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Edited by
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Special Issue

The Transmission of Mark's Endings in Different Traditions and Languages

**papers presented at the International Workshop,
Lausanne, 2-3 June 2022**

**edited by
Claire Clivaz,
Mina Monier,
and Dan Batovici**

A Multilingual Turn: Introducing the ‘MARK16’ *COMSt Bulletin**

Claire Clivaz, *Digital Humanities+*,
SIB Swiss Institute of Bioinformatics, Lausanne

1. A Multilingual Turn in Markan Research

The first online conference hosted by the five-year Swiss National Science Foundation project ‘MARK16’¹—held from Lausanne (CH) in September 2020 and published in 2021—had, as its purpose, to highlight and strengthen the bridges between ancient codicology and digital humanities, focusing on the creation of virtual research environments (VRE).² The second ‘MARK16’ online conference, held from Lausanne in June 2022, also built bridges, but between ancient languages and traditions surrounding Mark 16, and between New Testament (NT) exegesis and textual criticism.³ This interdisciplinary subject is the focus of a publication of selected papers in this ‘MARK16’ *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies (COMSt) Bulletin* special issue. The co-editors—Mina Monier, Dan Batovici, and I—warmly thank the COMSt editorial board for this opportunity. We also have hardly enough words of recognition for the intense involvement and excellent editing work of Eugenia Sokolinski, *COMSt Bulletin* editing manager.

This interdisciplinary perspective highlights ‘MARK16’ as an extended field of studies, from historical exegesis to editing tasks. After twenty years of scholarly work,⁴ James Kelhoffer continues to highlight thoughts and discover-

* Many thanks are due to Andrea Allen for her English proof-reading of this introduction, as well as to Mina Monier and Dan Batovici for their remarks and input. The writing of this introduction, as well as the organization of the conference and my supervision of the editing, has been supported by the SNSF MARK16 fund n°179755.

1 See <<https://mark16.sib.swiss>>; <<https://data.snf.ch/grants/grant/179755>>, with the list of the publications of the project. I am the PI of this five-year SNSF project. Members of the team are Priscille Marschall (post-doc, DH+), Elisa Nury (Research scientist, DH+, SIB), and Silvano Aldà (software developer, Core-IT, SIB). Until December 2022, Mina Monier (post-doc, DH+, SIB) and Jonathan Barda (software developer, Core-IT, SIB) have contributed enormously to give its shape to the manuscript room <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/>>.

2 See Clivaz and Allen 2021.

3 Exegetical readings of Mark without real attention to the manuscripts will continue to be written; see for example the recent article of Ratsoin 2023, 54–65.

4 This scholarly journey has started in 2000 with the publication of his PhD, Kelhoffer 2000.

ies about the Longer Ending of Mark, as one can see in his ‘MARK16’ *COMSt Bulletin* article cleverly titled, ‘The End of the Beginning’, an expression attributed to Winston Churchill. Another example comes from Mark textual criticism with a 2021 statement by Anne Boud’hors about the edition of the Gospel of Mark in Sahidic Coptic: ‘Arrivant bientôt au terme des recherches entreprises en 1985 sur la version copte sahidique de l’évangile de Marc...’.⁵ She demonstrates, along with her colleague Sofía Torallas Tovar, why an almost entirely scholarship-focused life was necessary to achieve this task.⁶ This comprehensive Sahidic Coptic edition of Mark was born in the framework of the project *Marc Multilingue*, led by Christian Amphoux and Jean-Claude Haelewyck, from the 1990s, and later joined by J. Keith Elliott⁷ until 2013.⁸ It has represented a turning-point for the entirety of New Testament textual criticism (NTTC).⁹ ‘MARK16’ is indebted to these pioneering researchers.

The multilingual evolution of NTTC has taken the most decisive step forward with the preparation of the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) during the twentieth century, described by Houghton, Parker, Robinson, and Wachtel as ‘an edition of the New Testament on an unprecedented scale’.¹⁰ About 200 Greek manuscripts are selected for each book as a baseline, as well as ‘readings from early translations believed to be based directly on Greek: in addition to Latin, Coptic and Syriac, the latter includes Armenian, Old Church Slavonic, Ethiopic and Gothic’.¹¹ As presented by Greg Paulson at the first ‘MARK16’ conference,¹² the Digital ECM opens even more avenues and possibilities based on the *New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room* (NTVMR).¹³ All NT scholars need the patient, hard work of the ECM, both printed and digital, as well as the further development of the NTVMR, the reference editing virtual research environment for the field. I conceive of the other digital NTTC projects as satellites of different sizes and purposes, which are all related to the *New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room*:¹⁴ NTTC has decisively become a multi-teams challenge. In this scholarly landscape, the study of the endings of

5 Boud’hors 2021a and 2021b.

6 Boud’hors and Torallas Tovar 2021, 203–220.

7 Elliott, Amphoux, and Haelewyck 2012, 113–124.

8 Boud’hors 2021b.

9 Amphoux, Elliott, and Outtier 2012.

10 Houghton, Parker, Robinson, and Wachtel 2020, 98.

11 Houghton, Parker, Robinson, and Wachtel 2020, 99.

12 Paulson 2021.

13 DECM: <<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/ecm>>; NTVMR: <<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/>>.

14 They allow for the showing of data not considered in the ECM, like the two new Greek attestations of the *conclusio brevior*, found by Mina Monier, ‘MARK16’ post-doc, in GA 1422 and GA 2937. These new attestations cannot be integrated in

Mark requires particularly a multilingual approach. Indeed, no Greek witness of chapter 16 before the middle of the fourth century has survived, not even fragments of papyrus.

‘MARK16’ also highlights that NTTC is currently going outside of the scholarly margins to get to the center of the interpretative work.¹⁵ Several of these *COMSt Bulletin*’s articles illustrate the synergy between textual criticism and exegesis and highlight multilingualism as a key-point for the future of NTTC.¹⁶

Before presenting the articles, we must draw attention to the flexible naming of the different endings of Mark in this issue. For example, Patrick Andrist follows my suggestion to name the ending of Mark 16:8/36 the ‘Shortest Ending’, the ending of Mark 16:8/104 the ‘Shorter Ending’, and the ending of 16:20 the ‘Longer Ending’. Joan Taylor designates the Shortest Ending as the ‘Abrupt Ending’, which explains its long history of interpretation. Tommy Wasserman names the ending of Mark 16:8/104 the ‘Intermediate Ending’, whereas the *Editio Critica Maior* names it *conclusio brevior*.¹⁷ David Taylor designates the *conclusio brevior* either as the ‘Shorter Ending’ or the ‘Intermediate Ending’, but joins Andrist and me in naming Mark 16:8/36 the ‘Shortest Ending’. The team of co-editors have chosen to keep this diversity in the naming of Mark’s endings. It mirrors the present state of the art: there is movement in the usual perception of the ‘Short Ending’ in Mark 16:8/36, and collective efforts are needed to explore new multilingual evidence. Researchers will need time for consideration until a consensus is reached detailing a common new vocabulary.

The nineteen articles of this ‘MARK16’ issue are grouped in three sections: *Greek and Latin Traditions*, *Other Languages*, and *History of Reception*. We warmly thank all our authors for their involvement: they have opened a new chapter in Mark 16 research history. Who would have thought, just a few years ago, that digital culture would excavate so much unknown material about the last chapter of Mark? Thanks to the support of the five-year SNSF PRIMA grant, groundbreaking results have been provided. The ‘MARK16’ manuscript room, with its manuscripts in eleven languages, will provide material for many further inquiries and studies.

the digital, open-ended ECM, since only entire manuscripts are considered in the collation. See Monier 2021, 75–98.

15 As argued in Clivaz 2023.

16 As example of the NTTC multilingual approach, see Kreinecker 2022.

17 Strutwolf, Gäbel, Hüffmeier, Lakmann, Paulson, and Wachtel 2021b, 279.

2. Content of the Issue

The *Greek and Latin Section* presents eight articles. It starts with the cornerstone text of Patrick Andrist, who considers Mark 16 in the Codex Sinaiticus (01), Vaticanus (03) and Alexandrinus (02) from the codex materiality point of view: ‘Physical Discontinuities in the Transitions between the Gospels: Reassessing the Ending of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus’. Such a complete and careful analysis of these witnesses from the codicological perspective is highly innovative and was necessary to clarify current assumptions on these three major codices, as well as honestly summarize this evidence on Mark 16: in short, nothing can be proven or argued on Mark’s endings from the codicological materiality of 01, 02, and 03.

Family 1 is then the center of interest for two contributions. In ‘The Text and Paratext of Family 1 in Mark 16’, Tommy Wasserman identifies 2954 as a new *fl* member, at least in Mark and John, and presents a study of paratextual elements in Mark 16 and in the Johannine *pericope adulterae*, as well as an emphasis on a significant core member, Codex 1582. This inquiry demonstrates that ‘painstaking but necessary work on Family 1’ will have to be done in the future. In ‘According to the Egyptians’: Mark 16 in GA 72’, Mina Monier argues that parts of GA 72, which is usually related to family II, exhibit resemblance to Family 1 text type. This innovative hypothesis is accompanied by the analysis of the Eusebian canons of Mark 16 in GA 72, as well as by the complete edition of two scholia about Mark 16, including a specific one found in several other minuscules. These two contributions have the potential to relaunch the investigation of Family 1 on the one hand, and about Mark 16 on the other. Paratextuality is still emphasized in an article by Anthony Royle and Garrick Allen about Mark 16 in GA 2604, a magnificently illustrated minuscule that is almost never studied apart from the work of these co-authors: ‘Framing Mark: Reading Mark 16 in a Catena Manuscript’. They demonstrate that one ‘can no longer explore the texts of Mark’s endings in isolation from the features that are transmitted alongside them’ and help to overcome the division between NT textual criticism and history of reception.

Greek and Latin witnesses all contribute to overcoming this division, as highlighted by the next four articles. In ‘Was Salome at the Markan Tomb? Another Ending to Mark 16’, Elizabeth Schrader Polczer argues that the varying names and number of women in 16:1 should be seen as part of the broader problem of the ending of Mark, underlining the absence of Salome in certain witnesses. Another look at the very early reception of the Gospel of Mark is then presented by James A. Kelhoffer in ‘The End of the Beginning’: Mark’s Longer Ending (16:9–20) and the Adaptation of the Markan Storyline’. Using narrative criticism, he demonstrates the continuities and ruptures between the

Gospel of Mark and the Longer Ending: eschatology appears to be the main difference between Mark's story and the Longer Ending. The Longer Ending is also at the core of Nicholas Zola's article, 'The Ending of Mark in Tatian's *Diatessaron*'. He compares the resurrection narrative in the eleventh-century Arabic harmony with that of the sixth-century Latin Codex Fuldensis, the two earliest and most reliable representations of reconstructing the *Diatessaron*'s sequence, and this confirms that Tatian integrated significant parts of the Longer Ending in his *Diatessaron*. The Greek and Latin Section concludes with Andrew Smith's article, 'Mark 16 and the Eusebian Apparatus: Greek and Latin Solutions', in which he provides a patient overview of the subject. He presents a tentative history, considering the Eusebian Apparatus, of the development of the diverse endings of Mark from the fourth century CE in the Greek and Latin traditions.

The *Other Languages Section* also presents eight articles focused on Mark 16 in the Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian, Armenian, and Georgian traditions. In 'The Shorter Ending of the Gospel of Mark in the Coptic Versions', Anne Boud'hors and Sofia Torallas Tovar provide the first assessment of the *conclusio brevior* in the Coptic tradition, including Bohairic and Fayyumic evidence added to the Sahidic witnesses. The richness of their analysis demonstrates new avenues for further inquiry about the emergence and spread of the Shorter Ending. David Taylor provides a complete overview of 'The Endings of the Gospel of Mark in Syriac Witnesses', with data about the 'evidence for three of the main endings to the Gospel of Mark, and for their reception in the churches of Syria and Mesopotamia'. If the article announces modestly 'an up-to-date overview and assessment', it highlights a constant editorial process in Syriac traditions, integrating new data notably from Greek manuscripts; it provides a clear basis for reassessing Mark's endings in this tradition.

After Sara Schulthess in 2018,¹⁸ Jean Valentin is the second scholar to explore Mark 16 in the Arabic tradition in 'Mc 16 dans les manuscrits arabes du Sinaï—Réflexions de méthode pour leur utilisation en critique textuelle. Diversité des versions, rubriques, langues sources, variantes fausses et vraies'. The Longer Ending is present in all the Sinaï manuscripts, but not integrated in all the liturgical paratexts from Jerusalem: more inquiry about the relationship between liturgy and textual transmission needs to be done. Moreover, the article demonstrates that the quite constant influence of Syriac and Syriac-Palestinian traditions can be observed in these Arabic manuscripts. The Ethiopic tradition is presented by Curt Niccum in 'The Endings of Mark in Ethiopian Translation and Transmission'. He supports the viewpoint that

18 Schulthess 2018, 63–84.

the Ethiopic version points to a Greek exemplar, which is highly important for NTTC, as argued in the 2021 ECM of Mark by Niccum himself.¹⁹ Moreover, he clearly repeats an information that hopefully will be now integrated in all Mark 16 studies: ‘In contrast to erroneous claims of the past, Metzger established that there were no continuous text manuscripts of Gə‘əz Mark that ended the Gospel at 16:8’.

The last four articles of the second section highlight two Mark 16 traditions which have not been studied on their own—the Persian and the Georgian traditions, and one Mark 16 tradition already researched, but without new material from the Armenian tradition. In ‘Mark 16 in the So-Called Persian Harmony’, Ali B. Langroudi presents the first overview of Mark 16 in the so-called Persian Harmony of the Gospels, including a transcription and translation, and comments about the peculiarities of these verses, collating them with the early Syriac Gospels. The Armenian tradition is highlighted by two articles: Dan Batovici, in ‘The Displaced Endings of Mark in Armenian Biblical Manuscripts’ draws the attention to the displacement of the endings of Mark in Armenian manuscripts by focusing on six test-cases where this ending is copied at the end of the Gospel of John, or Luke, or Matthew instead. In ‘Mark 16 :9–20 in Armenian Medieval Literature. A Commentary by Barseł Maškeworc‘I’, Armine Melkonyan presents Mark 16 in the Armenian *Commentary on the Gospel of Mark* by Basil of Mashkevor (1325 CE). Barseł describes Mary Magdalene’s sentiments and presents intriguing reflections on why Jesus first appeared to her after he had risen. *Other Languages* concludes with an article by Bernard Outtier, ‘Un essai de panorama de Marc 16 dans la tradition géorgienne’, the very first one in this tradition. It presents the editions of several manuscripts attesting to the ‘relatively simple’ history of Mark’s endings in this tradition: first the shortest one, up until the tenth century, and then the longer one.

The third section, *History of the Reception*, begins in early Christianity with a detailed study of Cerinthus by Joan Taylor, ‘Cerinthus and the Gospel of Mark: The Priority of the Longer Ending’. His adoptionist point of view may explain, at least in part, the complex history of Mark’s endings. With ‘Trajectories in the History of Textual Scholarship on Mark’s Endings: A Reconsideration’, Jan Krans and An-Ting Yi pay attention to ‘to the period from the sixteenth to the late-eighteenth century, when Birch discovered that Codex Vaticanus does not contain the traditional ending as found in the Textus Receptus’. They demonstrate the impact of the authority of early modern Christianity in the perception of Mark’s endings. Finally, Régis Burnet, in ‘Mark 16 from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century: Why Were the Doubts not

19 Strutwolf et al. 2021c, 279.

Expressed Earlier?’ highlights the history of the readings from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, notably with Cajetan, yet widely ignored in the further studies on Mark 16. Many of the hypotheses that are currently in vogue can already be found in texts from the sixteenth century and beyond.

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Greek and Latin Traditions

Physical Discontinuities in the Transitions between the Gospels: Reassessing the Ending of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus*

Patrick Andrist, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Université de Fribourg (Suisse)

It is widely recognized that the ending of Mark in the Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus presents some physical peculiarities in terms of the layout, quire structure and handwriting. This paper reconsiders these peculiarities from a codicological perspective. The main focus is on the physical arrangement of the ending of Mark in the three above-mentioned biblical pandects. It attempts to reconstruct the content organization of the replaced bifolio in the Sinaiticus, the original quire organization at the end of Mark in the Alexandrinus (including a forgotten blank folio) and offers a new solution for the empty columns at the end of the Vaticanus. It evaluates the plausibility of the explanations proposed by previous scholarship on this subject. Secondly, it places these three situations within the wider perspective of the irregularities which can be observed in the transition between gospels and at the end of gospel series in pre-ninth-century manuscripts and attempts to determine if there are recurring features in the ending of Mark which could explain some of the peculiarities observed in the three pandects. The conclusion sets out some of the work which remains to be done in order to better understand the physical characteristics of the ending of Mark in ancient manuscripts.

In the scholarly debate about the ending of Mark, the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus are well known as the main witnesses for the Shortest Ending.¹ However, as several scholars have pointed out, both manuscripts also present some physical peculiarities at this spot, which have been interpreted in different ways.

The first three parts of this paper offer a codicological analysis of the physical arrangement of the end of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus, and, as a point of comparison, its physical arrangement in the Codex Alexandrinus, which has the Longer Ending. A close study of the quire composition, the layout, and the handwriting using the analytical methods of structural codicology reveals that these three pandects present a non-standard situation in comparison to other transitions in the same codices. But it also offers clues for practical explanations for the current situation.²

* I warmly thank Claire Clivaz, Mina Monier and Dan Batovici for their invitation, as well as Marilena Maniaci and Saskia Dirkse, with whom I discussed several points.

- 1 Following Clivaz' suggestion in this volume, I designate the three usual endings of Mark with comparative or superlative adjectives: Shortest, Shorter and Longer Ending. Longest Ending describes the Longer Ending with the Freer Logion, see below.
- 2 For a presentation of the method, see Andrist 2020, 3–17. For a large theoretical framework, see Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013 and forthcoming.

The fourth part places these three situations within the wider context of the transition between gospels at the end of gospel series in other pre-ninth-century manuscripts. During the course of the project ‘Paratexts of the Greek Bible’,³ our team surveyed all the ‘surveyable’ Greek manuscripts of gospels from before the thirteenth century (and some from after that date). At this time, the study of the architecture of the gospel manuscripts became the main focus of my research. Interestingly, there are only a few Greek biblical manuscripts dated prior to the ninth century that can be fully assessed from this point of view, and most of these reveal some aspects of ‘instability’ in the transition between the gospels or at the end of the series.

Overall, as observed in the last part, despite superficial similarities to the Alexandrinus, the Vaticanus emerges as an unparalleled case, and an alternative explanation to the one that is commonly given will be mentioned.

1. *Codex Sinaiticus* (Ⲁ/GA 01)⁴

The Sinaiticus is a biblical pandect dating from the middle of the fourth century. The order of the gospels corresponds to what is now the traditional order, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, copied in four columns to the page.

In its present configuration, the transitions between Matthew and Mark (f. Q76.2r.d / 2v.a), between Mark and Luke (f. Q77.5r.b / c; Shortest Ending of Mark, see fig. 1) and between Luke and John (f. Q79.7v.d / Q80.1r.a) respect the usual layout pattern in this codex at the transition between the biblical books: there is a coronis and a final title, then the next book begins at the

3 ParaTexBib, PI: Martin Wallraff. See Wallraff and Andrist 2015; Andrist and Wallraff 2016; see also <<https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/>> (this and other URLs in this article last accessed 17 November 2022) and Andrist 2022.

4 The remains of the Sinaiticus are now preserved in four repositories, under seven different shelfmarks; the main one is London, British Library, Add. 43725 (= *Diktyon* 39225, <<https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=39225>>). Sigla: ‘S’ for the OT; ‘01’ or ‘Ⲁ’ for the NT. Entirely reproduced on the website of the Sinaiticus project (<<https://codexsinaiticus.org/en/>>); NT also available at the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (hereafter NTVMR, <<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace/?docid=20001>>); the folios preserved at the British Library are available at <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_43725>. For a presentation of the codex, see the various contributions in McKendrick ed. 2015; Parker 2010; Jongkind 2007; the still essential study by Milne and Skeat 1938; see also Andrist 2020, 23–29; about the way to number the folios, see Parker 2010, 9–10 (also Parker 2015, 279). For an introduction to the ending of Mark, see Clivaz 2019. Unless otherwise indicated, all descriptions from the ‘Pinakes’ database (<<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>>) mentioned below are the work of Emanuele Castelli or Andrea Mele.

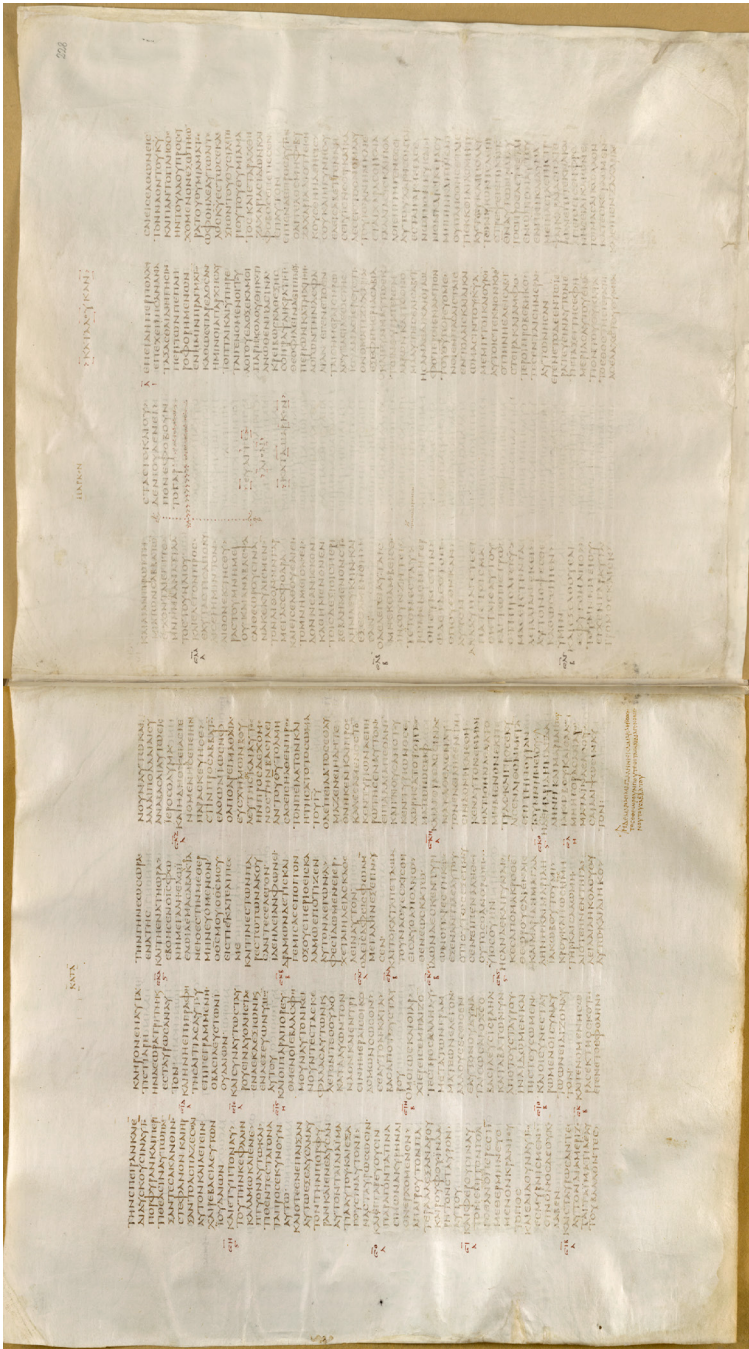


Fig. 1: Codex Sinaiticus, ff. Q77.4v–5r (London, British Library, Add. 43725), transition between Mark and Luke. © British Library Board.

top of the following column.⁵ In fact, at the end of Matthew the scribe follows the rule somewhat artificially: only three letters are written at the top of the fourth column of f. Q76.2r, obviously in order to start Mark on the beginning of a new page without breaking ‘the letter of the law’.

1.1. Sinaiticus: the transition between Mark and Luke and the replacement bifolio

1.1.1 Scribe D’s challenges

The transition between Mark and Luke on f. Q77.5r takes place on one of the three ‘replacement bifolios’ (or so called ‘cancel leaves’), copied by scribe D in order to replace an original bifolio by scribe A. While Mark and Luke are copied by A, the end of Mark and beginning of Luke on the bifolio Q77.4⁵, located at the centre of the quire, are copied by A’s original corrector and colleague (probably also supervisor) D,⁶ as Table 1 explains.

Table 1. Sinaiticus: diagram of Quire 77

	F.	Hand
	1	A
	2	A
	3	A
	4	D
	5	D
	6	A
	7	A
	8	A

Herbert Milne and Theodore Skeat noticed that while these two scribes have a significantly different writing density, the result fills the same amount of pages. This suggests that the copied text must have been somewhat different in length, even if one allows that empty space from the end of Mark until

- In reality, as it will be explained in a forthcoming publication, the overall usual practice could be said to be ‘two-tiered’: – in the usual situation, the next book begins at the top of the next column (as described above) regardless of sections and scribes, or the length of the text; – however, the traditional ensembles of biblical books usually begin on a new page, a new folio or a new quire. This second rule explains most of the empty columns in the codex, and the absence of an empty column before Revelation.
- On this replacement bifolio, see Milne and Skeat 1938, 9–11; Jongkind 2007, 45–46 (please note that these authors use the recent quire number as basis for the folio numbering; as a result, their figures are one quire number lower than the quire numbers used in the Codex Sinaiticus project and here [Q76 Jongkind or Skeat = Q77 Sinaiticus project]); Elliott 2008, 84–86; Batovici 2015, 41; Head 2015, 128.

the bottom of the column could have a different size in each copy. In reality, as Keith Elliott has pointed out, the writing density of D varies strongly in this section, almost from page to page. Table 2 summarises the information about the bifolio copied by D and the surrounding pages, including the text and the writing density (given in characters per column, abbreviated cpcs), as well as the probable ‘page occupation’ in A’s original bifolio, as discussed below.

Table 2. Sinaiticus: symbolic representation of Q77.3v–6r, with its content and writing density per column.

F.	Col.	Current situation:		
		Biblical text	Density (characters per column [cpcs] / page average)	Hand
Q77.3v	a	Mk 14:21–29	638 / 629	A
	b	14:29–37	618	
	c	14:37–44	637	
	d	14:44–54	624 (tot.=2517)	
Projection for the end of Mark if the same text was copied by A with the same density as in the previous page (~630 cpcs):				
Q77.4r	a	Mk 14:54–62	626 / 648	D
	b	14:62–70	644	
	c	14:70–15:6	623	
	d	15:6–16	699 (tot.=2592)	
page: Mk 14:54–15:15 = ~ 2521 chars				
Q77.4v	a	Mk 15:16–24	598 / 589	D
	b	15:24–33	558	
	c	15:33–41	601	
	d	15:41–16:1	600 (tot.=2357)	
page: Mk 15:16–16:3 ~αποκυλισει = ~2522 chars or Mk 15:16–16:2 ~σβαβατων = ~2525 chars, if the currently omitted text in Mk 15:47–16:1 was included (3 chars on this page and 73 on the next one, see § 1.1.2 below)				
Q77.5r	a	Mk 16:2–8a	549 / 634*	D
	b	16:8b	37 (tot.=586)	
	c	Lk 1:1–9	681	
	d	1:9–18	672 (tot.=1353)	
a: Mk 16:3–8 = ~492 chars or ~565 chars including the omitted text b-d: Lk 1:1–				
Q77.5v	a	Lk 1:18–25	698 / 694	D
	b	1:25–35	685	
	c	1:35–44	716	
	d	1:44–56	676 (tot.=2775)	
until Lk 1:56 (with a problem, cf. below)				
Q77.6r	a	Lk 1:56–65	631 / 625	A
	b	1:65–76	622	
	c	1:76–2:4	611	
	d	2:4–13	635 (tot.=2499)	
page: as it is now, starting with Lk 1:56 οικον (cf. previous columns)				

* Average based on the 3 full columns only, not counting the end title of Mark and the beginning title of Luke.

As seen in Table 2, D's density diminishes sharply on f. Q77.4v compared to the previous page and is even smaller than A's density on f. Q77.3v; D's density even drops to 549 on the first column of Q77.5r. D could have copied the 586 needed chars until the end of Mark without effort on column a.

Let us try to understand what happened based on what is known of the interaction between D and A, since, as mentioned earlier, this is one of the three bifolios copied by D as a replacement of a bifolio copied by A. In none of these three situations do we know exactly what brought D to replace the original bifolio, but in many other places in the codex, D corrects A, who tends to be a creative (and unfaithful) scribe.⁷ We can assume that there had been one (or several) severe copy problem(s), which led D to rewrite those bifolios instead of just correcting them.

In all three situations, D had to organize the copying in such a way as to ensure that it joined the next leaf (which had already been copied by A) as smoothly as possible. Concretely, when D started writing on the empty bifolio Q77.4⁵, f. Q77.6 was already copied and started with the word *ουκ*ov from Luke 1:56. Thus joining the already extant leaf to his current copy was a major challenge for D.

1.1.2 Options for the distribution of the text on the original bifolio by scribe A

In order to rule out improbable options and establish the most likely scenario, let us consider various possibilities concerning the distribution of the text on this lost bifolio. We concentrate on the beginning of Luke because, as explained above, a major constraint for both scribes is that the text of Luke should start at the top of a column. But before, let us consider two preliminary questions:

Were both scribes using the same antigraph? Anything is possible, but there is no objective reason to believe that this was not the case. In other parts of the Sinaiticus, it has been shown that A and A's corrector were using the same model.⁸ Moreover, there is every reason to believe that the antigraph of D was available to both scribes in their copying workshop.

What, then, is the amount of needed space if A and D copied basically the same words (except for the mistakes D had to correct)?

7 See a summary of A's creativity in Jongkind 2007, 244–245; see also Parker 2010, 105–107.

8 In particular, the fact that the corrector did not notice the totally meaningless transition between the second copy of 1 Paralipomenon and the end of B Esdras on f. Q35.4v.d implies that he used the same antigraph as A, see Milne, Skeat 1938, 2; Jongkind 2007, 144–145, Parker 2010, 65–67.

For the end of Mark, if A copied the same text as D (this is *c.*5535⁹ chars) with a density of *c.*630 cpcs, a little less than nine columns would be needed (as reported in the Table 2 above). One does not obtain a different result if A's average density on Q77.6r is used for calculation (625 cpcs), or if the higher average density is used on the last two pages (635 cpcs).

As Elliott points out,¹⁰ there is a homoioteleuton error in the Sinaiticus between Mark 15:47 and 16:1. The missing text amounts to 76 characters in the current Nestle-Aland edition (NA28). Even if A included this text with the same density (because it was in the antigraph, or A added it spontaneously), the end of Mark would still fit in nine columns, as is indicated in Table 2.¹¹

For the beginning of Luke until 1:56, if A copied the same text as D with the same density as on the next leaf (Q77.6r), A would copy around 4130 characters with an average density of *c.*625 cpcs, and only six and a half columns would be needed. One does not obtain a different result if A's higher density (*c.*635) is used for calculation.

What, then, could have been the text distribution of the first bifolio copied by A under the conditions defined above?

Option i.: if Luke started from the first column of f. Q77.5r, there are only eight columns available for the end of Mark, and the scribe would have enough space to copy it only until somewhere in Mark 16:3, if he was working with the same density. In order for the Shorter Ending to fit in, the density should be at least 692 cpcs (i.e. 9% more than already high density of 635), or there was a major text omission (possibly up to 550 chars). There would be also eight columns for Luke, which means unused or 'creatively' used space for about 74 extra lines of text (about one column and a half with a density of 630, or even more than two columns if the density is 692 cpcs). In order to occupy eight columns, the density should be as low as 516 cpcs; or one has to imagine that a portion of text as large as 870 to 950 characters was copied twice.

This option must be discarded, because both for Mark and Luke, one would have to come up either with an important copy mistake or a very different density from A's known practice.

9 The figures cannot be 100% identical, since both scribes could have diverging scribal practices, for example for abbreviations (*nomina sacra*, end of lines ...) and paragraphing (see Jongkind 2007, 79.80, 99, 257–259). However the potential differences do not alter the conclusion.

10 Elliott 2008, 85.

11 In theory, there are four possibilities: a) the 76 characters were in the antigraph, and both A and D omitted them; b) they were in the antigraph, and A copied them but D did not; c) they were not in the antigraph and none inserted them; d) they were not in it, but A added them from another source.

Option ii.: if Luke started from the second column, there would be nine columns available for the ending of Mark; this is what one needs if A was working at the normal density, as indicated above (see Table 2). There would then be seven columns for Luke, instead of the needed six columns as mentioned above. This is a problem; more precisely, because there would only be space for between *c.*245 and 320 extra characters depending on A's density. There are again the same two ways to account for this extra space:

- If A wrote the text with a much lower density of *c.*590 cpcs, the columns could be filled with the current text of Luke. In theory this is not impossible but we are faced again with two problems: firstly, it does not correspond to what we know of A's habits (around 8% less dense) and, secondly, it would be very difficult to explain the abrupt change of density between ff. 5v and 6r;
- Milne and Skeat (followed by Elliott) opt for the second solution, and think D had to re-copy the bifolio because a portion of text of Luke was copied twice by A.

Option iii.: if Luke started from the third column of the page (as it does in D's copy), there would be ten columns available for the end of Mark as well as space for between *c.*640 to 810 extra characters (more than a column) depending on the density and the presence of the text at the end of Mark 15. Then again, either A suddenly wrote with a lower density, not higher than 615 cpcs, which is not unthinkable if one considers the density of column Q77.6r.c (611 cpcs). Another solution would be a total absence of text on column b. This is much unlikely, because there is no example of such an empty column in the middle of a page in the Sinaiticus, but the empty column in the Vaticanus is not less puzzling (see below).

There is also a problem on the side of Luke, for which there would be only six columns left. Again, this means that either A wrote with a sudden density of 688 cpcs (unusual behavior for this scribe and therefore highly unlikely), or A forgot 320 to 378 characters.

Option iv.: the imbalance is even greater, and likelihood is even smaller, if one supposes that Luke started from the fourth column. There would be 11 columns for the end of Mark (i.e. two more than necessary), implying an unthinkable low script density under *c.*555 cpcs, or one or two empty columns; and only five columns for the beginning of Luke. The latter would be also improbably copied with a density of 825 cps (!), or A missed 950 to 1000 characters. This is too fanciful to credit.

If one assumes that both A and D used the same antigraph and D copied it faithfully, the only theoretically possible solutions are options ii. or iii. Option ii., which corresponds to Milne and Skeat's explanation is much more

plausible, because it does not require both a change of script density and an error in the copy of the text. It respects the methods of book history and codicology: it accounts for the current situation on the basis of what is known, i.e. the presence of the antigraph used by D and the limits of A's skills as a scribe.

1.1.3 Sinaiticus: other tentative hypotheses about the ending of Mark

One might ask if this lost bifolio could have contained text at the end of Mark, which D did not copy, either from his antigraph or from elsewhere. There does not appear to be any codicological evidence to support this theory and it is also improbable in terms of methodology. As this question persists in the literature, however, let us lay out the reasons for its improbability.

According to option i. above: there is no space for any extra text.

Option ii.: under normal conditions, there is no space for any other text. In order to imagine a space of 13 lines—i.e. 180 characters, just enough for the Shorter Ending but definitely not for the longer one—one has to assume that the text at the end of Mark 15 is incomplete (and D made a copy mistake) *and* A uses a high density *and* the coronis and end title are in the bottom margin. The fact that these conditions would have to occur simultaneously makes this scenario very unlikely.

Option iii.: the extra space is enough for a short text (such as the Shorter Ending) but not for the Longer Ending, even if a column was left empty. But how probable is a scenario in which A both ends Mark with a text one fourth of a column in length, of which there is no trace in the second copy, and then forgets half of a column's worth of text at the beginning of Luke?

If option iv. had not been rejected, there would be space for the Longer and/or the Shorter Endings.

As we see, there is simply not enough space on this bifolio for A to copy both the entire beginning of Luke and either the Longer or the Shorter Ending of Mark. Only the improbable coincidence of special conditions would allow a small text such as the Shorter Ending to fit. This is why, there is no good reason to think that the ending of Mark in the lost bifolio was different than in the replacement bifolio.

1.1.4 Sinaiticus: the plausible scenario

If the above explanation is basically correct, we can set forth the following plausible scenario:

As D was correcting the text copied by A, D found that a piece of text at the beginning of Luke was copied twice (according to the option ii. above), or omitted (according to the option iii.) and needed to be corrected. What were the solutions at hand?

For the Sinaiticus, crossing out the duplicated text was clearly not an acceptable option, maybe because it was not easily done, or D or the person responsible for the volume felt that it would ruin the aesthetic of the page or otherwise be inappropriate for a Bible. As a result, the only other solution was to rewrite the four pages of the relevant bifolio, as D had already done in Matthew.

Why is there such a difference in D's writing density between the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke? An adequate explanation presents itself, if one considers the second constraint of D, who had two—and only two—options:

- either to begin Luke on column c of f. Q77.5r (as D did), and the average density of both texts cannot differ much from what it is currently:
 - Mark on nine full columns with an average density of 610 cps + a tenth column with 37 characters;
 - Luke on six full columns with an average density of *c.*630 cps;
- or to begin Luke on column b, as it used to be in A's copy, then:
 - Mark would be copied in eight full columns plus something on a ninth one, with a density between 615 and 690 cps, depending on how much of the ninth column was used;
 - Luke would occupy seven columns with an average density of 590 cps.

So, why was the first option chosen? And why does Luke begin on f. Q77.5r.c, and not on column b? We can only formulate and discuss hypotheses.

For example, did D begin to work with the ending of Mark in a relaxed manner, then realizing the density had to be drastically increased in order to join it smoothly to f. Q77.6r? I do not think so. Since the connection with Q77.6r was D's main challenge (and a source of stress), it makes more sense that D began copying the beginning of Luke before the end of Mark, whose last partially empty column provided some kind of 'security buffer'. Moreover, in case of an unsuccessful attempt, only six or seven columns would have to be copied a third time instead of sixteen if D started with the ending of Mark. But if this is the case, the question about the column is even more intriguing, and can tentatively be answered by the following non-mutually-exclusive explanations:

Does it have to do with a possible D's preference for changing the text in the middle of the page rather than at the end of the first column? On the one hand, D did not copy enough texts for one to know D's preferences on that matter. But on the other hand, one does not see any hesitation for the other scribes to start copying a new text on any column.

More plausibly, if D had to copy less text than A (because of the assumed duplicated piece) and A's writing density is smaller than D's (as D

likely knew), D might well have decided to begin copying Luke one column after A, with an average density that was apparently higher than usual.¹²

In any case, D might even have calculated that the difference of density would be greater, and maybe more visible, if the other option was chosen: in this case, as calculated above, the density in Luke would be much below D's normal average, and below the average of the ending of Mark as it stands presently. Overall, the difference between both densities would be greater than it is now. As a result, one cannot help but see that the solution which was chosen is also more balanced in terms of the unavoidable difference in density between these sections of Mark and Luke.

To summarize:

- the peculiarities at the end of Mark in the Sinaiticus can hardly be understood in any other way than as the consequence of a copy problem by hand A in the original version of this bifolio. As far as one can tell, if A had done the job correctly, there would not be any discontinuity or peculiarity at this point and D would not have had to rewrite the bifolio;
- the solution adopted by D is fully in line with what is known of D's practice when correcting A in this codex. D just did what made the most sense in this context;
- as a result, there is no objective reason (and no physical space) for the idea that the current physical setting of the Sinaiticus hints at the presence of another ending in the scribes' antigraph (or any other physical or content peculiarities), or their intention to copy another ending, or even an awareness that another ending existed.

Simply put, the Sinaiticus does not show any evidence of any other ending.

1.2. Sinaiticus: the transition between Luke and John

Before leaving the Sinaiticus, it is also worth recalling that there is also an unexpected discontinuity in the quire composition between Luke, which ends at f. Q79.7, and John, which begins at f. Q80.1. There is no f. Q79.8 in the current codex, which means that quire Q79 is irregular. It is, however, unclear if this folio ever existed in the original Circulation Unit (i.e. it was not there because the producers either cut it off or they used a smaller piece of parchment), or, more probably, if the quire had been initially regular, until this empty folio was removed at a later point.

12 The density here is 688 cps. However, which was D's normal density at the time the New Testament was corrected is difficult to assess, because the other replacement bifolios were written under conditions similar to this one. As a point of comparison, the density is c.645 cps in the replacement bifolio of Matthew, and c.624 cps in the replacement bifolio in the Pauline epistles (in the first column of Tobit, he wrote 626 characters).

2. *Codex Vaticanus (B/GA 03)*¹³

The Vaticanus is a biblical pandect dating from the second half of the fourth century. It is entirely preserved, except for three parts which were restored in the fifteenth century. The order of the gospels is Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, copied in three columns a page.

At the transition between the biblical books, the scribe follows the same basic rule as in the Sinaiticus. This is the case, for example, between Matthew and Mark (p. 1277.b/c) and between Luke and John (p. 1349.b/c). As has been observed, however, this rule does not apply at the end of Mark, which ends on the second column of p. 1303, and is followed by an empty column, as illustrated in fig. 2a. Luke then starts at the beginning of the verso (p. 1304, cf. fig. 2b and Table 3).

Table 3. Vaticanus: symbolic representation of p. 1303 and 1304

p. 1303	a	Mk 15:43–16:3
	b	Mk 16:3–8 / small coronis / final title / empty space (5 lines)
	c	empty
p. 1304	a	Lk 1:1–9
	b	Lk 1:9–18
	c	Lk 1:18–25

The reason for this empty column is unclear and has attracted scholarly attention, especially because the scribe had no qualms about starting Mark and John on the last column of the page.

According to the usual explanation, the persons responsible for the volume knew about the Longer (or another) Ending of Mark and left some space in case it had to be added in the future. Some even wonder if the Longer Ending was actually in the antigraph but they decided not to copy it.¹⁴ The idea that the empty space has something to do with another ending of Mark is attractive and cannot be ruled out. As Elliot has observed concerning the Longer Ending, ‘the missing verses could not in practice have been inserted in

13 Original part of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Vat. gr. 1209 (=Diktyon 67840, <<https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=67840>>). Sigla ‘B’ for the OT; ‘03’ or ‘B’ for the original part of the NT (‘1957’ for the restored folios of the NT). Entirely reproduced on the website of the BAV (<<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.1209>>); NT reproduced on NTVMR (<<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace/?docid=20003>>). For a presentation of the codex, see the various contributions in Andrist, ed., 2009, especially those of Canart, Bogaert and Pisano; see also Andrist 2020, 17–22.

14 Pisano 2009, 89; Elliott 2008, 83–84, who also mentions unpublished studies (see n. 7).

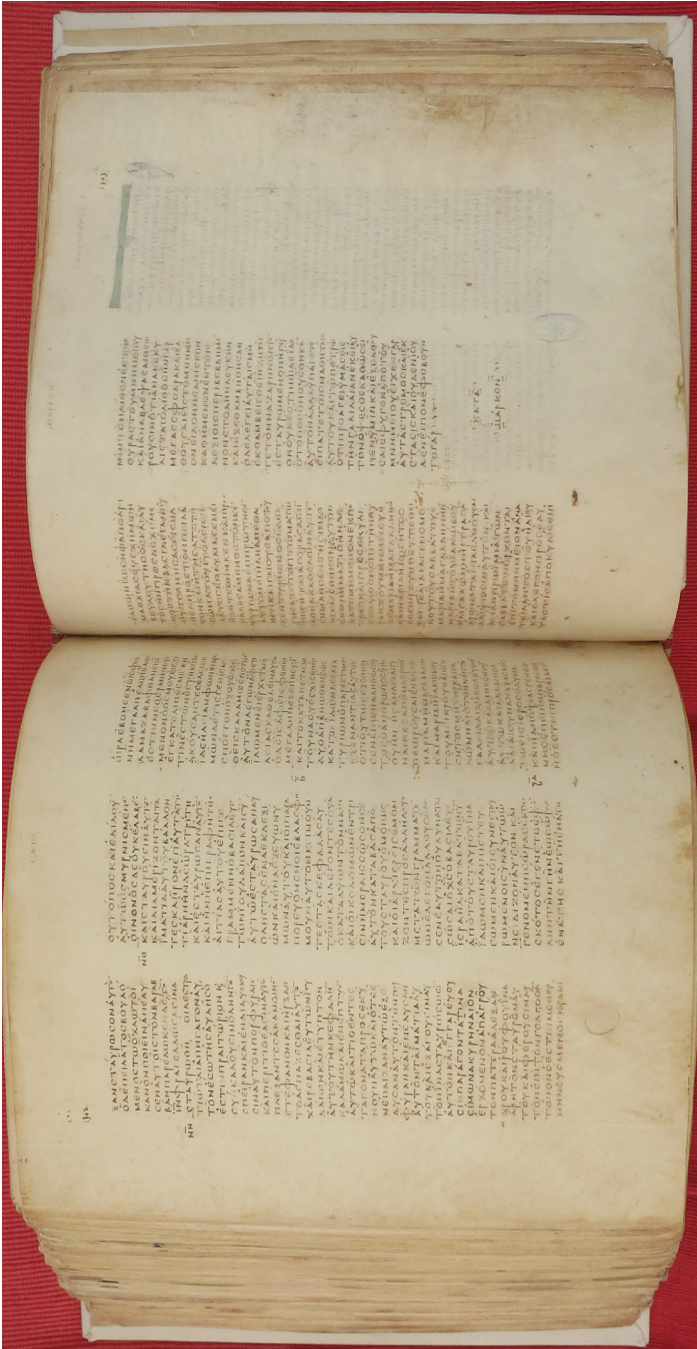


Fig. 2a. Codex Vaticanus (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209), pp. 1302-1303: the end of Mark. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

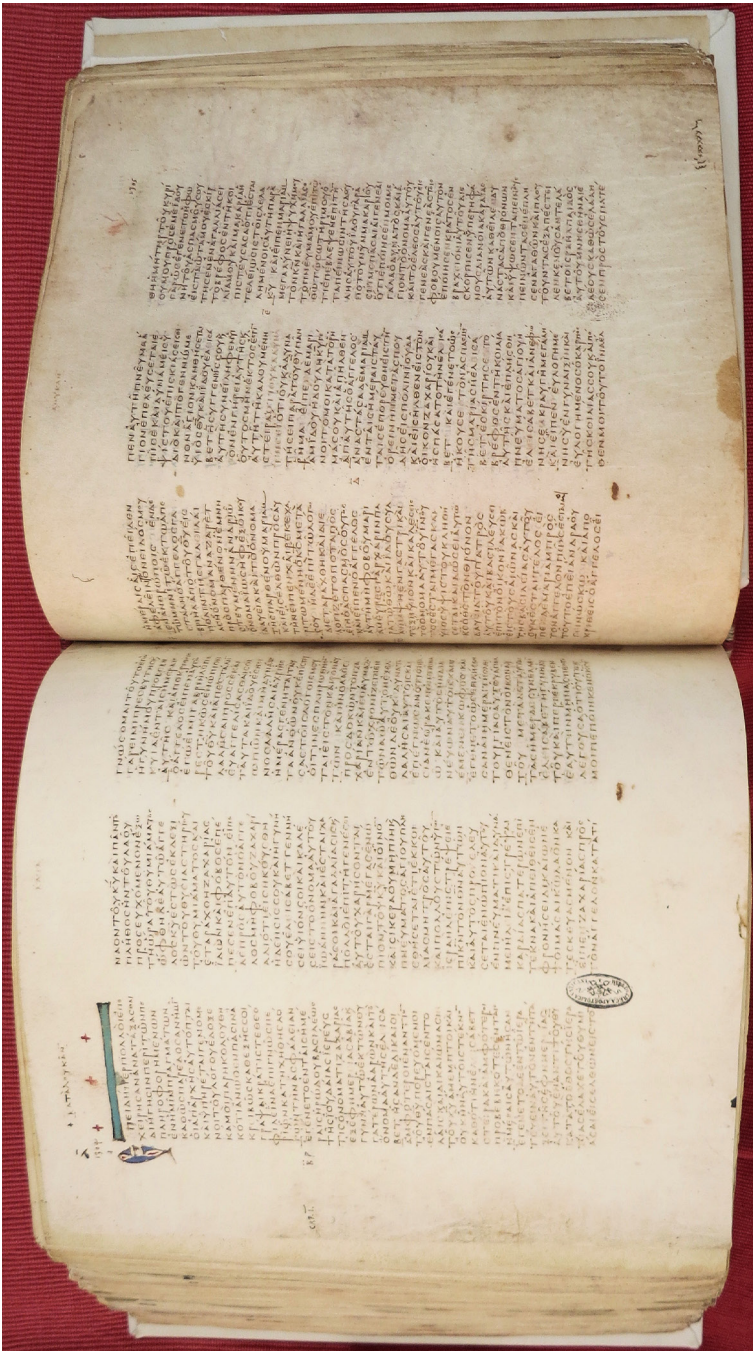


Fig. 2b. Codex Vaticanus (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209), pp. 1304–1305: the beginning of Luke. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

such a gap (the end of one column and the whole of the blank column) if the same sized handwriting was to be employed.¹⁵ There is not enough space but the difference is not overwhelming. One could argue that the producers made a rough estimate of the text, which they may not even have had to hand, or that they made a mistake.¹⁶ There would, however, be no problem to copy the Shorter Ending in this column, or any other short text.

Before considering other possible explanations, let us examine the end of Mark in the Alexandrinus, which is also followed by an extra space, then in other ancient Greek codices.

3. *Codex Alexandrinus (A/GA 02)*¹⁷

The Alexandrinus is a biblical pandect dated to the third quarter of the fifth century. The gospels, in the order Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, are copied in two columns a page. The beginning of the NT is lost up to Mathew 25:6.

In this ‘hyper-modular’ Bible, the traditional ensembles and smaller series of texts are copied on their own Modular Unit.¹⁸ When the transition be-

15 Elliott 2008, 84 (see also Andrist 2020, 21).

16 As Elliott (2008) remarks, Mark 16:9–20 contains somewhere between 966 and 973 letters (if all the longest variant readings in these verses were adopted there would be 996 letters, but this was obviously not the case). The number of characters in column 1 of the same page is around 670 characters; even if the eleven empty lines in the second column after the end of Mark were used (and the end title was in the bottom margin), the maximal normal capacity of the empty spaces on this page is around 840 characters.

17 Today it exists in four volumes; the shelfmark of the volume containing the NT is London, British Library, Royal ms 01 D VIII (= *Diktyon* 39763, <<https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=39763>>, last accessed November 17, 2022). Sigla ‘A’ for the OT: ‘02’ or ‘A’ for the NT. The NT is reproduced on the website of the British Library (<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_1_d_viii>) and at NTVMR (<<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace/?docid=20002>>). For a presentation of this manuscript, see Smith 2014, McKendrick 2003, Andrist 2015, 27–34, and the description published on the website of the British Library (<http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:LSCOP_BL:IAMS040-002353500>). – The reader is advised that there are several foliation systems for the NT in use (cf. Smith 2014, 5, 94–100). With hesitation, I continue to follow Young’s numbering, as this gives a better idea of the relative position of the folios in the original production, and facilitates the link with earlier research. To assist the readers, I indicate the library folio number in parentheses, which also correspond to Smith’s numbers.

18 A Modular Unit can be defined as a quire, or a contiguous series of quires, which starts with the beginning of a text, or a defined portion of a text, and ends with the end of a text or a defined portion of a text (not necessarily the same one). See Maniaci 2004, 79; further explanations in Andrist 2020, 8–9. On the hyper-modularity of the Alexandrinus, see Andrist 2020, 35–39, 74–75.

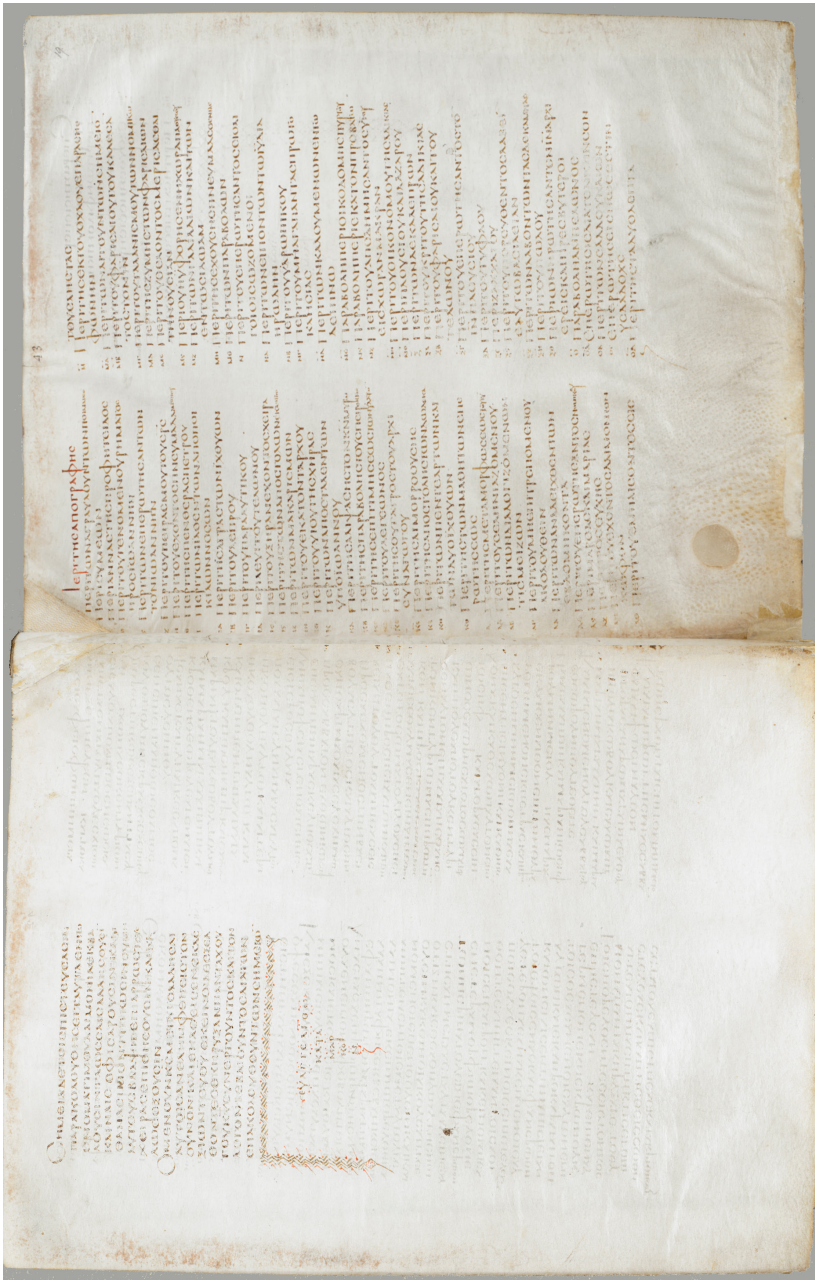


Fig. 3a. Alexandrinus (London, British Library, Royal ms 01 D VIII), NT ff. 42(=18)v-43(=19)r: the end of Mark and the beginning of the Capitula for Luke. © British Library Board

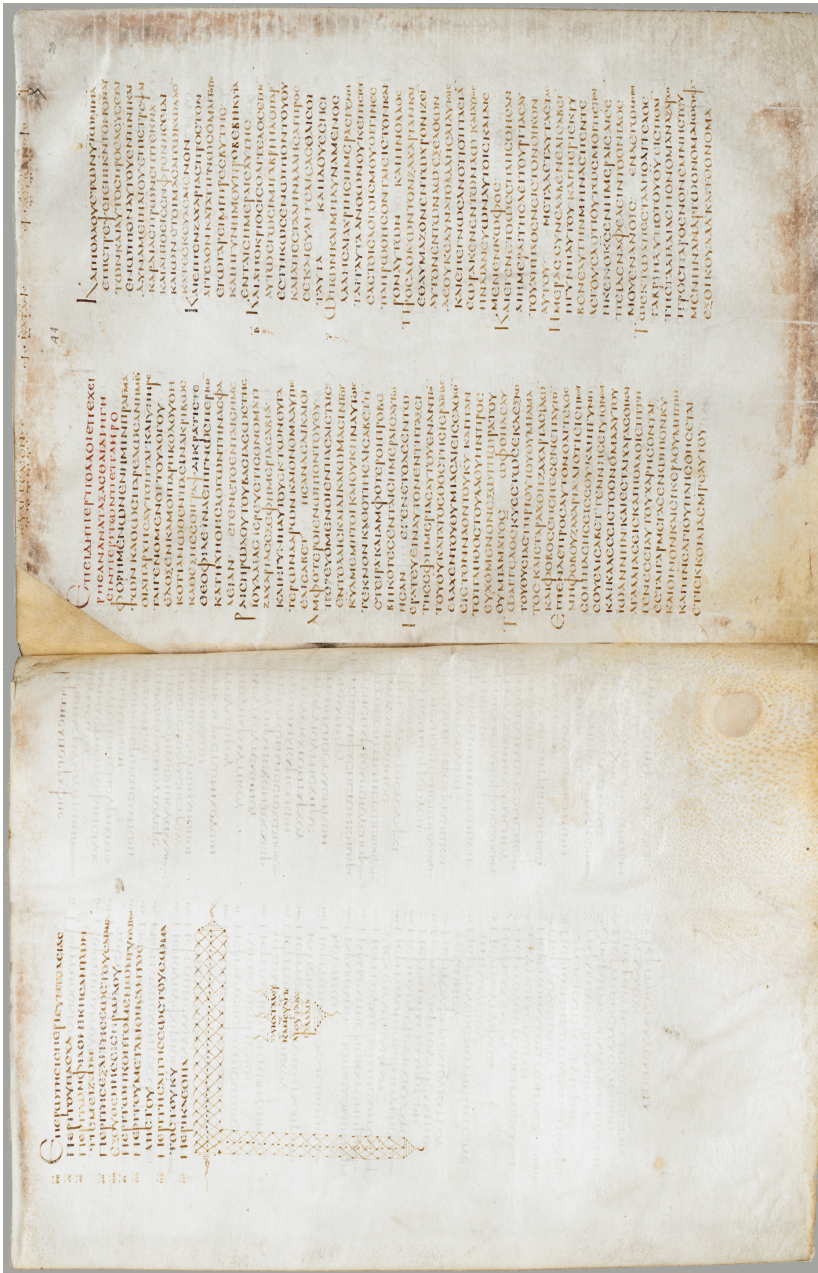


Fig. 3b. Alexandrinus (London, British Library, Royal ms 01 D VIII), ff. 43(=19)v–44(=20)r: the end of the Capitulo for Luke and the beginning of Luke- © British Library Board

tween two biblical books (or two pieces of content) does not take place at the end of such a Modular Unit, the new text begins at the top of the next column.

3.1. *Alexandrinus: the forgotten lost leaf at the end of Mark*¹⁹

As is well known, some pages of the *Alexandrinus* preserve traces of an ancient Arabic foliation. Since the traces on f. 38(=14)v clearly represent a ‘9’ (see fig. 4), this folio must have been f. Arabic <67>9, and not <680>, as currently assumed.²⁰

Therefore, one has to reckon with the loss of an additional folio somewhere between f. 38(=14, Arabic <67>9), ending with Mark 11:33 and f. 53(=29), containing the next legible Arabic page number (=Arabic <69>5), beginning with Luke 1:49. Since there is no loss of biblical text in-between (and if one excludes the interruption of the text), the only place for this extra folio is between the end of Mark on f. 42(=18)v and the beginning of Luke on f. 44(=20)r (see figs 3a and 3b).

This loss is confirmed by the fact that quire 90, which contains both the end of Mark on f. 42(=18)v and the beginning of Luke on f. 44(=20)r, is irregular. It is made up of eleven folia,²¹ i.e. a folio is apparently missing.²²

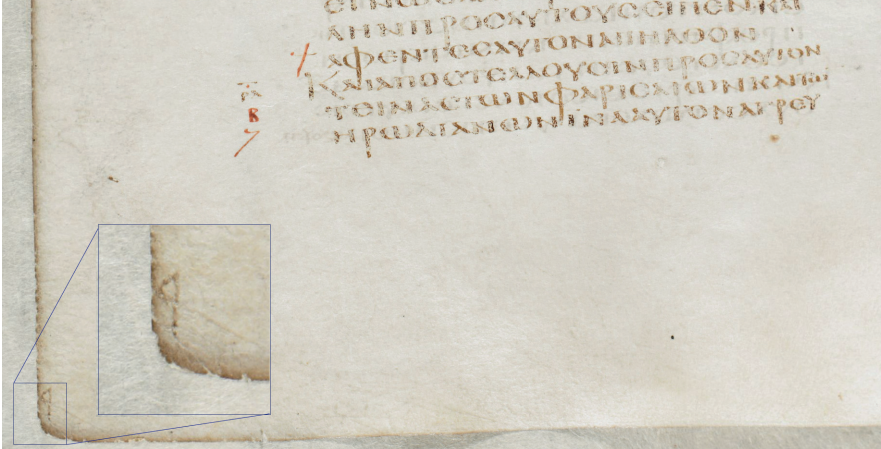


Fig. 4. *Alexandrinus* (London, British Library, Royal ms 01 D VIII), f. 38(=14)v: the end of col. a; with an Arabic ‘9’ in the inferior exterior corner. © British Library Board

19 Andrist 2020, 32–33.

20 Smith 2014, 295.

21 On quire 90, see Smith 2014, 93, see also 81, 89, 92, 295–296.

22 The lack of a number in the Arabic numeration allows us to rule out the option that this folio never existed. The situation is different from the transition between Luke and John in the *Sinaiticus* (see § 1.2 above).

Given that there is no loss of text at the end of Mark or at the beginning of Luke, the lost folio must have been empty and could only be situated between two pieces of contents. If one still excludes the interruption of the text, there are again only two possibilities: either before, or after f. 43(=19), i.e. either before or after the capitula for Luke (see figs 3a and 3b). As far as one can tell from the digital images, Gregory's law seems not to be respected between f. 42(=18) and 43(=19), where the missing folio must have been located.

As a result, one can reconstruct twelve folios between quires 89 and 91 (see Table 4).

- the first four folia contained the end of Mark, the empty folio and the capitula for Luke copied by hand A; the scribe realised that a binion was sufficient to finish copying Mark and the capitula of Luke; he consciously decided to save material and not use a quaternion;
- the last eight folia contained the beginning of Luke, copied by hand C, who most probably worked in parallel to hand A.

Since there would be no other example of a twelve folia quire in the Alexandrinus, it is likely that there were originally two quires: the end of Mark on a regular binion (four folios) and the beginning of Luke on a regular quaternion. This would parallel several transitions in the original composition of the Alexandrinus, for example between Deuteronomy and Joshua or between Ruth and 1 Reigns, which end with a partially used binion, or between B Esdras and 1 Maccabees, where an empty folio has been cut off.²³ These two reconstructed quires can be graphically represented as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Alexandrinus: reconstructed quire composition at the transition from Mark to Luke (see also above figs 3a and 3b)

	f. 41(=17) Arabic <682>	Mk 14:15–15:36 (hand A)
	f. 42(=18) Arabic <683>	Mk 15:36–16:20 (hand A); end of col. a and col. b: empty
	lost f. Arabic <684>	empty
	f. 43(=19) Arabic <685>	capitula for Luke (hand A)
	f. 44(=20) Arabic <686>	Lk 1:1– (hand C)
	f. 51(=27) Arabic <693>	ends with Luke 9:5 (hand C)

23 Andrist 2020, 38; Smith 2014, 92.

The presence of the capitula on the previous quire, which coincides with the end of the previous Modular Unit, is a phenomenon I call ‘enjambement’²⁴ and it seems to be a fairly common practice in biblical manuscripts, as it also happens in the Alexandrinus (at the beginning of Matthew, as explained below) and in codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (at the beginning of Matthew and John).²⁵ Consequently, the two Modular Units concerned are ‘bridged’, i.e. not separable from each other. There is, however, a slight difficulty with the series of quire numbers, since ‘90’ (today written on f. 41(=17)r by a later hand) would then apply only on the first quire and there would be a gap with the following numbers. Was a quire accidentally left unnumbered? It is more likely that the third series of quire numbers, which runs from quire 60 (as defined by Andrew Smith), reflects the codex’ structure after the Arabic numbers were added, the folio was lost and the irregular quire was created.²⁶

Another minor consequence is that the first preserved early folio of the NT (f. 26(=2)) should correspond to the f. Arabic <667> and not <668>. Before, 25 folios are missing, as Young and Thompson observed, forming three quaternions (quires 85–87), plus the first folio of quire 88. On the basis of Smith’s careful calculation,²⁷ the beginning of Matthew should occupy the last 17 folios (2 quaternions + folio 1 of quire 88), while the first quaternion should contain the Eusebian material and the Capitula in Matthew, as in the Ephraemi rescriptus.²⁸

3.2. *Alexandrinus: the peculiarities of the transition between Mark and Luke*

No matter the position of the extra folio, there is an extra space after the end of the Gospel of Mark, since the following column on the same page is empty (see fig. 3a). This can be contrasted with the transitions between the other gospels, as illustrated by Table 5.

24 Meaning two paratextually-related contents are located on each side of a modular discontinuity.

25 Andrist 2020, 42, 44, 95, 98; for ‘enjambements’, see also p. 16 for some general remarks and pp. 35–37 about the Alexandrinus. For the reconstruction of these folios, see also now Wallraff 2021, 140–141, and 141 about the Ephraemi Rescriptus (on this codex, see below, § 4.3). The fact that the Eusebian material (*Epistula ad Carpianum* and the Canon tables) were often copied on seven folios (see Wallraff 2021, 87–95) explains also why it is physically possible to think that the capitula in Matth. were copied, together with those, on the eighth folio of a regular quaternion.

26 Smith 2014, 85–88; the relation between this third series and the arrival of the codex in England deserves to be clarified, see in particular Smith’s remark on p. 86.

27 Smith 2014, 17, 62, 93; Milne and Skeat 1938, 9.

28 See above footnote 25.

Table 5. Alexandrinus: comparative page layout at the transitions between the Gospels

Matthew – Mark		Hand
f. 29(=5)v	a Mt 28:19–20 / final decoration and title / capitula in Mark (beginning)	A
	b capitula for Mark (end) / empty space (20 lines)	
f. 30(=6)r ¹	a Mk 1:1–30	
	b Mk 1:30–2:13	
Mark – Luke		A
f. 42(=18)v	a Mk 16:17–20 / final decoration and title / empty space after the title (25 lines)	
	b empty	
lost folio, r	a most likely empty	
	b most likely empty	
lost folio, v	a most likely empty	
	b most likely empty	
f. 43(=19)r	a capitula for Luke (beginning)	A
	b capitula for Luke (continued)	
f. 43(=19)v	a capitula for Luke (end) / final decoration and title / empty space (27 lines)	A
	b empty	
f. 44(=20)r ²	a Lk 1:1–27	C
	b Lk 1:27–59	
Luke – John		
f. 65(=41)v	a Lk 24:5–32	
	b Lk 24:32–53 / final decoration and title / empty space (12 lines)	C
f. 66(=42)r ³	a capitula for John / final decorative line / empty space (28 lines)	C
	b Jn 1:1–18	
End of John		
f. 81(=55)v	a Jn 21:15–25 / final title in a decorative square	C
	b empty	

1 Sixth folio of the quire.

2 Originally on a new quire, see reconstruction above.

3 Seventh folio of the quire.

If my reconstruction is correct, the producers arranged to have another scribe copy Luke beginning on a separate quire (possibly at another time), contrary to the two other gospel transitions. As a result, Mark was followed by an unusual empty space.

To some extent, the situation is similar to that of the Vaticanus, where the ending of Mark is also followed by an unusual empty space; but the empty space in the Alexandrinus cannot be explained by the hope to write the Long Ending, since it is already there.²⁹ If one accepts that Luke starts on a new quire by a new hand,³⁰ the physical setting of the end of Mark in the Alexandrinus can easily be explained by both the organization of the copying work and the usual architectural principles of the codex.

4. Physical discontinuities between the gospels in other ancient Greek witnesses

Let us now move more quickly through the three other gospel manuscripts of Mark dated prior to the ninth century, in which it is possible to study the transition between the gospels in at least two instances.

4.1. Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D^{ea}/GA 05)³¹

The Codex Bezae probably used to contain a complete New Testament and can be dated at ‘the very end of the fourth century or the very beginning of the fifth’.³² In this bilingual manuscript, the Greek text, copied in long-lines³³ on the left page of every opening is faced by its Latin translation on the right page, in long-lines, too.

The gospels appear in the so-called ‘Western order’: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. The latter three begin on a new opening and there is no doubt that this was also the case at the beginning of Matthew which today is lost. The way the openings are organized with the translation on the opposite page does not encourage the producers to leave empty pages or copy the gospels in a modular way, since it would imply leaving two pages empty each time and

29 In any case, there is enough space to copy the Shorter Ending, if the producers wished to do so.

30 See Table 5 above, and Smith 2014, 187–189.

31 Cambridge University Library, ms Nn. II. 41 (2603) (=Diktyon 12240, <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/12240/>>), in two volumes. Sigla ‘05’ or ‘D’. Reproduced on the website of the Cambridge University Library (<<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/1>>), and at NTVMR (<<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace/?docid=20005>>). For a presentation of the codex, see Parker 1992 and the various papers in Parker and Amphoux 1996.

32 Parker 1992, 30, who pays attention to the Latin script. Orsini 2005, 242 places it in the first half of the fifth century, at least for Mark, following Cavallo 1967, 75.

33 Lines occupying the whole width of the writing space; often referred to as ‘one column’.

then starting with a verso. Indeed, there are no quire or layout discontinuities or other peculiarities to be observed in the transition between Matthew and John (f. 104r, bottom), John and Luke (f. 182r, bottom) or Luke and Mark (f. 285r, bottom). This is, however, not the case at the end of Mark, which is also the end of the series. Its original Greek text is well preserved until the end of f. 347v, corresponding to Mark 16:15 (εὐαγγέλιον). Then the quire is mutilated³⁴ and the last verses of the Long Ending of Mark 16 are on a restoration leaf dated to the ninth century.³⁵ We will never know what the original words of the (probably) last five verses of this book were, nor how the transition with the next biblical book was organized at the level of the quires and layout.

4.2 *Tetraevangelium Washingtoniense (Freer Gospel, W/GA 032)*³⁶

This codex of the four gospels can be dated to the fifth or the sixth century. As in the Codex Bezae, the gospels are copied in the Western order with long-lines. Each gospel begins at the beginning of a recto; there is an empty unnumbered folio between John and Luke. Looking at the quires, which usually are quaternions or ternions (six folios), one notices that both Matthew and Luke end with a binion. The explanation for these irregularities has to do with the strongly modular architecture of this codex, as illustrated by Table 6 below: each gospel is copied on its own Modular Unit. When necessary, the scribe uses a smaller quire and/or leaves an empty page at the end of the units, in order to achieve this goal.

This manuscript is one of the oldest biblical codices showing this type of architecture at the level of the single biblical books.³⁷ Remarkably, this modular structure means that the order of the gospels could be easily modified without damaging any quire (or any of the content, except for the quire numbers).

34 The position of a slip between f. 345 and f. 346, which probably is attached to f. 347, is best explained if the last quire containing Mark used to be a quaternion, whose three last leaves are now missing. As a result, Mark was most probably not located at the end of a Modular Unit.

35 Parker 1992, 45–49, 166–174.

36 Washington (DC), Freer Gallery of Art, inv. F1906.274 (MS. 3) (= *Diktyon* 70837, <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/70837/>>). Sigla ‘032’ or ‘W’. For a presentation, see Sanders 1918, 1–247; Brown 2006, nos 28–29, pp. 152–153, 268–270. Completely reproduced on the website of the Smithsonian museum (<<https://asia.si.edu/object/F1906.274/>>), and at NTVMR (<<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace/?docid=20032>>). About the discussions on the date, see Orsini 2019, 155–157, (135); Schmid 2006, 236–249. The page numbers used here correspond to the facsimile published by Sanders in 1912.

37 In the Sinaiticus, such a structure is implemented at the level of the traditional ensembles, see Andrist 2020, 23–29.

Table 6. Tetraevangelium Washingtoniense: content and quire composition

Quires	Content	Pages	Quire composition ¹
quires 1–8	Matthew	p. <1–112>	< α > ^{III} ?p.<1-12>, < β > ^{IV} ?p.<13-28>, < γ > ^{III} ?p.<29-40>, < δ / ζ > ^{4.IV} p.<41-104>, < η > ^{II} p.<105-112>
quire 9 (restoration)	John 1:1– 5:11	p. <113–128>	θ ^{IV} p.<113-128>
quires 10–14	John 5:11 to the end + an unnumbered folio	p. <129–194> + an unnumbered folio	ι / ω ^{2.IV} p.<129-160>, μ ^{III} p.<161-172>, ν ^(IV-2² pos. 1-2) p.<173-184>, ρ ^{III} p.<185-194>+2 p. s.n.
quires 15–22	Luke	p. <195–310>	σ / τ ^{2.IV} p.<195-226>, ι ^{III} p.<227-238>, η / κ ^{4.IV} p.<239-302>, λ / β ^{II} p.<303-310>
quires 23–26	Mark	p. <311–372>	κ / γ / κ ^{3.IV} p.<311-358>, ξ ^(IV-1 pos. 6³) p.<359-372>

1 Using the Chroust+ system of notation, see Andrist and Maniaci 2021, 29–30.

2 The two folios containing John 14:26–16:7a are missing.

3 The folio containing Mark 15:13–38a is missing.

The main peculiarity at the end of Mark is the presence of the unique supplementary text known as the Freer Logion on p. 371, which is not accompanied by a special layout but is copied as a normal paragraph between Mark 16:14 and 15.³⁸

4.3 Codex Ephraemi rescriptus (C/GA 04)³⁹

The Ephraemi rescriptus is a biblical pandect dated to the sixth century,⁴⁰ whose text was scratched out and parchment reused in the twelfth or thirteenth century for the production of a codex of the Greek Ephrem. Some folios are lost, including those containing the capitula for Matthew, the end of Matthew and the capitula for Mark.

38 About the Freer Logion, see Frey 2002; Burnet and Clivaz 2023.

39 Manuscript reused as writing support in the palimpsest codex with the shelfmark Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 9 (= *Diktyon* 49569, <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/49569/>>). Sigla ‘C’ for the OT: ‘04’ or also ‘C’ for the NT. Completely reproduced on the website of the BnF (<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470433r>>); NT conveniently reproduced in the order of the text on NTVMR (<<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace/?docid=20004>>). For a presentation of this little-studied manuscript, see Parker 2008, 73–74; Andrist 2020, 39–45, 91–102, including a reconstruction of the quire structure. See above § 3.1. and fn. 25 about the ‘enjambement’ of the perimeter of Matthew and the comparison with the Alexandrinus.

40 Cavallo 1967, 91–93, followed by Orsini 2005, 204–206, 211, 240, contrary to the still too prevalent traditional dating to the fifth century.

The order of the gospels is Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, copied using long-lines. According to the layout rules of the codex, the capitula of the next gospel are copied on the page following the end of the preceding gospel, and the next gospel is copied on the page following the end of the capitula.

Contrary to the other gospels, John is copied on its own Modular Unit. On the one hand, this situation seems the result of chance, since one sees no peculiarity in the layout or the quire organization at the transition from Luke. It also seems, however, that John was copied by another hand.⁴¹ Could the modularity of John have been planned? A quick check in the density of the writing at the beginning and the end of Luke shows a large difference,⁴² as though hand B, who was responsible for the three first gospels, condensed the writing in order to finish Luke at the end of the quire. As a result, there is a good chance that the smooth transition is the result of both the organization of the work and the ability of scribe B to adjust the script to the available space. In any case, since the capitula in John are copied on the previous Modular Unit, as already mentioned,⁴³ the position of John is not modifiable.

5. The end of Mark in the context of the transitions between the gospels in ancient biblical Greek manuscripts

Table 7 summarizes the issues which were encountered in the six manuscripts we have discussed so far; the slash indicates whether the issue is located at the beginning (/ Mark) or the end (Mark /) or between (Mark / Luke) the mentioned book(s).

At first glance, none of the six codices surveyed above presents a systematically regular transition between the gospels together with a 'normal' situation at the end of the gospel series, with no peculiarities concerning the layout, the quires or the hands. At second sight, however, the Freer *tetraevangelium* can be excluded from this list, if one takes into consideration its own strictly respected architectural principles. In codex Bezae, the transitions between the gospels are regular but the end of Mark, whose original last folio has been lost, is peculiar today; this is a typical conservation issue, and there is a good chance that its original arrangement was also regular.

In contrast, none of the four pandects of the whole Bible, which are in the order Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, presents a series of transitions between the gospels without peculiarities:

41 Lyon 1959, 264.

42 Based on Tischendorf's transcription, and counting only the full lines but not the initials, one finds an average of *c.*39 characters per line at the beginning of Luke, but 45 at the end of it. In the absence of a more comprehensive study about the scribes and their writing density, these figures should be interpreted with caution.

43 See above.

Table 7. Overview of the physical issues in the six analysed manuscripts

	<i>Quire issues</i>	<i>Layout issues</i>	<i>Hand issues</i>	<i>(Conservation issues)</i>	<i>Textual issues (end of Mark)*</i>
	<i>Irregular or unusual quire</i>	<i>New quire, or Modular Unit</i>	<i>Extra space</i>	<i>New hand</i>	<i>Lost folio(s) at transition</i>
<i>Codex</i>					
Sin.	(Mark/Luke) Luke /	Luke/John /		(Mark/Luke)	Luke ? / Shortest Ending
Vat.			Mark/Luke		Shortest Ending
Alex.		Mark/Luke	Mark/ John/	Mark/Luke	/Matth. Mark/
Ephr. rescr.		Luke/John /		Luke/John ?	(palimpsest)
Bezae	Mark/				/Matthew (Latin transl.) Mark/
Wash.	each Gospel	each Gospel	John / Luke		/John Longest Ending (Freer Logion)

* Major peculiarities only

- in the Sinaiticus, the end of Luke is on an irregular quire, while the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke are on an original replacement leaf;
- in the Vaticanus, there is an unexpected empty column between Mark and Luke;
- in the Alexandrinus Mark and the capitula for Luke are located at the end of a Modular Unit with an unusually large empty space after Mark (or the capitula). Another hand copied Luke and John; there is an extra space at the end of John;
- in the Ephraemi Rescriptus, the hand that copied John on its own Modular Unit seems to be different from the hand that apparently condensed its writing in order to finish Luke at the end of the previous quire.

Overall, there is a remarkable instability in the transition of the gospels in these manuscripts. In this respect, the two codices with the alternative order of the gospels appear to be more regular than the four pandects.

What about the ending of Mark? It is also noteworthy that in three of the four pandects there is a peculiarity concerning Mark, whose end emerges as the most unstable transition place of all of the gospels. The nature of the peculiarity, however, varies from codex to codex:

- in the Sinaiticus, it has to do with a copying problem by the original hand, which had to be fixed by the original corrector;
- in the Alexandrinus, the producers decided to start Luke on a new Modular Unit and had to allow for some extra space at the end of Mark;

- only Codex Vaticanus and the extra empty column at the end of Mark resist a straightforward explanation. We now return to it for a few lines in the next section.

6. *Final thoughts about the ending of Mark in codex Vaticanus*

When preparing this paper, I asked myself whether the presence of an additional empty space after Mark in both the Vaticanus and the Alexandrinus could be explained through some kind of common book making tradition. For example, were some scribes accustomed to materially underline the middle point in the text of the gospels, by adding, for example, some extra space after the second book? Or could it possibly be an indirect heritage of a remote ancestor in which Mark was located at the end of the gospel series, such as in the Western order we encountered above?⁴⁴

After considering the more ‘natural’ explanations for the Alexandrinus and the Sinaiticus, this book-historical explanation loses much support and interest, even though it is not totally impossible that some book making habits played a role for the blank space in the Vaticanus.

Overall, the end of Mark in the Vaticanus reminds me of the situation of the *Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus*, whose ending is lost in the Greek manuscript tradition. In two witnesses of this text, however, both dating from the Palaeologan period, the scribes left some space after the text. In one of these manuscripts, the scribe even explicitly tells the readers that three pages were left for copying the end of the text in case someone finds it,⁴⁵ this warning did not prevent a later scribe to cross the note and use the empty space. Independently from the question of the original ending of Mark, it is not difficult to argue (as others have done before me) that the abrupt end of Jesus story in the Shortest Ending was felt to be literarily unsatisfactory by several people already in Antiquity.⁴⁶ Would it not be also possible to explain the empty space at the end of Mark simply as the reaction of a dissatisfied scribe (or their re-

44 For various gospel configurations with Mark at the end, see Bogaert 1999, 302.

45 Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 521 (col. 316) (= *Diktyon* 69992), f. 165r; the scribe wrote, ‘εἰ τις τῶν χριστιανῶν εἰ εὐρήσει (lit. εὐρήσει) τὸ λείπον γεγραμμένον που (lit. ποῦ) καὶ οὐκ ἀναπληρώσει αὐτό, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ἐπὶ τούτω γὰρ καὶ τὰ τρία ταῦτα φύλλα ἐναπελείφθη ἄγραφα. Ἀνάθεμα γοῦν ἔστω καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τῶν τῶν τῶν φύλλων (lit. τείλοντι)’ (if a Christian finds the rest [of this text] written somewhere and does not complete it, let him be anathema. For this purpose these three leaves have been left unwritten. Anathema to him and to the one who plucks them out). The other witness is Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theol. gr. 307 (= *Diktyon* 71974), f. 48r, followed also by three empty pages. About this literary adversus Iudaeos dialogue, see Andrist 2001, see also the bibliography in Andrist 2017, 43–48, 62.

46 For example, Croy 2003, 63–64; Elliott 2008, 93.

sponsible) with this abrupt ending? Then they would have left some space to copy the end of the gospel, whatever it is, in case someone finds it. The copying context and sacrality of a thirteenth-century copy of a polemical text in a dogmatic florilegium is, of course, very different from a fourth-century copy of the holy Scripture in a biblical pandect. But it is also difficult for us twenty-first-century specialists to grasp what would and what would not be considered acceptable in the fourth century. A broader enquiry about the scribal practice of leaving an empty space when the ending of the text was felt to be too abrupt or incomplete could potentially shed some light on this issue.

Conclusion

The codicological enquiry presented above helps clarify what happened to the ending of Mark in the three oldest pandects of the Christian Bible. It both corrects some assumptions about the peculiarities in these manuscripts and sets practical limits to what can be expected from book producers and what can be reconstructed (and what assertions can be made) by modern research.

For the Codex Sinaiticus, it shows that, no matter how one reconstructs the original lost bifolio, there was not enough space to accommodate the Longer Ending, and only under improbable circumstances could it have contained the Shorter Ending. A study of the working procedure of D shows that his work is the result of sound decisions that are motivated by his peculiar copying constraints, and does not reflect the presence of any other ending in his antigraph. In a word, no detail in the codex implies or is best explained by the scribes' knowledge of another ending or by the presence of another ending in the scribes' antigraph.

Similarly, nothing in the Codex Vaticanus points to the presence of another ending in its antigraph, although the extra empty column could reflect either some knowledge of the existence of other endings or even the producers' dissatisfaction with the book's abrupt conclusion, regardless of whether they knew of other endings or not.

For the Codex Alexandrinus, this study highlights the peculiarities in the layout and folio organisation at the end of Mark, which contains the Longer Ending, including an originally empty folio which is now lost and has been forgotten by the research. The resulting quire reconstruction of this place, where another hand begins copying out Luke on a new quire, simply reflects the codex's hyper-modularity, and corresponds to a common production practice in this manuscript. Here again it has nothing to do with the question of the various endings of Mark.

A broader look at the few surviving pre-ninth century manuscripts which have the end of Mark highlights the unusually high frequency of irregularities at this spot. But it does not reveal any peculiar scribal habit or pattern which

could explain the special ways this ending and/or the transition to the next gospel is materially organised in the above-mentioned pandects.

This inquiry answers certain questions but represents a starting point for further considerations:

- A few years ago, Elliot asked if Mark (or the four gospels) in both the Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus could have been copied from the same anti-graph, or, at least, depend on a fairly common close ancestor.⁴⁷ This interesting question will hopefully awaken the interest of text critics: can the textual differences between both codices, when considered as a whole, be explained by the usual copying mistakes and distracted / tired scribes working on the same (or closely related) model(s)? Or is the amount and nature of their differences large enough to suppose a complex and largely independent pre-history of both texts and both codices?
- Another line of inquiry has to do with the architectural situation of the ending of Mark in codices from ancient biblical traditions other than Greek.
- A first survey of mutilated ancient lost gospel manuscripts as well as ancient fragments before the ninth century suggests that their study could also contribute to a better understanding of the physical transmission of the gospels in the early centuries.

I hope that the above pages convincingly illustrate how a codicological interpretation of the material language of ancient Bibles can make a useful contribution to the discussion of the ending of Mark 16. It allows for the analysis of the peculiarities present at this spot in the specific context of producers' habits in the same manuscript, as well as in the wider context of Bible production of the time. It provides concrete criteria to evaluate the explanations offered by scholars. And sometimes it even points to new ways to solve old problems.

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47 Elliott 2008, 86.

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The Text and Paratext of Family 1 in Mark 16

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In 1902 Kirsopp Lake published his groundbreaking study of *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies*, a group of minuscules that became known as Family 1 (*f*¹). Still today, the dominant hand-edition Nestle-Aland 28 builds on Lake's study of this family in Mark (assuming that Codex 1 is the 'Leithandschrift') although progress has been made in our understanding of Family 1 (especially in Matthew and John) and new members have been discovered and the significance of known witnesses accentuated (in particular Codex 2193). This article revisits the text of Family 1 in Mark 16 and the two major paratexts pertaining to the endings of Mark and the *pericope adulterae*—peculiar hallmarks of this family.

In regard to the text, I identify a new member of Family 1 in Mark and John—Museum of Oltenia, I 535 = Gregory-Aland 2954. Furthermore, I identify five characteristic and virtually unique family readings in Mark 16 and propose one new family reading where my reconstructed text deviates from Lake's text (the text of minuscule 1). Finally, I suggest two possible double readings, where the family archetype may have had an additional (longer) reading in the margin.

In the second part, I will demonstrate that several family branches preserve two editorial notes in Mark 16 and in the *pericope adulterae* from the archetype, a now-lost uncial which I date between 444–532 CE, and that the core member Codex 1582, on the other hand, contains additional marginalia which were likely not in the family archetype or an intermediate exemplar. Nevertheless Ephraim, the well-known scribe of 1582, likely copied his exemplar with great care, but he, or someone before him in this line of transmission, also added material from at least one other source outside of Family 1.

1. Introduction

In 1902 Kirsopp Lake published his groundbreaking study of *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies*, a group of minuscules (1, 118, 131, 205, 209) that became known as Family 1 (*f*¹).¹ In 1928, Lake added 1582 to the group as a core witness with 1 and 131.² Still today, the dominant hand-edition Nestle-Aland 28 (NA28) cites Lake in the Gospels, assuming that minuscule 1 is the 'Leithandschrift'.³ However, significant progress has been made in our understanding of Family 1 (especially in Matthew and John) and further im-

- 1 Lake 1902. Lake was convinced that 205 was a copy of 209 and therefore did not consider it further (1902, xix–xxii).
- 2 Lake, Blake and New 1928, 324. Lake's results, however, were anticipated by von Soden who had included 1582 in this family with 1, 118, 131, 205, 205abs, 209, and 2193 under the siglum H^F (von Soden 1907, 1042–1066), which he later changed to I¹ (von Soden 1913, xiv).
- 3 Aland et al. 2012, 19*.

portant members have been discovered.⁴ Thus, in her study of Family 1 in Matthew, Amy S. Anderson demonstrated that 1582 (Athos, Vatopediu, 949, 948 CE), copied by the scribe Ephraim, is the leading member in Matthew rather than 1.⁵ Her full collation of codices 1 and 1582 in Matthew showed that they had only 34 variation-units in between them and she concluded:

Codex 1582 is a nearly exact reproduction of an intermediate exemplar (A-1) while Codex 1, along with 118 205 209, is a descendant of this same intermediate exemplar by way of an additional intervening copy (X). Thus, Codex 1 (or X) and Codex 1582 are independent witnesses to a common archetype. At the same time, it will be seen that the theoretical exemplar X did not preserve the marginalia and contained a number of scribal mistakes, especially mistakes of omission.⁶

Anderson linked the family archetype (A), a now lost uncial dating to *c.* 500 CE, to Caesarea.⁷ She further confirmed that Codex 1582 was copied by Ephraim, the same scribe who copied Codex 1739 (Athos, Lavra, B'64) and who was extremely accurate in his work and therefore preserved information about a textual tradition that was significantly older than his own tenth-century milieu.⁸ Several earlier scholars have noted that when Ephraim copied other works, he took great pains to reproduce his exemplar.⁹ On the basis of Ephraim's own works and some surviving letters likely addressed to him, Anderson concludes that he was trained by 'an outstanding textual scholar' and that 'his scriptorium must have had access to an excellent library', which perhaps held majuscule copies made in the former library of Caesarea in the fifth century, and subsequently transferred to Constantinople at some point.¹⁰ However, Anderson

4 Apart from the work of Von Soden and Lake (see above), Metzger 1963, 45, has added 1542 as a member of Family 1. Note that Mark 9:28–16:20 (ff. 100r–117r) is a supplement (1542S).

5 Anderson 2004, 97, 101. The monograph is based on her thesis (Anderson 1999).

6 Anderson 2004, 86.

7 Anderson 2004, 45. Cf. Zuntz 1946, 69n4.

8 Anderson 2004, 22–46. Kirsopp and Silva Lake identified Ephraim as the scribe of both 1739 and a copy of Aristotle in Venice (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. Cod. 788; reproduced in Lake and Lake 1934–39, II, ms. 44; plates 80–81 and 88). They also suspected that 1582 was copied by this same Ephraim; see Lake and Lake 1943, 263–268. More recently, Lidia Perria has identified Ephraim as the scribe of two other New Testament manuscripts, Athos, Stavronikita, 43 (GA1110), which, interestingly, is a weaker member of Family 1, and Athens, National Library of Greece, 1 (GA L1527). See Perria and Iacobini 1994, 103–112. The latter manuscript, however, contains only two Lucan odes on the last folios and otherwise no text from the NT.

9 In the case of Polybius, Ephraim (who copied ms Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 124 = manuscript A) apparently treated lacunae in a way that preserved the line length of his *Vorlage* in contrast to all other witnesses. See Moore 1965, 172.

10 Anderson 2004, 45.

assumed that there was an intermediate exemplar, A-1, from ca 600–800 CE from which all extant Family 1 members descend.¹¹ This assumption rested on similar judgments by Günther Zuntz and Neville Birdsall concerning Codex 1739 that there may have been an intermediate exemplar.¹²

Subsequently, Alison Welsby examined Family 1 in John.¹³ She retained Anderson’s designation A-1 of the family archetype (Anderson’s intermediate exemplar), but without trying to date it or go beyond it, and she assumed that ‘it contained many ancient and rare Non-Majority Text readings, and a substantial number of variant readings were given in the margins’.¹⁴ Significantly, Welsby demonstrated that there was another group of core members in John, the minuscules 565, 884 and 2193.

In the stemma Welsby drew up, she presented a number of now-lost witnesses to A-1 from which various extant manuscripts derive. These lost ancestors (B-C-D-E-G-H) are shown in fig. 1.¹⁵

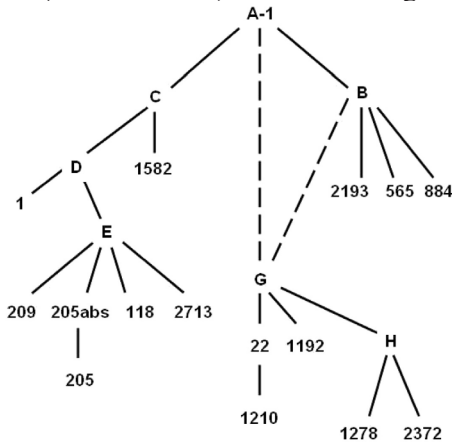


Fig. 1. Stemma of Family 1 in the Gospel of John (Welsby 2014).

11 Anderson 2004, 96, 101 (stemma).

12 Anderson 2004, 72; Zuntz 1953, 73–74. Zuntz assumed that 1739 ‘is the tenth-century copy of the work of a Caesarean grammarian who in the late fourth or early fifth century furnished an ancient text at least of the Acts and Epistles with a marginal apparatus’ (1946, 69). He thought that these scholia pointed to an even earlier archetype, ‘It follows that not later than at some time during the third century this passage [found in the margin of 1739 at Acts 7:51] must have been transferred from its original context to the margin of a biblical text’ (1946, 70); Birdsall 1959, 10–11, 22. Anderson referred to Lake, de Zwaan and Enslin 1932, 143–144, but they were unclear on this matter.

13 Welsby 2014 (the monograph is based on Welsby’s PhD thesis of 2011). I have left out 131 and 872 from the figure, manuscripts which Welsby placed in a box outside the stemma, since they showed weak or no family affinity in John.

14 Welsby 2014, 133.

15 Welsby 2014, 134 (fig. 6).

Welsby observed that Manuscript C, the common ancestor of 1 and 1582, contained a significant number of Non-Majority Text readings, but ‘only a reduced number of marginal readings,’ whereas Manuscript B, the ancestor of 565, 884, and 2193 preserved ‘a significant portion of A-1’s marginalia,’ although the extant witnesses have each at times been corrected towards the Majority Text.¹⁶ I would suggest that it is not Manuscript C, but rather D (equivalent to Anderson’s X) that had reduced the marginalia. In fact, Welsby has demonstrated that 1582 and 2193 have a number of shared double variant readings (placed in the text and margins) which must have existed as variant readings (i.e., in text *and* margin) in A-1 as well.¹⁷ Below I will discuss two such possible double variant readings in Mark 16.

