delta]\epsilon\cdot\mu\iota\cdot[\alpha\nu]$, have adequate space to end in a syllable, but the manuscript is broken. Each of the three clear cases end the line with a word.

The text does not display any stop, accent, iota subscript, or breathing marks. It does contain three dieresis marks, so it is possible that some other punctuation marks may

Figure 10. Papyrus 4 contains punctuation.

have existed in the lost portions of the manuscript. It is not possible to determine

whether the manuscript had indentations, paragraph or sections marks, headings, titles, colophons, introductions, page numbers, or

other punctuation.

Identify early Christian manuscript punctuation.

Similar results can be demonstrated for other early Christian Bible manuscripts, including every available manuscript from the second century.

Gregory-Aland papyrus 4 is located at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, France. It contains fragments from the beginning of the gospel of Luke. It is catalogued as Supplement Greek 1120. This portion includes text from Luke 5:3. This manuscript is dated from the late second

to early third century.

Papyrus 4 contains stop marks, spaces between words, and abbreviations for sacred names.

Gregory-Aland papyrus 32 is located at the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester in Manchester, England. The single fragment contains Titus 1:11-15 and 2:3-8. It is catalogued as Papyrus Rylands 5. This page displays Titus 1:11-15. The manuscript is dated around AD 200.

Papyrus 32 contains numerous, subtle, but clear and distinct spaces between words.

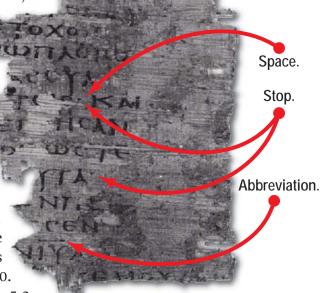
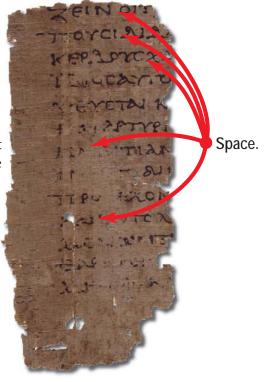


Figure 11. Papyrus 32 contains punctuation.



A portion of Gregory-Aland papyrus 46 is held at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Ireland. It is part of a nearly com-

plete codex of the letters of Paul as well as Hebrews. It is catalogued **Papyrus** Chester Beatty II. Some other folios of the same codex are located at the University of Michigan Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This page contains Ephesians 6:21 through Galatians 1:8. The manuscript is dated near AD 200.

Papyrus 46 includes extensive punctuation, cluding titles, decorations, page numbers, paragraph and sentence spaces, abbreviations sacred names, and dieresis marks.

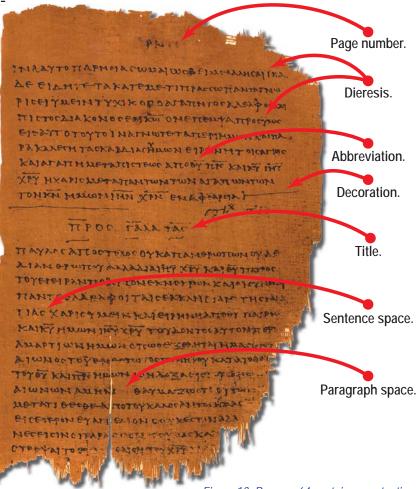


Figure 13. Papyrus 64 contains punctuation.

Gregory-Aland papyrus 64 is held at Magdalen College at the University of Oxford in Oxford, England. It contains

a few fragments from the gospel of Matthew. It is catalogued Papyrus Magdalen Greek 18. This page contains Matthew 5:25-28. The manuscript is dated about AD 200.

Papyrus 64 contains clear stop marks between sentences.



Gregory-Aland papyrus 66 is held at the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana in Cologny-Geneva,

Switzerland. Papyrus 66 is a nearly complete codex of the gospel of John. It is catalogued Papyrus Magdalen Greek 18. The first page contains John 1:1-13. The manuscript is dated about AD 200.

Papyrus 66 includes extensive punctuation, includes titles, decorations, stop marks, paragraph and sentence spaces, abbreviations for sacred names, and dieresis marks.