Finally, Welsby demonstrated that 205abs is actually the exemplar of 205 and not the other way around, with the result that the former manuscript has subsequently been registered as Gregory-Aland 2886.¹⁸ In sum, Welsby’s most important result was to confirm that Codices 1 and 1582 are independent and leading members of Family 1, but that they are joined by a new group, codices 565, 884 and 2193. On the basis of new evidence, she was able to improve Kirsopp Lake’s work of Family 1 in John.¹⁹

In connection with his editorial work on the forthcoming *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) of John, David C. Parker has discovered five additional members in John: 138, 357, 994, 2575 (a copy of 994 in John) and 2579 (a copy of 138 in John) which together form a catena group with 884 deriving from B in the stemma.²⁰

We can now add 2954 (Craiova, Museum of Oltenia, l 535) to the manuscripts that derive from B. I have identified it as a new member of Family 1, at

16 Welsby 2014, 133.

17 Welsby 2014, 23–24. For a recent discussion of double readings in John, see Parker 2019, 333–339.

18 Welsby 2014, 82. However, see now Taylor Farnes 2019, 124–149, who leaves the question of the relationship open.

19 Welsby 2014, 155–211.

20 Parker 2019, 326–327, 332. Parker referred to Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 282 inf. (John), which was subsequently registered as Gregory-Aland 2579 together with D. 161 inf. (Mark), D. 466 inf. (Matthew), D. 298 inf. (Luke) in the same collection. Several members of this catena group derive from an intermediate ancestor as they share a large omission of John 1:24–2:19a and there is a note in the margin of 138 explaining that it (presumably the exemplar) omits five folios (of text) with its commentary until λύσατε (2:19). I want to thank James Dowden who brought this note in 138 to my attention. The omission is not attested in 357 and 994 (and its copy).

least in John and Mark (as far as I have been able to examine the manuscript).²¹ This is also a catena manuscript but of a different type.²² Moreover, this new witness attests to many alternative readings introduced with the siglum ΓΡ in the margins, some of which are very ancient and valuable and possibly inherited from A-1.²³ There are likely more members of Family 1 if we included weaker members (such as 131, 809 and 872) or manuscripts which display block-mixture (such as 2517 and 2684) and more research is necessary to determine the relationship of the manuscripts that derive from B.²⁴

In 2015, Amy Anderson published a survey of ‘Codex 2193 and Family 1 in Mark’ based upon a fresh collation.²⁵ The agreement between Codices 1 and 1582 in Mark was extremely high, as expected, and Codex 2193 agreed with these witnesses very often, as Anderson observed: ‘Of the 262 Family Readings in Mark, Codex 2193 disagrees with 1 and 1582 only 10 times’.²⁶ Hence, Codex 2193 is clearly a core member of Family 1 in Mark and we can assume that it has the same place in the stemma as in John (notably 884 is not extant in Mark, and 565 deviates often). Anderson also studied the textual affinity of the corrections and marginal readings and concluded that most of the corrections and marginal alternative readings (introduced with a *gamma-rho* notation) agree with the Byzantine text.²⁷ Thus, she found it unlikely that the marginal readings ‘as a group, descend from the marginal readings in the shared ancestor of Codex 1582’.²⁸ In this connection, however, it is important to note that there were different correctors at work on 2193 and it is beyond doubt that one of the later hands (C2) had access to a Family 1 manuscript (if

21 This manuscript was brought to my attention by Jeff Hargis in a brief report from an expedition to Romania with the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts, Hargis 2010. Hargis mentions the marginal note at Mark 16:19 that references Irenaeus’ *Against Heresies* (see below). I want to thank Emanuel Contac for helping me to obtain images of 2954, which is kept in the Museum of Oltenia in Craiova. The recent publication devoted to this manuscript by Reșceanu, Băltăceanu, Ciurea, and Bora 2020, contains no useful information for our purposes.

22 Minuscule 2954 is of type e.7.i. (Parpulov 2021, 95–96).

23 For example, in the *pericope adulterae*, Codex 2954 attests to the following alternative readings which in all cases follow 1 and 1582: (8:3) γραμματαις (txt) / αρχιερεις (mg); καταληφθειςαν (txt) / κατειλημμενην (mg); (8:4) κατεληφθη (txt) / κατειληπται (mg); (8:6) εχωσι / ευρωσι (mg).

24 Thus, Morrill 2012, 123 concludes that ‘GA 2517 is a candidate for inclusion in Family 1 in chapter 18.’ I want to thank James Dowden who suggested that 2684 belongs to Family 1 in the latter part of John.

25 Anderson 2015, 100–133.

26 Anderson 2015, 107.

27 Anderson 2015, 118–121.

28 Anderson 2015, 120.

not the exemplar) judging not only from the pattern of corrections (and corrections of corrections) but from placement and text of the *pericope adulterae* in 2193^{sup} (see below).²⁹

In the previous year, Anderson had published a preliminary report, in which she provided an appendix with all the 262 family readings she had identified in Mark.³⁰ She proposed three characteristic family readings in Mark 16 which she marked with an X suggesting that fewer than five known witnesses outside Family 1 attest to them, resulting in the following collation:³¹

16:5 ἰδὸν 1 565 872* 1582 2193] εἶδον 22 118 131 205 209 872C 1192 1192 1210
1278 2372 2542 2886 NA RP

16:7 ἠγερθη ἀπο τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἰδοῦ 1 1582 2193] ἠγερθη ἀπο τῶν νεκρῶν ἰδοῦ D
W Θ 565] omit 131 565 872 1192 2542 NA RP

16:12 omit 1 1582 2193 Arm] περιπατοῦσιν 22 118 131 205 209 565 872 1192
1210 1278 2372 2542 2886 NA RP

However, Anderson did not note in this collation that 2193 is corrected in the two first passages, and that there is a siglum GP introducing the alternative reading *περιπατοῦσιν* in the margin in the third passage. Moreover, the first reading (*ἰδὸν*) is not characteristic of Family 1 since it has wide attestation; the ECM of Mark lists over 50 supporting manuscripts. In the following I will examine more closely the text of Family 1 in Mark 16.

2. The Text of Family 1 in Mark 16

2.1 Collation

Since 2193 and 2954 are new and important witnesses not previously taken into account by Lake, I decided to make a fresh collation of them against minuscules 1, 1582, the Majority Text (M) and the ECM in Mark 16 (I have disregarded the presence or absence of movable *nu*). In this collation, the base text to the left is always what I consider the Family 1 text (reflecting A-1) and I have marked with bold what I consider characteristic family readings. I have used the ECM numbering of words within verses. In cases of a split primary line, I refer to ECM1 and ECM2. I have used double brackets around ECM in

29 See in particular Koch 2013, 72–74.

30 Anderson 2014, 115–152.

31 Anderson 2014, 152. In connection with work on this article, Anderson has kindly shared with me an unpublished collation of Family 1 in Mark, which includes most of the corrections and additional readings of 2193. On the basis of this collation, Anderson is doing further research on the archetype text in conjunction with Matthew Whidden and Greg Paulson.

16:9–20 to indicate that it is the reconstructed initial text of the Long Ending (which is secondary and therefore enclosed in double brackets in that edition).

16:1/10–14

μαριαμ η μαγδαληνη 1 1582 2193*^{vid}] μαρια η μαγδαληνη 2193C 2954 **℣** ECM

16:1/18

μαριαμ 1 1582 2193* 2954] μαρια 2193C1 **℣** ECM

16:1/20–22

η] 1582 2193*^{vid} 2193C1^{vid} ECM2] η του 2193C2^{vid} *pm* ECM1] omit 1 2954 *pm* (ECM Mark does not note any correction in 2193 but indicates that η του is omitted.)

16:2/8–14

μια σαββατων 1 1582 2193*] της μιας σαββατων 2193C 2954 **℣**] τη μια των σαββατων ECM

16:2/23

ετι 1 1582* 2193* 2193C2^{vid} 2954] omit 1582C 2193C^{vid} **℣** ECM (ECM considers 2193* illegible and indicates 2193C in support of ετι.)

16:5/12

ιδον 1 1582* 2193* 2954] ειδον 1582C 2193C **℣** ECM

16:7/20

οτι ηγερθη απο των νεκρων και ιδου 1 1582 2193*] οτι 2193C 2954 **℣** ECM (Lake erroneously omitted the article των; the error is reproduced in NA28.)

16:9/2–4

αναστας δε 1 1582 2193* 2954 *pm* [[ECM]]] αναστας δε ο ιησους 2193C *pm*

16:12/14

omit 1 1582 2193* 2954] περιπατουσιν 2193A **℣** [[ECM]]

(The majority reading περιπατουσιν is marked with GP as an alternative reading in the margin of 2193. It may possibly have been in the margin of A-1.)

16:14/3

δε 1 1582 2954] omit 2193 **℣** [[ECM]]

16:14/36

εγηγεμενον εκ νεκρων 1 1582 2193* 2954 *pm*] εγηγεμενον 2193C *pm* [[ECM]]

16:17/26–18/8

γλωσσαις λαλησουσι καιναις και εν ταις χειρσιν 1 1582* [[ECM1]]] γλωσσαις λαλησουσι καιναις 1582C 2193 2954 **℣**

(ECM Mark does not indicate the reading of Codex 1582* in this variation-unit. Possibly, A-1 attested to both readings, the longer one in the margin, but this is uncertain.³²)

16:19/8

κυριος ιησους 1 1582 2193C] κυριος 2193* 2954 **℣** [[ECM]]

32 It will be observed from the list of thirty-one alternative Family 1 readings in John identified by Parker 2019, 334–335 (Table 2), that in cases of a variants of differing length, the longer alternative text is always a marginal reading. This phenomenon deserves a closer study.

16:19/30–32

εκ δεξιων 1 1582 2193*^{vid} 2954 𐌹 [ECM]] εν δεξια 2193C

16:19/34–36

[Lake erroneously indicates τοῦ πατρὸς as the reading of Codex 1 in this variation-unit referring to Tregelles (however, it reads τοῦ θεοῦ with all the family members and 𐌹).]

16:20/33

omit 1 1582* 2193* [ECM1]] αμην 1582C 2193C 2954 𐌹 [ECM2]

(At this point, I have assumed that αμην was not in A-1; there was a strong tendency on the part of later scribes to add a liturgical αμην.)

2.2 New Readings of Family 1 in Mark 16

As evident from my collation above, I have identified five characteristic (virtually always unique) family readings which are marked in bold. Further, I have proposed one new Family 1 reading, as compared to Lake's text which always follows Codex 1 (if we disregard his error in 16:19/34–36) and two readings that were possibly in the margin of A-1, but this is uncertain.

The new family reading is in 16:1/20–22 where 1582 and likely also 2193* deviates from 1. My collation of additional family manuscripts in this variation-unit results in the following expanded apparatus:³³

η 72 872 1542S 1582 2193*^{vid} 2193C^{vid} 2542S ECM2] η του 118 205 209 1278*^{vid}
2193C^{vid} 2372 2886 *pm*] omit 1 22 131 565 1192 1210 1278C 2954 *pm*

The ECM of Mark (printed version) indicates that 2193 omits η του which I think is an error. At first sight it looks like 2193* (123v, right column, ll. 5–6) in 16:3/18–22 reads **μαριαμ** ιακωβου and a first corrector changed Mary's name to **μαρια** by deletion (as elsewhere) and then added η του (where the article του extends into the right margin). On a closer inspection of the manuscript, however, the του is written in a different hand from the η and there are actually traces of another deletion—there was a rubricated letter, either an *epsilon* (E) or, more likely, an *eta* (H) in the left margin of the right column, line

33 For this collation, I have added 72, 1542S and 2954 to Anderson's selection; Codex 72 because it has affiliation to Family 1 in Mark 15:13–16:20 (Lake 1936, 49; cf. n47 below); Codex 1542S since it was identified as a member by Metzger 1963, 45; Codex 2954 since I have identified it as a new member of Family 1 in Mark. I have not included any of the additional members from John identified by Parker 2019, 326–327 (357, 994 and 2575 are not extant in Mark whereas 138 and 2575 [Mark 16:1–13] lack the characteristic family readings in Mark 16). Thus, this collation includes all known members of Family 1 in Mark (except Codex 652 which is Family 1 only in Mark 4:20–6:21).

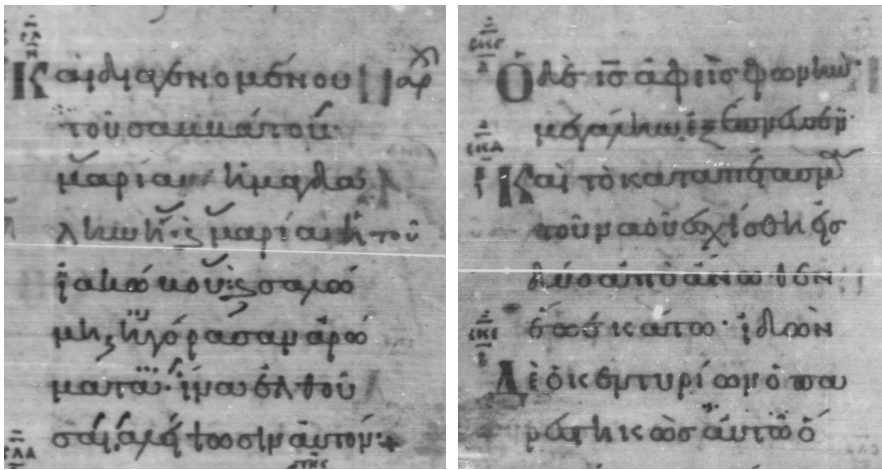


Fig. 2 a-b. MS Athos, Iviron, 1387 (= Gregory-Aland 2193), (a) f. 123v (left), (b) f. 123r (right), photos courtesy of Iviron Monastery, Mount Athos.

5 (fig. 2a), which has also bled through in the right margin of the left column, end of line 5 of f. 123r (fig. 2b).³⁴

Hence, I think 2193 originally read like its close relative 1582, μαριαν ἡ ιακώβου. This is a new Family 1 reading. Given the difference between the hand of η and του in the corrected text, it is possible that this happened in two steps so that first the *mu* was deleted, and because the rubricated initial was wrongly placed (there is no sense section here) that *ēta* was moved from line 6 (deleted) to line 5 in the void space (by C1), and only after that a later corrector (C2) added του in the margin.³⁵

Apart from the new family reading, I have identified two readings in 16:12/14 and 16:17/26–18/8 that were possibly in the margin of A-1. Below I offer an expanded apparatus:

16:12/14

omit 1 72 1582 2193* 2954] περιπατοῦσιν 22 118 131 205 209 565 1192 1210
1278 1542S 2193A 2372 2542S 2886 𐀀 [ECM]

34 I want to thank James Dowden who made the suggestion that it could have been a rubricated H in the left margin, which I could then verify, in particular by looking at the verso where the trace of the letter is even clearer. It is possible that it was initially an epsilon, but then the rubricator would have created the anomalous Ἐιακώβου, a scenario which I find less plausible.

35 Timothy Koch who studied the hands of 2193 concluded that there were two distinct correctors (C1, C2) working on the manuscript (Koch 2013, 30–34).

Only the core members and the two catena manuscripts 72 and 2954 attest to the short reading here. On the other hand, the long reading is marked with ΓΡ as an alternative reading in the margin of 2193. Possibly, it was in the margin of A-1.

16:17/26–18/8

γλωσσαις λαλησουσι καιναις και εν ταις χερσιν 1 22 565 872* 1210 1278 1582*
[[ECM1]]]

γλωσσαις λαλησουσι καιναις 72 118 131 205 209 872C 1192 1542S 1582C 2193
2542S 2886 2954 ㉓

This is another difficult case, but if both readings were attested by A-1, the longer one (the current family reading) could have been in the margin.³⁶

3. The Paratexts of A-1

At this point I would like to suggest that at least two major textual variants and accompanying editorial notes, namely the Long Ending of Mark and the *pericope adulterae*, were placed in or after the actual text of A-1, i.e., not in the margin, albeit with special demarcators, and this is reflected independently in several core members of Family 1. The branch of Codex 1 does preserve some important paratexts, albeit reduced marginalia, and, Codex 1582, on the other hand, contains some marginalia which was not in the family archetype.³⁷ This is not to imply that Ephraim, the well-known scribe of 1582, did not copy his exemplar with great care, as Anderson rightly assumes (see above), but he or someone else before him may actually have added material in the margin from at least one other source.

3.1 The Long Ending of Mark (Mark 16:9–20)

Anderson noted that Codex 2193 shares with 1 and 1582 ‘a unique colophon’ after 16:8 pertaining to the alternative endings of Mark:³⁸

εν τισι μεν των αντιγραφων εως ωδε πληρουται ο ευαγγελιστης · εως ου και ευσεβιος ο παμφιλου εκανονισεν · εν πολλοις δε και ταυτα φερεται:

‘In some of the manuscripts, the evangelist ended here, up to which point also Eusebius Pamphilus made his canons. But in many (manuscripts) the following (words) are also extant:’ (my translation)

36 Minuscule 2372 is lacunose in this variation-unit.

37 A very interesting example of marginalia retained in 1, 209 and 1582 is found in Matt 1:7. Interestingly, the scholion is formed as a cross in 1 and 209, but a triangular shape in 1582. In the latter manuscript, it looks like the spelling of a name in the scholion led a later scribe to correct the spelling in the text to Ασα (whereas Ephraim had copied Ασαφ in contradiction with the scholion, which reflects his careful copying of the exemplar).

38 Anderson 2015, 110.

Anderson termed this paratext a ‘colophon,’ whereas I prefer to call it an editorial note. It is preserved in this full form in the three core members of Family 1 in Mark, 1, 1582 and 2193, in order to introduce the alternative Long Ending. In all three manuscripts, the note is written in semi-majuscule script and in the same width as the text proper (1, 1582, 2193), not in the margin, and, yet, set apart from the rest of the text in various ways; with decorative bar(s) (1582, 2193) or marked with a four-dot siglum and written in red ink (1).³⁹ Another example of similar editorial notes on the alternative endings of Mark, which is placed in the text rather than the margin, albeit demarcated from the biblical text, is found in Codex Regius (L 019) which reads *φερειτε* [=φερειται] *που και ταυτα* + after Mark 16:8 introducing the Intermediate Ending followed by *εστην δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ* + introducing the Long Ending. Thus, this manuscript attests to all three endings accompanied by two editorial notes separating them.

Martin Wallraff has noted that, in spite of the editorial note, the scribes of Codex 1 and 1582 continued to mark Ammonian section numbers (234–236) in the margin of the Long Ending (both manuscripts lack reference to canon tables), which suggests that these section numbers depend on later traditions (later than the editorial note).⁴⁰ Mina Monier has correctly observed that the third core member, 2193, adds only one section number 234 (CΛΔ) for the Long Ending which the scribe assigns to canon table 10 (unique to Mark) in the margin (f. 124v).⁴¹ If one consults the canon tables in this manuscript, on the other hand, all other expected nineteen sections unique to Mark appear except 234, which suggests that the section number in the margin of the text might have been added by the scribe (or a corrector) and was missing from the exemplar.

As Anderson points out, the editorial note in 1, 1582 and 2193 is also attested by the Venice manuscripts 209 and 2886. Furthermore, I can now report that the note is attested also by a third Venice manuscript, 205, as one might expect, since 205 is a copy of 2886 (all three codices of this Venice group were once owned by Cardinal Bessarion and are now housed in Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice).⁴² However, there is a major difference be-

39 I have not been able to examine color images of 1582 and 2193, so I cannot say anything about the color of the ink in these manuscripts.

40 Wallraff 2021, 73, n. 17.

41 Monier 2022, 7.

42 Anderson 2014, 125–126, suggests that 118 is a weak member of the Venice group in Mark based on her collation, which shows that of the 262 family readings, 118 only shares 163 (205 has 224; 209 has 232; and 2886 has 227). Anderson did not examine 2713 which Welsby included in this group. I can confirm that 2713 does not have the scholion in question.

tween these witnesses deriving from ‘Manuscript E’ (Fig. 1) and the core members in that the note is now written in minuscule and transferred to the margin, a move that makes it look akin to scholia that frequently appear in the margin of Byzantine manuscripts. This transfer to the margin certainly happened in Manuscript E.

The three weaker family members, codices 22, 1192, 1210, which descend from ‘Manuscript G’ attest to a shorter and modified version of the note, *εν τισι των αντιγραφων εως ωδε πληρουται ο ευαγγελιστης · εν πολλοις δε και ταυτα φερεται.*, ‘In some of the manuscripts, the evangelist ended here. But in many (manuscripts) the following (words) are also extant.’⁴³ This version of the note is also attested in minuscules 15 and 1110 (in semiuncial; copied by the scribe Ephraim).

Finally, the new witness to Family 1 in Mark, the catena manuscript 2954, neither includes the note, nor Ammonian sections.

3.2 A Scholion on Mark 16:19

Another rare note which I regard as a scholion proper occurs in the margin of 1582 (f. 134r) referring to Mark 16:19 (as indicated also by corresponding sigla in text and margin) where the scribe Ephraim wrote: *ειρηναιος ο των αποστολων πλησιον εν τω προς τας αιρεσεις τριτω λογω τουτο ανηνεγκεν το ρητον ως μαρκω ειρημενον*, ‘Irenaeus, who was close to the apostles, refers in the third book of *Against Heresies* to this word that Mark said.’⁴⁴

Ephraim copied the scholion in semiuncial forming a triangular shape. It derives from a commentary and is known also from the margins of the catena manuscripts 72, 809, 1313, and 2517.⁴⁵ Minuscules 809, 1313 and 2517 do not belong to Family 1 in Mark, although 809 and 2517 do have affiliation with Family 1 in John. Further, as Silva Lake observed, Codex 72 (11th cent.) does shift textual character from Mark 15:13 onwards where it attests to a number of family readings.⁴⁶ Interestingly, there is a brief excerpt from the catena to

43 Monier 2022, 7, notes ‘the gradual transition in the copyists’ perception’ as he comments on the group 22 1192, and 1210, as part of a wider ‘process of standardisation of the text,’ which includes both how the Long Ending and the *pericope adulterae* was handled in Family 1.

44 Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.10.6.

45 Parpulov 2021, 95–97 (types e.7.i–ii). I want to thank Mina Monier who made me aware that the scholion in question was attested in other manuscripts than 72 and 1582.

46 Silva Lake noticed a shift in Codex 72 after Mark 15:13 but not ‘a definite change to an exemplar of another type’ but rather an influence which was likely due to correction of the exemplar against a manuscript related to Family 1 (Lake 1936, 49). Lake also observed that Codex 652 is ‘an excellent witness to Fam 1’ in Mark 4:20–6:21 (certainly due to block-mixture), but otherwise it belongs to Family II (Lake 1936,

which the scholion belongs on the two last folios of Mark (132v–133r) in this manuscript.⁴⁷ Moreover, I can now confirm that this scholion is attested in the new family witness 2954 which contains the same catena.⁴⁸ Thus, I suspect that the scholion was in the archetype A-1 since it is attested in various branches of Family 1. It is even possible that A-1 was a catena manuscript. Anderson regarded it as an intermediate exemplar, dating to 600–800 CE.⁴⁹ In this connection, it is to be noted that the catena in 2954 is compiled from several sources (at least in John) and has a double reference system—some pieces of commentary are introduced with figural signs, others are not.

Several other marginal scholia, unique to 1582, reflect Ephraim’s ‘intelligent interest in textual questions,’ to use the words of K. W. Kim, and the same is true of Codex 1739 (Apostolos) which he also copied.⁵⁰ Significantly, Ephraim included marginal scholia that at times would contradict the readings (of Family 1) in the text itself.⁵¹

Finally, I note that the editors of the ECM of Mark have treated the scholion to Mark 16:19 as a subscription to Mark’s Gospel which is clearly erroneous.

3.3 *An Editorial Note on the pericope adulterae*

We now turn to another major textual variant in the New Testament, the *pericope adulterae* (John 7:52–8:11) to see how it was treated in these manuscripts.⁵² The three core members 1, 565 and 1582, deriving from the now lost manuscripts B, C and D, attest to an editorial note at the end of John introduc-

33). I want to thank Mina Monier who first brought to my attention that Codex 72 has Family 1 readings in Mark 16.

47 Parpulov 2021, 97 (e.7.ii).

48 The catena in this manuscript belongs to Parpulov’s type e.7.i. and has been added to the online catena catalogue: <<https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue/result/4821>>.

49 The oldest extant catena manuscript is Codex Zacynthius, dated to 700–850 CE (Parker 2020, 31), whereas the oldest extant member of Family 1 is 565 (ninth century).

50 Kim 1950, 175. It is to be noted that Kim does not distinguish between the various layers of 1582 (i.e., what material derives from the archetype, what Ephraim copied from the immediate exemplar and what he might have added himself).

51 See footnote 37 above (on Matt 1:7); cf. Kim 1950, 171 (on Matt 13:35).

52 This section draws from and develops material from Knust and Wasserman 2020, 22–55, esp. 34–53. In this article, we called the editorial note a ‘scholion,’ as if drawn from another source (e.g., an extract from a commentary), but after consideration, I have decided to use the term ‘editorial note’ for both the note concerning the endings of Mark and the *pericope adulterae* since both cases actually involve editorial decisions.

ing the *pericope adulterae*, although 565 does not actually include the passage any longer (it would have been on a final page) and abridges the note.⁵³ The note in 1582, after which 7:53–8:11 follows, reads:

† τὸ περὶ τῆς μοιχαλίδος κεφάλαιον(ν)· ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ· ὡς ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀντιγράφοις μὴ κείμενον· μὴ δὲ παρὰ τῶν θείων πρῶν· τῶν ἔρμηνευσαντι(ων) μνημονευθέν· φημί δὲ ἰω̄ τοῡ χρυ(σοστομου) καὶ κυρίλλου ἀλεξανδ(ρειας)· οὐ δὲ μὴν ὑπὸ θεοδώρου μώ<ο>ψουέστιας· καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν· παρέλειψα κα(τα) τὸν τόπον· κεῖται δὲ οὕτως· μετ' ὀλίγα τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ π̄ κεφαλαίου· ἐξῆς τοῦ ἐρευνήσο(ν) καὶ ἴδε· ὅτι προφήτης ἐκ τῆς γαλιλαίας· οὐκ ἐγείρεται·

† The *kephalaion* concerning the adulteress; in the Gospel of John; which is not found in most manuscripts; neither (is it) mentioned by the divine fathers, who comment. I refer to John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria; neither by Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the rest. I have omitted it at its (usual) place; but it reads thus, a little after the beginning of the 86th *kephalaion* [=Eusebian section]; next after, ‘Search and (you will) see that no prophet is to arise from Galilee.’⁵⁴

The note very clearly reflects an editorial intervention, where the learned scribe explains that he has omitted the passage at its usual place and transferred it to the end of John because it is neither found in most manuscripts (at that point) nor mentioned by important fathers.⁵⁵ The exact date of this editorial intervention is unknown but Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) mark a *terminus post quem* in the first half of the fifth century.⁵⁶ Interestingly, the note convincingly demonstrates knowledge both of the *kephalaion* (chapter) of the adulteress as it appears in some manuscripts and an awareness that the passage, when present, is commonly placed in section 86 at its usual location after (modern) 7:52.

According to Pseudo-Zachariah’s *Chronicle* (in Syriac), a similar editorial note was present in the *tetraevangelion* of Bishop Mara of Amida. Apparently, the chronicler treasured the bishop’s gospel book highly and decided

53 In comparison with the scholion in Codices 1 and 1582, 565 substitutes *vñv* for *τοῖς πλείοσιν* and omits the reference to the fathers (*μὴ δὲ παρὰ τῶν πρῶν . . . καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν*).

54 The note is identical in content in Codex 1 (but differs in punctuation, abbreviations and the *diploi* that mark the citation from John 7:52 in 1582).

55 According to private correspondence with Maurice Robinson, the following manuscripts place the *pericope adulterae* at the end of John (Family 1 in italics): *I*, 20, 135, 207, 215, 237b, 301, 347, 470, 564, [565], 1029, 1076, 1078, 1141, 1356, 1426, 1582, 2193, 2314, 2613, 2900. Also, 8:3–11 only at end of John: 37, 129, 259, 831(pt), 1298, 1570, 2804. Finally, 105 has the pericope on a supplementary leaf after John.

56 I do not think that the abbreviated note in 565 (which does not mention any father) reflects an earlier stage, but rather it abbreviates the version in the Family 1 archetype.

to include two elements from it in the eighth book of his *Chronicle*, namely the bishop's prologue to the Gospels that he had composed (in Greek) in his copy, followed by the *pericope adulterae* introduced by a similar editorial note (which also assigns a chapter—*kephalaion*—to the *pericope adulterae*).⁵⁷ The prologue would naturally have been placed in the beginning of the copy, but perhaps the *pericope adulterae* (and the editorial note) was located at the end of the book (after John) so that Pseudo-Zachariah chose to translate two unique passages to Syriac from the opening and the end of the treasured gospel book. During his exile Bishop Mara came to Alexandria in about 524 where he assembled his library and subsequently died around 532 and was buried in Amida where his library was kept after his death. If this is correct, Mara's death in 532 marks a *terminus ante quem*, not only for the editorial note but for the existence of a unique chapter (*kephalaion*) assigned to the *pericope adulterae* which in this copy had likely been dislocated from its place in John, a copy which may have been akin to the archetype of Family 1 (dated to c.500 CE by Anderson).

The *pericope adulterae* is placed at the end of John in codex 2193 too, but on a substituted leaf (2193^{sup}) by a later hand, C2, who most likely had access to the original exemplar. Significantly, the passage is introduced with the same string of text from John 7:52 as in the note as Welsby observes.⁵⁸

57 Knust and Wasserman 2020, 41–46. Significantly, Mara's version of the passage in Syriac translation is also found in a number of textual witnesses to the commentary on John by Dionysius Barsalibi, bishop of Amida in the twelfth century (d. 1171). Here it is introduced by a longer editorial note, with even more remarkable similarities to the note in Family 1. There are two possibilities: either Barsalibi had access to a better manuscript than the principal witness (London, British Library, Add. 17202) of Pseudo-Zachariah's *Chronicle* to which his note refers, or Mara's translation was combined with a similar but longer version of the note which Barsalibi drew from another source. In this connection, it is notable that Dionysius Barsalibi was also from Amida where the bishop's library was kept after his death (we cannot know for how long).

58 Welsby 2014, 25–26. I can confirm Welsby's suggestion that the pericope was originally placed at the end of John as there are two distinct notes (both from the tenth century) in the upper margin of f. 225r (and a critical sign above the last word of 7:52). The earliest note in the upper margin reads, ζητ(ει) εις τ(ο) τελ(ος) του βιβλιου, i.e., 'look [for it] at end of the book.' The later note on the line below reads ζητ(ει) το πς' κε(φαλαιον) εις τ(ο) τελ(ος) του βιβλ(ιου)· κ(αι) λεγ(ει)· και επορευθησαν εκαστος, i.e., 'look for the 86th *kephalaion* [Ammonian] at the end of the book; and it reads: 'Then each of them went home.'" Possibly, the second note was added when the supplement page was copied and the original page that contained the passage may also have had the editorial note. As Welsby 2014, 26, notes, the text on the supplement page introduces the pericope with the same string of text from 7:52 ερευνησον και ιδε, κτλ. as in the scholion and in the next verse

Other family members 22, 1192, 1210 (Welsby's 22-group) omit the pericope without comment, whereas 884, 1278, 2372 and the Venice group (118, 205, 209, 2713, 2886) as well as the catena manuscripts 138, 357, 994, 2575 and 2579 (identified as members by Parker) include it in its traditional place. Of the two manuscripts that had the editorial note in Mark, Codex 1110 includes the *pericope adulterae* at its traditional place, whereas Codex 15 provides the passage in the margin at its traditional place.

The new witness to Family 1 in John, 2954, attests to an abbreviated version of the editorial note written in semimajuscule in the margin: τὸ περὶ τῆς μοιχαλίδος κεφάλαιον· ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις μὴ κείμενον γεγράμμενον:

As for the text of the *pericope adulterae*, Welsby demonstrated that only 1, 884, 1582 (lacunose from 8:7b) and 2193^{sup} attest to the text of A-1 (other family manuscripts that include it have added the text from a different source) and on the basis of these witnesses she proposed a reconstruction and an apparatus.⁵⁹ To these witnesses we can now add 2954, the text of which is nearly identical to 884 and further contains four alternative readings in this pericope introduced with the siglum ΓΡ in the margin, readings which here align with 1 and 1582. I think they might reflect double readings in A-1 at these points.

4. Conclusion

We have come a long way since Kirsopp Lake's pioneering study of Family 1, then made up of only five witnesses (1, 118, 131, 205, 209). Through the subsequent research of von Soden, Anderson, Welsby, Parker and others, many new members have come to light in each of the Gospels. In this article I have identified 2954 as a new member, at least in Mark and John, as far as I have been able to examine some parts of the manuscript. A lot of work on Family 1 still remains—in particular new editions in Mark and Luke.

In this article I have focused on the text and paratexts of Family 1 in Mark 16, and the *pericope adulterae*. In regard to the text, I have proposed one entirely new family reading in Mark 16:1/20–22 (ἦ) and five virtually unique family readings in Mark 16. In regard to paratexts, I have discussed

2193^{sup} substitutes τοπον for οικον—a rare reading attested in 1, 884, 1582. Koch 2013, 72–74, assigns the supplement with the pericope to the second corrector (C2). Further, it should be noted that a similar note to seek the pericope at the end of the book is present in the upper margin of Codex 1 (f. 276v).

59 Welsby 2014, 209–210. It is interesting to note that the scribe of the commentary manuscript 884 likely relocated it back from the end of John to its traditional place. Moreover, 884 is among the manuscripts that advance chapter 10 (the story of the man born blind) by one in the *kephalaia* list (256r) so as to include the *pericope adulterae*, which is listed as τ' περὶ τῆς μοιχαλίδος ('ten—concerning the adulteress'). Cf. Knust and Wasserman 2020, 33–35.

two unique editorial notes on the endings of Mark, and on the *pericope adulterae*, respectively; notes that were certainly present in the uncial archetype which I propose to date in the interval between 444–532 CE. In contrast to marginalia such as alternative readings, which were likely added later to an intermediate exemplar, these editorial notes were placed in the text itself, although demarcated from the text proper in a way as is exemplified in Codex L (019).

One significant core member, Codex 1582, copied by the scrupulous and learned scribe Ephraim in the tenth century, contains several paratexts, including editorial notes that must derive from the archetype as they are shared by other family members. On the other hand, Ephraim himself or other scribes before him in the line of transmission, may also have added marginalia, some of which were likely drawn from other sources outside of Family 1. This observation points to the necessity of distinguishing, as far as it is possible, what was in a family archetype, any intermediate exemplars, the exemplar, and, finally, what was added by the scribe of the extant manuscript.

Finally, I anticipate further painstaking but necessary work on Family 1 to be done in the future, but also many new exciting discoveries related to this fascinating family of manuscripts.

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‘According to the Egyptians’: Mark 16 in GA 72*

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Harley 5647 (GA 72) is an eleventh-century Tetraevangelion manuscript, held at the British Library. This codex has been considered as a member of family II. Its Matthean part is a catena commentary, while the other three Gospels include Gospel text only. Yet, the last chapter of the Gospel of Mark (Mark 16) stands out with special textual and paratextual features. In this article, I will analyse the character of Mark 16’s text. I will argue that this chapter has been revised against an exemplar close to the core group of Family 1 type of text. I will also study its extended Eusebian canons assigned to the Long Ending, and the tradition behind the two scholia that appear in the margin, and notably the one that gives Jesus’ age and date of ascension ‘according to the Egyptians’, which has not been studied before. Finally, I will provide an apparatus and translation of these scholia, based on their newly identified witnesses.

1. Introduction

An ‘*elegantissime scriptus*’¹ codex, GA 72 is a Four Gospel manuscript, currently held in the British Library (London, British Library, Harley 5647). It was owned by the monastery of St Symeon the Wonderworker on the Orontes river of the Levant, as an Arabic note reveals (f. 267v). The note does not indicate whether the codex was produced in the monastery or it was brought to it, but we know that this monastery was at the centre of an active process of translation between Greek, Syriac and Arabic languages, and particularly in the eleventh century.² We also do not know when it was completed, but a *terminus ante quem* can be the destruction of this monastery, which took place during the military campaign on Antioch, by the fourth Egyptian Mamluk Sultan Baybars, in 1268 CE.³ Given the scale of the destruction of Christian sites during this campaign, this codex must have been fortunate enough to survive it. Another Arabic note (f. 1r) informs us that it was acquired by a priest called David, the son of Mikhail the Metropolitan of Bostra (southern Syria). A fourteenth-century Greek colophon in f. 267r tells us that the monastery of St Theodore purchased it from a certain nun called Eirene. Curiously, we have

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1 British Library Department of Manuscripts 1808, 284. Griesbach 1785, 181.

2 This monastery had been active in producing Greco-Arabic manuscripts at this time. See Treiger 2020.

3 Noble and Treiger 2014, 32.

no records of how it reached the West. The British Library's summary catalogue preserves a note that records its appearance in England; it was lent to a certain Wetstein, by a bookseller called Thomas Johnson.⁴ Griesbach's entry to this codex states that it was in fact known by the name *Codex Johnsoni*.⁵ Most probably, this is in association with that bookseller. The turning point of its history was its acquisition by the first Earl of Oxford, Sir Robert Harley, to become part of his large collection of manuscripts. The diary of his bookkeeper, Humfrey Wanley, does not mention this manuscript amongst the purchases done between 1715 and 1726,⁶ which was the same period of Thomas Johnson's activity.⁷ This leaves us wondering about the date and means of its acquisition. The first firm date in the journey of this codex is when King George II decreed the Act of Parliament number 26 of the year 1753, which established the British Museum. He dedicated £10,000 to purchase Harley's manuscripts, as one of the three foundational collections.⁸ Our codex resided there until it was transferred to its final place in the manuscript room of the British Library, under shelfmark Harley 5647, when it was built in 1973, and the foundational collections were transferred to it.

2. Text

Based on palaeographical assessment, scholars agree on dating it to the eleventh century.⁹ It includes the four Gospels: Matthew (ff. 4r–81v), Mark (ff. 86r–133r), Luke (ff. 138v–213r), and John (ff. 216r–267r). This codex had been routinely added to the large group Π.¹⁰ Silva Lake's extensive study of Mark's text in this family showed that GA 72 agrees with Π's representative text by nearly 82%.¹¹ Lake provided important tables in his appendix, showing the attestation of the group's readings in its members. These tables show that family Π's unique readings as well as variants with little support are missing from Mark 16 in GA 72.¹² In the readings of individual manuscripts that are not supported by other members of the family, we note that a change in the readings of GA 72, starting from 15:3 onwards: Family 1 readings feature

4 British Library 1999, 155.

5 Griesbach 1785, 181.

6 Humphrey 1966.

7 British Library 1999, 155.

8 House of Commons 1805, 7–45.

9 Gregory 1908, 50. Von Soden 1911, 138. Aland and Wachtel 2011, 50.

10 Von Soden 1911, 1160–70. Wisse 1982, 103–5.

11 Lake, 1936, 15.

12 Lake 1936, 117–8.

prominently.¹³ Of these readings, two are exclusively shared with Family 1: the rendition of the name Mary (the mother of Jacob) in 16:2 to be *Μαριάμ*, and the omission of *περιπατοῦσιν* in 16:12.

Since the publication of Kirsopp Lake's study of *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies*,¹⁴ substantial advances took place, complicating our understanding of this family. The discovery of Codex 1582 in the Greek monastery of Vatopedi supported Lake's view of the existence of an archetype represented by the text found in GA 1, and attested to by GA 1582.¹⁵ However, the most substantial development towards accurately mapping the members of this family was accomplished by Amy Anderson and Alison S. Welsby in two consecutive doctoral dissertations supervised by David C. Parker in Birmingham. Anderson and Welsby provided systematic collations and analyses of the family's text in the Gospels of Matthew and John, respectively.¹⁶ Later, Anderson expanded her analysis of Family 1 to cover the Gospel of Mark in two successive studies,¹⁷ which will be of particular importance for us. The results of these studies show that Family 1 is no longer represented solely by GA 1, but there is a group of three manuscripts that represent its core: GA 1, 1582 and 2193.¹⁸

The outcome of this research has created a richer and more dynamic image of this family. Beside these advances in Family 1 research, we also have GA 72 digitised and made available for further examination.¹⁹ Beside GA 1, microfilm images of the other members of the core group were also made available through the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NT-VMR). Therefore, an examination of GA 72's text against Family 1's core group would offer further data with consequences for our understanding of this text.

In order to see how close Mark 16 in GA 72 is to Family 1, we need to conduct a comparison on the level of its readings against a reference text. If we list these readings against NA28, then we will find that GA 72 has 16

13 From 15:3 to the end of Mark, Lake lists 6 readings common with Family 1, against only one reading before 15:3. See Lake 1936, 131.

14 Lake 1902.

15 Streeter 1930, 80. This discovery sparked important debates regarding the nature of this family. On this matter see Lake et al. 1928; Kim 1950, 167–175. See also Wisse 1982, 105–107.

16 Anderson 2004. Welsby 2011. Later, Parker used the results of these findings in his important study on the use of the CBGM method and other editorial tools in the study of Family 1. See Parker 2019.

17 Anderson 2014. Anderson 2015.

18 Anderson 2004, 110.

19 See <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5647>, this and other URIs in this article last accessed 20 December 2022.

readings deviating from the text of NA28. Of these 16 readings 13 are in agreement with Family 1 (81%), while 8 only are in agreement with GA 72's own family Π (50%).²⁰ Of these agreements, GA 72 does not have any of family Π's unique readings or even readings of little support outside this family.²¹ On the other hand, GA 72 has several strong Family 1 readings in Mark 16, including the characteristic Μαρίαμ (of James) of 16:1, and the omission of περιπατοῦσιν. If we look at the three readings of GA 72 that disagree with Family 1, we will find that two of them are extremely rare, and not shared with family Π either. These two are εἶπον (instead of εἶπεν) in 16:7, and τοιαῦτα (instead of ταῦτα) in 16:17. The latter appears almost nowhere else.²² The third is the only single reading where GA 72 agrees with family Π against Family 1, which is using τῆς μίας (instead of μία) in 16:2.

If we look at readings where GA 72 agrees with NA28 against either of the two families, we find some interesting features. First, GA 72 agrees with NA28 in two readings against family Π. These are ὅστερον δὲ in 16:14 and the omission of Ἰησοῦς in 16:19. In these cases, Family 1 core members are divided. So, in the first reading, GA 72 agrees with GA 1 and 1582 against GA 2193. In the second reading, GA 72 has the opposite alliance: it agrees with GA 2193* against 1 and 1582. Interestingly, a corrector of GA 2193 added the missing Ἰησοῦς. Second, GA 72 agrees with NA28 against Family 1 in the other two readings. In 16:1, Family 1 core members read Mary (the Magdalene) as Μαρίαμ, and adds ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἰδοῦ in 16:7. GA 72 lacks these readings. These two readings are not unique to Family 1.²³ However, it is curious to note that both readings are harmonisations to Matt 28:1 and 7, respectively, as the *Editio Critica Maior* itself draws the reader's attention to.²⁴ This observation leads us to enquire whether GA 72 removed these harmonic readings, or whether GA 72 actually attests to the text that the archetype of Family 1 harmonised to Matthew? It is beyond the scope of this study to offer a detailed account of harmonisation in Family 1, but it is noteworthy to refer to a study done by C. Dvoracek, which offered a quantitative analysis of the harmonic readings in Mark's text of Family 1. He noticed the 'propensity in Mark to harmonise to Matthew, and often that harmonization is agreed upon by D, W, 28 and the Old Latin', as the statistics he offered show.²⁵

20 In this comparison, I used Lake's apparatus of family Π in Lake 1936, 115–116.

21 See Lake's two tables of these readings and their attestation in family members, in Lake 1936, 117–118.

22 As we will see, GA 809 exceptionally shares them.

23 See these readings in Strutwolf 2021, 820, 7.

24 ECM adds the Matthean references as well. See readings 16:1 / 10 ao, 7 16: 7 / 20 d in Strutwolf 2021, 820, 827.

25 Dvoracek 2012, 31, 118.

In the light of the aforementioned data, the second possibility appears to be likelier.

To conclude, these findings show that the exemplar behind Mark 16 in GA 72 is closer to the archetype of Family 1, quantitatively and qualitatively, than to Family II. Beside its agreement with the core group on characteristic readings, their disagreement is not wider than disagreements between the core of Family 1 and other members of that family. This invites us to explore further the paratexts that offer the context for this text.

3. Paratext

The Eusebian Canons

The Eusebian canons were devised to assist the reader of the Gospels to see the connection between an ‘Ammonian’ section in one Gospel and its parallels in the other Gospels, if any, using its ten tables.²⁶ In the standard Eusebian tables, the Gospel of Mark was divided into 233 sections, with the last section (§ 233) covering the last verse of the Short Ending (verse 16:8). Thus, Eusebius did not include in his canon tables any sections that cover the Long Ending (verses 16:9–20). This created a gap for later scribes to fill, by segmenting the Long Ending’s 12 verses into new sections that vary in number and size. One of the earliest and best documented solutions to the problem was breaking the Long Ending into eight sections (§234–§241), without assigning these new sections to any canon tables,²⁷ which is the largest segmentation in Greek manuscripts known so far.

GA 72 does not have the Eusebian tables at the beginning of the codex. However, the scribe added the sections with table numbers in the classic form (*Ammonian Section* / *Eusebian Canon*), in the margins of the four Gospels. The Long Ending was divided into 7 sections, assigned to table numbers, increasing the total number of sections in Mark to 240 sections. Breaking the Long Ending into seven sections with Eusebian canon numbers is an unusual case in Greek manuscripts that I surveyed during my research. In Greek manuscripts, the closest case is the ninth-century GA 013, which has 7 sections that differ in their structure from GA 72 and lack canon numbers. Otherwise, this structure is found in

26 There is a large body of literature on this important tool. The most recent comprehensive publications are Crawford 2019. Wallraff 2021. Coogan 2022.

27 This solution can be found as early as in the fifth-century Codex Ephraemi (GA 04). An exception is the eighth-century GA 07, which has the 8 sections assigned to canon tables. There is also the ninth/tenth-century GA 1424 catena, which follows it. On the development of the extension of the Eusebian apparatus see Smith 2022.

some witnesses of the Harklean Syriac Gospels.²⁸ One interesting difference between the two lists is that §238 is assigned to table 6, while the Harklean witnesses have it assigned to table 2. This section comprises Jesus' commission of the disciples to preach the whole world (16:15–16). GA 72's decision to assign that section to table 6 means that it has only one parallel, which is Matt 28:19 (§359 in folio 81v) and excludes the Lukan parallel that the Harklean witness included: §346 (24:45–48). So, where did this difference come from?

GA 72 has extra sections for the Long Ending without revising or editing the sections of the other Gospels.²⁹ Therefore, it has the normal Eusebian number of sections (342) for Luke. On the other hand, the Harklean canon edited the sections of the other Gospels to create nuanced parallels with the Long Ending. So, the Harklean witnesses have the extra sections 343–346 created out of the large final Eusebian section 342, for this purpose. Therefore, one possibility is that GA 72's 7-section division without revising the other Gospels could indicate that this is based on a tradition shared with the Harklean arrangement, yet in a more primitive form. Interestingly, assigning 16:15 to table 6 is also found in another Syriac tradition, which is the Peshitta's revised version of the Eusebian tables (§288/6).³⁰

The first subscriptio of Mark in GA 72 mentions the number of sections (σμ).³¹ This subscriptio underscores the extended number of Eusebian sections. The other three Gospels do not have a similar subscriptio. The stipulation of the new number of sections emphasises the canonicity of the Long Ending. Curiously, the core group of Family 1 observes the problem of canonising the Long Ending and leaves us a note after the Short Ending, warning us that this is the verse 'up to which Eusebius Pamphile canonised'.³² This could be seen in contrast to the emphatic attitude of GA 72 that normalises the extra sections in the margins and in the subscriptio.

28 The Harklean witnesses are divided, with some witnesses having the Peshitta's revised tables (for example MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 268) while other editions have a seven-section division of the Long Ending, such as MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.40 (see <http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWODkH_-I1A4r7GxL9nX#/oro/176>). See also the edition of Yohanna 2015, 4–7.

29 On revising the other Gospels to create new parallels, see Monier 2022, 13–14.

30 See the Peshitta's edition in Pusey and Henry 1901.

31 Mark has two subscriptions (f. 133r). Beside the aforementioned one, there is another one similar to what is found in Matthew's subscriptio.

32 See the note in purple ink, in GA 1 f. 220v: <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0Ex>>. On the development of this note across Family 1's subgroups see Monier 2022, 6–8.

The Irenaeus Scholion

GA 72 has been recently categorised as a catena.³³ This is true to the part of Matthew only. By looking into the Matthean part, we find that it indeed starts with an announcement that this is the Gospel of Matthew as ‘written in Jerusalem’, and ‘commented upon by John Chrysostom’.³⁴ This is indeed the case; as we read through the commentary, we can see that most of it is an anthology of excerpts drawn from John Chrysostom’s homilies on Matthew, starting precisely from *Hom.* 1.5 (f. 4r). On the other hand, the other three Gospels have no commentary at all. This renders the categorisation of the whole codex as a commentary problematic for future conclusions that would erroneously attribute any observation in these three Gospels to ‘a catena’.

While the other three Gospels have no marginal notes, Mark’s ending is an exception. There are two scholia that appear next to Mark’s last section (§240), which is on Jesus’ ascension (16:19–20). The first scholion has been spotted before, and it was referred to by scholars who debated the inclusion of the Long Ending in Mark, such as William Burgon.³⁵ This note appears next to verse 16:9 (f. 132v, fig. 1).

It informs us of Irenaeus’ use of this verse in his ‘third book *Against Heresies*’. The value of Irenaeus’ use was highlighted in the scholion which says that he was ‘near (the age of) the apostles’. In fact, until today we know of no reference to a verse in the Long Ending *with an explicit* mention of its place in

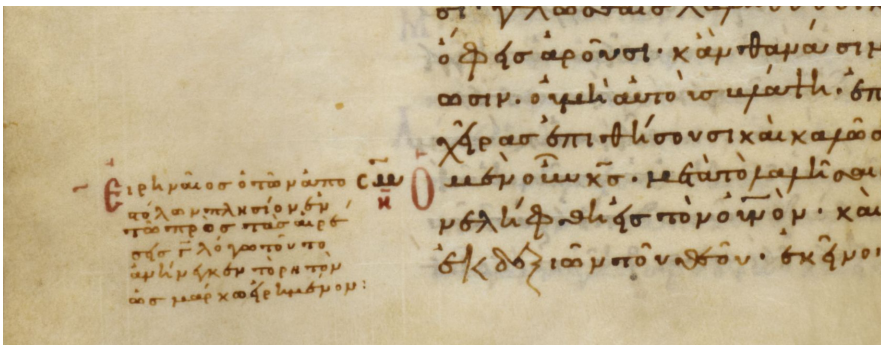


Fig. 1. London, British Library, Harley 5647 (GA 72), f. 132v: the scholion. © British Library Board.

33 Parpulov 2021, 97.

34 Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον συνεγράφη [...] ἐβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἐρμηνεύθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρ(υσοστόμου).

35 Burgon 1871, 24 n.34; Kim 1950, 169.

the Gospel of Mark earlier than Irenaeus' testimony.³⁶ Indeed, Irenaeus quoted verse 16:19, stating that he found it in Mark, 'towards the conclusion of his Gospel' (*Haer.* 3.10.5). By noting this scholion, Family 1 appears again on the surface. In fact, GA 1582, which is the best representative of the archetype amongst the core group members, has this scholion next to Mark 16:19 as well (fig. 2).³⁷

Beside GA 72 and 1582, I can also confirm that this scholion appears in 809 (149v), 1313 (100r) and 2517 (57v).³⁸ The latter three manuscripts are of the same catena category (e.7.i).³⁹

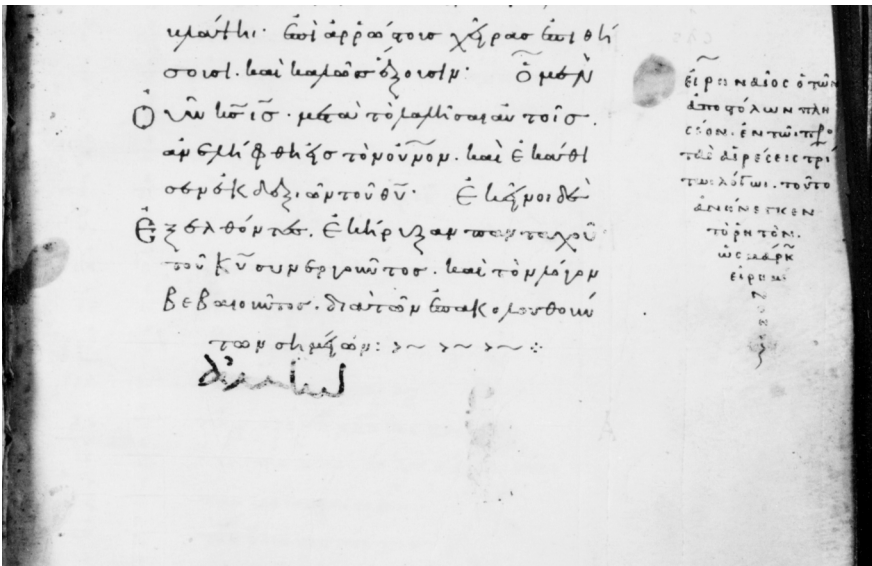


Fig. 2. Athos, Vatopedi 949 (GA 1582), f. 134r. The scholion of Irenaeus (right) next to verse 16:19. Licence: Public Domain. Credit: Library of Congress Collection of Manuscripts from the Monastery of Mt Athos.

36 Several scholars confidently locate allusions to verses in the Long Ending in Justin Martyr and *Epistula Apostolorum*. See Robinson 2008, 70. Stein 2008, 82. However, these views offer only indecisive evidence on such dubious allusions such as the three words common between Mark 16:20 and Justin's Apol. 1.45.5 (ἐξεληθόντες πανταχοῦ ἐκήκραξαν). In the best case, it would be largely inferential. Cf. Kelhoffer 2000, 170. Metzger 2005, 124. As for the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, Justin's student, it has most probably used the Long Ending but, again, we cannot consider that as a certainty without further research on its translations, since the original text was lost.

37 Anderson 2014, 119. See also her same conclusion in light of Matthew's collation in Anderson 2004, 146.

38 Tommy Wasserman (2022) has also reported its presence in GA 2954.

39 See Parpulov 2021, 95–7.

‘According to the Egyptians’

Despite the fact that the Irenaeus scholion was spotted in GA 72 by earlier writers, a curious silence falls upon scholarship regarding the scholion that appears after it.⁴⁰ This scholion appears on the top margin of f. 133r, above the last verse (16:20; fig. 3).

It states that Jesus ascended to heaven when he was thirty-two years of age, and that the ascension took place on the tenth of Pachon, ‘according to the Egyptians’. Then, it continues unfolding what happened, as Jesus is enthroned in heavens, and will eventually come back to judge everyone. The language of the text appears to be influenced by the New Testament. The use of ‘the Only-Begotten one’ and Jesus’ ascension to ‘his God and Father in heaven’ are reminiscent of John 1:18 and 20:17, respectively. Further, we have a verbatim agreement with Eph 1:21, while the concluding words (ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ) are close to Matt 16:27. However, the nature of the scholion and its details are not as clear as these New Testament citations might lead us to think. As a whole, the scholion does not offer an explanation to the Markan text. Neither is it a liturgical note or a spiritual teaching. It appears as a narrative or a sequel to what happened to Jesus after he ‘had spoken to them’ (Mark 16:19): Jesus ascended (ἀνελήφθη), enthroned (σύνθρονον γενέσθαι), and will return (ἐλεύσεται). So, the question of what it is may not be clear. Interestingly, this scholion is not entirely uncommon. I found it in at least nine witnesses.⁴¹ These witnesses do not represent a single

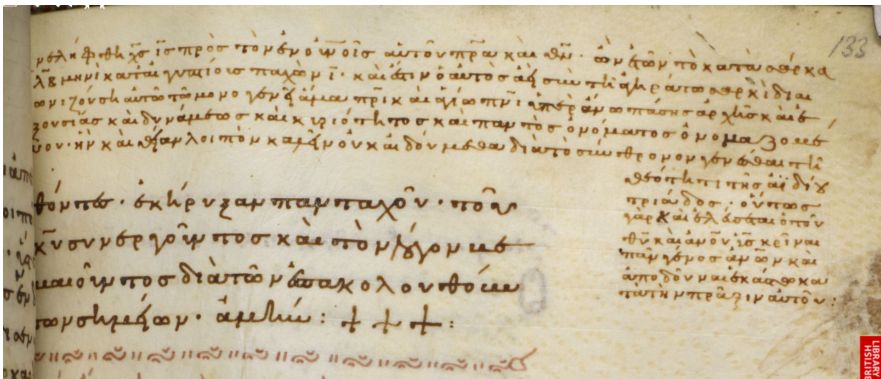


Fig. 3. London, British Library, Harley 5647 (GA 72), f. 133r: the scholion. © British Library Board.

40 In 1950, K. W. Kim noticed that scholion and briefly registered his intrigue, quoting the first line only, and suggested that it seemed to be a ‘free quotation’. Kim 1950, 170.

41 GA 19, 63, 72, 222, 391, 800, 809, 989 and 1313.

type of commentary, or a continuous text, but they all have this scholion next to the end of Mark 16:20 or next to its subscriptio, despite the fact that the ascension is mentioned in Luke as well. There is no attribution of this [scholion](#) to any author, which makes tracing its origins difficult.

Perhaps the most mysterious aspect of its content is the tradition behind Jesus' ascension age and date, being attributed to the Egyptians: 'Ἀνελήφθη Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς πρὸς τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς αὐτοῦ Πατέρα καὶ Θεόν, ὧν ἐτῶν τὸ κατὰ σάρκα Λβ', μηνὶ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Παχῶν ι'' (see Appendix below for the edition and translation). The first possibility to strike one's mind is that it was taken from the Egyptian calendar: the 10th of Pachon (ΠΑΧΩΝ - بَشْنَس). However, there is no known evidence that a fixed date was given to the feast of ascension. The date of celebrating the feast of ascension moves along with Easter, which has been calculated using the Epact Computus, proposed by Demetrius the bishop of Alexandria, since the late second century.⁴² This creates other questions; Was it drawn from a very early tradition that precedes Demetrius' computus? Why was this calendrical note used in such a number of copies done across the Mediterranean, and not just Egypt? Usually, when a reference to a date that falls in the Egyptian calendar is made, it is coupled with its equivalent date in the local calendar, notably 'of the Romans'.⁴³ Why does such a calendar 'according to the Egyptians' matter to the Greeks and Antiochenes i.e. why would the Melkite scribe of GA 72 add this scholion, despite the fact that he did not add any other scholia in Mark (except Irenaeus' scholion), Luke or John? And if the source comes from Egypt, which remains as a speculation, why would the writer remind his fellow Egyptians that the date was 'according to the Egyptians'?

It appears to me that reading it as a note driven from a calendrical or liturgical source might be the reason for such complications. This leads us to explore the possibility that another text, either known to be *According to the Egyptians*,⁴⁴ or simply an Egyptian text, be the source. While we cannot identify the source document, a certain work that survives in one papyrus sheds light on the existence of a similar type of a gospel: *Papyrus Cairensis* 10735.

42 In fact, if Easter is celebrated after the 21st of Parmouti (ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ), ascension goes beyond Pachon to fall in Paoni (ΠΑΩΝΙ). On the method of calculating ascension and the traditions of the Coptic church see Mosshamer 2008, 109–129. See also Atiya 1991, 433–436.

43 Numerous examples of how the Egyptian calendar is used next to other calendars can be found in the documents of Byzantine historians. See for example the chronicles of George Syncellus and Nicephorus in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. See Niebuhr 1829, 40–41.

44 Of course we already know of the Gospel of the Egyptians, which was used in second-century Alexandria.

Based on palaeographical assessment, this papyrus fragment was dated to the sixth or seventh century, and it is currently preserved in the Egyptian museum of Cairo, but the Gospel itself should be dated earlier.⁴⁵ The fragment contains a text on the nativity of Jesus, with material common with Matthew and Luke, but the striking *hapax legomena* and extra details make it difficult to simply assert that the Gospel was based on the canonical accounts. For this reason, J. K. Elliott included it as one of his sources for his synopsis of the nativity narratives.⁴⁶ Deissmann's careful construction, which has been followed by later scholars, helps us see a similar case. In the verso we have the following:

ὁ [δὲ ἀρχιστράτηγός] φησι τῇ παρθένῳ. ἰδοὺ Ἐλισάβετ ἡ συγγενὴς σου κ(αι) αὐτὴ συνέληφε καὶ ἔκτο[ς] ἐστὶ μὴν αὐτῇ τῇ κα[λουμένη] στειρά. ἐν] τῷ ἕκτῳ, ὃ ἐστὶν [θῶθ, μηνὶ ἢ μ(ή)τ)ηρ ἄρα Ἰω]άννην συνέλαβε.

Then the leader of hosts said to the virgin, 'Behold Elizabeth your relative has also conceived and it is the sixth month for her who has been called barren'. In the sixth month of the year, which is (called) Thoth, the mother of John conceived him.⁴⁷

In this passage, we see that the author adds an explanatory reference to the name of the month in the Coptic calendar, which is in this case Thoth (Θωογτ). Thoth is indeed the month in which the Coptic church celebrates the angel's annunciation to Zechariah the priest of the birth of John the Baptist until today. Assuming that the construction of this passage is correct: what is the coincidence that two Egyptian traditions share this peculiar dating style in a narrative? Could a similar Egyptian Gospel, if not that one itself, be the source of the tradition about Jesus' ascension age and date? The source(s) behind this scholion remains a mystery.

It is also worth noting that the text of the first sentence is relatively unstable amongst the nine witnesses. Of these cases, the most peculiar one is the reading of GA 800 (f. 105v), recently spotted by Zachary Skarka,⁴⁸ which says:

Ἀνελήφθη Χριστός Ἰησοῦς πρὸς τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς αὐτοῦ Πατέρα, ὦν ἐτῶν τὸ κατὰ σάρκα Λβ', μὴ κατ' αἰγυπτίους ια'.

Christ Jesus was lifted up to his Father in heaven, being of age 32 according to the flesh, not 11 according to the Egyptians.

45 Deissmann 1910, 441–445. The papyrus was first listed in Grenfell and Hunt 1903. The most recent analysis can be found in Kraus et al. 2009, 240–251. The author is grateful to Dan Batovici for providing some of this material that was otherwise inaccessible to me.

46 Elliott 2006, xvi.

47 Text and translation of Ehrman and Pleše 2011, 243. Elliott 2005, 36–37.

48 See <http://www.csntm.org/Blog/Archive/2020/5/26/FTL_GA800>.

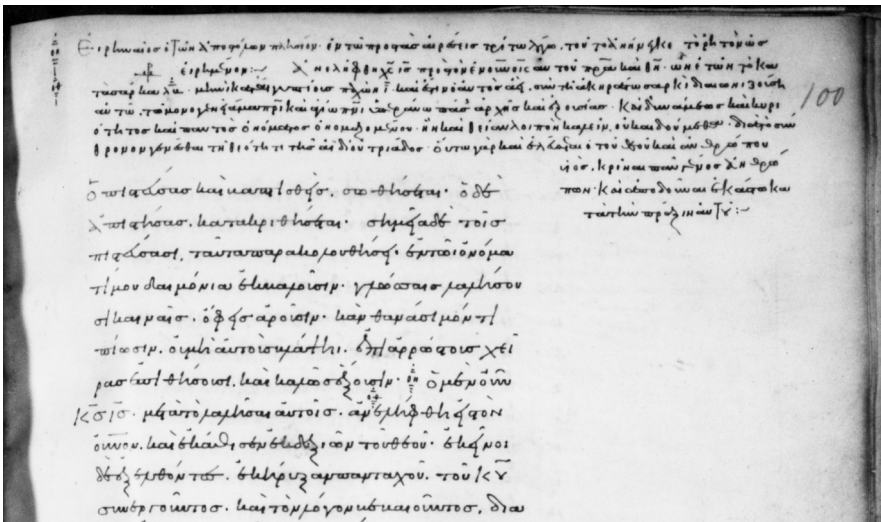


Fig. 4. Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Panagios Taphos 28 (GA 1313), f. 100r: the two scholia appear together. Licence: Public Domain. Credit: Library of Congress Collection of Manuscripts in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

This version of the scholion generally reflects changes in words that have Christological connotation,⁴⁹ and in this sentence we can see that *καὶ θεόν* was omitted. Further, we also note that *μή* replaced *μηνὶ* (month), *Παχών* was removed and number 10, which was supposed to be the day of the ascension, became 11. One explanation for the change of ‘month’ to ‘not’ is a scribal mistake. In fact, a later corrector corrected this reading by adding the missing letters *vi*. However, this cannot be the reason for the omission of the name of the month, and the change of the date from 10 to 11, let alone the other changes through the scholion. Did the scribe edit the scholion to address an apocryphal tradition regarding Jesus’ ascension date? As it stands, the scribe denies a tradition ‘according to the Egyptians’ stating that Jesus was eleven years old when he ascended, by giving the correct age (32). The childhood of the ascended Jesus might seem odd, but it is not entirely unusual in apocryphal literature.⁵⁰ Therefore, this version could also bear traces to an ancient tradition we are yet unaware of.

49 See the apparatus in the Appendix below.

50 See for instance Jesus appears as a boy in Acts of Peter 21, Jesus appearing to John as a child in the prologue of the Apocryphon of John, the child Jesus guiding Paul in the Revelation of Paul 18, etc. On the rationale behind Jesus’ depiction as a young boy, see Taylor 2018, 85. I will not investigate it further in this article since it is beyond its scope.

Finally, it is worth noting that the two scholia in GA 72 appear together as well in two more witnesses: GA 809 and GA 1313 (see fig. 4). GA 809 and GA 1313 are correctly registered as catena manuscripts. If this catena was the source for GA 72's readings and the two scholia, one should wonder why the scribe did not use the catena elsewhere at all, contending himself with these two scholia on Mark 16? Not only do these three manuscripts share the presence of the two scholia together, they also share close readings.

The text of GA 809 is almost identical with GA 72. This includes the rare GA 72 readings of εἶπον (16:7) and τοιαῦτα (16:17) mentioned before. Further, the most interesting common reading between GA 72 and GA 809 is the omission of περιπατοῦσιν in Mark 16:12 (see fig. 5). As noted above, this omission is only found in the core members of Family 1. Further, GA 809 adds περιπατοῦσιν in the right margin as an alternative reading with the symbol ΓΡ (f. 149r, see fig. 5), just as it is found in the Family 1 core member GA 2193 (f. 124v).

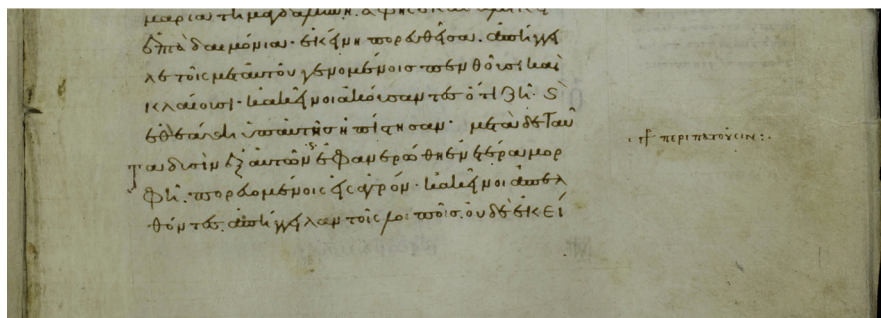


Fig. 5. Athens, Ἐθνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2364 (Codex Atheniensis, GA 809), f. 149r. © National Library of Greece.

In this section, we saw that the paratext of Mark 16 in this codex contained peculiar materials. The extended sections of the Eusebian canon are not amongst the common solutions to the Long Ending's canonicity, as found in other Greek manuscripts. While the Gospel of Mark, Luke and John have no commentaries or scholia on their text, Mark 16 stands out as a unique case with two scholia on the ascension of Jesus. These scholia have drawn my attention to other manuscripts that also share readings of family 1, such as GA 809.

4. Concluding Remarks

This article has reviewed what we know about the transmission history of MS London, British Library, Harley 5647 (GA 72). Then, by providing data on the

variants and readings of its text in Mark 16, it showed that the last chapter of Mark in this codex stands out with a peculiar character. This data showed how the readings agree with Family 1's core-group readings, in terms of quantity and quality (characteristic readings). By moving to its paratext, I explored the peculiar nature of its extended Ammonian/Eusebian numbers given to the Long Ending. We also saw the peculiarity of Mark 16 as it has two interesting scholia, despite the fact that the codex has no other comments on the rest of Mark (as well as Luke and John). Of these two paratexts, one appears in Family 1's prominent core-group member GA 1582, while the second, provides peculiar traditions that are hitherto unknown. This article provides a set of new witnesses for these two scholia. Finally, of these witnesses this article highlighted the text of GA 809 which is close to GA 72, with readings shared with Family 1 as well, which should be added to the witnesses of these readings, such as the omission of *περιπατοῦσιν* in 16:12.

From this data we can make the following remarks. First, there is a strong possibility that GA 72's text of Mark 16 comes from a different exemplar that is much closer to Family 1's core group. Was this exemplar used out of necessity? For instance, this part of Mark might have been damaged in the main exemplar, which prompted the copyist to consult another copy. However, this scribe may have also used that exemplar for fact-checking parts of the Gospels with disputed canonicity, like the Long Ending. The reason is because we can see that the scribe dropped out the *pericope adulterae* from his copy of John. The omission of this pericope is not exclusively associated with Family 1,⁵¹ but the cumulation of observations strongly supports the case for drawing our attention to Family 1.⁵² This should also be put in the context of Lake's observation of how the readings of Mark in Family 1 are close to Old Syriac.⁵³ Was Ephraim, the established scribe of GA 1582 whose typically Antiochian name was uncommon in tenth-century Hellenic circles,⁵⁴ the bridge between the exemplar of GA 72 and the archetype of Family 1? This potential connection should be left as an open case for future enquiry.

We should also learn from this data that a codex could fall victim to scholarly generalisations. In GA 72's case, we can see that the generalisation of putting this codex in the less favoured 'Byzantine' family II, must have drawn the scholars' attention away from its rich content. Further, labelling it as a catena made it seem to be *another commentary* manuscript. This has eclipsed the scholia of Mark 16, and particularly the one that preserves tradi-

51 On its attestation and omission see Knust and Wasserman 2020.

52 I have already discussed the correlation between the Long Ending and the pericope adulterae across the sub-groups of Family 1. See Monier 2022.

53 See the lists of readings in Mark and Lake's comment in Lake 1902, 1–lxiii.

54 Anderson 2004. Welsby 2011, 24.

tions ‘according to the Egyptians’. The case of Mark 16 in GA 72 warns us against these generalisations.

This article invites future scholarship to provide a full and careful collation of the entire codex of GA 72 and to analyse the codices that share its paratexts, and particularly GA 809. This could provide further context to readings and variants found elsewhere and may also shed more light on the history behind the readings of Family 1. Another aspect of no less importance is to pursue the possibility to bridge our knowledge gap in its transmission history. Namely, how it reached the shores of England and in what way it was received in the collection of Sir Robert Harley. The ethical and historical questions regarding how Middle Eastern codices found their way to the private collections of wealthy Europeans has been subject to heated debates and dedicated projects.⁵⁵ This question is not simply a matter of the past, but it remains as relevant as ever, in the light of similar circumstances that surround other codices in places like contemporary Syria and Iraq.⁵⁶ Finally, by providing an apparatus of the scholia in the following appendix, the author hopes that it will help future scholars to pursue the tradition(s) behind this unusual paratext.⁵⁷

55 There are numerous projects working on similar cases. Most notably, Brent Nongbri is leading project EthiCodex which tracks the history and ethical standing of the acquisition of early Greek and Latin manuscripts in European archives. See <<https://earlyhistoryofthecodex.com/>>. See also Stefaniw 2021.

56 For example, on what happened to the Arabic Diatessaron manuscripts held in Aleppo during the war, see Monier and Taylor 2021, 210.

57 I used the text of GA 72 as the base text, unless the other eight witnesses agree against it in a specific variant, such as the case of ἀγγράτω. I implemented the critical signs used in NA28. See Aland et al. 2012 (NA28), 56–57.

Appendix: A Critical Apparatus of Mark 16 Scholia in GA 72

Εἰρηναῖος ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων πλησίον, ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις τρίτῳ λόγῳ, τοῦτο ἀνήνεγκεν τὸ ῥητόν, ὡς Μάρκῳ εἰρημένον:

Ἄνελήφθη Χριστός Ἰησοῦς πρὸς τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς αὐτοῦ πατέρα [□]καὶ Θεόν[᾽], ὦν ἐτῶν τὸ κατὰ σάρκα (ἄβ[᾽]μηνὶ[᾽] κατ' αἰγυπτίους Παχόν[᾽] ᾽[᾽]1, καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτός αἰεὶ, συν τῇ [᾽]2ἀκηράτῳ σαρκί [᾽]3δαιωνιζούσης αὐτῷ, τῷ [᾽]4μονογενεῖ ἁμᾶ Πατρί καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι: ὑπεράνω πάσης αρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ πάντος ονόματος ὀνομαζομένου. Ἦν καὶ θεῖαν λοιπὸν καλεῖν οὐκ αἰδούμεθα διὰ τὸ συνθρόνον γενέσθαι [□]2τῇ θεότητι[᾽] τῆς αἰδίου τριάδος. Οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἐλεύσεται ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Ανθρώπου Υἱός κριναὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἕκαστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ :

[□]1 391. 800| ᾽ λβ[᾽] (τριακον δύο 63) μή 63. 800* | — 19 | txt 72. 222. 391. 809. 989.
1313 | [᾽]1 δεκά 19 | ια[᾽] 800 | [᾽]2 ἀγήρατῳ 72| [᾽]3 δαιωνιζούση 19. 63| [᾽]4 μονεῖ 800*|
[□]2 391. 800. 989. 1313

Irenaeus, who was near the (age of) the apostles, reported this content in his third treatise *Against the Heresies*, as mentioned by Mark.

Jesus Christ ascended to his Father and God in heaven, being of age 32 according to the flesh, on the tenth of Pachon, according to the Egyptians. And he remains always, with the undefiled body eternalised by him, the Only-Begotten (one), together with the Father and the Holy Spirit: *far above all principality, authority, power and dominion, and above every name that is named*. So, we are not ashamed of considering that it was divine (economy), through which the enthronement with the Godhead of the everlasting Trinity was accomplished. For this way the Son of God and of Man will come to judge the whole human race, and to *repay each one according to his deeds*.

Symbols used in the apparatus:

- The text between these signs is omitted by witnesses cited.
- ᾽ The text between these signs is replaced with other words by the witnesses cited.
- ᾽ The word following this sign is replaced with one or more words by the witnesses cited.

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Framing Mark: Reading Mark 16 in a Catena Manuscript*

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Narratives are read within frames, sometimes frames that literally surround the main text of a work. Paratextual frameworks are particularly helpful in reading texts with complex textual traditions, such as the ending of Mark 16. We explore these propositions by analysing a twelfth-century deluxe Byzantine codex, GA 2604 (Dublin, Ireland, Chester Beatty Library, W 139, *diktyon* 13571), which features multiple paratextual systems, including extracts of arranged catena commentary, or *Rahmenkommentar*, which often takes up the entire upper, lower, and outer margin of any folio, framing the main gospel text. The content of the commentary for Mark 16 is primarily concerned with the post-resurrection events and harmonising the Gospel of Mark with the other canonical gospel narratives. Furthermore, the catena also attends to the shape of Mark's textual history in mentioning copies of a 'Palestinian Mark' which 'contains the truth'. The catena, therefore, plays an important role in navigating the reading experience of the ending of Mark.

All literature is set within frames. In many modern print cultures, the most obvious physical frame is the two covers of the book, which demarcate it as something self-contained and self-sufficient.¹ But even within a book, or in a manuscript or a digital text, more immediate boundaries intervene on reading experiences. Because we rarely encounter naked, unadorned text in the wild (that is, the main text and only the main text), *paratexts* function as one of the parameters for textual engagement. The items in, with, and around the text of the work mediate that work to readers in various ways. As Gérard Genette says in a meandering way in his seminal book, paratexts

surround [a text] and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book. These accompanying production, which vary in extent and appearance, constitute what I have called elsewhere the work's *paratext*... the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers... more than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is rather a *threshold*... it is an undefined zone between the inside and outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward

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1 Even this is now changing as literature becomes more multimodal; see Clivaz 2019, 128–132.

the world's discourse about the text). [A paratext] is a zone not only of transition but also of *transaction*.²

Although Genette's definition does not square precisely with what we find in manuscript cultures and is based on the modern French novel, his description of paratexts as a space of transaction, as a threshold between text and reader, coheres exactly with one particular paratext found in Greek New Testament manuscript: *catenae*, or chains of extracted patristic commentary arranged in the margins or interspersed between the texts they comment upon.³ Even beyond *catenae*, the paratextuality of the Greek New Testament is unusually rich in part because it has attracted significant scholarly attention since late antiquity and because it has benefitted from so many engaged readers since the first century.⁴ This discussion explores the permeable borders that *catena* provide, with a specific focus on the narrative and transmission history of Mark 16 as it appears in MS Dublin, Ireland, Chester Beatty Library (CBL), W 139 (GA 2604, *diktyon* 13571), a twelfth-century deluxe gospel codex.⁵ *Catenae* are widespread in the Greek manuscript tradition and highly flexible in their transmission and presentation, and they become attached to every work in the New Testament apart from the book of Revelation.⁶

2 Genette 1997a, 1–2, originally published in French in Genette 1982.

3 The definition that Genette arrives at in *Paratexts* (1997a), differs from the view he articulated in Genette 1979, which he later revised in Genette 1997b, 1–3. On the suitability of Genette's definition for manuscripts and its shortcomings, see Crawford 2019, 21–28; Andrist 2018, 130–148; Allen 2020, 46–52; Lied 2021, 191; Duncan and Smyth 2019, 4–6. On the importance of *catena* for understanding Mark 16, see Monier 2021, 75–98.

4 As examples, consider the dominant paratextual apparatuses that are usually transmitted in some way in Greek New Testament manuscripts: the Eusebian apparatus for the gospels, the Euthalian material for Acts and the Epistles, and the Andrew of Caesarea tradition for Revelation. On these traditions see Crawford 2019; Bausi, Reudenbach, and Wimmer, eds, 2020; Willard 2009; Blomkvist 2012; Allen 2020, 74–120.

5 Very little has been written on this manuscript apart from the recent work of the authors. See Allen and Royle 2020; Allen 2021; Aland 1994, 199; Krause 2022, 183. See also the brief note in Aubineau 1968.

6 On *catena*, see Parpulov 2021; Houghton 2016; Houghton and Parker 2020. For *catena* traditions in Mark specifically, see Lamb 2012. The closest thing to a *catena* to Revelation appears in the so-called *scholia in apocalypsin*, GA 2351 (*Meteora*, *Metamorphoses* 573; *diktyon* 41983) or in a handful of manuscripts that preserve *scholia* extracted from both the Andrew and Oecumenius commentary traditions (e.g., GA 367 468 1678 1778 2058 2073 2079 2254 2323 2433). See Tzamalikos 2013; Allen 2016; Malik and Gerke 2020.

Framing is a good description for this phenomenon because the catena in GA 2604 literally bound the text, often surrounding the upper, outer, and lower margins of a folio.⁷ Additionally, framing is a concept in narratology, which refers to self-contained narratives. Framing is a ‘metacommunicative phenomenon’⁸ which is key to understanding the story of the text which includes the artefact containing the text as well as the cognitive framing in the mind of the readers, especially as it relates to the perceived field of reference of work. As Werner Wolf puts it, ‘frames are, therefore, basic orientational aids that help us navigate through our experiential universe, inform our cognitive activities and generally function as preconditions of interpretation.’⁹ Paratexts form part of our frame for reading, especially in cases where their features physically impinge upon the text; they are similar ‘to physical frames surrounding paintings, frames...[which] help to select (or construct) phenomena as forming a meaningful whole and therefore create coherent areas on our mental maps.’¹⁰

Enclosing a narrative, either through paratext or by other means, can be highly complex, especially in works with varying textual traditions transmitted in many manuscript cultures and languages. For example, the pluriform textual witnesses to the ending of Mark offer differing parameters for framing the narrative, which has a complicated history to the conclusion of the story, each of which can be construed to function in some way as a legitimate ending to the work.¹¹ The Short Ending of Mark concludes with the phrase ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ (‘for they were afraid’), where the women flee the tomb in fear, failing to follow the angelic instruction to tell Peter and the disciples that Jesus had risen.¹² In a few witnesses there is also a Shorter Ending (which, ironically, is

7 Other forms of marginal annotation exist in New Testament manuscripts including the Gospel of Mark. For example, see McCollum 2021.

8 Wolf 2006, 2–3.

9 Wolf 2006, 5. Also, see pp. 15–21 for Wolf’s typology of forms of framing.

10 Wolf 2006, 5. On framing as an aspect of art and literature more generally, see Platt and Squire 2017.

11 Most scholars view Mark 16:8 as the original end of the work; only a few hold that the original ending was mutilated and lost (e.g., Croy 2003) or that 16:9–20 is original in the earliest layers of composition (e.g., Farmer 1974). The main question has been to understand the rhetorical or logical function of ending the work with 16:8. For some recent approaches to understanding Mark 16:8 as a legitimate ending, see, for example, Seifert 2019 (in light of ancient narrative conclusions); Iverson 2021 (in light of cognitive science and predictive inference); Cadwallader 2011 (on hermeneutical and text-critical grounds).

12 This ending is preserved in Codex Vaticanus, Codex Sinaiticus, and GA 304, among others. See Monier 2021, 75–98; Houghton 2023, 35–42 for further discussion on GA 304 and other purported later witnesses to the Short Ending. Houghton goes

longer than the Short Ending). This text is often placed between Mark 16:8 and 9 in modern Bibles and it notes that the women did indeed tell Peter what had occurred, proclaiming eternal salvation to east and west.¹³ The Longer Ending (16:9–20) contains an additional narrative where Jesus appears to Mary Magdalene, who then tells the disciples that Jesus is alive. They refuse to believe her. Jesus then appears to two unnamed disciples who, again, refuse to believe him (16:12–13). The Longer Ending concludes by presenting a final commission of Jesus to disciples and his ascension (16:14–20).¹⁴ These post-resurrection accounts are parallels to other scenes in the canonical gospels, suggesting that the Longer Ending is a later composition based in part on the post-resurrection of the other gospels.¹⁵

In addition to the textual complexities of Mark 16, the manuscript evidence is important to understanding the text's reception and interpretation in whatever form it takes. The paratextual bounds of Mark are an interesting test case for analysing the relationship between paratexts and narratives in a richly diverse tradition.¹⁶ A fairly substantial stream within manuscripts that transmit Mark contain catenae, extracted portions of patristic commentary that interpret the main text and that can be arranged vis-à-vis the main text in multiple formats.¹⁷ The catena traditions for Mark represent a textually flexible apparatus that differs in content and presentation in each manuscript, although they fluctuate within traditional boundaries. The comments on Mark 16 in some manuscripts touch on the textual issues surrounding the endings of Mark and its relationship to the post-crucifixion scenes in the other gospels. For example, the extracts in GA 2604, which we discuss below, take as their topics the time of day Jesus rose from the dead, the identity of the women of the tomb, the inclusion of the Longer Ending, and its relationship to what the commen-

so far as to say that 'there are no known Greek minuscule manuscripts which only preserve the Short Ending of Mark' (Houghton 2023, 42)..

13 On the Shorter Ending see, Monier 2022.

14 On the fluctuations of the ending, see Kelhoffer 2000, 1–2; Aland 1974. Other endings exist in various permutations; for example, the Freer Logion, preserved in GA 032 (Washington DC, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, 06.274; Codex Washingtonianus; LDAB 2985; *diktyon* 70837; TM 61831) and in some subscriptions and marginal notations. See Frey 2002. On changes to Mark's ending, see also more recently, Monier 2022.

15 On the composition of the Longer Ending, see Kelhoffer 2000, 48–122. The close relationship between Mark 16:9–20 (the Longer Ending) and the rest of the Markan narrative have also been highlighted, for example, in Henderson 2012.

16 'Paratexts draw our attention to the impact of Mark's diverse endings outside the text itself', Monier 2022. See also Reuss 1941; Lamb 2017, 27–58.

17 On excerpt traditions in Byzantine literary culture more broadly, see Manafis 2020. On the format of these traditions, see Allen 2018, 3–16.

tary calls ‘Palestinian Mark.’ The material in the catena frames the ending of Mark’s story, orienting the reader to engage with the story in light of the resurrection narratives in the other canonical gospels and other forms of Mark.

The Catena and Reading Mark 16

The catenae in GA 2604 are a collection of extracts sourced from patristic sources on the gospels and are designed to aid the reader with some of the interpretive difficulties in the main gospel text. The extracts are arranged in a *Rahmenkommentar* or frame commentary, which often takes up the entire upper, lower, and outer margin of any folio. Below is a table of excerpts attached to the lemma in Mark 16 in GA 2604, which align imperfectly with Lamb’s arrangement of the texts.¹⁸

Table 1. Catenae in GA 2604.

Lemma	Incipit	Attribution and Source
Mark 15:47 (176v) Line 14	α Line 1. [Ευσεβιος] φασιν · ὡς μαρία ἡ μαγδαληνή · καὶ μαρία ἡ τοῦ ἰακώβου · καὶ σαλώμη · ἠτοιμάσαν μὲν	Anonymous, with explicit reference to Eusebius (<i>Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marinum</i>)
Mark 16:2 (176v) Line 20	β Line 19. ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος ὄψε σαββάτων	Anonymous; related to Eusebius, <i>Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marinum</i>
Mark 16:3 (177r) Line 3	α Line 1. μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἦλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος	Anonymous; text from John Chrysostom, <i>Hom. in Matt.</i> 89.2.
Mark 16:7 (177r) Line 17	β Line 43. τὸ κατ ἐξάρετον καὶ τῷ πέτρῳ εἶπεῖν	Anonymous; related to Eusebius, <i>Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marinum</i>
Mark 16:9 (177v) Line 4	α Line 1. οὐκ ἀγ[ο]νω ἡ τέ ον ὡς διαφόρους ὄπτασίας	Anonymous; related to Eusebius, <i>Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marinum</i>
Mark 16:15 (178r) Line 1	α Line 1. ἕτεροι φασιν . ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐ παρήσαν	Anonymous; related to Eusebius, <i>Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marinum</i>
Mark 16:19 (178r) Line 13	β Line 17. παρὰ πλείστοις ἀντιγράφοις	Anonymous; related to Eusebius, <i>Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marinum</i> .

18 Lamb 2017, 455–460. Pappulov 2021, 89–90 identifies the catena in Mark as CPG C125.1. The small-scale differences between Lamb’s edition and GA 2604 exemplify the types of flexibility in the tradition; catena segments can be relocated to other portions of the main text, omitted in some manuscripts, and otherwise reshaped to fit a new production context.

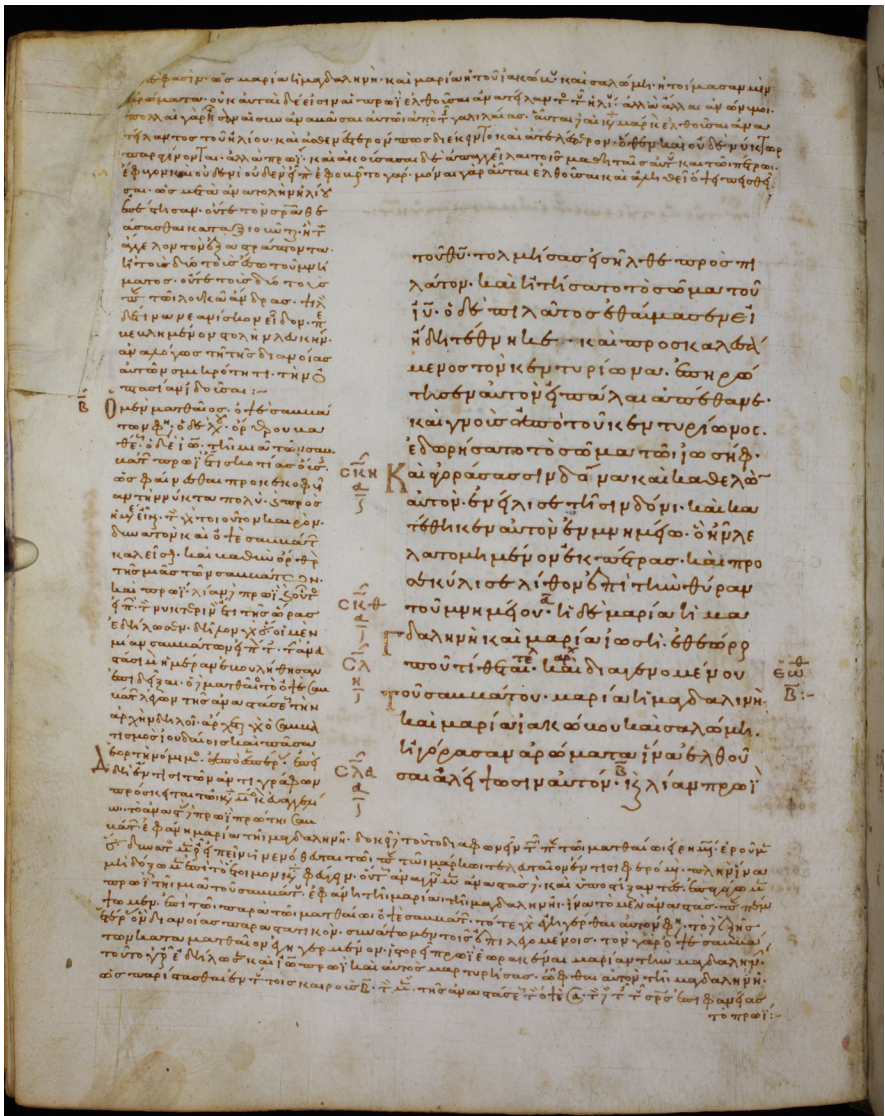


Fig. 1. ms Dublin, Ireland, Chester Beatty Library, W 139 (GA 2604), 176v, Mark 15:43–16:2. © Chester Beatty Library, <https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/W_139/10/>.

Mark 16 is located on 176v–178r in GA 2604 and it preserves seven catena sections that comment on the main text.¹⁹ Fig. 1 shows 176v, which covers Mark 15:43–16:2. The catena begins in the top left-hand corner of the page, marked with an α (which is missing in the image above due to a repair from water damage that runs across multiple folia) to correspond with another α embedded in the text on line 14 (15:47), signalling the portion of the text the catena comments upon. In this case, the note states that Mary Magdalene and Mary, mother of Joses, were watching the tomb where Jesus was laid. Some folios have multiple portions of commentary, each denoted by subsequent Greek letters. On 176v, the second part of the commentary is denoted by a β in the left margin, which corresponds to the β placed by the beginning of Mark 16:2, a text that discusses the timing of the resurrection.

The cross-reference system internal to each folio embeds non-linear reading pathways which enable the text to facilitate its own interpretation. For instance, when the reader of GA 2604 trolls through Mark and comes to the fourteenth line of 176v, she can then turn to the catena at section α . When the reading of the commentary is complete, the reader may return to the main text and continue reading Mark until she comes to the section marked β on line 20. Or the reader can ignore the marginal material altogether. The catenae provide options, adding layers of (possible) complexity onto any reading event.

The Catena and Problems with Mark's Ending

The primary concern of the content of the catena in GA 2604 is on the consistency of the details of Mark's ending with the other post-crucifixion accounts, especially the activities and chronology of the women at the tomb. Only one catena addresses a different issue: the repentance of Peter following his denial (Mark 14:66–72).²⁰ The first marginal note is attached to 15:47, preceding the phrase 'Now Mary Magdalene and Mary Joses were watching where he was laid.'²¹ This comment addresses multiple issues internal to Mark 16 and its relationship to the other gospels. It starts by referencing Eusebius's observation that those who prepared the spices for Jesus's body in Luke's account (Luke 23:55) were not necessarily the same women who arrived early in the morn-

19 See our edition of these folia, Royle and Allen 2022, and the visualisation on 'MARK16' VRE, <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EyNjA0>> (accessed 1 December 2022).

20 This note is the β catena on 177r and it is connected to the phrase 'and Peter' ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\epsilon\tau\rho\omega$) in Mark 16:7. The specific mention of Peter here leads the text to infer that Peter was indeed accounted as first among the disciples.

21 Lamb 2017, 458–459 connects this catena to Mark 16:9. The catenae are traditions in search of texts that can find connections to various parts of the narrative. Lamb's arrangement of the tradition differs from what we find in GA 2604.

ing, identified as Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome in Mark 16:1, even though this trio too brought spices along with them. The spice women in Luke's account are anonymous, a reality that allows us to read both Mark and Luke's version (23:55–24:11) without contradiction. At least two groups of women handled spices: those that prepared his body in Luke and those who arrived on the morning of his resurrection in Mark.²²

The extract also solves potential problems surrounding the final words of Mark in the Short Ending that the women 'said nothing to anyone because they were afraid' (16:8). According to the note, they fled the tomb not in failure of belief, but because they did not think of themselves as 'worthy to look upon the saviour, or the angel like lightning, of the two inside the tomb, nor the two men mentioned in Luke' (176v, lines 8–13). Instead, they beheld a 'young man dressed in a white robe which befits their small intellect regarding the visions they saw' (lines 14–18). This description takes the specific details of each resurrection account as entirely accurate on their own merit, explaining away Mark's omissions vis-à-vis the other stories by downplaying the women's ability to perceive the reality of the event. Again, the details of Mark's version do not contradict the other accounts according to this reading.²³ The apparent differences in detail between the various accounts supplement one another and give us a more fulsome view of the historical reality that each gospel represents in part.

The second note on 176v, beginning on line 19 of the catena, also addresses inconsistencies in the timing of the women's journey to the tomb. It is connected to the first phrase of Mark 16:2, which reads 'and very early in the morning' (καὶ λίαν πρῶτῃ). The other gospels describe the timing differently, with Matthew noting that it occurred at the 'close of the Sabbath' (28:1; ὁπρὲ δὲ σαββάτων), Luke 'at early dawn' (Luke 24:1; ὄρθρου βαθέως), and John 'early on the first day when it was still dark' (John 20:1; πρῶτῃ σκοτίας ἔτι οὕσης).²⁴ The problem is that Matthew notes that the resurrection occurred after the Sabbath, while the other gospels, including Mark, suggest that it occurred early (or late into the night) on the Sabbath day. This contradiction, for the author of the catena at least, is only apparent though, since 'it was customary for Sabbath and other feasts of the Jews to begin in the evening' (lines

22 See Eusebius, *Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marinum* (PG 22.937–944; CPG 3470) for a related, but not identical, tradition. On this tradition and its relationship to Mark, see Kelhoffer 2001.

23 This approach is adopted by other ancient sources that engage Mark's ending as well, like pseudo-Jerome's seventh century full-length commentary on this text. See Joyes 2011, 19–20, 28.

24 See also Johnson 2020.

36–38). Again, another detail of the resurrection account is harmonised with the versions of the story in the other gospels.

The same issue is addressed in the last section of this catena (176v, lines 39–51) where we are told that some copies of Mark note that Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene on the first day of the week (i.e., the Sabbath, referring to the start of the Longer Ending in 16:9; ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ πρώτῃ σαββάτου, ‘and rising early on the first day of the week’), a detail that would put the event into conflict with Matthew’s version and that shows familiarity with multiple endings for Mark within the tradition. The possible variance between Matthew and Mark is solved by acknowledging the possibility that Mark’s ending was corrupted, and by offering an alternative punctuation to the phrase ‘early on the Sabbath he appeared to Mary Magdalene’ that enables us to read ‘and he rose’ in a way that locates his appearance to Mary Magdalene after the Sabbath.²⁵ These appearances are two separate incidents according to the comment: first the resurrection (after the Sabbath) and then Jesus’s manifestation (early in the morning). The catena is concerned to create a narrative consistency in all details between the gospel narratives, acknowledging that each only reveals part of the whole picture. Even if we accept the legitimacy of the Longer Ending (16:9), and the catena does treat the Longer Ending in this way, Mark’s version does not contradict the larger story as articulated in the canonical gospels.

A similar concern is on display in the first catena (α) on 177r, which deals with the rolling away of the stone, connected to the women’s question in Mark 16:3: ‘who will roll away the stone for us from the door of the tomb?’ The obvious problem is that in Matthew’s version of the event (Matt 28:1–3) the stone is rolled away by an angel of the Lord preceded by an earthquake. These details are absent in Mark, where the stone moves aside without explanation. The commentary concedes this discrepancy, but solves it by suggesting, not surprisingly, that there is no real contradiction between the accounts. Afterall, both describe a man clothed in white in the vicinity of the tomb: in Matthew he is on the stone and in Mark he has wandered into the tomb itself. Both versions represent the same reality, and Mark simply records the subsequent activity of the man without noting his initial position, which Matthew alone conveys. The appearance of this figure in both narratives demonstrates their overall consistency.

The only catena on 177v again addresses issues with the timing of the women at the tomb, attached to the first sentence of the Longer Ending pre-

25 This was the solution of Eusebius in *Ad. Mar.* 1.2 and was later repeated and affirmed by Theophylact and Erasmus. See Monier 2021, 79–81.

served in GA 2604 (16:9).²⁶ The way to solve the issue is, once more, to acknowledge that different groups of women made their way to the tomb, following the logic of the comments on 176v, and to suggest that Mary Magdalene took in more of the scene because of her zeal for the Lord. The comment also points out that the various groups of women arrived at the tomb at different intervals, but that these apparent differences do not overturn the veracity of the gospel narratives. In other words, the accounts can be harmonized. The first catena on 178r makes a similar argument, this time appealing to the fact that another source says that the evangelists were not present at the resurrection, which led to this apparent confusion. The different details in each version of the event are really an example of ‘divine grace’ (line 4), which enabled the ‘revelation of the marvellous resurrection’ to be simplified so that all may understand (lines 3–6). This assertion turns the potential issues surrounding the variance in detail into a theological and apologetic strength.

Overall, the catenae in Mark in GA 2604 emphasise two important points about chapter 16 in the context of the broader tradition of post-resurrection narratives. First, the comments are explicitly aware of the textual problems inherent to Mark’s endings. The end of the catena on 176v references ‘some copies’ (ἐν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων) that preserve the Longer Ending. Even in the text of these copies though, Mark’s post resurrection narrative is ultimately coherent with the details of the larger post-resurrection stories that each of the four canonical gospels tell in part.

The second thing to take away from the content of the catena is their overriding concern to maintain the veracity, in all its detail, of a historical event that each of the gospels detail only in part. These marginal comments offer readers a way to make sense of Mark’s narrative and its details in light of its biblical parallels. In these comments, the truth of the resurrection does not hinge on the reality of miracles or the metaphysics of life, death, and otherworldly realms. That Jesus actually rose from the dead, perhaps the most challenging aspect of the narrative to modern readers, is not in any doubt; it is taken entirely for granted. What is at stake is the accuracy and truthfulness of each evangelists’ account of the surrounding events. These facts must comport with one another in some form, and the comments offer one possible way to reach this conclusion without dismissing the real differences in the various gospel accounts and in the messiness of the various endings of Mark. These paratextual frames acknowledge complexity—the concurrent existence of multiple endings, configured in various ways, and the surface inconsistencies in the gospel accounts—while simultaneously showing that these potential complications are not really hurdles to the truth of the resurrection.

26 The Shorter Ending is not preserved in GA 2604.

A Palestinian Mark?

The final topic to discuss here, one that is relevant to the textual history of Mark, is the mention of ‘Palestinian Mark.’ The catenae not only frame the narrative of the post-crucifixion scene, but also attend to the shape of Mark’s textual history and its endings. On 178r, commenting on Mark 16:18–19, the text that refers to snake handling and drinking poison, the catena reads:

παρὰ πλείστοις ἀντιγράφοις . οὐ κεῖ[ν]ται τὰυτα ἐπιφερόμενα ἐν τῷ κατὰ μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ . ὡς νόθα νομίσαντες αὐτὰ τινες εἶναι . ὁμως ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἀκριβῶν ἀντιγράφων καὶ πλείστων . οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ παλαιστιναῖῳ εὐαγγελίῳ μάρκου εὐρόντες αὐτὰ . ὡς ἔχει ἡ ἀλήθεια συντεθείκαμεν . καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιφερομένην δεσποτικὴν ἀνάστασιν .

In numerous copies, this text placed in the Gospel according to Mark was not included as it was customarily considered spurious. As we find in the more accurate copies of the Palestinian Gospel of Mark, which contains the truth, we have included this passage and have recounted the resurrection in it.

The catena mentions copies of what it calls a ‘Palestinian’ form of Mark, likely referring to copies that contain the post-resurrection stories of the Longer Ending or, perhaps more specifically, the part of the ending that contains Jesus’s first-person commission to his disciples (16:17–18). These different forms are described using value-laden language: parts of Mark’s Longer Ending are considered ‘spurious’ (νόθα); Palestinian Mark is ‘more accurate’ (ἀκριβῶν ἀντιγράφων) and ‘contains the truth’ (ἔχει ἡ ἀλήθεια), perhaps because it depicts the resurrection and ascension, although the text is not clear on why it ‘contains the truth’ as opposed to other forms. While no judgement is passed on the status of the Longer Ending in the comment on 176v, here the catena preserves a text that appears to prefer the Longer Ending, in part because it was crafted to cohere with the style of Mark and based on material preserved in the other canonical gospels.

At least in the tradition from which the catena text is abstracted, the Longer Ending is associated with a particular geographic location. The assertion that this version represents the ‘truth’ (ἀλήθεια) in some way, perhaps in a period where most copies of Mark ended at 16:8,²⁷ demonstrates cognizance of the possible endings to this work and a marked preference for the fullest version. In this instance, exegesis and textual criticism are inextricably

27 See Kelhoffer 2001, 79 who argues that the sources of this catena extract were written before the Longer Ending of Mark dominated Mark’s transmission. A portion of *ad Marinum* that is not included in the catena in GA 2604 notes that ‘for in this way [ending at 16:8] the ending of the Gospel according to Mark is defined in nearly all the copies’ (trans. Kelhoffer 2001, 85). The text to *ad Marinum* was initially edited by Mai 1825.

bound by the frames placed around the text. An apology for the inclusion and relevance of the text of Mark 16:9–20 is incorporated alongside that text itself, offering further justification for its existence. Even in the twelfth century when GA 2604 was initially produced, a time where the majority of Greek manuscripts included the Longer Ending, the residues of late ancient debates about textual revision and expansion continued to shape reading experiences and practices of interpretation.

What is not clear is whether a discrete Palestinian form of Mark existed in that particular geographic location, one that included the Longer Ending. Perhaps Palestinian Mark refers to the form of Mark preserved in some manuscripts associated with the Library of Caesarea. This suggestion is at least plausible since the text of the catena is extracted from Eusebius's fragmentarily preserved *Quaestiones evangelicae ad Marimum* (CPG 3470), a work undoubtedly informed by his work in and access to the library at Caesarea Maritima.²⁸ Despite the tracing of this tradition to Eusebius, there is evidence to suggest that the text mentioning 'Palestinian Mark' is secondary to the development of the catena to Mark 16. Mina Monier, for example, has recently noted that the reference of 'Palestinian Mark' is sometimes absent and that the oldest recensions, as far as they can be reconstructed, usually lack this catena section.²⁹ It is therefore more likely that a narrative surrounding the origins of the Longer Ending was added at a later stage to provide further support for the legitimacy of Mark's post-resurrection account, drawing primarily from Eusebius's discussion of the passage in his *ad Marimum*. Regardless of the history of the catena's internal development, the traditions preserved in the margins of GA 2604 are aware of multiple possible endings, work to legitimise the Longer Ending in particular, and endeavour to harmonise the details of the Longer Ending with the parallels in the other gospels.

Conclusion

In his book *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, Gérard Genette notes that 'paratextuality, as one can see, is first and foremost a treasure trove

28 On the *Quaestiones* see Harnack 1958, 577–579; Farmer 1974, 3–13. On the genre of question and answer literature in antiquity, see Bardy 1932, esp. 228–236 on Eusebius.

29 Monier 2022, 87–90. The presence and text of this extract is flexible within the larger Markan catena traditions, which Lamb 2012, 60 calls an 'open book' (see also p. 73, where he notes that 'openness and fluidity of the text appears to have been one of the distinctive features of catenae marginales'). For further discussion on 'Palestinian Mark', see Aland 1974, 444–446; Farmer 1974, 24–26. On the origins of Mark's catena tradition, see Lamb 2012, 68–73.

of questions without answers'.³⁰ What we have sought to do in this brief study is to raise further questions about the complexities surrounding Mark's endings, especially as it relates to catena as witnesses to the ancient and medieval reception of the textual relationships between Mark and the other gospels and questions internal to Mark's own transmission. Paratexts are multifaceted, but it is clear that they form an integral part of literary framing and that they have influenced the ways that readers have engaged Mark 16 from antiquity onward. We can no longer explore the texts of Mark's endings in isolation from the features that are transmitted alongside them. The catena in GA 2604 and many other manuscripts shapes the ending of Mark in multiple ways. Not only is the catena an exegetical tradition that attempts to harmonise passages with other gospels, but it offers a narrative on the text's own history, which influences the reading of the story through the reception of its various endings. The catenae are tools that enable readers to navigate the many difficulties of a flexible tradition.

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Was Salome at the Markan Tomb? Another Ending to Mark's Gospel

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Although the NA28 text of Mark 16:1 states that three women (Mary Magdalene, Mary of James, and Salome) visited the empty tomb, there is significant variation on this detail in the earliest textual transmission. Salome is absent from the empty tomb in oldest Latin copy of Mark (Codex Bezae, dated 380–420 CE), as well as Codex Bezae (dated c.400 CE) and two other important Old Latin witnesses (Codex Colbertinus, VL 6, and Fragmenta Sangallensia, VL 16). Obviously Salome is not a participant in a minority textual strand of Mark 16. This paper explores potential editorial motives behind these variants, and suggests that ancient controversies about Salome and the perpetual virginity of Mary may have inspired some of the textual instability, to the point where a confident recovery of Mark's initial text is impossible in these verses. It will also raise the question of whether the varying names and number of women in 15:40–16:1 is connected to the broader problem of the endings of Mark.

Although it is somewhat known, it is not widely discussed that the number and names of women at Jesus's tomb vary in the oldest manuscripts of Mark 16.¹ The Nestle-Aland (NA28) text is usually understood to state that three women (Mary Magdalene, Mary of James, and Salome) visited the empty tomb, but there is significant variation on this detail in the earliest textual transmission. The oldest extant Latin copy of Mark's Gospel (Codex Bezae, VL 01, dated 380–420 CE²) states that only Mary Magdalene and Mary of *Joses* were at the empty tomb; Salome is also absent from the Markan empty tomb scene in Codex Bezae (dated c.400 CE)³ and two other important Old Latin witnesses, Codex Colbertinus (VL 6)⁴ and Fragmenta Sangallensia (VL 16).⁵ Clearly there is uncertainty as to whether 'Mary of James' and 'Mary of Joses' were the same woman, and Salome is not a participant in a minority textual strand of Mark 16. What might be the cause of this unexpected textual variation that is so rarely addressed? This paper will explore the prob-

- 1 For occasional mentions of the issue see Turner 1927, 13–14; Brown et al. 1978, 68n; Mann 1986, 658; Metzger 1994, 101.
- 2 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, 1163 (= G.VII.15). See images at <<https://bnuto.cultura.gov.it/biblioteca-digitale/manoscritti/>> and CLA 465 record at <<https://elms.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/811>>, these and other links last accessed 15 December 2022.
- 3 GA 05, Cambridge, University Library, Nn.2.41, see <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/1>>.
- 4 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 254, see <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426051s>>.
- 5 Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 1394, see <<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/1394>>.

lem, and consider several potential editorial motives in early Christianity that could have led to the creation of yet another ending to our oldest Gospel. The marked textual uncertainty around the women in these scenes may also shed some light on the broader problem of the ending(s) of Mark's Gospel.

Which Women? Conflicting Lists in Markan Manuscripts

To fully understand the scope of this textual problem, we must begin with Mark's introduction of the women at the scene of the cross in Mark 15:40. According to the NA28 text, the women who witness the crucifixion are Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the lesser and Joses, and Salome (Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσήτος μήτηρ καὶ Σαλώμη).⁶ Subsequently in Mark 15:47, Mary Magdalene and Mary of **Joses** (Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος) see where Jesus' body is laid, and after the sabbath passes in 16:1, Mary Magdalene and Mary of **James** and Salome (Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή καὶ Μαρία ἡ [τοῦ] Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμη) buy spices and visit the tomb.

The change in how the second Mary is identified between Mark 15:47 and 16:1 (Mary of *Joses* vs. Mary of *James*) has created some interpretive confusion:⁷ if we look at these two verses in isolation, Mary of Joses and Mary of James appear to be two different women. However, at the scene of the cross in 15:40 a few verses earlier, they are usually understood to be introduced as *one* woman named 'Mary the mother of James the lesser and of Joses' (Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσήτος μήτηρ). Are 'Mary of Joses' and 'Mary of James' the same woman as this second Mary at the cross? If so, why does her designation change between Mark 15:47 and 16:1?⁸ This question will prove

6 In a minority view, Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσήτος μήτηρ can be understood to refer to two separate women. See e.g. Pesch 1974, 385–386. This minority interpretation is ancient, as will be seen below.

7 See e.g. the comment of Brown et. al. 1978 at 71–72: 'If 15:40 was the original designation...the designations using the name of only one son in 15:47 and 16:1 may be a type of shorthand. However, it has been suggested that the sequence was just the opposite and that 15:40 is a Marcan joining of the single-name designations in 16:1 and 15:47...There are difficulties in either approach and the possibility of a confusion of names is evident.'

8 Previous scholarship has attempted to solve the problem by theorizing an early Marcan redaction of multiple sources. See extended discussion in Pesch 1974. See also the comment of Ludger Schenke: 'ist es wahrscheinlich, daß V.40f durch einen Redaktor, wohl Markus selbst, aus 15,47 und 16,1 zusammengestellt wurde...Vielmehr hat Markus aufgrund der beiden Frauenlisten in 15,47 und 16,1 eine neue, vollständigere Liste 15,40f geschaffen und so im Kontext vorwegnehmend die Spannungen zwischen 15,47 und 16,1 ausgeglichen. Erst von 15,40f her ist es uns möglich zu

crucial in our examination of the earliest manuscripts of the Markan tomb scene.

Although all modern editions and translations of Mark assume the above-mentioned form of text, here they mask a striking node of textual instability found throughout the transmission of Mark 15 and 16. Let us now turn our attention to the four oldest extant Markan manuscripts: Codex Sinaiticus (fourth century CE),⁹ Codex Vaticanus (fourth century CE),¹⁰ Codex Bezae (380–420 CE), and Codex Bezae (c.400 CE).¹¹ Each of these four manuscripts contain differing accounts of the Markan crucifixion and entombment scenes. As shown in Table 1, although the stories in these manuscripts differ considerably, they all make better sense than what is presented in the NA28 text.

Table 1. Comparison of Accounts of Crucifixion and Entombment in Mark.

Sinaiticus/GA 01 (4 th cent. CE)	Vaticanus/GA 03 (4 th cent. CE)	Bobiensis/VL 1 (4 th /5 th cent. CE)	Bezae/GA 05 (Gr.) (c.400 CE)
Mark 15:40: ησαν δε και γυναικες απο μακροθεν θεωρουσαι εν αις και μαρια η μαγδαλινη και μαρια η ιακωβου του μικρου και ιωση [C ² : ιωσητος] μητηρ και σαλωμη	Mark 15:40: ησαν δε και γυναικες απο μακροθεν θεωρουσαι εν αις και μαριαμ η μαγδαλινη και μαρια η ιακωβου του μεικρου και η ιωσητος μητηρ και σαλωμη	Mark 15:40: <i>fuert et mulieres de longinquo spectantes in quibus fuit maria magdalene et ma- ria iacobi minoris et iosetis mater et salome</i>	Mark 15:40: ησαν δε και γυναικες απο μακροθεν θεωρου- σαι εν αις ην μαρια μαγδαλινη και μαρια ιακωβου του μεικρου και ιωσητος μητηρ και σαλωμη ¹²
And there were also women looking on from a distance, among whom were also Mary Magda- lene and Mary the moth- er of James the Lesser and Jose [C ² : <i>Joses</i>] and Salome.	And there were also women looking on from a distance, among whom were also Mary Magdalene and Mary of James the Lesser and the mother of <i>Joses</i> and Salome.	There were also women looking on from a distance, among whom were Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James the Lesser and <i>Joses</i> and Salome.	And there were also women looking on from a distance, among whom were Mary Magdalene and Mary the moth- er of James the Lesser and <i>Joses</i> and Salome.

erkennen, daß der Evangelischen die beiden jeweils an zweiter Stelle der Listen 15,47 und 16,1 genannten Frauen für identisch hält.' See Schenke 1968, 27, 29.

9 GA 01, x, London, British Library, Add. 43725, see <<https://codexsinaiticus.org/>>.

10 GA 03, B, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209, see <<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.1209>>; <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/67840/>>

11 For a recent challenge to the palaeographic dating of manuscripts, see Nongbri 2018, 47–82.

12 The Latin side of Bezae follows the usual rendering where ἰωσητος is translated as *ioseph: maria magdalene et maria iacobi minoris et ioseph mater et salome*.

<p>Mark 15:47–16:1: 15:47 om. [C²: η δε μαρια η μαγδαλινη και μαρια η ιωσητος εθεωρουν που τεθιται και διαγενομενου του σαββατου] η δε [C² om. δε] μαρια η μαγδαλινη και μαρια η [C²: add του] ιακωβου και σαλωμη ηγορασαν αρωματα ινα ελθουσαι αλιψωσιν αυτον</p>	<p>Mark 15:47–16:1: η δε μαρια η μαγδαλινη και μαρια η ιωσητος εθεωρουν που τεθιται και διαγενομενου του σαββατου μαρια η μαγδαλινη και μαρια η του ιακωβου και σαλωμη ηγορασαν αρωματα ινα ελθουσαι αλιψωσιν αυτον</p>	<p>Mark 15:47–16:1: <i>maria autem magdalene et maria iosetis uiderunt ubi positus est et sabbato exacto abierunt et adtul-erunt aromata ut eum unguerent</i></p>	<p>Mark 15:47–16:1: η δε μαρια μαγδαλινη και μαρια ιακωβου εθεασαντο τον τοπον οπου τεθιται και πορευθεισαι ηγορασαν αρωματα ινα αυτον αλιψωσιν¹³</p>
<p>[C²: <i>But Mary Magdalene and Mary of Joses saw where he was laid. And when the Sabbath had passed</i>] But [C² om.] Mary Magdalene and Mary [C²: <i>the one</i>] of James and Salome bought spices so that they might come to anoint him...</p>	<p>But Mary Magdalene and Mary of Joses saw where he was laid. And when the Sabbath had passed, Mary Magdalene and Mary the [mother] of James and Salome bought spices so that they might come to anoint him ...</p>	<p>But Mary Magdalene and Mary of Joses saw where he was laid. And at the end of the Sabbath, they went and brought spices in order to anoint him...</p>	<p>But Mary Magdalene and Mary of James saw the place where he was laid. And going away, they bought spices so that they might anoint him...</p>

When comparing these four manuscripts, most noticeable is that the first hand of Codex Sinaiticus has omitted Mark 15:47 completely. This is likely a parablepsis due to the duplication of the words *μαρια η μαγδαλινη και μαρια η* between 15:47 and 16:1 (15:47 is added in by a later corrector). Perhaps coincidentally, the first hand's omission of the entombment scene solves the problem of the discrepancy between Mary of Joses and Mary of James, since the phrase 'Mary of Joses' does not appear anywhere in the text.

In Codex Vaticanus, the Markan narrative contains a small but important difference from the NA28 reading. An unexpected additional feminine nominative article (ἡ) has been included in 15:40, with the result that the second woman is more easily interpreted as two women: 'Mary of James the lesser, and *the* mother of Joses'. Apparently there are four women at the cross in this manuscript: Mary Magdalene, and Mary of James the Lesser, and the mother of Joses, and Salome (*μαρίαμ ἡ μαγδαλινη καὶ μαρία ἡ ἱακωβου του μικρου*

13 An equivalent reading is found on the Latin side of Bezae, as well as the fifth-century Fragmenta Sangallensia. David Parker does not address this reading of Mark 15:47–16:1 in his study of Codex Bezae; see Parker 1992.

καὶ ἡ ἰωσήτος μήτηρ καὶ σαλώμη).¹⁴ Vaticanus has sometimes been thought to have been produced in Egypt;¹⁵ interestingly, a distinction between ‘Mary of James’ and ‘the mother of Joses’ is also reflected in the majority Coptic versions.¹⁶ Although this Greek variant may well be accidental, it should be underlined that a text distinguishing ‘Mary of James’ from ‘the mother of Joses’ creates major implications for the Markan entombment and empty tomb narrative. In this alternate account, ‘Mary of James’ (16:1) can be correlated with ‘Mary of James the Lesser’ (15:40), but she is now more distinct from the ‘mother of Joses’ (presumably the ‘Mary of Joses’ listed in Mark 15:47). Apparently Vaticanus and the Coptic provide a divergent but coherent story, which actually makes better sense than our received text; the additional feminine article helps to resolve the ambiguity of whether Mary of Joses was a different woman than Mary of James.

The Old Latin Codex Bobiensis, copied in North Africa in the late fourth or early fifth century, is best known as the sole Greek or Latin manuscript of Mark to conclude with only the Shorter Ending (although the manuscript contains many other unique variants as well).¹⁷ Here we find the usual list of women at the cross in Mark 15:40 (*maria magdalene et maria iacobi minoris et iosetis mater et salome*),¹⁸ but its transcription of Mark 15:47–16:1 is unexpected: Mary Magdalene and Mary of Joses are at the entombment, but no

14 The additional article is also found in Codex Athous Laurae (GA 044, Ψ, see footnote 24 below). See the similar conclusion of Adela Yarbro Collins: ‘B Ψ attest a reading in which the article precedes the second name, with the result that the text refers to four women instead of three’ (Yarbro Collins 2007, 772).

15 For discussion see Porter 1962.

16 The Bohairic reads *μαρια ντε ιακωβος πικουχι. νεν θναγ νιωσητος* (see Horner 1969a, 472). The Sahidic reads *μαρια ταπκογι νιακωβος. αγω τμααγ νιωση νη σαλωμη* (see Horner 1969b, 630). Unlike the Greek text, in Coptic the word *μα(α)γ* appears in between the names *ιακωβος* and *ιωσητος*. This indicates that two separate women are most likely in view. Notably, since the Sahidic list differentiates between *αγω* and *μη*, it apparently indicates a different list of three women. In this case, ‘Mary of James the Lesser’ and ‘the mother of Joses’ are still distinct women, but the latter is best understood as ‘the mother of Joses and Salome.’

17 However, several other witnesses do attest to scribal consciousness of a Markan ending with the *conclusio brevior*; see Clivaz 2020. For the most recent treatments of Codex Bobiensis, see Clivaz 2021; Larsen 2021; Larsen 2018, 116–118; and Houghton 2016, 9–10, 22–23 and 210. Clivaz concludes that ‘Codex k bzw. VL 1 ein wichtiger Teil des Rätsels ist, das der Schluss des MkEv in den Handschriften des 4. Jh.s aufgibt, gleichen Ranges mit GA 01 und GA 03’ (Clivaz 2021, 84); Larsen underlines that ‘Nearly every folio of Codex Bobiensis contains remarkable readings’ (Larsen 2021, 111).

18 Due to the lack of the definite article in Latin, this text is more ambiguous as to whether three or four women are referenced.

additional list of women is provided at Mark 16:1.¹⁹ Instead, directly after the two Marys see where the body is placed, the text simply reads: ‘at the end of the Sabbath, they went and brought spices in order to anoint him...’ (*et sabbato exacto abierunt et adtulerunt aromata ut eum unguerent*). Since there is no change of subject between 15:47 and 16:1, apparently the two Marys are the only actors here—resulting in a Markan tomb scene where Salome is not present (see fig. 1).²⁰

The textual problem is compounded further by Codex Bezae (copied c.400 CE) which provides yet another version of the Markan story. Instead of the expected text where Mary of Joses witnesses Jesus’s entombment, Mary of *James* is now the second woman listed in Mark 15:47. She and Mary Magdalene then depart to purchase spices and visit the empty tomb (see fig. 2).

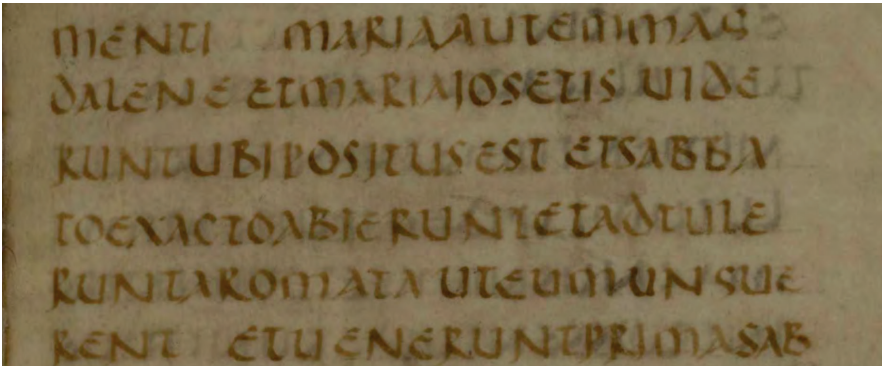


Fig. 1. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, G.VII.15 (Codex Bobiensis/VL 1), f. 40r, © Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, divieto di riproduzione.

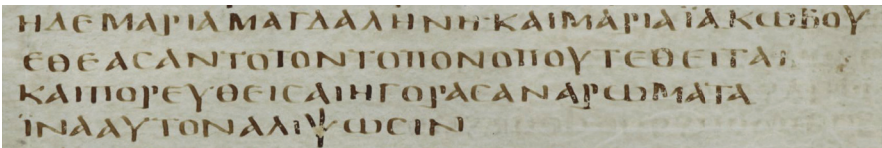


Fig. 2. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, ms Nn.2.41 (Codex Bezae/GA 05), f. 346v, courtesy of the Cambridge University Library.

¹⁹ As pointed out in Clivaz 2021, 71.

²⁰ It should be noted that liturgical lections usually make a distinction between Mark 15:47 and 16:1. In manuscripts where the women’s names are not listed at 16:1, these characters may have seemed anonymous as the lection was read. This may have been Eusebius’s understanding of the text; however, for another possibility, see footnote 28 below.

As with Codex Bezae, there is no additional list of women in 16:1; consequently, Salome is absent from the Markan tomb in this manuscript as well. Yet Bezae's shorter version of the text again makes good sense: the first two women listed at the cross (Mary Magdalene and Mary of James)²¹ become the primary actors in both the entombment and empty tomb scenes.²² Oddly, Codex Bezae also omits the usual mention of the passing of the sabbath (i.e. the entire phrase *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή καὶ Μαρία Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμη* is absent).²³

Ambiguity in the text of Mark 15:40–16:1 is not limited to our earliest copies. The additional ἡ at Mark 15:40 is found in several other Greek manuscripts (including the eighth- or ninth-century majuscule Codex Athous Laurae²⁴), and Salome is not mentioned at the tomb in the Old Latin manuscripts Codex Colbertinus²⁵ and Fragmenta Sangallensia. Salome's name is also absent from the Markan tomb in several important patristic quotations. Origen's *Homily 7 on Exodus* states that *Ibi namque invenies scriptum, quia 'vespere Sabbati, quae lucescit in prima Sabbati, venit Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi ad sepulcrum et invenerunt lapidem revolutum a monumento'* ('Mary Magdalene and Mary of James came to the sepulcher and found

- 21 Due to the lack of feminine definite articles on both the Greek and Latin sides in 15:40, Bezae's list of women (*μαρια μαγδαληνη και μαρια ιακωβου του μεικρου και ιωσητος μητηρ και σαλωμη/maria magdalene et maria iacobi minoris et ioseph mater et salome*) can be understood to reference either three or four women. Either way the list is interpreted, the first two women listed at the cross in Bezae are the primary actors at the entombment and the empty tomb.
- 22 In the Greek text of Bezae, at 16:3 the two women uniquely exclaim, *τι σημιον αποκαλυψ[ει] τον λιθον απο της θυρας του μνημιου* ('what sign will uncover the stone from the entrance of the tomb?'). See Strutwolf et al. 2021, 823.
- 23 A similar omission is found in the fifth-century Fragmenta Sangallensia, where Salome is also missing. See Metzger's explanation below. Eldon Epp has argued for an 'anti-Judaic tendency' in Codex Bezae and other witnesses of the D-Text; see Epp, 1966. Many thanks to the anonymous reviewer for suggesting that Bezae's omission of the passing of the sabbath could be connected to this tendency. Epp's perspective has since been challenged; see e.g. Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerding-er 2004–2009.
- 24 GA 044; Athos, Great Lavra B' 52. See <https://manuscripts.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_044>.
- 25 Codex Colbertinus explicitly lists *maria magdalene et maria iacobi* at 16:1 (an apparent duplication of the names *Maria autem magdalene et maria iacobi et ioseph* listed at 15:47). Since the women are uniquely named in both Markan verses, this manuscript provides the most glaring omission of Salome in the textual tradition. However, the women's names may simply have been duplicated at 16:1 for clarity in the liturgical lection (see footnote 20 above).

the stone rolled away from the tomb...'; cf. Matt 28:1, Mark 16:1–4).²⁶ In a puzzling statement, Eusebius of Caesarea says that there is no list of names specifying which women encountered the young man in Mark 16: ‘...μετὰ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὰς τελευταίας γυναῖκας ὁμίλιαν, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἐμφέρονται, ἐπιλέγει ὁ Μάρκος · «Καὶ ἀκούσασαι ἔφυγον, καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπον, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ»’ (‘immediately after what the young man said to the final group of women, whose names are not given, Mark adds: “When they heard that, they ran away and said nothing to anyone, because they were afraid”’).²⁷ But according to an eleventh-century homily of John Xiphilinus, Eusebius’s Greek text of Mark 15:47–16:1 was similar to that of Codex Bezae. Apparently Salome did not prepare spices in Eusebius’s version of the story:

Εὐσέβιος φησιν ὁ Καισαρείας, ὡς Μαρία μὲν ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου ἠτοίμασαν ἀρώματα· οὐκ αὐταὶ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ πρῶτὶ ἐλθοῦσαι ἀνατεῖλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀλλ’ ἄλλαι ἀνώνυμοι·

Eusebius of Caesarea says that Mary Magdalene and Mary of James prepared spices; but these are not the women who came ‘early, after the sun had risen’, but other, unnamed women.²⁸

- 26 Origen, *Homily on Exodus 7:7*, trans. Rufinus (PG 12:347). In this passage Origen seems to be creatively conflating Matt 28 with Mark 16; nevertheless the words *ibi namque invenies scriptum quia* may suggest a direct gospel citation.
- 27 Eusebius, *To Marinus 7* (PG 22:996). Greek text and translation in Pearse 2010, 198–199. Emphasis added. Pearse notes that other works of Eusebius (*To Marinus 4:2* and the Greek fragment of *Nicetas-Marinus 8*) provide the usual list of women in Mark 16:1. He concludes, ‘This is puzzling... the epitomator of *To Marinus 4* will have known what is now the received text and changed this passage in accordance with that; and the epitome used by Nicetas will have been either inconsistent or interpolated in fr. 8 with the word ὀνομαστί. Surprising though this suggestion is, it would seem even more surprising for Eusebius to make a mistake over this point’ (199n). The comment of John Xiphilinus strengthens the argument that *To Marinus 4:2* and *Nicetas-Marinus 8* have been altered in the course of their transmission.
- 28 Greek text in Pearse 2010, 220–221; my translation. If Xiphilinus has accurately preserved Eusebius’s text here, the phrases ἠτοίμασαν ἀρώματα and πρῶτὶ... ἀνατεῖλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου suggest that when discussing the text of ‘Mark,’ Eusebius has read the ‘unnamed women’ of Luke 24:1 into a rendition of Mark 15:47–16:1 where Salome was absent. See also the following comment from Possinus’s Greek Catena on Mark, which extends the quotation provided by Xiphilinus: Εὐσέβιος φησιν ὁ Καισαρείας ὡς Μαρία μὲν ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμῃ ἠτοίμασαν ἀρώματα... ταῦτα οὖν, φησὶ, περὶ ἐτέρων ὁ Μάρκος ἱστορεῖ γυναικῶν ἀνώνυμος· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶον τε καὶ τὴν Μαγδαληνὴν μετὰ τοσαύτας θεάς ἡλίου ἀνατεῖλαντος ἀπορεῖν καὶ ἀγνοεῖν τίς ἀποκυλίσειε τὸν λίθον. (‘...That, then, is what [Eusebius] says Mark recounts about different, unnamed, women—because it would not have been possible that, after such great sights, the Magdalene should

Even more striking is a quotation from Jerome's *Against Helvidius*, authored 383 CE. According to Jerome, *Marcus ponit: Maria autem Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Josetis viderunt ubi poneretur et transacto sabbato emerunt aromata et venerunt ad monumentum...* ('Mark states: "and Mary Magdalene and Mary of James and Joses beheld where he was laid. And when the sabbath was past, they bought spices, that they might come and anoint him...").²⁹ Jerome's quotation of Mark here is particularly odd,³⁰ because it differs so significantly from Jerome's own Vulgate translation of Mark 16:1 where Salome is explicitly named at the empty tomb.³¹ Also intriguing is the fifth-century Old Latin *Antiphonale Mozarabicum*, which states that *maria magdalene et maria iacobi emerunt aromata et uenientes ut unguerent iesum* ('Mary Magdalene and Mary of James bought spices, and came to anoint Jesus').³² This matches the Bezan version of Mark 16:1, where (unlike the two Marys in Matthew's Gospel) the women buy spices for the purpose of anointing Jesus. Therefore in several important Markan manuscripts and related patristic quotations, only Mary Magdalene and the second Mary from the cross see where the body is laid, then buy spices and visit the tomb.³³

A broader text-critical survey demonstrates that the greatest variation in the textual transmission concerns the identity of the second Mary at the entombment. Below is a list of the *seventeen* different descriptions of the woman—or women—who might appear alongside Mary Magdalene in Mark 15:47:³⁴

after sunrise be perplexed, and not know who would roll back the stone.') Cited and translated in Pearse 2010, 228–231. Notably, Salome has been added to the text of 'Eusebius' in Possinus's rendition. See also the Extract From the Catena of Nicetas 6, cited and translated in Pearse 2010, 193–197.

- 29 Jerome, *De Perpetua Virginitate B. Mariae: Adversus Helvidium*, 12, PL 23:204. Here Jerome seems to be quoting a manuscript of Mark with an alternate form of Latin text; see further treatment below.
- 30 The otherwise-unattested reference to *Maria Jacobi et Josetis* may indicate that Jerome was freely translating from memory, or perhaps from a Greek version such as what is preserved in 565.
- 31 Jerome's Vulgate reading of Mark 15:47–16:1: *Maria autem Magdalene et Maria Ioseph aspicebant ubi poneretur. Et cum transisset sabbatum, Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata ut venientes ungerent Jesum. Et valde mane una sabbatorum, veniunt ad monumentum, orto jam sole...* Latin text in Nettle 1971, 135.
- 32 *Antiphonale Mozarabicum*, 190-R, 143. Latin text in Haelewyck 2018, 788.
- 33 The name of the second Mary varies in these witnesses. In Bobiensis she is 'Mary of Joses', in Colbertinus she is 'Mary of James and Joseph', and in Fragmenta Sangallensis, just as in Bezae, she is 'Mary of James'. Origen and the *Antiphonale Mozarabicum* refer to 'Mary of James', and Jerome refers to 'Mary of James and Joses'.
- 34 For additional detail, see Strutwolf et al. 2021, 818–819.

[a]	μαρια [η] ιωσητος (μαριαμ) <i>maria iosetis</i>	GA 01 ^{e2} 03 019 037 044* GA 1 1582* VL 1
[b]	μαρια [η] ιωση (μαριαμ)	GA 04 011 017 021 030 031 036 041 044 ^e 1278 ^c <i>rell.</i> 1582 ^c
[c]	μαρια [η] ιωσηφ <i>maria ioseph</i>	GA 02 042 VL 7 11 11A 12 15 27 30* Vulgate
[d]	μαρια ιακωβου <i>maria iacobi</i>	GA 05 1342 VL 5 8 13 16
[e]	μαρια η ιωση μητηρ	GA 032
[f]	μαρια [η] ιακωβου και ιωσητος (μαριαμ) <i>maria iacobi et iosetis</i>	GA 565 GA 038 Jerome (<i>Helv.</i>)
[g]	<i>maria iacobi et ioseph</i>	VL 6
[h]	η αλλη μαρια ³⁵	GA 61 152 555
[i]	μαρια [η] ιακωβου και ιωσητος μητηρ	<i>f</i> ¹³
[j]	μαρια ιακωβου και ιωση μητηρ	GA 124 127 ^e 983 1654
[k]	μαρια ιακωβου και μαρια ιωση	GA 191
[l]	<i>maria iacobi et maria ioseph</i>	VL 29 30 ^c
[m]	μαρια ιακωβου και σαλωμη	GA 472 1515
[n]	μαρια ιακωβου και σαλωμη και μαρια ιωση	GA 382
[o]	ܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ	Sy. ^s
[p]	<i>maria autem [magdalene et maria om.] iacobi et maria ioseph</i>	VL 48
[q]	[verse om.] ³⁶	GA 01* 127* 544 791 792 1278* 2206

Although the quantity of differing readings in the broader transmission does not bear as much weight as Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Bobiensis, and Bezae, the sheer *variety* of readings preserved in the textual transmission of Mark 15:47 is extraordinary. The second woman differs wildly on being identified as ‘Mary of Joses’ [a][b] (the most common Greek reading), ‘Mary the mother of Joses’ [e][f],³⁷ ‘Mary of Joseph’ [c],³⁸ ‘Mary of James’ [d], ‘Mary of James and Joses’ [g],

35 This reading is an obvious harmonisation to the Matthean text.

36 As noted above, the omission found at Sinaiticus et al. is likely due to a parablepsis between the two instances of μαρια η μαγδαληνη in quick succession at 15:47 and 16:1.

37 I translate readings [a][b] and [e][f] identically, because the name ιωση (or ιωσης) is the nominative form of the genitive ιωσητος.

38 Reading [c] may simply be a variation on reading [a]. According to Bruce Metzger, ‘The name “Ιωσής or “Ιωσή... represents the Galilean pronunciation (‘ϣι’) of the correct Hebrew [for ιωσηφ] (‘חֲשִׁי’).’ See Metzger 1994, 34.

‘the other Mary’ [h], or ‘Mary the mother of James and Joses’ [i][j]. The Syriac Sinaitic palimpsest reads ‘Mary the daughter of James’ [o], a reading also found in its rendition of Mark 15:40.³⁹ There are also several unique readings where Mary Magdalene has two companions at Jesus’ entombment: ‘Mary of James and Mary of Joses’ [k], ‘Mary of James and Mary of Joseph’ [l], and ‘Mary of James and Salome’ [m]⁴⁰. Reading [n] uniquely suggests that *three* women were with Mary Magdalene at the entombment: ‘Mary of James, and Salome, and Mary of Joses’. Also strange is reading [p], which omits Mary Magdalene completely from the entombment scene, instead naming ‘Mary of James and Mary of Joseph’. Of 180 Greek witnesses surveyed, a striking thirty-four (19%) uncorrected and thirty-three (18%) corrected manuscripts clearly disagree with the NA28 text that names Mary Magdalene and Mary of Joses at the entombment.⁴¹ Of the fifteen Old Latin witnesses surveyed, a remarkable seven (47%) uncorrected and eight (53%) corrected manuscripts also disagree with the NA28 text.⁴²

Clearly, there is a major textual problem around the names, numbers, and identities of the women at the Markan cross and entombment. How are we to sort out these instabilities in the text? What might be their cause? It should be underlined that these questions lead directly into Mark 16, perhaps the most fraught chapter of the entire textual transmission of the New Testament. Might these problematic verses be part of the overall question of Mark 16—and could their marked textual instability even presage a breakdown in the textual transmission a few verses later at Mark 16:8?

Harmonization, Salomean Controversy, or Perpetual Virginity?

At this point it is important to consider the early Christian environment in which these textual variants arose, including potential motivations behind the various readings. Bruce Metzger does not address the abovementioned textual variation at Mark 15:47, although he does theorise a harmonistic possibility for some of the variants at Mark 16:1:

39 The Syriac translator has apparently translated $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha \eta \iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ as ‘Mary the daughter of James’. The reading at Mark 15:40 is $\text{ܡܪܝܡ ܕܘܘܠܝܡܘܨ ܕܡܝܬܪܝܘܨ}$ (‘Mary the daughter of James, the mother of Joseph’).

40 Readings [i][j] may also intend to suggest that two women accompanied Mary Magdalene (‘Mary of James, *and Joses’s mother*’); however, this reading is ambiguous and could alternatively be read as ‘Mary the mother of James and Joses’.

41 These Greek statistics assume that $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha \omega\varsigma\eta$ and $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha \omega\varsigma\eta\phi$ are variants of the name $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha \omega\varsigma\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (i.e. not in disagreement with each other).

42 The Vulgate reading is *maria ioseph*; VL 1’s reading *maria iosetis* is likely a variant translation.

The omission by D it^k of the names of the two women (who are identified in the previous sentence) is clearly in the interest of simplification, and the omission by D it^{d.n} of mention of the passing of the sabbath allows the purchase of the spices to take place on Friday (as similarly Lk 23:56). The overwhelming preponderance of attestation of all other witnesses supports the text adopted by the [UBS] Committee.⁴³

Metzger's thesis about harmonization is important to note, since a Markan tomb story with only two Marys does more closely match the text of Matt 27:61 and 28:1, where 'Mary Magdalene and the other Mary' are the only women mentioned.⁴⁴ These versions of Mark 16:1 that do not mention Salome and/or the passing of the sabbath may thus simply be simplifications or harmonizations to the Matthean (and perhaps Lukan) story.⁴⁵

Yet there are several other editorial possibilities here as well. In 1927, Cuthbert Turner went so far as to suggest that the version of the text without Salome 'appears to be right; if the ordinary text had lain before Matthew and Luke, why does neither of them make any mention of Salome in the Resurrection narrative?'.⁴⁶ Turner suggested that the majority reading in Mark 16:1 reflects harmonization in the *opposite* direction, that is, he thought that Mark 16:1 retains an interpolation influenced by Matthew's choice to name the women at three separate points in the story (Matt 27:56, 27:61, and 28:1):

the genesis of the ordinary text...is due to the influence of the text of Matthew...Because Matthew had the names three times, Mark must have them three times also... the interpolators, with the fondness of interpolators for fullness, make, as it happens, the insertion not of the two names of Matt. xxviii 1 but of the three of Matt. xxvii 56 = Mark xv 40.⁴⁷

In 1974 Rudolf Pesch made a similar suggestion, although he thought that Mark himself had duplicated the women's names in 16:1, based on a different source that listed three women at the cross in 15:40: 'Die erste Erzählung [15:40] weist keinerlei Spuren redaktioneller Bearbeitung auf; die zweite Erzählung [15:47] ist vielleicht am Beginn in V. 1 um die dritte (aus 15,40

43 Metzger 1994, 101.

44 Matt 27:61: Ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία, καθήμεναι ἀπέναντι τοῦ τάφου. Matt 28:1: Ὅψὲ δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, ἦλθεν Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον. Unlike Mark, neither of these verses display any significant textual variation.

45 But see footnote 23 above on possible anti-Judaic tendencies in Codex Bezae and related witnesses.

46 Turner 1927, 13. Many thanks to Claire Clivaz for calling this article to my attention.

47 Turner 1927, 14.

gewonnene?) Namenliste [16:1] erweitert worden. Jedenfalls ist von den drei Namenlisten, wenn überhaupt eine, nur die dritte sekundär.⁴⁸

Also worth considering is the potentially controversial role of a woman named Salome in some early Christian circles. In Matthew's and Luke's presumed use of Mark's Gospel, Salome has been edited out of the scene at the cross (and perhaps the empty tomb as well). Instead of Salome, Matthew names the 'mother of the sons of Zebedee' at the cross (Matt 27:56), and (as noticed by Turner) both Matthew and Luke refrain from listing Salome alongside the other women at the empty tomb (cf. Matt 28:1 and Luke 24:10). Morton Smith suggests that 'though Luke did mention the other women elsewhere, he eliminated Salome's name. Matthew deleted the name of Salome from the first list (27:56) and removed her figure entirely from the second (27:61; 28:1)...Obviously, Salome was a controversial figure...the orthodox material has been edited to diminish her importance as a witness.'⁴⁹ Silke Petersen makes similar observations:

In Mk 15,40 steht [Salome] zusammen mit Maria Magdalena und der Maria des Jakobus des Kleinen (und) der Mutter des Joses unter dem Kreuz. Matthäus (27,56) streicht Salome aus dieser Liste und fügt an ihrer Stelle die Mutter der Zebedaiden ein...Das zweite Mal wird Salome in Mk 16,1 zusammen mit Maria Magdalena und der Maria des Jakobus erwähnt, als berichtet wird, wie die Frauen sich nach dem Einkauf von ἀρώματα auf den Weg zum leeren Grab machen, um den Leichnam Jesu zu salben. Auch an dieser Stelle läßt Matthäus den Namen Salome weg (Mt 28,1), ebenso wie Lukas, der die Liste der Frauen später in der Erzählung nachträgt (Lk 24,10), wobei er neben Maria Magdalena noch Johanna und die Maria des Jakobus nennt. Es ist auffällig, daß beide Seitenreferenten Salome aus den Listen streichen, zumal sie die anderen bei Markus genannten Frauen übernehmen, wenn auch mit einer gewissen Konfusion hinsichtlich der zweiten von Mk genannten Maria.⁵⁰

Petersen further notes that Salome goes unmentioned in the *Epistula Apostolorum* and the *Gospel of Peter*, whose authors were likely also familiar with Mark's Gospel.⁵¹ A woman named Salome does indeed play a prominent role in many early circulating apocryphal texts including the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Protevangelium of James*, the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, the *First Apocalypse of James*, the *Pistis Sophia*, and various Manichaean literature, all of which would eventually be rejected as unorthodox;⁵² some Church Fathers even ac-

48 Pesch 1974, 386.

49 Smith 1973, 190–191.

50 Petersen 1999, 197.

51 Petersen 1999, 197.

52 See *Gospel of Thomas* 61; *Protevangelium of James* 19–20; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3:6.45, 3:9.64, 3:9.66, 3:13.92, *Exc. ex Theod.* 67; *First Apocalypse of James* 40:25; *Pistis Sophia* 54, 58, 132, 144; *Manichaean Psalm Book, Part II* 192:21,

knowledgeed that a woman named Salome was a leader in ‘gnostic’ circles.⁵³ Could Salome have been such a controversial figure that some early copyists deliberately edited her out of the Markan empty tomb scene?⁵⁴ Contra Smith and Petersen, Richard Bauckham thinks that a number of non-polemical references to Salome in more ‘orthodox’ sources speak strongly against Salome as a problematic character.⁵⁵ According to Bauckham, Matthew and Luke decided not to include Salome because ‘the two Marys were well-known as witnesses of the burial and the empty tomb and so both Matthew and Luke retain their names from Mark. But the less well-known Salome is dropped by both Matthew and Luke in favour of women who featured in their own traditions.’⁵⁶ By this reasoning, perhaps it was simply Salome’s lack of fame that caused her name to be dropped from the Markan empty scene in some manuscripts.

There is another potential editorial motive that should also be addressed here, especially when considering fourth-century debates around the virginity of Mary. At the time when our earliest extant Markan manuscripts were being copied, heated arguments were taking place between ascetic-minded Church Fathers (e.g. Ambrose, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Jerome) who made the case for Mary’s perpetual virginity, and Helvidius and Jovinian, who argued that Mary and Joseph had normal marital relations.⁵⁷ Epiphanius wrote a refutation of the Antidicomarians, who ‘have dared to say that after the birth of Christ, the holy Mary had relations with a man, I mean with Joseph himself’.⁵⁸ Jerome thought it necessary to fervently dismiss the apparently well-known views of Tertullian and Victorinus of Pettau, who also believed that Jesus had biological brothers;⁵⁹ this ‘Helvidian’ position seems to have had adherents

194:19; Manichaean Turfan fragment M 18:3. For a helpful survey, see Smith 1973, 190. See also Bauckham’s assertion that Salome the disciple should not be confused with Salome the sister of Jesus (Bauckham 1991, 246–267).

53 See, e.g. Origen’s mention of the ‘Harpocratians’ who learned from Salome in *Contra Celsum* 5.62, and Epiphanius’s note that Jesus had a sister named Salome (*Pan.* 78:8.1; 78:9.6).

54 I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Petersen for this suggestion. For more about Salome in earliest Christian interpretation, see Petersen 1999, 195–241.

55 Bauckham cites Clement of Alexandria’s *Stromateis*, Book 3, the Syriac *Testament of our Lord*, a Greek fragment of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. See Bauckham 1991, 259–65, 268, 270.

56 Bauckham 1991, 256.

57 For a detailed treatment of the subject see Hunter 1993, 47–71.

58 ἐτόλμησαν λέγειν τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησιν ἀνδρὶ συνῆφθαι, φημὶ δὲ αὐτῶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 78:1 (PG 42:700). My translation.

59 *Adversus Helvidium* 19; cf. Tertullian, *De Carne Christi* 7, 23:2–3 (CCSL 2:913) and *Adversus Marcionem* 4:19.

for centuries.⁶⁰ At the same time, Epiphanius and Jerome were furthering a view that had been asserted by Origen over a century earlier: ‘...we ought to refute the heretics’ usual objections...they assert that Mary had marital relations after the birth of Jesus. But they have no source of proof. For the children who were called Joseph’s were not born of Mary. There is no passage in Scripture that mentions this’.⁶¹ Clearly it was important to some early Christians that there was ‘no passage in Scripture’ to suggest that Mary had sons other than Jesus.

Due to the powerful influence of Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome and other ascetic-minded writers,⁶² the doctrine of Mary’s perpetual virginity was eventually cemented in the broader church tradition.⁶³ Indeed, Jerome wrote his treatise *Against Helvidius* precisely ‘to show that the mother of [Jesus], who was a mother before she was married, continued a virgin *post partum*’.⁶⁴ It is pertinent for this study that Jerome openly acknowledges that Mark 15:40/Matt 27:56 had become an important scriptural proof-text for those who asserted Jesus’s mother had given birth to other sons (cf. Mark 6:3 and Matt 13:55):

Ecce, inquit, Iacobus et Ioseph filii Mariae, iidem quos Iudaei fratres appellaverunt. Ecce Maria Iacobi minoris et Iosetis mater.

Behold, [Helvidius] says, James and Joseph are the sons of Mary, and the same persons who were called brothers by the Jews. Behold, Mary is the mother of James the Lesser and of Joseph.⁶⁵

Such a view was, of course, directly contrary to the position that Jerome and others advocated so fiercely, where Mary was being upheld as a model of per-

60 See Lightfoot 1865, 258; see also the more recent position of Hunter, who argues that Helvidius was ‘appealing to positions which had a genuine place in the tradition of the early Church’ (Hunter 1993, 70).

61 Εἰ ποτε οὖν τοιοῦτοι λόγοι ὑπὸ αἰρετικῶν προαχθῶσιν, οὕτως ἀποκριτέον... Ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἔχουσιν αὐτὴν ἀποδείξαι, ὅτι συνουσία ἐχρήσατο μετὰ τὴν ἀπότεξιν τοῦ σωτῆρος· οἱ γὰρ υἱοὶ Ἰωσήφ οὐκ ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μαρίας, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις τοῦτο παραστήσαι ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς. Origen, Homily on Luke 7:4. This translation in Lienhard 1996, 29–30.

62 See also the comments of Athanasius in his early fourth-cent. *First Letter to Virgins*: ‘[the Savior] teaches that his mother Mary remained in virginity forever...Mary, the bearer of God, remains a virgin [so that she might be a pattern for] everyone coming after her.’ Athanasius, *First Letter to Virgins*, 10–11. This translation in Brakke 1995, 277.

63 I am grateful to Andrew Koperski for his 2022 conference paper and his suggestion that Jerome may have influenced Chrysostom’s views on the brothers of Jesus.

64 Jerome, *Adversus Helvidium 2: Ipse quoque Deus Pater est imprecandus, ut matrem Filii sui, virginem ostendat fuisse post partum, quae fuit mater antequam nupta* (PL 23:194).

65 *Adversus Helvidium* 12 (PL 23:204). My translation.

petual virginity. The interpretive issues at stake in this passage may have even provoked Jerome to further action, as can be witnessed in the Vulgate text he delivered to Pope Damasus. In the Vulgate reading for Mark 15:47–16:1, Jerome selected the following text:

Maria autem Magdalene et Maria Ioseph aspiciebant ubi poneretur. Et cum transisset sabbatum, Maria Magdalene, et Maria Iacobi, et Salome emerunt aromata ut venientes ungerent Iesum. Et valde mane una sabbatorum, veniunt ad monumentum...

Mary Magdalene and **Mary of Joseph** were watching where he was laid. And when the Sabbath was past, **Mary Magdalene** and **Mary of James and Salome** bought spices and went so that they might anoint Jesus. And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they come to the tomb...

Although the Vulgate reading matches the majority Greek text, it differs sharply from Jerome's quotation of the exact same verses in *Against Helvidius*, where he quotes a different form of Mark 15:47–16:1:

Marcus ponit: Maria autem Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Josetis viderunt ubi poneretur et transacto sabbato emerunt aromata et venerunt ad monumentum...

Mark states: 'and Mary Magdalene and **Mary of James and Joses** saw where he was laid. And when the sabbath was past, **they** bought spices and came to the tomb...' ⁶⁶

The version of Mark that Jerome cites does not include Salome at the empty tomb, and references 'Mary of James and Joses' as one person. Thus, Jerome's selection of the longer Vulgate text may indicate his preference for a reading which makes a clearer distinction between 'Mary of Joses/Joseph' and 'Mary of James'—especially since some (like Helvidius) were arguing that 'Mary the mother of James the Lesser and of Joses' should be identified as Jesus's mother. If Jerome's arguments in *Against Helvidius* were not fully persuasive, his selection of the longer Vulgate reading at Mark 15:47–16:1 could help serve the same purposes: the longer version (which would become the majority text) hampers the interpretation that Jesus's mother can be identified as 'Mary the mother of James and Joses'. Might the key to our textual uncertainty be found in the comparison of Jerome's shorter and longer texts, alongside his stated goal of 'proving' the perpetual virginity of Mary? Anxiety around 'proof' of Mary's virginity dates back to the second century (as demonstrated in the *Protevangelium of James*); Jerome may have thus preferred a reading that reflects a more ancient editorial decision to deliberately separate 'Mary of James' from 'Mary of Joses' in Mark's story, thereby discouraging any potentially embarrassing comparisons with Jesus's mother in Mark 6:3.

⁶⁶ *Adversus Helvidium*, 12 (PL 23:204).

Conclusion

Contra Metzger and Turner, caution should be exercised before asserting certainty about the editorial motives behind these early endings of Mark's Gospel. Although harmonisation may explain some of these textual variants, the possible suppression of Salome's presence at the tomb and/or the protection of Mary's perpetual virginity may well have been powerful editorial motivations in the third and fourth centuries.⁶⁷ Then again, an editorial *addition* of Salome in Mark 16:1 could have served to increase the number of witnesses at the empty tomb (one thinks of Origen's objection to Celsus's accusation that '[Jesus] appeared secretly to just one woman and to those of his own confraternity'⁶⁸). Could Mark have authored an empty tomb scene featuring only the two Marys named at the entombment? Matthew's text does align far more easily with Bobiensis's and Bezae's versions of the Markan entombment and empty tomb scenes (as well as Origen's *Homily 7 on Exodus* and Jerome's rendition of the story in *Against Helvidius*), and, as Pesch suggests, the list of women at Mark 16:1 could have been editorially sourced from Mark 15:40. If Matthew had access to a version of Mark with only the two Marys at the empty tomb, it could explain why Matthew only references 'Mary Magdalene and the other Mary' in 28:1. By this theory, Codex Vaticanus may retain an early pro-ascetic revision of the Markan text at both 15:40 and 15:47–16:1. By just a few slight editorial changes, 'Mary the mother of James the lesser and Joses' could have been purposely divided into two women (i.e. Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσήτου μήτηρ becomes Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ ἡ Ἰωσήτου μήτηρ). Such an interpolation would have served the purposes of influential theologians like Origen, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Jerome, who insisted that no other sons were born of Mary, and that 'there is no passage in Scripture that mentions this'. Since the majority text indeed hampers the interpretation that Jesus's mother was 'Mary the mother of James and Joses' (asserted by Helvidius to be the same Mary of Mark 6:3 and Matt 13:55), it is understandable why a more clear-cut division between 'Mary of Joses' and 'Mary of James' would have been desirable in the transmission of the Markan text.

Of course, yet another possibility is that the additional feminine article at Mark 15:40 accidentally dropped out of the textual transmission at the earliest

67 For further examples of early editorial activity that 'protected' Mary's virginity, see discussion of textual variants in Luke 2:33, 2:41, and 2:43 in Metzger 1994, 111–112.

68 Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2:70 (PG 11:905). Origen retorts, 'it is not true that he appeared to just one woman. In Matthew's Gospel it is written that "late on the Sabbath day as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre..."' This translation in Chadwick 1953, 120.

stages;⁶⁹ perhaps Mark really did intend to present four women at the cross! If so, the absence of Salome in some copies is perhaps best explained by a deliberate harmonisation to the Matthean and Lukan texts, along with possible forgetting (or perhaps suppression) of her presence at the empty tomb. With so many potential editorial motives at play, perhaps it is no surprise that our earliest manuscripts demonstrate such significant variation around the names and numbers of these important Markan characters.

So, what can be concluded about this Markan textual problem? Since reasonable cases can be made for both the addition and omission of Salome in the earliest circulating text, as well as either a deliberate or accidental division of the second Mary at the cross, it must be admitted that a confident recovery of Mark's initial text is impossible in these verses. Multiple controversies raged around all of the women named in Mark 15:40–16:1, and this very likely played a role in the verses' striking textual instability. Greater awareness should certainly be raised in New Testament scholarship about this major textual problem. Considering these troubled verses' proximity to the ending(s) of Mark, one might also consider whether controversy around these women is directly connected to Mark's 16:8's truncated comment ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ, or the early decisions to rewrite the ending to the first authored gospel.

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69 For another potential example of a single letter dropping out of the textual transmission at John 7:52, see Smothers 1958.

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‘The End of the Beginning’: Mark’s Longer Ending (16:9–20) and the Adaptation of the Markan Storyline

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Using narrative criticism, this article weighs how the addition of Mark 16:9–20 continues, complements, and modifies the storyline of Mark 1:1–16:8. An example of changes to the Markan storyline is eschatology: whereas the Mark’s Gospel expects a short-term mission culminating in the appearance of the Son of Man within ‘this generation’, the Longer Ending points to an ongoing, open-ended mission, in which believers will perform miraculous ‘signs’ with assistance from the ascended Christ. Along with the authors of Matthew and Luke, then, the person who penned 16:9–20 merits recognition among Mark’s earliest interpreters and revisers.

During the tumultuous days of November 1942, Winston Churchill rallied citizens of the British Commonwealth: ‘Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning’.¹ Although his words describe a historical situation and rhetorical context far removed from those taken up in this article, Churchill’s delineation of chronology is a fitting analogy to stages in the early reception of Mark, since it was not simply that Gospel’s original message and ‘story’ that could be transmitted to most readers and hearers. Rather, within decades of Mark’s composition, Matthew and Luke would rework most of Mark into their own narratives and, somewhat later, alternate endings would be added to Mark.² This study will explore the implications of the fact that the original ending at 16:8 would ultimately not be the work’s final word but would be more aptly described as ‘the end of the beginning’ of its storyline.³ When Mark the evangelist wrote, as well as when Churchill spoke, it was not known how things would unfold. This article will show that, in addition to the authors of Matthew and Luke, the person who composed Mark 16:9–20 is worthy of recognition among Mark’s earliest interpreters *and* revisers.

- 1 Winston Churchill, ‘The End of the Beginning’, speech delivered on November 10, 1942, §§6–7a; <<http://www.churchill-society-london.org.uk/EndoBegn.html>> (this and other URIs accessed on 18 February 2021). A recording of the excerpt cited above is available at <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pdRH5wzCQQw>>.
- 2 The dates of Mark’s ‘Longer Ending’ (16:9–20) and ‘Shorter Ending’ (VL 1 [k]) will be addressed, below. The two added endings are probably from the second quarter of the second century CE.
- 3 The fact that the (unelaborated) ending at 16:8 was relatively short lived does not, however, detract from the fact that Mark 1:1–16:8 was a landmark in the transmission of traditions about Jesus within an eschatological and historical framework. See, e.g., Collins 1992a, 23–36, and Collins 2007, 15–43, esp. 33–43.

1. Problem: Repercussions of a Secondary Conclusion

With good reason, scholars devote much attention to the meaning(s) of Mark's sudden and enigmatic ending at 16:8b: 'They [the three women]⁴ said nothing to anyone, for they were frightened'.⁵ Numerous witnesses attest to a version of Mark ending at 16:8—Codex Vaticanus (B), Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲙ), minuscule GA 304,⁶ a recently (re)discovered Coptic amulet,⁷ and early translations of Mark. Those translations include the Sinaitic Syriac (syS), the oldest two Georgian manuscripts, and numerous Armenian manuscripts.⁸ Another rare case is Codex Bobiensis (VL 1 [k]), which, after Mark 16:8, has only the 'Shorter Ending' (*conclusio brevior*) but not 16:9–20 as well. In addition to Bobiensis, the witnesses of GA 019, GA 044,⁹ GA 083, GA 099, GA 274^{mg}, GA 579,¹⁰ and I1602,¹¹ also give clues about exceptions to copies of Mark ending with 16:9–20.

- 4 In Mark 16:8b, the subject of εἶπαν ('they') refers to the three women who are mentioned in 16:1—that is, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome.
- 5 For a recent study, see Seifert 2019. See also Petersen 1980; Heckel 1999, 32–62; Upton 2006, 65–78, 125–153, and Kelhoffer 2010b; cf. Kelhoffer 2000, 489–491.
- 6 See Monier 2019; also Houghton 2023.
- 7 Emmenegger (2012) calls attention to a Coptic amulet (ms Freiburg, Bibel + Orient Museum, ÄT 2006.8), which cites (in what would eventually become the four Gospels' canonical order) the beginning and end of each Gospel (Matt 1:1; 28:20; Mark 1:1–2; 16:8; Luke 1:1; 24:53; John 1:1; 21:25). Notably, the amulet presupposes an elongated version of the Fourth Gospel (with chapter 21), yet has the original ending of Mark at 16:8. The origins and provenance of the amulet are unknown (ibid. 142), although references to later saints, holds Emmenegger, suggest a date from the seventh to the ninth century CE (ibid. 143).
- 8 See Niccum 2022. See also Labadie 2022, Metzger 1996, 102, and Metzger 1980 [1972]. Furthermore, whereas Colwell (1937, 371–373) states that the Longer Ending is borne in 88 of the 220 Armenian mss, according to Metzger 1996, 102, over one hundred Armenian mss have the Longer Ending.
- 9 I am grateful to Claire Clivaz for suggestions on witnesses to the Shorter Ending. See further, Clivaz 2022, as well as Clivaz 2020, 381–385, who points out that GA 044 f. 14v reads at the end of Mark and in the following order: the Shorter Ending directly after 16:8 (i.e., *without* a remark about variant readings in other mss); a remark about variant readings of 16:9–20; and, finally, the text of 16:9–20. For an image of the manuscript, see <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EwNDQ=>> (the second page given is GA 044 f. 14v).
- 10 See Clivaz 2020, 378–380, on the 'continuous text' of minuscule 579, which has 16:8, the Shorter Ending (without a remark about variant readings), and 16:9–20 (also without a remark about variant readings).
- 11 Cf. the Shorter Ending in I1602 f. 3r: εν αλλοις αντιγραφους ουκ εγραφη ταυτα ('in other copies, these things are not written'). The reference to 'other copies' of Mark *without* the Shorter Ending also presumes the existence of additional copies of

Compared with work on the ending at Mark 16:8, much less scholarly attention has been given to the import of the Longer Ending (16:9–20) as a revised conclusion to this Gospel.¹² Whatever the origin of Mark 16:9–20, the passage achieved enormous popularity: it is preserved in 99 percent of the over 1,600 known manuscripts of Mark.¹³ Moreover, with the possible exception of the Gospel of Peter, no second-century writing clearly attests to a version of Mark ending with 16:8.¹⁴ Through the centuries, then, the vast majority of readers knew this passage as the conclusion to the work’s storyline.

In an earlier publication, I argued that the author of the Longer Ending used either the four New Testament Gospels or written sources which postdated those Gospels. That conclusion about literary dependence is based on a detailed analysis of vocabulary and style and is presupposed in this article.¹⁵ My earlier research has not, however, examined how the Longer Ending impacts the Markan narrative.

The purpose of this study, then, is to analyze the reception of Mark 1:1–16:8 in the Longer Ending by exploring how the storyline may have changed as a result of the added twelve verses. We will note the passage’s revision of several prominent Markan themes and argue that the new ending not only *overshadows* the rhetorical force of 16:8 but also *resolves* several unresolved strands of the Markan plot—for example, how the disciples, who had abandoned Jesus (14:50) and who never meet Jesus again within the Markan narrative, would have reversed course and become heralds of the gospel amidst persecution (see 13:9–13).

2. Questions Bequeathed by the Markan Plotline

As compared with the conclusions of other early Christian Gospels, Mark’s final pericope (16:1–8) could have been deemed deficient, since the abrupt and unanticipated ending at 16:8 leaves the reader with a handful of untidy

Mark *with* the Shorter Ending. An image of the manuscript is available at <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=TDE2MDI=>> (the third page is f. 3r). I am grateful to Claire Clivaz for suggestions on these points.

- 12 For an overview, see Kelhoffer 2000, 5–46; cf. 484–489, 492–493.
- 13 On that percentage, see Aland and Aland 1987, 287; Aland 1988, 446, and Kelhoffer 2000, 1–2. See also Aland and Aland 1998, 406–407, on the 1,620 manuscripts with Mark 16:9–20, and the acknowledgement by Aland and Aland that many more Byzantine manuscripts of Mark could be added to that number. My thanks are due to Tommy Wasserman for suggestions on the widespread acceptance of the added conclusion.
- 14 Foster 2010, 496, points out that, in Gos. Pet. 13.55–57, ‘the author may have been drawing from the form of [the Markan] text which ended at Mark 16.8a’.
- 15 Kelhoffer 2000, 49–156, esp. 137–154.

narrative strands. We will survey five such strands and show how the Longer Ending addresses each of them. In this discussion, our working hypothesis is that 16:8 was the work's original conclusion, and that any tension of that ending with the rest of Mark were part of the author's rhetorical strategy.¹⁶

The strong correlation between Mark's open-ended conclusion and the Longer Ending's measures to tidy up that open-endedness suggests a reason for adding these twelve verses: by filling in several missing details—above all, through the addition of post-resurrection appearances—the Longer Ending would mollify any such criticism of Mark, and thereby increase the likelihood that this Gospel would be preserved and read in Christ-congregations. Criticism of the work's original conclusion may also be implied by the revisions to Mark 16:1–8 in Matthew 28 and Luke 24.¹⁷ We will suggest that the alternate denouements in not only Matthew and Luke but also the Longer Ending served the same purpose of improving the conclusion at Mark 16:8.

2.1. News of the Resurrection?

A conspicuous question left unanswered is how, as the Markan Jesus had predicted,¹⁸ the message of the resurrection became known to the disciples, for after they abandon Jesus in Gethsemane (14:50), no mention is made of them, except for Peter when he denies being Jesus's follower (14:66–72). At the end of Mark, moreover, the three women remain silent, despite the charge from the 'young man' that they report the resurrection 'to the disciples and Peter' (16:5–8). It is therefore unclear how *anyone* else, let alone the disciples, would have learned that Jesus's promise of being raised had been fulfilled.

2.2. An Appearance to the Disciples?

Since the Markan Jesus had promised to meet the disciples in Galilee (14:28), readers may have been puzzled about why no appearance is reported. Indeed,

16 I explain, below, why I do not view gaps in Mark's storyline as deficiencies. In fact, a poststructuralist, 'reader response' approach could identify clues in the gaps about how the ideal, or even the actual, readers could respond to the narrative. See further, Upton 2006, 153, who infers that, after hearing (or reading) Mark 16:8, readers 'must resort to implicature to make the most of the narrative they have heard'.

17 Matt 28:8 explains that the women did, in fact, tell the disciples about Jesus's resurrection and imminent appearance. Similarly, Luke 24:8–10 claims that, despite the women's fear (cf. Mark 16:8b), they recalled Jesus's passion prediction(s) and reported the resurrection to the apostles.

18 Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34.

after the crucifixion Jesus exits the narrative and does not return.¹⁹ Instead, the ‘young man’ who meets the women in 16:5 functions as a stand-in for Jesus.

2.3. *The Disciples’ Restoration?*

Inasmuch as the disciples encounter neither the three women, to whom the young man had appeared, nor the resurrected Jesus, readers are also left to wonder how the disciples, who had abandoned Jesus, ever reconciled with him and would have moved from a place of misunderstanding, perfidy, and fear to a state of understanding, trust, and courage.²⁰ After the scene in Gethsemane and Peter’s denials, neither the disciples nor Jesus resurfaces for any rapprochement. Perhaps Mark meant this to be an intentional ‘omission’ (i.e., an *elleipsis*), with the audience expected to supply the missing details.²¹ It remains unclear from the conclusion at 16:8, however, how the gap in the narrative should be filled in, and that lack of clarity could have prompted a later author to provide more information.

2.4. *Readiness to Withstand Persecution?*

The eschatological discourse predicts that at least four of Jesus’s disciples will suffer hardships, possibly even death, because they are his followers (13:3–30). A readiness to suffer would count as a symbolic form of ‘capital’, authenticating Peter, James, John, and Andrew as Jesus’s faithful followers.²² For this article, the stark contrast is noteworthy between, on the one hand, the image of steadfast disciples in chapter 13 and, on the other hand, their abandonment of Jesus and Peter’s denials in chapter 14. The abandonment and denials are then followed by the disciples’ absence in the remainder of the narrative. For congregations (and their leaders) that traced their origin and legitimacy to one or more of the apostles, it may have been urgent to address what Mark left hanging, and thereby to rehabilitate the possibly precarious presentation of the movement’s archetypal cult-foundation figures.²³

19 On the theme of Jesus’s ‘absence’ in Mark, see du Toit 2006. See also Collins 2007, 771–801, and Collins 1992b.

20 I am grateful to Adela Yarbro Collins for suggestions on this point.

21 See LSJ, s.v. ἔλλειψις, def. 4.

22 For an overview of Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of ‘cultural capital’, and of the importance of that capital for confirming a person’s social standing or legitimacy, see Kelhoffer 2010a, 9–25. On the theme of suffering in Mark, see Kelhoffer 2010a, 183–225, esp. 200–202, and Collins 1992c, 66–68.

23 On the *negative* side of cultural capital—that is, ignoble deeds such as persecuting others or refusing to undergo persecution as a follower of Jesus—see Kelhoffer 2010a, e.g., 17, 26, 183–184 (on the disciples in Mark).

2.5. *Eschatological Fulfilment?*

Eschatology is perhaps the most glaring unresolved element of Mark's narrative. Chapter 13 foretells that 'this generation' will witness, in the relatively near future, one or more apocalyptic 'signs' (13:4, 22), as well as the Son of Man's return.²⁴ The ending at 16:8, I suggest, calls on readers to consider their own standing as followers: are they ready to face Jesus's return and impending judgement? Also, would they, until that time, be prepared to undergo hardships and persecution?²⁵ And if they are prepared, when will the promised *persecution* commence, so that the promised *parousia* could be realised? These uncertainties could spawn questions about not only Mark's message but also Christ-believers' place within a yet unfulfilled eschatological drama.

2.6. *Summation: Five Open-Ended Plotlines*

The Markan narrative stirs questions about (1) the secrecy of the message of the resurrection, (2) the absence of Jesus's promised meeting with the disciples, (3) the disciples' restored faith, (4) the disciples' readiness to withstand persecution, and (5) the non-occurrence of the imminently expected tribulation and *parousia*. We are now in a position to assess how the Longer Ending may take up, and even alter, any of those narrative strands.

3. *Resolutions of the Markan Plotline*

This part of the article will explore how each of the aforementioned open-ended questions of Mark's storyline has a resolving counterpoint in the Longer Ending. For this approach to the Longer Ending, we concur with Bridget Gilfillan Upton 'that the unit 16:9–20 is not to be treated on its own, but as part of the whole resurrection story of 16:1–20'.²⁶ The analysis to follow will, in addition, consider the Longer Ending as a complement to even earlier themes of the Markan story—for example, the eschatological discourse (chapter 13) and the unfulfilled promise that Jesus would meet the disciples in Galilee (14:28). It will also be argued that, regardless of what rhetorical 'effect' 16:8 was meant

24 See Collins 1992d.

25 See Kelhoffer 2010a, 202–203. See also, above, on Upton 2006, 153. Additionally, Adela Collins 2007, 800, notes that, in Mark 16:8, the focus is 'on the numinous and shocking character of the event of Jesus' resurrection from the dead', and that the verse 'does not address the question whether the women eventually gave the disciples and Peter the message' of the resurrection.

26 Upton 2006, 156.

to have on the audience, that effect is *overshadowed* by the Longer Ending.²⁷ The limited force of our case must be acknowledged, however: while a correlation cannot demonstrate causality, we hold that Mark's unresolved ending at 16:8 prompted the response to that ending given in 16:9–20. Moreover, a precedent for the appendix's eschatology may be seen in the Gospel of Luke: whereas Mark foresees a *temporary* post-resurrection mission followed by the *parousia* within 'this generation' (13:24–30), both Luke and the Longer Ending feature a non-imminent eschatology and an *ongoing* mission. We begin with an overview of the added twelve verses before considering how they clear up five unsettled aspects of the Markan narrative.

At the outset, the passage records that Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene (Mark 16:9; cf. John 20:1–2), who, in contrast to the fearful, silent women (Mark 16:5–8), reported to the disciples that Jesus had been raised. Next, Jesus's meeting with 'two' disciples offers a Lukan bridge from the crucifixion to the disciples' reception of the Easter message (Mark 16:12–13; cf. Luke 24:13–35). Finally, the appearance to the eleven disciples (16:14a) reinforces a particularly Markan trope of admonition for hardness of heart and lack of trust.²⁸

Although the eleven disciples are initially rebuked by Jesus (16:14b), they are also, however implicitly, reconciled to him and restored to a place of faith,²⁹ for they receive, immediately after the rebuke, his commission to 'proclaim the good news to all creation' (16:15a). Moreover, Jesus's declaration that both belief and baptism are required to be 'saved' (σῶζω, 16:16a) vouches for the continuation of the disciples' authority inasmuch as they will be presiding over that ritual. At least to a modern reader, it may come as a surprise that, whereas the disciples are *forgiven* for their lack of trust (ἀπιστία, 16:14b), anyone who, in the future, 'gives no credence to' the apostolic preaching (ἀπιστέω, 16:16b) 'will be *condemned*' (κατακρίνω). Since the Markan 'messianic secret'³⁰ was no longer in force when the apostles are to proclaim the good news, disbelief has become inexcusable. The disciples' hearers will therefore be held to a standard higher than that to which not only

27 The 'speech act reading' of the Longer Ending by Upton 2006, 154–170, addresses how the passage *completes* the Markan storyline; however, Upton's study reflects little, if any, interest in how the addition of 16:9–20 may also *alter* the storyline.

28 Mark 16:14 (ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν); cf. 4:40 (οὐποῦ ἔχετε πίστιν;).

29 The disciples' restoration, presupposed in Mark 16:14–18, will be discussed below.

30 On the Markan theme of secrecy in regard to Jesus's messianic identity and performance of miracles, see, for example, 1:43–44, 4:11, 5:43, 7:36, 8:29–30, and 9:9. See also below, on the secret of the resurrection—news of which was withheld from the eleven disciples (16:5–8).

the Markan earthly Jesus but also the Longer Ending's resurrected Jesus had held the disciples.

3.1. *News of the Resurrection*

We turn to how the Longer Ending deals with five gaps in the Markan narrative. The first of these is how the resurrection was reported to others besides the three women at the end of Mark. Previously, the twelve disciples had received privileged information about Jesus's identity.³¹ But at Mark's conclusion the remaining disciples have become like 'those on the outside' (cf. 4:11), and would therefore have been reliant upon others for the news of the resurrection. Within the timeframe envisioned in 16:5–8, however, the three women perpetuated the 'messianic secret', a secret that now, ironically, also applies to the disciples.

The Longer Ending steps up to show that reports of the resurrection came from Jesus's three appearances (16:9–14a). As is the case in John 20:1–2, the Longer Ending's first report of the resurrection comes from Mary Magdalene (Mark 16:9). A second appearance of Jesus to 'two of them'—that is, two of the disciples (16:12–13)³²—replicates the pattern in Luke 24:13–35 of how word of the resurrection had spread. Finally, Jesus's meeting with the eleven disciples and commissioning of them (Mark 16:14b–20) clarifies how not only they but also their hearers received the good news. Accordingly, the Longer Ending revises Mark's concluding presentation of the wayward disciples: although they had become uninformed outsiders at the time of 16:5–8, the reports of the resurrection and the three appearances of Jesus rectified their ignorance.

3.2. *The Promised Appearance to the Disciples*

The Longer Ending is both congruent and incongruent with a post-resurrection appearance to the disciples in Galilee (cf. Mark 14:28). In 16:14–20, Jesus makes good on his promise to meet them. However, *where* that took place is open to several explanations. It may be that the wish for brevity did not allow for such detail. Or the author of the appendix may have relied on the audience to 'fill in' the elided details from knowledge of either Mark or some other Gospel—for example, by recalling from Mark 14:28 or Matt 28:16–20 that it took place in Galilee. Perhaps more likely, the author of the Longer Ending may not have wanted to choose between, on the one hand,

31 For example, Mark 4:10–12; 8:29–30; 9:9.

32 In Mark 16:12 (δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν, 'to two of them'), the pronoun αὐτῶν refers to 16:10 (τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις, 'those who had been with him [Jesus]'), a clear reference to the disciples.

references by Mark and Matthew to a *Galilean* appearance and, on the other hand, reports by Luke-Acts and the Fourth Gospel of appearances in or near *Jerusalem*. To pass over in silence a reference to the place where Jesus met them would minimize dissonance by alleviating the need for following one version to the exclusion of others. We therefore view Mark 16:14–20 as a tidy resolution of Mark 14:28, or at least what may have been the tidiest available alternative within such a brief passage.

3.3. *The Disciples' Restoration*

The Longer Ending rectifies the disciples' disappearance from the Markan narrative, for they re-emerge in conjunction with all three appearances—receiving the news from Mary (16:10) as well as from two of their fellow disciples (16:13). Afterward, all the disciples meet Jesus (16:14a), whose rebuke of them (16:14b) immediately gives way to their commissioning (16:15)³³ which, in turn, is followed by an oblique reference to their authority to baptize (16:16).

A further indication of their restoration is Jesus's promise that miraculous 'signs' (σημεία) will accompany the proclamation of the disciples (and other believers) (16:17–18). The final two verses connect the promise of signs with fulfillment of that promise: Jesus is 'taken up' to heaven³⁴ and, from his exalted position, 'works with' Christian heralds (συνεργέω, 16:20) by miraculously authenticating their message. The collaboration between Jesus and his followers indicates that the disciples' faith has been restored. Therefore, *most* of the details in the Longer Ending address this 'open' strand of Mark's original conclusion. We will return to this revised plotline in the ensuing discussion of steadfastness amidst persecution as a marker of legitimacy.

3.4. *Readiness to Withstand Persecution*

In Mark's eschatological discourse, after Jesus predicts that at least four of the twelve disciples will undergo hardships and persecution (13:3–30), the remainder of the narrative offers not a clue about how their endurance of hardships may have come about (14:1–16:8). In the Longer Ending, however, the commissioning of the eleven disciples provides a plausible, if implicit, hint:

33 I disagree with the contention of Upton 2006, 165–169, that in Mark 16:15–18 '[t]he disciples, having failed so often in their discipleship[,] are given *this final chance*' (p. 165, italics added; cf. 167, 169). In fact, those verses say nothing about a chance, or a choice, that the disciples faced; rather, the disciples' compliance is an automatic response to Jesus's command that they go out and preach the good news, and their credibility is confirmed by the accompanying miracles (16:17b–18, 20).

34 Mark 16:19 (ἀναλαμβάνω); cf. Luke 24:51; Acts 1:9.

persecution could arise in the course of a mission to ‘all creation’ (16:15; cf. Matt 28:19–20).

The fact that the Longer Ending does not tell of the disciples’ positive response to Jesus’s commissioning presents no difficulty for our thesis. Neither Matthew 28 nor Luke 24, nor even John 20 or John 21,³⁵ spells out that the disciples had agreed to act in accordance with Jesus’s final words. In each of the Gospels’ conclusions, the disciples’ compliance is implicit. In the Longer Ending, the implicit reconciliation resonates with the promise of the ‘signs’ with which the exalted Jesus will substantiate believers’ proclamation (16:17a, 20). That promise of authentication surely includes the disciples who had reconciled with Jesus.

3.5. *Eschatology and Mission: A Lukan Reworking of Mark’s Storyline?*

Arguably, the Longer Ending’s most substantial alteration to the Markan narrative is to the work’s eschatology. In what follows, we will consider Mark’s presentation of the disciples’ mission, and will compare that with the presentation of mission in the Longer Ending. Whereas Mark 1:1–16:8 anticipates a short-term mission until Jesus’s return, Mark 16:9–20 envisions a mission that will continue indefinitely into the future. It will be argued that, although the addendum incorporates several Markan details about the disciples’ mission, and thus continues the work’s storyline, it also revises the vision and scope of that mission. Further, we will see that the Longer Ending’s modification of Mark is analogous to changes that the author of Luke had also made to Mark.

The Gospel of Mark reports that the disciples performed healings and exorcisms when Jesus sent them out on a mission (6:6b–13). Later in the narrative, Jesus states that ‘it is necessary for the good news to be proclaimed first to all the nations’ before the end can come (13:10), and that ‘the gospel’ will be ‘proclaimed to the whole world’ (14:9). According to Mark, then, the mission will take place for a limited amount of time—during the period between Jesus’s resurrection and the *parousia*. Both the latter event and, by implication, the completion of the disciples’ mission will be signaled not only by ‘the sign’ of a coming sacrilege (τὸ σημεῖον, 13:4) but also by portents in the sky (σημεῖα, 13:22).

35 For the view that John 21 stems from a later hand, see, e.g., Minear 1983; Hartman 1984; Vorster 1992; Schnelle 1998, 490–492; Heckel 1999, 133–138, 158–177; and Lincoln 2019, 210–211. On a rare copy of John that did not include John 21, see Schenke 2006, 893–904.

On the one hand, the presentation of mission in the Longer Ending bears a striking resemblance to passages in Mark.³⁶ The proclamation of ‘the gospel’ (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, 16:14b; cf. 6:12), the casting out of demons (16:17b; cf. 6:7, 13), and the performing of healings (16:18; cf. 6:13) show continuity between the missions commissioned by the Markan earthly Jesus and by the Longer Ending’s resurrected Jesus. In the Longer Ending, the disciples will continue to engage in the same activities as are given in Mark—that is, preaching, exorcising, and healing. Moreover, Jesus’s charge to ‘proclaim the good news to all creation’ (πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει, 16:15) dovetails with Mark’s anticipation of a mission ‘to the whole world’.³⁷ In a context of persecution, the miracles could undermine the legitimacy of the agitators’ maltreatment of the disciples.

On the other hand, the Longer Ending marks a shift in the presentation of the mission. The lack of any eschatological outlook in 16:9–20 contrasts with the imminent eschatological framework in Mark 13. Further, more miracles—speaking in new languages, taking up serpents, and surviving poison—will be added to their repertoire.³⁸ An even more conspicuous difference is that, whereas in Mark Jesus’s *return* will bring the disciples’ mission to an end, in the Longer Ending Jesus *remains* in heaven, perpetuating the mission through accompanying miraculous ‘signs’ (16:20). As a result, Mark’s references to temporary missions (6:6b–13; 13:10) give way to an ongoing mission into the future (16:15–20). Rather than anticipating the Son of Man’s return during ‘this generation’ (13:24–30), the Longer Ending anticipates that miracles will confirm the message of the apostles and, subsequently, the message of ‘those who believe’.³⁹ Therefore, the incorporation of this Markan *theme* in 16:9–20 transforms the Gospel’s *storyline*: the imminent *parousia* featured in Mark 13 is side-lined, and the mission takes centre stage.

The Longer Ending’s shift from an imminent eschatology comes into sharper focus when considered in conjunction with the work’s references to ‘the gospel’. Bridget Upton points out that ‘[t]he combination of the words εὐαγγέλιον and κηρύξατε’ (16:15) ‘provides a powerful inclusion with the announcement at the beginning of the whole gospel’ (1:1), and that this com-

36 See Kelhoffer 2000, 249–252. Thanks are due to my Uppsala colleague Anders Ekenberg, who suggested that I give more attention to the similarities between the presentations of the disciples’ mission in Mark and the Longer Ending.

37 Mark 14:9: εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον; cf. 13:10, on proclaiming the good news ‘to all the nations’ (εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη).

38 On the distinctive signs of taking up serpents and surviving poison, see Kelhoffer 2000, 340–416 (on serpents) and 417–472 (on poison).

39 Mark 16:17a. On presentations of anonymous, or non-apostolic, believers as performers of miracles in Christian literature of the first three centuries, see Kelhoffer 2000, 248–338.

bination ‘also picks up’ on uses of εὐαγγέλιον elsewhere in Mark.⁴⁰ In the addendum, ‘the gospel’ to be preached ‘to all creation’ (16:15) will be accompanied by miraculous ‘signs’ attesting to the soundness of the proclamation of Christ-believers and to the exalted Christ’s collaboration with them (συνεργέω, 16:20). Mark refers to ‘the gospel’ in terms of Jesus’s message (1:14–15) and the message about Jesus.⁴¹ A reading of those passages in the light of 16:15–20 could invite the inference, for example, that losing one’s life for the sake of ‘the gospel’ (8:35; 10:29) could occur despite the persecutors’ disregard for the accompanying miracles. Likewise, Jesus’s foretelling that ‘the good news must first be proclaimed to all the nations’ (13:10) could suggest that the spread of the word will be confirmed by miracles. And in a novel twist to the story about the woman who anointed Jesus, miracles could, ‘wherever the good news is proclaimed to the whole world’ (14:9), call attention not only to the suffering Messiah but also to the woman’s selfless generosity.

This kind of reworking of Mark was not unprecedented: the changes wrought by the addition of 16:9–20 bear a striking similarity to tendencies in the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles. As is well known, Luke dampens Mark’s imminent eschatology.⁴² In Acts, moreover, after Jesus’s ascension⁴³ it is the occurrence of a miracle that, time and again, authenticates the message of the eleven apostles,⁴⁴ spurring on the spread of the good news. The same is true for Paul’s work as a miracle-working itinerant missionary.⁴⁵

Therefore, the Longer Ending’s eschatology—or, perhaps better put, its non-eschatology—could be described as patently Lukan. It may be debatable whether the Longer Ending’s references to σημεῖα indicate that its author *intended* to divert attention from unfulfilled eschatological expectations. In any case, this change arguably had the *effect* of markedly altering the Gospel’s storyline. The addition of 16:9–20 likely fits with a later context, in which the anticipation of imminent eschatological ‘signs’ was fading (or had even disappeared), and in which reports of miraculous ‘signs’ (à la Acts) would have more appeal.⁴⁶ If it is true that the Longer Ending’s miraculous ‘signs’ had the intent or, at least, the impact of replacing Mark’s apocalyptic ‘signs’, it would

40 Upton 2006, 166.

41 Mark 1:1; 8:35; 10:29; 13:10; 14:9.

42 On this well-known explanation of Luke’s revisionist eschatology, see Conzelmann 1960 (English translation Id. 1961).

43 Luke 24:51; Acts 1:9–11; cf. Mark 16:19.

44 For example, Acts 2:43; 4:2, 16, 22; 5:12–16; 6:8; 8:6, 13; 12:7–11.

45 See Acts 14:3, 8–11; 15:12; 16:16–18, 25–26; 19:11–12.

46 For example, Harnack (1902, esp. 95–105) acknowledged that, in the early church, miracles were ‘ein sehr wichtiges Mittel der Mission und Propaganda.’ See also Kelhoffer 2001a; revised version in Kelhoffer 2014, 203–220.

be plausible to ask whether the added twelve verses could have impacted how believers envisioned their own discipleship and place within redemptive history.

4. Conclusion: Elongation as Completion, Interpretation, and Revision

The Longer Ending provides answers for several hanging questions that Mark 16:1–8 leaves with readers. Thanks to the added twelve verses, it is no longer necessary to puzzle over (1) how others besides the three women who visited the empty tomb learned of the resurrection, (2) why there is no report that Jesus had appeared to the disciples, (3) whether the disciples' faith had been restored, (4) how the vanished disciples were transformed into ones ready to suffer as Jesus's followers, and, perhaps most significantly, (5) when, and under what circumstances, to expect eschatological fulfilment.

We have also observed that the Longer Ending is akin to, and may emulate, Luke's replacement of Mark's apocalyptic eschatology (and view of a limited timeframe for the apostles' mission) with an open-ended mission expanding into the future and accompanied by miracles.⁴⁷ If we interpret Mark 16:9–20 through a Lukan lens, the conclusion is suggestive, perhaps compelling, that the Longer Ending's miraculous 'signs' confirming the proclamation (Mark 16:17a, 20) effectively eclipse the 'signs' in the eschatological discourse (13:4, 22), a discourse which forewarns of the pending tribulation, the conclusion of a short-term mission to 'all the nations', and the Son of Man's imminent return.

The authors of Matthew and Luke naturally have pride of place as the earliest of the known interpreters of Mark.⁴⁸ With an aim decidedly different from that of those authors, the person who penned the Longer Ending represents a subsequent phase in the reception of Mark: whereas Matthew and Luke, each in their own way, produced augmented accounts that were to *supersede* Mark, the Longer Ending represents an attempt to *preserve and propagate* Mark. Given those divergent purposes, the irony may be savoured that the intended replacements of Mark (i.e., Matthew and Luke) provided fodder for the Longer Ending's expansion of Mark. Nevertheless, a noteworthy similarity is that all three post-Markan authors modified the storyline not only by revising it but also by incorporating additional sources. For Matthew and Luke, it is commonly acknowledged that those sources included

47 See above, e.g., on Acts 2:43; 4:2, 16, 22; 5:12–16; 14:3, 8–11; 16:16–18; and 19:11–12.

48 Chronologically, the next candidate among Mark's earliest interpreters would likely be the Gospel of John—unless, as some hold, Luke was written after John. Our investigation's findings do not hinge upon a particular stance in regard to the date of the Fourth Gospel relative to Luke.

the Q-source(s) and, respectively, special Matthean and Lukan materials. In the case of the Longer Ending, the sources were not only Mark but also the endings of Matthew, Luke, and John. Along with the authors of Matthew and Luke, then, the composer of the Longer Ending merits recognition as being among Mark's earliest interpreters and revisers.

An analogy to the changes made to the Gospel of Mark in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, as well as in the Longer Ending, may be seen in the evolution of the *Corpus Paulinum*: after (or while) the authentic letters of Paul were collected, pseudepigrapha attributed to Paul were integrated into the letter collection(s). Initially, a pseudonymous letter (e.g., Colossians and, afterwards, Ephesians as an adaptation of Colossians) would have supplemented and revised the storyline implied in Paul's letters. A collection comprised not only of 'authentic' letters but also of the diverse deutero-Pauline compositions would thus have made for novel, and partially discordant, meta-Pauline storylines. In a similar way, the assembling of a four-Gospel collection likely precipitated an unforeseen result: when read alongside each other, the Gospels would lose their specificity as a result of their individual storylines being conflated into a composite narrative.

Just as, many centuries later, Winston Churchill did not claim to have arrived at the end of an epoch,⁴⁹ Mark 16:1–8 did not ultimately provide 'the end' of this Gospel's story. The startling characterization of the fearful, silent women would prove to be 'the end of the beginning' of a discourse that continued into the second century and beyond, including in the musings of Eusebius of Caesarea, Jerome, and others about whether 16:8 or 16:9–20 was the evangelist's final word.⁵⁰

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49 See footnote 1, on Churchill 1942.

50 See Kelhoffer 2001b; revised version in Kelhoffer 2014b, on the debate about whether 'the more accurate of the copies' (τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων) of Mark *did* or *did not* include 16:9–20. That debate, mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome, remained in play at the time of Theophylact of Ochrid (d. c.1109 CE) and is also acknowledged in marginal notes in several Byzantine manuscripts at the end of Mark.

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The Ending of Mark in Tatian's *Diatessaron**

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Tatian's *Diatessaron*, a harmonized gospel composed *c.* 170 CE, is often cited as one of the earliest explicit references to the Longer Ending (LE) of Mark (16:9–20). Yet no comprehensive study of the LE's presence in the *Diatessaron* has been carried out, and there is much confusion over its use as evidence. The current study compares the resurrection narrative in the eleventh-century Arabic harmony with that of the sixth-century Latin Codex Fuldensis, the two earliest and most reliable representatives for reconstructing the *Diatessaron*'s sequence. If they incorporate the LE in exactly the same way, we may safely conclude that Tatian's copy of Mark contained the LE. Using neighboring harmonies as controls, I arrive at two parallel conclusions: (1) Tatian almost certainly incorporated significant portions of Mark 16:9–20 into his *Diatessaron*; (2) it is not entirely clear which portions of Mark 16:1–8 were present in the *Diatessaron*. Ultimately, the study demonstrates that Tatian's *Diatessaron* is likely the earliest uncontested external evidence for the LE.