Gregory-Aland papyrus 75 is held at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in the Vatican City. It is catalogued Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV. This codex contains significant por-

tions of the end of the gospel of Luke and the beginning of the gospel of John. This page contains Luke 24:51-53 and John 1:1-16. The manuscript is dated about AD 200.

Papyrus 75 includes extensive punctuation, includes colophons and titles, decorations, stop marks, and abbreviations for sacred names.



Figure 15. Papyrus 75 contains punctuation.



Gregory-Aland papyrus 90 contains a fragment of John 18:36-19:1 and 19:2-7. It is held at the Sackler Library in the Ashmolean Mu- *Figure 16. Papyrus 90 contains punctuation.* seum at the University of Oxford in the Oxford,

England. It is catalogued Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 3523. This page contains John 18:36-19:1. The manuscript is dated in the late second century.

Papyrus 90 contains numerous spaces and dieresis marks.

Gregory-Aland papyrus 98 contains a fragment from Revelation 1:13-20. It is held at the Französisches Institut für orientalische Archäologie in Cairo, Egypt. It is catalogued Papyrus IFAO inventory 237b. The manuscript is dated to the second century.

Papyrus 98 is in poor condition. However, there are clear spaces and dieresis marks. There are three numerals with bars above.¹



Figure 17. Papyrus 98 contains punctuation.



^{1.} Peter Málik, "Another Look at P.IFAO II 31 (98): An Updated Transcription and Textual Analysis," *Novum Testamentum* 58 (2016): 207-208.

Gregory-Aland papyrus 103, together with Gregory-Aland papyrus 77, contains fragments of the gospel of Matthew.

It is held at the Sackler Library in the Ashmolean Museum at the University of Oxford in the Oxford, England. It is catalogued Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4403. This page contains Matthew 14:3-5. The manuscript is dated about AD 200.

Papyrus 103 contains clear and distinct stop marks.

Gregory-Aland papyrus 104 contains a fragment of Matthew 21:34-37, 21:43-45. It is held at the Sackler Library in the Ashmolean Museum at the University of

Oxford in the Oxford, England. It is catalogued Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4404. This page contains Matthew 21:34-37. The manuscript is dated

s e c o n d century.

from the

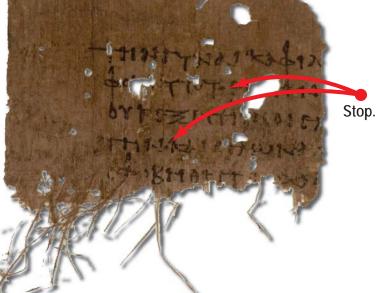
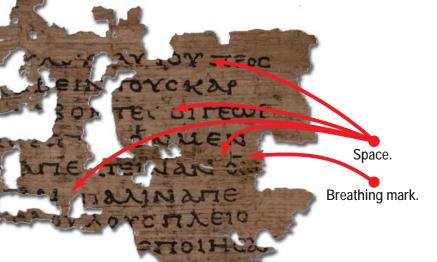


Figure 18. Papyrus 103 contains punctuation.

Figure 19. Papyrus 104 contains punctuation.



Papyrus

104 contains spaces between words and also some breathing marks.

There exists a currently unpublished and uncatalogued fragment of 1 Corinthians 8:10-9:3 and 9:27- Figure 20. An unpublished manuscript of 1 Corinthians 10 contains punctuation.

10:6. It is part of the Green Collection. This page contains 1 Corinthians 9:27-10:6. It is purportedly a second cen-

tury manuscript.



So, every Greek Christian Bible manuscript from the second century contains numerous cases of punctuation. This punctuation usually includes various types. Most of these manuscripts contain extensive punctuation.

Papyrus 52 punctuation is typical and abundant.

Punctuation in papyrus 52 is far from absent or even sporadic. This early Christian manuscript contains punctuation in the form of word spaces, sentence spaces, dieresis marks, and end-of-line word and syllable breaks. This punctuation is not always rigorous or exhaustive, but it is extensive.

All six sentence transitions visible in the manuscript are punctuated. 10 of the 19 word transitions are punctuated. Three dieresis marks are visible. Every line ends with either the end of a word or syllable.

Papyrus 52 contains a different convention from the more formal punctuation found in modern English manuscripts. However, it is typical for ancient Greek manuscripts.

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