Statement of the Problem

Tatian's *Diatessaron*, a harmonized gospel composed *c.* 170 CE,¹ is often cited as one of the earliest explicit references to the Longer Ending (LE) of Mark (16:9–20).² The *Diatessaron* likely predates Irenaeus's explicit reference to the LE in *Haer.* 3.10.5, which is usually dated to the 180s; and not all find

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- 1 The precise date of the *Diatessaron*'s composition is a matter of speculation and in need of refinement. Petersen 1994, 426–427 offers an initial range of 165–180 CE, which is reasonable given the evidence. Based on assumptions concerning Tatian's use of Justin's prior work, Tatian's move east, and conflicting accounts from Eusebius and Epiphanius among others, Petersen (p. 71) further narrows the range to 172 to 175, which is unjustifiably precise. For my purposes, it is enough to conclude that Tatian's *Diatessaron* probably comes after Justin's *First Apology* but before Irenaeus's *Against Heresies*.
 - 2 I provide additional evidence in the following section, but see, for illustration, Metzger 1994, 103: 'The earliest patristic witnesses to part or all of the Long Ending are Irenaeus and the *Diatessaron*'. The *Diatessaron* is cited as early evidence both by those who do not consider the LE original to Mark, e.g. Parker 1997, 133; and also by those who consider the LE original to Mark, e.g. Lunn 2014, 80–82.

Justin's possible allusion in *1 Apol.* 45, from *c.*155 CE, convincing.³ Thus, in terms of uncontested external attestation of the LE, the *Diatessaron* may be the earliest evidence available. The difficulty, of course, is that the *Diatessaron* is not exactly available, as such. That is, whatever Tatian composed in the second century, whether in Greek or Syriac, no longer survives. Instead, we use extant translations and citations to reconstruct Tatian's second-century text. The primary witnesses for reconstructing the *Diatessaron* are an Arabic version dating from the eleventh century,⁴ a Latin version dating from the sixth century (Codex Fuldensis),⁵ and Ephrem's *Commentary* dating from the fourth century.⁶ There is ongoing debate whether additional versions, especially some medieval harmonies in Middle Dutch and Middle High German, also have value for reconstructing the initial text.⁷ By comparing the readings of these various Diatessaronic witnesses, along with neighboring texts like the Old Syriac Gospels, the Old Latin, Codex Bezae, and others, scholars attempt to piece together Tatian's second-century composition and the sources behind it.

Suffice it to say that Diatessaronic studies is a complicated discipline, which has led astray more than one scholar consulting the *Diatessaron* for the LE.⁸ To my knowledge, there is no sustained study investigating the presence of the LE in Tatian's *Diatessaron*.⁹ Such is the aim of the current study. My

- 3 For the date of Irenaeus, see Grant 1997, 5. For three varying assessments on Justin, all from scholars who nonetheless reject the authenticity of the LE, consider that Parker 1997, 132, thinks it 'more likely than not' that Justin knew the LE, whereas Metzger 1994, 103–104, notes that it is 'not certain' whether Justin was acquainted with the passage, while Kelhoffer 2000, 170–175, argues strongly that Justin 'knew and made use of the LE'. For my part, I do not find Justin's use of three words from Mark 16:20 (in a different order) enough to demonstrate definite knowledge of the LE. My primary point, however, is simply that Justin's allusion is debated among scholars and therefore not the earliest uncontested evidence for the LE.
- 4 For an introduction, see Joosse 1999. For an edition, although it is faulty, see Marmardji 1935.
- 5 Ms Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Codex Bonifatianus 1, see <https://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/image/PPN325289808/1/LOG_0000/>. For an introduction, see Zola 2014. I am currently preparing a new edition to replace the outdated Ranke 1868.
- 6 For an introduction, see McCarthy 1993, in which see p. vi for a list of the Syriac and Armenian editions.
- 7 Petersen's (1994) quintessential study covers the controversy over the medieval harmonies throughout. For the updated discussion, see Schmid 2013. The debate is renewed in Barker 2021, which I discuss below.
- 8 The following section provides the evidence for this statement.
- 9 A handful of studies set the stage for the current investigation. Based on the similar sequences of the Arabic and Latin, Zahn 1888–1892, II; 553–554 remarked that Tatian 'Stücke des unechten Marcusschlusses verwerthet'. Zahn notes the placement

object is not to comment on whether the LE is original to Mark (I have yet to read a convincing argument that it is), but to provide definitive evidence for whether Tatian incorporated the LE into his *Diatessaron*, which would strongly imply that Tatian's mid-second-century copy of Mark also contained the LE. I have expressly organized my study to avoid the esoteric nature of data-heavy Diatessaronic studies. I begin with a traditional description of the problem and an explanation of my methodology, but I save the extensive data of my research for the appendix. In the main text, I offer instead a summary and discussion of my results and my conclusions. Those who wish to interrogate my arguments may consult my expanded analysis in the appendix. My intent is to reduce the entry barrier for non-specialists and make the important results of this study—that Tatian indeed incorporated the LE into the *Diatessaron*—available to all.

Evidence for the Problem

As the following examples demonstrate, commentators have been unsure whether and how to list the *Diatessaron* as evidence for the LE, necessitating the current study. Some, for instance, rely on faulty or incomplete evidence. Lane, after reporting the general consensus that 'the earliest definite witness' is Irenaeus, with a possible echo in Justin, goes on to note that 'Justin's disciple Tatian included the Longer Ending in his *Diatessaron*, to judge from the Arabic version of this work'.¹⁰ The difficulty here is that Tatian's text and sequence cannot be determined simply by examining the Arabic version alone, since this translation may have been influenced by the Syriac Peshitta. Culpepper repeats Lane's claim with the same reasoning thirty years later.¹¹ Focant likewise states that the *Diatessaron* 'seems to know the whole of the Long Ending' and correctly dates it to *c.*170 CE, referencing Hug's study.¹² Hug, however, bases his claim on three contradictory witnesses: the Arabic,

of some LE verses and even the Arabic and Latin divergence over Mark 16:9 (which I tackle below), but stops there. Likewise, Baarda 1995 has a short study on Mark 16:11 in the *Diatessaron*, but does not extend his discussion beyond that verse. Otherwise, Snapp, Jr. 2012, which appears in an online peer-reviewed journal dedicated to early medieval Northwestern Europe, parallels some of the work I engage in here. Snapp's study is short (only nine paragraphs, plus a table), pursues only sequence and not wording, and is limited to Mark 16:9–20 (whereas I treat all of Mark 16, which yields more complex results). Finally, there is also the eTalk of Mina Monier, 'Mark 16 in the Arabic Diatessaron', SNSF 'MARK16' VRE, ISSN 2673-9836, <<https://mark16-etalk.sib.swiss/talks/3>>. Thus, while there are some precursors, the current study is considerably more extensive than any prior investigation.

10 Lane 1974, 604–605.

11 Culpepper 2007, 592.

12 Focant 2012, 672; Hug 1978, 201.

the Middle Italian, and the Middle Dutch, none of which contain the same harmonized sequence for the LE, so their testimony is invalidated. Hooker states that the LE was ‘apparently known to Tatian’ but then dates his work to about 140 CE (before Justin!), which is far too early.¹³

Some commentators are less cautious in their listings. France states outright that the LE ‘was known at least as early as Tatian and Irenaeus’ and Stein likewise lists the *Diatessaron* before Irenaeus (but after the *Epistula Apostolorum*) in a list of assured early witnesses to the LE (with Justin added as a possibility).¹⁴ Still other commentators ignore Tatian completely. Mann inaccurately states that ‘in all the literature before the middle of the fourth century there are only two possible allusions to this anonymous ending’, going on to list Justin and Irenaeus and leaving Tatian out entirely.¹⁵ Marcus (whose commentary replaces Mann’s) also jumps straight from Irenaeus to Justin in his discussion of early evidence, as does Cranfield, who calls Irenaeus the ‘earliest definite witness’.¹⁶ It is worth pausing to reflect on the fact that these two premiere commentaries on Mark, separated by fifty years, do not stop to mention the *Diatessaron* at all in their treatment of the LE, likely because the available evidence offered no conclusive determination, either in the 1950s or in the early 2000s.¹⁷

The *Diatessaron* does not fare much better in specialized studies on the LE. In 1969, Aland was only prepared to say that the *Diatessaron* ‘seems to have known’ the LE; but by 1988 he was ready to claim that Tatian ‘obviously knew’ the LE.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the evidence Aland cites (in his later statement) is a notoriously flawed compilation of Syriac gospel citations by Ortiz de Urbina that claims to be reconstructing the *Diatessaron*, but which is in fact fatally undiscerning in its selections and therefore ultimately unreliable.¹⁹ Hug, as I have already noted, is willing to say that ‘it is very probable’ that the

13 Hooker 1992, 389.

14 France 2002, 686; Stein 2008, 728.

15 Mann 1986, 674.

16 Marcus 2009, 1088; Cranfield 1959, 472.

17 Several other major commentaries are likewise silent on the LE’s presence in the *Diatessaron*: Gnifka 1978; Donahue and Harrington 2002; Boring 2006; Collins 2007; Evans 2001, and others. Some, to be fair, do not list much if any early evidence for the LE, so the *Diatessaron*’s absence is not noteworthy in these.

18 Compare these almost identical sentences within Aland’s two studies, separated by nearly twenty years: Aland 1969, 171: ‘Das Diatessaron Tatians, das den langen Markusschluß gekannt zu haben scheint, gehört derselben Generation an wie Irenäus’; and Aland 1988, 449: ‘Das Diatessaron Tatians, der den längeren Markusschluß offensichtlich gekannt hat, gehört derselben Generation an wie Irenäus’. In both cases, Aland considers Tatian a contemporary with Irenaeus.

19 Ortiz de Urbina 1967; on the flaws of this work, see Petersen 1994, 338–340.

Diatessaron recounted the LE but relies on contradictory evidence.²⁰ Kelhoffer is more confident that 'the LE as a whole is also presupposed in Tatian's *Diatessaron*' and cites Zahn, Baarda, and McCarthy (all reliable references; see notes above), but dates the *Diatessaron* to c.172 CE, which is too precise.²¹ Parker, on the other hand, hesitantly states that 'Tatian is reported to have used the passage in the *Diatessaron*' but then goes on to cite three examples of the LE from the Persian harmony, a harmony that is only distantly related (if at all) to Tatian's.²² Lunn, by contrast, does well to cite the Arabic harmony alongside a citation in Ephrem, but these alone are not enough to demonstrate Tatian's employment of the LE.²³ Lunn is aware of a Latin version, but apparently not of its importance for establishing Tatian's sequence.

The end result is a bungling of the *Diatessaron*'s role in the early attestation of the LE. Some cite it with conviction, others with caution, others not at all; some rely on bad data or dates while some have no data at all. A robust study is needed to fill the void. As a final example, I will note Farmer's unfortunate handling (or lack thereof) of the evidence in his dedicated study on the LE, in which he repeatedly asserts Tatian's use of the LE but never once provides evidence for the assertion.²⁴ Birdsall, in his review, explicitly critiques this lack of Diatessaronic evidence: 'Tatian is mentioned ten times in the book, on every occasion with the remark that he bears witness to the presence of the verses in the *Diatessaron*, and hence their early existence. It is not with this that we find fault, but with Farmer's failure to give his readers any indication at all where to find the proof of this'.²⁵ The current study, at long last, supplies that proof.

20 Hug 1978, 201: 'Il est très probable que le *Diatessaron* de Tatien (vers 170) ait rapporté fMc. En tous cas, trois versions du *Diatessaron* connaissent fMc : le *Diatessaron* arabe, italien (toscan et vénitien) et néerlandais'.

21 Kelhoffer 2000, 170.

22 Parker 1997, 133; information on the Persian harmony's independence from Tatian's sequence was certainly available to Parker through Petersen 1994, 259–263. Furthermore, Parker erroneously states that the Persian harmony only contains three verses from the LE, when in fact it employs several more (see Table 2 below).

23 Lunn 2014, 80–82. Unfortunately, Ephrem's *Commentary* only cites one verse from the LE (Mark 16:15; see the appendix), which serves to corroborate the LE's presence in the Syriac *Diatessaron* but not to establish its sequence. Given the complexity of the *Commentary*'s transmission process and the resulting possibility of interpolations (with differing Syriac and Armenian versions; see Lange 2005), relying on Ephrem's single reference is instructive but not definitive.

24 Farmer 1974, 12, 26, 29, 31, 34, 40, 49, 61–62.

25 Birdsall 1975, 158. Birdsall, probably relying on the index, counts ten unsubstantiated references to Tatian, but two of these are not quite fair (one appears in the preface on the lips of another scholar, and the other is part of the same paragraph as

Statement of My Approach

There are two primary ways of studying the *Diatessaron*: its wording and its sequence. Most Diatessaronic research over the last century has focused especially on its wording.²⁶ Reconstructing the wording of the *Diatessaron* is problematic because the major witnesses have been ‘vulgarized’ to read like the standard form of the Gospels in the languages from which they derive (Syriac Peshitta, Latin Vulgate, etc.). Yet even Petersen, who dedicated his major research pursuits to uncovering the text of the *Diatessaron*, recognized that the ‘sequence of harmonization’ could be ‘used to demonstrate relationships among witnesses’.²⁷ And Metzger reports what has been a general consensus among Diatessaronic scholars for some time: ‘the chief evidence’ that the Arabic Diatessaron and Codex Fuldensis provide is ‘structural’. The frequent sequential agreements of these two witnesses, so separated by age and distance, ‘may be presumed to reflect accurately the framework of the original Diatessaron’.²⁸

The object of the current study is not to establish Tatian’s wording of the LE (although this would be valuable if attainable), but primarily to establish whether Tatian incorporated the LE into his harmonized gospel or not. My method for answering this question is straightforward: I compare the resurrection sequences of the Arabic Diatessaron and Codex Fuldensis to see if they agree on the inclusion and sequence of verses from Mark 16:9–20. If there is general agreement, then it is likely safe to conclude that Tatian included the LE in the *Diatessaron*. If, on the other hand, the two harmonies do not agree on their inclusion or sequence of verses from Mark 16:9–20, then we can likely conclude that any presence of the LE in these two Diatessaronic witnesses is not attributable to Tatian, but may be the work of some independent harmonizer-scribes who came along later and added the LE back in.²⁹

At this point it is prudent to discuss the ground-breaking study of James Barker, who has compiled a new stemma of Diatessaronic witnesses using primarily sequence comparison on a more detailed level than any study thus far.³⁰ Barker’s work will help provide both a background and a control for my hypothesis. Drawing on the text-critical principle that the more difficult

the final reference and should really count as the same one). I am content to list only eight unsubstantiated appeals to Tatian, to which Birdsall’s critique still applies: ‘No single study of Tatian, nor harmony alleged to derive from his work, is named’.

26 For a historic review of this (ill-fated) approach and its results, see Zola 2019.

27 Petersen 1994, 128 n. 173.

28 Metzger 1977, 27.

29 Such is the case, for instance, for the *pericope adulterae*, which is absent from the Arabic but present in Fuldensis 120–121; cf. Barker 2021, 70–73.

30 Barker 2021.

text is more likely original, Barker developed the criterion of *ordo difficilior*, the more difficult order is more likely original. The harmonized sequence in the Arabic Diatessaron, which usually matches Ephrem's sequence, is not always identical to the sequence in Fuldensis. Barker observed that where they diverge, Fuldensis often demonstrates an identifiable tendency to return verses to their canonical sequence or otherwise simplify their harmonization.³¹ That is, the sequence found in the Arabic harmony (and Ephrem) is more likely original to Tatian than the sequence found in Fuldensis, which appears to have been slightly revised. Barker posits, and I agree, that these sequence adjustments occurred prior to the copying of Codex Fuldensis. He labels the originator of these sequential redactions the 'Western Recensionist', a term I will adopt for this study. Sometime between the second and sixth centuries, someone in the west revised the sequence of the *Diatessaron* in slight but tangible ways, both on the micro-level of individual verses and on the macro-level of whole passages. These changes are not only identifiable in Fuldensis, but later medieval scribe-harmonists continued to make revisions to the sequence as they translated the *Diatessaron* into vernaculars such as Middle Dutch, Middle High German, and Middle Italian. The result is a complicated genealogy of harmonies whose relationships can be traced on the basis of different choices in harmonized sequence.³²

Those differences in harmonized sequence provide a control that I can utilize to test my hypothesis. If the Arabic and Fuldensis harmonies—although separated across time, space, and language—agree on essentially the same sequence for incorporating the LE, but the other medieval harmonies often asso-

31 For example, the Arabic harmony narrates Judas's suicide (Matt 27:3–10) after Jesus's trial before Pilate (Diat.Arab 51:7–14), but Fuldensis returns the scene back to its original Matthean position just after Matt 27:2 in the harmony, where Jesus is led to Pilate but before the trial takes place (Diat.Fuld 167).

32 For details, see chs 4–5 in Barker 2021, 59–87. After this point, I depart with Barker, who argues that the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies (a set of Middle Dutch and Middle High German harmonies) descend from a separate Old Latin stream independent of Fuldensis and thereby offer primitive access to Tatian's text that Fuldensis cannot supply. Barker's arguments here are faulty and not compelling. Some he bases on the erroneous premise that bishop Victor, who commissioned Fuldensis, also ordered the text to be updated to Jerome's Vulgate, which Victor never states in his preface. In other cases, Barker notes examples where the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies relocate a Fuldensis passage to a similar, but not identical, location as the Arabic, which undermines rather than supports his thesis. For additional details on the inadequacies of Barker's Old Latin theory, see my fuller review in Zola 2023, and also Schmid 2022. As I demonstrate below, in the case of the resurrection narrative, the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies show clear signs of secondary resequencing, which Barker also notes.

ciated with the *Diatessaron* (like the Persian or the Middle Dutch harmonies) show noticeable divergences in how they incorporate the LE, it bolsters the results all the more. The alignment between the Arabic and Fuldensis against the later traditions will reinforce the conclusion that their common sequence harkens back to Tatian himself, whereas the varied sequences of the later harmonies illustrate how an independent or semi-independent harmonizer/reviser can make different choices with the same texts. Thus, these neighboring harmonies will serve as my control group.

In the following section I offer a summary and discussion of my data and results, which reveal remarkable alignment between the Arabic and Fuldensis for incorporating the LE, especially when compared with other harmonies. I invite the reader to consult the appendix for my fuller analysis.

Summary and Discussion of My Data and Results

I examined the entire resurrection narrative verse by verse in both the Arabic and Fuldensis harmonies, identifying the gospel source of every line and noting every instance where they diverge. For the purposes of this study, I chose not to limit myself only to Mark 16:9–20 but investigated the presence of all of Mark 16:1–20 in both harmonies, which proved important methodologically. While my resulting comprehensive chart would be unwieldy to reproduce, I have compiled all the Mark 16 references into two summary tables, one for Mark 16:9–20 (Table 1) and the other for Mark 16:1–8 (Table 4), based on the extensive data I provide in the appendix.

The two tables document the presence of each verse of Mark 16 in either the Arabic *Diatessaron* (Diat.Arab), Codex Fuldensis (Diat.Fuld), or both. I provide the location of each verse in both harmonies along with the verses that immediately precede and follow.³³ In this way, it is apparent which verses are present in the two harmonies and whether they incorporate the verse in the same sequence. I note whether Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld agree on the sequence, and I provide my assessment of whether the verse was probably present in the original *Diatessaron* (with three options: Yes; Probably = Prob.; or Inconclusive = ?). The tables are organized based on the order in which the verses of Mark appear in the harmonies, which is close to but not exactly the canonical order.

As noted, my extended textual commentary on each verse may be found in the appendix. Here I will condense the results of my study into two summative statements whose meanings and implications I will unpack next:

33 I use the standard verse system for the Arabic harmony; for Fuldensis, since Ranke provides no verse numbering, I use the versification I developed for my own edition (see Zola 2014, 32–33).

- (1) Tatian almost certainly incorporated significant portions of Mark 16:9–20 into his *Diatessaron*.
 (2) It is not entirely clear which portions of Mark 16:1–8 were present in the *Diatessaron*.

Table 1. The Presence of Mark 16:9–20 in the Arabic *Diatessaron* (A) and Codex Fuldensis (F).

<i>A/F</i>		<i>Original Agree? to Diat.?</i>		<i>Location and Sequence in Arabic Diatessaron and Codex Fuldensis</i>			
		Mk 16:9					
No	?	<u>A 53.25:</u>	Jn 20:2-17 + <u>Mk 16:9a</u>	+ Mt 28:11bc			
		<u>F 174.27:</u>	Jn 20:11a + <u>Mk 16:9b</u>	+ Jn 20:11b			
		Mk 16:10ab					
Yes* ¹	Yes	<u>A 53.35:</u>	Lk 24:9b + <u>Mk 16:10ab</u>	+ Lk 24:10	+ Mk 16:11		
		<u>F 176.3:</u>	Lk 24:9b + <u>Mk 16:10b</u>	+ Lk 24:9b + <u>Mk 16:10a</u>	+ Mk 16:11		
		Mk 16:11					
Yes	Yes	<u>A 53.37:</u>	Mk 16:10ab + Lk 24:10	+ <u>Mk 16:11</u>	+ Lk 24:11		
		<u>F 176.4:</u>	Mk 16:10a	+ <u>Mk 16:11</u>	+ Lk 24:11		
		Mk 16:12a					
Yes	Yes	<u>A 53.39:</u>	Lk 24:11 + <u>Mk 16:12a</u>	+ Lk 24:13b-35			
		<u>F 177.1:</u>	Lk 24:11 + <u>Mk 16:12a</u>	+ Lk 24:13b-35			
		Mk 16:13b					
Yes	Yes	<u>A 53.61:</u>	Lk 24:35 + <u>Mk 16:13b</u>	+ Lk 24:36a			
		<u>F 178.2:</u>	Lk 24:35 + <u>Mk 16:13b</u>	+ Lk 24:36a			
		Mk 16:14bc					
Yes	Yes	<u>A 55.3:</u>	Mt 28:17 + <u>Mk 16:14</u>	+ Mt 28:18ab			
		<u>F 182.3:</u>	Mt 28:17 + <u>Mk 16:14bc</u>	+ Mt 28:18ab			
		Mk 16:15b					
Yes* ²	Yes	<u>A 55.5:</u>	Mt 28:18ab (+ Jn 20:21b)	+ <u>Mk 16:15b</u>	+ Mt 28:19ab		
		<u>F 182.5:</u>	Mt 28:18ab	+ <u>Mk 16:15b</u>	+ Mt 28:19ab		
		Mk 16:16–18					
Yes	Yes	<u>A 55.8–10:</u>	Mt 28:20 + <u>Mk 16:16–18</u>	+ Lk 24:49bc			
		<u>F 182.8–10:</u>	Mt 28:20 + <u>Mk 16:16–18</u>	+ Lk 24:49bc			
		Mk 16:19a					
No	?	<u>A 55.12:</u>	Lk 24:49bc + <u>Mk 16:19a</u>	+ Lk 24:50			
		<u>F 182.11–12:</u>	<i>omit</i>				
		Mk 16:19b					
Yes	Yes	<u>A 55.13:</u>	Lk 24:51 + <u>Mk 16:19b</u>	+ Lk 24:52			
		<u>F 182.13:</u>	Lk 24:51 + <u>Mk 16:19b</u>	+ Lk 24:52			
		Mk 16:20					
Yes* ³	Yes	<u>A 55.16:</u>	Lk 24:53 + <u>Mk 16:20</u>	+ Jn 21:25			
		<u>F 182.16:</u>	Lk 24:53 + <u>Mk 16:20</u>	<i>(end)</i>			

*1 Disregarding the partition of Mk 16:10ab in Diat.Fuld and the inclusion of Lk 24:10 in Diat.Arab, the sequences and content correspond; see the appendix for details.

*2 Disregarding the addition of Jn 20.21b in Diat.Arab, the sequences correspond; see the appendix for details.

*3 Disregarding the inclusion of Jn 21.25 as the final verse in Diat.Arab, the sequences correspond; see the appendix for details.

(1). Tatian almost certainly incorporated significant portions of Mark 16:9–20 into his *Diatessaron*.

I conclude that Tatian almost certainly incorporated major portions of the LE into the *Diatessaron*, based on the strong agreement in sequence between the Arabic harmony and Codex Fuldensis on where to include nearly every verse from Mark 16:9–20. As Table 1 shows, all twelve verses (or some portion thereof) of the LE appear in both the Arabic and Fuldensis; for only one of those verses (16:9) do the harmonies disagree in a significant way on where to include it.³⁴ While bearing in mind that the verse numbers were added later and are somewhat arbitrary, they serve at least as a relatively uniform way of dividing the text into smaller, representative segments. By that count, (some part of) eleven out of twelve possible segments (over 90%) of the LE are definitely represented in the final chapters of the *Diatessaron*. These verses do not appear clumped together in a single section; rather they are distributed throughout the resurrection narrative and embedded into the storyline by both harmonies in essentially the same ways. Despite the manuscripts being centuries apart, geographically separate, and linguistically distant, the Arabic and the Latin *Diatessarons* agree in a remarkable manner—often down to the partial-verse—on how to sequence the end of the Jesus story and incorporate the LE.

The significance of the sequential agreements between the Arabic harmony and Codex Fuldensis is heightened when their sequence is compared to other harmonies in the *Diatessaronic* orbit. The Persian harmony, for example, which has long been known to demonstrate a different sequence than *Diat.Arab/Diat.Fuld* (and yet allegedly shares certain *Diatessaronic* readings),³⁵ exhibits almost no overlap in sequential choices with the Arabic and Fuldensis harmonies for placement of the LE. As Table 2 demonstrates, the Persian harmony omits three verses from the LE entirely, only places five verses (being generous) in a similar sequence as *Diat.Arab/Diat.Fuld*, and exhibits noticeably different wording even when the sequences are relatively aligned. The Persian harmony therefore illustrates the very different yet no less legitimate choices that an independent harmonist can make when incorporating the LE into a harmony of the Gospels. Against this control, the overt agreement between *Diat.Arab* and *Diat.Fuld* is all the more conclusive: they must derive from the same parent text.

34 There is disagreement over the inclusion of part of a second verse, Mark 16:19a; but since the two harmonies agree on Mark 16:19b, this divergence has less impact on the overall argument.

35 On which, see Petersen 1994, 259–263. For Table 2, I employ the section divisions contained in Messina 1951, since this is the currently available edition; for alternative numbering in other manuscripts, please consult Ali Balaeilangroudi’s informative study on Mark 16 in the Persian harmony in the current collection.

Table 2. The Presence of Mark 16:9–20 in the Persian Harmony.

<i>Same Sequence as A/F?</i>	<i>Location and Sequence in Persian Harmony</i>
No	Mk 16:9: <i>omit</i>
Similar	Mk 16:10 <u>Diat.Pers IV.53:</u> Mt 28:10 + <u>Mk 16:10</u> + Mk 16:11
No	Mk 16:11 <u>Diat.Pers IV.53:</u> Mk 16:10 + <u>Mk 16:11</u> + Lk 24:9b
No	Mk 16:12: <i>omit</i>
No	Mk 16:13: <i>omit</i>
No	Mk 16:14b <u>Diat.Pers IV.54:</u> Lk 24:41a + <u>Mk 16:14b</u> + Lk 24:41b
Similar	Mk 16:15b-16a <u>Diat.Pers IV.57:</u> Mt 28:18 (+ Jn 20:21b) + <u>Mk 16:15b-16a</u> + Mt 28:19b
No	Mk 16:16b <u>Diat.Pers IV.57:</u> Mt 28:19b + <u>Mk 16:16b</u> + Mt 28:20
Similar	Mk 16:16c-18 <u>Diat.Pers IV.57:</u> Mt 28:20 + <u>Mk 16:16c-18</u> + Lk 24:50
Similar	Mk 16:19 <u>Diat.Pers IV.58:</u> Lk 24:51 + <u>Mk 16:19</u> + Lk 24:52
Yes (<i>with Fuldensis</i>)	Mk 16:20 <u>Diat.Pers IV.58:</u> Lk 24:53 + <u>Mk 16:20</u> (<i>end</i>)

The tight relationship between Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld is driven home all the more when their sequences are compared to those of the Middle Dutch and Middle High German harmonies. There remains ongoing disagreement among Diatessaronic scholars over the value of the Middle Dutch and Middle High German branch of witnesses for reconstructing Tatian's original.³⁶ However, it is evident at least in the case of the resurrection narrative and its incorporation of the LE that these medieval harmonies represent a secondary, further redacted sequence, not the original source. Just as the Western Recensionist—who stood at the head of the Latin harmony tradition (pre-Fuldensis)—demonstrated a tendency to relocate verses back to their canonical order, so the translator-scribe who stands at the head of the Middle Dutch and Middle High German harmony tradition (which came from Latin) exhibits the same tendency, only heightened.

36 I outline the debate in Zola 2014, 1–26. Barker has recently re-ignited the issue in Barker 2021, 88–108. As I noted above, Barker's arguments for the priority of the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies are not compelling, all the less so because of the altered sequence evidence I uncover here. Barker reviews some of this resequencing on pp. 86–87, but does not discuss how the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies significantly rearrange verses from the ending of Mark.

Table 3. The Empty Tomb Narrative in Fuldensis and Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich.

<i>Codex Fuldensis</i> (F 174–176)	<i>Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich Harmonies</i> (S–Z 227–231 / L 234–238)
1. Women leave empty tomb (Mt 28:7–8)	1. Women leave empty tomb (Mt 28:7–8)
2. Mary tells Peter/BD (Jn 20:2–11) [NB: Jn 20:12 is omitted]	6. <i>Women meet risen Jesus</i> (Mt 28:9–10) 7. <i>Women report to others</i> (Lk 24:9 et al.)
3. Mary meets risen Jesus (Jn 20:13–17)	2. Mary tells Peter/BD (Jn 20:2–11)
4. Guards report empty tomb (Mt 28:11–15)	+ <i>Mary meets two angels</i> (Jn 20:12)
5. Mary goes to report (Jn 20:18)	3. Mary meets risen Jesus (Jn 20:13–17)
6. Women meet risen Jesus (Mt 28:9–10)	5. <i>Mary goes to report</i> (Jn 20:18)
7. Women report to others (Lk 24:9 et al.)	4. Guards report empty tomb (Mt 28:11–15)

For instance, as illustrated in Table 3, the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies repeatedly return to canonical order passages that Fuldensis (and the Arabic) keep separate. In Fuldensis, after the women receive the angelic command to report the empty tomb [#1: Matt 28:7–8], the scene shifts to Mary telling Peter and the Beloved Disciple (BD) [#2: John 20:2–11]. In the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies, however, the women instead meet the risen Jesus immediately, reconnecting [#1: Matt 28:7–8] with [#6: Matt 28:9–10]. Likewise, in Fuldensis after Mary encounters Jesus at the tomb [#3: John 20:13–17], the scene shifts to the guards reporting the empty tomb [#4: Matt 28:11–15]. But the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies first have Mary leave to report to the others—and also include Mary’s encounter with the two angels (John 2:12), which Fuldensis omits—reuniting [#2: John 20:2–11] + [John 20:12] + [#3: John 20:13–17] + [#5: John 20:18]. The result is odd: in the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies, even though Mary has already met the risen Jesus (Matt 28:7–10) and reported it to the others (Luke 24:9 et al.), she returns to the empty tomb looking for his body and is surprised to meet Jesus there (again?), after which she leaves to report it to the others (again?) (John 2:2–18). The Middle Dutch and Middle High German harmonies have traded narratival congruity for canonical contiguity. Additional instances like these in the resurrection narrative make clear that these medieval harmonies, while undeniably descended from Tatian, represent a highly revised form of the *Diatessaron* and cannot give us access to Tatian’s original sequence.³⁷

37 One might argue that the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies’ inclusion of John 20:12, in agreement with the Arabic (53:19) but against Fuldensis, suggests a more direct link to the eastern Diatessaronic branch; however, this omission in Fuldensis (174:28) forces a significant adjustment in the narrative (Mary speaks directly to Jesus instead of to the angels). The Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies return the text to its canonical form, which is a demonstrated motivation of this branch and

These observations hold especially true for the ending of Mark in the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies. First, they share multiple omissions and insertions with Fuldensis against the Arabic: like Fuldensis, they omit the appearance of the young man at the tomb (Mark 16:5), which the Arabic includes; like Fuldensis, they omit the women saying nothing to anyone (Mark 16:8), which the Arabic includes; like Fuldensis, they include Salome in the list of women at the tomb (Mark 16:1b), whom the Arabic omits; like Fuldensis, they note the sun had risen at the women's arrival to the tomb (Mark 16:2c), which the Arabic omits; like Fuldensis, they interpolate part of Mark 16:9 awkwardly into John 20:11, which the Arabic places elsewhere. All these mutual omissions and insertions that align with Fuldensis against the Arabic confirm that the Middle Dutch and Middle High German harmonies emanate from the same Western Recension as Fuldensis, not an independent branch with direct access to an older version of the *Diatessaron*.³⁸

Second, and most significant for our purposes, the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies betray their derivative nature in their drastically different wording and sequence of several verses of the LE. I will highlight the Stuttgart harmony as the prime representative of the tradition.³⁹ For four of the twelve LE verses, Stuttgart essentially follows either Diat.Fuld, Diat.Arab, or both (Mark 16:9, 10, 19, 20); but for the remaining eight verses, Stuttgart

the more likely explanation for its coincidental agreement with the Arabic against Fuldensis here. Elsewhere in the resurrection narrative, the Arabic includes multiple verses that the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies omit along with Fuldensis, several of which come from Mark 16 (Diat.Arab 52.52–53 = Mark 16:5/Luke 24:3b; Diat.Arab 53.8 = Mark 16:8b; Diat.Arab 53.25 = Mark 16:9a; Diat.Arab 53.36 = Luke 24:10). There is little reason to conclude that the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies have access to a Diatessaronic text that predates Fuldensis when they omit the same verses Fuldensis omits.

- 38 At only one point of Mark's ending (16:7; but also see 16:4a and 16:19a) do the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies appear to agree with the Arabic wording against Fuldensis. These instances are not compelling enough to reverse my conclusion. Please see the appendix for discussions.
- 39 Barker 2021, 17 n. 63 points to the previous work of Theo Coun, who shows that the Stuttgart harmony has an older Middle Dutch text than the Liège harmony, which has traditionally received pride of place to represent the tradition. Since the Stuttgart, Liège, and Zurich harmonies diverge at some points in wording or sequence of the LE, I will not treat them as a unit here. In the discussion that follows, the Liège and Zurich harmonies basically agree with the Stuttgart harmony in all of the cases except for Mark 16:19 and 16:20. Liège and Zurich both omit Mark 16:19b and 16:20 entirely; Stuttgart and Zurich both omit Mark 16:19a, but Liège includes a line with similar wording, slightly agreeing with the Arabic against Fuldensis. As a result of the narrative resequencing, the data here are complicated. I provide additional discussion in the appendix.

does not agree with either Diat.Fuld or Diat.Arab. For Mark 16:11, Stuttgart includes a highly abbreviated portion but in the same location; for Mark 16:12, Stuttgart uses very different wording and a different sequence; Stuttgart omits Mark 16:13 entirely; and Stuttgart regroups Mark 16:14–18 all together and in a different narrative location than Diat.Fuld/Diat.Arab. In sum, where Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld agree, the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies sometimes disagree; where Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld disagree, the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies almost always side with Diat.Fuld; almost never do the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies agree with Diat.Arab against Diat.Fuld. Short of *a priori* commitments, there is little reason to conclude that the Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich harmonies offer a more primitive witness than Fuldensis either for the LE or for the entire resurrection narrative. Not only does this evidence further confirm the secondary status of the Middle Dutch and Middle High German harmonies, but by employing the Middle Dutch and Middle High German harmonies as a control group, we see again how decisive the shared sequence between Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld truly is. The overt consistency between Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld, when compared to alternative options, demonstrates beyond a reasonable doubt that Tatian incorporated significant portions of Mark 16:9–20 into his *Diatessaron*.

(2). It is not entirely clear which verses from Mark 16:1–8 were present in the *Diatessaron*.

While the verses from Mark 16:9–20 enjoyed broad sequential agreement between Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld, the situation is different for Mark 16:1–8. For these eight verses, the two harmonies diverge at significant moments over their inclusion of certain verses (or portions thereof). As Table 4 shows, between Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld, there is explicit agreement in sequence for only two of the eight verses (Mark 16:3 and 16:4). Of the other six, (parts of) two appear only in Diat.Fuld (Mark 16:1, 2) and (parts or all of) four appear only in Diat.Arab (Mark 16:5, 6, 7, 8). We have a dilemma: our methodology establishes that where Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld agree in sequence, there we likely have Tatian's original; where they disagree in sequence, we look for the harder order and can thereby probably spot the original. But what if either sequence could be the *ordo difficilior*? How do we determine the original sequence if it is not obvious which harmony redacted the other? Among the six cases of divergent sequences from Mark 16:1–8, I consider two to be cases where one reading is the generally harder order and therefore more likely to be original (Mark 16:5 and 16:8, which both appear in Diat.Arab). In these two cases, I conclude that the verses were probably, though not assuredly, part of the original *Diatessaron*. In the remaining four cases (Mark 16:1, 2, 6, 7), the data are inconclusive. One can make an argument for either sequence to be

Table 4. The Presence of Mark 16:1–8 in the Arabic *Diatessaron* (A) and Codex Fuldensis (F).

<i>A/F</i>	<i>Original</i>	<i>Location and Sequence in Arabic Diatessaron and Codex Fuldensis</i>		
<i>Agree?</i>	<i>to Diat.?</i>			
		Mk 16:1b		
No	?	<u>A 52.46:</u>	<i>omit</i>	
		<u>F 174.1:</u>	Mt 28:1b + <u>Mk 16:1b</u> + Lk 24:1ab	
		Mk 16:2c		
No	?	<u>A 52.47:</u>	<i>omit</i>	
		<u>F 174.2:</u>	Lk 24:1ab + <u>Mk 16:2c</u> + Mk 16:3	
		Mk 16:3		
Yes* ¹	Yes	<u>A 52.47:</u>	Lk 24:1ab	+ <u>Mk 16:3</u> + Mk 16:4b
		<u>F 174.3:</u>	Lk 24:1ab + Mk 16:2c + <u>Mk 16:3</u>	+ Mk 16:4b
		Mk 16:4b		
Yes	Yes	<u>A 52.47:</u>	Mk 16:3 + <u>Mk 16:4b</u>	+ Mt 28:2ab
		<u>F 174.4:</u>	Mk 16:3 + <u>Mk 16:4b</u>	+ Mt 28:2ab
		Mk 16:4a		
Yes* ²	Prob.	<u>A 52.49:</u>	Mt 28:2ab + <u>Mk 16:4a</u>	+ Lk 24:2a
		<u>F 174.6:</u>	Mt 28:2ab + <u>Mk 16:4a</u>	+ Lk 24:2a
		Mk 16:5		
No	Prob.	<u>A 52.52-53:</u>	Mt 28:4 + <u>Mk 16:5a</u>	+ Lk 24:3b + <u>Mk 16:5b</u> + Mt 28:5
		<u>F 174.8-9:</u>	<i>omit</i>	
		Mk 16:6b		
No	?	<u>A 52.54:</u>	Mt 28:5a + <u>Mk 16:6b</u>	+ Mt 28:5b
		<u>F 174.9:</u>	<i>omit</i>	
		Mk 16:7a+b		
No	?	<u>A 53.5-6:</u>	Mt 28:7a + <u>Mk 16:7a</u>	+ Mt 28:7b + <u>Mk 16:7b</u> + Mt 28:7c
		<u>F 174.15:</u>	<i>omit</i>	
		Mk 16:8b		
No	Prob.	<u>A 53.8:</u>	Mt 28:8a + <u>Mk 16:8b</u>	+ Jn 20:2-17
		<u>F 174.17:</u>	<i>omit</i>	

*1 Disregarding the extension back to Mk 16:2c in Diat.Fuld, the sequences correspond; see the appendix for details.

*2 Disregarding the wording differences attributable to eastern/western source texts, the sequences correspond; see the appendix for details.

original. Two of these are cases in which only Diat.Fuld contains parts of the Markan verse (16:1, 2), and two are cases in which only Diat.Arab contains parts of the Markan verse (16:6, 7).

It is less common to find instances in which Diat.Fuld includes details that Diat.Arab does not. As Barker's Western Recensionist proposal illustrates, the Arabic sequence generally represents the fuller, more original sequence, which a harmonist-scribe in the west revised and reduced into what

we find underlying Diat.Fuld. Occasionally, however, the western recension contains verses that are missing in the eastern sequence.⁴⁰ In the case of the LE, however, the Western Recensionist has not supplied the omissions with a discernable consistency, for while Diat.Fuld adds details like ‘and Salome’ at the empty tomb from Mark 16:1, it simultaneously and inexplicably removes details like the angelic instruction to tell the disciples ‘and Peter’ from Mark 16:7. Why add one but remove the other?

It is worth considering, at least to test the theory, whether it is possible that Diat.Fuld may at times offer a more ancient sequence than Diat.Arab (for instance, with the inclusion of Salome at the empty tomb). Based on the Arabic harmony itself, there is good evidence to suggest that Tatian generally preferred to be thorough in incorporating his source texts, leaving out very few details except where they contradicted his harmonized narrative.⁴¹ In that case, where Diat.Fuld includes details from the LE that Diat.Arab does not, one possibility is that the manuscripts of the Arabic harmony contain transmission errors, while the exemplar originally included these missing details from Mark. Alternatively, Diat.Arab may itself be a revised version of the *Diatessaron*, and we should speak not only of a Western Recensionist but of an Eastern Recensionist as well.⁴² In either case, we would be forced to conclude that Diat.Arab is not a perfectly reliable witness to the original sequence of the *Diatessaron*. There is more investigation to do regarding where Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld diverge at the micro-level. This is the next major step in Diatessaronic studies, following Barker’s important macro-level sequence work.

Having raised the possibility for the *occasional* priority of Diat.Fuld over Diat.Arab, it is important to emphasize that I would imagine these cases to be quite rare. In my reconstruction of the entire resurrection narrative in both Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld, I observed time and again where Diat.Fuld omitted a major piece of content that was present in Diat.Arab. In fact, of the

40 The most immediate example is Diat.Fuld’s inclusion of Luke 1:1–4, which Victor’s preface indicates was also present in Fuldensis’s *Vorlage* (contra Barker 2021, 88–90).

41 As Barker 2021, 73–74 puts it, ‘Tatian was more of a maximalist, whereas the Western Recensionist was more of a minimalist’. By contrast, I will note Crawford’s point (2016, 262) that in the Dura fragment, if it is Tatianic, ‘Tatian did not exhaustively make use of every small element that his source texts provided to him’. Also see the following note.

42 Indeed, Diat.Arab does not perfectly match Ephrem’s *Commentary* in wording or sequence, suggesting there has been at least some revision even in the eastern stream. A classic example is Baarda’s 1986 study, wherein he demonstrates that Ephrem’s copy of the *Diatessaron* contained a ‘flying Jesus’, a reading that has not survived transmission to the Arabic harmony—or any other surviving version of the *Diatessaron*.

137 verses in the Arabic harmony's resurrection narrative (Diat.Arab 52.45–55.17), Diat.Fuld omits six of them outright (52.52–53; 53.8, 19, 32, 36).⁴³ Diat.Arab, on the other hand, *never* omits a full verse that Diat.Fuld includes. Either the Western Recensionist has a strong abbreviating tendency, or our proposed Eastern Recensionist likes to expand considerably. Given the nature of the verses that Diat.Fuld omits (they are frequently stand-alone summary statements or verses that add complicated elements to the narrative), I consider it far more likely that Diat.Fuld betrays here a habit of simplifying the text. Therefore, while I leave open the possibility that Diat.Fuld may at times report the original sequence (or even wording) of the *Diatessaron* against Diat.Arab (perhaps even in the cases of Mark 16:1 and 16:2), I consider it a rare possibility. Again, more work remains.

My Conclusions

My investigation has determined with reasonable certainty that, given the sequential agreements between the Arabic harmony and Codex Fuldensis, Tatian indeed incorporated the LE of Mark into the *Diatessaron*. The obvious implication is that Tatian's copy of Mark likewise contained the LE.⁴⁴ If Tatian composed the *Diatessaron* around 165–180 CE, then his copy of Mark likely dated to at least the 150s or 160s, and possibly much earlier, given that manuscripts could remain in use for over a century.⁴⁵ I therefore consider it methodologically sound to list Tatian's *Diatessaron* as one of the earliest explicit witnesses to the presence of the LE in Mark, functioning as a slightly earlier contemporary to Irenaeus's *Against Heresies*. While the hesitancy of some earlier studies (noted above) to list the *Diatessaron* as a witness to the LE was probably warranted at the time—and the confusion of other studies understandable—future studies can now include the *Diatessaron* in their list of support with confidence. I should emphasize at this point that the presence of the LE in the *Diatessaron* in no way establishes the Markan origin of the

43 I am not counting verses that Diat.Fuld includes but relocates, like Mark 16:9 or John 21:25.

44 An alternative possibility exists, that Tatian drew this material from a source other than Mark. Given that scholars sometimes characterize the LE as having been extracted from a pre-existing source and appended to Mark (e.g. Metzger 1994, 105), it is tempting to consider whether Tatian had access to this supposed outside source. Although it has long been argued that Tatian drew on a fifth source for the *Diatessaron*, Hill 2019 has now made a compelling argument that there is little extant evidence for such a claim. If Tatian incorporated the LE from a source other than Mark, we would have no way of demonstrating that fact. And since Irenaeus identifies content from the LE as coming from Mark within a decade or so of the *Diatessaron*'s composition, it would be special pleading to argue otherwise.

45 Evans 2015, 26.

passage. My study simply provides solid data for a conclusion that has at times been assumed but never fully investigated. Although I do not consider the LE original to the Gospel of Mark, we may now be able to say that Tatian considered the LE a legitimate ending to Mark, else he would not likely have incorporated it into his new harmonized gospel.

If the LE is not original to Mark, then there is some irony in Tatian's incorporation of the passage into his harmony. Scholars have often observed how nearly every verse of the LE finds a strong parallel somewhere else in the Gospels or Acts. As Parker concludes, 'The Long Ending is best read as a cento or pastiche of material gathered from the other Gospels and from other sources....The verses are a summary of a number of events recorded at greater length in the other Gospels'.⁴⁶ Kelhoffer agrees: 'The numerous allusions to Matthew, Luke and John—especially to the ends of these writings—demonstrate that the author of the LE wrote with knowledge of copies of these writings'.⁴⁷ Even Farmer, who argues for the Markan origin of the LE, cannot escape the conclusion that the LE 'represents redactional use of older material by the evangelist'.⁴⁸ If the LE is itself a harmonized collection of gospel material, then we may have in the *Diatessaron* the peculiar circumstance of a harmony incorporating another harmony. Furthermore, if the LE was composed specifically as a harmony of the other three Gospels, then Tatian's redistribution of its material back among its three sources becomes especially ironic—or perhaps poetic. I have shown that Tatian worked diligently to incorporate the material from Mark 16:9–20 into the parallel sections of the *Diatessaron*. Little did Tatian know that he may only have been carefully restoring what had recently been removed.

46 Parker 1997, 138, 140. On pp. 138–140, Parker provides a helpful list of parallels.

47 Kelhoffer 2000, 150. For the full argument, see pp. 65–150. For a counter argument, see Lunn 2014, 273–317.

48 Farmer 1974, 107–108.

Appendix

Textual Commentary on the Presence of Mark 16:1–20 in the Diatessaron

In the following appendix, I discuss how each verse of Mark 16:1–20 appears in both the Arabic harmony (Diat.Arab) and Codex Fuldensis (Diat.Fuld), along with the Middle Dutch and Middle High German (Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich) harmonies for comparison. For each verse of Mark, I first provide the full text in my own more literal translation from NA²⁸, followed by commentary on its presence in the Diatessaronic harmonies and my conclusions on its presence in Tatian's original *Diatessaron*. In my translation of each verse, I also display visually how much of the verse is incorporated into either Diat. Arab or Diat.Fuld or both. Text that is *italicized* in the translation is text from Mark 16 that appears in the *Arabic harmony*. Text that is underlined in the translation is text from Mark 16 that appears in Codex Fuldensis. Text that is *both italicized and underlined* is text from Mark 16 that appears in both the *Arabic harmony* and Codex Fuldensis. Text in the translation that is neither italicized nor underlined, therefore, does not appear in either the Arabic harmony or Fuldensis. Thus the reader can see at a glance approximately how much of the text of Mark 16:1–20 finds its way into the two major versions of the *Diatessaron*. It is, of course, vital to note that all these harmonies are translated texts themselves and obviously not in the same language as each other, so any textual comparison between them must be done with care and caution. Since wording is not my primary focus, I have included limited original language references, although I do occasionally note significant convergences or divergences in wording between the harmonies along the way. The original languages and full editions/translations, which I will list below, should be consulted before drawing any conclusions regarding wording.

Editions/translations consulted for the Arabic:

Marmardji 1935; Hill 1894; Hogg 1895

Editions/translations consulted for the Latin:

Ranke 1868; Zola 2014

Editions/translations consulted for the Middle Dutch and Middle High German:

Stuttgart (S) = Bergsma 1895–1898; Zurich (Z) = Gerhardt 1970; Liège (L) = Plooij et al. 1929–1970; chapter locations of the Longer Ending: Mark 16:9 = S–Z 230 / L 237; Mark 16:10–11 = S–Z 228 / L 235; Mark 16:12 = S–Z 232 / L 239; Mark 16:13 not present; Mark 16:14–18 = S–Z 239 / L 245; Mark 16:19, 20 = S 240 / L 245 (Z omits both verses).

In the verse references below, letters that follow verse numbers (e.g., Matt 28:1b) indicate that the harmony only includes a portion of the whole verse; working across languages, the reader will understand that I have had to be very approximate in these partial verse references. References to manuscripts generally employ the standard NA²⁸ or UBS⁵ sigla. While I have consulted

the text of the LE in NA²⁸ for this appendix, it is important to note that NA²⁸ is only a reconstruction of a text that circulated in multiple forms; the text I translate below likely is not identical to the text Tatian had access to in the second century; however, as an approximation it serves our purposes, since I am primarily investigating the sequence and not the exact wording.

Mark 16:1: And with the passing of the Sabbath, Mary Magdalene and Mary the (mother) of James and Salome bought spices, in order that, going, they might anoint him.

- Diat.Arab 52:45–46 does not include any distinct elements from Mark 16:1.
 - Following the names ‘Mary Magdalene and the other Mary’ from Matt 28:1b, Diat.Arab does include the phrase ‘and other women’ (ونسوة أخريات), which also appears in Luke 24:1 syr^{scp}.
- Diat.Fuld 174:1 includes ‘and Salome’ (*et salomae*) following the names ‘Mary Magdalene and the other Mary’ from Matt 28:1b, with Luke 24:1ab coming next.
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich agree with Diat.Fuld in including Salome (S–Z 227 / L 234); Z specifies ‘Maria Jacobi’ from Mark.

Commentary:

- It is difficult to say whether Diat.Fuld’s inclusion of ‘and Salome’ from Mark 16:1 is more original than Diat.Arab’s omission of it. The opening verse of the *Diatessaron*’s resurrection narrative is a sophisticated weaving of Matt 28:1 and Luke 24:1 back and forth. Tatian’s typical concern with being exhaustive would suggest including Salome in the list of women at the empty tomb, but not even Diat.Fuld includes Mark’s extra detail that the second Mary is (the mother) ‘of James’, so Diat.Fuld is not fully exhaustive either. Additionally, some early manuscripts omit the list of women in Mark 16:1 (*D k n* and others), which renders Salome absent from the empty tomb. (Old Latin *c* omits just Salome from its list of women in Mark 16:1.) Did the Arabic accidentally leave Salome out or did Fuldensis add her in—or did Tatian’s copy of Mark not include her to begin with? The results are inconclusive.

Mark 16:2: And very early on the first day of the week, they came to the tomb, when the sun had risen.

- Diat.Arab 52:46 does not include any distinct elements from Mark 16:2.
- Diat.Fuld 174:2 includes, ‘And when the sun had risen’ (*Et orto iam sole*) to introduce the next line, which modern versification calls Mark 16:3.
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich agree with Diat.Fuld (S–Z 227 / L 234), although they add an additional phrase following: ‘as it began to clear with daylight’

(S 227: 'doet begonde te clarne van den dage') which is reminiscent of Luke 24:1.

Commentary:

- Again the question is whether Diat.Fuld added the Markan line in, attracted by the subsequent Markan material, or whether Diat.Arab left it out, either unintentionally or intentionally because it contradicts the previous statement, 'while it was still dark' (Diat.Arab 52.45). The results are inconclusive.
- As the verse numbers were not added until much later, it is probably better to frame this item as an earlier start (that is, an extension) of the next item, since they are contiguous in Mark. While Mark 16:2 and 16:3 are traditionally separate sentences, in Diat.Fuld Mark 16:2c is grammatically connected to 16:3. In that case, it may be fair to say that Diat.Fuld simply includes a longer portion of Mark 16:2–3 than Diat.Arab, which also happens elsewhere.

Mark 16:3: *And they were saying to one another, 'Who will roll away for us the stone from the door of the tomb?'*

- Diat.Arab 52:47 and Diat.Fuld 174:3 both include essentially this entire verse from Mark, in essentially the same position (after Luke 24:1ab and before Mark 16:4b); the difference is that Diat.Fuld also includes part of Mark 16:2 (see above).
 - Diat.Arab has 'remove' (يزيل) for 'roll away'.
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich agree in sequence (with some variation in wording; S–Z 227 / L 234).

Mark 16:4: *And looking up, they see [And they came and found] that the stone had been rolled away, for it was very large.*

- Diat.Arab 52:47 and Diat.Fuld 174:4 both include the phrase 'for it was very large' (فإنه كان عظيماً جداً; *erat quippe magnus ualde*) and agree on placing it *before* the rest of Mark 16:4, which makes more narrative sense.
 - D Θ 565 *c ff² n syr^s* also advance this phrase before the rest of the verse.
- Both harmonies then continue with Matt 28:2ab (Matt's angel who rolls back the stone), and then return to the beginning of Mark 16:4a, but with slightly divergent wording:
 - Diat.Fuld 174.6 follows the standard Vulgate wording, 'And looking up, they see...' (*Et respicientes uident...*) continuing next with Luke 24:2a.
 - Diat.Arab 52.49 reads, 'And they came and found' (وجين فوجدن) which is wording also found at Mark 16:4 in D Θ 565 *c ff² n (syr^s came...saw)* (but cp. also Luke 24:2 in D 070 *c sa*, which reads 'but coming, they found').
- Both harmonies then continue with Luke 24:2a and Matt 28:2c

- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich agree on advancing Mark 16:4b ahead of 16:4a; they also include Mark 16:4a in the same place (S–Z 227 / L 234). While the Stuttgart wording of 16:4a matches Fuldensis, Liège and Zurich share readings reminiscent of Diat.Arab and the Syro-Latin text: ‘And when the women came to the tomb, they saw...’ (L 234: ‘ende also die vrowen totin graue quamen so sagen...’).

Commentary:

- Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld agree on their placement of Mark 16:4b, thus it is likely Mark 16:4b is original to the *Diatessaron*.
- The two harmonies somewhat agree on continuing with Mark 16:4a after Matt 28:2ab, but not on the precise wording. It is possible the change in wording can be attributed to the translation process, in which each harmony conforms to the standard eastern/western reading of its source text. This is corroborated by the fact that the Arabic manuscripts all agree on identifying the source of this line as Mark (not Luke).⁴⁹ If that is the case, then we can say that the *Diatessaron* also included Mark 16:4a. I leave the result as probable, but not assured.

Mark 16:5: *And entering into the tomb, they saw a young man sitting on the right, wearing a white robe, and they were amazed.*

- Diat.Arab 52.52–53 includes essentially all of this verse, with some adjustments in wording. It prefaces the verse with a unique addition (‘And when he went away’ [ولما مضى], referring to Matt’s angel). It then specifies the subject (‘the women entered the tomb’ [دخل النسوة إلى المقبرة]), shifts to Luke 24:3b (‘and they did not find the body of Jesus’ [ولم يجدن جسد أيسوع]), and returns to Mark 16:5 to complete the verse (in which they see a new angel inside the tomb).
- Diat.Fuld does not include Mark 16:5.
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich do not include Mark 16:5 (except perhaps by inserting the detail that the women were amazed into Luke 24:4 later).

Commentary:

- Here (and for the next few items) we have a case in which Diat.Arab includes details from Mark 16 that Diat.Fuld does not. In this case, Diat.Fuld 174.8–9 skips straight from Matt 28:4 to 28:5, omitting Diat.Arab’s insertion of Mark 16:5a + Luke 24:3b + Mark 16:5b in between. Given the Western Recensionist’s penchant for reconnecting canonical sections, one can make an argument that the Arabic order is the more difficult and therefore the more original one. Additionally, by omitting this verse, it simplifies and reduces the women’s encounters with angels, which may be an intentional strategy of the Western Recensionist, who

49 I am indebted to Mina Monier for providing me with this fact.

has also omitted the angels in John 20:12. As such, I consider it probable, but not assured, that Mark 16:5 was originally present in the *Diatessaron*.

Mark 16:6: And he says to them, 'Do not be amazed. You seek Jesus, *the Nazarene*, who has been crucified. He has been raised. He is not here. See, the place where they laid him'.

- Diat.Arab 52.54 inserts 'the Nazarene' (الناصري) from Mark 16:6 into Matt 28:5; otherwise the verse follows Matthew's wording, although there is considerable overlap with Mark.
- Diat.Fuld 174.9 does not include any details unique to Mark 16:6 (it follows Matt 28:5 verbatim).
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich do not include anything unique to Mark 16:6 (but the Middle Dutch Hague harmony also includes 'from Nazareth').

Commentary:

- It follows the principle of *ordo difficilior* to imagine that Tatian first inserted 'the Nazarene' from Mark 16:6 into Matt 28:5, but Diat.Fuld simplified its text and left it out. It is also possible that a keen scribe added it into Diat.Arab (and the Hague harmony). An eleventh-century minuscule (28) also inserts the detail into Matt 28:5, so there is precedent for interpolation. Note that N* D also omit 'the Nazarene' in Mark 16:6, so it is possible that Tatian's copy of Mark lacked the phrase. As such, the results are inconclusive.

Mark 16:7: 'But, go, tell his disciples *and Peter* that he goes before you into Galilee. There you will see him, *just as he told you*'.

- Diat.Arab 53.5 inserts 'and Cephas' (وللصفا) from Mark 16:7 into Matt 28:7a; likewise, Diat.Arab 53.6 inserts 'where he told you' (وتم تبصرونه حيث قال لكم) from Mark 16:7 into Matt 28:7b.
 - Hogg 1895, 125 notes that the Arabic translator's style might warrant 'as' for 'where'.
- Diat.Fuld 174.15 does not include any details unique to Mark 16:7 in Matt 28:7 (it follows the Vulgate of Matt 28:7 verbatim).
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich also add 'and Peter' (S 227: 'ende Petre') into Matt 28:7 (S–Z 227 / L 234); they also add variations of 'just as he told you' into Matt 28:7. The Stuttgart reading ('also hijt u vorseide') aligns well with the Arabic insertion; the Liège has an expanded reading, 'as it was promised to you before' ('geliker wys dat v teuoren ontheiten was').

Commentary:

- The agreement between Diat.Arab and Stuttgart against Diat.Fuld is noteworthy here. The additions are perhaps too slight to warrant proposing a direct lineage from each harmony back to Tatian, since one can imagine adding both phrases

from Mark 16:7 independently based on memory or tradition, especially given the expanded version in Liège and the related textual variants present in Matt 28:7 (see \aleph^* B* $g^l f$ etc.). Nonetheless, Diat.Arab has the harder reading, and it is easy to imagine the Western Recensionist reverting Matt 28:7 back to its standard text by removing the Markan intrusions. As such, I consider the results inconclusive.

Mark 16:8: *And going out, they fled from the tomb, for trembling and astonishment was seizing them. And they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid.*

- Diat.Arab 53.8 includes the entire second half of Mark 16:8 (see italics above), after introducing it with Matt 28:8 and following it with John 20:2.
- Diat.Fuld 174.17–18 does not include Mark 16:8 at all.
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich do not include Mark 16:8 at all.

Commentary:

- Mark 16:8 (in which the women tell no one) stands in stark contrast to Matt 28:8 (in which the women seem eager to tell). It is not hard to imagine a scribe excising Mark 16:8b after reading Matt 28:8a directly before it. It is also possible to imagine a scribe inserting it here for the sake of completion, but this seems less likely. Note that the Arabic only specifies from Matt 28:8a that the women exit the tomb, but does not provide their intent to inform the disciples (Matt 28:8b); thus the fact that they say nothing to anyone is slightly less jarring, for they did not intend to. Fuldensis, as is its tendency, includes all of Matt 28:8 verbatim, which would have made the inclusion of Mark 16:8 a starker contradiction. For these reasons, I conclude that Mark 16:8b is probably, though not assuredly, original to the *Diatessaron*.

Mark 16:9: *And rising early on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had driven out seven demons.*

- Diat.Arab 53.25 includes only the first half of Mark 16:9, with some slight adjustments in wording, after the long block of John 20:2–17 and before Matt 28:11bc.
 - Instead of ‘rising early on the first day of the week’, Diat.Arab reads ‘on the Sunday on which he rose’ (وفي الأحد الذي قام).
 - MS A of the Arabic adds the remainder of the verse, but its tendency is to fill in missing material; Mark 16:9b is not attested in the more reliable manuscripts of Diat.Arab (B, E, O, Q, S, T).⁵⁰

50 I am indebted to Mina Monier for alerting me to this fact, which the available editions of Diat.Arab do not properly report.

- Diat.Fuld 174.27 includes only the second half of Mark 16:9, in an entirely different place than Diat.Arab. In the long section of John 20:2–17, Diat. Fuld inserts inside of John 20:11, where Mary is reintroduced, ‘Magdalene, from whom he had driven out seven demons’ (*magdalenae de qua eiecerat VII daemonia*).
 - Perhaps as a result, or perhaps in an unrelated move, Diat.Fuld also omits John 20:12 (John’s two angels) and changes the plural verbs to singular in John 20:13, such that Mary is talking to Jesus the entire time (instead of first to the angels and then to Jesus, as in canonical John). Diat.Arab retains John 20:12 as normal.
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich agree with Diat.Fuld in inserting Mark 16:9b inside John 20:11 (S–Z 230 / L 237); after ‘Magdalene’ they also add ‘who had followed them’ (L 237: ‘die hen gevolget was’) to explain how Mary is already at the tomb when Peter and the Beloved Disciple leave. Unlike Diat. Fuld, they do not omit John 20:12.

Commentary:

- This is perhaps the most curious case of all, as it is the only item in which Diat. Arab and Diat.Fuld both include the verse but in vastly different locations and portions. In Diat.Arab, the verse functions as a summary statement of the preceding large block of John 20:2–17. It feels somewhat superfluous there, and perhaps for that reason the Western Recensionist removed it; perhaps the Western Recensionist then sought an appropriate location to insert the extra element that Jesus had driven out seven demons from Mary and landed on the most recent reference to Mary (John 20:11). (Note that Diat.Arab 16.20 [= Luke 8:2; cf. Ephrem *Comm.* 11.5] already includes this detail about Mary earlier in the harmony, which Fuldensis omits.) I find this scenario clumsy but easier to imagine than the opposite one, in which an eastern redactor found the partial inclusion of Mark 16:9b embedded in John 20:11, removed it, and then inserted Mark 16:9a following John 20:17, where it feels equally as intrusive. Given the mixed data, I consider the results inconclusive.

Mark 16:10: Going, she reported to those who had been with him, (who were) mourning and weeping.

- Diat.Arab 53:35 and Diat.Fuld 176:3 both include essentially the same portions of Mark 16:10, in the same location in the harmony, but in a slightly different order within the verse. They both mix Mark 16:10ab with Luke 24:9b, but the verses that precede and follow are not exactly the same.

- Diat.Arab keeps Mark 16:10ab mostly intact, following a mostly intact portion of Luke 24:9b. Prior to that is Matt 28:10. Following it is Luke 24:10 and then Mark 16:11.

Matt 28:10

Luke 24:9b: And those women returned and they reported all these things to the eleven, and to the rest of the disciples, and to those who had been with him, for they were saddened and weeping.

Mark 16:10ab:

Luke 24:10

Mark 16:11

- Note that Diat.Arab adds ‘those women’ to Luke 24:9, but its inclusion of ‘of the disciples’ is a known variant in syr^{sc}.
- Diat.Fuld splits both Luke 24:9b and Mark 16:10ab into two parts each and interweaves them. Prior to that is Matt 28:10 + 28:11a. Following it is Mark 16:11.

Matt 28:10

Matt 28:11a: When they had gone off,
 Luke 24:9b: they reported all these things to the eleven,
 Mark 16:10b: (who were) mourning and weeping,
 Luke 24:9b: and to all the others,
 Mark 16:10a: who had been with him.

Mark 16:11

- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich agree with the order in Diat.Fuld, including the presence of Matt 28:11a (S–Z 228 / L 235).

Commentary:

- Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld agree in their wording and portions of Mark 16:10ab, despite reordering the inner segments. It is unclear why one chose to reorder the other (perhaps grammar?), but they agree on general content and placement. Thus, I conclude that Mark 16:10ab is original to the *Diatessaron*.
- The fact that different verses precede and follow can be explained. I suspect that the original order is found in Diat.Arab and that the Western Recensionist was tempted to add Matt 28:11a following directly after Matt 28:10, keeping canonical sequence. Perhaps with the addition of Matt 28:11a, it was no longer necessary to begin with Luke 24:9b (‘And the women returned’), and that led to the re-ordering of the verse internally that we observe in Fuldensis. As for the inclusion of Luke 24:10 in Diat.Arab, once again it serves as something of a summary of the preceding material (as Mark 16:9a did above). One can imagine the Western Recensionist being dissatisfied with how it fits and removing it, re-joining Mark 16:10b with Mark 16:11. Luke 24:10 does not appear elsewhere in Fuldensis, thus I consider it fair to say that Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld still present an aligned sequence here.

Mark 16:11: *And they, hearing that he was alive and was seen by [had appeared to] her, did not believe.*

- Diat.Arab 53:37 and Diat.Fuld 176:4 both essentially include Mark 16:11 in full; remarkably, both also change the singular pronoun ('her') to plural ('and he appeared to them' [وتراءى لهن] / 'and he had been seen by them' [et uisus esset ab eis]) and both add an additional plural pronoun at the end ('did not believe them' [لم يصدقوهن; non crediderunt eis]), to reflect the harmonized context in which it is the women and not just Mary reporting. (Syr^p also includes these two adjustments; see below.) Both harmonies have the same verse before (Mark 16:10b) and after (Luke 24:11), disregarding the inclusion of Luke 24:10 discussed in the item above.
 - After 'hearing', Diat.Arab also adds 'them say' (يقولن) which syr^p also adds.
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich significantly abbreviate Mark 16:11 (only 'when they heard this' [S 228: 'doe si dit horden']) and then move straight to Luke 24:11 (S–Z 228 / L 235).

Commentary:

- There is strong evidence for the presence of this verse in the original *Diatessaron*. That Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld both make the same adjustments to the pronouns (from singular to plural) in this verse suggests that this move may go all the way back to Tatian. As noted, syr^p also makes these shifts from singular to plural; this is an odd choice, since in the Peshitta context it is only Mary who has reported to them. The variant may be a sign of the *Diatessaron*'s influence on the Peshitta here, as Baarda 1995, 462 also suggests. Baarda likewise points out other manuscript traditions where plurals unexpectedly appear in Mark 16:11, including some Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and West-Saxon copies of Mark, to which can be added two twelfth-century Greek minuscules (2106 and 2738). Note, however, the similar situation in the standard text of John at 20:2, where Mary speaks of 'we' although she was alone in the narrative context. Perhaps these Markan manuscripts have all been touched by Tatian, or perhaps scribes simply could not resist adjusting the text to the larger story they knew. Although there is little question that it was part of the *Diatessaron*'s sequence, there is more work to do on the wording of this verse.

Mark 16:12: *And after these things, he appeared in another form to two of them walking, going into the country.*

- Both Diat.Arab 53:39 and Diat.Fuld 177:1 include the same parts of Mark 16:12 ('And after these things he appeared to two of them' [ومن بعد ذلك ظهر لاثنتين منهم; post haec autem duobus ex eis... ostensus est]), with Diat.Fuld extending to include both motion verbs ('walking, going'). Diat.Arab

employs the motion verb of Luke 24:13b, the verse that follows in both harmonies; likewise, in both harmonies Luke 24:11 precedes.

- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich include Mark 16:12, but with very different wording and in an entirely different location than Diat.Arab and Diat.Fuld (S–Z 232 / L 239).

Commentary:

- Both harmonies cleverly employ pieces of Mark 16:12a to introduce the Emmaus road narrative in Luke 24:13b–35, which follows in both. Both omit the detail that Jesus appeared ‘in another form’, perhaps so as not to spoil the ending. As an explanation for why Diat.Fuld also includes ‘walking, going’ from Mark 16:12a, it may be that the Latin grammar lent itself more easily to using Mark’s existing dative participles than Luke 24:13b’s imperfect indicative. Thus, Mark 16:12a was likely in the original *Diatessaron*.

Mark 16:13: And they, going out, reported to the rest. *But they did not believe.*

- Both Diat.Arab 53.61 and Diat.Fuld 178.2 include the same portion of Mark 16:13b (‘neither did they believe them’ [ولا لذلك أيضاً صدقوا; *nec illis crediderunt*]), in between Luke 24:35 and 24:36a, as a concluding note to the Emmaus road narrative. Thus the evidence is strong for its inclusion in Tatian’s original.
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich do not include Mark 16:13 at all.

Mark 16:14: And afterwards, *as they were reclining, he appeared to the eleven themselves and rebuked their unbelief and hardness of heart, because those who had seen him raised up they did not believe.*

- Both Diat.Arab 55:3 and Diat.Fuld 182:3 include similar parts of Mark 16:14bc at the same place in the harmony (after Matt 28:17, before Matt 28:18ab), although Diat.Arab adjusts the wording somewhat.
 - Diat.Arab includes some additional wording from the first part of the verse that Diat.Fuld does not include (‘and when they sat he appeared to them also’ [ولما جلسا ثم تراءى لهما أيضاً]). Diat.Arab also puts some of the forms in dual rather than plural form, changes ‘the eleven’ to ‘them’, adds ‘also’, and removes ‘because’ from the second half. Removing ‘because’ apparently makes the object (‘those who had seen him’) into the subject, such that it is the disciples themselves who saw Jesus raised yet still did not believe (rather than not believing others) (see Hogg 1895, 128 n. 7). This grammatical adjustment may reflect the new harmonized context, since by this point in the narrative the disciples have had multiple firsthand encounters with the risen Jesus and are not reliant on hearsay, as they were in the original Markan context.

- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich skip Mark 16:14 here and go straight from Matt 28:17 to 28:18 (restoring canonical order; see S–Z 238 / L 244). Instead, they group Mark 16:14–18 all together following Matt 28:20 (in S–Z 239 / L 245).

Commentary:

- Often it is Diat.Fuld that extends a single verse further, but this time it is Diat. Arab. If the longer version in Diat.Arab is more original, perhaps the Western Recensionist decided that the Galilee mountaintop context precluded ‘reclining’ at table and omitted the first part of Mark 16:14. If the shorter version in Diat. Fuld is original, then perhaps an eastern recensionist added more of Mark 16:14 for the sake of completion. In either case, Mark 16:14bc was likely present in the *Diatessaron*.

Mark 16:15: And he said to them, ‘Going into all the world, preach the good news to all creation’.

- Diat.Arab 55:5 and Diat.Fuld 182:5 both include all the words of Jesus from Mark 16:15b, with slight adjustments; in both harmonies Mark 16:15b comes after Matt 28:18ab and before Matt 28:19ab, although Diat. Arab includes the addition of what looks like John 20:21b following Matt 28:18ab (see below).
 - Diat.Arab has some slight wording adjustments: after ‘go’ it adds ‘now’ (الآن; perhaps from Matt 28:19; cf. D it); for ‘the good news’, it reads ‘my good news’ (بيشارتي; as do syr^p and Ephrem).
 - After Matt 28:18ab (the preceding verse), Diat.Arab includes wording similar to John 20:21b, which it had already included in Diat.Arab 54.14. Yet John 20:21b also follows Matt 28:18 in syr^p and a few other witnesses (Θ 1604 arm geo¹). Presumably it is the *Diatessaron* that has influenced the Peshitta here, but it is possible a reading from the Peshitta has entered into Diat.Arab. Diat.Fuld does not include John 20:21b here; otherwise, they agree on the sequence.
- Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich do not include Mark 16:15 here, since they group Mark 16:14–18 together following Matt 28:20 (see above and below).

Commentary:

- Ephrem cites Mark 16:15 twice in his *Commentary* (cf. also 6.21a for an allusion). At 19.15 he writes, ‘Go forth into the whole world, and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Spirit’. At 8.21b he writes, ‘Go out into the whole world and proclaim my Gospel to the whole of creation and baptize all the Gentiles’ (McCarthy 1993, 289, 145). Both citations are a combination of Mark 16:15b and Matt 28:19a; although they include slightly different content from Mark 16:15b, the word order is the same as in Diat.Arab/Diat.Fuld. No-

tably, Ephrem confirms the reading of ‘my gospel’ in Diat.Arab, which to my knowledge has not been noted before. This particular citation of Mark 16:15 in Ephrem (at 8.21b) is often overlooked because it is mislabeled as Matt 28:19 in McCarthy, although Leloir 1990, 113 correctly identifies it as a coming from both Gospels. With the evidence of Diat.Arab, Ephrem, and syr^p, the reading ‘my gospel’ in Mark 16:15 may be a true Tatianic reading.

- Despite the addition of John 20:21b in Diat.Arab, the evidence is strong for the presence of Mark 16:15 in the *Diatessaron*. With Ephrem’s triangulating support, Tatian’s inclusion of this verse is perhaps the most secure for all of the LE.

Mark 16:16–18: *The one who believes and is baptized will be saved, but the one who does not believe will be condemned. And these signs will accompany those who believe: in my name they will drive out demons, they will speak new languages, they will take up snakes, and if they drink any deadly poison, it will not hurt them; they will lay hands on the sick, and they will get well.*

- Both Diat.Arab 55:8–10 and Diat.Fuld 182:8–10 agree on including essentially all of Mark 16:16–18, in between Matt 28:20 and Luke 24:49bc. In Mark 16:17, Diat.Arab adds ‘in me’ (بي) following ‘those who believe’, which syr^c also does.
- As noted above, Stuttgart-Liège-Zurich combine all of Mark 16:14–18, following Matt 28:20 (S–Z 239 / L 245).

Commentary:

- Aphrahat (*Dem.* 1.17), who likely used a *Diatessaron*, cites these three verses as well; he does not include the addition of ‘in me’ in 16:17, he reverses the order of demons and tongues in 16:17, and he leaves out any reference to snakes or poison in 16:18; see Lehto 2010, 83. With the overt agreement of Diat.Arab and Diat. Fuld, and the corroboration of Aphrahat, the evidence for the inclusion of Mark 16:16–18 in the *Diatessaron* is strong.

Mark 16:19: So then the *Lord Jesus, after speaking to them*, was taken up into heaven *and sat at the right hand of God.*

- Diat.Arab splits this verse into two parts in two locations. Diat.Arab 55:12 reads, ‘And our Lord Jesus, after speaking to them’ (وسيدنا يسوع من بعد ما) (خاطبهم) from Mark 16:19a, with slight adjustments in wording. It comes after Luke 24:49bc and before Luke 24:50. Diat.Fuld does not include this portion. Liège (L 245) includes a similar phrase as Diat.Arab here (‘And when Jesus had spoken these words’ [‘Ende also Jhesus dese wart hadde gesprochen’]), but Stuttgart and Zurich do not (see S–Z 240).
- Diat.Arab 55:13 and Diat.Fuld 182:13 both include the same portion of Mark 16:19b (‘and sat at the right hand of God’ [وجلس من يمين الله; *et sedit*

a dextris dei) after Luke 24:51 and before Luke 24:52. Liège and Zurich omit this half-verse, but Stuttgart includes it (S 240).

Commentary:

- In the case of Mark 16:19a, Diat.Arab includes it but Diat.Fuld does not. Perhaps it is original to the *Diatessaron*, and the Western Recensionist excised it in order to keep Luke 24:49bc and 24:50 together. While it is tempting to point to Liège as agreeing with the Arabic against Fuldensis here, the wording is not exact (omitting ‘Lord’ and speaking ‘these words’ instead of ‘to them’). More significantly, the Stuttgart and Zurich harmonies agree with Fuldensis in omitting it (and Stuttgart is more reliable for wording than Liège), suggesting that the phrase’s reappearance in Liège is an independent choice that happens to agree with the Arabic. Given Diat.Arab’s tendency for more thorough inclusion and Diat.Fuld’s tendency to eliminate small verses that break a single Gospel’s otherwise continuous text block, I am inclined to consider Mark 16:19a as original to the *Diatessaron*, but I leave the result as inconclusive since the evidence is mixed.
- In the case of Mark 16:19b, both harmonies agree on its wording and sequence, so it is likely original to the *Diatessaron*. Note that Stuttgart retains it while Liège and Zurich do not, further confirming Stuttgart’s reliability.

Mark 16:20: *And going out, they preached everywhere, while the Lord worked together with (them) and confirmed the word with the signs that followed [they did].*

- Both Diat.Arab 55:16 and Diat.Fuld 182:16 include essentially all of Mark 16:20, after Luke 24:53. In Diat.Fuld, it is the final verse of the harmony. In Diat.Arab, it is followed by John 21:25, which is the final verse of the harmony. (Diat.Fuld 181:11 keeps John 21:25 in its canonical context at the end of the long block of John 20:20b–21:25.)
 - Diat.Arab adjusts the wording slightly in two places: before ‘going out’, it adds ‘from there’ (من ثم), perhaps to account for the new harmonized context; instead of ‘signs that followed’ it reads ‘signs that they did’ (بلايات التي كانوا يصنعون), which agrees with syr^{sc}.
 - Diat.Fuld adds ‘Amen’ to the end of the verse, since it is the final verse of the harmony.
- Liège and Zurich omit Mark 16:20, but Stuttgart agrees with Diat.Fuld and Diat.Arab (S–Z 240 / L 245).

Commentary:

- Despite Diat.Arab’s inclusion of John 21:25 as the final verse, the two harmonies agree on the relative placement of Mark 16:20 in the narrative sequence. Thus, it is likely original to the *Diatessaron*.

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Mark 16 and the Eusebian Apparatus: Greek and Latin Solutions

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The Eusebian apparatus provides a unique look into how the endings of Mark 16 were handled in this paratextual feature of the manuscript tradition. In manuscripts without a Longer Ending, the section numbers for the apparatus typically end at 233. Scribes for manuscripts with a Longer Ending were forced into a decision: ignore section numbering or provide some form of numbering to incorporate the additional material. This paper examines the Eusebian apparatus in several Greek and Latin manuscripts and discusses the solutions to this problem implemented in these two traditions.

Introduction: The Eusebian Apparatus in Mark 16

A paratextual feature found in many New Testament Gospel manuscripts dating to the fourth century and later, the Eusebian apparatus is a clever cross-referencing tool that indicates similar or entirely unique passages among the four canonical gospels. The apparatus is attributed to the Christian historian Eusebius of Caesarea (c.265–339) and its use is explained in his letter to Carpianus.¹ The feature was implemented not only in the Greek manuscripts of the gospels, but also in many of the versions. The components of the apparatus are: (1) the Eusebian Canons; and (2) the Eusebian sections,² each with an accompanying canon number. The first component, the Eusebian Canons, are a collection of ten tables that align similar pericopes in two, three, or four gospels, and pericopes that are unique to any one gospel.³ The second component, the paired Eusebian section numbers and canon numbers, are found in the margins of gospel manuscripts, to the left of each passage so marked.⁴ The procedure for making the marginal notation, according to the letter to Carpianus, involved writing the section number (presumably in black ink) and then

- 1 The Greek text of this letter is conveniently provided in the front matter of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (89*–90* in the 28th edition, NA28). The letter in English translation is found in Oliver, 1959.
- 2 While commonly referred to as the Ammonian sections, Matthew Crawford convincingly argues that ‘it is best to avoid talk of the ‘Ammonian sections,’ though when we speak of the ‘Eusebian sections’ we should always bear in mind his indebtedness to his Alexandrian forebear’ (Crawford 2019, 85).
- 3 The apparatus is lacking a table for parallel passages common to Mark and John as well as parallels common to Mark, Luke, and John; see the discussion in Nordenfalk 1984, 96.
- 4 A useful introduction to the Eusebian apparatus is found in McArthur 1965, 250–256.

writing the canon number in red beneath it. While the visual representation of the section and canon number pair in black and red helped prevent accidental concatenation of the two numerals, the practical issue for scribes involved switching pens and ink to add the canon numbers; this, inevitably led to some errors in the transmission of the canon numbers.⁵

In Greek manuscripts of the Gospel of Mark, the Eusebian section numbers typically reach 233 (σλγ) at Mark 16:8 (with an accompanying canon value of 2). It is perhaps here that the original section numbering ended if the letter *ad Marinum* is appropriately attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea. In *ad Marinum*, responding to a question about an apparent timing discrepancy between Mark 16:2, 9 and Matt 28:1,⁶ Eusebius comments that accurate copies (τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων) of the Gospel end with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ (Mark 16:8/36);⁷ this is referred to as the Short Ending. Numerous text critics have surmised that the Eusebian section numbers ended at verse 8 and only later did scribes improvise some form of numbering once the Shorter Ending (SE),⁸ the

- 5 In the case of Codex Alexandrinus (GA 02, London, British Library, Royal 01 D V–VIII), for example, the Eusebian apparatus (which appears to have been copied from a second exemplar) was copied in two steps: (1) adding the Eusebian section numbers using the same black ink as the gospel text; (2) switching pen and ink to add all the rubricated canon numbers in a single step. The second step introduced a cascading error when a single canon number from a mentally recited list was missed; all remaining canon numbers for a folio were assigned to the wrong section numbers, typically until the end of the page (Smith 2014, 154–156). This cascading error has been demonstrated in other gospel manuscripts as well (Smith 2012). While Coogan misrepresents the copying process described here, he offers a correction that reaches the same conclusion (Coogan 2017, 351).
- 6 Mark 16:9 states that Jesus rose *πρῶτὴ πρώτη σαββάτου* while Matt 28:1 states the two Marys went to the tomb *ὄψε σαββάτων*.
- 7 Kelhoffer 2001, 78–112. Kelhoffer provides the letter in Greek and in translation along with insightful analysis. There is a history of referring to *ad Marinum* for identifying the Long Ending (LE) as spurious. Tregelles, for example, used Eusebius' letter to identify the LE as an addition not recognized by Ammonius: '*inde videtur ammonium reliquos versus non agnovisse*' (Tregelles 1870, 214). Mitigating this view somewhat, Clayton Coombs emphasizes Eusebius' desire to provide room for both endings by demonstrating their harmony within the gospel tradition, intending 'to comment on the version of the Gospel that the reader receives, rather than to recommend the reception of his own preferred version' (Coombs 2016, 224). Coombs intentionally avoids dealing with the Eusebian apparatus, however.
- 8 The SE reads: *παντα δε τα παρηγγελμενα τοις περι τον πετρον συντομως εξηγγελαν. Μετα δε ταυτα και αυτος ο ιησους απο ανατολης και αχρι δυσεως εξαπεστειλεν δι αυτων το ιερον και αφθαρτον κηρυγμα της αιωνιου σωτηριας. αμην.* According to the ECM edition of the Gospel of Mark, the Short Ending occurs at the end of the gospel by itself only in the African Latin tradition and the Harklensis. Oth-

Long Ending (LE),⁹ or the Freer Logion (FL)¹⁰ were appended to the gospel. Samuel Tregelles, for example, argued that Eusebius provides the evidence necessary to conclude that the section numbering, produced instead by Ammonius, takes the issue back to the third century; ‘and thus it is seen, that just as Eusebius found these verses absent in his day from the best and most numerous copies, so was also the case with Ammonius when he formed his Harmony in the preceding century.’¹¹ Though data from Ammonius clearly informed Eusebius’ work in sectioning the gospels (by his own admission), the final system is that of Eusebius himself and should be conservatively assumed to be his own. Constantine von Tischendorf noted that neither the sections nor the Eusebian canons recognize the verses of the LE, citing examples of manuscripts that end the section numbering at 233 (e.g., GA 02 and 032) and those that go further, up to section 241 at verse 20 (e.g., GA 04, 07, 017, 031).¹² As a more modern example, Keith Elliott concurs that

The Longer Ending is not counted in the Eusebian canon numbers. The canon tables do not allow for Jesus’ appearance to Mary Magdalene found in Mark and John. In some MSS attempts were made to extend the numbering system, without the canon table.¹³

In this study the implementation of the Eusebian apparatus in the Greek and Latin manuscript traditions will be traced from the fourth century to the ninth. The Latin tradition is included for comparison to the Greek as it represents one of the earliest versions of the New Testament and one that is ‘among the most useful and best understood of the early versions.’¹⁴ Additionally, some exploratory data suggested that there may have been more care given to the transmission fidelity of the Latin Eusebian apparatus than the Greek.¹⁵ Commenting on Jerome’s Vulgate gospels, Hugh Houghton notes:

His most obvious innovation was to put the Gospels in the order Matthew-Mark-Luke-John, matching the Greek tradition. This meant that he was able to add the Eusebian apparatus... The presence of these section numbers in certain gospel manuscripts with the earlier Latin order of the Gospels (such as VL 5 and VL 10) suggests that the sys-

erwise, it occurs sandwiched between Mark 16:8 and the LE in GA 019, 044, 083 (*ut videtur*), 099, 579, and a single Bohairic manuscript (Strutwolf et al. 2021, 828–829). The SNSF ‘MARK16’ project boasts a more complete list at <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/>>. Viewing the SE through a paratextual lens, see Monier 2022, 12–14.

9 Mark 16:9–20.

10 For the translated logion, see Metzger and Ehrman 2005, 81.

11 Tregelles 1854, 248.

12 Tischendorf 1869, 406.

13 Elliott 2008, 90. Martin Wallraff comes to a similar conclusion, commenting that beyond 16:8 there was no known or unknown ending for Eusebius (Wallraff 2021, 73–74).

14 Burton 2014, 167.

15 Smith 2012, n.p.

tem may have been adopted elsewhere independently of Jerome. However, the full apparatus, even in manuscripts with an Old Latin text, bears witness to the influence of Jerome's version: in fact, the Eusebian apparatus is far more widespread in Latin than in Greek gospel codices.¹⁶

Unfortunately, the earliest data for these traditions represent a small sample size. Yet the few fourth-century biblical witnesses appear to support the theories of Tregelles, Tischendorf, and others: the two earliest Greek biblical manuscripts with the text of Mark 16, Codex Sinaiticus (GA 01)¹⁷ and Codex Vaticanus (GA 03),¹⁸ both end the Gospel of Mark at 16:8. The Eusebian apparatus implemented in Codex Sinaiticus ends at section 233 (marginally positioned at 16:8). Codex Vaticanus does not implement the Eusebian apparatus at all. As the 'most important witness to the African Old Latin,'¹⁹ the fourth-century Codex Bobbiensis (VL 1; k)²⁰ has the SE but also does not use the Eusebian apparatus; it 'is the only witness in any language for the 'Shorter Ending' by itself, not followed by the 'Longer Ending' of Mark 16:9–20.'²¹

After the fourth century, however, the Greek witnesses to Mark 16 begin including the SE, LE, or FL and the Eusebian apparatus appears more frequently. In the Latin tradition the LE becomes the most frequent ending to the Gospel of Mark, but the Eusebian apparatus is slow to be adopted. In the next section the Greek and Latin manuscript data for Mark 16 are presented century by century with an eye on how scribes did or did not adapt the Eusebian apparatus to fit the Longer Endings of Mark's Gospel.

The Eusebian Apparatus in Mark 16: Greek and Latin Manuscripts (Fifth-Ninth Century)

Fifth-century Greek and Latin Manuscripts

Three fifth-century Greek manuscripts preserve the ending of Mark's Gospel. Codex Alexandrinus (GA 02) has the LE and implements the Eusebian apparatus, though its Eusebian sections end at number 232 (at 16:6); section number 233 is missing, and no attempt was made to add sections to the

16 Houghton 2016, 32; cf. Crawford 2019, 196.

17 London, British Library, Add. 43725 (Ⲙ).

18 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209.

19 Metzger and Ehrman 2005, 102. The translation is thought to represent a late-third or fourth century endeavor: 'die afrikanischen Summarien zu den Evangelien spiegeln eine neu revidierte Ausgabe von diesen wider, gegen Ende des 3. Jh oder durch Donatisten im 4. Jh' (Gryson 1999, 19).

20 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, 1163 (= G.VII.15). If a Latin manuscript has a Nestle-Aland siglum, it will be listed with no system identifier. Many of the sigla were created by Tischendorf, but some are unique to the Nestle-Aland (e.g. siglum μ).

21 Houghton 2016, 160–161.

LE. Codex Bezae (GA 05)²² has Eusebian section numbers (without accompanying canon numbers) in the early portion of Mark's Gospel, but the section numbering is abandoned at σζ (207) at Mark 15:16; the Latin pages of Codex Bezae do not contain any part of the apparatus. Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (GA 04),²³ which also has Eusebian sections without paired canon numbers, has the LE and extends the apparatus into it:

Table 1. The extended Eusebian apparatus of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus.

Apparatus	Verse	Content
σλδ (234)	9	Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene.
σλε (235)	10	Mary told those mourning and they did not believe her.
σλς (236)	12	Jesus appeared to two walking into a field; they tell others who do not believe.
σλζ (237)	14	Jesus appeared to the eleven and rebuked their unbelief.
σλη (238)	15	Jesus told them to preach the gospel; those that believe will be saved, those that do not will be condemned.
σλθ (239)	17	Jesus listed the signs that accompany those who believe.
σμ (240)	19	Jesus ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of God.
σμα (241)	20	The disciples preached everywhere, the Lord confirming their message with signs.

This represents the earliest extant use of section numbering in the LE. As the section numbers are without corresponding canon numbers, there was no need to accommodate the new sections in the apparatus' tables.

Three fifth-century Latin manuscripts also preserve the ending of Mark's Gospel. The Latin of Codex Bezae (VL 5; GA 05) is already noted above as not having the Eusebian apparatus, though the Greek has Eusebian sections. Codex Corbiensis secundus (VL 8; ff²),²⁴ though damaged at the end of the Gospel of Mark (the final book of the codex), has the LE; the codex does not implement the Eusebian apparatus, however. Codex Sangallensis 1394 (VL 16; n and o)²⁵ has the LE but also does not implement the Eusebian apparatus; its seventh-century supplemental material (o), which has the text of Mark 16:15–20, does not use the apparatus either.

22 Cambridge, University Library, Nn. 2.41.

23 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 9.

24 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17225.

25 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1394.

Sixth-century Greek and Latin Manuscripts

The sixth-century Greek and Latin manuscripts offer a dearth of evidence regarding the Eusebian apparatus and Mark 16. Only two sixth-century Greek manuscripts witness to Mark 16. Codex Purpureus Rossanensis (GA 042)²⁶ has the LE and implements the Eusebian apparatus. The last entry in the apparatus ($\sigma\lambda\gamma/\beta$), however, is positioned at 16:8. The final page of the Gospel of Mark (presumably containing vv. 14–20) is lost, though the final *extant* page (with v. 9 through the first half of v. 14) has no sign of the apparatus.²⁷ The heavily damaged codex GA 083²⁸ has a portion of the ending of Mark's Gospel which includes the termination at 16:8 as well as the SE and the LE. There does not appear to be any Eusebian apparatus in this manuscript. In the Latin tradition, three sixth-century Vulgate manuscripts are of interest. The Gospels of St Augustine (X; Fischer Jx)²⁹ implements the apparatus throughout and has the LE; however, the apparatus ends at 16:8 (with values of 233/2). Codex Harleianus (z; Fischer Jz)³⁰ also has the apparatus and the LE, but the last two entries of the apparatus are at 16:8 (233/2) and 16:12 (234/10).³¹ Codex Mediolanensis (Vg^s M; Fischer Jm)³² is unique among the Vulgate manuscripts, using Greek letters for the apparatus, extending the apparatus into the LE, and positioning the Eusebian sections uniquely in the tradition: 233/1 at verse 2, 234/1 at verse 6, 235/8 at verse 12, 236/1 at verse 14, and 237/2 at verse 15. In the Old Latin, the sixth- or seventh-century Codex Monacensis (VL 13; q; also called Codex Valerianus)³³ is a Latin gospels manuscript that does not implement the Eusebian apparatus. The Gospel of Mark does have the LE in Codex Monacensis.

Despite the two Greek manuscripts having both the Eusebian apparatus and Longer Endings to Mark's Gospel, no section numbering extends into the LE or SE + LE. Perhaps this is not surprising given the textual flow diagram generated by the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) Phase 3.5 software used to produce the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) for the Gospel of

26 Rossano, Museo diocesano e del Codex, Codex Rossanensis Cod. 1.

27 This is confirmed in Hixon 2019, 19.

28 Mark in mss Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Harris 12 and St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Oct. 149.

29 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Lib. ms. 286.

30 London, British Library, Harley 1775.

31 Fischer rated both of these manuscripts at 96.3% agreement with the Vulgate (Fischer 2010, 133).

32 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B. 168.

33 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 6224.

Mark.³⁴ According to the diagram, the text of both GA 04 and GA 083 are direct descendants of the A-text or *Ausgangstext* while GA 042 is a terminal node a few layers removed from the A-text, a descendant of GA 022.

Seventh-century Greek and Latin Manuscripts

GA 099³⁵ is the only Greek manuscript dating to the seventh century with text from Mark 16 (and it includes the LE), yet it does not have the Eusebian apparatus. In addition to the seventh-century supplement to Codex Sangallensis 1394 (VL 16) noted above, Codex Claromontanus V (VL 12; h)³⁶ is a Latin gospels manuscript with a fifth-century copy of the Gospel of Matthew and seventh-century copies of the other gospels.³⁷ Neither portion of the codex utilizes the Eusebian apparatus; the Gospel of Mark does have the LE in Claromontanus. In the Vulgate tradition, however, Codex Epternacensis (ΞP; Fischer Ge),³⁸ dated circa 690, implements the Eusebian apparatus throughout and has the LE; at the ending of the gospel the apparatus appears at 16:8 (233/2) and 16:9 (234/10).³⁹ Codex Durmachensis (the Book of Durrow; Fischer siglum Ed),⁴⁰ includes the LE but the apparatus ends at 16:8 (233/2).⁴¹

Eighth-century Greek and Latin Manuscripts⁴²

Codex Basilensis (GA 07)⁴³ is a Greek manuscript that reproduces the canon tables in the innovative format that places the relevant table information at the bottom of each page (saving the reader from having to look up cross-references at the front of the volume). In this system the canon number is irrelevant, but it is often (though not always) joined to the Eusebian section number. The apparatus is extended into the LE as shown in Table 2:

The extended apparatus in Basilensis represents a major step forward in developing it for the LE of Mark. The section numbering and position nearly matches that of fifth-century Ephraemi Rescriptus, differing only slightly in

34 <<https://ntg.uni-muenster.de/mark/ph35/coherence/1>>. This is determined using the General Textual Flow diagram for all chapters of the Gospel of Mark (including the A-text, families, and all manuscripts).

35 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Copt. 129,8.

36 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7223.

37 Gryson 1999, 39.

38 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 9389.

39 Codex Epternacensis has 93.3% agreement with the Vulgate (Fischer 2010, 135).

40 Dublin, Trinity College, 57.

41 Codex Durmachensis has 93.9% agreement with the Vulgate (Fischer 2010, 135).

42 Eighth-century lectionary manuscripts with Mark 16 (such as L627 or L1602) are excluded from this analysis because lectionaries do not implement the Eusebian apparatus.

43 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A. N. III. 12, now K IV. 35.

Table 2. The extended Eusebian apparatus of Codex Basilensis.

Apparatus	Verse
σλδ (234) / β	9
σλε (235) / β	10
σλς (236) / η	12
σλζ (237) / α	14
σλη (238) / -	15
σλθ (239) / -	16b
σμ (240) / η	19
σμα (241) / ε	20

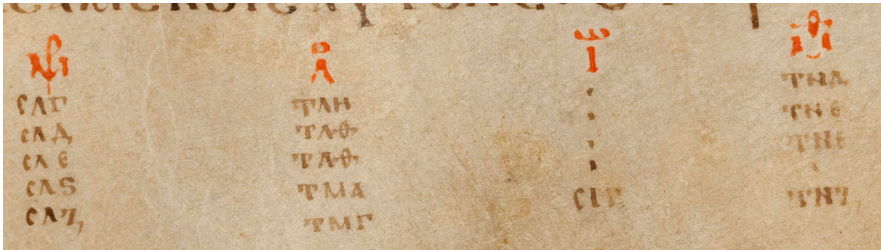


Fig. 1. Codex Basilensis' similar pericopes for Eusebian sections 233–237 (MS Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A. N. III. 12, now K IV. 35, f. 135r).

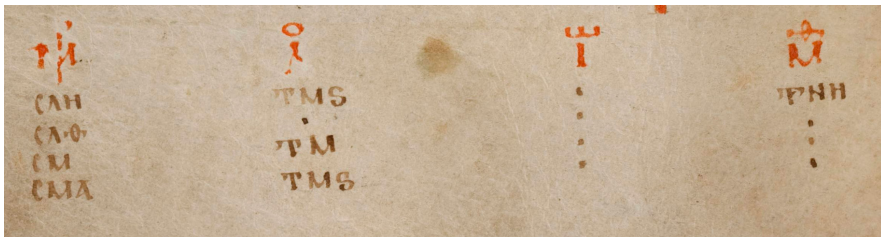


Fig. 2. Codex Basilensis' similar pericopes for Eusebian sections 238–241 (MS Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A. N. III. 12, now K IV. 35, f. 135v).

the position of section 239. Canon numbers are now assigned to six of the eight section numbers (see figs 1 and 2) and the similar pericopes are listed in the margin.

In Table 3 the relevant material from the 'parallel' pericopes (according to the NA28 or RP, depending on which most closely aligns with the GA 07 text) are arranged with the Markan text from Basilensis. In each case the similarities are *general*, which perhaps corresponds well to the broad scope of the similarities found in the original Eusebian canons. The two sections without canon

Table 3. The similar passages from first four extended canons of Codex Basilensis.

Mark §234 (16:9) Αναστας δε πρωι πρωτη σαββατου. Εφρανη πρωτον Μαρια τη Μαγδαληνη. Αφ ης εκβεβληκει επτα διαμονια. (GA 07)
Luke §339 (24:10) ἦσαν δὲ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ Μαρία καὶ Ἰωάννα καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ σὺν αὐταῖς. ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ταῦτα (Luke 24:10a NA28)
Matthew §355 (28:9) Ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ἀπῆντησεν αὐταῖς, λέγων, Χαίρετε. Αἱ δὲ προσελθοῦσαι ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. (Matt. 28:9 RP)
Mark §235 (16:10) Εκεινη πορευθεισα απαγγειλεν τοις μετ αυτου γενομενοις πενθουσι και κλαιουσιν. Καικεινοι ακουσαντες οτι ζη και εθεαθη υπ αυτης ηπιστησαν. (GA 07)
Luke §339 (24:10) ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ταῦτα, καὶ ἐφάνησαν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λῆρος τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, καὶ ἠπίστουν αὐταῖς. (Luke 10b-11 NA28)
Matthew §355 (28:9) Ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ἀπῆντησεν αὐταῖς, λέγων, Χαίρετε. Αἱ δὲ προσελθοῦσαι ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. (Matt. 28:9 RP)
Mark §236 (16:12) Μετα δε ταυτα δυσιν εξ αυτων περιπατουσιν εφανερωθη εν ετερα μορφη πορευομενοις εις αγρον. (Mark 16:12 GA 07)
Luke §341 (24:13) Και ιδου δυο εξ αυτων ησαν πορευομενοι εν αυτη τη ημερα... (Luke 24:13 GA 07)
Mark §237 (16:14) Υστερον ανακειμενοις αυτοις τοις ενδεκα εφανερωθη και ωνειδισεν την απιστειαν αυτων και σκληροκαρδιαν οτι τοις θεασαμενοις αυτον εγειγερμενον ουκ ειπιστευσαν. (Mark 16:14 GA 07)
Luke §343* ¹ (24:35) καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξηγοῦντο τὰ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ ὡς ἐγνώσθη αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου. (Luke 14:35 NA28)
John §313 (20:19) Οὔσης οὖν ὀψίας τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ὅπου ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· εἰρήνῃ ὑμῖν. (John 20:19 NA28)
Matthew §357* ² (28:16) Οἱ δὲ ἔνδεκα μαθηταὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος οὗ ἐτάξατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύνησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν. (Matt. 28:16–17 NA28)

*1 The typical section numbers for the Gospel of Luke typically end at 342 (at 24:44). Codex Basilensis has a different system and section 343 occurs at Luke 24:35.

*2 The typical section numbers of the Gospel of Matthew end at 355 (at 28:9).

numbers (238 and 239) should have values of 2 and 10, based on the parallel pericopes listed in the margin. The final section (241) has a canon value of 5, which is nonsensical as canon 5 lists parallels between Matthew and Luke.

Codex Regius (GA 019)⁴⁴ ends the Gospel of Mark at 16:8 but then adds two additional endings, each marked by a comment (φερετε που και ταυτα and εστην δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ). The Eusebian apparatus ends at 16:8 and does not extend into the additional endings.

Seven Old Latin or mixed-text manuscripts dating to the eighth century have the ending of Mark's Gospel. Codex Fossatensis (VL 9A)⁴⁵ implements the apparatus up to Mark 16:8 (with values of 233/2) though it has the LE (without any apparatus). Codex Rehdigeranus (VL 11; l)⁴⁶ has the modified Eusebian apparatus with cross-reference information in the bottom margin of each page. Despite having the LE (though the text concludes at 16:19), no apparatus entries extend beyond section 233 at 16:8. Codex VL 11A⁴⁷ has the LE of Mark but makes no use of the Eusebian apparatus. Codex Aureus Holmiensis (VL 15; aur)⁴⁸ uses the Eusebian apparatus, the last section being 233, positioned at Mark 16:8; despite having the LE, the apparatus does not extend into it.⁴⁹ The Book of Mulling (VL 35)⁵⁰ makes use of the Eusebian apparatus, the last section number being 233 at Mark 16:8; this codex has the LE, but it makes no use of the apparatus. The codex of VL 48⁵¹ has the LE of Mark but makes no use of the Eusebian apparatus anywhere in the gospels. Additionally, Codex Dunelmensis (Δ; Fischer Nd),⁵² from the Vulgate tradition,⁵³ implements the apparatus and has the LE; the final apparatus uses in this manuscript are at 16:8 (233/2) and 16:12 (234/10). Another Vulgate manuscript dating to circa 700, the Lindisfarne Gospels (Υ; Fischer Ny),⁵⁴ has the LE but ends the Eusebian apparatus at 16:8 (233/2). Likewise, Codex Amiatinus (VL A; Fischer Na)⁵⁵ copies the LE but the apparatus ends at 16:8.⁵⁶

44 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 62.

45 St Petersburg, Russian National Library, F.v.1.8.

46 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Depot Breslau 5.

47 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 67.

48 Stockholm, National Library of Sweden, A. 135.

49 The Library of Congress now has beautiful colour images of Codex Aureus available online at <https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_17185/>.

50 Dublin, Trinity College, 60. New digital images of this codex are available at <<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/9019s695d>>.

51 St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 51.

52 Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.16.

53 Codex Dunelmensis has 90.2% agreement with the Vulgate (Fischer 2010, 136).

54 London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D IV.

55 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiat. 1.

56 Codex Amiatinus has 97.3% agreement with the Vulgate (Fischer 2010, 132).

The eighth century demonstrates a disparity between the Greek and Latin traditions, at least as far as the Eusebian apparatus in Mark 16 is concerned. At least one Greek manuscript bears witness to development of the Eusebian apparatus in the LE of Mark, and this accompanied by creative adaptation of the Eusebian sections. Bare section numbers are now replaced with (largely) meaningful cross-references among parallel passages. The Old Latin tradition, despite partial adoption of the Eusebian apparatus, still shows no signs of extending it into the LE of Mark, despite the tradition's nearly universal adoption of the LE.

Ninth-century Greek and Latin Manuscripts

Most Greek manuscripts of the Gospel of Mark have adopted the Eusebian apparatus by the ninth century and have some form of the extended apparatus into the LE of Mark. The tradition is somewhat stable but shows positional variation for sections 235 (σλε) and 236 (σλζ) and largely an abandonment of canon numbers for these sections. Of the Greek manuscripts compared in this table, GA 011,⁵⁷ 021,⁵⁸ and 031⁵⁹ each have a fully populated Eusebian apparatus (i.e., section numbers paired with canon numbers) outside the LE of Mark. GA 013⁶⁰ and 017⁶¹ only make use of the section numbers outside of the LE, so their absence in the LE is not remarkable.

Table 4. Ninth-century extended Eusebian apparatuses compared.

GA 011		GA 013		GA 017		GA 021		GA 031	
App.	Vs.	App.	Vs.						
σλδ / β	9			σλδ / -	9	σλδ / β	9	σλδ / -	9
σλε / -	10			σλε / -	11	σλε / -	10	σλε / -	10
σλζ / η	12			σλζ / -	13	σλζ / -	12	σλζ / -	12
σλζ / ι	14			σλζ / -	14	σλζ / -	14	σλζ / -	14
σλη / -	15	σλη / -	15	σλη / -	15	σλη / -	15	σλη / -	15 ⁶²
σλθ / -	17	σλθ / -	17	σλθ / -	17	σλθ / -	17	σλθ / -	17
		σμ / -	19	σμ / -	19	σμ / -	19	σμ / -	19
				σμα / -	20			σμα / -	20

57 London, British Library, Harley 5684.

58 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 48.

59 Moscow, State Historical Museum, V. 9, Sin. gr. 399.

60 Hamburg, State and University Library, 91.

61 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 63.

62 The manuscript is contoured with a shadow precisely where the Eusebian apparatus would appear in the margin; what appears to be a character for the section number in the image is uncertain.

The pattern displayed in Table 4 is repeated in Table 5 where Greek manuscripts dated to the ninth or tenth century are likewise compared. GA 399⁶³ and 1424⁶⁴ both make use of the expanded section numbers through 241. GA 399 has the full Eusebian apparatus prior to the LE but only the first extended section number has a paired canon number. GA 1424 is a catena manuscript with a full Eusebian apparatus prior to and then within the LE. Both GA 399 and 1424 depart from the more common canon value of β for section 234, which prompts the question as to whether these values were considered part of the transmission history or if they were freely recalculated by manuscript owners. The other two manuscripts in Table 5 indicate that difficulties persisted in the apparatus that extended into the LE. In GA 0211,⁶⁵ verse 8 is not collocated with section 233, which instead appears at verse 9; additionally, section numbers 237–239 are skipped, most likely because sections 234–236 are pushed further into the LE than in the rest of the tradition. In GA 566⁶⁶ the extended section numbers fall a verse later than the rest of the tradition (e.g., 235 at v. 12 instead of v. 10) and the list terminates early at section 237.

Table 5. Ninth- or tenth-century extended Eusebian apparatuses compared.

GA 399		GA 1424		GA 0211		GA 566	
App.	Vs.	App.	Vs.	App.	Vs.	App.	Vs.
σλδ / η	9	σλδ / δ	9	σλδ / -	12	σλδ / η	9
σλε / -	10	σλε / η	10	σλε / -	14	σλε / η	12
σλς / -	12	σλς / η	12	σλς / -	17	σλς / η	13
σλζ / -	14	σλζ / ?	14			σλζ / ι	15
σλη / -	15	σλη / ζ	15				
σλθ / -	17	σλθ / ι	17				
σμ / -	19	σμ / η	19	σμ / -	19		
σμα / -	20	σμα / ι	20	σμα / -	20		

Ninth-century Greek manuscripts with Mark 16 that either did not make use of the extended apparatus or only made partial use of the extended apparatus were also examined and a brief commentary on each follows in annotated form below:

- GA 034⁶⁷ has the LE of Mark and the full Eusebian apparatus, but the section numbers end at 233.

63 St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Gr. 220.

64 Chicago, Lutheran School of Theology, Gruber 152.

65 Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts, Gr. 27.

66 St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 54, Gr. 282.

67 Macedoniensis, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 6594.

- GA 037⁶⁸ is a Greek manuscript with interlinear Latin. The Eusebian apparatus is present using Latin numeration. One section number is used in the LE of Mark: ccxxxiii (234) / x (10) is positioned at verse 13.
- GA 038⁶⁹ has the LE and the Eusebian section numbers. Section 233 (σλγ / -) does not appear at verse 8 (which reads *κακουσασαι* instead of *καὶ ἐξελθουσai*) and is instead placed at verse 9. One additional section number (234) appears at verse 11 (σλδ / -).
- GA 041⁷⁰ has the LE and implements a complete Eusebian apparatus. The apparatus only partially extends into the LE at sections 234 (σλδ / β at v. 9) and 235 (σλε / η at v. 10). The final portion of the LE is supplied by a later hand (from *ἐξουσiv* in v. 18 through v. 20), also without the apparatus. In the ECM Mark textual flow diagram, 041 is positioned as the immediate ancestor of 02 and 017.
- GA 045⁷¹ has the LE and the full Eusebian apparatus. A single Eusebian section number (σλδ) appears in the LE at verse 9 without a canon number.

Additionally, ninth- or tenth-century Greek manuscripts with Mark 16 include two manuscripts with the LE of Mark but without an implementation of the Eusebian apparatus: GA 033⁷² and GA 565.⁷³ GA 892⁷⁴ has the LE of Mark and a full Eusebian apparatus, but it does not extend into the LE. More unusual, Codex Athous Laurae (GA 044)⁷⁵ has the SE and the LE and the full Eusebian apparatus, though neither the SE nor the LE has the Eusebian apparatus. In the general textual flow diagram for the Gospel of Mark, GA 33, 892, and 044 are all direct descendants of the A-text, while 565 sits three generations below 105 (and as the ancestor to Codex Bezae).

A similarly annotated list of ninth-century Latin manuscripts that have Mark 16 follows:

- Codex Sangallensis (interlinearis) (VL 27; δ)⁷⁶ is a Greek manuscript with interlinear Latin text. The codex utilizes the Eusebian apparatus using Roman numerals, placing the cross-references in the left margin. Section 233 is located at Mark 16:8 (f. 190). In the LE, section 234 (ccxxxiii [234] / x [10]) is added at verse 13.

68 St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 48.

69 Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts, Gr. 28.

70 St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 34.

71 Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 55 (old 10).

72 Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim. 16 (= 2^o Cod. ms. 30).

73 St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 53.

74 London, British Library, Add. 33277.

75 Athos, Great Lavra Monastery, B' 52.

76 Same as GA 037, see above.

- Codex Gatianus (VL 30; gat)⁷⁷ makes use of the Eusebian apparatus. The last section in the Gospel of Mark is 233/2 at Mark 16:8. The LE follows, but without any apparatus entries.
- Codex Vercellensis s.n. (VL 3; a)⁷⁸ is a fourth-century manuscript but the ending of Mark's Gospel was lost and replaced with a supplementary text in the ninth century. The Eusebian apparatus is highly abraded in Mark 16, but the only occurrence of the apparatus in the LE is at verse 14, with a canon number of 10 (x).
- Two Vulgate manuscripts, Codex Martini (Turonensis) (MT; Fisher Ot)⁷⁹ and the Rushworth Gospels (R; Fischer Hr),⁸⁰ both have the LE, but neither implements the apparatus. An Old English interlinear gloss was added to the latter in the tenth century.
- Codex Theodulfianus (Θ; Fischer Om),⁸¹ a Vulgate manuscript dated to circa 800, has the LE but the apparatus ends at 16:8 (233/2).
- Codex Cavensis (C; Fischer Sc),⁸² a Vulgate manuscript dated to the ninth century, has the LE and the last two apparatus uses occur at 16:8 (233/2) and 16:12 (235/10).
- Codex Grandivallensis (Θ^G; Fischer Tg)⁸³ is a Vulgate manuscript dated to the ninth century that copies the LE and extends the apparatus into it at 16:12 (234/8) and 16:14 (235/10).
- The Vulgate codex Vg^{Se} (Fischer Jr)⁸⁴ is a ninth-century gospel book that extends the Eusebian apparatus into the LE at verse 12 (234/8) and 16:14 (235/10).
- The Codex Sangallensis 75 (Vg^S; Fischer Tt)⁸⁵ is a Vulgate manuscript with the LE that dates to circa 800 and implements the apparatus at 16:8 (the section number is miscopied as ccxxiii), 16:12 (234/1), and 16:14 (235/10).
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 46, a ninth-century gospel book possibly from the Benedictine monastery of St Nazarius at

77 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 1587

78 Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare Eusebiano, s. n.

79 Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 22.

80 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Auct. D.2.19 (Bodley 3964).

81 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 9380.

82 Cava de' Tirreni, Biblioteca statale del Monumento Nazionale Badia di Cava, Ms. memb. 1 (14).

83 London, British Library, Add. 10546.

84 Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Aa 11.

85 St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 75.

Lorsch,⁸⁶ has the LE and ends the Eusebian apparatus at 16:12 (234/10). Interestingly, in the capitulary that follows the gospels, capitulum 234 is listed at *In Vigilia Ascensa Domini, at feria v.*⁸⁷

The manuscript evidence from the ninth and ninth/tenth centuries reveals a proliferation of the Eusebian apparatus and variations of its extension into the LE of Mark throughout the Greek tradition. Section numbers in the extended apparatus of the LE retain the upper limit of 241 first found in the fifth-century Ephraemi Rescriptus. Paired canon numbers in this extended apparatus are not common but demonstrate canon number value fluidity when utilized. Both Old Latin and Vulgate manuscripts of this era have mixed adoption of the Eusebian apparatus with some even extending the feature into the LE of Mark, though only by a single section number.

Summary and Conclusion

Any examination of the Greek and Latin traditions for the Eusebian apparatus in the endings of the Gospel of Mark can, at best, generate a tentative history of development. The amount of surviving data from the fourth to eighth centuries is so small that the discovery of even a few more manuscripts from that era could quickly overturn any conclusions drawn from the current dataset. With that caveat in mind, an attempt to produce a model for that history remains a worthwhile endeavor, serving as a framework for future researchers to build upon.

At the earliest period, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the few Greek and Latin manuscripts that preserve Mark 16 reveal the adoption of the Eusebian apparatus in the Greek tradition but not in the Latin. The extended endings of Mark (the SE, LE, or FL) may appear slightly earlier in the Latin tradition but become widespread (though not ubiquitous) in both the Greek and Latin during this period. The fifth-century Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus bears witness to the earliest extension of the Eusebian apparatus into the LE of Mark, using a system that adds sections 234–241 in Mark 16:9–20 but without assigning them canon numbers. These section numbers will become somewhat fixed in the Greek tradition despite some mobility of their positions in the LE.

The data for the sixth and seventh centuries remain somewhat quiet regarding the Eusebian apparatus in the Longer Endings of Mark's Gospel. The Old Latin tradition continues to avoid implementation of the apparatus. In

86 Finch 1968, 174–175. This is more likely than Frere's assessment that it is 'probably Frankish in origin because the entry of St Martin is in red capitals' (Frere 1934, 74).

87 Was 16:12 becoming a normalized section in Latin gospel manuscripts because of Roman liturgy, or had Roman liturgy merely incorporated the LE? I am grateful to Teunis van Lopik for drawing my attention to this manuscript/issue which deserves further attention.

contrast, the Vulgate tradition implements it, but in the LE either avoids implementation (Fischer Jx and Ed) or implements a single section number (Fischer Jz and Ge); the sixth-century Codex Mediolanensis appears anomalous in the Latin transmission of the apparatus by shifting the section positions (e.g., moving §233 back to 16:2) and adopting canon numbers that do not appear downstream in the tradition. The Greek manuscripts from this era have the apparatus but do not extend it into the Longer Endings of Mark's Gospel.

In the eighth century the Eusebian apparatus in the Longer Endings of Mark takes a major step forward in the Greek manuscript tradition: evidence of canon numbers being paired with the extended section numbers finally emerges. Codex Basilensis (GA 07) demonstrates not only a fluidity in the *number and position* of section numbers that might be used in each gospel, but also the agility to link those fluid sections with concrete conceptual parallels. This adaptation demonstrates that at least some gospel book users were making use of the apparatus in the Greek tradition during this period. The Old Latin tradition begins to adopt the Eusebian apparatus but demonstrates no sign of extending it into the Longer Endings of Mark's Gospel. The Vulgate Latin continues to implement the apparatus in the LE at a single point (v. 12).

During the ninth and ninth/tenth century period a larger set of Greek data demonstrates a wide range of possibilities for implementing the extended Eusebian apparatus in the Longer Endings of the Gospel of Mark. Section numbers may end before the LE ends, may extend through section 241 in the LE, and partial implementations occur in the LE as well. Variations in partial implementations may be a result of positional fluidity of the apparatus eliminating positions for other section numbers. The Latin tradition, inasmuch as it tentatively adopts the Eusebian apparatus in some manuscripts, occasionally extends the apparatus to one or two sections in the LE, matching the pattern of the Vulgate tradition; this development appears to be independent of the growth of the apparatus in the Greek tradition.

Regarding the textual relationships within the Greek tradition, the manuscripts examined in this study were evenly distributed throughout the general textual flow diagram for the ECM of the Gospel of Mark. Where textual relationships existed between manuscripts, no evident relationship between the textual flow and the paratextual Eusebian apparatus is apparent. This may suggest that the transmission history of the apparatus is not tightly coupled with the text it accompanies, much like other paratextual features such as punctuation or page layout. Or perhaps the apparatus, as an 'optional' paratextual feature is more temporally bound and thus not appropriate to a non-temporal textual flow diagram. This is certainly an area in need of more exploration.

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Other Languages

The Shorter Ending of the Gospel of Mark in the Coptic Versions

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This article aims to clarify the issue of the endings of Mark in the Coptic versions. It endeavors to show that the endings of Mark fit within the general context of the textual history of the Sahidic Coptic versions of the Gospel of Mark as recently proposed by the authors. It also examines the details of the *conclusio brevior*, prevalent in part of the Coptic tradition, as shown by the research carried out within the framework of the 'SNSF Mark 16' project directed by Claire Clivaz. In addition, it highlights some of the particularities of the textual tradition of the ending of Mark, which could indicate an influence of a monastic environment in Upper Egypt.

Our current research on the endings of Mark in the Coptic versions is a continuation and deepening of the work we have been doing for more than thirty years on the Coptic versions of this Gospel, especially in the Sahidic dialect.¹ In this paper we will briefly present the main achievements of our research on the Coptic versions. Then, after emphasizing the invaluable contribution of the Swiss National Science Foundation 'Mark 16' project to our progress in the understanding of Mark's endings in Coptic, we will present the details of the question of variants for the ending of Mark 16 in the Coptic tradition.²

In studying the endings of the Gospel of Mark in Coptic we were not starting from zero. Two seminal articles were written at different points of the twentieth century. Joseph Michael Heer (1912), in his description and edition of the bilingual lectionary sa 14L (/1602 for the Greek part) had already identified an Upper Egyptian tradition including Coptic and bilingual witnesses coming from the same place, namely the monastery of Shenoute (or White Monastery). Paul Kahle (1951) had at his disposal most of the Coptic witnesses of the Shorter Ending (9 in all, in three different dialects). Not known to these two scholars, however, were the crucial witness sa 1, a complete parchment codex dated to the fifth century, as well as the small fragment sa 366.³ With the help of this new textual material, we have been able to reconstruct the history of the Coptic Sahidic text of Mark, and, as we hope to show here, the endings of Mark fit the general picture of our reconstruction. Conversely,

1 See Boud'hors and Torallas Tovar 2021.

2 Special thanks are due to one of our anonymous reviewers for a very careful reading and many suggestions which helped improve the text.

3 For the reference system of the Sahidic and Fayyumic manuscripts of the New Testament, see Schmitz and Mink 1986–1991 (as well as <<http://intf.uni-muenster.de/smr/>>, this and other URIs last accessed 20 November 2022).

we will try to show that this history contributes to a better understanding of the Shorter Ending in the Coptic versions, especially its last part, which is quite complicated.

1. Overview of the Coptic Versions of Mark

Witnesses of one or more versions of the text of Mark are preserved for three dialects of Coptic: Sahidic (S), the literary language of the Nile Valley from the fourth to the tenth centuries; F5, a variety of Fayyumic, the dialect of the Fayyum region (70 km southwest of Cairo); and B5, medieval Bohairic, the language of Lower Egypt, which became the liturgical language of the Coptic Church from the eleventh century. While the Gospel is preserved in its entirety in several witnesses for the two most important dialects (S and B), there are only a few fragments in F5, but fortunately one of these fragments contains chapter 16. In the following, we consider the witnesses we have as witnesses of versions, and we use for them the sigla Sa, Fa and Bo.

Between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, George Horner was already able to publish a critical edition of the New Testament in each of the two main dialects, versions Sa and Bo.⁴ In the absence of a complete witness, Horner's edition of the Sahidic text was in fact heterogeneous, based on a collection of fragments from different manuscripts of what we discovered were different versions. The publication in the 1970s and 1980s of two complete manuscripts of Mark, one of which can be dated to the fifth century,⁵ as well as the identification of two additional versions, one of which is a revision of the other,⁶ made it necessary to prepare a new critical edition. Since the early 2000s, we have been working on securing the foundation of this edition, trying to reconstruct the history of the text in this dialect and to situate the different witnesses in this textual history. We have recently published the results of this preliminary study⁷ and we summarize here the main conclusions, which concern the existence of three types of texts (ancient, revised and mixed, that we label sa I, sa II and sa III):⁸

4 Horner 1898 and Horner 1911.

5 Barcelona, Archivo Histórico SJ de Cataluña, P.Palau Ribes inv. 182, edited by Quecke 1972 and New York, Morgan Library & Museum MS M 569, edited by Aranda Pérez 1988.

6 Orlandi 1973, Boud'hors 1993.

7 Boud'hors and Torallas Tovar 2021. See also <<https://manuscripts.hypotheses.org/3971>> and <<https://manuscripts.hypotheses.org/3995>>. We are grateful to our colleagues at the INTF (Münster), Siegfried Richter and Katharina Sandmaier, who are continuing the work of Schmitz and Mink 1986–1991 (see <<http://intf.uni-muenster.de/smr/>>), for their help on many points and their willingness to collaborate.

8 We indicate the versions with Roman numerals and the actual manuscripts with Arabic numerals.

- sa I (representing sa I): text of the manuscript Barcelona, Archivo Histórico SJ de Cataluña, P.Palau Ribes inv. 182⁹ (fifth century), which transmits an ancient translation of Mark; this translation would later be revised, but will continue to be copied and used for several centuries; the version transmitted by this manuscript can therefore be called sa I (ancient version). For chapter 16, the only witness for this version is precisely this manuscript.
- sa II: a revised version of the first translation, according to principles of standardization and harmonization (a phenomenon for which a kinship with the Greek GA 032 manuscript can be detected);¹⁰ it is attested by numerous witnesses, the oldest of which can be dated to the fifth–sixth century. None of these manuscripts is complete: it is therefore a reconstructed text,¹¹ for which there are several lacunae and uncertain passages.
- sa 9 (representing sa III): text of the manuscript New York, Morgan Library & Museum M 569¹² (Fayyum, ninth century), which presents a mixed type of text (sa III), standing between the two preceding ones. It is probably the witness of compilation work carried out in the Fayyum;¹³ this mixed text was then transmitted by several manuscripts, all later than sa 9. The only witness for the end of Mark in sa III is sa 9.

The Bo medieval version that has been preserved is not earlier than the eighth century,¹⁴ and we do not know whether there existed an earlier version (pbo = palaeobohairic),¹⁵ as there is for the Gospel of John.¹⁶ The Bo version translates the Greek text quite literally and seems to be independent of Sa.

As for the Fa version, it remains difficult to have a clear idea, and even to determine whether there was one or several different versions, due to the fragmentary state of the evidence. Nevertheless, the scanty Fayyumic witnesses present syntactic and lexical choices that argue for a relative independence from Sa and Bo.¹⁷ We will see this in particular for the ending of Mark.¹⁸

9 Ed. Quecke 1972.

10 For the date of GA 032, see Orsini 2019, 155–157.

11 Most of the time the one from the Horner 1911 edition, but not always.

12 Ed. Aranda Pérez 1988.

13 See Boud'hors and Torallas Tovar 2020.

14 Funk 2013, 541.

15 Miroshnikov 2019b, 180–182.

16 P.Bodmer III. See Kasser 1958 and Askeland 2012, 167–173, 177.

17 Aranda Pérez 1979 gives interesting insights into the ‘diatessaric’ tendency of the Fayyumic version.

18 The only Fayyumic witness to the ending of Mark is the manuscript fa 32, preserved in the Russian National Library in St Petersburg (Copt. Φ. 920, no. 53), published in Elanskaja 1969 (p. 106 for the passage in question). The edition is of good quality, but we regret the absence of an image for the passage concerned. According to Elanskaja (p. 111), the fragment is lost; hence our only source of information is

One can immediately get an idea of the textual situation of the different translations by looking at verse 8, before the possible additions.

sa 1 ⁸αγω ντερογει εβολ ρη πεμραου αγπωτ νερεουροτε γαρ νημαυ. αγω νεγρ ωπηρε ηπογχε λααυ δε νωραχε ελλαυ νεγρ ροτε γαρ'

And when they came out of the tomb, they fled. For fear was with them and they were amazed. And they did not say anything to anyone, for they were afraid.

sa 9 ⁸αγω ντερογει εβολ επεμρααυ αγπωτ νερεουροτε γαρ νημαυ πε. αγω νεγρ ωπηρε ηπογχε λααυ δε νωραχε ελλαυ νεγρ ροτε γαρ' (same translation as for sa 1)

sa II ⁸αγω ντερογσωτμ αγει εβολ ρη πεμρααυ αγπωτ νερεουροτε γαρ νημαυ πε. αγω νεγρ ωπηρε ηπογχε λααυ δε νωραχε ελλαυ νεγρ ροτε γαρ'

And when they heard, they came out of the tomb and fled. For fear was with them and they were amazed. And they did not say anything to anyone, for they were afraid.

Witnesses for sa II: sa 103 (8*) sa 474 sa 14^L sa 357^L

αγω om. sa 357^L | ηπεμρααυ sa 14^L | λααυ (1) om. sa 14^L! | γαρ πε sa 357^L

There is a noteworthy variant in sa II, which presents an additional clause, ντερογσωτμ, 'when they heard'. This can be compared to Greek: ακουσασαι εξηλθον απο του μνημειου και εφυγον GA 099; και ακουσασαι εξηλθον και εφυγον απο του μνημειου GA 032 (or W); και ακουσασαι και εφυγον απο του μνημειου GA 038 (or Θ) 565

fa 32 ⁸[α]γι εβα[λ αγω² εγ]πητ ραβαλ [επεμ]ρεογ η[εαγστωτ] χιτογ πε [μεν ογστ]ηλτελ [αγω] ηπογτα[μα η]λαπη [ηαγελ ρα]† γαρ πε

They went out (and) fled from the tomb, for a trembling had seized them, and a disturbance.¹⁹ And they did not tell anyone, for they were afraid.

Bo ⁸ογορ αγι εβολ αγπωτ εβολ ρα πιμραυ. νεαγσөөртер γαρ ταρωωγ πε νην ογτωμητ. ογορ ηπογχε ρλι ηρλι. ναγερ ρο† γαρ πε.

And they came out and fled from the tomb. For a trembling had seized them, and amazement. And they did not say anything to anyone, for they were afraid.

At this point, a remark can be made about the Coptic translations which should be of use later. The word order of the Sahidic ('to come out of the tomb and flee', not 'to come out and flee from the tomb' as in Greek και εξελθουσαι εφυγον από του μνημείου) is conditioned by the fact that in Coptic 'to come out' is almost always constructed as 'to come out of' (ει εβολ ρη/ε-), with the directional adverb being preferably directly followed by the place comple-

von Lemm's unreliable edition of 1885. Below we have followed the text proposed by Wolf-Peter Funk in his unpublished concordance of dialect F5. Our anonymous reviewer suggested interesting new reconstructions, which shows that the text deserves a reedition, but it does not change the general tendency of the Fa version. On this manuscript, see also Miroshnikov 2019a, 297.

19 Both terms used in Fa mean 'trembling'.

ment. As a result, the variant attested by GA 099 (ακουσασαι εξηλθον απο του μνημειου και εφυγον) appears to be a calque of the Coptic sa II,²⁰ which itself is a translation of the variant attested by GA 032. The Bohairic version preferred to translate the Greek more literally (αγι εβολ αγφωτ), and the Fayyumic version probably chose to render the participial turn of the Greek by applying it to the second verb (εγ]πητ ‘fleeing’) if the reconstruction is correct.

2. The Endings of Mark 16

In our research on the Sahidic versions of Mark chapter 16 has always remained somewhat undeveloped, due to the confusing situation of the witnesses, especially in verse 8. In a recent and still unpublished article,²¹ we have attempted to elucidate the question of the endings by listing and examining in detail the Coptic and bilingual (Greek/Coptic) witnesses. We will repeat here some of the remarks made in that article, but it should be emphasized from the outset that the systematic examination of the witnesses undertaken by Claire Clivaz and Mina Monier in the framework of the ‘Mark 16’ project, as well as Claire Clivaz’s work on the *conclusio brevior*,²² have shed considerable light on these questions. While we were describing a confused situation without understanding it completely, we now believe that we are in a position to give a reasoned description, which confirms our hypotheses on the Coptic translations. Let us summarize these results before taking them up in detail:

sa 1 has a Short Ending. The text ends in verse 8 with the *subscriptio*: ‘Gospel according to Mark’ (πεγαγγελιον κκατα μαρκος).²³ The further circulation of this Short Ending is attested by an amulet (sa 393var).²⁴

20 This is hardly surprising, given that GA 099 is a bilingual manuscript, and comes from an Upper Egyptian monastery: see below 3.1.

21 Boud’hors and Torallas Tovar forthcoming.

22 Clivaz 2021, Monier 2021, Monier 2022. All the images of the manuscripts we will be dealing with in the following are available at <<https://mark16.sib.swiss/>>.

23 In accordance with the text of the large Greek uncials κ and B (Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus). However, unlike these two manuscripts, sa 1 seems to have the ‘Western’ order of the Gospels, with Mark last, an order that is usually accompanied by the Long Ending (uncials GA 05 [or D] and GA 032 [or W]).

24 Fribourg, Bibel und Orient Museum ÄT 2006.8 (TM 135855) a seventh- to ninth-century parchment amulet, no provenance; cf. Emmenegger 2012. Amulets of this type give the beginning and end of each of the four gospels (see Sanzo 2014).

sa II has the *conclusio brevior*: verse 8 is followed by an addition, preceded by an introductory sentence in distinctive layout.²⁵ Then a transitional sentence follows (also in distinctive layout) introducing the Long Ending (vv. 9–20).

sa 9 has the same structure as sa II, but the introductory and transitional phrases are not highlighted by any distinguishing marks in the manuscript.

sa 357^L is not a gospel manuscript but a hagiographic collection,²⁶ normally considered sa II. It contains, among a series of readings for the feast of a local holy monk Apa Harôn (region of Aswan), the whole of chapter 16 (vv. 1–20),²⁷ including the Long Ending, but without any addition to verse 8.

Fa, as far as can be judged from the only surviving witness, has the *conclusio brevior*, perhaps without the first introductory sentence, and with a wording of the transitional sentence very close to that of the Greek witnesses.

Bo seems to have had the Long Ending without any addition in verse 8. However, two witnesses, which are marked A (Huntington 17) and E₁ (London, BL Or. 1315) in Horner's edition, have the addition to v. 8 in the left or lower margin copied by a later hand.²⁸ We will return to these additions below.

Let us now leave aside sa 1 and 357^L, to focus on the other witnesses, those which attest the *conclusio brevior*.

3. Detailed Comparison of Greek and Coptic Witnesses in the *conclusio brevior*

3.1. Coptic Witnesses: Some Details

In order to situate the Coptic witnesses in relation to the Greek manuscripts, we will now look closely at their material aspects. The witnesses of sa II attesting the *conclusio brevior* (in a more or less complete way, due to their fragmentary character) are five in number:²⁹ sa 14^L, a bilingual lectionary

25 By distinctive layout we mean that the manuscripts present the text copied in different style and size, often marked with lines above and below. On these 'paratexts', see Monier 2022, 12.

26 London, British Library, Oriental 7029.

27 On the purpose of this passage among the readings for this feast, see Dijkstra and van der Vliet 2020, 17.

28 Both are bilingual (Coptic-Arabic) manuscripts. The Shorter Ending is not in the Arabic text. See Monier 2022, 10.

29 The manuscripts sa 102 and sa 121 do not preserve any word of the *conclusio brevior*. However, their text corresponds to the end of the transitional sentence, as we shall see below.

(whose Greek part is known under the abbreviation GA /1602), sa 102, sa 121, sa 366, sa 474. With the exception of sa 366, a very small fragment whose provenance is unknown, all the others come from the library of the monastery of Shenoute, also known as the ‘White Monastery’, founded at the end of the fourth century in Upper Egypt.³⁰ It is also from this monastery that the Greek folio known as GA 099 comes from, and it cannot be excluded that it belonged to a bilingual lectionary of the type of sa 14^L, to which it bears a strong resemblance.³¹ These two manuscripts, as well as sa 102 and sa 121, are copied in two columns in a biblical majuscule with very marked contrast of thick and thin strokes. Dated very variably by scholars in the past, these manuscripts have recently been convincingly attributed to the period seventh–eighth-century,³² coincidentally also the date assigned to GA 099. As for sa 474, the date is slightly later (tenth century?), and its palaeographic characteristics bring it closer to manuscripts copied in the Fayyum (before being sent to Upper Egypt). sa 9 also comes from a monastery in the Fayyum, so we are perhaps dealing here with two different production environments, one, Upper Egypt, being the cradle of sa II, the other, the Fayyum, a region where various traditions co-existed.

3.2 Introduction to Addition after v. 8

The Greek text has a number of different versions of the addition:

- GA 019 φερετε που και ταυτα, ‘these too are introduced somewhere (= in other manuscripts?)’ (with distinctive layout)
- GA 099 εν τισι των αντιγραφων ταυτα φερεται, ‘in some copies, these are introduced’ (with distinctive layout)
- GA /1602 εν αλλοις αντιγραφοις ουκ εγραφη ταυτα, ‘in other copies these are not written’ (with distinctive layout)

30 It is possible that the version sa II was produced in this monastery, an epicenter of Egyptian monasticism at that time. On this library see Orlandi 2002, Suciú 2014.

31 On sa 14^L, see Heer 1912 and Depuydt 1993, no. 54. The folio 099 was edited by Amélineau 1895, then reedited by Horner 1898 with improvements. It is a mystery to us how Horner was able to decipher the front of this parchment folio, which is now completely illegible, and already very difficult to read at the end of the nineteenth century, according to Amélineau. It is not clear that he had access to special lighting or photographs, or even to a transcription that predates Amélineau’s edition. In any case, it is impossible to verify Horner’s readings for the distinctively written sentences. In terms of content, sa 14^L features Mark 16:1–20 in Greek, then in Coptic, and the same may have been true of the manuscript to which GA 099 may have belonged.

32 See Suciú 2020, 383–388.

- catenae GA 1422 and GA 2937³³ αὐτὴ ἡ ὑποθεσις οπιθεν εστι εἰς τὸ εφοβουντο γαρ, ‘this addition following (the text) is ‘because they feared’’.³⁴

The other Greek manuscripts, GA 083, GA 044, GA 274^{ms} and GA 579 and the Vetus Latina 1 do not have the introductory sentence of the addition.

The situation in the Coptic manuscripts is as follows:

- sa 14^L ἔτι ἡ ἄλλοις ἀπογραφῶν δεῖται καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων ἐπιθεῖται, ‘and in other copies these are appended to them’ (with a distinctive layout, a forked *paraphros*, smaller characters, and spacious line division). It is noteworthy that the Coptic version is a mixture of the translation of the Greek of GA 11602, the Greek part of the same manuscript (‘in other copies’), and of that of the Greek of GA 099 (‘these are added/introduced’).
- sa 9 ἔτι ἡ ἄλλοις ἀπογραφῶν δεῖται καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων ἐπιθεῖται, ‘and in other copies, these are appended to them’, presents the same phrasing as sa 14^L, but in continuous text, without a distinctive layout.
- sa 366 and sa 474 present a *lacuna*.
- bo 13 or E₁ (London, British Library, Oriental 1315) has ἕτερον κειμενόν, ‘in another writing’ (in the paragraph inserted in the lower margin).
- bo 2 or A (London, British Library, Huntington 17) omits this sentence in the marginal addition.
- fa 32 has a lacuna (but perhaps not big enough to have contained the whole sentence).

3.3. Text of the Addition: towards a Critical Edition

Following the introductory indication, the addition itself presents the following text in Greek:

παντα δε τα παρηγγελμενα τοις περι τον Πετρον συντομως εξηγιλαν. μετα δε ταυτα και αυτος ο ις εφανη αυτοις, απο ανατολης και αχρι δι αυσεως εξαπεστιλεν δι αυτων το ιερων και αφθαρτον κηρυγμα της αιωνιου σωτηριας αμην.

inc. [...] ταυτα 083 | ο ις 019 099 274 579 2937: ις 044 083 1422 | εφανη αυτοις 019 099: om. 083 274 579 1422 2937, om. αυτοις 044 11602 | ανατολης: ανατολης ηλιου 099: ανατολων 274 | αχρι: μεχρι 044: om. και before αχρι 083 | αμην: om. 019

(the most important variant is the omission of εφανη αυτοις)

The Vetus Latina 1 reads:³⁵

33 Chains are based on the principle of distinctive layout.

34 These two manuscripts are not exactly of the same type, but they attest similar variations for this passage. See Monier 2021, 8 and Monier 2022, 12, where the translation is ‘this hypothesis is at the rear of ‘for they were afraid’’.
35 On the *cum puero* variant, see Clivaz 2021.

*Omnia autem quaecumque praecepta erant et qui cum P[et]ro erant breuiter exposuerunt posthaec et ipse Iesus adparuit et ab orientem usque in orientem misit per illos sanctam et incorruptam [praedicationem] salutis aeternae. Amen.*³⁶

The Sahidic Coptic has the addition attested in sa 9, sa 14^L and partially in sa 474 and 366. The text below is that of sa 9, with the variants in other manuscripts listed in apparatus:

ΝΕΝΤΑΦΩΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΑΦΧΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΟΥΩΩΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ. ΜΗΝΣΑ
ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΟΝ ΔΙΤ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΧΙΝ ΕΜΜΑ ΝΩΑ ΜΠΡΗ ΩΑ ΝΝΑ ΝΖΩΤΠ
ΑΦΧΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΜΠΓΑΩΕ ΟΕΙΩ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΤΓΑΚΟ ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΠΩΑ
ΕΝΕΖ ΖΑΜΗΝ

αφχοου sa 9: αφχοου sa 14^L (lac. sa 366 sa 474) | αυω sa 9 sa 474: om. sa 14^L (lac. sa 366)

And all that he had commanded to the companions of (lit.: to those of) Peter, they told (var. sa 9: he told) briefly. And after that Jesus appeared to them again. (And) from the places of the rising of the sun to the places of the setting, he sent through them the holy and imperishable proclamation of the eternal salvation. Amen.

The only Fayyumic manuscript for this section presents a very fragmentary text, however the preserved text allows us to spot a variant: ‘great’ (νασ), where the other versions have ‘holy’ (ιερον, *sanctam*, ετουααβ):

[...]Υ ΔΑΤ ΔΝ[ΣΕΜΗΙ³⁷ ΕΛ]ΑΥ ΝΝΑ[10–12]Υ[...] ΜΠΝΑΣ ΕΡΙ ΔΙ[Ω] ΑΥΩ ΝΑ[ΤΓΑΚΑ] ΝΤΕ
Π[ΟΥΧΕΙ Ν]ΩΑ ΕΝΕ[Ζ ΖΑΜΗΝ]

[...] he commanded them to the [...] the great and imperishable proclamation of the eternal salvation. Amen.

In Bohairic Coptic there are two different versions in the two witnesses described above:³⁷

bo 2 (added in the left hand margin at 90°):

ΟΥΟΖ ΝΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΑΦΩΝΖΕΝ ΜΜΟΥ (sic for ΜΜΩΟΥ?) ΝΝΗ ΕΤΑΥΙ ΜΕΝΕΝΣΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ:
ΟΥΟΖ ΞΕΝ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΣΑΧΙ ΜΜΩΟΥ: ΟΥΟΖ ΜΕΝΕΝΣΑ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΡΩΟΥ
ΝΧΕ ΙΗΣ ΙΣΧΕΝ ΜΜΑ ΝΩΑΙ ΝΤΕ ΦΡΗ ΩΑ ΝΕΦΜΑ ΝΖΩΤΠ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΟΥΩΡΠΟΥ ΕΡΙ ΩΕΝΝΟΥΧΙ
ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΑΤΜΟΥΝΚ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΝΨ ΝΕΝΕΖ ΔΜΗΝ.

And all that he had commanded to those who followed Peter, they told openly.³⁸ And after that Jesus appeared to them again from the places of the rising of the sun to the places of its setting. And he sent them for the holy and imperishable proclamation of eternal life. Amen.

36 Text according to Clivaz 2021, 83.

37 For a German translation, see <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=Qk8y>>.

38 This translation avoids the difficult ‘and’ before ‘they told’. Our anonymous reviewer suggested that ΕΤΑΦΩΝΖΕΝ could be interpreted as a second perfect. Then we would not need to ignore the ΟΥΟΖ: ‘And all those things were the ones that he commanded and they told them openly’.

bo 13 (added in the lower margin in smaller characters). A supplementary note says it has been added ‘in another writing’, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\ \kappa\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$; the Arabic side also has an addition with the same content in the lower margin, without the clarification ‘in another writing’, but with the mention of a Sahidic origin for the passage (f. 212v right margin):

ϩΩΒ ΔΕ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΑΥΖΕΝΖΕΝ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΕΡΩΟΥ: ΑΦΑΙΤΟΥ βΕΝ ΟΥΩΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ: ΜΕΝΕΝΣΑ ΝΑΙ
ΔΕ ΑΦΟΥΟΝΖΦ ΕΡΩΟΥ ΝΧΕ ΙΗϸ ΙΣΧΕΝ ΝΙΜΑ ΝΩΑΙ ΝΤΕ ΦΡΗ ΩΑ ΝΕΦΜΑ ΝΖΩΤΠ: ΕΒΟΛ
ΖΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΩΡΠ ΗΠΠΙ ΩΙΩ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΑΤΩΩβΕΝ βΕΝ ΟΥΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΕΝ[εε].

And all that was commanded to Peter, he did briefly. And after that, Jesus appeared to them; from the places of rising of the sun to the places of its setting; through them he sent the preaching, holy, undefiled, in eternal salvation.

3.3.1. *Comment on the First Sentence*

Given the differences in translation, it can be noticed that the first sentence posed difficulties in understanding, which resulted in confusion of pronouns and their referents. We understand the Greek text as follows: ‘They briefly told Peter’s companions all that had been commanded to them’.³⁹

The Sahidic Coptic has followed the word order of the Greek literally, and uses an active turn of phrase, thus arriving at a substantially different result: ‘All that he had commanded to the companions of (lit.: to those of) Peter, they told (var. sa 9: he told) briefly’. The active form seems to be present also in Fa and in Bo Hunt. 17. There remains the question about the subject ‘he’. Can this be the young man sitting by the tomb?

The Bohairic witnesses are substantially different from each other:

- bo 2: ‘And whatever he had commanded to those who followed Peter, they told it openly’.
- bo 13: ‘And all that was commanded to Peter, he did it briefly’.

The first one is quite close to the Sahidic translation, except for the use of ‘openly’. The second one sounds rather interpretative.

3.3.2. *Comment on the Second Sentence*

‘Then Jesus himself also appeared to them, (+/- and) from the east to the west He sent forth through them the sacred and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation, amen’.

The variant $\epsilon\phi\alpha\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (‘appeared to them’) is present in Coptic Sa and Bo (Fa has a lacuna there), as well as in VL 1, and in the Greek testimonies of GA 019 and GA 099. On the other hand, GA 044 and l1602 feature it

39 For the text of VL 1, which poses specific problems, see Clivaz 2021.

partially.⁴⁰ The omission of αυτοις in the latter manuscripts could be explained by the vicinity of αυτος. It should also be noted that the omission of the full clause is already found in GA 083, the Sinaitic palimpsest (which seems to be the earliest Greek witness to the *conclusio brevior*).

The Greek variant ανατολης ηλιου ‘sunrise’ of GA 099 (but not I1602) could have been influenced by the Coptic, εμμα ναα ηπη, ‘the places of rising of the sun’, a periphrasis frequent in Coptic for the expression of ‘sunrise’, although not absolutely necessary (e.g. Matt 2:1 has νεμα ναα without the addition of ηπη for the sun).⁴¹

The variant addition of ‘and’ before απο ανατολης is attested by VL 1, sa 9 and sa 474 (the latter two come from the same region), but no Greek witness includes it; bo 13 does not have it; bo 2 seems to have interpreted the sentence differently, as if ‘the places of the rising of the sun to the places of its setting’ were the places for Jesus to appear.

It is also noteworthy that the two Bo witnesses have different translations for ‘proclamation’ and ‘imperishable’, and bo 2 has ‘life’ where all the rest have ‘salvation’.

The Fa text, as noted above, has a peculiar variant, and gives ‘great’ (νασ) where the other versions have ‘holy’.

Finally, the final ‘Amen’ is omitted by bo 13, and also by the Greek text of GA 019.

3.4. Introduction to the Long Ending

After the addition to v. 8, the Greek text in MSS GA 019, GA 044, 083, catenae GA 1422 and GA 2937 has the following introductory sentence to the Long Ending:

εστιν δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ
And these too are placed after ‘for they were afraid’.

The manuscripts display different distinctive layouts: a frame in GA 019, the use of *eisthesis* in GA 044, smaller characters for GA 083. Other manuscripts present no means of highlighting the text: GA 274, GA 579.

There is a variant text εστιν δε [ε και ταυ]τα φερομε[να] (with distinctive layout) followed by ειχεν γαρ αυτας τρομος και εκστασις ουδενι ουδεν ειπον εφοβουντο γαρ in MSS GA 099 and I1602 (the two White Monastery manu-

40 Again, the two Greek witnesses from the White Monastery in Upper Egypt, 099 and I1602, do not coincide completely.

41 Also Matt 8:11 απο ανατολων και δυσμων translates εβολην νεμα ναα ηπη ημα ηρωττι; Gn 13.11 etc. Examples with the additional ηπη are frequent in the OT (e.g. Num 21:11, Deut 4:41), but in the NT this is the only example in the Gospels (+ Rev 7:2 and 16:2).

scripts), ‘And this also is introduced’, followed by the addition of the entire v. 8b.

VL 1 does not have a Long Ending, since it ends with the addition to v. 8.

The text of the Coptic Fa witness has (with a distinctive layout):

νεικεκαγ[ι δε] φαγει μνη[σα] νει <ν>αγελ ρα† γαρ πε

And these other words come after these (namely) ‘for they <were> afraid’.⁴²

This is the only Coptic reading close to the Greek text of GA 019 et al.

The Sahidic versions have some variation:

sa 9 ναϊ δε ον ηπ̄ ερογν̄ εροογ̄ μνησα ναϊ̄ δε νερεογστωτ̄ αμαρτε̄ μμοογ̄
 μν̄ ογωτορτρ̄ αγω̄ μπογχε̄ λααγ̄ νφαχε̄ ελααγ̄ νεγρ̄ ροτε̄ γαρ̄ (non-distinctive layout, only large initials as any other paragraph beginning, ‘And these too are added to them after these, namely “a trembling held them ...”’).

sa 14^L ναϊ̄ δε ον̄ χ̄ῑ ερογν̄ εροογ̄ (distinctive layout smaller characters separated by intermittent lines above and below, ‘And these too are appended to them’)

νερεογστωτ̄ δε̄ αμαρτε̄ μμοογ̄ μν̄ ογωτορτρ̄ αγω̄ μπογχε̄ λααγ̄ νφαχε̄ ελααγ̄
 νεγρ̄ ροτε̄ γαρ̄

sa 474 ναϊ̄ δε ον̄ ηπ̄̄ ε[ρο]γν̄ εροογ̄ (distinctive layout, significantly smaller characters and double rubricated lines above and below, ‘And these too are added to them ...’)

νερεογστωτ̄ αμαρτε̄ μμοογ̄ μν̄ ογωτορτρ̄ [α]γω̄ μπογχε̄ λ[α]α[γ̄ ν]φαχε̄ ελααγ̄
 νεγρ̄ [ρο]τε̄ γαρ̄

There is a lacuna in sa 366; sa 9 and sa 474 use the verb ωπ/ηπ̄ ‘to include, to count in’, while sa 14^L prefers χ̄ῑ ‘to take’. This might be a regional variation. However, sa 474 is closer to sa 14^L in that it presents a distinctive layout for the addition.

There is therefore in sa II and sa 9, as in GA 099 and I1602, a repetition of a longer portion of verse 8b, but with a different wording:

Sa: νερεογστωτ̄ (δε) αμαρτε̄ μμοογ̄ μν̄ ογωτορτρ̄. αγω̄ μπογχε̄ λααγ̄
 νφαχε̄ ελααγ̄ νεγρ̄ ροτε̄ γαρ̄.

(And/for) a trembling held them, and an upheaval. And they did not say a word to anyone, for they were afraid.

Greek: ειχεν γαρ̄ αυτας̄ τρομος̄ καῑ εκστασις̄ [καῑ] ουδενῑ ουδεν̄ ειπον̄
 εφοβουντο̄ [γαρ̄]

Compare 8b:

42 The text must be emended here, as it was suggested by our anonymous reviewer, because the prefix of the Imperfect is necessary.

Sa: $\text{Nepewoxote gar mmay (pe) ayw neyr wphre. moyxe laay de nwaye elay neyr zote gar.}$

For fear was with them and they were amazed. And they said no word to anyone, for they were afraid.

Greek: $\text{eichen gar autas tromos kai ekstasis kai ouden oudeni eipon ephobounto gar}$

In the repetition the Greek is translated more accurately. The earlier translation of v. 8 was a bit rough (which is sometimes a feature of sa 1)⁴³: the revised sa II could have changed the translation of sa 1, but it did not do so (perhaps out of respect or lack of imagination).

The repetition of 8b, attested in sa 9, sa 14^L and sa 474, is also attested in sa 102 and sa 121, albeit fragmentarily. However, the fragmentary testimony allows us to conclude that these two manuscripts most likely attested the *conclusio brevior*.

sa 102 [... mmoy MN oywtortp' ayw moyxe laay nwaye elay neyrzote gar

sa 121 [amayte mmoy MN oywt[ortp] ayw m[oyxe la]ay n[waye elay]

The lengthening presented by 8b seems therefore to be peculiar to the Upper Egyptian milieu. What caused its inclusion in GA 099, I1602? Perhaps the need for precision came from Coptic Sa, which, because of the rough translation of the first part of 8b, resulted in a repetition of zote gar , thus an ambiguity ('For fear was with them, and they were amazed. And they said no word to anyone, for they were having fear'), which did not exist in Coptic Fa. This repetition might have been inserted in order to pick up more clearly with the text, after a lengthy insertion.

Along with the lengthening of the repetition of v. 8b, a syntactic break occurred with the retraction of meta . It is consummated in sa 14^L with the addition of de after nepewoxtwt . In contrast, this break does not exist in sa 9, which says precisely: 'And these too are added to them after these, namely "a trembling held them ..."'. As sa 9 is probably the result of a compilation made in the Fayyum, it is possible that the Fa version played a role in the wording of sa 9.

As for the Bohairic Coptic version, there is a supplementary complexity. bo 13 has no trace of the transitional sentence to the Long Ending (the same

43 The reality may be a bit more complicated: 'fear' (zote) could correspond to the variant phobos attested by GA 05 and GA 032; while the word ekstasis has given rise to many different translations in the Coptic biblical texts, no other example is known of a translation by wphre , 'amazement', but Bo uses twmt , which has the same meaning.

is true for VL 1, GA 044 and GA 579). By contrast, bo 2 has it, embedded in the marginal addition, immediately after the *conclusio brevior*:

bo 2 ΝΑΙ ΟΝ ΝΘΩΟΥ ΕΥΗΠ{1} ΝΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ ΜΕΝΕΝΑ ΝΑΙ ΕΦΕΤΑΡΩΟΥ ΝΡΑΝΩΘΟΡΤΕΡ ΝΕΜ ΡΑΝΡΟΧΡΕΧ ΟΥΟΖ ΗΠΟΥΧΕ ΖΛΙ ΝΡΛΙ ΝΓΑΧΙ ΝΑΥΕΡ ΖΟΤ ΓΑΡ.

And these too are counted with them, (namely): ‘And after these things he shall set them up for upheavals and torments. And they did not say a word to anyone, for they were afraid’.

Here we see the same phenomenon as in Sa: the terms of the addition are not the same as in v. 8b, which has ΝΕΔΟΥΧΘΕΡΤΕΡ ΓΑΡ ΤΑΡΩΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΩΜΤ. ΟΥΟΖ ΗΠΟΥΧΕ ΖΛΙ ΝΡΛΙ. ΝΑΥΕΡ ΖΟΤ ΓΑΡ, ‘For a trembling had reached them, and an amazement. And they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid’. This is quite interesting, as Bo already had a fairly literal translation of the Greek in 8b. This means that the translation of this reprise was done independently of the text of 8b in Bo, most likely from the Sahidic. Nevertheless, it poses several difficulties:

- ΜΕΝΕΝΑ ΝΑΙ could be a trace of the *μετά* here (as in sa 9), with an anticipatory *ΝΑΙ*; the *ΟΥΟΖ* (‘and’) is unexpected, but this sometimes occurs in Bo.
- the form *εφεταρωου* is difficult to justify as a translation of *ειχεν αυτας*, from the point of view of both tense and person. The tense looks like a future, which makes no sense, and the syntax seems to be incorrect: should we consider ‘he’ to be impersonal and understand ‘upheavals and torments had reached them’?⁴
- the plural before the nouns *ωθορτερ* and *ροχρεχ* is nowhere to be found: one can at best invoke, for the latter, the proximity of the Greek forms of singular (*ἔκστασις*) and plural (*ἔκστάσεις*).
- What to make of the lexical choice? *ωθορτερ* and *χοερτερ* are not synonyms, but their phonetic proximity has often caused confusion between them; *ροχρεχ* seems less fortunate than *τωμτ*: it is never used elsewhere to translate *ἔκστασις*.

4. Recapitulation of the Hypothesis for the Introduction to the Long Ending

When incorporating the transitional phrase to v. 9, the translator of sa II realized that there might be an ambiguity because of the presence of *ζοτε γαρ* twice in v. 8b. He therefore retranslated all of verse 8b, not just the last few

44 This use of the impersonal does not seem to be known to us in Coptic. Our anonymous reviewer suggests that this Bohairic text could be a poorly executed translation from Arabic. In Arabic, when the subject follows the verb, the verb remains singular regardless of the number of the subject. This could explain the ‘he’ of the Bohairic. Moreover, Arabic perfect can be used as optative, which would explain the use of third future in the Bohairic.

words, more literally from the Greek, to eliminate ροτε and ραπ from the first part of the sentence. Due to the length of the restatement, only the sentence ‘And these too are added/appended to them’ was written in a distinctive way, the rest was treated as continuous text.

This repetition influenced the copyists of the Greek witnesses of the White Monastery in Upper Egypt (GA 099 and I1602, probably both bilingual), who integrated it.

sa 9, the result of a compilation work in the Fayyum, had access to a Fa version that normally translated the common transitional phrase from Greek. This led to a reintroduction of the phrase ‘after that’, but not of the distinctive layout, which was already absent in the introduction to the *conclusio brevior*.

Only one Bo manuscript chose to account for this transitional phrase, but with several clumsy features. Since this manuscript seems to be a product of Lower Egypt, it could have been influenced by Sahidic manuscripts from the Fayyum, of the type of sa 9.

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The Endings of the Gospel of Mark in Syriac Witnesses

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Four main Syriac versions of the Greek gospels survive, and some copies of these versions were later revised against further Greek gospel manuscripts. Many of these Syriac gospel versions survive in early manuscripts. Together with early Syriac patristic texts, these Syriac gospel manuscripts provide important datable evidence for three of the main endings to the Gospel of Mark, and for their reception in the Syriac-using churches of Syria and Mesopotamia. This article seeks to provide an up-to-date overview and assessment of their evidence.

The intention of this paper is simply to provide an up-to-date analysis of the available Syriac data relating to the end of the Gospel of Mark. Much of the data has been available in disparate sources for some time, but it has not always been thoroughly analysed, and so the SNSF project ‘MARK16’ provides a good opportunity to do just that.¹

A few quick preliminaries are necessary. Four main Syriac versions will be examined in this paper: 1. The Syriac gospel harmony (late second century or third century?); 2. The Old Syriac versions (third century?);² 3. The Peshitta version (by early fifth century); 4. The Harklean version (615/616 CE).³ For the first three of these there remain numerous uncertainties about the exact details of their origins, although some approximate dates can be provided, and early manuscript witnesses survive. Although the Syriac wording of the second and third of these translations shows clear signs of dependence upon earlier Syriac versions, at each stage the Syriac version of all four is either a translation from a Greek text, or a revision of an earlier translation from Greek made with the help of further Greek Gospel manuscripts. These

- 1 I am very grateful to Claire Clivaz for her invitation to participate in this project, and for her constant encouragement and feedback, as well as Mina Monier and Dan Batovici, co-organizers with Clivaz of the second ‘MARK16’ conference. Gratitude is also owed to the reviewers and readers of this article, both anonymous and known, who have saved me from various errors and infelicities of expression.
- 2 Three Old Syriac manuscripts are discussed in this article: the Sinai palimpsest (Sinai, St Catherine, Syriac MS 30) cited as S; the Curetonian manuscript (London, British Library, Add. 14451, with fragments preserved in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Syriac 8, and in Deir al-Surian, Syriac fragment 9), cited as C; and the Fragmentary Sinai palimpsest (Sinai, St Catherine, Syriac NF 37 and NF 39), cited as F.
- 3 There is no known surviving manuscript of the Philoxenian Gospel text, although in earlier scholarly publications some manuscripts of the Harklean version were so identified. See Aland 1981, Brock 1981.

Greek manuscripts would have been those available to the Syriac translators, presumably in Mesopotamia for the first three, and near Alexandria for the fourth. The usual working presumption is that each subsequent Syriac version reflects a slightly later stage of development in the Greek text of Mark, but the potential flaws in this reasoning should be obvious. In addition, each of the last three of these Syriac versions (and possibly also the first) underwent internal revisions, some of them as a result of deliberate editorial activity (again on occasion involving consultation of Greek texts). Given this constant interaction of the Syriac texts with Greek exemplars, it is perhaps unsurprising that Syriac manuscripts of Mark provide witnesses to three of the main endings: the Shortest Ending at Mark 16:8, the Shorter (or Intermediate) Ending, and the Long Ending Mark 16:9–20.

Syriac gospel harmony

The language and form of the earliest gospel text in use in Mesopotamia is unknown, but it is most likely that a Greek text was used, since that was the earliest local language of Christian epigraphy (and possibly liturgy) in centres such as Edessa and Nisibis.⁴ Whether these Greek gospel texts were of the separate gospels or of a gospel harmony is unknown, but it appears that the earliest Syriac version of the gospels in widespread local use was a gospel harmony. No manuscript of the Syriac harmony survives,⁵ and so we are mostly dependent for our knowledge of its structure and text on the mid-fourth-century *Commentary on the Gospel Harmony* attributed to Ephrem of Nisibis (d.373),⁶ preserved in a single Syriac manuscript of the late fifth century, Dublin, Chester Beatty, Syr. 709.⁷ Eighty per cent of the commentary survives in

4 For an overview, see Taylor 2018, Taylor 2020.

5 The Arabic and Persian Gospel Harmonies (both translated from Syriac harmonies) are unreliable witnesses to the precise wording of the early Syriac harmony, although they remain important for what they tell us of its structure. But for a close examination of their texts of the endings of Mark in relation to the wider Diatessaric evidence, see Zola 2022. For the text of the Arabic Diatessaron, see Marmardji 1935. For some recent major contributions to Diatessaronic studies, see Petersen 1994; Schmid 2013; Crawford and Zola 2019; Barker 2021.

6 For an overview of the evidence for Ephrem's authorship, and the possible additions by later editors, see Lange 2005, 36–68.

7 The surviving Syriac manuscript was broken up in the modern period, and sold to libraries piecemeal. Its edition is thus divided between three publications, Leloir 1963, Valdivieso 1966, and Leloir 1990. The Armenian version was edited by Leloir 1953, 1954. Translations drawing upon both the Syriac text and the early Armenian translation were published by Leloir 1966 (without the Syriac folios published later), McCarthy 1993, Lange 2008. Since the opening and final folios of the Syriac manuscript are lost we cannot be sure of the original title of this commentary.

16:19 the phrase μετὰ τὸ λαλήσαι αὐτοῖς (‘after he had spoken with them’) is rendered in the Curetonian manuscript as ,ܡܘܨܚܘܢܝܗܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ (‘after he had commanded his disciples’), which suggests that the opening of Mark 16:15, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (‘and he said to them’), may well have been rendered as ,ܡܘܨܚܘܢܝܗܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ (‘and he commanded his disciples’) in the Syriac harmony and Old Syriac version.¹¹ This would seem to be supported by the allusion to Mark 16:15 found in the late fourth-century text, the *Doctrina Addai*, which was almost certainly composed in Edessa:¹²

Doctrina Addai (8:22)

ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܨܚܘܢܝܗܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ We were commanded to proclaim his Gospel
in the whole of creation.

The paragraph in Ephrem containing this citation (VIII.1b) is not preserved in the Armenian translation, but that is true of many paragraphs judged to be original to the commentary. In this case the suggestion that the Syriac harmony contained wording taken from Mark 16:15 seems to be supported by two allusions to this verse found elsewhere in the commentary, one (VI.21a) preserved in Syriac and Armenian (where Jesus’ words are again characterised as a commandment), and one (XIX.15) just in Armenian,¹³ which again reflects a harmonisation of Mark 16:15 and Matt 28.19:

Ephrem, *Comm. Gospel Harmony* VI.21a

ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܨܚܘܢܝܗܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ For, just as one who does not announce his
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܨܚܘܢܝܗܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ Gospel sins, since he does not keep the com-
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܨܚܘܢܝܗܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ mandment, ...

Ձորը արհիսակ որ ոչն աւետարանէն For, just as he who does not preach his Gos-
զաւետարանն նորա՝ մեղանչէ, զի ոչ պաշէ pel sins, since he does not keep the command-
զպատուիրանն ment, ...

Ephrem, *Comm. Gospel Harmony* XIX.15

Եւ զի ասէ Գնացէք ընդ ամենայն աշխարհ, And when he says, ‘Go forth into the whole
Եւ մկրտեցէք զնոսս յանուն Հայր, եւ world, and baptise them in the name of the
Որդւոյ եւ Հոգւոյ. Father, and of the Son, and of the Spirit.’

11 The Peshitta text in both verses closely follows the Greek: P Mark 16:15 ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ (‘and he said to them’); P Mark 16:19 ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܝܗܘܢ (‘after he had spoken with them’). The citation of Mark 16:19 in the Arabic Diatessaron (55:12) reads ‘after having spoken to them’, with the Greek and Peshitta.
12 See Howard 1981, 8.22. The earliest manuscripts of the *Doctrina Addai* (London, British Library, Add. 14654, and Add. 14644) date to the fifth or sixth centuries.
13 In this case the passage falls in a physical lacuna in the Syriac manuscript, rather than being absent from surviving text.

The fact that these early writers had access to the words of the Long Ending of Mark, is not of course the same thing as asserting that they knew that these words come from the end of Mark. They were simply part and parcel of the current gospel harmony text. Furthermore, if the presumption mentioned in the next section is correct, namely that the original version of the Old Syriac gospels did not have the Long Ending of Mark, then these verses are potentially significant as a further piece of evidence that the harmony pre-dates the Syriac separate gospels, and that the original language of this harmony was Greek, not Syriac. If there was no available Old Syriac text of Mark 16:9–20,²⁰ then the harmony cannot have been composed in that language, but must have been composed in Greek, where some manuscripts contained this text, and only subsequently were these verses translated into Syriac.

Old Syriac versions

The Syriac gospel harmony known to Ephrem is textually very close to the separate Old Syriac gospels, and it is usually presumed that the Old Syriac gospel versions postdate the harmony, and their Syriac wording derives from the harmony.²¹ It is also the current consensus that the surviving manuscripts are descendants of an original unitary translation, produced at some point in the third century. Until the past few years only two manuscripts of this Old Syriac version were known, the late fourth-century Sinai palimpsest (Sinai, St Catherine, Syriac MS 30) known as Sinaiticus Syriacus (S),²² and the fifth-century Curetonian manuscript (London, British Library, Add. 14451; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Syriac 8; Deir al-Surian, Syriac fragment 9) (C),²³ whose Old Syriac text appears to have been secondarily revised against a Greek text of the gospels.²⁴ Now three further fragmentary manuscripts of the Old Syriac gospels have been identified, bringing the total to five witnesses. The largest of these new witnesses, labelled F (for Fragmentary manuscript), is preserved in St Catherine's Monastery Sinai in two palimpsest manuscripts (MS Syriac, St Catherine, NF 37 and NF 39), and is probably to be dated to the late fifth

20 This presumes that the Long Ending attested in C is a later development.

21 For an extremely useful survey of scholarship on the Old Syriac version see Haelewyck 2017b (translated as Haelewyck 2019).

22 See Lewis 1910. This pioneering edition unfortunately contains numerous incorrect readings (including some of the verbal forms in Mark 16), due to the lack of adequate technology at that time for reading palimpsests. So there are over 200 major changes that need to be made to the text of Mark, and over 500 to the text of John. See Taylor 2020. I will be publishing a new edition soon.

23 See Burkitt 1904, McConaughy 1987.

24 This will be discussed further below.

century.²⁵ It contains just 23.5 folios (some 7,478 words,²⁶ or approximately 16% of the original). An edition is currently being readied for publication.²⁷ Two further, independent, Old Syriac manuscript witnesses have been found recently by Grigory Kessel in palimpsest *membra disjecta* from Sinai, St Catherine, Georgian ms 49. These contain two folios plus some fragments from the text of Matthew taken from two Old Syriac manuscripts.²⁸

Famously, the late fourth-century Sinai palimpsest (Sinai, St Catherine, Syriac ms 30), contains the Shortest Ending of Mark, finishing at Mark 16:8 (which in its Syriac reads slightly less awkwardly than the Greek: **ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܘܗܘܘܢ**, ‘because they were afraid’).²⁹ This is followed by paragraph markers, then a blank line, then the subscription, **ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܘܗܘܘܢ** (‘the Gospel of Mark has ended’), a line of further paragraph markers, and then the superscription of Luke, **ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܘܗܘܘܢ** (‘the Gospel of Luke’). There are no marginal annotations, and no large blank spaces.³⁰

Table 1. Transcription of the under text of Sinai, Syriac ms 30 (Mark 16.8 – Luke 1.1)

6	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ ⁸
7	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ
8	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ
9	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ
10			
11	ܘܗܘܘܢ		ܘܗܘܘܢ
12	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ
13	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ
14	ܘܗܘܘܢ		ܘܗܘܘܢ
15			
16			
17	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ ¹
18	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ	ܘܗܘܘܢ

25 See Brock 2016, Taylor 2020.

26 This figure includes words of which only a few letters survive, but excludes words reconstructed in lacunae.

27 See Taylor forthcoming.

28 See Kessel 2022, and Kessel 2023.

29 The Peshitta text restores the awkwardness: **ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܘܗܘܘܢ** (‘for they were afraid’).

30 For manuscript images and text transcription, see Brock and Monier 2022.

Along with the fourth-century Greek codices Sinaiticus (ⲛ, GA 01)³¹ and Vaticanus (B, GA 03),³² the Sinai palimpsest is clearly a key early witness to this Shortest Ending. Burkitt, followed by many subsequent scholars, has argued that the Shortest Ending of Mark was the original ending of the Old Syriac translation, since it was inconceivable to him that the Old Syriac translator would have found Mark 16:9–20 in his exemplar and not translated it, or that a later copyist or reviser would have removed these verses. Given the many other structural and textual differences between the gospel text of S and most Greek witnesses, it would be strange if this section alone were revised by a later hand.³³

By contrast, the Old Syriac text of the fifth-century Curetonian manuscript has clearly been revised against Greek manuscripts, and it contains a number of substantial textual plusses in comparison to the text of Sinai, St Catherine, Syriac ms 30.³⁴ One of these plusses is the Long Ending of Mark 16:9–20, but unfortunately most of its text of this ending has not been preserved due to a loss of folios that occurred before its rebinding in 1222 CE, when missing sections were patched with folios taken from various Peshitta Gospel manuscripts. What remains is Mark 16:17b–20, starting, as cited above, with ܘܡܢ ܡܢܠܝܚܘܢܝܢ (‘who believe’, πιστεύουσιν). Since the Curetonian manuscript preserves the gospels in the order Matt, Mark, John, Luke, which appears to be unique among extant gospel manuscripts, although it is attested in other sources,³⁵ the subscription to Mark’s gospel is immediately followed by the start of John’s gospel.³⁶

Although the Curetonian manuscript is contemporary with the emergence of the Peshitta version, its text of Mark 16:17b–20 shows all the paraphrastic characteristics of the Old Syriac version, and it has various lexical choices that differ from those of the Peshitta.

31 London, British Library, Add. 43725.

32 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209.

33 See Burkitt 1904, II, 194, 208–209, 284–285.

34 See Burkitt 1904, II, 213–254.

35 Such as the Latin ‘Cheltenham List’ (‘Canon Mommsenianus’) of biblical books, originating in North Africa, c.360 CE, see Preuschen 1893, 138–140; and the Latin Gospel Commentary of Pseudo-Theophilus of Antioch (Gaul, c.500), see Metzger 1997, 231, 296, 311.

36 For manuscript images and text transcription, see Taylor and Monier 2022a.

Table 2. Syriac C and P collated against NA28 (Mark 16:17b–20)

• **17** πιστεύσασι (who believe), (ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ) CP] add ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (in me) C {add ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ Marutha³⁷; add ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (in me) D^A; in me M-R RES-R} | ταῦτα παρακολουθήσει (these [signs] will accompany), (ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ) P] ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (these [people]) C {om. παρακολουθήσει} | • **18** καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν (and in [their] hands) {C L Δ Ψ 099. 1. 33. 565. 579. 892. 1424*}, (ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ, in their hands) C {+ their = Syriac idiom} | om P {om A D^s K W Γ Θ f¹³ 28. 700. 1241. 1424^c. 2542^s. 28 latt} | τι (any), (ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ) C] om P | • **19** τὸ λαλῆσαι (had spoken), (ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ) P] ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (he had commanded) C {cf. Ephrem CGH VIII.b (16:15)} | αὐτοῖς (to/with them), (ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ) P] ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (to his disciples) C {cf. Ephrem CGH VIII.b (16:15); *discipulis suis* ILD} | ἀνελήμφθη (he was taken up), (ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ) C] ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (he ascended) P {idiom} | • **20** συνεργούντος (working with)] ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (he was] with them in every[thing]) C | ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (he was helping them) P {cf. *adiuvante* c ff² o q} | καὶ τὸν λόγον (and the word), (ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ, and their word) C {+ their = Syriac idiom} | ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ ([and] their words) P | ἐπακολουθούντων (accompanying)] ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (which they were performing) CP |

Among the more interesting readings I would note the following. In Mark 16:17, to ‘those who believe’ C adds ‘in me’, together with Marutha of Maipherkat (d. c.420), the Arabic Diatessaron, and some liturgical witnesses to the Old Latin text.³⁸ In the same verse, the word παρακολουθήσει (‘will accompany’) is omitted, without any support from other witnesses. In relation to layout, a small detail to note is that there is a paragraph marker at the end of Mark 16:18, and a blank line space before 16:19. In Mark 16:19 ‘after he had spoken to them’ becomes in C ‘after he had commanded his disciples’.³⁹ The words ‘his disciples’ are also found in the Old Latin witness Ildefons of Toledo (d. 667), presumably due to a similar desire to explicate the text rather than any textual relationship. In Mark 16:20 several Greek phrases are freely paraphrased, and one of these (‘which they were performing’) has survived into the Peshitta version. Needless to say, almost all of these variants are unrecorded in the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM), or Nestle-Aland 28 (NA28), or other Greek editions, because lacking any Greek support they are unlikely to reflect variants that once existed in Greek texts.

37 Marutha of Maypherqat (fourth / fifth century), on whom see Baumstark 1922, 54. For the citation, see Kmosko 1903, 406.1–6.

38 When translating Greek verbs for ‘believing’, the Old Syriac regularly adds the object of faith, whether with a prepositional phrase, or with an object suffix. For example: John 3:12 πιστεύετε (you will believe)] ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (you will believe me) SCP {Ephrem CGH XVI.11, Aph VIII.24}; John 4:41 ἐπίστευσαν (they believed)] ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (they believed in him) CP {add εἰς αὐτὸν N Θ Λ 047. 13. 69. 262. 1216. 1243 f}; John 4:42 πιστεύομεν (we believe)] ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (we believe in him) CP. Compare also: John 5:21 οὓς θέλει (the ones whom he wishes) P (ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ) ܩܘܪܘܢܐܘܬܐ (the ones who believe in him) SC.

39 See the discussion above. There is no support for this in the Greek tradition.

16:9–20 that closely matched that of C, which was thus influenced by the gospel harmony, or at least contained some harmonised readings.

The ending of Mark is not preserved in the fifth-century Fragmentary manuscript of the Old Syriac version, since there is a textual lacuna between Mark 11:22b and Luke 1:50a.⁴³ Quire marks allow us to determine that this manuscript had the gospels in the standard order, and also to establish a plausible figure for the total number of folios in the manuscript. But the lacuna is large, and there is enough variation in the number of words copied per folio to make it impossible to state whether or not F originally contained the Long Ending of Mark.⁴⁴ Textually, the Fragmentary manuscript is independent of both S and C, but agrees more frequently with S than with C. So in those verses of Matthew where all three witnesses survive, F agrees with S against C 107 times; F agrees with C against S 31 times; and F disagrees with both S and C 36 times.⁴⁵ Again, where F and C both survive, and C has major textual plusses (e.g. Matt 20:28 and Matt 21:9), these are not found in F. This evidence suggests that F probably did not contain the Long Ending of Mark, but unless further folios emerge, it cannot be cited as a witness to the Shortest Ending.

Finally, it should be noted that in none of our Old Syriac manuscripts is there any evidence that they were ever supplied with the Ammonian sections / Eusebian canons. Nor would the Greek or Syriac versions of these work with the verse arrangement in these manuscripts.

Peshitta version

The Peshitta version of the New Testament was produced by the early fifth-century, when it was in circulation on both sides of the frontier between the Roman and Iranian empires, and it was this version that was to become the standard New Testament version in all the churches of Syriac liturgical tradition until the present day. The gospels were revised from the Old Syr-

43 See Taylor 2020.

44 11 folios have been lost in F between Mark 11:22b and Luke 1:50a, and the Old Syriac text in this lacuna would have had approximately 3,346 words with the Shortest Ending (so 3,042 per quire), and approximately 3,489 words with the Long Ending (3,169 words per quire). Both of these would be plausible figures for a quire in F. (Mark 16:9–20 in NA28 runs to 171 words, and in the Peshitta version, 140 words. A minor adjustment to the latter figure has been made due to the surviving wording in C.) In theory, given this uncertainty, it is possible that F might have contained the Shorter Ending, but since there is no evidence of this ending in Syriac before the seventh century, there is little reason to think it was found here.

45 These figures come with all the usual caveats.

ron (53:37),⁵⁰ and Codex Fuldensis (176:4) also reads ‘by them’, and adds ‘them’ after ‘did not believe’.⁵¹ While the Arabic wording might have been entirely dependent upon the Peshitta text, the agreements in Fuldensis suggest that this wording (clearly influenced by Luke 24:8–11) derives from Tatian’s *Diatessaron*. It is less clear why in this instance the Peshitta has preserved the harmonised text of its Old Syriac model, instead of correcting it against its Greek exemplar.

There are some minor textual variants within the Peshitta manuscript tradition of Mark 16:9–20, but these are of minimal significance, and seem to be due to internal Syriac factors, rather than influence from variant Greek texts (which is not always the case in other gospel passages):

Table 4. Collation of Peshitta manuscripts (Mark 16:9–20)⁵²

- 9 ܘܥܘܪܝܢܐ (at daybreak) | ܘܥܘܪܝܢܐ (at dawn) P:36 | ● 10 ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (she told) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (and) P:36 | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (who [were] mourning) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (and they [were] mourning) P:36 |
- 11 ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (and they) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (those) P:36 | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (that he is alive) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (he had arisen) M:2. M:3 (cf. Lk 24.23) | ● 12 ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (of them) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (and going) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (were) P:1* | ● 13 ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (also) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (and) P:5^e | ● 14 ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (and he reproached) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (and) P:12 | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (for the lack of) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (for the smallness of) P:7. P:12. P:16. P:32 | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (that those) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (that those [om. obj. marker]) P:3 | ● 15 ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (and he said) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (and) P:5 | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (he says) P:36 | ● 17 ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (but) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (om M:2) | ● 20 ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (they) | ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (those) P:36. P:37. M:1 |

More interesting is the incorporation of these verses into the Syriac adaptation of the Eusebian canons. An unknown Syriac scholar or scholars produced a revised version of the Eusebian sections and canon tables for the Peshitta version, which divided the gospel texts into a greater number of sections than the original Greek system, as well as standardising the practice of placing concordance tables in the lower margin of each page.⁵³ In other words, it was a more subtle and improved system.

Table 5. Number of Eusebian sections in the Greek and Syriac systems.

	Matt	Mark	Luke	John	Total
Greek	355	233	342	232	1162
Syriac	426	290	402	271	1389

50 ܘܗܝ ܗܘܪܝܬܐ (‘and they [m.], when they [m.] heard them [f.] say that he is alive, and had appeared to them [f.], they [m.] did not believe them [f.]’).

51 *et illi audientes quia uiueret et uisus esset ab eis non crediderunt eis* (‘and they, hearing that he was alive and had been seen by them, they did not believe them’).

52 The Peshitta gospel (P) manuscript sigla, and the masoretic (M) manuscript sigla, are those listed in Pusey and Gwilliam 1901, ix–xiii.

53 See Gwilliam 1890; Vaccari 1957; Crawford 2019, 156–194.

This revised system of Eusebian sections is included in many early Syriac gospel manuscripts, but by no means in all, and the surviving manuscript evidence suggests that it was probably created in the late fifth century.⁵⁴ Most of the early manuscripts containing the sections are from the West Syriac

54 The Eusebian canon tables survive in eight pre-eighth century manuscripts: (fifth / sixth century) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Phillipps 1388; (sixth century) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. I.56 ('Rabbula Gospels'), [586 CE]; Diyarbakir, Meryem Ana Kilisesi, DIYR 00339; London, British Library, Add. 17213 (ff. 4,5); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 33; Damascus, Bibliothèque nationale, ms arabe 528; (seventh century) London, British Library, Add. 14,450; (seventh / eighth century) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. I.58.

The Eusebian sections are included in no manuscripts of the fifth century, in two manuscripts of the fifth / sixth century, in eleven manuscripts of the sixth century, in nine manuscripts of the sixth / seventh century (this does not include manuscripts dated clearly to the seventh century): (fifth / sixth century) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Phillipps 1388 (P:41); New York, Pierpont Morgan, ms M.783; (sixth century) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 12 (P:40), [548 CE]; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. I.56 (P:26) ['Rabbula Gospels'], [586 CE]; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 3.1.300 Aug. f. (P:39); London, British Library, Add. 14455 (P:1); Add. 14463 (P:25); Add. 17,213 (ff. 4,5) [only canon tables survive]; Manchester, John Rylands Library, syr. 1 (P:11) ['Crawford Tetraevangelium']; Sinai, St Catherine, syr. M12N; Diyarbakir, Meryem Ana Kilisesi, DIYR 00339; Diyarbakir, Basaranlar 1; New York, Pierpont Morgan, ms M.784; Oxford, Bodleian Library, syr. 21 (Dawkins 3) (P:36); (sixth/seventh century) London, British Library, Add. 17114 (Mt only) (P:8), [ESyr]; Add. 17119 (P:9); Add. 14449 (P:21); Add. 14454 (ff. 1–54) (P:13); Add. 14458 (P:22); Add. 17113 (P:23); Add. 14457 (P:27); Add. 14452 (ff. 23–152) (P:28); Deir al-Surian, syr. frag. 39.

The Eusebian sections are not included in 1 manuscript of the fifth century, in seven manuscripts of the fifth / sixth century, in twelve manuscripts of the sixth century, in seven manuscripts of the sixth / seventh century: (fifth century) London, British Library, Add. 14459 (ff. 1–66) (P:15); (fifth / sixth century) London, British Library, Add. 14453 (P:14); Add. 14470 (P:17); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 296 (ff. 1–38); Deir al-Surian, syr. 11A; syr. 11C; Sinai, St Catherine, syr. 2; London, British Library, Add. 14460 (P:7), [599/600 CE, ESyr]; (sixth century) Deir al-Surian, syr. 10, [510 CE] vid; London, British Library, Add. 14459 (f. 67–169) (P:4), [529–538 CE]; Add. 14464 (P:5), [pre-583 CE]; Add. 17116 (P:2); Add. 12137 (ff. 187–207) (P:3(ii)); Add. 17115 (ff. 1–86) (P:10); Add. 14462 (P:19); Add. 14461 (ff. 1–107) (P:24); Add. 12140 (P:31); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 33 [canon tables, but no sections in sixth-century gospel texts]; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, syr. 8; Sinai, St Catherine, Arabic 514; (sixth/seventh century) London, British Library, Add. 12141 (ff. 1–87) (P:34); Add. 12137 (ff. 2–177) (P:20); Chicago, Goodspeed Collection, 716; Sinai, St Catherine, syr. M80N; syr. M82N; syr. M88N; syr. Sp. 17. (See also London, British Library, Add. 14471 (P:32), [615 CE, ESyr].)

tradition (miaphysites and chalcedonians), which might suggest that the system was developed within those church traditions, perhaps within the Roman Empire, but it might also simply reflect the fact that very few early East Syriac manuscripts of the Church of the East have survived.⁵⁵

As is well known, no provision was made for Mark 16:9–20 in the original Greek form of the Eusebian sections / canons, although a variety of section numbers were later added in manuscripts. Whether this is indicative of the Greek text known to Eusebius is still debated.⁵⁶ In the Peshitta, however, Mark 16:9–20 were always included in its canon tables, and the verses were tabulated as follows:

Table 6. Mark 16:9–20 in the Peshitta revision of the Eusebian canons.

Table	Matt	Mark	Luke	John
X		282 (16:9)		
I	421 (28.8)	283 (16:10)	390 (24:8–10)	247 (20:18)
VIII		284 (16:11)	391 (24:11)	
VIII		285 (16:12)	393 (24:13–17)	
VIII		286 (16:13)	395 (24:35)	
X		287 (16:14)		
VI	426 (28.19–20)	288 (16:15)		
X		289 (16:16–18)		
VIII		290 (16:19–20)	401 (24:51)	

The parallels given to Mark 16:10–11, namely Matt 28:8 and Luke 24:8–11, provide precisely the references to the group of women disciples seeing Christ and not being believed by the male disciples which were discussed in relation to the Peshitta variant readings above.⁵⁷ Turning to the other sections, Mark 16:12–13 is obviously linked to Luke 24:15–16, 35 and the appearance of

55 See Brock 2007. Of known early gospel manuscripts of the Church of the East, the following do not contain the Eusebian sections: London, British Library, Add. 14460 (P:7), [599/600 CE]; Add. 14471 (P:32), [615 CE]; Add. 14448 (P:33), [701 CE]; New York, Pierpont Morgan, MS M.236 [759/760 CE]; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 342, [894 CE]; and the following do contain the sections: London, British Library, Add. 17114 (Matt only) (P:8), [sixth / seventh century]; London, British Library, Add. 7157 (P:16), [768 CE].

56 See Smith 2022, and: Wallraff 2021, 73; Cattaneo 2021.

57 Vaccari 1957, 450, suggested that the Eusebian sections in the Peshitta text may have given rise to the harmonised readings in the Arabic Diatessaron manuscripts, but that is not justified in this case, and his own examples need further investigation.

Harklean version

The Harklean version, named after the chief translator Thomas of Harqel, was a Syrian Orthodox translation produced by exiles living at the monastery of the Antonines in the Enaton district, near Alexandria, in Egypt in 615/616 CE. Like the associated Syro-hexaplaric translation of the Old Testament, it sought to produce a Syriac translation of contemporary Greek texts which exactly mirrored the wording of the Greek, and avoided any paraphrasing or distinctive Syriac idioms. This produced a very unnatural form of Syriac, but it is a gift for New Testament textual critics, since the readings of its Greek exemplar are rarely in doubt. In addition, a system of obeloi and asterisks also indicates readings that are noted as not occurring in certain Greek manuscripts, and other variants are recorded in the margins. In subsequent centuries the Harklean text went through various recensions, and it is one of these later forms that was published by Joseph White in 1788, and has been used by most subsequent Greek editions.⁶¹ In 1996 Andreas Juckel published the first reliable edition of the Harklean gospel text (based primarily on Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 268, circa eighth / ninth century),⁶² and in 2015 a critical edition of the Gospel of Mark in the Harklean version, based on 14 manuscripts, was published by Samer Soreshow Yohanna.⁶³

All Harklean manuscripts contain the Long Ending of Mark 16:9–20. A collation of its text reveals few variants of independent interest, although of course it lends its dated and geographically precise support to other known readings:

Table 7. Syriac H collated against NA28 (Mark 16:9–20)

- 14 δὲ (but), ܕܝܗܗ* H {marked as not present in some mss; δὲ A D Θ f¹ 565. 579. 892. 1424 it;} om C K L W Γ Δ Ψ 099 f¹³ 28. 33. 274. 700. 1241. 2542^s. 𐤆 | αὐτοῖς (to them)] om H {om L W 13} | ἐγγεγερμένον (he had risen) {C³ D K L W Γ Θ Ψ 099. 274. 700. 2542^s. 𐤆 lat syp]} add ܡܘܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܘܢ (from the dead) H {add εκ νεκρων A C* Δ f^{1,13} 28. 33. 565. 579. 892. 1241. 1424} | • 18 καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν (and in [their] hands), ܡܘܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܘܢ H {C L Δ Ψ 099. 1. 33. 565. 579. 892. 1424*;} om {A D* K W Γ Θ f¹³ 28. 700. 1241. 1424^c. 2542^s. 𐤆 latt syp} |

More significantly, several Harklean manuscripts (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 268, circa eighth / ninth century;⁶⁴ Alqosh, Chaldean

61 See White 1778.

62 In Kiraz 1996. The important introduction to this edition of the Harklean text is Juckel 1996. Digital images of Vat. sir. 268 are available at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.268>.

63 Yohanna 2015.

64 For transcription and images of Mark 16, see Frey and Schulthess 2022.

25, tenth century?;⁶⁵ Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Syr. 703, 1177 CE;⁶⁶ Mosul, Dominican Friars, DFM 00829, thirteenth century⁶⁷), have a marginal note⁶⁸ after Mark 16:8 which reads as follows:

ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ
 ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ
 ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ
 ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ
 ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ
 ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ
 ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ
 ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ

In a (certain) place these (words) are also adduced: All of these (things), then, which had been commanded, they (f.) quickly made known to those of the party ('house') of Peter. After these (things), then, he also, Jesus, sent out through them, from the East and unto the West, the sacred ('priestly') and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation, Amen.

This of course is the Shorter Ending that is found in a small number of Greek, Latin, Coptic, Armenian, and Arabic witnesses, and in approximately 133 Ethiopic manuscripts.⁶⁹ This Syriac version presents a text that is an accurate rendering of the Greek base text found in the ECM and NA28, with none of the recorded variant additions and omissions. In Harklean manuscripts it is only ever found as a marginal note, alongside the Long Ending which is included in their main text, and no indication is given of its original Greek manuscript source.

In Dublin, Chester Beatty, Syr. 703 (1177 CE) at Mark 16:8 there is a brief marginal note of some interest:

ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ
 ܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܨܘܪܝܢ
 Here ends the Gospel of Mark in the Armenian book.

It is noteworthy that the Shortest Ending of Mark at 16:8, unknown in the Peshitta and Harklean manuscript traditions, was associated by this Syriac scribe with the Armenian gospel text. Colwell’s survey of 220 Armenian gospel-

65 Digitized by HMML with project number DCA 00144, see <<https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/607206>>. For transcription and images of Mark 16, see Taylor and Monier 2022b.
 66 In Chester Beatty Syr. 703 the marginal note is found on f. 113v, where it has been placed facing Mark 15:46 and following (the last verse on the page is Mark 16:6). The entire manuscript is accessible at <https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/Syc_703/7/LOG_0000/>. For transcription and images of Mark 16, see Frey and Monier 2022.
 67 This Mosul witness was identified by Mina Monier during his research for the ‘MARK16’ project. It is available in HMML virtual reading room at <<https://www.vhmmml.org/readingRoom/view/539875>>.
 68 And it was also from a similar Harklean manuscript that this marginal note was copied into the Peshitta manuscript London, British Library, Add. 14456, as discussed above.
 69 See Metzger 1980.

[**ⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓⲥ** ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓⲥ] [Of the ho(ly) Mar Seve]rus, from homily 77 of the Cathedral-homilies (λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι): In those manuscripts, therefore, which are more accurate, that Gospel of Mark has an ending at that (expression) ‘for they were afraid’. But in certain (manuscripts) there are also added and set down these (words) which [are here].

Within the Syrian Orthodox (that is miaphysite, non-Chalcedonian) tradition, Severus is a figure of great theological authority, and so it is fascinating to see his testimony brought to bear here upon the ending of Mark’s Gospel. Nor is it limited to this manuscript, for it is also repeated in the medieval commentary tradition.⁷⁶ On the other hand, this pronouncement has not affected the transmission of Mark 16:9–20 in all known copies of Peshitta and Harklean Mark.

The Harklean translation is also accompanied by Eusebian sections and canons, and they are found in five of Yohanna’s fourteen manuscripts.⁷⁷ I have only had access to two of these, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 268 (eighth / ninth century) and Dublin, Chester Beatty, Syr. 703 (1177 CE). Yohanna’s description of these sections is not very clear, but from examination it appears that both of these manuscripts have taken over the refined Peshitta system of the Eusebian sections and canons, and so their canons for Mark 16:9–20 match those given for the Peshitta above. According to Yohanna, Mingana, Syr. 124 (730 CE ?) and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. I.40 (757 CE) have the most accurate form of the Harklean canons,⁷⁸ and their section numbers are said to match those in NA28, (i.e. the Greek system, running from 234 to 241 in these verses, rather than 282 to 290 in the Peshitta system). This evidence suggests that the early text of the Harklean gospels was provided with Eusebian sections and canon tables that agreed with the contemporary Greek system, but that, already by the eighth / ninth century, scribes (or a redactor) decided in some manuscripts (con-

76 A variant of this citation is included at Mark 16:9 in the commentary of Dionysius bar Ṣalibi (d. 1171); see Vaschalde 1931, 217 (1933, 175), and Akçay 2019, 620. Another variant of the citation is found at Mark 16:20 in Bar Hebraeus’ (d. 1286) biblical commentary, the *Awṣar Rōzē*; see Carr 1925, 91, 117–118, and Çiçek 2003, 470. There is no comment on variant endings of Mark in the Church of the East exegete Ishodad of Merv (fl. 850), although his exegesis on Mark 16:9–20 has been taken over by Dionysius bar Salibi; see Gibson 1911, I.144–145, II.237–238.

77 Birmingham, Mingana, Syr. 124 (S¹), [730 CE ?]; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. I.40 (F), [757 CE]; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 268 (V²), [eighth / ninth century]; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 74 (A), [ninth / tenth century]; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Syr. 703 (D), [1177 CE]. See Yohanna 2015, 72.

78 See Yohanna 2015, 72.

stituting a new recension) to replace the Greek Eusebian sections with the traditional Syriac Eusebian sections, taken from the Peshitta version. This was a considerable undertaking, and indicates either a remarkable degree of intellectual attachment to the Syriac system of Eusebian sections, or a desire to facilitate comparative study of the Peshitta and Harklean gospel texts in an age long before the introduction of verse numeration.⁷⁹

The Syriac witnesses thus provide important evidence of the early circulation in Syria and Mesopotamia of the content of the Long Ending of Mark by means of the Syriac gospel harmony recension of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, as well as an early witness (the Sinai palimpsest) to the Shortest Ending, and to the re-emergence and ultimate domination of the Long Ending in the region (through the Curetonian manuscript, and the Peshitta and Harklean versions). The Syriac translators and revisers of each successive period clearly had access to new copies of Greek gospel manuscripts for their work, but other Greek traditions, such as the Shorter Ending, or the pronouncement of Severus in favour of the Shortest Ending, were also mediated to them and preserved in their marginal annotations. Equally striking is the influence of each Syriac version on its successors, and in some instances—such as the inclusion of Harklean marginalia in an eighth-century Peshitta manuscript—of later versions influencing copies of earlier versions.

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⁷⁹ In Yohanna 2015, all the sections in Mark 16:9–20 (234–240, with no mention of 241) are assigned in the canon tables to table X, that is, verses unique to Mark. But in his text edition, there is a more complicated pattern: 234/X (16:9–11), 235/X (16:12), 236/X (16:13–14), 237/II (16:15–16), 238/X (16:17–18), 239/VIII (16:19), 240/X (16:20). Neither the placing of the sections in relation to the verses, nor the assignment of sections to canon tables, seems to match any of the Greek or Latin models reported by Smith 2022. Nor does this pattern reflect any influence from the Syriac system. These sections in the Harklean Long Ending will need further investigation.

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Mc 16 dans les manuscrits arabes du Sinaï — Réflexions de méthode pour leur utilisation en critique textuelle. Diversité des versions, rubriques, langues sources, variantes fausses et vraies

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In this contribution, we present Mark 16:9–20 as we read it in Arabic manuscripts of the library of the monastery of St Catherine (Sinai). The pericope is present in all those manuscripts. Yet, we note that in those of the first millennium, whose rubrics refer to the Jerusalem calendar, no reading of the pericope seems to be prescribed. Secondly, as to the text, except for the versions or families that H. Kashouh calls *a*, *b* and perhaps *j*^A, the influence of the Syriac (and sometimes, especially for MS Sinai ar. 71, Christian Palestinian Aramaic) versions seems to be pervasive. Thirdly, we take the time to reflect about the method needed to study Arabic Gospel manuscripts: we try to make the difference between ‘false’ and ‘real’ variants. The conclusion is that, even though there are many obstacles for the use of the Arabic Gospel versions in textual criticism, their history is very rich and deserves to be studied.

Introduction

Notre étude s’intéresse à Mc 16 dans les tétraévangiles arabes conservés au Monastère du Sinaï. Ici et là, d’autres manuscrits, sinaïtiques ou non, serviront de complément d’information.¹

Les sigles des différentes familles de manuscrits arabes seront ceux utilisés par H. Kashouh.² Nous examinerons huit de ses versions. De *a*, nous détachons le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71 (*S71*) qui nous semble devoir être

- 1 Pour ce qui est des éditions en d’autres langues, nous avons consulté (1) pour le grec, NA²⁸ qui est l’édition standard, bien connue des critiques textuels, ainsi que Swanson 1995 ; (2) pour le syriaque, Kiraz 1996 en parallèle avec Pusey et Gwilliam 1901 ; (3) enfin, pour le syropalestinien, Dunlop Gibson et Smith Lewis 1899 avec Müller-Kessler et Sokoloff 1998. Outre les manuscrits non sinaïtiques dont nous donnons la liste en fin d’article, il faut dire un mot du Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. ar. 13, très certainement le plus ancien manuscrit connu des évangiles en arabe. Schulthess 2018, 83–85 fait le point sur la finale de Marc, il n’y a pas grand-chose à y ajouter : il est impossible de savoir si ce manuscrit contenait la finale longue, vu la rupture en bas de page, mais il serait étonnant que la page suivante, qui est manquante, se soit terminée avec le seul mot رعبتا (dernier mot de Mc 16,8).
- 2 Kashouh 2012. Cet ouvrage est désormais le point de départ obligé pour qui veut étudier les évangiles dans les manuscrits arabes. L’auteur a étudié plus de 200 manuscrits et les a classifiés. Même si ici et là (par exemple pour la place du MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71) nous hésitons à accepter son verdict, il nous faut admettre qu’en général, ce talentueux chercheur a bien compris et analysé les problèmes qui se posent.

examiné à part, nous le justifierons : cela fait neuf versions. Nous laissons de côté *p* et *t*, qui seraient composées en mélangeant plusieurs autres : cela reste à vérifier, mais il y a assez de matière avec *a S71 b c d j^A j^B j^C et k*.

L'utilisation liturgique des manuscrits, leurs rubriques, sont intéressantes : le texte est présent partout, mais les rubriques nous racontent une autre histoire qui, peut-être, ouvre une porte pour comprendre la présence ou l'absence de la péricope dans des manuscrits d'autres langues. Nous examinons ensuite la présence d'influences syriaques—voire syropalestiniennes—dans nos manuscrits : ici, à côté des variantes, certains critères linguistiques, voire d'interprétation, entrent en jeu. Suit l'examen des « fausses » variantes (celles qui sont conditionnées par les particularités de la langue arabe, le style du traducteur et d'autres facteurs) et des « vraies », celles qui semblent remonter plus haut et sont réellement textuelles : nous en donnons un échantillon en 3.2.

§ 1. *Manuscrits et liturgie*

1.1 *Les rubriques*

Certains manuscrits ne sont pas pourvus de rubriques : leur fonction sera autre que liturgique : par exemple, ces manuscrits serviront pour la lecture personnelle (mais de qui ?), d'exemplaires pour la copie d'autres, ou de versions savantes à l'usage des commentateurs.³ Mais en général, les rubriques sont présentes et attestent de la lecture ecclésiale.

L'on fera la différence entre les versions du premier millénaire et celles du deuxième : au tournant des deux, l'Église melkite adopte le rite et le calendrier byzantins, alors qu'auparavant elle suivait le *rite de Jérusalem*.⁴

Les rubriques des manuscrits du premier millénaire sont instructives pour la finale longue de Marc (16:9–20). Plusieurs versions arabes contiennent ce texte mais n'en prévoient pas la lecture. Selon elles, Mc 16:2–8 est lu le dimanche de Pâques (la péricope commence au v. 2 !) et 16:9–20 ne se lit pas.

En rite byzantin, Mc 16:1–8 se lit à deux occasions : au dimanche des Myrophores (troisième dimanche du Pentecostaire, Mc 15:43–16:8), mais aussi aux matines (deuxième *eothinon*), tout comme 9–20 (troisième *eothinon*).⁵

Au Sinaï, l'ancien calendrier est représenté par *a, S71, b, c, d*.⁶ La présente section les présentera brièvement. Dès le début du II^e millénaire, appa-

3 C'est le cas de ceux des versions *j^A* et *j^C*, ainsi que d'une minorité de ceux de *j^B* et plusieurs de *k*.

4 Galadza 2018 est désormais une source obligée pour étudier cette transition, qui fut graduelle et s'étendit jusqu'au XIII^e s.

5 Θειον και ιερον ευαγγελιον, 1995, 38–39 pour le Pentecostaire et 2–3 pour les *eothina*.

6 Pour plus d'informations sur les rubriques hagiopolites en arabe : Garitte 1972 parle des MSS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 54, 72, 74, 97 (version *a*) avec un accent sur le ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 72 (même version, révisée selon nous : Valentin 2003,

raissent avec les manuscrits de la version j^B et d'autres, des rubriques de rite byzantin : nous y reviendrons plus loin.

1.1.1 La famille a

Cette version est représentée par un nombre assez important de manuscrits, au Sinaï et ailleurs. Tous ne nous ont pas été accessibles, mais voici ce que nous avons pu observer.



Fig. 1. Ms Sināi, Ste-Catherine, ar. 74, f. 107r. La rubrique qui se rapporte au rite de Jérusalem est barrée par un utilisateur ultérieur. En marge, la rubrique byzantine. Avec l'aimable permission de <<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/>>, a publication of St Catherine's Monastery of the Sinai in collaboration with EMEL and UCLA.

Les mss Sināi, Ste-Catherine, ar. 74 (fig. 1),⁷ ar. 54, ar. NF Parch 7, ar. 98 et ar. 97 et, ailleurs qu'au Sinaï, le ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108

422–425), et du ms Sināi, Ste-Catherine, ar. 70 (version *d*). Garitte 1977 s'intéresse au lectionnaire gréco-arabe ms Sināi, Ste-Catherine, ar. 116.

⁷ Ce manuscrit a été choisi avec raison par Kashouh comme meilleur représentatif de la version *a* (Kashouh 2012, 87). Il faut cependant remarquer à propos des rubriques

ont tous avant le v. 2 une rubrique qui annonce cette lecture pour le dimanche de Pâques : c'est conforme au rite de Jérusalem. Après le v. 8, un petit repère signale la fin de cette lecture. Aucune rubrique ne précède le v.9.

Le ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 72 ajoute avant le v. 9 la rubrique قراءة « lecture » sans autre précision:⁸ le texte est connu, mais que faut-il en faire ? Quant au ms Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgia ar. 95, il n'a aucune rubrique.

Ainsi, sur huit manuscrits examinés, six ne prévoient pas cette lecture, un le fait peut-être, et le dernier n'a aucune rubrique.

1.1.2 Le cas du Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71

Nous détachons ce manuscrit de la version *a*. Selon Kashouh, il s'agit d'une révision stylistique de la version *a*, sans changements textuels.⁹ L'auteur se basait sur ses passages-tests, mais nous avons constaté que ce manuscrit se démarque aussi des manuscrits de la version *a* quand il s'agit du texte. Nous préférons donc y voir une autre traduction—à moins qu'il faille inverser la théorie de Kashouh : le ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71 représenterait le texte original, ensuite révisé sur le grec, ce qui aurait eu pour résultat la version *a*. Pour s'en assurer, il faudrait comparer de larges étendues de texte, ce que nous n'avons pas fait.

Nous n'y avons repéré que trois indications liturgiques, qui pointent vers le rite de Jérusalem.¹⁰ Mc 16:9–20 y est présent, c'est tout ce que l'on peut en dire.

J. P. Monferrer-Sala présente d'autres folios de ce manuscrit : l'écriture en est immédiatement reconnaissable.¹¹ Ces pages contiennent, outre des listes

du rite de Jérusalem qu'elles y ont été barrées par un scribe ultérieur, qui a noté en marge celles du rite byzantin (v. 1 : هذا راس الانجيل الثاني). L'on n'a donc pas immédiatement renoncé à la lecture de la version *a* dont on aura remarqué les qualités—on la trouve encore dans le ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 97, daté de 1125 AD, mais dans lequel l'on ne trouve plus de rubriques.

8 <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279385986-ms/?sp=59&st=image>> avant-dernière ligne.

9 Kashouh 2012, 93.

10 Valentin 2003, 434–441. Devant Mc 1,1 اول قراه منه يقرأ في ليله القلند « le début de sa lecture est lu en la nuit de Qaland (= l'Épiphanie) » - f. 11v, ligne2 ; devant Mc 8,1 يقرأ في حد اثنا عشر بعد الصليب « se lit au douzième dimanche après la Croix » - f. 21v, dern. ligne ; enfin, devant Lc 1,1 اول قراه منه لزخريا الكاهن أبو يحنا المعمدان « le début de sa lecture est pour Zacharie le prêtre, père de Jean-Baptiste » - f. 36v, lignes 10–11. Pour explorer ce manuscrit <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279385998-ms/?sp=1&st=image>> et chercher les folios cités.

11 Monferrer-Sala 2020. Une photographie en couleurs d'une page de ce fragment se trouve après la page de titre et celle de dédicace, ce qui permet la comparaison.

de chapitres de Mt et Mc, le *prologue monarchianiste* de Mc, ce qui suggère à l'auteur que ce texte vient d'Occident, plus précisément d'Andalousie.¹²

Enfin, le ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. NF Parch 44 contient Jn 5:34–14:21. Introuvable en ligne, nous en avons obtenu une copie privée. Les rubriques, plus nombreuses, évoquent le *rite de Jérusalem*.

Dans le passé, nous avons vu dans le ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71 une traduction proche du texte du codex Koridethi (Θ), fût-ce avec des influences syropalestiniennes.¹³ Cependant, en Mc 16:10, *معها* attire l'attention, car il faut comprendre « avec elle ». ¹⁴ En grec, c'est « avec lui » (μετ' αὐτοῦ). Il s'agira d'un problème de voyelles : le syriaque ou syropalestinien *ܡܚܡܐ*, à lire *ammeh*, terminaison masculine, avec le grec), aura été compris *حَمَّه* (*ammāh*, féminin). Cela entraîne un remaniement de la phrase : le participe *γενόμενοις* est traduit par un verbe arabe au *féminin* pluriel : *كن*. La phrase devient: « et elle alla et annonça à celles qui étaient avec elle à se lamenter et à pleurer » (fig. 2).¹⁵

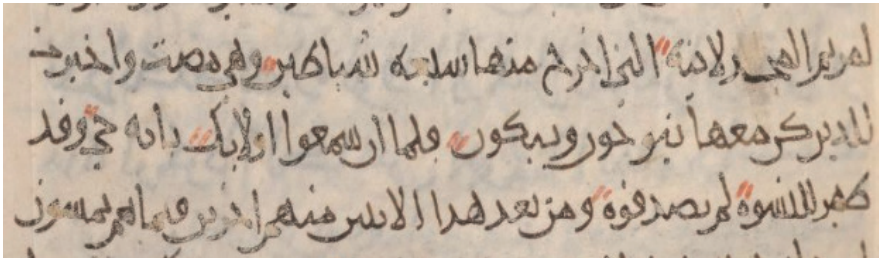


Fig. 2. Ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71, f. 36r. Cette séquence est celle où l'on peut voir le mélange de formes masculines et féminines. Avec l'aimable permission de <sinaimanusccripts.library.ucla.edu>, a publication of St Catherine's Monastery of the Sinai in collaboration with EMEL and UCLA.

Le point est curieux : si aux v. 2–8 nous avons vu Marie Madeleine au tombeau avec d'autres femmes, pourquoi annonce-t-elle la Résurrection à celles qui en avaient été témoins avec elle ? Au v. 9, l'on nous dit que c'est à *elle* que Jésus est apparu. Le traducteur arabe comprend que c'est à *elle seule*. Cela l'amène à remplir les vides du récit : les trois femmes ont vu le tombeau

12 Monferrer-Sala 2020, 31: « una copia oriental realizada sobre una version andalusí traducida de un original latino ».

13 Valentin 2003, 434–441.

14 <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279385998-ms/?sp=38&st=image&r=0.087,0.343,0.437,0.163,0>>.

15 Arabe : *وهي مضت واخبرت للذين كن معها ينوحون ويبنون*. Le relatif *الذين* garde sa forme masculine, ce qui est normal en moyen arabe; quant aux deux derniers verbes, le texte retourne à des formes masculines.

vide, se sont enfuies sans rien dire à personne (v. 8) puis se seront séparées : Jésus apparaît alors à Marie Madeleine, qui court le raconter à ses compagnes, et c'est là que les femmes se décident à aller ensemble l'annoncer aux apôtres. La cohérence, la clarté du récit sont-elles pour autant sauvegardées ? Non, puisqu'au v. 11 c'est soudain « aux femmes » (للنساء) que Jésus est apparu, et non « à elle » (ὅπ' αὐτῆς).

La version du MS Sinaiï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71 use assez souvent de raccourcis et d'approximations. Sa *Vorlage* est bien difficile à détecter : peut-être y en a-t-il plusieurs, peut-être est-elle le fruit d'une révision incomplète, peu serrée, où se mélangent plusieurs couches. Peut-être faut-il y voir un premier jet, un essai qui n'a pas abouti puisque, à notre connaissance, ce manuscrit est unique à la transmettre.

1.1.3 La famille b

Son principal représentant nous est parvenu en deux fragments : les MSS Sinaiï, Ste-Catherine, ar. NF Parch 8 et 28, qui se font suite.¹⁶ L'écriture en est archaïque, avare en points diacritiques. Kashouh accorde beaucoup d'importance à *b* et nous en promet une édition.¹⁷

Il ne contient pas de rubriques, si ce n'est qu'au début de chaque évangile une notice nous indique la période de l'année pendant laquelle il est lu. Marc se lit « de la fête de la Croix au début de décembre » : voici encore le *rite de Jérusalem*.¹⁸

1.1.4 Les familles c et d

Les familles *c* et *d*, influencées par une version syriaque, seront présentées avec d'autres. Cependant, pour ce qui est de la lecture liturgique, le MS Sinaiï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 75 (version *c*) indique pour Mc 16:9–20 « est lu le

16 Kashouh 2012, 97 : « originally one codex ».

17 Kashouh 2012, 97 : « A full edition of this family will follow the submission of the present book ».

18 F. 65r (<<https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/viewer/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1kd1z25>>), après Mc : كمل انجيل المقدس مرقس الميثر تلميذ بطرس الذي كرز بالرومية في روميه المدينة عدد كلامه الف كلمه وثمان ميه كلمه والكنيسه المقدسه تقرا من مرقس من عيد الصليب الى راس كانون الأول والسيح لله علينا رحمته والهام الشكر والتوفيق له. Traduction: « Est terminé le saint évangile de Marc l'annonneur, disciple de Pierre, qu'il a prêché en romain à Rome la ville. Le compte de ses paroles (كلامه) (est) 1800 paroles (كلمه). Et la sainte Église lit (des extraits) de Marc depuis la fête de la Croix jusqu'à Kânûn premier (= décembre), et la gloire à Dieu et sur nous Sa miséricorde » etc... Les « paroles » seront plutôt des stiques que des mots.

dimanche, sixième ton »¹⁹ et pour le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 70 (version *d*), le passage « est lu le matin du dimanche ».

1.2 Additions conditionnées par la liturgie

C'est en début de péricope que la lecture liturgique influence le texte. Souvent, il faut clarifier quelque chose : dans un texte continu, ce n'est pas nécessaire car l'on est aidé par ce qui précède. Mais la découpe liturgique fait que les péripocopes commencent parfois abruptement. En Mc 16:2 ἔρχονται comme en Mc 16:9 ἀναστάς δέ, un rappel du contexte—précision du sujet de la phrase—sera utile.

1.2.1 Le début du v. 2

Qui est venu au tombeau ? Le rite de Jérusalem commence le récit au v. 2. Il faudra préciser que ce sont « les femmes » (celles du v. 1). Ainsi procèdent plusieurs manuscrits de *a*,²⁰ ainsi que le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 80 (version *j^B*).²¹

1.2.2 Le début du v. 9

Ici, beaucoup de manuscrits précisent le sujet, comme le lectionnaire édité par la Diaconie Apostolique de l'Église de Grèce.²²

La version *a* ne prévoit pas de lecture. Exceptions: le correcteur du MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 74 biffe les anciennes rubriques et ajoute en marge celles du rite byzantin, ajoutant سيدنا يسوع « notre Seigneur Jésus », et le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 72, dont le texte révisé, précédé d'une rubrique minimaliste, ajoute يسوع « Jésus ».

Version *b* : son texte n'a pas de rubriques mais ajoute الرب يسوع « le Seigneur Jésus », comme le fait le syropalestinien.²³ Enfin, *c*, qui a ici une ru-

19 Le lectionnaire gréco-arabe, MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, Ste-Catherine, ar. 116, a une rubrique qui parle du « septième » (159v, 11). Son texte arabe provient de la version *a* (Valentin 2003, 418 ; Kashouh 2012, 86 n. 7).

20 Mss Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, NF Parch ar. 7, Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 98, Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 97c, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgia ar. 95.

21 Selon nous, le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, Ste-Catherine, ar. 80 représente la plus ancienne couche de *j^B*. Cette version aura été officialisée lors de l'adoption du rite byzantin par l'Église melkite : le changement de calendrier imposait de disposer de manuscrits avec de nouvelles rubriques et l'on aura adapté cette autre traduction.

22 Θειον και ιερον ευαγγελιον 1995, 3.

23 En feuilletant le manuscrit, nous avons trouvé d'autres occurrences de cette expression.

brique, ajoute يسوع « Jésus », et *d*, quoique prévoyant une lecture, ne change pas le texte. Au II^e millénaire, *j*^B insère aussi un « Jésus ».²⁴

§ 2. Influences syriaques ou syropalestiniennes

Les versions arabes échappent peu aux influences syriaques, voire syropalestiniennes ou diatessariques. Les textes ont été constamment révisés et une version aujourd’hui proche du grec pourrait être une révision d’un texte plus ancien traduit d’une autre langue ou influencé par elle.²⁵

2.1 Traces linguistiques : problèmes de voyelles ou de *seyome*

Nous avons mentionné ci-dessus la variante de 16:10 معها, commune au MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71 et aux MSS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 101 et 112 de la version *k*. Soit le traducteur arabe n’avait pas accès aux voyelles du manuscrit syriaque (ou syropalestinien ?) qu’il avait sous les yeux—les manuscrits dépourvus de voyelles ne sont pas rares—soit, pour l’une ou l’autre raison, il a décidé de ne pas en tenir compte.

De même, au v. 1, le grec ἀρώματα est au pluriel. La majorité des versions arabes en font un singulier : « du parfum » ou « un parfum » au lieu de « des parfums ». Liberté de traduction ou problème de *seyome* ? Il est difficile de se prononcer tant que nous ne tenons pas un manuscrit syriaque dépourvu de *seyome*.²⁶ Quoi qu’il en soit, il faut remarquer qu’ici, les versions arabes, à peu d’exceptions près, préfèrent le singulier.²⁷

24 Il s’agit ici du MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 80 : cf. plus haut (n. 21) notre remarque.

25 Le syriaque, langue classique et normalisée par les académies des chrétiens mésopotamiens, est un dialecte araméen *oriental*. L’article défini (terminaison du substantif) n’y est plus vivant, et la préformante de l’inaccompli de la troisième personne est le *nûn*. Le syropalestinien (qu’aujourd’hui, en anglais, l’on préfère appeler *Christian Palestinian Aramaic*, d’où le titre de l’édition Müller-Kessler et Sokoloff 1998) est de l’araméen *occidental*, à l’orthographe moins normalisée, dans lequel la terminaison indiquant l’article défini est encore pertinente, et la préformante de l’inaccompli troisième personne est encore *yûdh*, comme en hébreu et en araméen d’empire. Taylor 2022, 302–303 survole les « Late Aramaic dialects which divide in Eastern and Western groups », avec un petit tableau comparatif.

26 Nous avons examiné le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, syr. 2, plus ancien manuscrit de sy^p conservé au Sinaï (f. 58r, col. de gauche, ligne 21), ainsi que Pusey et Gwilliam 1901 *ad loc.* et Kiraz 1996 *ad loc.* Nous n’avons rien trouvé non plus dans les éditions syropalestiniennes.

27 Plusieurs remarques sont à faire. (1) Plusieurs versions du I^{er} millénaire parlent de عطر (‘parfum’) au singulier (versions *a*, *S71*, *b*, *c*)—le pluriel en serait غَطُور qui n’apparaît pas dans les manuscrits examinés. (2) La version *d* et celles du II^e millénaire préfèrent طيب dont le pluriel serait طيوب. Les seuls manuscrits qui ont ici un pluriel sont le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 115 de la version *j*^A et la majorité de la version

2.2 Excursus : une question au v. 6

Dans plusieurs versions arabes (*j^A*, *j^B*, *j^C*, *k*), le grec Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν devient une question : « Cherchez-vous Jésus le Nazaréen ? ».²⁸ Cela pourrait trahir une influence syriaque : selon l'apparat critique de l'édition Pusey-Gwilliams des évangiles selon sy^p, la massore syriaque orientale a à cet endroit une ponctuation qui signale une question.²⁹

Il est admis que la version *d* (MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 70) est traduite du syriaque.³⁰ Pourtant, nous n'y trouvons pas de particule interrogative³¹ : soit le traducteur était ignorant de la massore syriaque orientale, soit il se basait sur des manuscrits (syriaques occidentaux ?) qui suivaient d'autres normes.

2.3 Versions (peut-être) traduites du syriaque

2.2.1 La famille *c*

Son principal représentant est le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 75 : le consensus y voit un mélange de grec et de syriaque.³² Cependant, nous avons étudié les traductions des noms de l'Apôtre Pierre en syriaque et les avons comparées avec cette version : *c* est, sur ce point, remarquablement alignée sur la *vetus syra*.³³ Le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 75 conserverait donc des traces d'une *vetus syra*. Cela reste à approfondir : selon H. Kashouh, l'influence syriaque se ressent surtout dans les Synoptiques, mais Jn—traduit d'un texte grec byzantin—aurait circulé séparément avant d'y avoir été joint.³⁴

j^B (deux exceptions : les MSS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgia, ar. 71 et Leyde, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 1571). (3) À propos de la version *a* et de son apparemment supposé avec le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71, Kashouh 2012, 93 voit dans le MS Sinaï ar. 71 une révision purement stylistique de la version *a*, sans changements textuels. Cet auteur était tributaire de ses passages-tests, mais, par exemple, le *معها* du MS Sinaï ar. 71 est absent des manuscrits de la version *a*, et nous avons remarqué plusieurs autres passages où, oui, il y a des changements d'ordre textuel.

28 Version *j^A* *أتطلبين ج^ز – هل لايسوع تطلبين النصرى المصلوب ج^ز – أتطلبين يسوع الناصري الذي صلب ج^ز* (S76) et, plus ancien peut-être *أتطلبين يسوع الناصري المصلوب ج^ز* (J103) – *k* *أتطلبين يسوع الناصري المصلوب ج^ز*. Tout cela sauf variantes orthographiques, syntaxiques ou, tout simplement, plus récentes. Ces versions présentent les particules interrogatives *هل* (*j^B*) ou *أ* (les autres).

29 Pusey et Gwilliam 1901, 311 n. 6: 'ut interrogatio'.

30 Kashouh 2012, 123–125 ; Valentin 2003, 445.

31 <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386000-ms/?sp=58&r=0.365,0.073,0.755,0.304,0>>, ligne 5.

32 Kashouh 2012, 112–122 ; Valentin 2003, 427–434.

33 Valentin 2021a, 670–671.

34 Kashouh 2012, 112–122.

2.2.2 La famille d

Il y a consensus sur *d* (MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 70), traduite fidèlement, mais pas littéralement, de sy^p.³⁵ Elle n'a cependant pas la question du v. 6. Ses rubriques évoquent le *rite de Jérusalem*.

Son vocabulaire est recherché.³⁶ Les changements syntaxiques s'expliquent par les exigences de la langue arabe.³⁷ D'autres indices linguistiques trahissent un modèle syriaque.³⁸ Nous y trouvons aussi des habitudes de traduction typiques du syriaque.³⁹ Nous n'y avons cependant trouvé *aucune* variante significative par rapport à sy^p.

2.2.3 La famille j^A

Nous n'avons étudié qu'un manuscrit de celle-ci à l'occasion de ce colloque : le Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 115, estimé du XIII^e siècle. Nous la rangeons ici car H. Kashouh, qui en a étudié plusieurs témoins, y voit une version, peut-être du X^e siècle, qui contient des traces de syriaque, provenant peut-être de la version du MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. ar. 13, dont elle serait un profond remaniement.⁴⁰ Le temps nous a manqué pour vérifier tout cela. En tout cas, en Mc 16, tout ou presque s'explique par le grec.

35 Kashouh 2012, 123–125 ; Valentin 2003, 445.

36 En 16:3 « qui donc » devient لو ان احد 'si seulement quelqu'un'. En 16:5, « elles virent » devient فوجدن « elles trouvèrent ». En 16:7.8.13, le verbe رجع est traduit par اخبّر 'annoncer, faire part de' alors qu'un simple قال eût suffi. En 16:1.8, la conjonction حذ « lorsque, quand, alors que » est traduite حيث qui a un sens plus large « où, depuis que, puisque », et en 16:12.14 elle l'est par وهم, ce qui est courant dans les versions arabes. Etc...

37 Ainsi, en 16:1 اخبّر est en fin de complétive, ce qui est normal en araméen : اشترين est reporté en début de proposition en arabe. En 16:14, même déplacement pour مصحح – arabe يصنقون.

38 L'oscillation entre le singulier et le pluriel est bien connue (Vööbus 1954, 148): en 16:1 متهم (pl. « les/des parfums ») devient طيبًا (sg. « un parfum »). En 16:13 متهم « et eux » est traduit وأولئك 'et ceux-là', ce qui correspondrait au démonstratif متهم. Ces traductions pourraient trahir une *Vorlage* syriaque dépourvue de voyelles et de points diacritiques. De plus, en 16:10 ا pose problème : l'arabe comprend ا comme introduisant une causale : « car (لأنهم) ils étaient dans la peine et les pleurs » alors qu'il eût fallu, s'il traduisait le grec, comprendre une relative : « ceux qui, etc... ». Pour l'ambivalence de la particule ا, cf. Valentin 2003, 457 à propos de Lc 1,68.

39 D'abord, حجر en 16:19.20 (ar. ربنا « notre Seigneur »). Puis حجر en 16:7 (ar. الحجر en est la *traduction* ; d'autres versions arabes préfèrent بطرس qui *transcrit* Πέτρος) ; سيم en 16:16 (ar. يعيش 'vivra' pour gr. « sera sauvé ») ; enfin, en 16:16 ماصحح (ar. يحاب 'sera coupable' pour gr. 'sera jugé').

40 Kashouh 2012, 173–184, 203–214.

2.2.4 La famille *j^B*

Notre hypothèse est que le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 80, quoique tardif (1469 AD), représente une *vetus syra*, ou un texte fort influencé par elle.⁴¹ Cette version doit remonter au-delà du XI^e siècle, puisqu'on en voit déjà des révisions, inspirées par le grec, dans des manuscrits de cette époque (MSS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 106 et 69, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgia ar. 71).

Nous en connaissons quarante-et-un manuscrits en texte continu, dont trente-et-un, soit les trois quarts, sont conservés au Sinaï. Le Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 106 est le plus ancien daté (1055 AD). Le plus récent est le MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. ar. 467 (environ 1578 AD). Entre les XIII^e et XVII^e siècles, nous avons trouvé une quinzaine de lectionnaires préservant certaines péricopes qui en proviennent, le plus récent étant le MS Jérusalem, Patriarcat Orthodoxe, 60, daté de 1615.

2.2.5 La famille *j^C*

La version *j^C* est composée à partir de *j^A* et *j^B* : nous nous rallions à l'opinion de H. Kashouh⁴². Il n'est pas étonnant d'y trouver des influences de ces deux versions, en particulier la question du v. 6.

2.2.6 La famille *k* ou « vulgate alexandrine »

Sur les environ 200 manuscrits étudiés par H. Kashouh, la moitié nous transmettent la « vulgate alexandrine ». ⁴³ En plus de ceux-ci, H. Kashouh fait part d'une soixantaine qu'il n'a pu examiner.⁴⁴ Selon lui, la version *k* mélange des influences du texte grec et de *sy^P*. Dans ses plus anciens manuscrits, il n'y a aucune influence copte. Cet avis nous paraît juste. Nous serons cependant plus audacieux, au vu du MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 101 : la variante معها 'avec elle' du v. 10, déjà rencontrée dans le MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71, sera un problème de voyelles qui remontera au syriaque.⁴⁵

41 Peters, 1936 (le premier à le voir), Valentin 2019. Dans le cadre de notre thèse de doctorat (Valentin 2021b), nous avons étudié et publié *Mc* selon cette version.

42 Kashouh 2012, 195–203.

43 Kashouh 2012, 215–257.

44 Kashouh 2012, 250–252.

45 La « vulgate alexandrine » n'est peut-être pas si alexandrine que cela. Selon Kashouh 2012, 207–208, son plus ancien manuscrit connu serait un manuscrit de Beyrouth disparu, mais dont il a pu récupérer des extraits (il nomme ce manuscrit *k'*). Mais le colophon du MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 101 nous raconte qu'il appartient au diacre Elias fils de Jacob, de Tyr au Liban, lequel se le serait procuré auprès d'un moine ܡܘܢܚܐ (= égyptien) en l'an 1523 (de quelle ère ?). Cf ff. 407v–408r. Notre jugement quant à l'origine de cette version devra rester en suspens.

§3. *Fausses variantes, vraies variantes : contribution à l'apparat critique ?*

Le passage du grec vers l'arabe—encore plus *via* un intermédiaire syriaque—nécessite des accommodements, conditionnés par les caractéristiques de la langue source aussi bien que de la langue cible.

Chaque traducteur a sa propre manière de procéder (« stratégie de traduction »), son vocabulaire, son style. Le temps, le milieu auquel il appartient, voire, s'il est commissionné par une autorité ecclésiastique pour produire une version « officielle », les demandes ou exigences de cette autorité pourront avoir eu une influence sur son travail.⁴⁶ Il faudra séparer le bon grain de l'ivraie : cela demande une analyse méticuleuse.

Le jour n'est donc pas encore venu où les versions arabes trouveront leur place dans l'apparat critique des éditions grecques. Cependant, un choix *raisonné* de manuscrits de manuscrits pourrait être utilisé pour enrichir l'*Editio Critica Maior* électronique : la présente contribution pourrait être un premier petit pas dans cette direction, à charge aux chercheurs de Münster d'évaluer comment prolonger l'effort.

3.1 *Les « fausses variantes »*

3.1.1 *Petites précisions*

Ici un suffixe possessif, là un suffixe objet, ailleurs une explicitation. Le grec est parfois elliptique : les traducteurs syriaques ou arabes seront obligés d'explicitier. Selon plusieurs auteurs, cela se produit déjà en syriaque,⁴⁷ mais aussi en arabe.⁴⁸ Ci-dessous quelques exemples.

(1) Au v. 11, ἀκούσαντες (« ayant entendu »), est suivi d'une petite addition dans *c* et *d* : *c* منها « d'elle » et *d* قولهم « leur parole ». Ces versions sont influencées par le syriaque : sy^a a ici ܩܘܠܗܘܢ « qui disaient », ce qui ressemble à la version *d*.⁴⁹

46 La version *d*, traduite de sy^p, n'en est pas un mot-à-mot. Quant aux versions « officielles », vu le nombre de manuscrits concernés et la présence de rubriques liturgiques, les versions *a* et *j*^b nous semblent devoir certainement être considérées comme telles.

47 Williams 2004, 67–111 y consacre un long développement, et conseille aux éditeurs du texte grec de faire un retour en arrière, de moins citer les versions syriaques car, selon lui, il s'agit, non pas de *variantes* mais de *stratégie de traduction*.

48 Kashouh 2012, 190 : « For instance, as seen above, additions of 'possessive pronouns' can be misleading », etc.

49 Quant à la lecture de la version *c*, faute de documentation, nous ne pouvons savoir d'où elle vient : addition spontanée du traducteur arabe ou reflet d'une *vetus syra* non attestée ?

(2) Toujours au v. 11, « ils ne crurent pas » (gr. ἠπίστησαν), sans autre précision Plusieurs versions arabes ajoutent un objet au *singulier*,⁵⁰ alors qu'en sy^p c'est au *pluriel* (هم). L'addition d'un pronom objet est une *tendance commune* aux deux langues plutôt qu'un rendu direct du syriaque par l'arabe, et ce quelles que soient les difficultés grammaticales.⁵¹

(3) Au v. 18, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν est presque partout pourvu d'un possessif : « leurs mains » à l'exception de la version *b*.⁵²

3.1.2 La syntaxe arabe

Si l'ordre des mots est libre en grec comme en latin, il n'en va pas de même de l'arabe, dont la syntaxe obéit à des règles plus strictes. Ce n'est qu'en cas de grandes transpositions de la taille d'une proposition, voire d'un verset, que nous serons affirmatif : nous n'en avons pas trouvées dans ce chapitre.

L'arabe, langue sémitique, utilise abondamment la conjonction « et ».⁵³ Son omniprésence est une caractéristique linguistique dont il ne faut tirer aucune conclusion textuelle.

3.1.3 Le caractère de la version

Les versions arabes ne sont pas toutes littérales. Ainsi, *j^b* recourt souvent à des paraphrases, même si nous en trouvons peu ici⁵⁴—il faut cependant noter le cas de « double traduction » du v. 11.⁵⁵

50 Ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71 لم يصدقوه « ils ne *le* crurent pas »; version *j^a* ما صدقوها « ils ne *la* crurent pas »; version *j^b* كذبوها ولم يصدقوها (« ils *la* firent menteuse et ne *la* crurent pas » : double traduction, un mot de la *Vorlage* est rendu par deux en arabe).

51 Ainsi, que représente ◦ ? Ils ne le crurent pas, *lui* (qui?) ou ils ne crurent pas *cela* (plus difficile grammaticalement) ?

52 Celle-ci, comme plusieurs témoins mentionnés dans l'apparat de NA²⁸, omet ces quelques mots.

53 Il en existe trois avec des sens légèrement différents : نُفْمٌ et وَرَفٌ.

54 Mc 16,8 se termine par لَأَنَّ خَوْفَهُنَّ كَانَ كَثِيرًا « car leur peur était grande ». En Mc 9,19, ἄπιστος « incroyant » devient élégamment عديم أن يكون مؤمناً « pauvre d'être croyant ». D'autres suivent, mais nous en trouvons deux en Mc 16. (1) Mc 16,2 λίαν πρωΐ « très tôt » est traduit انفجار الصبح « à l'apparition du matin » et (2) en Mc 16,8 εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις « le tremblement et l'étonnement les tenaient », le verbe εἶχεν (les tenaient, les avaient) est rendu par اشتملهنَّ « les enveloppaient »—certes, le verbe « avoir » n'a pas de réel équivalent en arabe, et chaque version doit trouver une expression équivalente, mais celle-ci n'est pas sans charme.

55 Cf. ci-dessus, n. 50.

Le phénomène de « double traduction » a été décrit par H. Kashouh au sujet du ms Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. ar. 13.⁵⁶ Si on le rencontre dans ce manuscrit, c'est aussi le cas ailleurs.⁵⁷

L'on constate une certaine liberté dans d'autres détails, dont nous ne mentionnerons qu'un exemple : les deux *κακεῖνοι* des versets 11 et 13. Le premier est omis par *b, d, j^B* et une partie des témoins de la version *k*, alors que le second l'est par *j^B* seul.⁵⁸ Il ne faut pas s'attendre à ce qu'une version arabe rende sa *Vorlage* littéralement et jusque dans les moindres détails.

3.1.4 Harmonisations, influences liturgiques et corrections orthodoxes

Nous rangeons ici deux passages où un doute peut être élevé pour d'autres raisons. Les textes ont été constamment traduits, révisés—et si l'on parle de révision, les sources peuvent en être multiples.

Au v. 14, après *ἐγεργήμενον* nous trouvons l'addition de *ἐκ νεκρῶν* dans *b, c* et une partie des manuscrits de la première révision de *j^B* (texte court, imprimé par NA²⁸). L'on peut l'expliquer par un texte grec qui contenait cette addition. Mais l'expression « ressusciter *des morts* » est courante dans les évangiles comme dans les textes liturgiques : ce peut donc être une harmonisation, survenue spontanément sous la plume des traducteurs ou réviseurs.⁵⁹

Au v. 19, *ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ* devient « à la droite *du Père* », ce qui rappelle le Symbole de Nicée-Constantinople. Il s'agit du ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108, un représentant de la version *a*. Idem dans *b*, une bonne partie des manuscrits de *j^B*, et l'édition Erpenius de *k*, basée sur un manuscrit de Leyde. Il peut s'agir, ici aussi, d'une correction spontanée, mais, en étudiant pour notre thèse la version *j^B*, nous avons remarqué sa tendance à procéder à des « corrections orthodoxes », comme nous les appelons. Ce sera le cas ici.⁶⁰

56 Kashouh 2012, 156–158, n. 69.

57 Nous en avons trouvé plusieurs occurrences dans la version *j^B* de Marc. Par exemple, en Mc 7,3 *τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* « la tradition des anciens » devient *فريضة شويوخم وعاداتهم* « la tradition de leurs anciens et leurs coutumes ». Ailleurs, en Mc 9,50 *ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἄλας ἄναλον γένηται* « si le sel devient sans-sel » est traduit *فإن ذهب طعمه وانفسد* « et si son goût part et se corrompt ».

58 L'on peut y rattacher l'omission de *ἐκείνη* au v. 10 (versions *j^B*—sauf le ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 80—et *k*). Au v. 20, *ἐκεῖνοι* est encore omis par la version *d* (contre *sy^p* qui l'a bien traduit).

59 Tropaire de Pâques : « Le Christ est ressuscité *des morts*, par sa mort il a vaincu la mort, et a donné la vie à ceux qui étaient dans les tombeaux ». Ceci pourrait aussi être pris en considération lorsqu'il s'agit des variantes du texte grec.

60 Ainsi, en Mc 6,5, *καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο* « il ne *put* pas » devient « il ne *voulut* pas ». Pour un scribe orthodoxe, Jésus est Dieu, donc il *peut* tout : il faut clarifier le texte. De même en 16:19 : s'il s'assied « à la droite de Dieu », c'est qu'il n'est peut-être pas

3.2 Quelques possibles vraies variantes

Une fois cela éliminé, surnagent plusieurs lieux variants connus où nous pouvons voir les versions arabes prendre position.

v. 1 αὐτόν : جسد يسوع الربّ ‘le corps de Jésus le Seigneur’ (version *c*) correspond au texte de 1241 : جسد ايسوع ‘le corps de Jésus’ (Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 80 de la version *j^B*) y ressemble. Comme ces deux manuscrits peuvent remonter à une *vetus syra*, l’on peut conjecturer que ces mots y figuraient.

v.6 ἔθηκαν αὐτόν (actif) : وُضِعَ or جُحِلَ (passif) = sy^{s,p} رُكِبَ راس (versions *S71 c d j^C*) // كان ‘était’ (quelques manuscrits de la version *k*). Peut-être une harmonisation avec Mt 28:6 ἔκειτο.

v. 10 om. καὶ κλαίουσιν : version *b* (= *W* seul !)

v. 11 ὑπ’ αὐτῆς : للنسوة ‘aux femmes’ (version *S71*) – لهن « et qu’il a été vu d’elles » (une partie des manuscrits de la version *a*, version *d*) – ‘qu’elles l’ont vu’ (version *k*) = sy^p لهن ‘à elles’, féminin pluriel : le grec a un singulier.

v. 13 ἀπελθόντες : + أيضًا ‘aussi’ = sy^{pal} اذ (version *c*)

v. 14 ἐγγεμεμένον : + ἐκ νεκρῶν versions *a*, *S71*, *b*, *c*, *j^A* et Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 80 de *j^B* (cf apparat NA²⁸).

v. 15 τὸ εὐαγγέλιον : بشراي ‘mon évangile’ = sy^p هدايتي (version *d*)

v. 15 εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα : إلى أهل الدنيا كلهم ‘aux gens du monde, eux tous’ (version *c*) pourrait être une harmonisation avec Mt 28:19 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Si la version *c* provient de la *vetus syra*, cela pourrait nous renseigner sur le texte de cette dernière.

v. 18 om. καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν : versions *b*, *d*, *j^C* et une majorité des manuscrits de *j^B* (cf apparat NA²⁸)⁶¹.

v. 19 κύριος : ربنا ‘Notre Seigneur’ version *c* = sy^{c,p} ربنا (version *d*)

v. 19 τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς : + بهذا ‘à ce propos’ = sy^{pal} لهذا (versions *c j^B*) – هنا (version *j^C*)

§4 Conclusion

La présence de Mc 16:9–20 dans les manuscrits arabes du Sinaï est un fait avéré. Dans aucun de ces manuscrits nous ne pouvons constater l’absence de

Dieu lui-même ? C’est impossible à envisager, et l’on corrige le texte (« à la droite du Père »), pour éviter que ceux qui entendent le texte à la liturgie posent des questions embarrassantes.

61 En ce qui concerne *j^B*, ce sont surtout les témoins de sa deuxième révision qui contiennent le texte long, ce qui pourrait être un indice pour identifier les manuscrits grecs sur lesquels cette dernière se base.

ces versets. Voilà qui est acquis, tout comme l'absence de la *conclusio brevior* qui, ailleurs, suit le v. 8.

Cependant, les *rubriques* des manuscrits du I^{er} millénaire, quand il y en a, éveillent un soupçon. Elles se rapportent au calendrier de Jérusalem, dont l'usage est flottant. Une partie des manuscrits ne prévoient pas la lecture de Mc 16:9–20, même si ce texte est présent. Cela rappelle d'autres manuscrits (géorgiens, arméniens...), eux aussi en connexion avec le rite de Jérusalem et dont la péricope est absente. Le rapport entre la transmission du texte et la liturgie mérite d'être considéré.

Un autre point ferme est l'abondance d'influences syriaques, voire syro-palestiniennes. Rares sont les versions arabes qui y échappent. La version *j^A*, du moins pour ce passage, en est exempte. Les versions *a* et *b*, presque certainement traduites d'un texte grec, voient quand même surnager des souvenirs de ces versions sémitiques. Les versions *c*, *d* et les plus anciennes couches des versions *j^B* et *k* peuvent encore plus servir à leur reconstitution. Avec patience et méthode, la contribution des versions arabes à la critique textuelle des évangiles pourrait devenir considérable.

أما الحصاد فكثير وأما الفعلة فقليلون

« Quant à la moisson, (elle est) abondante, et quant aux ouvriers, (ils sont) peu »
(Lc 10,2, version *j^B*)

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Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 74 (107r, 5 – 108v, 1) – rubriques hagiopolites
<<https://sinaimanuscrits.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1cn8nn8>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 54 (35r, 15 – 36r, 1) – rubriques hagiopolites
<<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279385949-ms/?sp=37>>
<<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279385949-ms/?sp=38>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. NF Parch. 7 (62r, dernière ligne – 63r, 11) – rubriques hagiopolites
<<https://sinaimanuscrits.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz156866>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 72 (57r, 12 – 57v, 17) – rubriques hagiopolites
<<https://sinaimanuscrits.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1cn8nmt>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 98 (87r, avt-dernière ligne – 88r, 1) – rubriques hagiopolites:
<[https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH003871370/NLI#\\$FL42646816](https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH003871370/NLI#$FL42646816)>
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Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 97 (155v, 7 – 158v, 8) – rubriques hagiopolites
(copie privée reçue de la LOC car pas sur leur site ce 18/02/2022)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108 (89v, 2 – 90v, 7) – rubriques hagiopolites
<<https://tinyurl.com/24ash7p4>>
<<https://tinyurl.com/45dcx4rz>>
<<https://tinyurl.com/y97y3dmu>>

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. ar. 95 (75v, 6 – 76v, 6) – pas de rubriques
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.ar.95>

Lectionnaire Sinaï, ar. 116 (159v, 11 – 161r, 11) – rubriques hagiopolites
<<https://sinaimanuscrits.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1vt2wgq>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71 (35v, avt-dernière ligne – 36v, 8) – pas de rubriques, sauf dans les titres
<<https://sinaimanuscrits.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1sf40j6>>

62 En fait, douze, mais nous en retirons le ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 71.

Famille b

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. NF Parch. 8 (64v, 2 – 65r, 7) – pas de rubriques, sauf dans les titres

<<https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/viewer/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1kd1z25>>

Famille c

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 75 (47v, 13 – 48r, 13) – rubriques hagiopolites

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1hx2gzz>>

Famille d

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 70 (55r, 21 – 55v, avt-dernière ligne) – rubriques hagiopolites

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1f496r2>>

Famille j^A

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 115 (121r, 9 – 122v, 3) – pas de rubriques

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1447541>>

Famille j^B (41 manuscrits examinés pour Valentin 2021b, nous donnons seulement les chefs de file)

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 80 (80v, 12 – 81v, 6) – rubriques byzantines

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1x64r8j>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 106 (85v, 9 – 86v, 4) – rubriques byzantines

<<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386802-ms/?sp=88>>

<<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386802-ms/?sp=89>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 114 (117r, 10 – 118v, 6) – rubriques byzantines

<<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386772-ms/?sp=119>>

<<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386772-ms/?sp=120>>

<<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386772-ms/?sp=121>>

Famille j^C

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 76 (145r, 2 – 146r bas) – pas de rubriques

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1806mbk>>

Jérusalem, Patriarcat Orthodoxe., ar. 103 (f. 97v ligne 10 – f. 99r ligne 1) – pas de rubriques

<<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.0027107136a-jo/?sp=103>>

<<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.0027107136a-jo/?sp=104>>

Famille k (environ 150 manuscrits recensés par H. Kashouh)

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 101 (177r, 6 – 179r, 6) – pas de rubriques

Pas trouvé « online » mais nous en avons une copie privée (source : microfilms de la Bibliothèque Réserve de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve)

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 112 (76r, 7 – 77v, 1) – pas de rubriques

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1np3p1j>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 147 (75r, 5 – 75v bas) – rubriques byzantines ajoutées en marge

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1rf7cr8>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 628 (57r, 6 – 57v bas) – rubriques byzantines

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1543rwq>>

Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, ar. 68 (ff. 180v, 9 – 183r, 2) – pas de rubriques, présentation imitant le Coran

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1v42hm2>>

The Endings of Mark in Ethiopian Translation and Transmission

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Numerous digitization efforts by individuals and organizations over the last fifty years have exponentially expanded the number of Gəʻəz manuscripts available online for study. Additionally, new colour images of the two oldest Gospel codices, Abba Gärīma 1 and 2, include previously unphotographed folia and improve legibility where ink is faint. As a result, one can now trace the history of Gospel transmission in Ethiopic from the earliest extant evidence to the modern period provided a good internet connection.

New Testament textual critics have had a greater degree of interest in the Greek exemplar to which the Ethiopic version points rather than indigenous Gospel traditions. To this end the 2021 publication of the *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* volumes of the Gospel of Mark is an important watershed moment. This important new tool allows for greater precision in measuring textual alignment between the early versions and specific Greek manuscripts or textual clusters.

Taking advantage of these new developments, textual and paratextual features of the Longer Ending(s) of Gəʻəz Mark are examined.

Intrigued by the often vague and sometimes contradictory references to the Longer Ending(s) of Mark's Gospel in the Gəʻəz (Classical Ethiopic) version, Bruce Metzger investigated the question anew by examining the text of Mark 16:8–20 in sixty-five manuscripts.¹ When he reprinted his study eight years later, he expanded his database with information from an additional 129 manuscripts supplied by William Macomber.² In contrast to erroneous claims of the past, Metzger established that there were no continuous text manuscripts of Gəʻəz Mark that ended the Gospel at 16:8. Out of the 194 codices examined by himself and Macomber, 59 ended with Mark 16:8–20, and 133 had the Shorter Ending located between v. 8 and v. 9. The remaining two manuscripts were lectionaries in which the Gospel readings ended at 16:8, but these were of no value for understanding the textual history of Gəʻəz Mark.

Rochus Zuurmond provided an historical context for the transmission of the Gəʻəz Gospels.³ He identified a handful of textual clusters among the more than three hundred witnesses he examined. Abba Gärīma 1 and 2 provided the

1 Metzger 1972, 167–180.

2 Metzger 1980, 141–147. See also Clivaz 2021, 61. The total number of manuscripts consulted was actually 195, but Metzger rightfully excluded Chester Beatty W 912 from consideration as the manuscript lacks the last folio of Mark.

3 Zuurmond 1989, I, 1–288 and II, 1–397.

basis for the A-text, the earliest attested text of Mark.⁴ The B-text existed as a distinct editorial stage only in the Gospel of Matthew. Nevertheless, Gospel manuscripts that transmit the B-text of Matthew also transmit new readings in Mark, and thus he felt justified in identifying an Ac-text for the second Gospel.⁵ He further proposed that this cluster originated before the beginning of the Zag^we period (1137–1270) and was influenced by an Arabic version.⁶ By the late thirteenth century, scribes began conflating these two texts, producing the C-text.⁷ Four centuries later, the unusually uniform and ubiquitous D-text appeared.⁸ A rarely attested form of Mark (E-text) edited against the Arabic Alexandrian Vulgate, is attested in the eighteenth century.⁹ Finally, a more modern text (M) developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which Zuurmond did not investigate.¹⁰

In order to build upon these works, this study makes use of two resources unavailable to Metzger and Zuurmond. First, there is the increasing cache of digitized images of manuscripts, many of which were previously difficult to access. An additional boon in this age of digitalization is the high quality, colour image set of the two oldest Gospel codices, Abba Gärīma 1 and 2. Second, the recent publication of Mark in *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* offers a granular picture of the Greek transmission of the Gospel's endings for the first millennium of Christianity. Consequently, Metzger's and Zuurmond's studies can be expanded, and their conclusions substantiated, nuanced, or corrected.

1. Digital Imagery and the Endings of Mark

What must have been laborious work for Metzger and Zuurmond has now been made considerably easier as libraries and museums make their holdings more accessible, primarily through the internet. The Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, The British Library, The Library of Congress, University of Toronto, and the Hiob Ludolf Centre are just a few of the institutions offering digital reproductions of Gə'əz manuscripts, both those held locally and those located in Egypt,

4 Zuurmond 1989, I, 48–67. Zuurmond's Abba Gärīma III is now identified as Abba Gärīma 2.

5 Zuurmond 1989, I, 64–67.

6 Zuurmond 1989, II, 68–72.

7 Zuurmond 1989, II, 73–81.

8 Zuurmond 1989, II, 82–85.

9 Zuurmond 1989, II, 86–88.

10 Zuurmond 1989, II, 89.

Eritrea, and Ethiopia.¹¹ Individuals, such as Steve Delamarter, Michael Gervers, and Denis Nosnitsin have also led digitizing projects at home and abroad.

Consulting just a few of these resources, thirty-eight manuscripts were examined. These witnesses date from the fourteenth to the twentieth century and were not included among the codices collated by Metzger and Macomber. Verses 9 through 20 follow immediately after v. 8 in eleven codices. In twenty-seven, the Shorter Ending appears between 16:8 and 16:9. (See Table 2.) To this number should be added over 200 manuscripts that, according to Zuurmond, transmit a type of text that includes the Shorter Ending (i.e., Ab, Cabc, D, and M) before the Longer Ending.¹² These data confirm Metzger's assertion that the Gə'əz version of Mark never circulated without the Longer Ending (vv. 9–20).¹³ Earlier reports of manuscripts of Mark that end at 16:8 must be erroneous.¹⁴

- 11 See <<https://www.vhmmml.org/>>, <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>>, <<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/>>, <<https://eap.bl.uk/>>, <<https://gundagunde.digital.utsc.utoronto.ca/>>, <<https://www.loc.gov/rr/mss/>>, <<https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare>>, <<https://betamasaheft.eu/>> all URLs last accessed 28 February 2023.
- 12 See Zuurmond 1989, I, 242–249, for the list of manuscripts and their classifications. Even though a text cluster typically includes the Shorter Ending, a manuscript without it may still belong to that group, for the Shorter Ending is just one of many test passages employed for determining cluster kinship. Likewise, the appearance of the Shorter Ending in manuscripts belonging to clusters that normally lack the Shorter Ending should also not be surprising. For this study, the calculation of 'over 200' manuscripts excludes witnesses examined by Zuurmond that were also used by Metzger and Macomber as well as documents that Zuurmond listed as fragmentary or lacking the second Gospel. Presumably vv. 9–20 appear in all the manuscripts that Zuurmond evaluated, because he employs two variation units from Mark 16:8–20 as test passages, makes no mention of any witnesses diverging from the norm in his apparatus, and points approvingly to Metzger's 1972 work. (Zuurmond overlooked the 1980 version of Metzger's article; noted by Clivaz 2021, 62.)
- 13 The appearance of a few Gə'əz manuscripts lacking the Shorter and Longer Endings is not impossible, because isolated developments in the transmission history of Ethiopia's Bible have been identified elsewhere. For example, two manuscripts of Daniel revised from an Arabic source omit Susanna and Bel and the Dragon (although not the Song of the Three Youths), Niccum 2019, 159. A few manuscripts of The Twelve conform in both text and paratextual features to a printed edition of the Latin Vulgate, Daniel Assefa et al. 2020, 90, 100–103, 107, 109. Many books of the Old Testament have been edited to varying degrees toward the Massoretic Text in the unique MS University of Cambridge, Add. 1570: see Knibb 2015, 28–29 and 34–36. Like these anomalies, if manuscripts ending at Mark 16:8 surface, they will be the products of a particular social group and influenced by non-native sources.
- 14 Metzger 1972, 167–169, 177, and 180. Images of a few older manuscripts used by Metzger and Zuurmond were also consulted. These include the three Abba Gäri-ma Gospels, MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Vat. et. 25, ms

Obviously, advances in both access and presentation improve our understanding of the text of Mark in Gə‘əz. Yet the newly available resources provide an even greater wealth of important data. Rather than just mining manuscripts for texts, scholars are rediscovering their value as artifacts.¹⁵ Easy access to digital images facilitates study of paratextual and codicological features, features that may also coincide with stages of textual development. In other words, when an external source inspired a paratextual or codicological innovation, it might have also encouraged textual innovation or *vice versa*. These additional features may help identify specific causes for and sources behind variant readings. In the future, correlating all features of a manuscript will certainly illuminate its own use by generations of users, but it might also contribute to the history of transmission more broadly. To test this hypothesis, the Eusebian apparatus, textual divisions, and *subscriptions* were examined as they relate to Mark 16:8–20.¹⁶

Eusebian Apparatus

The Gospels were translated from a Greek manuscript that contained a Eusebian apparatus that lacked ‘Ammonian’ section numbers and Eusebian canon

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Éth. 32, MSS Ethiopian Manuscript and Microfilm Library (EMML) nos 1832 and 6907. The colour images of the Abba Gärima Gospels hosted at vHMML Reading Room (<<https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/132896>> and <<https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/132897>>) enabled corrections of Zuurmond’s transcription of Abba Gärima 1 (AG1). The text of AG1 was collated solely with the readings as found in Zuurmond’s text, apparatus, and appendix producing the following differences (with the confirmed reading of AG1 placed before the bracket): 16:9 ስብዓተ:] ስብዓተ: ?; 16:10 (bis) ሃለዉ:] ሀለዉ: ; 16:10 omit ወይስክዩ:] omit ወይስክዩ: ?; 16:11 ወእሙንቱኒ:] ወእሙንቱሂ: ; 16:15 ለከሉ:] ለተሉ: ; 16:18 ይኅእዙ: [sic!]] ይኅኅዙ: ; 16:19 ዓርገ:] ዐርገ:.

- 15 Both the search for the original text (origins) and the understanding of subsequent textual developments (transmission history) have been integral parts of the praxis of textual criticism. However, at times scholars have stressed the former almost to the exclusion of the latter. In New Testament textual criticism, works such as Epp 1966, Ehrman 1993, and Hurtado 2006, helped return equilibrium to the science and have inspired studies on individual manuscripts, scribal tendencies, paratextual elements, and theological influence on transmission.
- 16 One important development since the publications of Metzger and Zuurmond is the dating of AG1 and AG2 to around the sixth and seventh centuries. They are now the sole known manuscript witnesses from the Aksumite period. As such, they improve probability when scholars make conclusions about the Greek Vorlage of the Gospels. See McKenzie and Watson 2016, 40–41. For paratextual studies, see Kim 2022.

numbers for Mark 16:9–20.¹⁷ The last number (233/2) occurs at 16:8.¹⁸ As is well known, this phenomenon was typical for Greek manuscripts into the late medieval period.¹⁹

During the gap between the penning of Abba Gäräma 1 (sixth century?) and Abba Gäräma 2 (seventh century?) and the production of Abba Gäräma 3 (date unknown) and EMM 6907 (twelfth/thirteenth century), the Eusebian apparatus was expanded to include the Longer Ending. At vv. 9 and 12 sections 234/10 and 235/8 were added respectively. This follows a pattern found in a few Greek minuscules.²⁰ The model for expansion might also have been a Coptic version, perhaps mediated through Arabic, but no precise agreements were found.²¹

In the fifteenth century the apparatus was further extended to include a third section at v. 14 (236/10).²² Around one hundred years later this third section was relocated to v. 15.²³ The Eusebian apparatus begins to disappear in the seventeenth century, under the influence of prevailing Arabic practice, with the apparatus becoming particularly rare in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

- 17 Since at least the time of Burgon, scholars have questioned whether the section numbers originated with Ammonius or Eusebius. Although the consensus is that they do not belong to Ammonius, Matthew Crawford argues otherwise, 2019, 56–95.
- 18 AG1 has 233/4, but most Eusebian canon numbers in AG1 are erroneous, having shifted by one away from the corresponding Ammonian section numbers.
- 19 Burgon 1871, 120–125; Kelhoffer 2001, 107–108; and Scrivener 1894, II, 339.
- 20 Gregory 1900, II, 870–871, notes nine manuscripts with the same pattern, but the first set of numbers appears at v. 10 in GA 472 and v. 11 in GA 773, the numbers for v. 12 are lacking in GA 408 and 864, and they are added by a later hand in GA 282. Although the other four manuscripts agree with the Ethiopic system with regards to the Ammonian section numbers, there is no precise correlation with the Eusebian canon numbers, although GA 67 (tenth century) comes closest.
- 21 For example, in ms BnF, Copte 13 (1178–1180), as with later Ethiopic manuscripts, the Eusebian apparatus ends at 16:12, although for vv. 9–12 it has three Ammonian sections instead of two. For the intermediary role of the Arabic, see Bausi 2006, 53–54; Cerulli 1961, 67–70; Guidi 1932, 21–24; Hofmann 1959, 24–53; Hofmann 1960, 25–39; and Niccum 2017, 217–218. As for other potential exemplars, Syriac is excluded because of that version's more extensive apparatus, and Latin influence on Ethiopian transmission is late, although the apparatus in Codex Cavensis agrees with that in the four Greek minuscules noted above. Armenian was not examined.
- 22 See MSS Ethiopian Manuscript Digital Archive (EMDA) 133, Gundä Gunde (GG) 39, and GG 40. Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project (EMIP) 1031 (late fifteenth century) transmits a completely different system with 239 Ammonian sections, the last one marking 16:14; no Eusebian canon numbers are given. This manuscript deserves further study.
- 23 See EMDA 102, EMDA 391, EMIP 870, EMIP 969, and EMIP 2758.

No clear correlation between any of the changes in the Eusebian apparatus and the text of Mark 16 were discovered. Of course, not every paratextual alteration must have resulted in changes to the text. On the other hand, lack of evidence may be due to the limited scope of this investigation.

Textual Division

In concert with the Greek tradition, Mark is divided into forty-eight chapters, both in the text and in a table of contents usually placed immediately before the Gospel. This practice changes little over time, and what variations exist are likely due to human error. In the seventeenth century, however, an additional summary of alternate chapter calculations appears, sometimes as a separate entity and sometimes incorporated into a Gospel introduction. Within it are enumerated 246 ‘small chapters’, equivalent to Ammonian sections, an alternative reckoning of 215 chapters, sixty-one ‘Coptic’ chapters, and forty-eight ‘Roman’ ones. This summary, including its reference to ‘Roman’ practice, parallels the subscriptio of the early thirteenth century Coptic-Arabic manuscript, London, British Library, Oriental 1315 (bo 13), according to Horner.²⁴ And its Gə‘əz counterpart clearly derives from the Arabic, for it transliterates the Arabic word for Gospel (بشرى = ብሔራት). The inclusion of this summary (with or without the Gospel introduction) belongs exclusively to the D-text. Therefore, in this instance textual change indeed coincided with paratextual innovation.

Subscriptio

Almost all manuscripts include a subscriptio after 16:20.²⁵ The earliest form appears in AG1 (see reading a in Table 1), and it follows the format found in Greek majuscule manuscripts GA 04, 019r, 032, 037, 044, and 0211.²⁶ During the Aksumite period a calculation of stichoi was added (reading b). Its sum of 1,700 stichoi varies from the common Greek calculation of 1,600. However, the difference is likely due to early corruption in transmission, for

24 Horner 1898, 483. At the ‘MARK16’ Project website (<<https://mark16.sib.swiss/>>), this manuscript is identified as bo 13. See ten Kate and Monier, 2022. Images are available at <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=Qk8xMw==>>>.

25 The following manuscripts lack a *subscriptio*: London, British Library ‘Endangered Archives Programme’ (EAP) 286/1/1/418, Ethiopian Manuscripts Digital Library (EMDL) 603, EMIP 758, 1031, 2532, 2823, EMMML nos 6907, 8763, and Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W.850*.

26 Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (GA 04), Paris, BnF, Gr. 9; Codex Regius (GA 019), Paris, BnF, Gr. 62; Codex Washingtonianus (GA 032), Washington, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art 06.274; Codex Sangallensis (GA 037), St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 48; Codex Athous Lavrensis (GA 044), Mt Athos, Great Lavra, B’ 52; Tbilisi, Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, Gr. 27 (GA 0211).

the numbers six (ḫ) and seven (ḫ) are similar and often confused. If this plus coincides with the introduction of textual changes, variants between AG1 and AG2, such as the plus $\omega\rho\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon$ (καὶ κλαίουσιν) at 16:10 in AG2, might deserve greater attention.

By the thirteenth century, a different subscriptio (reading c) enters circulation. It preserves the older formulation but expands it with ተፈጸመ , i.e., ‘the Gospel of Mark *is finished*’, perhaps derived from the Coptic $\alpha\rho\alpha\omega\kappa \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ or its Arabic equivalent. Reading d is a minor variation of this subscriptio, and reading e conflates the earlier form (b) with a later iteration of reading c. Because the manuscripts transmitting these forms belong to manuscripts of Zuurmond’s C-text, except for Vat. et. 25 (Ac-text), it is tempting to place the origin of these *subscriptiones* with the development of that conflated text-type, but more evidence is needed.

A subscriptio of Arabic origin first appeared in the late fifteenth century as an appendix to the more traditional reading (g; see also h), but it eventually came to stand alone in the sixteenth century (f). Although it has parallels in some Greek minuscule codices and Bohairic manuscripts, its origin is certainly Arabic with $\omega\rho\gamma\lambda\alpha$ ‘Gospel’ of the earlier versions replaced by ብስጢሕ ‘Gospel’. The ending of EMIP 3695 (i) is perhaps unique.

Based on present information, there is no discernible connection between the various *subscriptiones* and the history of textual variation, although the earliest conflated forms (readings c, d, and e) may coincide with the creation of the C-text. Again, the limits of the study preclude certainty.

Theoretically, attention to paratextual details can provide important data about transmission history. As for the Eusebian apparatus, textual divisions, and *subscriptiones*, beyond their proof that manuscripts evolved over time, only one clear association between paratextual innovation and textual variation was found, that of the list of alternate chapter enumerations and the D-text. Another possible correlation exists between the appearance of the C-text and conflated forms of the *subscriptiones*. These correspondences suggest that an expanded study of textual and paratextual features in Gospel manuscripts might help to elucidate transmission history.²⁷

27 Better knowledge of Arabic transmission history would also be helpful. It is unfortunate that Mark 16 was not among the test passages employed by Hikmat Kashouh for his study of the Arabic Gospels, 2012, 84–85. See also Valentin 2003; and Schulthess 2018.

Table 1. *Subscriptions* of the Gospel of Mark

a	ወንጌል፡ ዘማርቆስ፡	The Gospel of Mark	AG1
b	ወንጌል፡ ዘማርቆስ፡ ቃሉ፡ ፲፻ወ፡ ፯፻፡	The Gospel of Mark: Its stichoi (are) 1,700.	AG2, AG 3, DSAE 1, EAP 286/1/1/449, EMIP 2554, EMIP 2821, Eth. 32
c	ተፈጸመ፡ ወንጌል፡ ዘማርቆስ፡ ወቃሉ፡ ፲፻ወ፡ ፯፻፡	The Gospel of Mark is finished, and its stichoi are 1,700.	EAP 254/1/4, EMMML 1832, Vat. et. 25, W.836
d	ተፈጸመ፡ ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘዜነወ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ቃሉ፡ ፲፻ወ፡ ፯፻፡	The Holy Gospel of the evangelist Mark is finished: Its stichoi (are) 1,700.	EAP 286/1/1/386
e	ወንጌል፡ ዘማርቆስ፡ ቃሉ፡ ፲፻ወ፡ ፯፻፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ወንጌል፡ ዘማርቆስ፡ በስልጣነ፡ እግዚአን፡	The Gospel of Mark: Its stichoi (are) 1,700. The Gospel of Mark is finished by the authority of our Lord.	EMDA 133
f	መልአ፡ ² ጽሕፈተ፡ ³ ብስራተ፡ ለማርቆስ፡ ⁴ ሐዋርያ።። ። ወኮነ፡ ⁵ ጸሐፊ፡ ⁷ ዘበ፡ ሮማዊ፡ ⁸ አፍርንጊ፡ ⁹ ወበሀገረ፡ ¹⁰ ሮምያ።። እምድኅረ፡ ዕርጉቱ፡ ¹² ለእግዚአን፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ¹³ ኅበ፡ ¹⁴ ሰማይ፡ ¹⁵ ። ዐሠርተ፡ ¹⁶ ወአሐዱ፡ ¹⁷ ዓመት። በራብዒት፡ ¹⁸ ዓመት፡ ¹⁹ ለቀለውድዮስ፡ ቄሳር፡ ንጉሠ፡ ሮምያ።። ወስብሐት፡ ²¹ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ²² ለዓለም፡ ዓለም፡ ወትረ፡ ²³ ።	The writing of the Gospel of Mark the Apostle is completed. And he wrote it in the Roman language of the Franks and in the city of Rome after our Lord Christ ascended to heaven, eleven years later, in the fortieth year of Claudius Caesar, Emperor of Rome. And glory (be) to God forever and ever into perpetuity.	(Text of GG 40; see below) EAP 285/1/4, EAP 286/1/1/405 (see below), EMDA 25, EMDA 102, EMDA 135, EMDA 357, EMDA 391, EMDL 2, EMDL 14, EMDL 110, EMDL 127, EMDL 669, EMIP 478, EMIP 870, EMIP 969, EMIP 2388, EMIP 2611, EMIP 2758, EMIP 2822, EMIP 2902, EMP 2940, GG 39, W.850 ^c
g	Ending c plus ending f	Ending c plus ending f	GG 40
h	ዘማርቆስ፡ ቃሉ፡ ፲፻ወ፡ ፯፻፡ plus ending f	'The Gospel of Mark: Its stichoi (are) 1,700' plus ending f.	EAP 286/1/1/405
i	ተፈጸመ፡ ዜና፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጎሩፍ፡ አንበሳ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ ፩እምፎወ፩፡ አርድአት፡ ጸሐፊ፡ ዘንተ፡ ወንጌል፡ በሮማይስጥ፡ በሀገረ፡ ሮሜ።። በዓመት፡ ራብዕ፡ እመንግሥተ፡ አቅሎድዮስ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ዕርጉተ፡ እግዚአን፡ ዘለዘከሮተ፡ ሰጊድ። በ፲ወ፩ዓመት።። ጸሎተ፡ ይዕቀበነ፡ በቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አሜን።።	The holy, excellent message is finished. The lion, Mark the evangelist, one of the 72 disciples, wrote this Gospel in Latin in the city of Rome in the fourth year of the reign of Claudius after the resurrection of our Lord, which is to his venerable memory, in the eleventh year. His prayer guard us before the Lord, Amen.	EMIP 3695

- 1 EAP 254/1/4 has ገገግግግ: ገገገ.
- 2 EMDA 25, EMDL 14, and EMIP 2611 have ተፈጸመ: በረድኤተ: አግዚአብሔር: instead of ምልአ: For EMDA 102 and GG 39, see note below.
- 3 EAP 285/1/4, EMDA 25, and EMDL 14 lack this word. EMIP 870, 969, and 2758 have ምጽሐፈ: instead of ጽሕፈተ: EMDL 669 has the plus ተፈጸመ: በረድኤተ: አግዚአብሔር: For EMDA 102 and GG 39, see note below.
- 4 EAP 285/1/4 has ብስራተ: ማርቆስ: instead of ብስራቱ: ለማርቆስ: For EMDA 102 and GG 39, see note below.
- 5 The first sentence is missing in EMDA 102 and GG 39. The Walters Art Museum W.850c lacks ሐዋርያ: EAP 286/1/1/405 and EMIP 2940c have ወንጌላዊ: instead of ሐዋርያ: EMIP 478 has ወንጌላዊ: ሐዋርያ: EMDL 2 has ሐዋርያ: ጄዱ: አምጭወጃቱ: አርድዕት:.
- 6 EMIP 2902* lacks this word because the rubricator overlooked it.
- 7 The scribe of GG 39 accidentally wrote this word twice. EMDA 25, 135, 357, 391c, EMDL 2, 14, 127, 669, EMIP 478, 870, 2388, 2611, 2822, 2902, and 2940 have ጸሐፎ: W.850c has ወጸሐፈ: instead of ወኮነ: ጸሐፈ: EMDA 391* and EMDL 110 have ጸሐፍቱ:.
- 8 EAP 286/1/1/405 (see note above), EMDA 25, 135, 391, EMDL 14, 110, 669, EMIP 478, 870, 969, 2388, 2611, 2758, 2822, 2902, and 2940 have ቤላሳ: ሮሜ: instead of ዘበ: ሮማዊ: EAP 285/1/4 has በሮማይስጥ: instead of ዘበ: ሮማዊ: EMDL 2 transposes ቤላሳ: ሮሜ: after በሀገረ: ሮሜ:.
- 9 ዘ precedes the word in EAP 286/1/1/405 (see note above), EMDA 25, 135, 391, EMDL 2, 14, 110, 669, EMIP 478, 870, 969, 2388, 2611, 2822, and 2940. In EMIP 2902, በ precedes it.
- 10 EAP 285/1/4, EMDA 25, 102, 135, 357, 391, EMDL 2 (see note above), 14, 110, 127, 669, EMIP 478, 870, 2388, 2611, 2822, 2902, 2940, and W.850c lack the conjunction ወ.
- 11 EMIP 478 has ሮማይስጥ: instead of ሮምያ: EAP 286/1/1/405 transposes the sentence about the language and place of composition after ዓመት 1°.
- 12 EAP 286/1/1/405 has ዐርገ: instead of ዕርገቱ:.
- 13 EMDL 2 lacks this word. GG 39 has the plus ዘበሥጋ: and EMDA 135 has በሥጋ: W.850c has ኢየሱስ: instead of ክርስቶስ: EMDA 357 and 391 have ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: EAP 285/1/4, EMDA 25, 102 (ዘበሥጋ:), EMDL 14, 110, 127, EMIP 478, 870, 969, 2388, 2611, 2758, 2822, 2902, and 2940 have ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: በሥጋ: EMDL 669 has ኢየሱስ: በሥጋ:.
- 14 EMDA 25, 135, 391, EMDL 14, 669, EMIP 478, 2388, 2611, 2822, and 2902 have ውስተ: instead of ጎበ:.
- 15 W.850c has ሰማያተ: በስጋ: instead of ጎበ: ሰማይ:.
- 16 The preposition በ precedes the number in EAP 285/1/4, EMDA 25, 135, 357, 391, EMDL 14, 110, 127, 669, EMIP 478, 870, 969, 2388, 2611, 2758, 2822, 2902, 2940, and W.850c.
- 17 EAP 285/1/4 and W.850c have ወጀ instead of ወአሐዱ:.
- 18 EAP 286/1/1/405, EMIP 2940, and W.850c have በረብዕ: instead of በረብዒት: EAP 285/1/4, EMDA 357, 391, EMDL 110, EMIP 2758, and 2902 have ወበረብዒት: EMDL 669, EMIP 2388, and 2822 lack the conjunction. EMDL 127 has ወረብዒት: EMIP 870 has ወበዓርባዕቱ:.
- 19 GG 39 lacks this word. EAP 285/1/4, EMDA 25, 135, 391, EMIP 2388, 2611, 2822, 2902, and W.850c have ዓመቱ: EAP 286/1/1/405, EMDA 357, EMDL 110, 127, 669, EMIP 478c, 870, 969, 2758, and 2940 have the plus መግሥታቱ:.
- 20 EMIP 478, 870, 2902, 2940, and W.850c have ሮም: instead of ሮምያ: EMDA 357, EMDL 2, and 127 lack ንጉሠ: ሮምያ: EAP 286/1/1/405 lacks ቄሳር: ንጉሠ: ሮምያ:.
- 21 EAP 286/1/1/405 lacks the conjunction ወ. EMDA 135, EMDL 2, 110, and EMIP 2902 replace the end of the subscriptio with a prayer.
- 22 EAP 286/1/1/405 and EMDA 391 have the plus ወላዕሊነ: ይኩን: ምክረቱ: EMDA 135, EMDL 2, 110, and EMIP 2902 omit (see note above).
- 23 Instead of ወትረ: EAP 286/1/1/405, EMDA 102, 135, 391, EMIP 478, 969, 2388, 2758, 2822, 2940, and GG 39 have አሜን: EMDL 669 has አሜን: ወትረ: EAP 285/1/4 has አሜን: ወአሜን: instead of ወትረ: EMDL 127 and W.850c lack ለዓለም: ዓለም: ወትረ: EMDA 135, EMDL 2, 110, and EMIP 2902 omit (see notes above).

The Longer Ending and Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior (ECM) Mark

The recent publication of *ECM* Mark lists seventy-four variation units for Mark 16:9–20 and the subscriptio.²⁸ Of these, twenty-four were deemed of no value for this study because either the variants dealt with Greek orthographical differences or retroversion of the Greek could not be accomplished with a high degree of confidence because of the limitations of Gə‘əz in rendering Greek or translation technique.²⁹ Another seventeen were excluded because they were judged not to be textually significant, for in each case the only variations from the critical text of the *ECM* volume were attested in just a few minuscule manuscripts that did not demonstrate textual affinity with the Gə‘əz version elsewhere in Mark.³⁰ Finally, the variants at 16:17/10–12 and 18/22–28 were also removed because the version differs from all collated Greek manuscripts.³¹ (See below.)

Based on the remaining 31 textually significant variation units, the Longer Ending in Gə‘əz aligns most frequently with the Byzantine text (Byz) at 90 percent. In the three places where the version diverges from the Byzantine tradition, it agrees with a singular reading of GA 038³² (13/4), a manuscript with which the version agrees 87 percent overall, a subsingular reading shared by 019, 032, and four minuscules (14/6–8), and the present tense form of ἐκβάλλω (17/24) rather than the aorist, with fourteen Greek codices.³³

Because early Greek manuscripts are scarce, attending to unique versional readings is a desideratum, for it is possible that a version occasionally preserves a ‘lost’ Greek reading. However, that is not the case with the Longer

28 Strutwolf et al. 2021. *ECM* Mark only examines manuscripts that presumably transmit forms of the Greek text that existed before the eleventh century. Although additional variants for the endings of Mark certainly exist, those listed in the *ECM*, although not exhaustive, are sufficient for comparing the Aksumite text with contemporary Greek traditions.

29 The omitted variants are 9/8–10; 9/16; 9/18; 9/22; 10/2; 11/1; 12/2–4; 12/6; 12/14; 12/16; 13/2; 14/3; 14/16; 14/27; 15/10–12; 17/4; 17/8; 17/23; 18/30; 19/18; 19/20–24; 19/26–28; 20/2; 20/8; and 20/12.

30 See 9/26; 9/28; 10/5; 10/10; 10/14; 13/6; 13/8–10; 14/13; 14/20–24; 16/4; 16/12–18; 17/26–18/12; 18/32–34; 18/36; 19/10–16; and 20/10.

31 References to variation units are based on *ECM* Mark and its word location identifiers. Even numbers following a backslash refer to words present in the critical text and odd numbers note plusses found in divergent witnesses. Thus, 16:12/14 refers to the seventh word in the *ECM* critical text of 16:12.

32 Codex Coridethianus, Tbilisi, Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, Gr. 28.

33 As noted above, AG1 lacks καὶ κλαίουσιν at 10/18–20 with 032, but the scribe of AG1 is regularly careless and parablepsis appears to be the more probable origin of the reading.

Ending of Mark in Gə‘əz. Variations from the critical text are due to the translator and later copyists, not the *Vorlage*. Some of the unique Gə‘əz readings provide clarification. At 16:10, Mary reports to those who were with Jesus ‘earlier’ to avoid confusion, for these disciples were clearly not with Jesus when he revealed himself to Mary (v. 9). Another clarificatory addition occurs in v. 17 where the ‘new tongues’ are also described as ‘different’.

Ethiopian translators and copyists often rearrange material to create more logical progressions. Thus, at 16:11 the Greek text reports that the disciples, upon hearing that ‘he lives and was seen by her, did not believe’, but the version states that they, upon hearing that ‘he appeared to her and he lives, did not believe her’. Another transposition occurs in 16:14. There the Gə‘əz text reads ‘the hardness of their heart and their unbelief’ rather than ‘their unbelief and hard-heartedness’. Likewise, in Gə‘əz the disciples ‘going out everywhere, proclaimed’ instead of ‘going out, they proclaimed everywhere’ (v.20).

Translation technique also includes the frequent addition of pronominal suffixes, even when no pronouns stand in the Greek. In the variant at 16:11 noted above, the text also has a plus: ‘did not believe *her*’. Pronominal suffixes are also added at v. 18 (‘*their* hands’) and v. 20 (‘*his* word’). Also, Greek participles are frequently replaced with finite verbs. At 16:15 πορευθέντες is rendered as an imperative, which is contextually appropriate.

Finally, three Gə‘əz readings nearly defy explanation. At 17/6–12 τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ταῦτα παρακολουθήσει or a variant thereof is rendered as ለ፡ የአምኑ፡ ይገቡሩ፡ ‘those (nom.) who believe will do’ (AG1) or ለ፡ አምኑ፡ ይግቡሩ፡ ‘those (nom.) who believed may do’ (AG2). The reference to ‘following signs’ in v. 20 (/28–32) is translated straightforwardly, so the aberration here is perplexing.

For οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψῃ/βλάψει (v. 18) the Gə‘əz reads አልቦ፡ ዘይፈሰዮሙ፡ ‘no one will appoint them’. One wonders if the A-text originally read አልቦ፡ ዘይፈሰዮሙ፡ ‘no one will see them’, assuming that the translator read βλέψῃ/βλέψει instead of βλάβῃ/βλάβει.³⁴ Later, an accidental interchange of ለ and ስ would not have been difficult.

At the end of the same verse, καὶ καλῶς ἕξουσιν is inexplicably translated ወይሚጥኑ ‘and they will measure’.³⁵ If the form was originally ወይሙጥኑ ‘and

34 Alternately, a translator unfamiliar with the meaning of βλάπτω might have guessed that a form of βλέπω was intended.

35 Ludolf 1661, 84, notes that in his day Ethiopians associated this measurement with the ritual of laying on hands, but doubtless they were trying to make sense of a nonsense reading rather than relaying reliable information about the verb’s etymology.

they will be seemly’, then a passable translation of the Greek is produced.³⁶ This rare form could have easily been transformed into the more familiar $\omega\epsilon\sigma\lambda\tau\iota$ in the process of transmission.

In summary, the $G\acute{\alpha}'\acute{\epsilon}z$ translation of Mark 16:9–20 aligns textually with the Byzantine text, as it does in the rest of the Gospel. Likewise, most divergences from the Byzantine tradition are attributable to translation technique. No unique reading required the reconstruction of a supposedly lost Greek original. The variants in v. 18 may indicate that the text of the earliest known manuscripts is corrupt to some degree.

The Shorter Ending and ECM Mark

Although the Shorter Ending is a late addition to $G\acute{\alpha}'\acute{\epsilon}z$ Mark, Metzger argued that it nevertheless was translated from the Greek. He based his conclusion on negative evidence from Syriac and positive evidence from Greek. Accepting the legend of the Nine Saints, often interpreted as a report of fifth century Syrian monks who brought religious revival and biblical translation to Ethiopia, he noted a few interesting connections between the Syriac and $G\acute{\alpha}'\acute{\epsilon}z$ forms of the Shorter Ending, but determined that the absence of ‘manifested himself to them’ (16:8/71) in Syriac disqualified that version as a possible source.³⁷ In contrast, he noted that GA 099³⁸ has $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\iota\zeta$ at this location.³⁹ The *ECM* apparatus provides even stronger evidence for a connection to GA 099, for $\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ (8/75) is another unique reading of that codex that has a parallel in $G\acute{\alpha}'\acute{\epsilon}z$.

But there are good reasons to challenge Metzger’s conclusion. First, there are important parallels with a particular Coptic-Arabic tradition. Horner

36 Καλῶς is not used of health elsewhere in the Gospel of Mark (7:6, 9, 37; 12:28, 32), so the unexpected context required a different approach.

37 The historicity of the legend has been challenged on multiple fronts. See Brita 2010; Munro-Hay 2005, 137–68; Marrassini 1990, 35–46; Marrassini 2011, 7–15; Zuurmond 1989, I, 117 n. 45; and Piovanelli 2018, 10–19. Metzger correctly ignored the Latin version as a source for the Shorter Ending in $G\acute{\alpha}'\acute{\epsilon}z$, despite VL 1 (Codex Bobbiensis) being the only known witness that unequivocally attests to a Gospel that terminated solely with the Shorter Ending. First, the text of VL 1 differs considerably from that found in $G\acute{\alpha}'\acute{\epsilon}z$. (See Gäbel 2021, 179–180; and Clivaz 2021, 59–85.) Second, had the Ethiopian reviser encountered a source with only the Shorter Ending, the natural place for its addition into the $G\acute{\alpha}'\acute{\epsilon}z$ tradition would have been after v. 20. The placement of the Shorter Ending between vv. 8 and 9 suggests that the reviser encountered an exemplar with the Shorter Ending followed by the Longer Ending. Third, nearly exact parallels in wording and in sequence appear in a handful of Greek, Coptic, and Arabic witnesses, versions that are known to have impacted $G\acute{\alpha}'\acute{\epsilon}z$ transmission history before the fourteenth century.

38 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Copte 129.

39 Metzger 1972, 178–177.

Table 2. Manuscripts not included by Metzger and Macomber***

	ID, Shelf Number(s), and Location	Date	End*	Text**
1	Däbrä Šahl Äg ^w äza Ethiopia (DSAE) 1; Däbrä Šahl Äg ^w äza, Təgray	XIV/XV	S-L	Ca
2	EAP 254/1/4; Romanat Qəddus Mika'el, Təgray	XVII?	S-L	Ca or b
3	EAP 286/1/1/386; Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), Addis Ababa	XV	S-L	Cc
4	EAP 286/1/1/405; IES, Addis Ababa	1682–1694	S-L	Cc
5	EAP 286/1/1/418; IES, Addis Ababa	XV	S-L	Ab
6	EAP 286/1/1/449; IES, Addis Ababa	XVI	S-L	Ab
7	EMDA 25/G ₁ -IV-12; Maṛṭulä Maryam, Goğğam	XVII	L	Cd
8	EMDA 102; Moṭa Giyorgis, Goğğam	XVIII?	S-L	Ca
9	EMDA 133/C ₁ -IV-112; Däbrä Q ^w äyāša Monastery, Təgray	XVI	S-L	Cc
10	EMDA 135/C ₁ -IV-115; Däbrä Q ^w äyāša Monastery, Təgray	XVIII?	L	D
11	EMDA 357/G ₅ -IV-6; Dima Giyorgis, Goğğam	XVIII?	S-L	D
12	EMDA 391; Dima Giyorgis, Goğğam	XVIII?	S-L	Cd
13	EMDL 2; Maryam Mäqällä	XX	L	E
14	EMDL 14/ Maryam Mäqällä 14	1867–1888	S-L	D
15	EMDL 110/ Mäqällä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus 361	1921	S-L	E
16	EMDL 127 /C-IV-86/ Mäkällä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus 383	XIX	L	Cd
17	EMDL 603/EMIP 2532; Däbrä Sälam Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, 'Addi Gudom MNS026	1918	L	M
18	EMDL 669/ Däbrä Däḥay Šəllase 2; Mäqällä	XX	L	Cd
19	EMIP 478/Weiner Codex 176	XIX	S-L	D
20	EMIP 758; Čäläqot Šəllase, Təgray	XVIII	S-L	Cc
21	EMIP 870; Čäläqot Šəllase, Təgray	XIX	S-L	E
22	EMIP 969; Mäqällä Mika'el, Təgray	1682–1706	S-L	D or E

23	EMIP 1031; Məhur Gädam 56	XV	L	Ab
24	EMIP 2388/ Weiner Codex 353; formerly of Rufa'el Qəddus	1950	L	M
25	EMIP 2554/EMDL 625; Däbrä Sälam Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, 'Adi Gudom MNS048	XIV	L	Cc
26	EMIP 2611/EMDL 648/ Šeg'ala Maryam 10; Addis Ababa	XVII	L	D
27	EMIP 2758/UNESCO 1.13; Patriarchal Library, Addis Ababa	1964	S-L	E
28	EMIP 2821/UNESCO 2.28/National Archives and Library of Ethiopia (NALE) 28; Addis Ababa, purchased from Hayq 'Əstifanos	XIV	S-L	Cc
29	EMIP 2822/UNESCO 2.29; NALE, Addis Ababa	XX	L	M
30	EMIP 2823/UNESCO 2.3; NALE, Addis Ababa	XX	S-L	E
31	EMIP 2902/UNESCO 5.1/EMML 656; Patriarchate Library, Addis Ababa	1921	S-L	Cc
32	EMIP 2940/UNESCO 6.4/G ₄ -IV-11; Däbrä Dəhay Qəddus Marqos, Goğgam	XIX	S-L	D
33	EMIP 3695/Weiner Codex 494	XIX	S-L	Cc
34	EMML 8763; 'Ätaṭami Mika'el Church, Gondär	XV?	S-L	Ab

- * L indicates the Longer Ending (16:9–20), and S-L designates the Shorter Ending followed by the Longer Ending.
- ** The text-type designations are tentative and based only on the test passages Zuurmond selected for Mark 16. In addition to being statistically questionable, this method cannot measure block mixture within a manuscript. For the list of test passages, see Zuurmond 1989, I, 169–170.
- *** Images of EMDL and EMIP manuscripts were kindly provided by Steve Delamarter. EAP manuscripts are hosted by the British Library, and EMDA, EMML, and DAES manuscripts by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library. GG codices are supplied by the University of Toronto, and W manuscripts of the Walters Art Museum can be found at the Library of Congress website. See footnote 11.

Longer Ending follows the Byzantine text.⁴⁵ On the other hand, Metzger's theory of a Greek origin for the Shorter Ending is untenable. Despite its similarities with GA 099, the interpolation certainly originated from a Coptic tradition, most likely mediated through an Arabic translation.

Finally, digitized images facilitated an investigation into correlations between paratextual and textual developments. Although at times the interest of scribes and scholars may have extended only to paratextual materials, it is likely that the drive to improve the layout of the text also led to changes in the text itself. Investigations beyond the last few verses of Mark might provide fruitful data about the dates and sources of each stage in the evolution of the Gə'əz Gospels.

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Mark 16 in the Persian Harmony of the Gospels

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The present paper is a study of the verses of Mark 16 in the Persian Harmony (PH) of the four canonical gospels. Considering that the lesser-known manuscripts of this text have not been involved in the scholarship on the PH, this study begins with an up-to-date introduction of the text, including a brief presentation of the manuscripts, a concise review of the scholarship, and a summary of the textual background of the PH. The introduction is followed by an overview of the verses from Mark 16 in the PH, their comparison with corresponding verses in the early Syriac gospels, and notes on the peculiarities of these verses and their arrangement. In particular, the study provides insights into the curious place of Mark 16:8b in the PH.

In the last eighty years, the so-called Persian Harmony of the gospels (hereafter PH) became the most referred-to Persian biblical text by far. The PH owes its fame to the opinion that the study of the reading of its verses is of help for reconstructing the reading of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.¹ However, in this essay, the PH has been accessed as an early Persian gospel text with an enigmatic background for the study of its verses from Mark 16.

The Persian Harmony: an up-to-date introduction

Until today, the publications of Giuseppe Messina (d. 1951) have been the major sources of information on the text and history of the PH.² Although some of Messina's statements about the nature and emergence of the text have received criticism in recent decades,³ the scholarship on the PH continued to rely on his studies.⁴ Recent publications which shed light on the unstudied manuscripts of the PH have not been sufficiently used to provide a new profile for this text.⁵

- 1 More recent scholarship no longer considers the PH as a witness to the *Diatessaron*; see Schmid 2013, 137–138; Barker 2021, 5–9, 18.
- 2 Messina's most notable publications on this text are Messina 1943 and Messina 1951.
- 3 For instance, see Metzger 1950, 261–289; Metzger 1963, 97–120; Baarda 1983, 69. Further points have been addressed in my forthcoming PhD dissertation, *The Earliest Persian Manuscript of the First Gospel: A Textual Genealogy of Codex Vat. Pers. 4*.
- 4 Some of Messina's statements will be referred to in the present paper as well.
- 5 In this paper, these manuscripts are referred to with shelfmarks that partially differ from what appears in recent publications. The identification of the shelfmarks used in this paper is based on new information collected via contacting the archives in which the manuscripts are preserved.

The autograph of the PH is not extant. Thanks to its surviving copies, it is nevertheless possible to glean a little information about the lost original.⁶ The foreword of the PH, which was written by the author and translator himself,⁷ is the only source of information about him. His name was Yaḥyā bin ‘Awaḍ al-Tabrīzī al-Armanī.⁸ He translated verses of the gospels from Syriac into Persian and then harmonized them. He finished the PH sometime after the Mongolian invasion of northern Persia, which happened around 1220.⁹ He might have accomplished his work somewhere in Khurasan in what is today northeast Iran.¹⁰

Yaḥyā described his work with titles such as انجيل (*ingīl*, ‘the gospel’) and الانجيل المعظم (*al-ingīl al-mu‘azzam*, ‘the magnificent gospel’).¹¹ What he produced, nevertheless, was more than a ‘gospel’, even in its medieval sense. Based on the extant copies, it can be speculated that Yaḥyā’s lost autograph would have consisted of three major parts: (1) a relatively long foreword, which included some sentences about his motivation behind his authorship, his methodology, and his life condition; (2) a detailed table of contents; (3) the main body, being a combination of the four canonical gospels into one sto-

- 6 The textual relationship between these copies, the initial text or the *Ausgangstext* (from which the extant manuscripts are derived), and the autograph is unknown and deserves to be investigated in the future.
- 7 The author of the foreword is also the one who translated the gospels from Syriac into Persian, harmonized the verses, and added some exegetical comments to the corpus of the work. In this paper, he is simply addressed as ‘the author’ of the PH.
- 8 In two of the manuscripts of the PH (MSS Munich, Archive Kloster Andechs, 110 and Tehran, National Library and Archive of Iran, 14437), it is written as Tabrīzī (without the Arabic definite article *al*). Messina, misinterpreting the information provided in the colophon of another manuscript that was available to him (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 81), designated the author to be ‘Izz al-Dīn Īvānnīs. To be more precise, Messina misrepresented this person as the translator of the text and not its original author, arguing that the person behind the PH simply translated an already-existing Syriac harmony of the gospels and did not harmonize them by himself; see Messina 1943, 37–40; Messina 1951, XX.
- 9 This event is recorded in the foreword to the PH in MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 81; see also Messina 1943, 19–29; Messina 1951, XVIII–XX.
- 10 In the foreword in MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 81, there is a record of the author’s journey and his residence in a monastery close to the city of Nayshabur in Khurasan, where he accomplished the work; see also Messina 1943, 26–27; Messina 1951, XIX.
- 11 The Arabo-Persian term انجيل (*ingīl*) corresponds to the Syriac ܐܢܓܝܠܝܘܢ and the Greek εὐαγγέλιον.

ryline of Jesus' life, accompanied by some exegetical comments.¹² Possibly, the autograph had also a colophon.¹³

In the foreword, Yaḥyā stated that one could not grasp the full meaning of Jesus' ministry by reading the gospels separately.¹⁴ His solution was that one would need to have the four gospels and interpretations of their verses all together.¹⁵ In his compilation, Yaḥyā claimed to be following three rules: از اول تا آخر (*az avval tā āḥar*). i.e. including all verses of the gospels from their beginning to their end; على التوالي ('*alā al-tawālī*'), i.e. keeping the order of the verses as they are in every single gospel; and بی تکرار (*bī tīkrār*), i.e. avoiding repetition of verses.¹⁶ However, Yaḥyā did not manage to follow his own advice; several verses from each gospel are absent from the PH, verses do not always follow their original order in the four gospels, and some verses or even passages appear twice.¹⁷

Yaḥyā divided the main body of the text into four major parts, calling each of them a باب (*bāb*, 'chapter' or 'section').¹⁸ Sometimes, the four sections overlap with each other in terms of the topics that they discuss. Roughly

- 12 It might be that the comments were not made by Yaḥyā himself but that he simply included them in his work.
- 13 The available manuscripts of the text have their own colophons. This does not, however, necessarily mean that the autograph should also have a colophon.
- 14 In his words, as is mentioned in the foreword in MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 81: دیدم که از یک انجیل معرفت کردار مسیح حاصل نمی شود (*dīdam ki az yik inḡil ma 'rifat.i kirdār.i masīḥ ḥāšil namīšavad*, 'I noticed that a single gospel does not lead to the understanding of Jesus' deeds'). The phrasing in the other two manuscripts is slightly different: دیدم که از یک انجیل معرفت کردار مسیح دشوار حاصل می شود (*dīdam ki az yik inḡil ma 'rifat.i kirdār.i masīḥ dušvār ḥāšil mīšavad*, 'I noticed that a single gospel would hardly lead to the understanding of Jesus' deeds'). See also Messina 1943, 42.
- 15 It is addressed in the foreword after the author's opinion about the insufficiency of reading the four separate gospels for a comprehensive understanding of Jesus' acts; see also Messina 1943, 42. As we will see later in this paper, the PH was structured based on this viewpoint of its author, including verses from all gospels mixed together and accompanied by comments.
- 16 Yaḥyā did not explicitly claim that he was going to produce a *harmony* of the gospels.
- 17 As an instance among several cases of repetition, the passage 'I did not come to bring peace' was placed once in I:64 and once in III:10 in the PH (The Roman and Arabic numerals address sections and chapters in the PH, respectively. This system of notation was innovated by Messina. For the definition of 'section' and 'chapter' in the PH see below). Messina had addressed the presence of such cases as well; Messina 1951, XXII. For examples of absent verses, or those out of their order in the gospels, see Messina 1951, 382–387.
- 18 In this paper, the term 'section' is used to refer to these parts.

speaking, the first section deals with Jesus' birth and his early teachings; the second section with his ministry, miracles, and teachings; the third section with his teachings and struggles in Jerusalem; and the fourth section with his crucifixion and resurrection. These four sections are divided into subsections, each called a فصل (*faṣl*, 'chapter' or 'part'). The first section consists of 71 chapters, the second section of 61, the third section of 60, and the fourth section of 59.¹⁹ Verses of the gospels are not numbered in the PH. Before a verse or set of verses, the author often used a siglum to label the gospel from which he had taken the verse or verses. The sigla are م for Matthew, س for Mark, ل for Luke, and ی for John.²⁰ In several cases, the available manuscripts of the PH differ from each other in the attribution of verses or phrases to the evangelists.²¹

The text of the PH—or at least a part of it—is extant in a handful of manuscripts. The manuscripts are preserved in three libraries. The study of the exact number of the manuscripts of this text, their relationship to each other, and their closeness to the lost Persian *Vorlage* is an ongoing investigation. At this point in time, three manuscripts have turned out to be the most important ones. Their importance lies in these assumptions that (a) they are not a copy of each other but derivatives of lost *Vorlagen*, while the other manuscripts might be a copy made out of one of these three or their copies; and (b) they carry the entire text of the PH, including the foreword, the table of contents, and the main body.

One manuscript is housed at the archive of the Kloster Andechs, a monastery affiliated with the Benediktinerabtei St. Bonifaz in Munich, with shelfmark 110 (hereafter A110).²² It is the lesser-known manuscript of the PH. It

19 The number of the chapters in the last section ranges between 58, 59, and 60 in the extant manuscripts. Comparing the tables of contents, orthographical errors, and the disorder of numbering of the chapters in the last section among the manuscripts, it seems that the *Ausgangstext* contained 59 chapters.

20 For Matthew, Luke, and John, the sigla are taken from the initials of the names of the evangelists in Persian, متى *Matā*, لوقا *Lūqā*, and یوحنا *Yūhannā*, respectively. For Mark, having a common initial with Matthew, the last letter of his name in Persian, مرقوس *Marqūs*, was chosen.

21 Probably, such cases happened as scribal mistakes that occur during the copying of a manuscript.

22 This manuscript has not been included in the digital catalogue of oriental and non-European manuscripts in Germany, Qalamos (<<https://www.qalamos.net>>) yet. According to the subpage of the Stiftsbibliothek Abtei St. Bonifaz (<https://www.qalamos.net/content/collection-wrapper.xed?project=de_m31>), 'Aktuell wird durch die Forschungsstelle Christlicher Orient an der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt ein ausführlicher Katalog der christlich-orientalischen Handschriften erarbeitet'. Dennis Half, who identified this manuscript for the first time, will provide

was accomplished on the *salḥ* (سَلْح, ‘the last day of each lunar month’) of *Ḍū l-Qa’da*. The year of the completion of the manuscript is written in a strange way in the colophon, and cannot be read with certainty. It might be AH 1101, i.e. 1690 CE.²³ Another manuscript is Tehran, National Library and Archive of Iran, 14437 (hereafter T14437).²⁴ This manuscript was copied by Ḥusraw the son of Bahrām, and completed on the 20th of the month of Rajab. Curiously, the year provided in the colophon is not legible either. It also may be AH 1101, corresponding to 1690 CE.²⁵ The third manuscript is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 81 (hereafter F81).²⁶ Having been catalogued earlier, it is the most-studied manuscript of the PH in this library and in general. It was copied in the middle of the sixteenth century by a Jacobite priest, Ibrāhīm the son of *šammās* ‘deacon’ ‘Abd-allāh from the city of Hasankeyf in modern Turkey.

the entry. I must declare my gratitude to Carsten Walbiner from the Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, the technical contact person of the archive of the Kloster, for providing me with access to the manuscript and patiently answering my emails. Without his generous and friendly aid, I could not have proceeded with the preparation of this paper as I would desire to do. Additionally, I benefited from conversation with Dennis Halft, who helped me improve my information about this manuscript and the other one in Tehran. I am deeply thankful for that.

- 23 Reading the year AH 1101 and considering that the lunar month of *Ḍū l-Qa’da* has 30 days, the date of the completion of MS A110 in the Gregorian calendar would be 3 September 1690. For another reading of this date see Halft 2016, 33.
- 24 The issue of the shelfmark of this manuscript is confusing. Presently, in the printed catalogue of the National Library and Archive of Iran, the shelfmark of the manuscript is 14437. The same catalogue includes 816789 as the *شماره رکورد* (*šumāra-yi rikurd*, ‘registration number’) and 1157–519 as the *شماره های پیشین* (*šumāra-hā-yi pišīn*, ‘former numbers’) of the manuscript; see Chizari 2017, 38–39. Various web pages of the National Library include other numbers, e.g. 5-14437 as the shelfmark. To ease further comparisons, these webpages are separately listed under ‘Web resources’ at the end of this article. Jahani et al. 2018, 6 referred to the same manuscript under *شماره ثبت* (*šumāra-yi tabt*, ‘registration number’) 816789. The English introduction of the same work presented 816789 as the ‘catalogue number’ of the manuscript; see Jahani et al. 2018, viii. Halft presented this manuscript as MS 4437 [519]; see Halft 2016, 33. The latter number should have been the shelfmark of the manuscript in 2016, when Halft finished his dissertation.
- 25 Reading the year AH 1101, the date of the completion of MS T14437 in the Gregorian calendar would be 28 April 1690. In previous publications, the date has been read differently; see Halft 2016, 33–34; Jahani et al. 2018, 6.
- 26 For further details on this manuscript in the Laurenziana see Piemontese 1989, 104–108. Piemontese provided useful notes on the characteristics of Or. 81 as well as references to some related publications, such as those of Giuseppe Messina and Roberto Gulbenkian (d. 2009). See also Borbone et al. 2012, 130–133.

Four other manuscripts in Florence that include a part of the text of the PH are also worth mentioning. Ms Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 399 (hereafter F399) includes only the harmonized verses of the gospels. The verses are similar to what appears in F81.²⁷ It was copied by the same scribe as F81 and has no colophon.²⁸ F399, lacking the foreword, the table of contents, and the commentaries, has received much less attention than F81.²⁹ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 146, copied by Giambattista Raimondi (d. 1614), the director of *Typographia Medicea*, and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 461, which was also collected by him, both include verses similar to those in the PH.³⁰ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 80 is a convolute, i.e. a miscellany collection of folios from different manuscripts, in which folios 159–170 originally belonged to Or. 146.³¹

The earliest documented study of the manuscripts of the PH dates back to the sixteenth century. It was Pier Paolo Gualtieri di Arezzo (d. 1572),³² a secretary of *la Santa Sede* from 1543 to 1549, who wrote some notes on the folios of manuscript F81 about its content. Gualtieri identified the text to be an evangelistary, i.e. a compendium of excerpts of the gospels used for divine service.³³ Later, Stefano Evodio Assemani (d. 1782), in his catalog of the oriental manuscripts of the Laurenziana,³⁴ and Italo Pizzi (d. 1920), in his catalog of the Persian manuscripts of the same library,³⁵ identified the text more or less as a harmonized evangelistary, similar to Gualtieri's depiction.

In 1942–1943, the text of the PH received worldwide fame when Giuseppe Messina associated F81 with the second-century *Diatessaron*.³⁶ Later,

27 For further details on this manuscript in the Laurenziana see Piemontese 1989, 108; Borbone et al. 2012, 128–129.

28 F399 is in the handwriting of F81's scribe (with a somewhat less careful penmanship than that of F81).

29 Emphasizing the absence of these parts, Messina identified F399 as a partial copy of F81; see Messina 1951, LXXXV. Piemontese, pointing out to variations in the texts of the two manuscripts, demonstrated that F399 cannot be simply labeled as a copy of F81; see Piemontese 1989, 108.

30 For these manuscripts see Piemontese 1989, 108–109.

31 Piemontese 1989, 96.

32 In some documents, Gualtieri's name has been recorded as 'Pietro Paolo' or in its Latin version, 'Petrus Paulus Gualterius'.

33 See also Pizzi, 1886, 3; Piemontese 1989, 104–107.

34 Assemani 1742, 59.

35 Pizzi 1886, 3.

36 Messina 1942, 268–305. See also Messina 1943, 6; Metzger 1950, 266–267. In 1949, Messina published a new article on the parallelism of the reading of the PH; see Messina 1949. For a more comprehensive list of Messina's publications as well

in his well-known book published in 1951, Messina delivered a revision of his former notes on the text. This time, he called the Persian text ‘*diatessaron persiano*’. Excluding the foreword and exegetical commentaries of the text, he also provided a transcription of the verses of the text accompanied by an Italian translation. Considering Messina’s impact on the scholarship around the PH, a review of some of his statements on F81 is particularly important in the context of this paper.

Attributing misestimation to his predecessors (Assemani and Pizzi),³⁷ Messina claimed that the available text is a version of the *Diatessaron*.³⁸ He rejected Yahyā’s portrayal of himself as the one who harmonized the verses and argued that the text is a Persian translation of an already-existing Syriac harmony.³⁹ Moreover, based on some ambiguous contents of F81’s colophon, he also concluded that the translator was called ‘Izz al-Dīn Īvānnīs’.⁴⁰

Messina’s publications invigorated the study of the text, albeit in a patchy way. The relationship between the PH and the *Diatessaron* continued to be a subject of analysis, but the study of its foreword and exegetical commentaries was neglected. Messina’s edition and translation of the verses of the gospels in F81 overshadowed the importance of the study of the entire manuscript.

An early critique of Messina’s argumentations was published by Bruce M. Metzger (d. 2007) in 1950.⁴¹ Metzger collated the PH’s reading and structure with the reading and structure of the text types of the so-called witnesses of the *Diatessaron*. In his study, Metzger concluded that although the PH’s

as his biography see Cereti 2006. For Metzger’s further works on the PH and Messina’s studies see Metzger 1963, 97–120.

37 Messina 1951, XIII.

38 Messina 1943, 63; Messina 1951, XIII–XVIII.

39 Messina 1951, XVIII. The author of F81’s foreword (known as Yahyā from A110 and T14437) presented himself as the person who not only translated the gospels from Syriac into Persian but also harmonized the translated verses. As it was mentioned before, he also stated that his harmonization is organized ‘consecutively and without any repetition’. In fact, however, there are several counterexamples for this claim in the text. Messina, pointing to this fact, argued that this person was not aware of the nature of the work and, therefore, it could not have been harmonized by him. He concluded that the Persian text was a translation of an already-harmonized version of the four gospels in Syriac; see Messina 1943, 43; Messina 1950, XX–XXXIV. Moreover, Messina added that Christians in Persia had the Peshitta as their scripture. In his view, a Persian-speaking translator could theoretically create such harmony only out of the Peshitta. Underlining that F81 comprises pre-Peshitta reading, Messina concluded that the text of F81 was translated from an ancient variation of the *Diatessaron*; see Messina 1950, XXI; Messina 1943, 47–64.

40 Messina 1943, 38.

41 Metzger 1950, 261–280.

reading of some verses is Diatessaronic, the Persian text is a harmonization of the gospels in its own right, and not secondary to Tatian's *Diatessaron* as was believed by Messina.

Gradually, the text of F81 which had been edited, translated, and published by Messina, became commonly known as the 'Persian Harmony' rather than the 'Persian Diatessaron'. The study of the verses continued with scholars such as Angus John Brockhurst Higgins,⁴² Tjitze Baarda,⁴³ William L. Petersen,⁴⁴ and Nanne Peter Joosse.⁴⁵ Historiographers and scholars of Persian biblical manuscripts such as Roberto Gulbenkian and Angelo Michele Piemontese addressed F81 in their works as well.⁴⁶

To date, several publications have relied on or referred to the PH, two of which should be underlined because of their novelty. The first one is Dennis Halft's PhD thesis.⁴⁷ Halft presented two unstudied manuscripts of the PH—one from Andechs and one from Tehran—among other known Persian versions of the gospels.⁴⁸ Although the focus of Halft's dissertation was not on these two manuscripts, it conclusively overturned the opinion that the PH has survived in a single manuscript.⁴⁹ The second publication is *A Unified Persian Gospel* by Carina Jahan, Roubik Jahani, Mahmoud Hassanabadi, and Robert Crellin.⁵⁰ It contains a Persian and an English introduction to the PH, and what the authors of the book have called 'a critical edition' of the text of the PH, based on the text of MS T14437 (referred to as MS 816789 by the authors) as the main manuscript and collated against F81 and F399 as well as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Poc. 241;⁵¹ MS A110 was not consulted for this edition of the text.

Regarding the text type(s) behind the PH, scholarship has already established that the reading of verses in the PH has similarities with the reading

42 See Higgins 1952, 83–87; Higgins 1976, 246–261.

43 See Baarda 1994.

44 See Petersen, 1994.

45 See Joosse 2002.

46 See Gulbenkian 1995; Piemontese 1989, 107–109.

47 Halft 2016; see esp. pp. 33–34.

48 In Halft's dissertation, A110 is referred to with the shelfmark MS Rehm 110. According to Carsten Walbinder, the contact person of the archive in Andechs, the sub-collection 'Rehm' ends with the number 108.

49 The uniqueness of the manuscript of the PH was implicitly based on Messina's opinion that F399 is a copy of F81, and therefore, useless for the study of the PH. Messina did not associate further manuscripts with F81 (or F399).

50 Jahani et al. 2018.

51 Jahani et al. 2018, 6–11, 29–30, viii. It is important to notice that Oxford, Bodleian, Poc. 241, used by Jahani and her colleagues for their critical edition, does not carry a variation of the PH's text.

of verses in early Syriac versions.⁵² More specifically, numerous verses of the PH reflect the reading of the Old Syriac gospels, the Peshitta, as well as unknown versions.⁵³ This outcome is crucial for our research on Mark 16 in the PH. Codex Sinaiticus Syriacus (Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, Syr. 30)—an extant manuscript of the Old Syriac version which contains Mark's last verses—has the Short Ending at Mark 16:8, but the Old Syriac Codex Curetonianus,⁵⁴ as well as the Peshitta, have the Long Ending at Mark 16:20.⁵⁵

Verses from Mark 16, their reading, and their places, in the Persian Harmony

The first obstacle in the study of verses from Mark 16 in the PH is the identification of these verses among others in this mixed text, in which verses from the four gospels are woven into each other. Although Yaḥyā had intended to indicate verses from each gospel with a siglum, the extant copies of the text do not always include these sigla.⁵⁶ Moreover, the available copies are somewhat different from each other in terms of not only their wording but also their inclusion of the sigla. To figure out which verses were considered Markan by Yaḥyā, one needs to critically collate the different versions with each other. Subsequently, to figure out which potentially Markan verses were not considered to be Markan by Yaḥyā, one must collate the rest of the verses with a modern standard version of Mark, e.g. the 28th edition of *Nestle–Aland Novum Testamentum Graece* (NA28).

The verses from Mark 16 are available in the fourth section in chapters 53–59 of the PH,⁵⁷ i.e. IV:53–59. They have been investigated throughout

52 Metzger's statements in this regard are still valid; see Metzger 1950, 275–280. There is a consensus among scholars that the PH's text demonstrates remarkable similarities with the texts of the early Syriac versions. Petersen considered the PH to be a derivative of a hypothetical version which was compiled prior to the Old Syriac gospels, which he called 'Ur-Vetus Syra;' see Petersen 1994, 490.

53 Some examples are included in the next section of this paper.

54 London, British Library, Add. 14451. Verses Mark 16:17b–20 are the only extant verses from the Gospel of Mark in this version, which have reached us via Curetonianus. For Curetonianus and textually related fragments see Haelewyck 2017, 67–113; Kessel 2023, 210–221.

55 It is already known that the PH includes the Long Ending. The ending of Mark in the PH was briefly examined in David C. Parker's study of the *Diatessaron*. Parker, considering the existence of the Long Ending in the PH as well as some other materials, concluded that the *Diatessaron* should include the Long Ending too; see Parker 1997, 133.

56 It could happen via the transmission of the text by its scribes.

57 The modern conventional content of Mark 16 as 'Mark 16' was unfamiliar to the author of the PH. Nothing is known about the existence of any chapter division in the Syriac *Vorlage* of the PH. In the Sinaiticus Syriacus, the gospels have no division (I

the text of A110, T14437, and F81, for the present paper.⁵⁸ After identifying certain verses as being from Mark 16, the next question would be the question of their reading and their possible relationship to other known versions, particularly the early Syriac ones.⁵⁹ For this purpose, and in the absence of any *updated* critical edition and translation for the PH, a transcription and a verbatim translation of the Markan verses in the PH are provided. Each verse is accompanied by comments on its textual features, highlighting the closeness of the verse to the early Syriac versions, namely the Sinaiticus Syriacus, the Curetonianus, and the Peshitta,⁶⁰ and, where necessary, to NA28 as a standard version.

Before dealing with the reading of the verses, a curiosity about the manner in which they are ordered warrants mention. The available verses from Mark 16 in the PH, spread among verses from the other gospels, appear in this order: Mark 16:8b, 2a, 3–4, 10–11, 14b, 15–16a, 16b, 16c–18, 19, 20.

am thankful to Prof. David Taylor at the University of Oxford for this information). In the Peshitta, Mark's Gospel was divided into 13 chapters. The 13th chapter of this Gospel in the Peshitta was from modern Mark 15:11 to 16:20. Yet, not each version of the Peshitta was divided as such.

- 58 For the present research, the rule of thumb is that A110 and T14437 are the better manuscripts of the PH than F81. Based on preliminary collations, it seems that the first two manuscripts preserved a text closer to the text of the lost original but the text of F81 underwent some revisions according to the Peshitta and other literature. This preliminary assessment has been applied to the preparation of the transcription of the verses from Mark 16 in the PH in this paper. Moreover, it turned out that the verses from Mark 16 in F399 are almost identical to the ones in F81. The existing variations are not significant for the present study. Therefore, F399's reading of the verses is not referred to in this paper. Systematic investigations of the manuscripts of the PH, their characteristics, and the available editions of the manuscripts are required for future scholarship. The edition of Jahani et al. 2018, involving Poc. 241 in the apparatus, is not sufficiently reliable. As mentioned, the text of Poc. 241 is not a variation of the PH. Furthermore, the editors 'corrected' their edition based on various translations of the Bible, e.g. Henry Martyn's and William Glen's Persian translations, and 'English translations of the Diatessaron'; see Jahani et al. 2018, 29–30.
- 59 As a reminder, the PH was translated from Syriac into Persian and its textual relationship to the early Syriac versions of the gospels has already been attested by scholars. For a comprehensive study of the textual background of the PH, the text should be compared with further versions of the gospels. Considering that the author presented himself as an Armenian, and due to the impact of the Arabic language and literature on Persian-speaking communities, it is crucial to examine textual relationships between the PH on the one hand and Armenian and Arabic versions of the gospels on the other.
- 60 In this paper, the Syriac verses of the gospels are chosen from Childers and Kiraz 2012, 2013, and Kiraz 1996. Where needed, other references have been addressed.

Syriacus (ܡܚܡܪ ܚܘܐ ܡܚܡܘܕ). In F81, adding a phrase from Mark 16:1a, it reads و چون شنبه گذشت صباح یکشنبه آمدند پیش کور وقت برآمدن افتاب ‘As the Saturday was over, in early Sunday morning, they came to the tomb at sunrise time’.

Mark 16:3 ‘As they were coming, they asked themselves ‘How would we be able to turn the stone from the tomb?’

The reading of the verse is closer to the reading of the Sinaiticus Syriacus, omitting any reference to the move of the stone ‘from the door’ of the tomb, which appears in NA28 as ἐκ τῆς θύρας and in the Peshitta as ܡܢ ܕܘܪܐ. The phrase ‘from the door’, nevertheless, is available in F81, which reads و در نفس خود می اندیشیدند چون بتوانیم سنگ را از در کور برگردانیم ‘and they were thinking with themselves ‘How would we be able to turn the stone from the door of the tomb?’

Mark 16:4 ‘As they looked well, they saw that the stone was already turned from the front of the tomb; and that was a great stone’.

The Persian verse coincides with the corresponding verse in the Peshitta and NA28, in which the stone’s size is addressed at the end of the verse. In the Sinaiticus Syriacus, the stone’s size appears before the reference to the women and what they had observed. Furthermore, the verbs ܚܘܐ ܡܚܡܘܕ ‘looked, saw’ in the Peshitta, which agrees with NA28, are traceable in the PH. Instead, the Sinaiticus Syriacus reads ܡܚܡܘܕ ܡܚܡܘܕ ‘came and saw’.⁶⁴ There is also a slight difference among the Persian versions. The adverb ‘well’ after ‘looked’ appears in A110 and T14437. F81, omitting this adverb, is even closer to the reading of the Peshitta. It reads چون نگر بستند دیدند که ان سنگ بر گردیده بود از سر کور و سخت عظیم بود ان سنگ ‘As they looked up, they saw that the stone was already turned from the front of the tomb; and that was a great stone’.

Mark 16:10 ‘Mary Magdalene went and gave the good news to those who were with him, for they were very sad and were crying’.

The Peshitta and NA28 refer to Mary Magdalene with a pronoun in this verse but the PH includes her name. Moreover, F81, adding ... بدیشان که با وی بودند ... ‘... to those who were with him ...’, is closer to the Peshitta, which includes ܡܚܡܘܕ.

Mark 16:11 ‘As they heard from her that he became alive, they did not believe her’.

64 I am thankful to Claire Clivaz and Mina Monier, who informed me of the transcription of the Curetonianus Mark 16:17b–20 in Taylor and Monier 2021 and the Sinaiticus Syriacus Mark 16:4 in Brock and Monier 2022, respectively. According to Sebastian Brock’s transcription of the verse that is displayed in the ‘Manuscript Room’ of the SNSF ‘MARK16’ Project, the Sinaiticus Syriacus includes ܡܚܡܘܕ ܡܚܡܘܕ in Mark 16:4. The link of the website is available at the end of this article. This reading appears as such in Burkitt 1904, 242 too. In Kiraz’s and Lewis’ editions of the Sinaiticus Syriacus, Mark 16:4 includes ܡܚܡܘܕ ܡܚܡܘܕ; see Kiraz 1996, I, 250; Lewis 1910, 119.

close to the Sinaiticus Syriacus, motivate him to displace Mark 16:8b from its original position in the sequence of the other verses in Mark 16? One may even question whether Yaḥyā could have simply removed Mark 16:8b from his composition. We know that he did not include all the verses of the gospels in his work. Why did he prefer to retain Mark 16:8b in his text, and yet place it before the other verses from Mark 16?

In order to answer this riddle, we need to look at the arrangement of IV:53–59 in its entirety and at its components in detail. To make sense of these, Table 1 is of further help. Apart from verses of the gospels, Yaḥyā's exegetical commentaries are also indicated in this table, alongside a summary of their contents and information about their placement among the PH's verses. For the question of the placement of Mark 16:8b, we only need the first part of the table in IV:53. The rest of the table is a useful tool for further studies of other verses from Mark 16 as well as the improvement of what has previously been stated in scholarship about these verses in the PH.⁷⁰

In IV:53, replacing the verse–numbers from Matt 28:1 to John 20:18 with their text, we read Yaḥyā's narration of the visit to the empty tomb. In the PH, the empty tomb was visited three times. First, on Saturday night, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary went to the tomb (Matt 28:1). They did not inform the others about what they saw for they were afraid (Mark 16:8b). Then, early on Sunday morning, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of Jacob, and the other women went to the tomb once more (Mark 16:2a, Luke 24:10a). This time, the women informed the others but no one believed them about Jesus' resurrection (Mark 16:11). On the third occasion, Mary [Magdalene], Peter, and John went to the empty tomb (John 20:3, 11).

With this arrangement, Yaḥyā created a narrative that does not actually coincide with what is known from every single gospel. Instead, it covers controversial passages regarding the visit to the empty tomb in all gospels, skillfully rendered with a certain deliberate order. In placing Mark 16:8b after Matt 28:8a and including the additional phrase that 'due to the greatness of the fear which fell upon them', Yaḥyā transformed Mark 16:8b from what could have potentially been seen as a discrepancy to a well-fitting piece of a bigger picture.

Yaḥyā's first exegetical comment in IV:53, after John 20:18, reveals his intention further. He interpreted the differences among the gospels in their narrations of the visit to the empty tomb in an interesting manner.

70 Parker briefly indicated the verses from Mark 16 which are present in the PH, but he overlooked some of the verses, e.g. Mark 16:20, and did not indicate their placement among other verses and exegeses in detail as we do here; see Parker 1997, 133.

Table 1. The contents of PH IV:53–59

Chapter 53: The rise of Christ from the tomb	
Matt 28:1–8a	
Mark 16:8b	
Mark 16:2a	
Luke 24:10a	
Mark 16:3–4	
Luke 24:3–8	
Matt 28:8–10	
Mark 16:10–11	
Luke 24:9b	
John 20:3–18	
Exegesis: On the difference among the records of the evangelists regarding the time of the visit to the tomb by the women; On the objection of Jews regarding the incredibility of the testimony of women	
Matt 28:11b–15	
Exegesis: On what has been said in Jonah that ‘I died in the abyss of mountains’ and in the Psalms about the coming of Christ	
Chapter 54: He did appear to the disciples	
Luke 24:13–35b	
John 20:19	
Luke 24:38	
Luke 24:37, 39–41a	
Mark 16:14b	
Luke 24:41b–47a, 49b	
John 20:21–23	
Exegesis: On the resurrection of Christ and what has been said in the book of Habakkuk and the Psalms	
Chapter 55: Thomas said I will never believe	
John 20:24–25	
Chapter 56: His appearance to Thomas	
John 20:26–31	
Chapter 57: He did re-appear to his disciples	
John 21:1–14	
Chapter 58: Advice to Simon Cephas	
John 21:15–25	
Matt 28:16–18	
Mark 16:15–16a	
Matt 28:19b	
Mark 16:16b	
Matt 28:20	
Mark 16:16c–18	
Chapter 59: The ascension of Christ* ¹	
Luke 24:50–51	
Mark 16:19	
Exegesis: On the ascension of Jesus, collating it with the Psalms and other books	
Luke 24:52–53	
Mark 16:20	
Exegesis: On evangelization by the disciples	

*1 The scribe of T14437 wrote that the fourth section of the PH consists of 58 chapters, but the section in this version is actually divided into 59 chapters. In F81, the number of the chapters in the fourth section are recorded to be 58 and they are so.

تفسیر این که متی گفت شب هنگام، لوقا و یوحنا گفتند تارکان، و مرقوس گفت که صبا بر آمدن آفتاب چنین بود که شب هنگام دو زن آمدند دیدند و از ترس و هیبت به کسی خبر نرفتند. آن متی نوشت زیرا که از زبان ایشان او زودتر شنید آن چنان نوشت. دوم بار نیمه شب آمدند سه زن. دیدند، بازگشتند، به شاکردان گفتند چرا که از اول بار دیدند پنداشتند خیال است بهر آن نرفتند. چون دوم بار دیدند محقق شد آنکه شاکردان را خبر کردند. بآن سبب لوقا و یوحنا تاریخان نوشتند. و چون سیم بار صبا رفتند آن مرقوس نوشت. و این سه درستست. هر خبری بر زبان سه یا چهار درست میشود.

The overall interpretation of Matthew's 'night time', Luke's and John's 'darkness time', and Mark's 'early sunrise' is taken to signify that the two women visited [the empty tomb] at night. They were afraid. Therefore, they said nothing [about the incident] to anybody. It is written in this manner [night time] by Matthew because he asked the women earlier. So, he wrote as such. The second time, three women came to visit. They returned and informed the disciples, since the first time they had thought that [what they saw] was an illusion, but the second time they were sure as they saw it again. Then they informed the disciples. Therefore, Luke and John wrote it as 'darkness time'. The third time, they went there at sunrise, as Mark wrote. These three iterations are all correct. News becomes reliable when it accords with three-four tongues.

Yahyā's interpretation has its own complexity. The Lukan and Johanne verses addressed in this comment—Luke 24:1 and John 20:1—which describe the time of the visit of the empty tomb as 'dark', are absent from the PH.⁷¹ Potentially, this interpretation could cause confusion for the reader. For us, however, this interpretation is important because it reveals the reason that Yahyā used Mark 16:8b in that specific place.

Conclusion

Looking at the verses from Mark 16 in the PH and the preceding analysis, it can be stated that the reading of these verses has its roots in an early Syriac *Vorlage*. While the identity of the *Vorlage* remains unknown to us, the relative closeness of the PH's reading of the verses under question to the reading of the Peshitta is undeniable. Although scholarship has already pointed out that the PH reflects the reading of the Old Syriac gospels in many verses, Mark 16 should be counted as a part of the PH which does not fully echo the Old Syriac readings, as far as they are extant in the Sinaiticus Syriacus and the Curetonianus.

Yet, while the PH is not totally similar to the Peshitta, its different manuscripts have different relationships with this text type. As has been discussed, and as far as verses from Mark 16 are concerned, verses from manuscript F81 display more similarities with their corresponding verses in the Peshitta, as opposed to verses from A110 and T14437 which do so in a lower range.

71 In NA28, John 20:1 describes the time of the visit as σκοτίας 'dark'. In NA28 and the Old Syriac gospels, Luke 24:1 does not describe the time of the visit as 'dark'. It is in the Peshitta that the verse includes حە ܕܥܝܝܢܐ 'while yet dark'.

Finally, the present research has engaged with the question of the arrangement of the text. The intentional disorder created by the placement of Mark 16:8b served the author of the PH in his depiction of the Markan scene of the fearful women visiting the empty tomb, too afraid to say a thing to anybody, as the first one among three visits to the empty tomb. Subsequently, the reinvented account aided the author in asserting that each evangelist narrated a part of the entire visit events. The case is also of help for further studies regarding the author's understanding of the nature of the gospels and the methodology behind his authorship.

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The Displaced Endings of Mark in Armenian Biblical Manuscripts*

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The displacing and migration of certain New Testament passages of a more peculiar status is a well-documented phenomenon, most recently for instance in the discussion of the so-called *pericope adulterae* in *To Cast the First Stone: The Transmission of a Gospel Story* by Jennifer Knust and Tommy Wasserman (2019). In a context where the Longer Ending of Mark is strongly represented in Armenian New Testament manuscripts (marked or not as an odd or separate section), this article follows the displacement of the endings of Mark in Armenian manuscripts by focusing on six cases where these endings are copied at the end of the Gospel of John or Luke or Matthew instead.

As the articles in the present thematic issue of the Journal show from a richness of perspectives, the ending of Mark—much like the Johannine *pericope adulterae* or the Lukan bloody sweat pericope¹—is one of the select few sections of larger textual variation in the transmission of the New Testament. However, what is peculiar to the ending of Mark is the fact that it is not only a question of the transmission of the so-called ‘Longer Ending’, but a more complex matter² where the conclusion of the gospel is curbed or determined by the presence or absence of the Longer Ending (and its textual variation), or of the so-called ‘Shorter Ending’, or a combination of the two.

In the context of the conversations around the notion of the living text of the gospels, the Longer Ending of Mark is also occasionally labelled as a ‘floating text’, and the reason for it being termed in this manner are the few Armenian New Testament witnesses where it is placed elsewhere than after

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1 For the former see in particular Knust and Wasserman 2019 and 2020; for the latter see Clivaz 2005, Clivaz 2010, Clivaz forthcoming, and Blumell 2014. On the Armenian side see Knust and Wasserman 2020, 46–54 on the *pericope adulterae*, and Cowe 1994 on the Lukan pericope.

2 Recent overviews in Clivaz 2019, Monier 2022, and the introduction to this thematic issue of *COMSt Bulletin*.

the gospel for which it is presumably meant to act as a conclusion.³ This contribution will discuss in some detail six cases of the displaced Longer Ending and two of the Shorter Ending in medieval Armenian gospel manuscripts, against the background of the broader dynamics surrounding the ending of Mark in this manuscript tradition. Compared to the estimate of over three thousand extant gospel books in Armenian,⁴ these six examples may seem an extremely limited sample. However, they are all cases known to date, and they do attest to a practice—however rare—that does not seem to be present in other manuscript traditions. At the very least, this contribution lays the grounds and points to the need for a future comprehensive study of this issue in all available Armenian biblical, New Testament, and gospel manuscripts.

1. The endings of the Gospel of Mark in Armenian biblical manuscripts

The standard treatment in a Western language of the Longer Ending of Mark in Armenian to date is Colwell's article published in 1937 in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*.⁵ Colwell lists 99 witnesses in which Mark ends at verse 8 between the ninth and the seventeenth century, and 121 that have the Longer Ending from the tenth to the seventeenth century (out of which 88 do not mark it in any way as a special section).⁶ The former number in particular—99 witnesses—is often repeated in order to emphasize the broad support for the lack of the Longer Ending in Armenian, but these numbers are highly provisory considering that Colwell's own checklist of New Testament manuscripts 'includes 601 items, but it is far from complete',⁷ and that his assessment is based on a part of these—220 witnesses.

Moreover, Colwell considers that the 99 witnesses that end at verse 8, compared with the 88 that have the Longer Ending without any distinction of it being a special text, reflect an 'unexpectedly large list in favour of the

- 3 E.g. Wallace 2008, 27 n. 77: 'At the same time, it should be noted that some Armenian MSS place the LE [Longer Ending] at the end of Luke or the end of John, so in addition to the endings that Parker has noted, one might also recognize that the LE is, like the *pericope adulterae*, a floating text.'
- 4 Cowe 2013, 255–256, refers to 'a recent inventory of the old catalogued scriptural holdings of the six largest public collections, which inscribes the following statistics: 207 full Bibles, 125 Old Testaments, 115 New Testaments, 3,003 gospel books, and 451 Psalters.'
- 5 Colwell 1937a. See also Ter-Movsesjan, 1902, 200–203; Fērhat'ean 1911; and Sek'ulay, 1950, 448, who speaks of six Armenian translations of the Longer Ending of Mark.
- 6 Colwell 1937a, 371–377.
- 7 Colwell 1937a, 371. Rhodes (1959) lists more than twelve hundred New Testament Armenian manuscripts. The actual number should be considerably higher.

omission'.⁸ However, these numbers are too similar in nature to indicate a large difference of any kind, especially since they are based on a selection from a higher count of witnesses, itself provisional. In fact, what these numbers indicate is the peculiarity that the two manners of ending Mark (with or without the Longer Ending) have been copied and have circulated in parallel all throughout the manuscript transmission of the Armenian gospels from the ninth/tenth century through the seventeenth.

Furthermore, out of the manuscripts in his sample that do have the Longer Ending, Colwell singles out 33 that bear paratextual pointers suggesting that this section is in some way peculiar, be it through notes or ornaments. He considers them 'to indicate an earlier omission' and therefore counts them as witnesses for the short reading,⁹ but other scenarios are possible.¹⁰ In any event, these are very interesting precisely for the clues they offer with regard to how the Longer Ending was regarded and dealt with in Armenian manuscripts. Some mention, about the Longer Ending, that it is 'an addition', others leave blank space or have ornaments drawn before it, while several add that it is 'to be read on the day of Ascension'.¹¹

To illustrate, in MS London, British Library, Oriental 5626 (tetraevangelion, dated to 1282),¹² Mark 16:8 ends on the second column on f. 159r, with four lines left blank at the bottom, and the subscription title of the gospel being written in the lower margin; the Longer Ending is then copied on ff. 159v–160r (with the first line written in gold majuscules), being therefore separated from 16:8 by the title of the gospel and by an empty space. Moreover, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arm. d. 4 (tetraevangelion, dated to 1335),¹³ has the Longer Ending following Mark 16:8 on f. 160r, with the initial rubricated and floreated as other initials in the gospel text, however

8 Colwell 1937a, 371.

9 Colwell 1937a, 376: 'The evidence of these codices, therefore, clearly indicates that the scribes who wrote them knew one exemplar—either directly or indirectly—in which the gospel ended at 16:8. Thus the total of 99 manuscripts which omit must be increased by these 33 to a grand total of 132 Armenian codices which do not or did not include verses 9–20 of the last chapter of Mark'.

10 E.g., Knust and Wasserman 2020, 50: 'Another possibility, however, is that the revised Armenian version (Arm 2) was based on a Greek exemplar akin to Family 1 that included the passage with signs of its earlier omission (in Greek). If the fifth-century revisers treated the passage in this way, it explains all three formats (include/include as appendix/exclude). This scenario is further supported by the fact that one of the fifth-century Armenian translators, Eznik of Kolb, actually cites Mark 16:17–18 in his treatise *On God* 112'.

11 Colwell 1937a, 376–377.

12 Conybeare 1913, 17–18.

13 Baronian and Conybeare 1918, col. 4–5.

with the note, Աւելորդ է այս ('this is an addition',¹⁴ literally 'superfluous' or 'redundant') written in red ink in a smaller script, similar to the manner in which other section titles are written in the manuscript, so presumably in the process of production. In another example, London, British Library, Oriental 5761 (tetraevangelion, sixteenth century),¹⁵ has the Longer Ending copied after Mark 16:8 on f. 132r; on the second column, from the top, there are the following elements: the decorated subscription title to Mark, followed by the superscription for the Longer Ending Համբարձմանն կարդա | ըստ Մարկոսի ('read on [the day of] Ascension | according to Mark') written on two lines, followed by the Longer Ending copied in a smaller script, which is also used for instance in the gospel prefaces. And, famously, in one of the oldest available examples, ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 2374 (dated to 989),¹⁶ the interlinear note before the Longer Ending reads Արիստոնն երիցուն ('by Ariston the elder'). However, this note, written in red ink, is from a different hand than the main text, so it might be later and therefore secondary.¹⁷

2. *Displaced endings: six cases*

However, the most interesting in a sense are the few cases where the Longer Ending or the Shorter Ending of Mark is placed in other places than after Mark 16:8, for which they were presumably written as conclusions. Colwell lists four such examples: Vienna, Mekhitarists Library, 72, Etchmiadzin, Patriarchal Library, 260 (now Yerevan, Matenadaran, 275), Etchmiadzin, Patriarchal Library, 303 (now Yerevan, Matenadaran, 313), and Venice, St Lazarus, 1549,¹⁸ to which should be added mss Yerevan, Matenadaran, 202,¹⁹ and Tabriz, Ałasean VI.17.²⁰ For clarity, this is the updated list of the places of displacement, in tabular form:

Yerevan, Matenadaran, 275	1078	The LE is copied after the four gospels.
Yerevan, Matenadaran, 313	1171	The SE concludes Luke, before the subscription title.
Tabriz, col. Ałasean, VI.17	16 th cent.	The SE concludes Luke.

14 Baronian and Conybeare 1918, col. 4.

15 Conybeare 1913, 36–39.

16 Digital images for the relevant pages, with transcription and translation by Albert ten Kate, can be found at <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=QVJNNzIO>>.

17 Colwell 1937a, 383, rightly notes: 'it is doubtful that the small uncials of Ariston Eritzu are by the same hand as the text. If they are, they are an afterthought on the part of the scribe; ... Ariston does not have a line to himself.'

18 Colwell 1937a, 378–379.

19 I am grateful to Armine Melkonyan for drawing my attention to this witness.

20 I am grateful to the first reviewer for drawing my attention to this witness.

Vienna, Mekhitarists,72	1587	The LE is copied after the ending of Luke.
Yerevan, Matenadaran, 202	17 th cent.	The LE is copied after the ending of Matthew.
Venice, St Lazarus, 1549	1656	The LE is copied after the four gospels.

These witnesses will be presented and discussed in detail in the remainder of this contribution, in an attempt to better understand the dynamics possibly involved in displacing the endings associated with Mark in Armenian gospel manuscripts—with the exception of the Venice manuscript (St Lazarus, 1549), for which I was not able to secure images to date, and the Tabriz manuscript, for which the current location is unknown. In both cases, the information is derived from their catalogues. Even so, ms Tabriz, Ałasean VI.17 is a second occurrence of the Shorter Ending at the end of Luke, whereas ms Venice, St Lazarus, 1549 serves to offer a later example, of the seventeenth century, for the type of displacement found in the eleventh century in ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 275, namely after the Gospel of John, i.e. after the four gospels, together with other similar passages.

2.1. *Ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 313*

Formerly Etchmiadzin, Patriarchal Library 303, this manuscript is now hosted in the Matenadaran as ms 313 (hereafter M313). It is a tetraevangelion and it is dated to 1171.

While Colwell lists it among the manuscripts that have the ‘end of Mark misplaced’ for having the Markan Shorter Ending after Luke, it should also be counted among the ‘Armenian MSS which contain Mark 16:9–20’ because the Longer Ending is copied on ff. 128v–129v following the rest of the chapter continuously with no distinction of any kind, followed then by a decoration and the expected title for the whole text, ԱԼԵՆԱՐԻԱՆ ըՍՏ ՄԱՐԿՈՍԻ, ‘the Gospel according to Mark’. The fact that the Shorter Ending of Mark appears at the end of Luke is a textual peculiarity of the latter gospel, not of the former; for Markan textual purposes, this witness has the Longer Ending. It is very interesting, nevertheless, to have here what appears to be the Markan Short Ending after the Gospel of Luke.

First identified to my knowledge by Colwell,²¹ the Shorter Ending indeed appears on the second column of f. 210b, from the fourth line on in the image on the left, with no marker to distinguish it in any way from the Lukan text, and is followed by ‘amen’ (ամէն), the decorative line and the title of the gospel. By all measures, the Shorter Ending of Mark is here part of the last chapter of the Gospel of Luke, as can be seen in fig. 1, transcribed and translated below:

21 Colwell 1937a, 379.

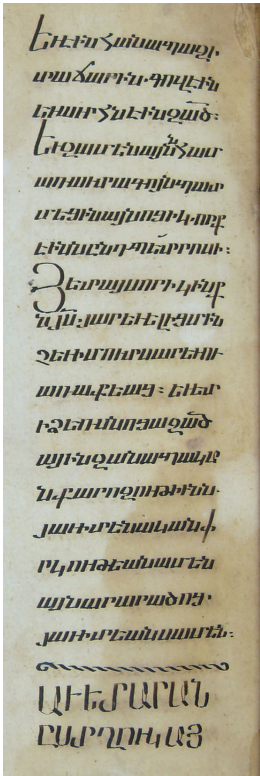


Fig. 1. Yerevan, Matenadaran, 313, f. 210v. © ‘Matenadaran’ Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.

[Lk 24:53] Եւ էին հանապազ ի տանարին զովէին եւ աւրինէին զա(ստուա)ծ:

[Mk SE] Եւ զամենայն համառատագոյն պատմեցին այնցիկ որք էինն ընդ Ղետրոսի: Յետ այսորիկ ինքն յ(հսու)ս: յարեւելից մինչեւ ի մուսս արեւու առարեաց: Եւ ետ ի ձեռս նոցա զա(ստուա)ծային զանապական քարոզութիւնն յաւիտենական փրկութեան ամենայն արարածոց. յաւիտեանս ամեն:

[Lk subs.] Աւետարան ըստ Ղուկայ.

[Lk 24:53] And [they] were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God.

[Mk SE] And they recounted briefly everything to those who were with Peter. After this, Jesus himself sent [them] from the East to the West, and gave in their hands the sacred incorruptible predication of eternal salvation of all creatures. Forever [and ever], amen.²²

[Lk subs.] The Gospel according to Luke.

The reason for including the Shorter Ending of Mark here is unclear; the fragment fits thematically only marginally, as it is still about Jesus instructing the disciples after the resurrection, sending them forth, but after the ascension

22 A digital transcription and my translation can also be found on the SNSF VRE ‘MARK16’ website, at <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=QVJNNzk4>> (where Armine Melkonyan has transcribed and translated the Longer Ending). Colwell 1937a, 379, translates the Shorter Ending in an intentional literal manner as: ‘And it all in summary they related to those who were with Peter. After that Jesus himself, from the Orient to the setting of the sun, sent [them] forth. And he placed in their hands the divine, imperishable preaching for the eternal salvation of all creatures eternally. Amen,’ further wondering: ‘could not this be a loose paraphrase for ‘sent forth through them the divine ...’ which is the reading of almost all other witnesses to this pericope?’ Colwell, who identifies this as the Shorter Ending, also stresses the point, at 379, that ‘neither Lyonnet nor Ter-Movsesian identified this as the Short Ending of Mark. But that is exactly what it is.’

in Luke 24:51.²³ In any event, there is nothing apparent on the page to indicate that the scribe (or subsequent readers) took notice of it as a peculiar section; on the contrary, *visually* it is embedded between Luke 24:53 and the concluding *amen*, before the title of the gospel, very much as its conclusion—even though, as the first reviewer pointed out, the *amen* could have simply belonged to the Short Ending itself, as it does elsewhere in the Greek. Moreover, even though this happens after the ascension, it adds the sending forth of the apostles to the narrative.

The fact that the Longer Ending of Mark is also copied in this manuscript with no indication of it being regarded as special or in any way separate could suggest that the neither the scribe nor the readers were aware of the matter. Or perhaps, in a context where both options (marking the Longer Ending and not marking it) are documented in Armenian manuscripts in circulation for the longest of time, this could just be part of a manuscript production project that simply opted for not marking such sections, even if there was awareness of them.²⁴ Admittedly, this would hold more for the Longer than the Shorter Ending: while the former is found in at least a hundred manuscripts, for the latter M313 is apparently one of the only two witness to have emerged to date.

2.2. *Tabriz, collection A. Alasean, VI.17*

This witness does not appear in Colwell's list. Although the present location of this manuscript is unknown, in the 1910 catalogue Adjarian describes MS Tabriz, Alasean VI.17 (hereafter TA VI.17) as a damaged paper gospel manuscript copied before 1535, belonging to the collection of Armenak Alasean, and transcribes the text found at the end of Luke, which was identified as the Markan Shorter Ending in 1950 by Sek'ulay.²⁵ Indeed, thanks to Adjarian's transcription, it is possible to verify that this is the same text as that transcribed and translated above from M313. The manuscript is only briefly mentioned by Rhodes,²⁶ whose short entry seems based on Adjarian's description, and it does not appear in the list of concordances published by B. Coulie²⁷

23 Lyonnet 1935a, 372, finds it entirely out of place here, discordant with both the last verse and last chapter of Luke. For a parallel association between the Markan Shorter Ending and the final sections of Luke and Matthew in Ethiopic around the use of the Eusebian canon, see Monier 2022, 13–14.

24 Should one prefer to strip the scribe of any agency in copying manuscripts, these considerations would hold for the compiler who introduced first the Shorter Ending here.

25 Adjarian 1910, 88, respectively Sek'ulay 1950, 449–450. I owe thanks to the first reviewer for kindly drawing my attention to this catalogue entry and to the subsequent identification of the Shorter Ending in it by Sek'ulay.

26 Rhodes 1959, 35.

27 Coulie 2020, 322–326.

among the Tabriz manuscripts in Adjarian's catalogue that are now in a different collection. Nevertheless, even if presumably lost, it still serves as a second example of the presence of the Markan Shorter Ending at the end of Luke several centuries after M313.

2.3. Vienna, Mekhitarists Library, 72

The next case is a tetraevangelion measuring 14×19.5 cm, with the text copied on paper on two columns of 19 lines, dated to 1587 and kept in the library of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna (hereafter W72).²⁸ In Colwell's description, this manuscript has the Longer Ending of Mark copied 'at the end of Luke in a second hand'.²⁹

Indeed, the Longer Ending of Mark is copied in W72 at the end of Luke, in a smaller hand, on ff. 249v–250r. In order to illustrate how the text is laid out, a combined image of the two pages is offered as fig. 2.

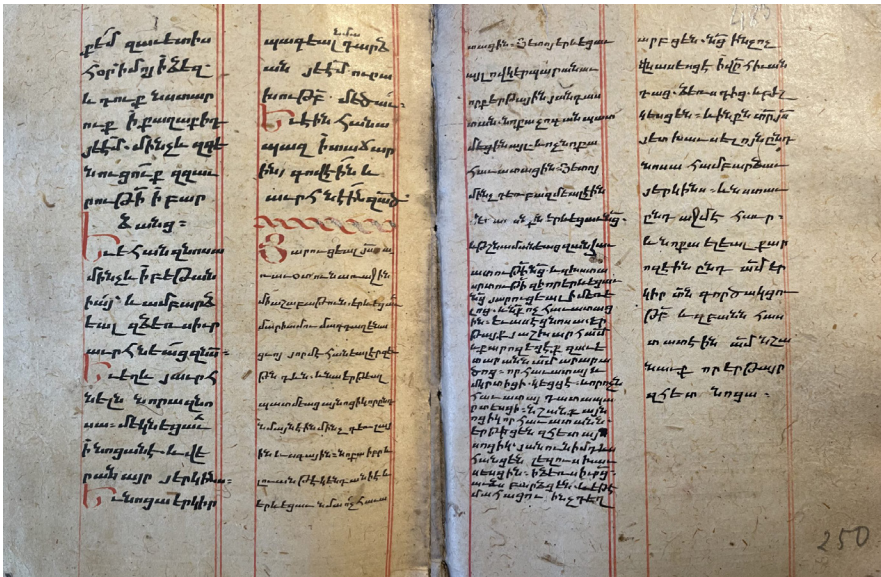


Fig. 2. Vienna, Mekhitarists Library, 72, ff. 249v–250r. © Library of the Mekhitarist Monastery of Vienna.

The Longer Ending starts on the second column after the decorative red line that marks the end of Luke, and then covers most of the two columns on the second page, in a comparatively smaller script. However, even if there is

28 Description in Dashian 1895, 50.

29 Colwell 1937a, 379.

a difference in size between the two sections, there are also elements of continuity between them that suggest that they are written by the same hand.

To begin with, the start of the Longer Ending shares the enlarged initial in red ink (from what I can tell from the picture, it is more or less the same red ink as the rest of the page), with similarly rugged margins as the enlarged initial above it. More importantly, the two scripts are very similar, down to some mannerisms in jotting down certain letters. Differences remain, of course, but the same scribe can vary (and does), and in this case the variation could be explained by the change of size and pen. This matter will remain for the specialist of Armenian palaeography to judge, but it seems likely that this is the same scribe. Combined with the shared presence of the red ink enlarged initial, this strongly suggests that the Longer Ending is largely contemporary and quite possibly part of the same production process (as opposed to a later repurposing of the empty space across three columns).

In any event, it seems obvious from the outlook of the two pages that copying the Longer Ending involved some space-management decision making; the scribe seems to have struggled a bit with it. Perhaps even the smaller script could be explained that way: the scribe figured out that they might be able to cram the Longer Ending in the two columns and a half by writing it in smaller characters and keeping the number of lines as the text of Luke, up until the middle of the first column on the right page of the two-page opening. When it became obvious that too much text was left, the scribe started doubling the number of rows from line 10 on, reverting then to the 'normal' spacing for the end of the Longer Ending on the second column.

Why the scribe could not just continue on the next page, f. 250v, with the same size of hand could perhaps be explained by the format of the manuscript; in this tetraevangelion, as often in Armenian gospel-books, each gospel begins in the same manner: a representation of the apostle on the left page precedes the front page of the gospel. Figs 3a–b and 4a–b show the beginnings of Luke and John with the corresponding last verso and recto pages of Mark and Luke for illustration. This display makes the space constraints the scribe faced obvious, and it explains why the Longer Ending would not have fitted in after Mark with only one column left empty, and also why the ending of Luke made more sense space-wise, though even there it proved a difficult task.

What remains unclear, however, is whether the scribe regarded this text as related in any way to Mark; presumably, had it been initially meant to be copied after Mark and moved after Luke for purely space-related concerns, there might have been an indication of that, as in other manuscripts where the various displaced texts have titles that indicate the connection with a giv-

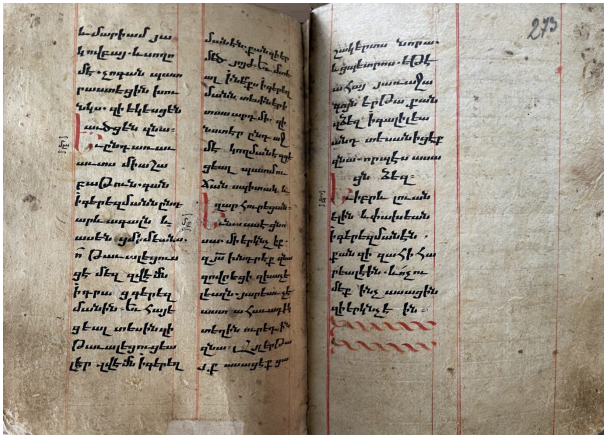


Fig. 3. Vienna, Mekhitarists Library, 72, (a) ff. 143v–144r (Mark), (b) ff. 144v–145r (Luke). © Library of the Mekhitarist Monastery of Vienna.



en gospel (e.g. Yerevan, Matenadaran, 275, discussed below). One may be inclined thus to ponder whether it is linked to Luke here instead (perhaps in view of M313, discussed above). However, the possibility remains that this text was conceived of as connected to Mark (a notion presumably known from a large part of the Armenian manuscripts in circulation), but at the same time as a section that can be displaced and copied elsewhere, as in the last two cases discussed below, or indeed as elsewhere in this very same manuscript: for instance, the catalogue description places the *pericope adulterae* at the end of the tetraevangelion, starting on f. 325v. It goes without saying that this explanation works under the presupposition that the scribe (or the earlier compiler reflected in this manuscript) was aware that the Longer Ending of Mark, like the *pericope adulterae*, is a peculiar text in some way, which stands apart in the transmission of the gospels and thus can be copied at the end of the tetraevangelion (as with the latter) or at the end of Luke (as with the former).



Fig. 4. Vienna, Mekhitarists Library, 72, (a) ff. 249v–250r (Luke), (b) ff. 250v–251r (John). © Library of the Mekhitarist Monastery of Vienna.

In any case, it seems important to stress the point that the connection between the Longer Ending and Luke in W72 is visually of a different nature than that between the Shorter Ending and the same gospel in M313. The Shorter Ending is completely integrated as *the* ending of Luke in the latter, whereas in W72 the Longer Ending is very likely a floating text related to Luke, but clearly separated from the gospel as well. Still, the association between the final verses of Luke and the endings of Mark (the shorter in M313 and TA VI.17, and the longer in W72) is a noteworthy type of displacement.

2.4. Yerevan, Matenadaran, 275

Among the manuscripts discussed here, the oldest is Colwell’s Etchmiadzin, Patriarchal Library 260 of the eleventh century. This tetraevangelion is now in the Matenadaran as ms 275 (hereafter M275) and is dated in the catalogue

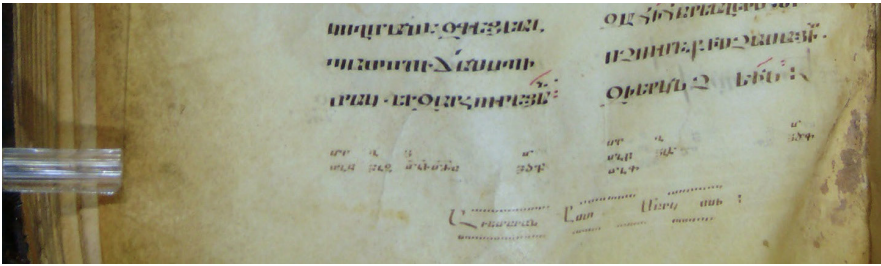


Fig. 5. Yerevan, Matenadaran, 275, f. 124v. © ‘Matenadaran’ Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.

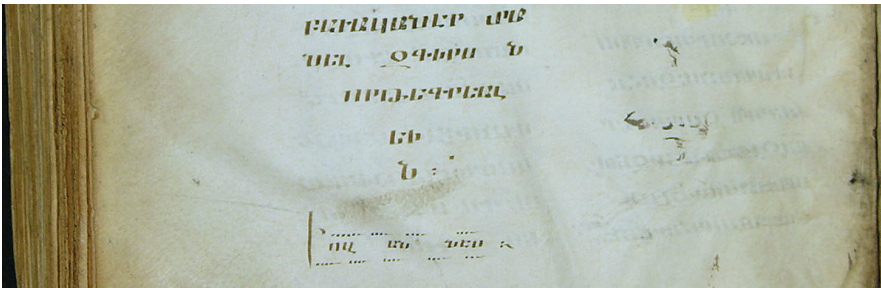


Fig. 6. Yerevan, Matenadaran, 275, f. 262v. © ‘Matenadaran’ Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.

to 1078. Put briefly, the Longer Ending of Mark is here copied on f. 263, after the Gospel of John.

The Gospel of Mark ends on the verso of f. 124. The text fills both columns and verse 8 ends on the very last line of the second. In the lower margin of f. 124v there are the usual gospel parallels, and under them the title ‘the Gospel according to Mark’, minimally ornated (fig. 5). This is followed on the next page by the beginning of Luke, therefore on the next recto. In fact, all gospels start on a recto page: Matthew on f. 1r, Mark on f. 77r, Luke on f. 125r, and John on f. 205r.

The Longer Ending of Mark is indeed copied after John, which ends on f. 262v, in similar manner as the Gospel of Mark, with a minimally ornated title in the bottom margin. By comparison, the text of John ends on the first column, and the second column is left empty (fig. 6).

The Longer Ending of Mark is then copied on the next two pages, ff. 263r–v, beginning on the top of 263r, and is moreover followed by further extracts, identified in the catalogue as Luke 22:42–44 and 22:51 on ff. 263v–264r introduced by ‘according to Luke’ (Ըստ Դովկայ), and the *pericope adulterae* on f. 264r–v introduced as ‘according to John’ (Ըստ Յովհաննու). This is followed by the colophon where the sinful scribe Gregory pleas for future mercy.

On the photograph I consulted, the top of the page with the beginning of the Longer Ending, including the first line, seems to be washed out; it remains to be verified *in situ*, but it is possible that there are traces of a title ‘according to Mark’ (Ըստ Մարկոսի) in the top margin, above the first column with the Longer Ending. I am grateful to Armine Melkonyan, who consulted the manuscript in the Matenadaran, for confirming in private conversation that there is an inscription above the Longer Ending, now erased and as such unreadable; she also points to the possibility that it was still readable in the nineteenth century, when it is mentioned as reading Համբարձմանն կարդա (‘read on Ascension day’), an implication being that M275 might then indicate that the Longer Ending was already in liturgical use in the eleventh century. It goes without saying that this would depend on whether the lost inscription would have been contemporary with the main text or not.

This is a fairly complex device at the end of a tetraevangelion; Colwell’s descriptor ‘at the end of John’³⁰ (for this witness, as well as for Venice, St Lazarus, 1549, see below) is not incorrect, but it lacks precision. The Longer Ending is not copied at the end of John in any way as a part of the gospel (as Colwell’s 88 witnesses where Mark has the Longer Ending without any distinction of it being a special section), nor as a supplementary ending to John (as Colwell’s 33 manuscripts where the Longer Ending bears paratextual pointers to suggest that this section is in some way peculiar compared to Mark 16 up to verse 8).

Instead of simply being placed or displaced ‘at the end of John’, the Longer Ending of Mark in M275 is part of a cluster of texts copied after the four gospels, and referring back to them. They are part of the collection of writings in this multiple-text manuscript in as much as (a) the scribe places the colophon after them and not after the gospels, and (b) they do not seem to have been chosen as mere space-fillers at the end of a quire: there is a quire signature, counting the beginning of quire 35 (լԷ), on f. 264r; the Longer Ending of Mark would have been enough to complete the last page of the previous gathering, after the ending of John, should that have been the issue.

2.5. Venice, St Lazarus, 1549

Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to consult MS Venice, St Lazarus, 1549 (hereafter V1549) for this study; however, based on the information offered in the catalogue,³¹ it can be derived that this manuscript is also a tetraevangelion, dated to 1656 where, as in M275, the Longer Ending of Mark is

30 Colwell 1937a, 377.

31 Sargisean 1914, cols 602–603.

copied together with the *pericope adulterae* on f. 338v after the Gospel of John, hence at the end of the manuscript, after the four gospels.

Together, M275 and V1549 seem to illustrate the other displacement tendency found in Armenian manuscripts with regard to the endings of Mark, namely to group peculiar texts like the Longer Ending of Mark, the *pericope adulterae*, or the Lukan bloody sweat pericope, separated at the end of tetraevangelia—the other tendency being to associate the shorter and Longer Ending of Mark with the concluding verses of Luke. However, since both are represented in the earliest witnesses in our list (one in M275, dated to 1078, the other in M313, dated to 1171), it is not self-evident that one precedes the other.

2.6. Yerevan, Matenadaran, 202

Ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 202 (hereafter M202) does not appear in Colwell's list,³² but it stands out among the manuscripts discussed here as it is a (seventeenth-century) biblical pandect and not a tetraevangelion.

The Gospel of Mark begins on f. 443r, and ends at 16:8 on the very top of the first column of f. 450v, followed by the subscription title Աւետարանս ըստ Մարկոսի, 'the Gospel according to Mark', and then immediately by the list of headings and the preface of the Gospel of Luke, which together cover ff. 450v and 451r, themselves followed by the beginning of Luke on f. 451v. As Luke, Mark is preceded by its own list of headings and preface, copied on f. 422v. The previous gospel, Matthew, ends at the top of the second column on f. 442r; moreover, as can be seen in the image on the right, it does not have a subscription title and it is followed immediately by the Longer Ending of Mark, the latter bearing the superscription title Աւետարանս ըստ Մարկոսի, 'the Gospel according to Mark', in red ink (fig. 7).

It is unclear why the Longer Ending was not kept to be copied at the end of Mark, given the Markan attribution. Indeed, in this bible manuscript, even though copied after Matthew, the Longer Ending of Mark is clearly associated with the second gospel, being the first of the three elements that are copied with, and are set in relation to, the Gospel of Mark, i.e. with the list of gospel headings and the preface. The reason for being copied after Matthew is probably mechanical in nature, having to do with space management: of these three Markan elements, it is in a sense the most 'mobile' and fits approximately the empty space at the end of Matthew. In the same manuscript, the *pericope adulterae* is copied at the end of John, on ff. 473v–474r, immediately after the subscription title of the gospel. As in other cases, it seems that the *pericope adulterae* and the Longer Ending of Mark are regarded as texts that are pre-

32 Armine Melkonyan kindly drew my attention to this witness with the displaced Longer Ending.

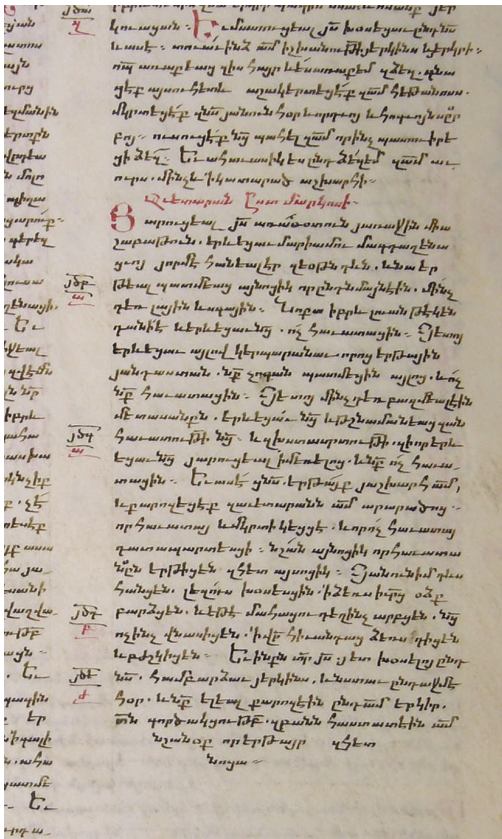


Fig. 7. Yerevan, Matenadaran, 202, f. 442r. © ‘Matenadaran’ Mesrop Mash-tots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts

served but can be relocated. With regard to the latter, perhaps M202 can be regarded as akin to the placement of the Markan endings after Luke—here, after Matthew.

3. Concluding remarks

To briefly conclude, Armenian manuscripts seem to display several ways of concluding the gospel of Mark, either through the absence³³ or the presence of

33 Elliott 2012, 116: ‘A splendid Armenian manuscript in London (British Library: Arm. ms. add. 21932), like most early Armenian manuscripts, lacks the Longer Ending, but this one has 16:7–8 written in uncharacteristically huge letters which have the effect of using up spaces that had been calculated and left for the inclusion of much more text, presumably vv. 9–20—and this is yet another indication that, regardless of what the scribe chose to do, he was at least alert to the fact that at this point there was indeed a choice to be made’. Unfortunately I was not able to consult this manuscript in the BL during my visits to the library in preparation for this paper.

the Longer Ending, on its own or in some sort of combination with the Shorter Ending. Yet for these and other texts that we normally approach with a double-bracket policy of some kind in our editions, medieval Armenian gospel manuscripts display a more diverse palette of options.

They could mark it discreetly, with an interlinear text saying ‘by Ariston the elder’ as in MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 2374, or with the small title ‘this is an addition’ as in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arm. d. 4, appended to an otherwise continuous text where the subscription ‘Gospel according to Mark’ is written globally after the Longer Ending; they could copy it after the gospel subscription, or separated by an ornament or blank space, or further marked as to be read on Ascension Day.³⁴ Or they could indeed not mark it in any way.

Moreover, they also had the option of taking the endings of Mark and place them elsewhere. The six cases of displaced ending of Mark discussed here are quite different in nature. For clarity, here they are presented, in chronological order, with more extensive explanations:

Yerevan, Matenadaran, 275	1078	The Longer Ending is copied after the four gospels, so at the end of the tetraevangelion, in a different section, together with the Johannine <i>pericope adulterae</i> and the Lukan bloody sweat pericope.
Yerevan, Matenadaran, 313	1171	The <i>Shorter Ending</i> concludes Luke, before the subscription title of the gospel, as part of the gospel.
Tabriz, col. Ałasean, VI.17	16 th cent.	The <i>Shorter Ending</i> concludes Luke.
Vienna, Mekhitarists, 72	1587	The Longer Ending is copied after the ending of Luke, probably to use the available empty space.
Yerevan, Matenadaran, 202	17 th cent.	The Longer Ending is copied immediately after the ending of Matthew (on the same page with the conclusion of the gospel), with the superscription ‘the Gospel according to Mark,’ followed on the next page by the list of headings and the preface of Mark.
Venice, St Lazarus, 1549	1656	The Longer Ending is copied after the four gospels, at the end of the tetraevangelion, apparently together with the <i>pericope adulterae</i> .

34 Examples listed in Colwell 1937a, 379.

M313 displays a peculiar (if quite loose) combination of the Longer Ending and the Shorter Ending, where the former is copied undifferentiated as the conclusion of Mark and the latter similarly undifferentiated as the conclusion of Luke; there is no obvious mechanical cause to explain the setting of the odd one of the two. On the contrary, in W72 it is possible to imagine that the placement of the Longer Ending of Mark after Luke—clearly differentiated from the gospels—has something to do with the management of space in a tetraevangelion layout that was by design fairly restrictive as to the side of the page where one gospel had to end, and the subsequent had to start. It remains unclear in this case whether the Longer Ending is meant as connected to Luke rather than Mark. Finally, in the earliest witness—M275 of the eleventh century—we see a cluster of floating New Testament sections that are copied at the end of a tetraevangelion, each with the mention as to which gospel they relate to. This is further reflected at the other chronological end of this overview—in V1549, dated to 1656—where the Longer Ending and the *pericope adulterae* are also copied at the end of a tetraevangelion.

The modest aim of this contribution was to draw attention to a phenomenon found in certain Armenian biblical manuscripts, based on the limited sample of examples that have emerged to date: five tetraevangelia and one biblical pandect. Future investigations on a much larger scale among the known biblical Armenian manuscripts will ideally map out the emergence and spread of this practice geographically and chronologically, and attempt to better determine the liturgical and theological concerns involved, the contexts in which the manuscripts were produced, and the function that they served.

For instance, one may wish to explore the question of whether the connection between the conclusion of Luke and the Longer Ending of Mark (and by extension also the Shorter Ending) can be linked in any way to the inclusion of the Longer Ending in lectionaries for the Ascension day. Armine Melkonyan shows how the Longer Ending of Mark is absent in the ninth/tenth century Armenian lectionary Yerevan, Matenadaran, 987, but later on it is included in lectionaries of the thirteenth century such as Yerevan, Matenadaran, 979, which is dated to 1286, for the day of Ascension.³⁵ A liturgical use is also mirrored in biblical manuscripts in which Mark 16:9–20 bears the inscription ‘read on the day of Ascension’, between the thirteenth and seventeenth century.³⁶

This is the case, for example, in London, British Library, Oriental 5761, the tetraevangelion of the sixteenth century mentioned in the first section of the paper. In particular, the possible association of the final verses of Luke and the Longer Ending of Mark (and by extension also the Shorter Ending) seems

35 Melkonyan 2022, 642 n. 65.

36 Examples in Colwell 1937, 377; Melkonyan 2022, 642 n. 65.

promising for further inquiry. Although in Yerevan, Matenadaran, 979 (dated to 1286) the list of readings for the Ascension day includes Mark 16:9–20 and not the conclusion of Luke³⁷ for instance, their association around this liturgical event is possible and perhaps natural due to the contents of these endings, as was the case in Greek lectionaries, even if not necessarily in the same gospel reading session.³⁸ A full treatment of the issue will therefore better explain the displacement of the endings normally associated with Mark at the intersection of liturgical usage, manuscript compilation practices, and the appropriation of such peculiar biblical episodes in Armenian medieval context.

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37 Galadza 2018, 317, with regard to the gospel readings for the Ascension: 'Both Hagiopolite and Constantinopolitan lectionaries prescribe Luke 24:41–53 for the Divine Liturgy, as opposed to the shorter account in Mark 16:9–20, which is prescribed at matins'. See also Gregory 1909, 364.

38 Alek'sanyan and Łazaryan 2019, 281–295; the Longer Ending at 282..

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Mark 16:9–20 in Armenian Medieval Literature: A Commentary by Barseł Maškeworc‘i*

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The focus of this paper is the Longer Ending of Mark in the Armenian Commentary on the Gospel of Mark by Barseł Maškeworc‘i, penned in 1325 in the monastery of Maškewor, in Black Mountain. Based on the autograph, housed at the Yerevan Matenadaran-Maštoc‘ Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, I have reconstructed the biblical text used by the interpreter and have compared it with the other Armenian versions of Mark 16:9–20. My study shows that Barseł made slight additions to Mark 16:17 and 16:18 in order to make the Armenian text closer to his perception and interpretation of the given verses. The author interprets each verse and word, demonstrating quite a ‘critical’ approach to the text, comparing and juxtaposing episodes from the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, Luke and John. In the commentary on Mark 16:9 he describes Mary Magdalene’s sentiments, presents intriguing reflections on why Jesus appeared first to her after he had risen. The author explains biblical events in the light of his own historical context, providing interesting examples that reflect the culture, social relationships, everyday life, and moral values of his time. The paper also briefly touches upon Mark’s endings in the Armenian liturgy and the manuscript tradition.

The Author of the Commentary and his Colophon

The only medieval Armenian Commentary on the Gospel of Mark¹ was created by Barseł² *vardapet* (‘teacher, doctor of theology’), a monk in the monastery of Maškewor, in Black Mountain (present-day Turkey).³ It was

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- 1 In 1844 Abraham *vardapet* of Constantinople, a monk from Lim Island monastery, made a compilative, brief *Interpretation on Mark*, the autograph and the only example of which is at the Yerevan Matenadaran (ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 4901, ff. 2r–219v). It includes Mark 16:9–20 (ff. 206r–214v). This work reads as a retelling of the Gospel story, with some short explanations. The author must have been familiar with Barseł’s work, but the latter’s influence on this interpretation still needs to be examined.
- 2 All Armenian names and words are transliterated according to the ‘Hübschmann–Meillet’ system of transliteration.
- 3 The monasteries in the Black Mountain or Amanus region were major monastic, educational and cultural centers for Greek, Syrian, Latin, Armenian and Georgian monks. For more about the Armenian monastic and cultural aspects in the Black

published in Constantinople in 1826 by Andreas Narinean,⁴ comparing two fifteenth-century manuscripts, as mentioned in the preface.⁵ Among the extant manuscripts⁶ Barseł's autograph has reached us and is housed at the Yerevan Matenadaran-Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 1314, hereafter M1314),⁷ on which the current study is based. The autograph ends with a colophon, where Barseł provides interesting information about himself, as well as the time and circumstances of the creation of the Commentary. Thus, it was written in 1325, in the monastery of Maškuor⁸ during the reign of King Levon IV (1320–1341) and Catholicos Kostandin Drazark'i (1323–1326). Barseł appreciates the latter's efforts to bring peace to his country and recounts his travel to Egypt where he met the sultan, by this referring to the fifteen-year peace treaty which the Mamluq sultan al-Nasir Muhammad and the Armenian Catholicos had signed. He speaks highly of the abbot of the Maškewor monastery, Bishop Hayrapet, describing him as a mild and good-natured man.⁹

The author calls himself 'Barseł *vardapet*' in the colophon.¹⁰ In some later manuscripts he was called 'Čon',¹¹ probably being confused with the

Mountain see Ališan 1885, 402–411; Oskean 1957, 281–283; Weitenberg 2006, 79–93; Širinyan 2014, 352–362; Danielyan 2018, 40–42; Gevorgyan 2022, 93–112

4 See also the facsimile reprint, Narinean 2016.

5 Narinean 1826, 4. The editor states that the two manuscripts he used were copied about eighty and hundred years after that time ('իբրև յուրսուն և ի հարիւր ամսաց ամսի'). Nersessian's (2001, 43) statement, that Narinean edited the text comparing two sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts, is unclear.

6 Anasyan (1976, 1415) presents twenty-eight manuscripts, Petrosyan, Ter-Step'anyan (2002, 88) mention that there are more than thirty-five manuscripts, listing eight of them. These examples are dated mainly from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

7 For a description of this codex, see K'eōškerean et al. 2008, 887–894.

8 In the medieval sources the name of the monastery is found as Maškuor (Մաշկուոր, e.g. MS M1314, f. 308v), Maškewor (Մաշկեւոր, MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 1527, f. 75v, f. 141r), Maškawor (Մաշկաւոր), Mašku (Մաշկու), see Ališan 1885, 407–408; Połarean 1953, 243; Oskean 1957, 235–236; Thierry 1993, 168 (n°939). Thomson (1995, 104) presents the author of the Commentary as 'Barseł Maškeron' (Barseł Čon) 1280–1345. Monk at monastery of Maškeron' (in Armenian this would be Մաշկերոն). Neither in the sources nor in other studies have we met the form Maškeron, utilized by Thomson.

9 MS M1314, ff. 308 rv, cf. Xač'ikyan et al. 2018, 495–496.

10 MS M1314, f. 308r: 'Ես յոկ ամուն վարդապետս Բարսեղ' ('I, in name only vardapet Barseł'). All the translations from the Classical Armenian are my own.

11 See MSS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 1384, f. 1r; 2982, f. 1r; 3125, f. 95r, as well as the above-mentioned edition in 1826.

seventh-century Armenian author Barseł Čon.¹² Referring to ms Vienna, Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation, 73 (dated to 1611), Colwell mistakenly identifies the author of the Commentary with archbishop Barseł (Basilus), brother of the Armenian king,¹³ who obviously lived earlier (in 1241–1275). Moreover, in ms Vienna, Mekhitarist Library, 73, the title Մեկնութիւն Սրբոյ Աւետարանին Մարկոսի, գոր արարեալ է երանելոյն Բարսղի արքեպիսկոպոսի եղբոր Հելթմոյ թագաւորին Հայոց (‘Commentary on the holy Gospel of Mark created by the blessed bishop Barseł, the brother of the Armenian king Het‘um’)¹⁴ is a later interpolation, while in the main title only the name of ‘Barseł *vardapet*’ is mentioned.¹⁵ The author of the Commentary has been also considered to be one of the students of the abbot of the Red Monastery (in Cilicia), Bishop Step‘anos Manuk, in the twelfth century, thus being called ‘Šnorhali’ (Graceful)—a title, given to Step‘anos’ students.¹⁶ According to M. Ormanean, whom many scholars follow, Step‘anos Manuk probably had a project of interpretation on the Books of the New Testament.¹⁷ However, the existence of the 1325 autograph, as well as some historical events reflected in the Commentary on Mark prove that it could not have been composed in the twelfth century. Therefore, the author of the Commentary on the Gospel of Mark, is neither Šnorhali (twelfth century), nor the brother of King Het‘um I (1241–1275), nor, moreover, Barseł Čon (seventh century). To differentiate him from other Armenian Barsełs living in the Middle Ages, the author of the Commentary on Mark can be simply called Barseł *vardapet* (as he calls himself) or Barseł Maškeworč‘i, who lived in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹⁸ In the list of the participants in the Church Council of Sis in 1342, M. Č‘amč‘ean mentions Բարսղէ վարդապետ ի Մաշկեւորայ (‘Barseł *vardapet* from Maškewor’),¹⁹ who is most likely the author of the Commentary in question. Based on this, N. Połarean infers that he was born in 1280 and died in 1345.²⁰

12 Barseł Čon is considered the editor of the first Armenian Hymnarium called ‘Ճոնրնսիր’ (*Čonəntir*, lit: ‘selected by Čon’), see Hakobyan 1976, 16–20.

13 Colwell 1937, 382.

14 See Dashian 1895, 320.

15 Ibid.

16 Nerses Šnorhali (Catholicos of Armenia in 1166–1173, who left a rich literary heritage that includes a commentary on Matthew), Sargis Šnorhali (known for his commentary on the General epistles), Ignatios Sevlėrc‘i (has authored a commentary on the Gospel of Luke).

17 See Ōrmanean 2001, 1563.

18 For the analysis of different opinions, see also Kiwlėsėrean 1905, 1093.

19 See Č‘amč‘ean 1786, 341.

20 Połarean 1971, 377.

The Structure of the Commentary: the Text of Mark 16:9–20.

In the autograph M1314, the title of the commentary (f. 2r) reads as follows: Երկրորդ հատոր մեկնութեան սրբոյ Աւետարանիս որ ըստ Մարկոսի՝ արարեալ Բարսղի վարդապետի՝ (*Erkrord hator meknut'ean srboyy Awetaranis or ast Markosi, arareal Barsli vardapeti*, 'The Second Volume of the Commentary on the Gospel of Mark, Created by Barseł Vardapet'). It consists of 308 folios and includes an interpretation on Mark 9:10–16:20, while the first volume, a commentary on Mark 1:1–9:9, is considered lost.²¹

It should be noted that the editors of 1826, as attested in their colophon, had searched for the first volume in various Armenian libraries and monasteries, but in vain. That is why they defined the edition as 'second volume'.²² However, the definition 'second volume' is present in the autograph, as well. Could this be another proof of the existence of the first volume written by Barseł himself or by another author? Based on the fact that in some of the manuscripts the author is called Čon, as mentioned above, B. Sargisean put forward the hypothesis that the seventh-century author Barseł Čon probably wrote a commentary on the first chapters of the Gospel of Mark and Barseł Maškeworc'i continued his work, creating the second volume.²³ However, even if the first volume of the Commentary ever existed, it was lost already in the eighteenth century. A copyist of the Commentary in 1772–1773, bishop Yovsēp' Sanahcec'i (Arlut'eanc'), writes:

I could not obtain the first volume of this, because it was not found, so I only copied the second volume for my own enjoyment.²⁴

The focus of this essay is Barseł's Commentary on the Longer Ending of Mark, which is of particular significance due to the debate concerning its presence or absence in the fifth-century translation and in different versions of the Armenian Gospel.²⁵ It should be mentioned that in addition to the Stand-

21 Anasyan 1976, 1411–1415; Połarean 1968, 368–369.

22 See Narinean 1826, 498.

23 Sargisean 1899, 29–30.

24 Tēr-Vardanean et al. 2017, 2050.

25 A large proportion of the manuscripts omit 16:9–20. Considering the fact that in most of the manuscripts where this passage is present, it is separated in some way, one could assume that the scribes, even though copying these verses, had reservations concerning them or simply followed an earlier manuscript tradition. The main argument of the scholars supporting its presence in the original Armenian text is that the fifth-century philosopher Eznik of Kołb quoted verses 17 and 18 in his apologetic treatise *De Deo*. Tēr-Movsēsean (1902, 201) assumes that after having been translated in the fifth century the Longer Ending was rejected afterwards, having met some criticism, but in the tenth century it was approved by the Church. Colwell (1937, 384) disputed this theory suggesting that Eznik may have been

ard version (the so-called ‘Zōhrap Bible’),²⁶ there are three other forms of Mark 16:9–20 in Armenian,²⁷ which, however are rare, found only in unique manuscripts.²⁸

Some of the manuscripts of Barseł’s Commentary lack the last three chapters that include Mark 16:9–20.²⁹ Ernest Cadman Colwell referred to one of these examples, MS Vienna, Mekhitarist Library, 73, considering this omission to be another proof of the absence of verses 9–20 in the original Armenian. About forty years earlier, the compiler of the Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in Vienna, J. Dashian, had stated that the last interpreted verse in that manuscript is Mark 16:8, concluding that the reason verses 9–20 are not interpreted is certainly that they were not included in Barseł’s exemplar.³⁰ A. Suk‘rean has also considered this Commentary as evidence of the absence of the Longer Ending in the original Armenian version.³¹ Obviously, the Constantinople edition of the Commentary, where 16:9–20 is present,³² escaped Suk‘rean’s, Dashian’s and Colwell’s attention. Thus, the Commentary in question is important not only as a piece of Armenian biblical exegesis, but also for the discussion of textual issues related to Mark 16:9–20 in Armenian.

The Commentary in the autograph is divided into 43 chapters, the last four of which, 40–43, ff. 258v–308v, contain the interpretation on Mark 16:2–

quoting from the Greek, and/or quoting something that was not in the Gospels. For the further discussion of this issue, see Colwell 1937, 370–379. Crucially however, Eznik was not simply a fifth-century author, but was involved in the process of the translation of the Bible into Armenian. So, if he was familiar with the Longer Ending, it was most likely translated into Armenian. If it had not been translated because it was unknown or ‘unacceptable’ to the Armenian audience, why would Eznik have quoted it in his treatise, even if it was not from the Armenian text? Moreover, before the quotation, he clearly states ‘just as the Lord himself said to His disciples’ (Blanchard and Darling Young 1998, 85), which proves that the author is referring to the Gospel.

- 26 Zōhrapean 1805, 682–683 (Mark 16:9–20). This edition is based on MS Venice, Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation in St Lazarus, 1508 (d. 1319). On the editions of the Armenian Bible, see Cowe 2013, 253–260 (the Bibliography 284–292).
- 27 Suk‘rean 1877, 212; Tēr-Movsēsean 1902, 203; Fērhat‘ean 1911, 374 (column B).
- 28 It is possible that these scribes translated Mark 16:9–20 by themselves (or through someone else) in order to include it in their examples. For the transcription and the English translation of MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 313, see Melk‘onyan, Batovici 2022.
- 29 See MSS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 1384 (1740), 2982 (1772–1773), 3125 (eighteenth century), 6493 (1826).
- 30 Dashian 1895, 320.
- 31 Suk‘rean 1877, 211.
- 32 Narinean 1826, 428–459.

20 (Mark 16:2–8—chapters 40–41, ff. 258v–284v,³³ Mark 16:9—chapter 42, ff. 284v–290v, Mark 16:10–20—chapter 43, ff. 290v–308v). Mark 16:1 is included in chapter 39, ff. 249v–258v, which begins with Mark 15:42.

Before interpreting certain passages or expressions from the Gospel, Barseł usually presents the complete verse with a marginal quotation mark. Moreover, the quotation marks are not used for all the Bible verses, but mainly for those that are interpreted. Another characteristic of this commentary is that the passages from the Gospel of Mark are quoted literally, with a high level of textual accuracy, while other biblical quotations are sometimes altered, adapted to the content of the interpretation (one can assume that in this case, rather than being copied, they were cited from memory). Based on Gospel quotes in the autograph, I reconstructed the original text used by Barseł and compared it with the text of Mark 16:9–20 of the Zōhrap Bible and three other Armenian versions. The comparison shows that Barseł's text corresponds perfectly to Zōhrap and is completely different from the other versions of the Longer Ending. The only differences between Barseł's and Zōhrap's texts are in verses 17 and 18. In Mark 16:17 of Zōhrap's text the word 'նոր' (*nor*, 'new', καινῶς) is missing, while it is found in Barseł's text: 'նոր լեզուս խաւսեցիս' (*nor lezus xawsesc'in*, 'they will speak in new tongues').³⁴ However, it is worth mentioning that in the autograph the word 'new' is smaller than usual and above the line (f. 299r; fig. 1) or in italics (f. 299v; fig. 2). One could assume that it was not included in the biblical text used by Barseł and by writing in this manner he hints at this fact.

In verse 18 in Barseł's text, 'ի վերայ հիւանդաց ձեռս դիցեն եւ թշկիցեն' (*I veray hiwandac' dzerš dic'en ew bžškic'en*, 'they will lay hands on the sick and will heal them'), after the word 'թշկիցեն' (*bžškic'en*, 'will heal them'), we read 'կամ բարի ունիցիս' (*kam bari unic'in*, 'or they will be(come) good')³⁵—conjunction 'or' + the literal translation of καλῶς ἔξουσις (fig. 3).

Later I shall present my approach as to why Barseł made these slight additions to the biblical text he used.

Mark 16:9: the Portrayal of Mary Magdalene in Barseł's Commentary

Chapter 42 of the Commentary (ff. 284v–290v) is entirely dedicated to the interpretation of Mark 16:9. Barseł suggests the apostolic role of Mary Magdalene: he presents intriguing reflections on why Jesus appeared first to her

33 Chapter 41 begins with Matt 28:16: 'So the eleven disciples went to Galilee', which is juxtaposed with Mark 16:7: 'that he is going ahead of you into Galilee'.

34 Ms M1314, ff. 299rv.

35 Ibid., f. 301v.

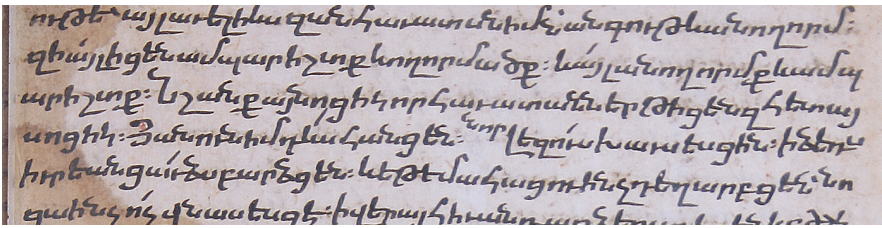


Fig. 1. Ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 1314, f. 299r.

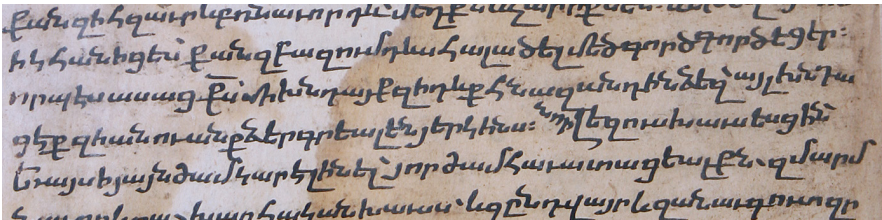


Fig. 2. Ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 1314, f. 299v.

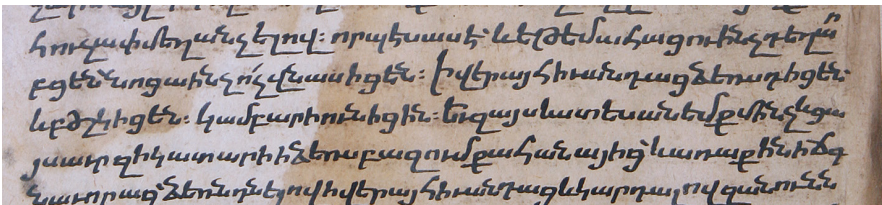


Fig. 3. Ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 1314, f. 301v.

after His resurrection: he describes Mary Magdalene as an extremely devoted and sensitive woman, yet at the same time strong and courageous.

The author refers first to John 20:1–18 to explain where and how Jesus appeared to Mary. Barseł does not present the exact quotation but recounts the passages most important to him. He considers the fact that the disciples came to the tomb and saw only the empty shroud a true sign of the resurrection:

M1314, ff. 284v–285r: Չի ոչ եթև էր ոմանց փոխեալ զնա զմարմինն մերկացուցանեին: Նաև ոչ եթև գողացեալ էր, հոգ տանեին այնպիսի ծալել զվարշամակն եւ զնել ի բացեա, այլ որպէս էրն առնոյին զմարմինն: Չի վասն այտրիկ յառաջեալ ասաց, եթև բազում զմոտվք թաղեցաւ, որ առաւել քան զկապար մածուցանէր ընդ մարմնոյն զկտասւն: ...Չի ոչ այնպէս անմտազոյն էր գողն՝ իբրու թէ վասն աւելորդ իրի այնքան յամել.

If he had been taken by others, they would not uncover the body. And again, if the body was stolen, [the stealers] would not have taken care to fold the head covering and place it aside, but they would take the body as it was. Because concerning this he

said before that, [Jesus] was buried with much myrrh³⁶ which would glue the linen coverings to the body more firmly than lead... For the thief was not so foolish as to retard so much for such a superfluous thing.

Barseł describes Mary's meeting with the angels and Jesus based on the Gospel of John, adding some phrases and thus making this Gospel episode even more moving. For example, to the verse, 'Mary stood outside the tomb crying'³⁷ he adds կանացի գթով (*kanac 'i gt'ov*, 'with feminine tenderness') and continues:

M1314, f. 285r: Եւ սպա յետ յոյով արտասուացն սկսաւ նայել ի տեղին, ուր եղեալ էր մարմինն՝ միայն այնու մխիթարիլ կամելով: Ուստի արժանացաւ մեծագոյն տեսլան հրեշտակացն պայծառ սգեստութք, զորս աշակերտքն ոչ տեսին.

Afterwards, having wept for a long time, she began to look at the spot where the body was placed with the sole desire to be comforted by it. So, she received the amazing vision of angels in luminous garments that the disciples did not see.

To the next verse, in which Mary meets Jesus and, assuming that he is the gardener, asks him where he has put the body of Jesus, so that she can get him, Barseł adds:

M1314, f. 285r: Չի ես առից զնա եւ փոխադրեցից յայլ տեղի, ուր մեծավայելուչ թաղեսցի: Թերեւս երկնչէր, զի միգուցէ հրեայքն եւ զմեռեալ մարմինն նախատեսցեն, վասն այնորիկ ախորժէր յանձանաւթ տեղի փոխել զնա՝ կնոջական գթասէր բարութք.

So that I might take him and remove [his body] to another place, where he would be buried properly. Perhaps she feared that the Jews might also condemn the dead body, that is why she wanted to take him to an unknown place, for she had a compassionate character typical of women.

In this passage, Barseł refers to the Gospel of John to interpret Mark, presenting the Gospel along with his additions, which are perfectly in tune with the Gospel story. Barseł does not just interpret the Gospel, but based on it, he creates his own story of resurrection—so vivid and touching that it reminds us more of an elaboration than a commentary. With such expressions as 'feminine tenderness', 'compassionate character', he presents Mary as an emotional, but at the same time a very brave person, for she stayed at the tomb when the others left and she was ready herself alone to take away and bury the Lord's body. The narration becomes more emotional at the moment when Mary recognizes Jesus:

36 Cf. John 19:39–40.

37 John 20:11.

M1314, f. 285v: Եւ փառքովք անաչիլ եւ փարիլ ընդ նմա իբր յառաջագոյն՝ որպէս փափաքէր, ուստի ոչ ետ թոյլ ասելով՝ Մի՛ մերձենար յիս, զի ուսուցէ, թէ ոչ եւս այնպէս իցէ մարմինն իւր որպէս յառաջ քան զմահն, այլ երկնային եւ քարձրագոյն.

And [Mary] longed to approach and embrace Him as before, as was her wish, yet [Jesus] did not permit her, saying, ‘Do not touch me’, so that she would learn that his body was not the same as it was before his death, but was [now] celestial and sublime.

Barseł accepts that Mary Magdalene was the prostitute mentioned in the Gospel of Luke,³⁸ who washed the feet of Jesus with her tears. The removal of seven demons from Mary indicated her liberation from all sins. She was the first person to meet Jesus after his resurrection, because the prostitutes and the tax collectors are before the church³⁹ in the Kingdom of God,⁴⁰ as in the case of the criminal who went to Heaven before the apostles. Furthermore, just as the first person who tasted death was a woman, so was Mary the first one who saw Jesus resurrected, so that women would not forever bear shame from men for their sins.⁴¹ As Barseł explains, Mary personifies the sinful person who has received the gift of salvation. Mary is a perfect example of those who want to repent with dignity and not to despair, for although she was deeply immersed in evil, she was privileged to see God before the apostles and evangelists. Having been honored with the apostolic calling (ստաքելիական կոչմամբ պատուէ զնա, *arak ‘elakan koč ‘mamb patuē zna*, ‘[Jesus] honours her with the apostolic calling’), it was she who announced the good news of the resurrection to them.⁴²

Interpreting Mark 16:1, in which Mary Magdalene, Mary, the mother of James, and Salome go to the tomb to anoint the body of Jesus, Barseł presents Mary as a bride who came to the bridegroom with her friends:

M1314, f. 256r: Այժմ ելանէ սիրելին Սարիամ եւ ասէ՝ Չմենն եանց, անձրևք անցին, ծաղիկք երևեցան յերկրի, ձայն ստաքակի յսելի եղև յերկրի մերում, այգիք ծաղկեցին եւ ետուն զհոսս իւրեանց, զի փեսայն ննջեաց ընդ շքով վիմին յերեկոյի ուրբաթուն եւ այժմ յերեկոյի շաբաթոս կամի երևեցուցանել զղէմսն եւ յսելի առնել զբարբառն, որ յոյժ քաղցր է ձայնն եւ գեղեցիկ տեսիլն.

Now, the beloved Mary goes out and says: ‘The winter is passed, the rains are over, the flowers have appeared on the earth, the voice of the turtledove is heard in our land, the orchards have blossomed and spread their fragrance, for the bridegroom slept in the shadow of a rock on Friday evening and now, on Saturday evening, he

38 See Luke 7:37–50.

39 In the Armenian text the word ‘Ժողովարան’, *Žolovaran*, is used, which means ‘council-room’, ‘church’, ‘synagogue’.

40 Cf. Matt 21:31.

41 See M1314, f. 286r.

42 Ibid. f. 285v.

wishes to show his face and make his voice heard, the voice [of whom] is so sweet, and the face is so comely.

In this passage, Barseł indirectly refers to the Song of Songs,⁴³ attributing the bride's words to Mary.⁴⁴ It is known that, in Christian doctrine and literature, the Church is identified as the bride and Jesus as the bridegroom, and Barseł, doubtless, follows this tradition. In this regard, his commentary probably presents Mary as symbolizing the Christian Church as well. However, it is amazing how he combines the Song of Solomon and the Gospel story and how feelingly he presents this episode. This is also a good example of his changing the biblical text to better suit his interpretation.

The explanation of some chapters and verses is followed by an Exhortation, which represents a moral conclusion on the issues discussed.⁴⁵ Thus, in the exhortation following the interpretation of 16:9, Barseł reflects on repentance, grace and punishment. He does not see repentance as a way of living an austere life. Moreover, he preaches that being closer to God is not as difficult as it might seem:

M1314, f. 290rv: ‘Միթէ ի կնոջէ քումմէ արգելու զքեզ, ո՛չ, այլ՝ ի պոռնկութենէ: Միթէ՛ յընչիցն վայելելոյ: Ո՛չ, այլ յազահութենէ: Միթէ՛ զամենայն ինչսն ի բաց տալ ասէ: Ո՛չ, այլ փոքր ինչ տալ կարատելոց: Միթէ՛ զաւր հանապազ ասէ պահել: Ո՛չ, այլ փոքր ինչ ժամանակ ի յարբեցութենէ եւ յորովայնամոլութենէ արգելու: Միթէ՛ զխնդալն արգելու: Ո՛չ, այլ զի գարշելի եւ աղտեղի մի՛ յիցի այն: Ասա՛, ընդէ՛ր զարհուրիս, ուր ամուսնութիւն է եւ ընչից վայելումն եւ ուրախութիւն չափաւոր.

Is it that he keeps you away from your wife? No, only from fornication. Perhaps he keeps you from enjoying your property? No, only from having greed. Perhaps he says we should give away everything? No, just a little to the poor. Perhaps he says that one should fast every day? No, but for a little while prohibits the gluttony and drunkenness. Is it that he forbids rejoicing? No, only that such rejoicing should not be detestable and filthy. Then, tell [me], why are you afraid, that there is a marriage, [that there is] enjoyment of material things and measured pleasure?

Faith and Deeds: Mark 16:10–20 in the Context of Everyday Life in the Fourteenth Century

Barseł Maškeworc՛i compares and juxtaposes episodes from the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, Luke and John, attempting to harmonize the passages that

43 Cf. Song of Songs 2:11–14.

44 Although the author does not specify that this Mary is the Magdalene, it is unlikely that he is referring to the mother of James, especially given Mary Magdalene's prominent role in the Commentary.

45 The Exhortations were separately published in Western Armenian translation, see Daniëlean 1980.

seem to be contradictory. For example, he compares Mark 16:13 and Luke 24:33–35, where Luke says that the Eleven and those who were with them believed that the Lord had really risen,⁴⁶ while Mark says they did not believe it. According to Barseł, the fact that some of those present claimed that ‘the Lord has really risen’ already means that there were some who did not believe this statement and needed material evidence of the resurrection, and this is what Mark informs us about.⁴⁷

Mark 16:14 reminds Barseł of a passage in the Gospel of Matthew which recounts how Jesus appeared to his disciples on a mountain in Galilee, and they worshiped Him, but some doubted.⁴⁸ So, the rebuke of Jesus in Mark 16:14, which Matthew omits, concerns those who were doubtful.

Now let us study this Gospel episode and Barseł’s exegesis in view of the old and new translations of Mark 16:14. Here, the Greek verb ‘ἀνάκειμαι’ is used, which means ‘to recline, especially at a dinner table’, as it is usually translated in other languages, including modern Western and Eastern Armenian. This passage is usually compared to Luke 24:36–43 where Jesus appears to the disciples at the supper. In Ancient Armenian, however, the word ‘ἀνακειμένοις’ is translated ‘բազմեալ էին’ (*bazmeal ēin*, ‘were sitting down, were reclined’) without ‘at the table’,⁴⁹ which could also mean that the disciples were sitting down on the mountain: and this is what Barseł had in view when juxtaposing Mark 16:14 with Matt 28:16–17, where the disciples were reclining on the mountain and not at the table. One of the reasons for such an approach to Mark 16:14 may be the next verse, in which the disciples receive their mission, so they must have been on Mount Galilee already. Nevertheless, Barseł explains why the disciples were so hesitant to believe in the resurrection of Christ: according to him, the reason for their disbelief was not their stupidity or disobedience, but human weakness and foolishness. The result of their disbelief was that the truth of the resurrection was revealed to them in various ways, so that we might have no doubts and no need of proof.

46 Luke 24:34.

47 See M1314, f. 291r.

48 Ibid. f. 291v, cf. Matt 28:16–17.

49 Armenian բազմիմ may mean ‘reclining at a table’ but not necessarily always infers specifically ‘at a table’. For example, in Mark 6:39 (‘Եւ հրամայեաց նոցա բազմել երախանս երախանս ի վերայ դալար խոտոյ’, ‘And he ordered them to sit down in groups on the green grass’), Mark 6:40 (‘Եւ բազմեցան դասք դասք ուր հարիւր եւ ուր յիսուն’, ‘So they sat down in groups of hundreds and fifties’), or Mark 8:6 (‘Հրամայեաց ժողովրդեանս բազմել ի վերայ երկրի’, ‘He ordered the crowd to sit down on the ground’) the verb բազմիմ is used to denote that people were sitting down on the grass and on the ground. For further examples and usage of this verb, see *NBHL*, 1, 418–419; *Hamabarbar*, 255.

For Barseł, Christianity is a way of life in the first place, and he interprets the Scriptures from both spiritual and practical points of view. He begins his commentary on Mark 16:16 with examining the following expressions: ‘make a disciple’, ‘baptize’, ‘teach to keep’,⁵⁰ and speaks of the true faith as the root of all virtuous deeds. He emphasizes the importance of faith not only in spiritual life but also in everyday activity, adding:

M1314, f. 297rv: ‘Չի էթե ոչ հաւատայր սերմանաւղն ընդունել զբերս պտղոցն, ոչ աշխատէր եւ վաստակէր: Այլեւ վանառականք, որք ընդ ծով եւ ընդ ցամաք նանապարհորդեն, էթե ոչ ի յոյս հաւատոցն յեցեալ էին շահել, ոչ յայնքան վտանգս զանձինս արկանէին.

If the sower did not believe that he would harvest his crop, he would not toil and profit. In the same way, merchants, who travel by sea and by land, would not put themselves in such great danger if they did not have a strong hope and faith in success.

Barseł first presents biblical events in the historical context of early Christianity, then explains them in the light of social relations and moral values of his time, emphasizing the new understanding of the Gospel story. This is best expressed in the passages where Barseł made additions to the Armenian original text of Mark 16:17 and 16:18, as mentioned above. In the interpretation of 16:17, referring to Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians,⁵¹ he says that as soon as people believed and were baptized, they received various gifts that included prophecy, speaking in various tongues, healing and many others. According to the author, these gifts were necessary in the beginning of Christianity, so that the faith would be nourished and strengthened through miracles. Now (i.e. at Barseł’s time), however, the faith of the Holy Church is strong enough and does not require miracles anymore. Therefore, these gifts must be perceived mostly in a spiritual and moral sense. For example, driving out the demons does not only mean to cure from demonic possession, but also from sin, because as the demon shakes the body, so does the sin shake the soul. Again, he considers the ‘new tongues’ not as foreign languages, but as a spiritual language, the word of God. Yet, just as a full vessel cannot be filled with anything else, so a filthy mind cannot be filled with the divine word. Thus, according to the commentator, the believers would be able to speak in new tongues when they detest vain and useless conversations, foul and abusive words, futile and dishonest laughter, demonical songs, melodies and dances. Then they will be able to speak in spiritual and divine tongues, to talk

50 Matt 28:19, 20.

51 Cf. 1 Corinth.12:7–11.

about precious and useful things, to sing songs of praise for Christ our God.⁵² Barsef refers to an Apophthegm to elucidate this verse, which is as follows:⁵³

M1314, f. 300r: Չի գրեալ է, թէ երբեմն նստեալ էին հարքն եւ խաւսեին ընդ միմեանս: Եւ որքան աշխարհական բանս խաւսեին հոգեոնս ոմն ի նոսա տեսանէր գղեւքն նման խոզից յաղբ թաւալեալ եւ մտեալ ի մէջ հարցն՝ աղտեղեին եւ գարշահոտութեամբ լնոյին զամենեսեան: Եւ յորժամ դարձեալ զհոգևոր բանս խաւսեին, ելանէին դեւքն եւ լուսաւոր հրեշտակք շրջեին ի մէջ հարցն եւ անուշահոտութեամբ լնուին զնոսա.

It is written that once some fathers were gathered around and were talking. While they were discussing secular things, one of them, knowing the inmost thoughts of the soul, saw how the demons that were rolling in the mud like pigs entered them, spoiling and filling everyone with stench. But when they started speaking about spiritual things again, the demons came out and bright angels [could be seen] walking among the fathers, filling them with sweet fragrance.

For Barsef, the words we use are not only for communication, but also the key to our good or bad actions respectively. He compares the human mind with a mirror and the words we use with the image reflected in it:

M1314, f. 300r: Չի զամենայն զոր միանգամ ասէ ոք եւ խաւսի՝ եթէ չար եւ եթէ բարի, թեպէտ ոչ կատարէ գործով, սակայն տպաւք կերպարանի ի միտսն: Չի որպէս հայեղին, զոր ինչ դեմք ընդունի, զնոյն եւ կերպարանի, եթէ տգեղ՝ տգեղ եւ եթէ գեղեցիկ՝ գեղեցիկ: Այսպէս եւ սիրտն, զոր ինչ խաւսի լեզուն, եթէ չար եւ եթէ բարի, զնոյն եւ կերպարանի, եւ զոր կերպարանի, նորին եւ ի ցանկութիւն շարժի.

Anything one says and speaks, good or bad, is imprinted in the mind, though not yet put into action. It is like a mirror that takes the form of the face looking in it, ugly or beautiful. In the same way, the heart, whatever the tongue speaks, evil or good, takes its shape, and whatever shape it takes, moves towards the same desire.

He defines the ‘new tongues’ as the language of Christianity in which all the Christians should speak:

M1314, f. 300v: Յաղագս այսորիկ հրամայէ նոր լեզուաւ խաւսել, այսինքն՝ Քրիստոնէութեանն լեզուով խաւսել եւ մի այլով իւրիք: Չի որպէս ամենայն ազգ առանձինն իւր լեզուովն ճանաչի, եթէ յոյն է եւ եթէ լադինացի, այսպէս եւ ազգ քրիստոնէից քրիստոնէական լեզուովն ճանաչին, եթէ քրիստոնէայք են: Եւ թէ որ է քրիստոնէից լեզուն, այն է զինչ Քրիստոս ասաց եւ խաւսեցաւ.

For this he orders to speak in a new tongue, that is to speak in the tongue of Christianity and not another. Just as every nation, whether Greek or Latin, is recognized by its separate language, so Christian people reveal themselves to be Christian by the language of Christianity. And what is the language of Christians? That is what Christ said and spoke.

52 M1314, ff. 299v–300r.

53 Cf. also *Vitae Patrum*, 2012, 383–384.

I suppose that it was Barseł's understanding of the expression 'speak in new tongues' that led him to insert the word 'new' into the Armenian text of his Commentary. Perhaps the Armenian version of this verse, 'լեզուս խօսեացին' [they will speak tongues], was not enough for Barseł to explain his idea of the new spiritual language and the new language of Christianity.⁵⁴

Explaining that 'they will pick up snakes with their hands' in Mark 18, he presents the snake as: 1) an ordinary reptile that bites and kills, 2) Satan and demons, 3) the joys and pleasures that rich people and princes have in this world. Among secular pleasures, 'զուտելն' ('eating'), 'զրմպելն' ('drinking'), 'զպանունանք զգեստուցն' ('dressing up'), and 'զգործն ամուսնութեան' ('the act of marriage') are particularly highlighted, which, however, will not harm anyone if they are moderate. Speaking about 'healing', Barseł states that it was still practiced by many priests and virtuous hermits, who healed the sick by laying their hands on them and praying. Nonetheless, he interprets this part of Mark 16:8 as a spiritual healing rather than a physical one:

M1314, f. 301v: Յայնժամ ի վերայ իիւանդացելոցն հոգւով ձեռն դիցեն, այսինքն՝ խրատեացեն եւ ուսուցեն ասել զչարն եւ սիրել զբարին.

Then they will lay a hand on a spiritually sick person, that is to say they will admonish and teach [them] to hate evil and love good.

Perhaps to better explain his perception of Mark 16:18 Barseł added 'կամ բարի ունիցին' (*kam bari unic 'in*, 'or they will be(come) good') to the word 'բժշկիցեն' (*bž škic 'en*, 'they will heal'; see fig. 3 above). The verb 'բժշկելն' (*bžškem*, 'I heal'), which is found in the Armenian standard text, can be perceived and interpreted also in a moral sense, but it is mostly about physical healing. On the other hand, the Armenian word 'բարի' (*bari*, 'good'), which was added by Barseł, corresponds to the Greek word 'καλῶς' and is understood mostly in a moral and spiritual sense. Therefore, according to Barseł the expression 'they will lay hands on the sick and will heal them or they will be(come) good', means that:

M1314, f. 302r: Այսինքն՝ զչարքն ի բարիս դարձուցեն բարութեամբն իւրեանց: ...2ի որպէս ամենայն արուեստաւոր գործելովն ուսուցանէ զոգէտան առաւել քան ասելովն, այսպէս եւ արուեստաւորն առաքինութեան գործելովն գնոյն սպա կարէ ուսուցանել զոգէտան առաքինութեան եւ ոչ միայն ասելովն.

54 Although more detailed research remains to be done, I have compared this passage in Barseł's work and in the above-mentioned Armenian Interpretation on Mark penned in 1844. The nineteenth-century author, who used the Standard Armenian Bible (without the word 'new') understands this passage to mean the gift of speaking in foreign languages. See ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 4901, f. 211r.

They will turn the evil ones into good by their goodness. ... Just as craftsmen teach the ignorant by working rather than speaking, so the craftsmen of goodness teach virtue to the ignorant through actions rather than words.

The question now arises as to what sources the author relied on to make these interpolations to the biblical text he used? It should be mentioned that two of Armenian versions have the word ‘new’ in Mark 16:17, which, however, is used differently.⁵⁵ Therefore, it is unlikely that Barseł used other Armenian versions of Mark. In this study, I will suggest that he had at his disposal not only an Armenian but also foreign, most likely a Greek, biblical text (or at least he was familiar with other traditions).⁵⁶ Therefore, Barseł used his own translation or edition of Mark 16:17 and 16:18, for it was much closer to his understanding of this verse. Even so, the commentator approaches the Gospel text with great caution. He proposes his own version, not changing the original text, but by adding the conjunction ‘or’ in Mark 16:18 or writing the word ‘new’ differently in Mark 16:17.

In the commentary on Mark 16:20, endeavoring to persuade the reader that the apostles could do nothing by themselves, without the Lord’s help, Barseł asks the following rhetorical question:

M1314, ff. 304v–305r: Չի ուստի էր նոցա այնքան զարութիւն, մինչ զի երկոտասանքն աշխարհիս ամենայնի յաղթաւոր լինեին: Տե՛ս, ձկնորսն, խորանակարն, մաքսաւորն՝ տգէտքն զիմաստաւէրսն զնարտարսն յիւրեանց ուսմանցն ի բաց մերժեցին զամենեսեան եւ յաղթեցին նոցա ի փոքր ժամանակի.

How was it possible for the twelve [disciples] to be so strong as to win the whole world? ... Look, the ignorant fisher, the tent-maker, the tax collector made the ingenious philosophers renounce their teaching and won them over in a short time.

To illustrate the power that the apostles had through the Lord, he refers to Plato:

M1314, f. 305r: Որքան աշխատեցաւ Պղատոն եւ որք իբրեւ զնա եին՝ ցուցանել թէ ամահ է հոգի եւ ոչ ինչ յայտնագոյն ասացին, վասն որոյ եւ ոչ գոր հաւանեցուցին: Իսկ առաքեալքն Քրիստոսի ձեռնտուութեամբ խաչեցելոյն եւ յարուցելոյն զինչ էր գոր ոչ ուսուցին մարդկան՝ յաղագս Աստուծոյ եւ ճշմարիտ բարեպաշտութեան եւ հրեշտակական վարուց, յաղագս անմահութեան հոգւոյ եւ յարութեան մարմնոյ եւ դատաստանին եւ հատուցմանն

55 Suk‘rean 1877, 212: ‘ս նոր լեզուօք խօսեցցին’. Melkonyan and Batovici 2022, f. 129r, col. 2: ‘լեզուս խաւսեցցին նորս’. Cf. Zōhrapean 1805, 683 ‘լեզուս խօսեցցին’ and M1314, f. 299r: ‘նոր լեզուս խաւսեցցին’.

56 A confirmation of it may be the fact that Barseł wrote his Commentary in a monastery on the Black Mountain, considered ‘an international center of education for Greek, Syrian, Latin, Armenian and Georgian monks, ascetics and simply writers who came in search of spiritual guidance’, see Širinyan 2014, 362.

Plato and his followers made a lot of efforts to show that the soul is immortal, but, since their statements were not clear, did not convince anyone. While the apostles, with the help of crucified and resurrected Christ, taught people everything about God, true piety, angelic behaviour, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the Last Judgment.

Barseł refers to Plato also in the interpretation of a verse from the Gospel of Matthew: ‘then the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had told them to go’.⁵⁷ The author draws attention to the fact that the disciples did so because Jesus commanded them and explains the importance of acting according to the commandment and not only knowing it, in terms of the relationship between the practical and theoretical parts of philosophy. In this and some other passages (which I will not touch upon in this article) the influence of the ‘Definitions of Philosophy’ by the neoplatonist philosopher David the Invincible is evident.⁵⁸

Եւ ընդէր ոչ սսաց՝ զիտացին ըստ պատուիրանին, այլ թէ գործեցին. զի սաժանելի և դժուարին գործելն է քան թէ զիտելն: Չի ուսանել զպատուիրանսն դիւրին է ամենայն ումեք՝ որ եւ կամեսցի, իսկ գործով լնուլ եւ արդեամբք զնոյն կատարել քաջի առն եւ զօրաւորի ումեք պէտս ունի, ըստ Պղատոնի, թէ՛ զիտուն սսեմ եւ ոչ զյոզնագէտն, եւ ոչ զայն, որ կարօղ է բազում ինչ ի բերան առնուլ, այլ որ ամբիժ եւ անարատ վարս ստացեալ է

And why [Matthew] did not say, that the apostles knew the commandment, but acted [according to it]: because doing something is harder and more tedious than knowing it, learning a commandment is easy for anyone who wants to, but to complement it with action and actually fulfill it, one must be brave and strong. For according to Plato, it is not a man who knows a lot, nor a man who can learn many things by heart whom I call wise, but the man who acquired a pure and spotless life.⁵⁹

The addressee of this Commentary were the ordinary people, and the author was very well acquainted with their daily life and problems.⁶⁰ In the brief preface he compares Christianity with art, and as every art possesses its own tools, therefore, artist cannot succeed without them, no matter how skillful he is, likewise the tools of Christianity, which for him is the greatest of all arts: so, it is the Holy Scriptures that all believers should know. At the same time, Barseł mentions the reasons given by the believers, why they could not manage to study the Bible, which are as follows:

M1314, f. 2r: բազումք զյոյով պատճառս ի մէջ բերեն, այսինքն է գորդիս սնուցանել, կանանց հոգալ եւ թագաւորական հարկաց, սորին վասն չառնուն յանձն զայսպիսի աշխատութիւնս

57 Matt 28:16.

58 More about David the Invincible philosopher, see Calzolari and Barnes 2009.

59 Narinean 1826, 417. Cf. Kendall and Thomson 1983, 15.

60 Daniëlean (1980, 10) assumes that Barseł was a high-ranking clergyman.

Many people give several reasons, such as feeding children, taking care of women and [paying] royal taxes, why they do not undertake such work.

According to him, many evil things occur because of ignorance of the Scriptures, therefore, the knowledge and interpretation of the Gospel is of great practical importance. In the Exhortation following the last chapter, the interpreter admonishes the clergymen, as well as the men and women, to teach the imperfect and the imprudent:

M1314, f. 307r: Չի ոչ թէ մեր միայն ենք պարտական խրատել եւ ուսուցանել, այլեւ ամենեքեան արք եւ կանայք կատարեալքդ հասակաւ պարտիք ուսուցանել զանկատարսն եւ զողայարարոյսն բանիք եւ զործովք...: Արդ, խրատեսցուք զնոսս լուսաւոր գործովքն առաքինութեան

Because it is not only us [the clergymen] who are obliged to instruct and teach, but also you, all mature men and women, are obliged to teach the imperfect and the imprudent with your words and deeds... Now, let us enjoin them with our [own] shining and virtuous deeds.

The characters of the Commentary are diverse, of different social classes, ages and gender, including kings, princes, healers, soldiers, merchants, rich and poor people, women, men and children.⁶¹ The given examples are not just allegories, but, based on them, one can get the idea of the relationships between different social classes, their attitude towards each other, moral values and everyday life, as the Commentary is ‘spiced’ with scenes representing the daily life of the time.⁶² In this regard, the Commentary provides a good basis for studying the social relations of the time, especially the perception and the influence of the Bible.

The literary sources of Barseł’s work are yet to be investigated.⁶³ As a preliminary observation, I could say that there are no direct references to the Church Fathers, at least, in the passage in question. However, the influence of John Chrysostom is evident: for example, there are some commonalities between Chrysostom’s *Homilia in Ioannem* and Barseł’s work regarding the characterization of Mary Magdalene.⁶⁴ Mkrtič‘ Aławnuni noticed the influence of the apocrypha on the Commentary as well.⁶⁵ Based on some evidences

61 In the last chapter he describes how a child played with his father, also naming the toy.

62 Kiwlēsērean (1905, 1096) notes that: ‘His examples and explanations are so open that the hypocrites do not hesitate to say, ‘How could a monk use such a language and pen?’

63 Such a study would be beyond the scope of this article.

64 Chrysostom 1737, 929–933; Kunder 2019, 110.

65 Aławnuni 1926, 110.

one can say that he also used the ‘Definitions of Philosophy’ by a neoplatonist philosopher David the Invincible.

Concluding Remarks

To summarize, Barseł vardapet composed his commentary on the Gospel of Mark in the monastery of Maškewor in 1325 (the autograph is still extant and is housed at the Yerevan Matenadaran). It includes an interpretation on Mark 9:10–16:20, while the first part, a commentary on Mark 1:1–9:9, is considered lost. The Commentary is an interesting piece of Armenian biblical exegesis, but it is also important for the discussion of textual issues related to Mark 16:9–20 in Armenian. Some of the manuscripts of Barseł’s Commentary lack the last three chapters that include the Longer Ending of Mark. E. Colwell considered this omission to be another proof of the absence of verses 9–20 in the original Armenian. However, even in this case, when 16:9–20 is obviously present in the Commentary it should not be considered as a proof of its presence in the original Armenian: Barseł’s work was written in the 14th century, when the Longer Ending was adopted and became widespread in the Armenian manuscript tradition and liturgy.⁶⁶ It is certain that the author had no doubt about the authenticity of Mark 16:9–20, and he believed that it was written by Mark the Evangelist. The biblical text used by Barseł (which I reconstructed, based on the quotations in the autograph) corresponds perfectly to the Armenian Standard version (the so-called ‘Zōhrap Bible’). In Mark 16:17 the interpreter added the word ‘նոր’ ‘*nor*, new’ to յեզրու խաւսեացիս (*lezus xawsesc* ‘*in*, ‘they will speak in tongues’) and in 18 added ‘կամ քարի ունիցիս’—the conjunction ‘or’ and the literal translation of ‘καλῶς ἔξουσιν’ to the word ‘բժշկիցիս’ (*bžskic* ‘*en*, ‘will heal’), presumably based on a Greek exemplum,⁶⁷ in order to make the Armenian text closer to his perception and interpretation of the given verses. Barseł first presents biblical events in the historical context of early Christianity, demonstrating quite a ‘critical’ ap-

66 In the oldest extant Armenian lectionary (ninth or tenth century), only Mark 16:2–8 is included in the Canon of Resurrection, see MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 987, ff. 209rv, cf. Malxasyan 2005, 58. In many manuscripts, before or after Mark 16:9–20 there is an instruction by the scribe (sometimes intertwined with the colophon) for it to be read on Ascension Day, see MSS Yerevan, Matenadaran 3712, f. 134r (thirteenth century), 3330, f. 121r (dated to 1379), 4931, f. 140r (dated to 1418), 4826, f. 139r (dated to 1420), 4202, 135v (dated to 1484), 4224, f. 137r (sixteenth century). The Longer Ending was included in the Lectionaries over time. It is found in the Canon of the Ascension in the famous Lectionary of the Armenian King Het’um II (dated to 1286), see MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 979, ff. 277v–278r; Alek’sanyan and Łazaryan 2019, 282.

67 One should not exclude the possibility of a Latin *Vorlage*.

proach to the text, then explains them in the light of social relations and moral values of his time, emphasizing the new understanding of the Gospel story.

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Un essai de panorama de Marc 16 dans la tradition géorgienne

Bernard Outtier, Paris

The history of the text of Mark 16 in Georgian is presented: the Short Ending (Mark 16:8) is the only one known up to the tenth century and is found up to the eleventh century; the Long Ending (Mark 16:20) appears in the tenth century and is used up to now. One will find here the edition and translation of nearly every form of the text up to the eleventh century.

La Géorgie est convertie au christianisme au début du IV^e siècle. Dès le début du siècle suivant au plus tard, deux traductions des Évangiles du grec en géorgien circulent : l'une faite en Palestine, l'autre en Kartli – province royale et centrale : c'est cette dernière qui s'imposera jusqu'au onzième siècle. L'hypothèse des deux lieux de traduction a été proposée par Outtier 2020.

Les deux traductions anciennes ont la finale courte de Marc. Il en va de même pour la traduction utilisée dans le Lectionnaire géorgien de Jérusalem.

La finale longue apparaît pour la première fois dans un manuscrit copié en 936 en Klaržeti, aujourd'hui ms Tbilisi, Centre national K. Kekelidzé des manuscrits de Géorgie (désormais abrégé CNKKMG) H-1660, on la trouve également dans d'autres manuscrits au dixième siècle : ms CNKKMG A-1453 (973), pareillement copié en Klaržeti, S-4927 (X^e s.) et ms Saint-Petersbourg, Bibliothèque publique d'État Saltykov-Chtchedrine, n. s. géo. 212 (995).

En 979, au Sinai, le copiste Ioane Zosime indique la lecture de Mc 16:9–20 pour trois offices de Matines – sans en donner le texte complet : la byzantinisation est en marche depuis un siècle en Palestine (Garitte 1972, n^o 122, 161 et 280, p. 361, 367 et 385).

Au monastère d'Ivion (des Ibères = des Géorgiens) sur le mont Athos, Euthyme († 1028) aura sans doute révisé la traduction des Évangiles. Giorgi (†1045), après une double révision sur un texte byzantin, fournit ce qui deviendra la « vulgate ».

Voici les textes et leur traduction

I. Traduction faite en Palestine. Tétraévangile de Hädich

Ms Mestia, Musée national de Géorgie, Musée d'histoire et ethnographie de Svaneti, 478 (3-82), sigle : C (également C dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index¹). Manuscrit de parchemin en majuscules,

1 Samushia, Dundua et Gippert 2017; <<https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/nt/ntkpl/ntkpl.htm>>, last accessed 20 December 2022.

daté de 897 : c'est le plus ancien manuscrit daté de la traduction des Évangiles faite en Palestine. Copié à Šatberd en Klaržeti (aujourd'hui en Turquie).² Les leçons propres à cette traduction sont en gras.

(16:1) [სლ/წ] და **ვითარ წარკდა** შაფათი იგი მარიამ მაგდანელმან და მარიამ იაკობისმან და სალომე იყიდეს ნელსაცხებელი რადთამცა მოვიდეს და სცხეს მას

(16:2) [სლა/ა] და **მსთოვად** განთიად ერთშაფათსა მას მოვიდეს **სამარესა** მასზედა აღმოსლვასა ოდენ მზისასა

(16:3) და იტყოდეს ოვრთიერთას ვინმე გარდაგვგორვოს ჩოვენ ლოდი იგი კარისა მისგან **სამარისაგსა** :

(16:4) და მიხედეს და იხილეს რამეთოვ გარდაგორვებოვლ იყო ლოდი იგი **რამეთოვ** დიდ იყო ფრიად

(16:5) და შევიდეს **სამარესა** მას იხილეს ჭაბოვკი **ერთი** მჯდომარე მარჯოვენით კერძო **რომელ მოსილ იყო** სამოსლითა სპეტაკითა და **დაოვკვრდა**.

(16:6) [სლბ/ა] და მან ჰრქოვა მათ ნოვ **გეშინინ** იესოვს ეძიებთ ნაზარეველსა **რომელ** ჯოჯარცოვმოვლ **არს** აღდგა არა აქა არს იხილეთ **ევერა** ადგილი **მისი** სადა დადვეს იგი

(16:7) და მივედით და **არქოვთ** მოწაფეთა მისთა და პეტრეს ვითარმედ წარვიძლეს თქოვენ გალილეად და მოვნ იხილოთ იგი ვითარცა გრქოვა თქოვენ ::

(16:8) [სლგ/ბ] და **ვითარ** ესმა ესე გამოვიდეს და ივლტოდეს მიერ **სამართ** რამეთოვ **შეშინებოვლ** იყვნეს და დაკვრებოვლ და **არავის** ოვთხრეს რამეთოვ ეშინოდა :

230/8 (16:1) Et comme était passé le sabbat, Marie (toujours Mariam en géorgien) de Magdana et Marie de Jacob et Salomé achetèrent des aromates pour venir et l'oindre.

231/1 (16:2) Et tôt le matin du premier (jour) de la semaine elles vinrent au sépulcre juste au lever du soleil.

(16:3) Et elles disaient entre elles : « Qui nous roulera la pierre de la porte du sépulcre ? »

(16:4) Elles regardèrent et virent que la pierre avait été roulée – car elle était très grande.

(16:5) Et elles entrèrent dans le sépulcre, elles virent un jeune homme assis du côté droit, qui était vêtu d'un vêtement blanc ; et elles furent stupéfaites.

2 Édition phototypique : *Adyšskoe evangelie* 1916. Éditions du texte : Blake 1974; Šaniže 1945; Saržvelaze 2003. Pour Mark 16 voir aussi Outtier et Monier 2022a.

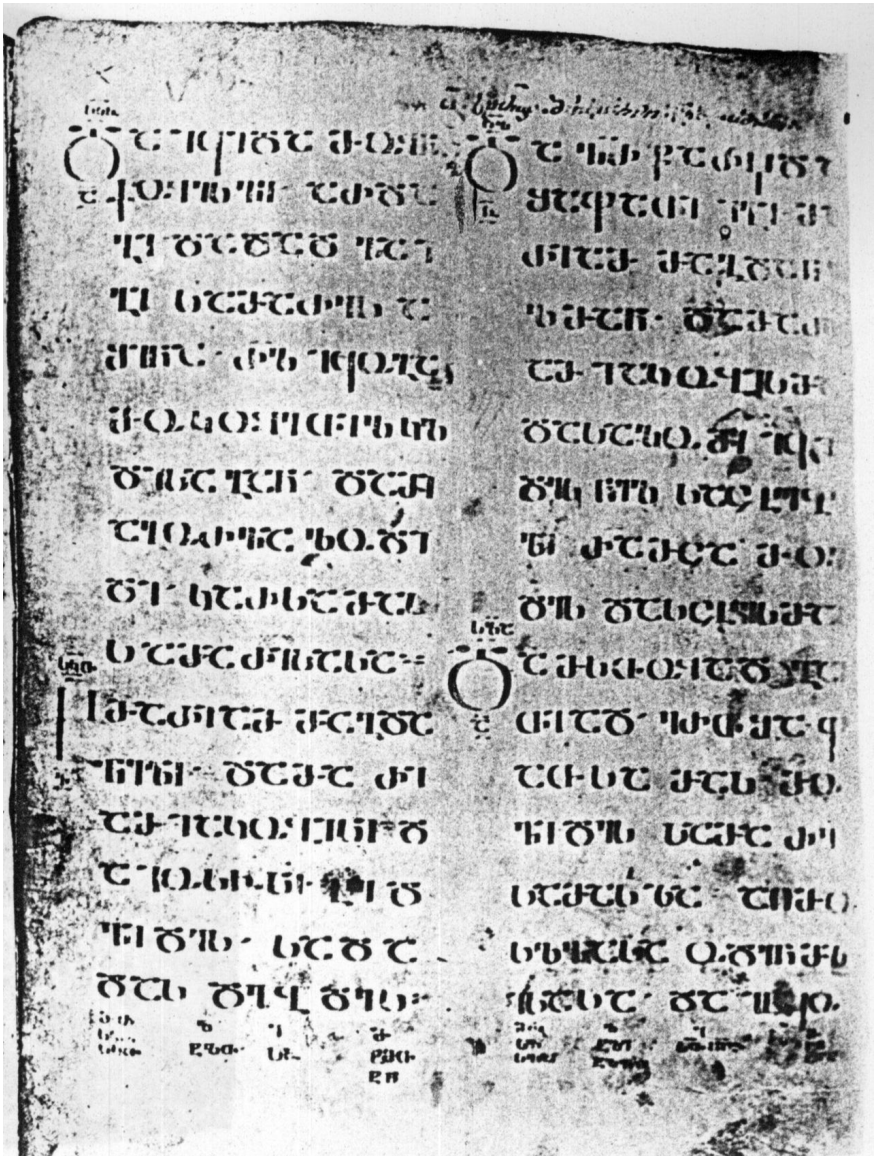


Fig. 1. Ms Mestia, Musée national de Géorgie, Musée d'histoire et ethnographie de Svaneti, 478 (3-82), f. 198r, from *Adyškoe evangelie* 1916.

232/1 (16:6) Et il leur dit : « Ne soyez pas effrayées ! Vous cherchez Jésus le Nazoréen, qui a été crucifié : il est ressuscité, il n'est pas ici ; voyez : voici la place où on l'a déposé.

(16:7) Et allez et dites à ses disciples et à Pierre qu'il vous précède en Galilée et là vous le verrez comme il vous l'a dit. »

233/2 (16:8) Et comme elles entendirent cela, elles sortirent et s'enfuirent du sépulcre, car elles avaient été effrayées et stupéfaites ; et elles ne dirent à personne, car elles étaient effrayées.

Les variantes avec la traduction suivante sont essentiellement d'ordre lexical : სამარე/საფლავი sépulcre/tombeau, ou syntaxique : რადთამცა/რადთა pour que avec ou sans particule modale.

II. Traduction de Géorgie; texte court.

Fragment khanmeti. VI–VII^e siècle. Palimpseste. Ms Tbilisi, CNKKMG, A-89, ff. 424 et 431. Manuscrit de parchemin en majuscules, sigle : X (également dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index). Intégré dans l'apparat ci-dessous.³

Ila.

Ms Mt Athos, Iviron géorgien, 83, sigle: A (également dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index). Le manuscrit a été publié en 1911;⁴ republié avec traduction latine en 1928.⁵

Manuscrit de parchemin en majuscules, daté de 913 – c'est le plus ancien manuscrit daté de la traduction des Évangiles en géorgien faite en Géorgie au V^e siècle – copié à Opiza en Klaržeti (aujourd'hui en Turquie). Il compte 260 feuillets ; le texte est disposé en 2 colonnes de 20/21 lignes. Les ff. 250r–260r sont occupés par des tables pascales, copiées en 917.⁶

Même type de texte :

X Tétraévangile xanmeti, ms Tbilisi, CNKKMG A-89 + A-844.

Ms Newton, MA, Andover-Newton Theological Seminary Museum, tétraévangile de Berta, copié avant 988 (B dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index).⁷

3 Édition : Kadjaia 1984, 81–82.

4 Benešević 1911, 193–304.

5 Blake 1928, 435–574. Pour Mark 16, maintenant voir aussi Outtier et Monier 2022b.

6 Gippert et al. 2022, 670–674.

7 Présentation du manuscrit : Blake et Der Nersessian 1944.

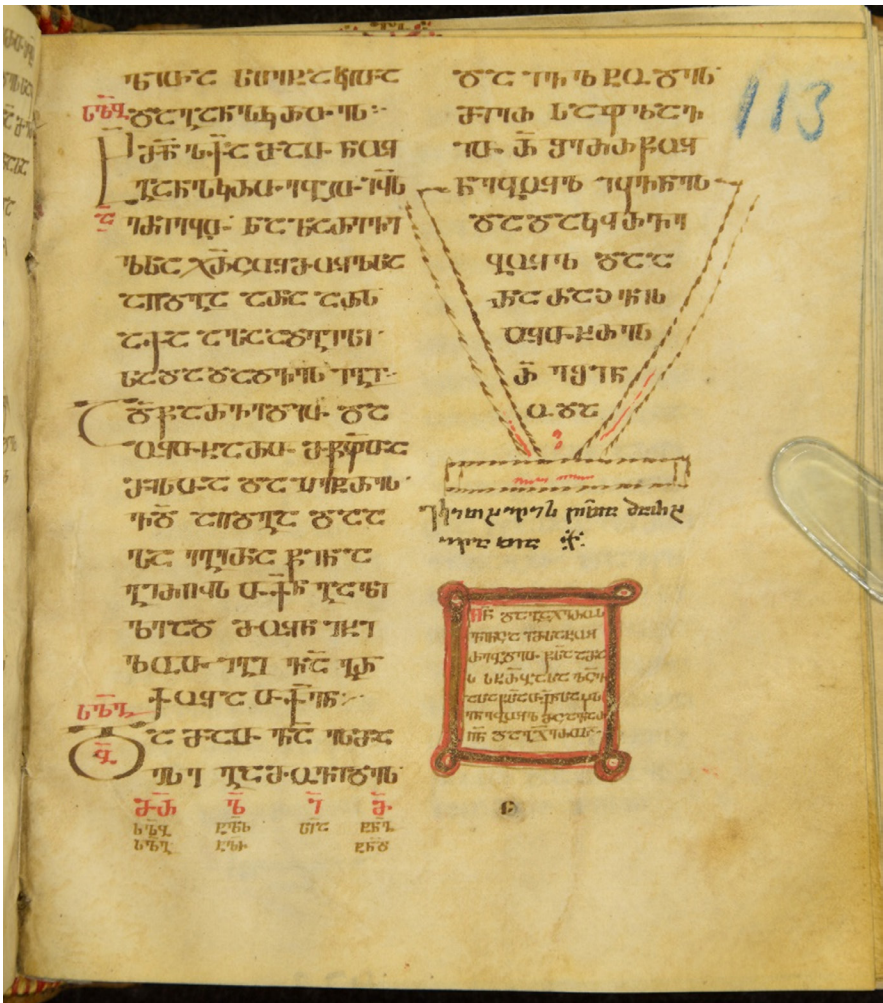


Fig. 2. Ms Mount Athos, Ivron géorgien 83, f. 113r, reproduction by permission of the Holy Monastery of Iviron, Greece.

A F. 112va

En marge, de première main, une croix à l'encre rouge indique un début de lecture liturgique [Pour le dimanche de Pâques]

ს ლ/მ (16 :1) შა ვ(ითარცა) ვარდაჯდა შ(ა)ბ(ა)თი იგი მ(ა)რ(ია)მ მაგდანელი¹ და მ(ა)რ(ია)მ იაკობისი² და სალომე³ იყიდესნელსაცხებელი რ(ადთ)ა მივიდენ და სცზონ მას :

ს~ლა/ა~ (16 :2) უა ნიად განთიად f. 112vb სა მას ერთშ(ა)ბ(ა)თისასა მოვიდეს საფლავსა მას ზ(ედ)ა მერმე აღმოსლვასა ოდენ მზისასა (16:3) და იტყოდეს ოჯრთი* ერთას : – · Ici commence X

ჴინ გარდაგვგორვოს ჩ(ოვე)ნ ლოდი იგი ·კარისა მისგ(ან) ს(ა) ფლ(ა)ვისა :

(16:4) და მიჰხედეს⁴ და იხილეს · რ(ამეთოჴ) გარდაგორვებოჴლ იყო ლოდი იგი რ(ომე)ლ იყო⁵ დიდ ფ(რია)დ

(16:5) უა შერად ვიდეს საფლავსა მას · იხილეს ჭბობჴვი ·მჯდომარშ მარჯოჴენით ·კერძო · შემოსილი სამოჴს f. 113ra ლითა⁶ სჴეტაკითა და განჰკრთეს⁷ ·

ს~ლბ/ბ⁸ (16:6) ჴ(ოლო) მ(ა)ნ ჰ(რ)ქ(ოჴ)ა⁹ მათ ნოჴ განჰკრთებით¹⁰ ი(ეს)ოჴს ეძიებთ · ნაზარეველსა¹¹ ჴ(ოჴ)არცოჴმოჴლსა აღდგა არა არს აჴა აჴა ადგილი · სადა დადგეს იგი ·

(16:7) ჴ(რამე)დ წარვედით და ოჯთხართ¹² მ(ო)წ(ა)ფ(ე)თა მისთა და პეტრეს · ვითარმე)დ აღდგა და¹³ აჴა ეგერა წინაგიძღუს თქ(ოჴ)ენ გალილეად¹⁴ მოჴნ იხილოთ¹⁵ იგი ვ(ითარც)ა¹⁶ გრქოჴს¹⁷ თქ(ოჴ)ენ ·

ს~ლგ/ა~ (16:8) უა მათ ვ(ითარც)ა ესმა¹⁸ ესე გამოვიდეს · f. 113vb და ივლტოდეს¹⁹ · მიერ საფლავით რ(ამეთოჴ) შედრ*წოჴ * des. X

ნებოჴლ იყვნეს და დაკვრვებოჴლ და არარად ვის ოჯთხრეს რ(ამეთოჴ) ეშინოდა

¹ მაგდანელმ(ა)ნ B ² იაკობისმან B ³ სალომე B ⁴ მიხხედეს X ⁵ რ~ლი ხიყო X რ~ი იყო B ⁶ სამოსლითა XB ⁷ განკრთეს X ⁸ ა B ⁹ სრქ~ა X ¹⁰ განსკრთებით X ¹¹ ხეძიებთ ნაზარეველსა X ¹² სოჯთხართ X ¹³ აღდგა და om. X ¹⁴ გ(ა)ლილე(ა)ს B ¹⁵ სიხილოთ X ¹⁶ აჴა ეგერა X ¹⁷ გარქოჴ X ¹⁸ ხესმა X ¹⁹ სივლტოდეს X

230/8 (16:1) Et comme était passé (préverbe différent de la traduction de Palestine) le sabbat, Mariam de Magdana et Mariam de Jacob et Salomé achetèrent des aromates pour aller et l'oindre.

231/1 (16:2) Et très tôt le mat- f. 112vb in du premier (jour) de la semaine elles vinrent vers le tombeau de nouveau au lever du soleil

(16:3) et elles disaient l'une à l'autre : Qui roulera pour nous la pierre de la porte du tombeau ?

(16:4) Et elles la regardèrent et elles virent que roulée avait été la pierre, qui était grande très.

(16:5) Et étant entrées dans le tombeau, elles virent un jeune homme assis à droite, revêtu d'un vête- f. 113ra ment blanc et elles furent épouvantées.

232/1 (16:6) Or il leur dit : Ne soyez pas épouvantées. Vous cherchez Jésus le Nazaréen crucifié : Il s'est relevé ; pas il est ici. Voici le lieu où ils le déposèrent.

(16:7) Mais partez et rapportez à ses disciples et à Pierre qu'il s'est relevé et voici il vous précède en Galilée là vous le verrez comme il vous l'a dit.

233/2 (16:8) Et elles, ayant entendu cela, sortirent f. 113rb et s'enfuirent du tombeau car terrifiées elles étaient et stupéfaites et rien à personne elles rapportèrent, car elles avaient peur.

Il y a un point remarquable en 16:2 : la traduction de *ετι* (*ανατειλαντος*) par *მერმე* encore ; cette lecture a été conservée jusqu'à la vulgate inclusivement ! Il s'agit d'une variante attestée en grec par W Θ 565 mais *ετι* a en grec le double sens de : *encore*, mais aussi de : *dès*.⁸

III. Texte mixte

Tbilisi, CNKMG A-509. X^e s., parchemin ; majuscules sur deux colonnes, sigle : L (K dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index).⁹

Ce manuscrit, comme quelques autres, présente un mélange des deux traductions, mais ici il est très proche de la traduction de Géorgie ; je mets en gras une variante venant de la rédaction de Palestine : **sa** place (16:6), et la seconde, issue de Mt 28:7 : **vite** (16:7) ; voir aussi au verset 3 la « surdéclinaison ». Ce type de « contamination » des deux traductions s'observe aussi, on le verra plus bas, dans les manuscrits géorgiens du Lectionnaire de Jérusalem. En marge, de première main, une croix et un « ts'ilkan » à l'encre rouge indiquent un début de lecture liturgique [Pour le dimanche de Pâques]

F. 78ra ს^ლ/ზ (16:1) **ნა** ვ(ითარც)ა გარდაცდა შაბათი იგი მ(ა)რ(ია)მ მაგდალენელმ(ა)ნ და მ(ა)რ(ია)მ იაკობისმ(ა)ნ და სალომე იყიდეს ნელსაცხებელი რ(აფთ)ა მოვიდენ და სცხონ მას :

ს^ლა/ა (16:2) **ნა** ნიად განთიადსა მას ერთშ(ა)ბ(ა)თის(ა)სა მოვიდეს დედანი იგი

მერმე აღმოსლვასა ოდენ მზის(ა)სა.

(16:3) და იტყოდეს F. 78rb ოვრთიერთას ვინ გარდაგვგორვოს ჩ(ოვე)ნ ლოდი იგი : გარისა მისგან ს(ა)ფლ(ა)ვისა**გსა** .

(16:4) **ნა** მიხედეს და იხილეს რ(ამეთოვ) გარდაგორვებოვლ იყო ლოდი იგი რ(ომე)ლი იყო დიდ ფ(რია)დ :

(16:5) **ნა** შერადვიდეს საფლავსა მას · იხილეს ჭაბოვკი · მჯდომარე მარჯოვენით · ვერძო · შემოსილი სამოსლითა სპეტაკითა და გ(ა)ნჰვრთეს :

ს^ლბ/ა (16:6) **ჴ**(ოლო) მან ჰ(რ)ქ(ოვ)ა მ(ა)თ ნოვ გ(ა)ნჰვრთებით ი(ესო)ვს ეძიებთ

ნაზარეველსა ჯოვარცოვმოვლსა აღდგა :F. 78va არა არს აქა აჰა ადგილი **მისი** · სადა დადვეს იგი :

(16:7) **ჴდრე** წარვედით და ოვთხართ მოწაფეთა მისთა და პეტრეს · ვ(ითარმე)დ აღდგა და აჰა ეგერა წინა გიძლვს თქ(ოვე)ნ გალილევას

8 Cp. Cattaneo 2021.

9 Édition Imnaišvili 1949.

მოგნ იხილოთ იგი აჰა ეგერა გრქ(ოჯ)ა თქ(ოჯ)ენ

ს~ლვ/ბ (16:8) ოა მ(ა)თ ვ(ითარც)ა ესმა ესე გამოვიდეს · მიერ საფლავით რ(ამეჯოჯ) შეძრწოვნებოჯლ იყვნეს იგინი და დაკვრვებოჯლ და არარად ვის ოჯთხრეს რ(ამეთოჯ) ეშინოდა : ·

La seconde colonne est blanche.

(16:1) Et comme était passé (préverbe différent de la traduction de Palestine) le sabbat, Mariam Magdalene et Mariam de Jacob et Salomé achetèrent des aromates pour aller et l'oindre.

(16:2) Et très tôt le matin du premier (jour) de la semaine elles vinrent vers le tombeau de nouveau au lever du soleil

(16:3) et elles disaient l'une à l'autre : « Qui roulera pour nous la pierre de la porte du tombeau ? »

(16:4) Et elles la regardèrent et elles virent que roulée avait été la pierre, qui était grande très.

(16:5) Et étant entrées dans le tombeau, elles virent un jeune homme assis à droite, revêtu d'un vêtement blanc et elles furent épouvantées.

(16:6) Or il leur dit : Ne soyez pas épouvantées. Vous cherchez Jésus le Nazaréen crucifié. Il s'est relevé ; pas il est ici. Voici sa place où ils le déposèrent.

(16:7) **Vite** partez et rapportez à ses disciples et à Pierre qu'il s'est relevé et voici il vous précède en Galilée, là vous le verrez ; voici, il vous l'a dit.

(16:8) Et elles, ayant entendu cela, sortirent et s'enfuirent du tombeau car terrifiées elles étaient et stupéfaites et rien à personne elles rapportèrent, car elles avaient peur.

IV. La version longue

B ms Saint-Petersbourg, géorg. 212 a été copié en 995 à T'bet (Tao ; manque dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index).

D ms Tbilisi CNKKMG H-1660, copié à Šatberd (Klaržeti) en 936 (D dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index).

E ms Tbilisi CNKKMG A-1453, copié à Parxal (Tao), en 973 (E dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index).

p ms Tbilisi CNKKMG S-4927, probablement copié à Parxal, X^e siècle (inédit).

P ms Sināi, Ste-Catherine, géo. 30, copié au Sināi en 979 (P dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index).

R ms Sināi, Ste-Catherine, géo. 15, copié au Sināi en 978 (R dans la synopse complète des quatre Évangiles de TITUS-index)

T ms Tbilisi CNKKMG S-405, X^e s. copié par Gabriel ; je n'ai que la fin, f. 45v, 16:18–20 (inédit).

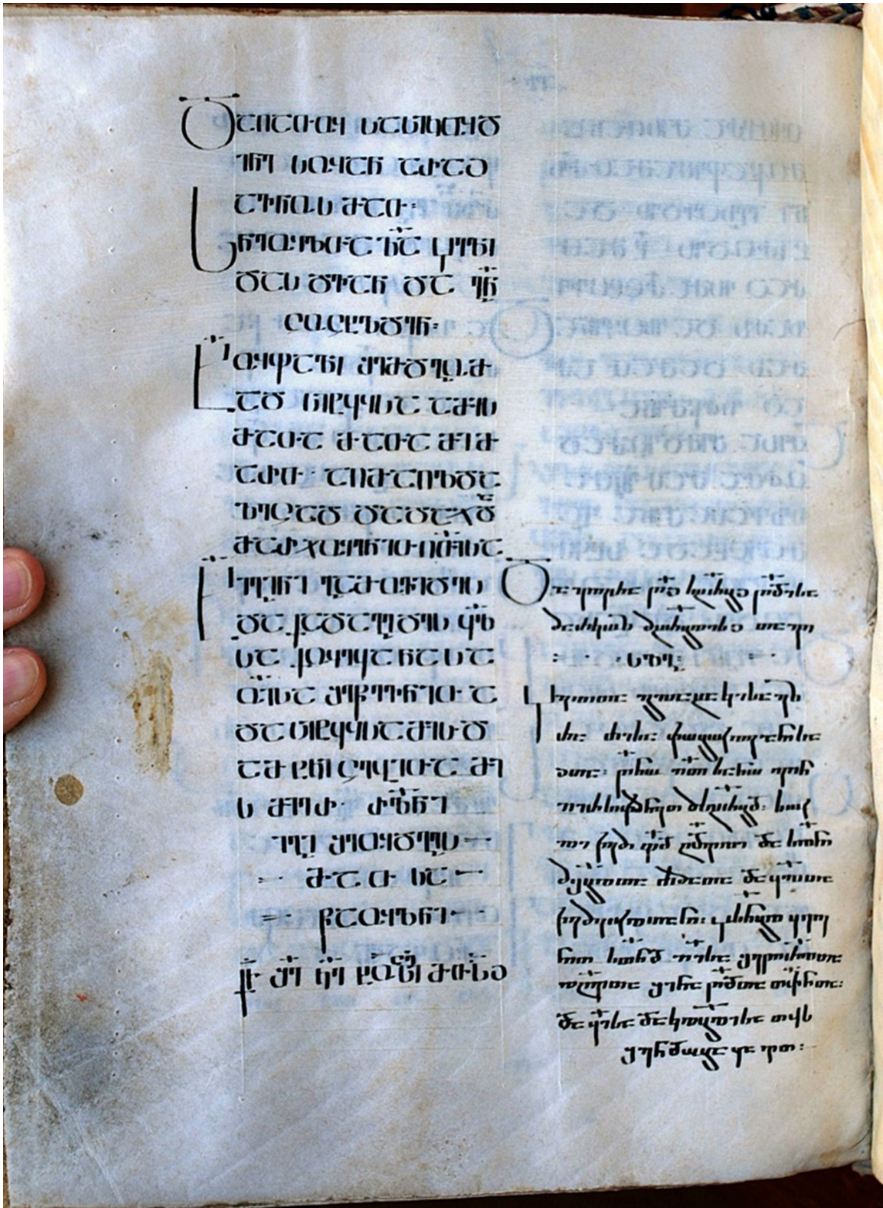


Fig. 3. Ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, géo. 30, f. 121v, reproduction by permission of the Holy Monastery of Sainte-Catherine, Sinaï, Egypt

B 138va ს~ლ /# (16:1) უა ვ(ითარც)ა გარდაჰდა შაბათი იგი მ(ა)რ(ია)მ მაგდალწნელმ(ა)ნ¹ და მ(ა)რ(ია)მიაკობისმ(ა)ნ² და სალომე იყიდეს ნელსაცხებელი რ(ადთ)ა მოვიდენ³ და სცხოზ⁴ მას :

(16:2) უა ნიად განთიადსა მას ერთშ(ა)ბ(ა)თისასა მოვიდეს საფლავსა მას ზ(ედ)ა მერმე აღმოსლვასა ოდენ B 138vb მზის(ა)სა

(16:3) და იტყოდეს ოვრთიერთას ვინ გარდაგვგორვოს ჩ(ოვე)ნ ლოდი იგი ვარისა მისგან ს(ა)ფლ(ა)ვისა .

(16:4) უა მიხედეს⁵ და იხილეს რ(ამეთოვ) გარდაგორვებოვლ იყო ლოდი იგი რ(ომელ)⁶ იყო დიდ ფ(რია)დ :

(16:5) უა შერადვიდეს⁷ საფლავსა მას იხილეს ჭაპოვვი⁸ მჯდომარწ⁹ მარჯოვნით ვერძო შემოსილი სამოსლითა სპეტაკითადა გ(ა)ნჰკრთეს :

ს~ლა/ა (16:6) ყ(ოლო) მან ჰ(რ)ქ(ოვ)ა მ(ა)თ ნოვ გ(ა)ნჰკრთებით¹⁰ ი(ეს)ოვს ეძიებთ ნაზარეველ(219ra)სა¹¹ ჯოვარსცოვმოვლსა¹² აღდგა არა არს აქა¹³ აჰა ადგილი სადა დადვეს იგი :

(16:7) ყ(რამე)დ წარვედით და ოვთხართ მოწაფეთა მისთა და პეტრეს¹⁴ ვ(ითარმე)დ აჰა ეგერა წინაგიძღვს¹⁵ თქ(ოვე)ნ გალელეად¹⁶ მოვნი იხილოთ იგი ვ(ითარც)ა გრქ(ოვ)ა თქ(ოვე)ნ

ს~ლბ/ბ (16:8) უა მ(ა)თ ვ(ითარც)ა ესმა ესე გამოვიდეს და ივლტოდეს მიერ საფლავით რ(ამეთოვ) შეძრწონებოვლ იყვენს და დაკვრვებოვლ და არარად ვის ოვთხრეს რ(ამეთოვ) ეშინოდა :

(219rb) Kanc'il rubriqué en marge, indiquant le début d'une lecture du Lektionnaire byzantino-géorgien.

სლგ (16:9) ხ(ოლო) აღდგა განთიად პირველსა მას შაბათისა ს^ა¹⁷ და ეხოვენა პირველად¹⁸ მარიაშს მაგდალწნელსა¹⁹, რ(ომ)ლისაგან განსროვლ იყო შუდი ეშმაკი²⁰ :

(16:10) იგი წარვიდა და ოვთხრა მის თანა მყოფთა²¹ მათ²², რ(ომელ)ნი იგლოვდეს²² და ტიროდეს :

(16:11) ხ(ოლო) მათ, რად ესმა რ(ამეთოვ) ცხოველ არს და ეხოვენა მას²⁴, მათ არა²⁵ ჰრწმენა მისი²⁶ :

(16:12) ამისა შემდგომად ორთა მათგანთა სლვასა შინა გამოეცხადა²⁷. სხვთა f. 139va ხატითა მი რად ვიდოდეს დაბასა²⁸ :

(16:13) და იგინი მოვიდეს და ოვთხრეს სხოვათა მათ და არცა მათი ჰრწმენა :

(16:14) ოვკოვანადსკნელ მსხდომარეთა²⁹ ათერთმეტთა ეხოვენა და აყოვედრა ოვრწმოვნიებად მათი³⁰ და გოვლფიცხელობად³¹, რ(ამეთოვ)³² რ(ომელ)თა იგი იხილეს³³ აღდგომილი, მათი არა ჰრწმენა :

(16:15) და ჰრქ(ოვ)ა³⁴ წარედით (!)³⁵ ყ(ოვე)ლსა სოფელსა და ოვქადაგეთ³⁶ სახარებად f. 139vb ესე ყ(ოვე)ლსა დაბადებოვლსა :

(16:16) რ(ომელ)ლსა ჰრწმენეს და³⁷ ნათელ იღოს³⁸, ცხომდეს³⁹ : ხ(ოლო)⁴⁰ რ(ომელ)ლსა არა ჰრწმენეს დაისაჯოს :

(16:17) ხ(ოლო) სასწაოვლი მორწმოვნეთა მათ ესე შეოვდგეს⁴¹ სახელითა ჩემითა ეშმაკთა განასხმიდენ⁴², ენათა ახალთა იტყოდინ

(16:18) გოველი ჳელითა შეიპყრან⁴³ : და თოვ⁴⁴ სასიკოვდინ⁴⁵ რად⁴⁶ სოვან, არად⁴⁷ ევნოს⁴⁸ მათ : სნეოვლთა ჳ(ედა) ჳელი f. 140ra დასდვან და განცოცხლდენ :

(16:19) ხ(ოლო) ო(ჳფალი)ი⁴⁹ შემდგომად სიტყჳსა მის მათა⁵⁰ მიმართ აღმაღლდა⁵¹ ჳეცად და დაჯდა მარჯოვენით ლ(მრ)თისა.

(16:20) ხ(ოლო) იგინი გამოვიდეს და ქადაგებდეს ყ(ოველსა ქ(ოვე) ყ(ა)ნასა ო(ჳფ)ლისა შეწენითა და სიტყჳსა⁵² მის დამტკიცებითა მათ მი(ერ)⁵³ რ(ომე)ლნი იგი⁵⁴ შეოვდგეს მათ სასწაოვლნი.

La seconde colonne est blanche, sauf deux mémoriaux d'une écriture un peu plus petite

Les deux pages suivantes sont blanches.

¹ მაგდანელმან DE მაგდანელი D* მაგდალწნელი R მაგდალენწელი P ² იაკობისი D*RP ³ მივიდენ DER ⁴ ჳცხონ|ონ D ⁵ მიჳხედეს DpR ⁶ რომელი Ep ⁷ შევიდეს DE om. და p ⁸ ჳაბოჳკი DR ⁹ მჳდომარე D ¹⁰ განჳკეთებით E ¹¹ ნაზორეველსა R ¹² ჳოვარცმოჳლსა D* ¹³ om. D ¹⁴ ჳეტრწს pR ¹⁵ წინაგვძღვს R ¹⁶ გალილეას DE გალიეას D* ¹⁷ ერთშაბათთასა RP ¹⁸ პირველად ეწუენა RP ¹⁹ მაგდანელსა DEp მაგდალენელსა D* ²⁰ იყვენს შუდნი ეშმაკნი RP ²¹ თანამოყოვასთა DE თანამოწაფეთა RP ²² om. E ²³ ეგლოვდეს DE იგლოვდეს D* ²⁴ add. და DEpRP ²⁵ არად R ²⁶ om. DERP ²⁷ add. და D add. მათ p ²⁸ დაბასა|სა D ²⁹ add. მათ DEp ათერთმეტთა მსხდომარეთა RP ³⁰ om. E ³¹ გოვლფიცხლოებად D add. მათი DEp ³² om. RP ³³ იგი იხილეს BDRP იხილეს იგი E ³⁴ add. მათ DERP ³⁵ წარვედით DERP ³⁶ ქადაგეთ DERP ³⁷ om. RP ³⁸ add. და RP ³⁹ ცხონდეს DpP ცხონდეს ER ⁴⁰ სოლო და p ⁴¹ თანაოვდიდოდის DEpRP ⁴² განახმდენ D ⁴³ გოველთა შეიპყრობდენ DEpRPT ⁴⁴ ლათოჳ DEpRPT ⁴⁵ სასიკოვდინე Dp სასიკოვდინოდ T ⁴⁶ om. DEpRPT ⁴⁷ არარად DE არადრად RP ⁴⁸ ავნოს DERP T ⁴⁹ om. DE ⁵⁰ მის მათა BT მის მათისა მათა D მის მისისა მათა E მის მისისა ნათდა p ამის მათა R ამის მათა მათა P (!) ⁵¹ ამაღლდა pR ⁵² სიტყოვისა D ⁵³ მათ მიერ B მისა მიმართ DE მათ მიერ RP ⁵⁴ om. T

R et P ont gardé les divisions anciennes : 16,2 სლა/ა ; 16:6 სლბ/ა ; 16:8 სლგ/ბ. Je n'ai pas d'informations sur le système de divisions de DE.

Traduction du texte long :

233 (16:9) Or il se releva le matin du premier (jour) de la semaine et se montra d'abord à Marie Madeleine, de qui étaient sortis sept démons.

(16:10) Elle partit et le rapporta à ceux qui étaient avec elle, qui étaient dans le deuil et pleuraient.

(16:11) Mais eux, quand ils entendirent qu'il est vivant et s'est montré à elle, ils ne la crurent pas.

(16:12) Après cela ils se manifesta à deux d'entre eux, pendant qu'ils allaient, sous une autre apparence, quand ils allaient à la campagne.

(16:13) Et ils vinrent et le rapportèrent aux autres, et ils ne les crurent pas non plus.

(16:14) Enfin il se montra aux Onze qui étaient à table (litt. assis) et il réprimanda leur incrédulité et dureté de cœur, car ceux qui l'avaient vu relevé, ils ne les crurent pas.

(16:15) Et il leur dit : « Partez dans le monde entier et prêchez l'Évangile à toute créature ;

(16:16) qui croira et sera baptisé, vivra ; mais qui ne croira pas sera condamné.

(16:17) Or ce signe accompagnera les croyants : ils expulseront les démons en mon nom, ils parleront en langues nouvelles,

(16:18) ils saisiront à la main des serpents, et s'ils boivent quelque chose de mortel, il ne leur fera rien. Ils imposeront la main sur les malades et ils reviendront à la santé. »

(16:19) Alors le Seigneur, après ce discours à eux adressé, monta au ciel et s'assit à la droite de Dieu.

(16:20) Alors ils sortirent et prêchèrent à toute la terre, avec l'aide du Seigneur, et avec la confirmation de la parole par les signes qui les accompagnaient.

V. Tbilisi, Centre national des manuscrits de Géorgie, A-98, X^e s.

Majuscules, 2 col. La dernière colonne de Marc est occupée par un mémorial du copiste, Gabriel. Ce manuscrit (inédit) a une version originale de Mc 16:9–20 et des indications de lectures liturgiques selon le rite de Jérusalem.

F. 108vb ს-ლ/წ (16:1) **წა ვ(ითარც)ა გარდაჲდა შაბათი იგი მ(არია)მ მაგდანელი და მ(არია)მიაკობისი და სალომე იყიდეს ნელსაცხებელი რ(ადთ)ა მოვიდენ და სცხონ მას :**

ს-ლა/ა (16:2) **წა ნიად გ(ა)ნთიადსა მას [109ra] ერთშაბათისასა მოვიდეს საფლავსა მას ჴ(ედ)ა მერმე აღმოსლვასა ოდენ მზის(ა)სა**

(16 :3) **და იტყოდეს ოვრთიერთას ვინ გარდაგვგორვოს ჩ(ოვ)ენ ლოდი იგი კარისა მისგ(ან) საფლავისა .**

(16:4) **წა მიხედეს და იხილ(ეს)ს რ(ამეთოვ) გარდაგორვებ(ოვ)ლ იყო ლოდი იგი რ(ომელ)ი იყო დიდ ფ(რია)დ :**

(16:5) **წა შერადვიდეს საფლავსა მას · იხილეს ჭაბოვკი · მჯდომარე მარჯოვენით კერძო შემოსილი სამოსლითა სპეტაკითადა გ(ა)ნკრთეს :**

ს-ლბ/ა (16:6) **ჴ(ოლო) მან ჰ(რ)ქ(ოვ)ა მათ ნოვ გ(ა)ნკრთებით ი(ეს)ო ჴს ეძი[109rb]ებთ ნაზარეველსა ჯოვარცოვმოვლსა აღდგა : არა არს აქა აპა ადგილი სადა დადვეს იგი :**

(16:7) ა(რამე)დ წარვედით და ოჯთხართ მ(ო)წ(ა)ფ(ე)თა მისთა და პეტრეს `ვ(ითარმე)დ აჰა ეგერა წინა გიძღვს თქ(ოვე)ნ გალილეად მოწნ იხილოთ იგი ვ(ითარცა) გარქ(ოვ) თქ(ოვე)ნ

(16:8) და მათ ვ(ითარცა) ესმა ესე გამოვიდეს და ივლტოდეს მიერ საფლავით რ(ამეთოვ) შეძრწოვნებოვლიყვნეს და დაკვრვებოვლ და არა რად ვის ოჯთხრეს რ(ამეთოვ) ეშინოდა :

(16:9) **შა აღრადგა** ი(ესო)ვ გ(ა)ნთიად პირველსა მას შაბათსა ეჩოვენა პირველად მ(არია)მ **მაგდა** [109va] **ნელსა**, რ(ომლ) ისაგანცა განსროვლ იყვნეს შუდნი ეშმაკნი :

(16:10) იგი მივიდა და მიოჯთხრა მისთანათა მათ, რ(ამეთოვ) იგინი იგლოვდეს და ტიროდეს :

(16:11) მათ რად ესმა ვ(ითარმე)დ ცხოველ არს და **იხილა მან დედაკაცმან** და არა ჰრწმენა მათ მისი :

(16:12) **ქმისა** შ(ემდგომა)დ ორთა მ(ა)თგანთა **ვ(ითა)რ იქცეოდეს ეჩოვენა** სხუთა ხატითა მირადვიდოდეს დაბას (!) :

(16:13) იგინი **წარვიდეს** და **მიოჯთხრეს** სხოჯათა მათ თ(ა)ნადა არცაღა მ(ა)თი ჰრწმენა :

(16:14) **შ(ემდგ(ო)მ(ა)დ ამისა ვ(ითა)რ ინაკედგა** ათერთმეტთა მათ **გამოეცხადა** და ჰყოვედრი f. 109vb და ოჯრწმოვნობასა მათსა და გოვლფიცხელობასა **მათსა** რ(ამეთოვ) რ(ომელ)ი იგი იხილეს ადგომილი **მკოვდრეთით** არა ჰრწმენა :

(16:15) და ჰრქ(ოვა) **წარგოჯალეთ** ყ(ოვე)ლსა სოფელსა **მიმოდასდევით** სახარებად ესე ყ(ოვე)ლსა :

(16:16) რ(ომელ)სა ჰრწმენეს და ნათელ იღოს ცხოვდეს : ხ(ოლო) [corr.] რ(ომელ)სა არა ჰრწმენეს **იგი** დაისაჯოს :

(16:17) ხ(ოლო) [corr.] სასწაოვლი მორწმოვნეთა მ(ა)თ ესე **თანაოჯვიდოდეს** სახელითა ჩემითა ეშმაკთა გ(ა)ნანასხმიდენ (!) და ენასა ახ(ა)ლსა იტყოდიან

(16:18) გოველთა შეიპყრობდენ სასიკოვდინქ თოვ ვინმე მათ არადვე ავნოს ასუას [add. al. manu] 110ra **ოჯძლოვრთა** კელთა ასხმიდენ და ოჯლხინებდენ :

(16:19) **ქ(ოლო) ო(ვფალი)ი ი(ესო)ვ ქ(რისტ)ქ** შემ(დ)გ(ო)მ(ა)დ სიტყვსა მის ამაღლდა ზეცად და და (!) დაჯდა **იგი** მარჯოვლ ღ(მრთ)ისა

(16:20) ხ(ოლო) იგინი **წარვიდ(ეს)** (და add. al. manu) ქადაგებდეს ყ(ო) ვ(ელ)სა ქ(ოვე)ყ(ა)ნ(ა)სა ო(ვფლისა) შეწენითა და სიტყვსა მის დამტკიცებოვლითა რ(ომელ) **თანაოჯვიდოდა** მ(ა)თ სასწაოვლი

(16:9) Et Jésus s'étant relevé le matin du premier (jour) de la semaine, se montra d'abord à Marie de Magdana, de qui aussi étaient sortis sept démons.

(16:10) Elle alla et le rapporta à ceux qui étaient avec elle, parce qu'ils étaient dans le deuil et pleuraient.

(16:11) Eux, quand ils entendirent qu'il est vivant et que la femme l'a vu, et ils ne la crurent pas.

(16:12) Après cela ils se montra à deux d'entre eux, alors qu'ils retournaient, sous une autre apparence, quand ils allaient à la campagne.

(16:13) Ils partirent et le rapportèrent avec les autres, et ils ne les crurent pas non plus.

(16:14) Après cela, comme les Onze étaient à table il se manifesta et il réprimandait leur incrédulité et leur dureté de cœur, car ils n'avaient pas cru ceux qui l'avaient vu relevé des morts.

(16:15) Et il leur dit : « Partez dans le monde entier et publiez de tous côtés l'Évangile à tous ;

(16:16) qui croira et sera baptisé, vivra ; mais qui ne croira pas, celui-là sera condamné.

(16:17) Or ce signe accompagnera les croyants : ils expulseront les démons en mon nom et ils parleront en une langue nouvelle,

(16:18) ils saisiront des serpents, si quelqu'un leur fait boire quelque chose de mortel, il ne leur nuira nullement. Ils imposeront les mains sur les infirmes et ils seront soulagés. »

(16:19) Alors le Seigneur Jésus Christ, après le discours, monta au ciel et il s'assit à droite de Dieu.

(16:20) Alors ils partirent et prêchèrent à toute la terre, avec l'aide du Seigneur, et avec confirmation de la parole [par] le signe qui les accompagnait*.

VI. Le texte du Lectionnaire géorgien de Jérusalem

Le plus ancien témoin est celui du MS Graz, Universitätsbibliothek Graz, 2058/1, le seul manuscrit géorgien du VII^e siècle qui nous soit parvenu non palimpseste.¹⁰

Il contient des lectures pour le jour de Pâques et la première semaine du temps pascal. La seconde lecture est Mc 16:2–8 – il n'y a pas d'autre lecture de Marc ; le Lectionnaire est un témoin du texte court, également attesté en arabe. Voici le texte :

F. 5v მარკოზის თავისაგან[ი] წმიდისა სახარებისა საკითხავი :

(16:2) Եւ նիად განთიადსა მას ერთშაბათისასა : მოვიდეს საფლავსა მას ზ(ედა) მერმე აღმოვლვასა ოდენ მზისასა

f. 6r (16:3) და ხიჭყოდეს* ოვრთიერთას : *gratté ; m² ეტყოდეს

Իინ გარდავგორვოს ჩ(ოვე)ნ ლოდი იგი კარისამისგან საფლავისა :

(16:4) და მიხხედეს და იხილეს რ(ამეთოვ) გარდავგორვებოვლ ხიყო ლოდი იგი რ(ომელი) ი ხიყო დიდ ფრიად :

(16:5) უა შე რა ვიდეს f. 6v საფლავსა მას იხილეს ჭაპოვკი მჯდომარე მარჯოვენით კერძო შემოსილი სამოსლითა სპეტაკითა და განკრთეს

(16:6) ყ(ოლო) მან ხრქოვა მათ ნოვ განხვრთებით :ქ(ესო)ვს ჯოვარსცოვმოვლსა **ნაზორეველსა** [ხ]ეძიებთ : f. 7r აღდგა არა არს აქა :აჰა ადგილი სადა დადვეს იგი :

(16:7) ქ(რამე)დ წარვედით და ხოვთხართ მოწაფეთამისთა და პეტრეს :ქ(ითარმე)დ აჰა ეგერა წინაგიძღვს თქ(ოვენ) გალილეად მოვწ პიხილოთ იგი ვ(ითარც)ა **გარქოვ** თქ(ოვენ) :

(16:8) უა მათ ვ(ითარც)ა ხესმა ესე გამოვიდეს და ხივლ f. 7v ტოდეს მიერ საფლა[...] ქ(ამეთოვ) შეძრწოვნებოვლ ხიყვნეს და დაკვრვებოვლ : და არა რად ვის ხოვთხრეს რ(ამეთოვ) ხეშინოდა : : :

Le texte coïncide dans presque tous les cas avec la version de Géorgie (en gras, accords avec la traduction de Palestine), ce qui nous montre son poids, car le Lectionnaire a été traduit en Palestine. Le texte du Lectionnaire reproduit plus d’une fois celui des manuscrits bibliques.

Lecture du saint Évangile, du chapitre de Marc.

(16:2) Et tôt le matin du premier (jour) de la semaine elles vinrent vers le tombeau de nouveau juste au lever du soleil

(16:3) et elles disaient l’une à l’autre : « Qui roulera pour nous la pierre de la porte du tombeau ?

(16:4) Et elles la regardèrent et elles virent que roulée avait été la pierre, qui était grande très.

(16:5) Et étant entrées dans le tombeau elles virent un jeune homme assis à droite, revêtu d’un vêtement blanc et elles furent épouvantées.

(16:6) Or il leur dit : Ne soyez pas épouvantées. Vous cherchez Jésus le **Nazoréen** crucifié. Il s’est relevé ; pas il est ici. Voici le lieu où ils le déposèrent.

(16:7) Mais partez et rapportez à ses disciples et à Pierre qu’il s’est relevé et voici : il vous précède **vers la** Galilée : là vous le verrez comme je vous l’ai dit.

(16:8) Et elles, ayant entendu cela, sortirent et s’enfuirent du tom[beau] car terrifiées elles étaient et stupéfaites et rien à personne elles rapportèrent, car elles avaient peur.

Lectionnaire du IX–X^e siècle

Pour la syntaxe de Pâques, l’évangile est Mc 16:1–8.

Ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, géo. 53, copié à Saint-Sabbas, 76v–77v (beaucoup de coquilles, copiste fatigué – en fin de journée ?)

(16:1) და ვითარცა გარდაჰდა შებათი (!) იგი მარიამ მაგდანელმან და მ(არია)მ იაკობისმ(ა)ნ და სალომე იყიდეს ნელსაცხ[ე]ბელი რ(ადთ)ამცა მივიდეს და სცხეს მას :

(16:2) და ანიად (!) განთიადასა მას მის ერთშებათისასა მოვიდეს საფლავსა მას ზ(ე)და ო| (!) მერმე აღმოსლვასა ონენ (!) მზისასა

(16:3) იტყ(ო)დეს ოვრთიერთას : ვინ გაარდაგვი:გორვოს ჩ(ოვ)ენ ლოდი იგი კარისა მისგან საფლავ(ი)სა

(16:4) მიხედეს და იხილეს რ(ამეთოვ) გარდაგორვებოვლ იყო ლოდი იგი რ(ომელი) იყო დიდ ფ(რია)დ :

(16:5) შე რად ვიდეს საფლავსა მას შ(ი)ნა : იხილეს ჭაბოვკი მჯდომარედ მარჯოვენით კერძო სამოსლითა სპეტაკითა : და განჰკრთეს :

(16:6) ხ(ოლო) მ(ა)ნ ჰ(რ)ქ(ოვ)ა ნოვ განჰკრთებით ოვწყი რ(ამეთოვ) ი(ეს)ოვს ეძიებთ ნაზარეველსა : ჯოვარცოვმოვლსა აღდგა არა არს აქა : [.]

(16:7) ა(რამე)დ თქ(ოვ)ენ წარვედით და ოვთხართ მ(ო)წ(ა)ფ(ე)თა მისთა და პეტრეს : ვ(ითარ)მე)დ აღდგა : და აჰა ეგერა წინაგიძღვის თქ(ოვ)ენ გალილევს ვ(ითარ)ც)ა გქოვ)ა (!) თქ(ოვ)ენ :

(16:8) და მათ ვ(ითარ)ც)ა ესმა ესე გამოვიდოდეს : და ივლტოდეს მიერ საფლავით რ(ამეთოვ) შედრწოვნებოვლ იყოვნეს და დაკვირვებოვლ და არარად ვის ოვთხრეს რ(ამეთოვ) ეშინოდა :

Lectionnaires du X^e siècle

Pour la syntaxe de Pâques, l'évangile est Mc 16:1–8.

L MS Mestia, Musée d'histoire de Géorgie, Musée d'histoire et d'ethnographie de Svaneti, 621 (კ-67), Lectionnaire de Lahil, X^e s.¹¹

K MS Tbilisi, Bibliothèque nationale, Lectionnaire de Lagurka, X^e s., ff. 220v–221r (inédit).

S MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, géo. 37, copié au Sinaï en 982, ff. 266v–267v (inédit).

T MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, géo 12, IX–X^e s. , lectionnaire de voyage ?, ff. 248v–249v (inédit).

U MS Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, géo. 54, X^e s. , lectionnaire de voyage ?, ff. 119v–120v (inédit).

(16:1) L F. 340v და ვითარცა გარდაჰდა⁰ შებათი იგი მარიამ მაგდანელმან¹ მარიამ იაკობისმან და სალომე იყიდეს ნელსაცხებელი რადთა მივიდენ და სცხონ მას².

(16:2) და ნიად განთიადსა³ ერთშებათისასა მოვიდეს⁴ საფლავსა მას ზედა⁵ მერმე აღმოსლვასა ოდენ მზისასა.

11 Édition : Danelia et al. 1997, 360–361.

(16:3) ⁶ იტყოდეს ოჯრთიერთას ვინ გარდაგუიგორვოს⁷ ჩ(ოვე)ნ ლოდი იგი კარისა მისგან საფლავისა⁸.

(16:4) მიხედეს⁹ და იხილეს რ(ამეთოჯ) გარდაგორვებოჯლ იყო ლოდი იგი რომელ¹⁰ იყო დიდ ფრიად. f. 341r

(16:5) ¹¹ შე რად ვიდეს საფლავსა¹² მას იხილეს ჭაბოჯკი მჯდომარედ¹³ მარჯოჯენით კერძო შემოსილი სამოსლითა¹⁴ სპეჯაკითა და განკრთეს¹⁵

(16:6) ხოლო მან ჰრქ(ოჯ)ა მათ ნოჯ განჰკრთებით.¹⁶ ი(ესოჯ)ს ედიებთ ნაზარეველსა¹⁷ ჯოჯარცმჯლსა¹⁸. არა არს¹⁹ არამედ აღდგა²⁰. აჰა ადგილი სადა დადვეს იგი.

(16:7) არამედ²¹ წარვედით და ოჯთხართ მოწაფეთა მისთა და პეჯრეს ვითარმედ აღდგა.¹⁹ აჰა ეგერა²³ წინაგიძლუის²⁴ თქ(ოჯ)ენ გალილეას²⁵, მოჯნ იხილოთ იგი ვითარცა²⁶ გრქუა²⁷ თქ(ოჯ)ენ.

(16:8) და²⁸ მათ ვითარცა ესმა ესე გამოვიდეს და ივლტოდეს მიერ საფლავით რ(ამეთოჯ) შეძრწოჯნებოჯლ²⁹ იყვნეს და დაკჯირვებულ³⁰ და არარად ვის ოჯთხრეს რ(ამეთოჯ) ემინოდა.

⁰ გარკდა T ¹ + და KT ² რადთამცა მივიდეს და სცხეს მას S ³ + მას ST + მას მზისასა K ⁴ მო რად ვიდეს ST ⁵ om. U ⁶ + და KSTU ⁷ გარდაგვგორვოს KST ⁸ საფლავისადსა U ⁹ და მიჰხედეს S მიჰხედეს TU ¹⁰ რომელი ST ¹¹ + და STU ¹² საფლავდ et om. მას U ¹³ მჯდომარქ ST მჯდომარედ U ¹⁴ om. S ¹⁵ განჰკრთეს STU ¹⁶ + ოჯწყი რ(ამეთოჯ) KS < Mt 28, 5 + თქუენ უჯწყი რ(ამეთოჯ) T ვიცით U ¹⁷ ნაზორეველსა KU ¹⁸ ჯოჯარცოჯმოჯლსა KST ჯრცმოჯლსა U ¹⁹ + აქა ST აღდგა არა არს აქა U ²⁰ om. არამედ აღდგა STU ²¹ + თქოჯენ ST ²² + და KS ²³ om. K ²⁴ წინაგიძლეს KSTU ²⁵ გალილეად S ²⁶ აჰა ეგერა TU ²⁷ გრქოჯ KS[U] ²⁸ ხოლო T ²⁹ შეშინებ(ოჯ)ლ ST შეშინებ(ოჯ)ლ და შეძრწოჯნებოჯლ U ³⁰ დაკჯრვებულ T დაკჯრვებოჯლ U

Le manuscrit S a conservé quelques traits de la traduction de Palestine, plus que K et T.

(16:1) Et comme était passé le sabbat, Mariam de Magdana et Mariam de Jacob et Salomé achetèrent des aromates pour aller et l’oindre.

(16:2) Et très tôt le matin du premier (jour) de la semaine elles vinrent vers le tombeau de nouveau juste au lever du soleil

(16:3) Elles disaient l’une à l’autre : « Qui roulera pour nous la pierre de la porte du tombeau ? »

(16:4) Elles la regardèrent et elles virent que roulée avait été la pierre, qui était grande très.

(16:5) Et étant entrées dans le tombeau, elles virent un jeune homme assis à droite, revêtu d’un vêtement blanc et elles furent épouvantées.

(16:6) Or il leur dit : « Ne soyez pas épouvantées. Vous cherchez Jésus le Nazaréen crucifié. Il s’est relevé ; pas il est [ici]. Voici la place où ils le déposèrent.

(16:7) Mais partez et rapportez à ses disciples et à Pierre qu'il s'est relevé et voici : il vous précède en Galilée, là vous le verrez comme il vous l'a dit. »

(16:8) Et elles, ayant entendu cela, sortirent et s'enfuirent du tombeau car terrifiées (U a ici un doublet) elles étaient et stupéfaites et rien à personne elles rapportèrent, car elles avaient peur.

VII. Le texte révisé par Euthyme

I. Imnaišvili a pensé trouver dans deux manuscrits la révision d'Euthyme, faite au monastère d'Iviron à l'Athos :

Ms Tbilisi CNKMG A-28 (XI^e s.), sigle F et H-1741 (Jérusalem 1048 sur un modèle de Saint-Sabas), sigle G. Cette hypothèse n'a pas fait l'unanimité. En effet, on trouve déjà cette rédaction dans le ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, géo. 16, copié à Sainte-Croix de Jérusalem en 992 (inédit, sigle S).¹²

Voici l'apparat de 16:1–8 :

16:4 რომელი

16:5 ჭაბუკი

16:6 ჯუარცუმულსა

16:7 გალილეად.

Aucune de ces variantes ne suppose un autre texte grec.

Je donne la finale longue :

(16:9) ხოლო აღდგა განთიად პირველსა მას შაბათთასა¹ და ეჩუენა პირველად მარიამს მაგდანელსა, რომლისაგან განსრულ იყო შუდი ეშმაკი.

(16:10) იგი წარვიდა და უთხრა მის თანა მყოფთა² მათ, რომელნი იგლოვდეს და ტიროდეს.

(16:11) ხოლო მათ რად ესმა, რამეთუ ცხოველ არს და ეჩუენა მას, მათ არა ჰრწმენა.

(16:12) ამისა შემდგომად ორთა მათგანთა სლვასა შინა გამოეცხადასხვთა ხატითა მი-რად-ვიდოდეს დაბასა.

(16:13) და იგინი მოვიდეს და უთხრეს სხუათა მათ, და არცა მათი ჰრწმენა.

(16:14) უკანადსკნელ მსხდომარეთა ათერთმეტთა მათ ეჩუენა და აყუედრა ურწმუნობად მათი და გულ-ფიცხელობად, რამეთუ რომელთა იგი იხილეს აღდგომილი, მათი არა ჰრწმენა.

(16:15) და ჰრქუა მათ : წარვედით ყოველსა სოფელსა და³ უქადქვეთ სახარებად ესე ყოველთა დაბადებულთა.

(16:16) რომელსა ჰრწმენეს და⁴ ნათელ-ილოს, ცხონდეს ; და რომელსა არა ჰრწმენეს, დაისაჯოს.

(16:17) ხოლო სასწაულნი მორწმუნეთა ესე შეუდგეს : სახელითა ჩემითა ეშმაკთა განასხმიდენ, ენათა ახალთა იტყოდიან,

¹² Édition : Imnaišvili 1979.

(16:18) გუელი ჰელითა აითქუან ; და ღათუ სასიკუდინე რადმე სუან, არარად⁵ ავნოს⁶ მათ ; სნეულთა ზედა ჰელი დასდვან და განცოცხლდენ.

(16:19) ხოლო უფალი შემდგომად სიტყვსა ამის მათა⁷ მიმართ ამალდა ზეცად და დაჯდა მარჯუენით ღმრთისა.

(16:20) ხოლო იგინი გამოვიდეს და⁴ ქადაგებდეს ყოველსა ქუეყანასა უფლისა შეწევნითა და სიტყვსა მის დამტკიცებითა მის მიერ, რომელნი-იგი შეუდგეს მას სასწაულნი. ამენ⁸.

¹შაბ(ა)თსა S ²მოწაფეთა S ³სოფელსა და] სოფელ S (!) ⁴და – S ⁵არა S ⁶ვენოს S ⁷მ(ა)თდა S ⁸ამენ – S + დ(იდებ(ა)დ შ(ე)ნდა ო(ვფალ)ო S

(16:9) Or il se releva le matin du premier (jour) des semaines et se montra d'abord à Marie de Magdana, de qui étaient sortis sept démons.

(16:10) Elle partit et le rapporta à ceux qui étaient avec elle, qui étaient dans le deuil et pleuraient.

(16:11) Mais eux, quand ils entendirent qu'il est vivant et s'était montré à elle, ils ne la crurent pas.

(16:12) Après cela il se manifesta à deux d'entre eux pendant qu'ils allaient, sous une autre apparence, quand ils allaient à la campagne.

(16:13) Et ils vinrent et le rapportèrent aux autres, et ils ne les crurent pas non plus.

(16:14) Enfin il se montra aux Onze qui étaient à table (litt. : assis) et il réprimanda leur incrédulité et dureté de cœur, car ceux qui l'avaient vu relevé, ils ne les avaient pas cru.

(16:15) Et il leur dit : « Partez dans le monde entier et prêchez l'Évangile à toutes les créatures.

(16:16) Qui croira et sera baptisé, vivra : mais qui ne croira pas sera condamné.

(16:17) Or ce signe accompagnera les croyants : en mon nom ils expulseront les démons, ils parleront en langues nouvelles,

(16:18) ils porteront en mains un serpent, et s'ils boivent quelque chose de mortel, il ne leur nuira en rien. Ils imposeront la main sur les malades et ils reviendront à la santé.

(16:19) Alors le Seigneur, après ce discours à eux adressé, monta au ciel et s'assit à la droite de Dieu.

(16:20) Alors ils sortirent et prêchèrent à toute la terre avec l'aide du Seigneur et la confirmation de la parole par les signes qui les accompagnaient. Amen.

VIII. La révision de Giorgi = vulgate

Giorgi, au monastère d'Iviron sur le mont Athos, révisa définitivement sur le grec le texte des Évangiles. C'est devenu la vulgate en usage dans l'Église géorgienne.

Ms Tbilisi CNKKMG A-1335, (XII–XIII^e s.), sigle H

Ms Erevan, Matenadaran Mesrop Maštoc¹, géorgien 31, (XII–XIII^e s.), sigle I

Ms Tbilisi CNKKMG Q-908, (XII^e s.), sigle K¹³

Ms Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, géo. 19, copié au Sinaï en 1074 (inédit, sigle S)

Quasiment pas de variante par rapport à la traduction de Géorgie dans Mc 16:1–8 :

16:2 ს¹ლა^ა მერმე¹ მერმეცა

16:4 რ(ომე)ლ] რ(ომელ)ი

16:5 მჯდომარს¹ მჯდომარე

16:6 ს¹ლბ^ა

16:7 გალილეას

16:8 ს¹ლგ^ბ

Ici encore, pas de variante renvoyant à un grec différent.

Il y a la finale longue, dans laquelle il introduit quatre nouvelles sections eusébiennes : 234 à 237. En voici le texte :

ს¹ლდ/ი (16:9) ხოლო აღ-რად-დგა განთიად პირველსა მას შაბათსა ერუენა პირველად მარიამს მაგდალენელსა, რომლისაგან განსრულ იყვნეს შუდნი ეშმაკნი.

(16:10) იგი წარვიდა და უთხრა მის თანათა¹ მყოფთა მათ, რომელნი იგლოვდეს და ტიროდეს².

(16:11) და მათ რად ესმა, რამეთუ ცხოველ არს და ერუენა, მათ არა ჰრწმენა.

ს¹ლე/ი (16:12) ხოლო ამისა შემდგომად ორთა მათგანთა სლვასა შინა გამოეცხადასსუთა ხატითა მი-რად-ვიდოდეს დაბასა.

სლვ/ი (16:13) და იგინი მოვიდეს და უთხრეს სსუათა მათ, და არცა მათი ჰრწმენა.

(16:14) უკანაგსკნელ მსხდომარეთა ათერთმეტთა მათ³ ერუენა და აყუედრა ურწმუნობებად იგი⁴ მათი და გულ-ფიცხელობად, რამეთუ რომელთა იგი იხილეს აღდგომილი, მათი არა ჰრწმენა.

ს¹ლზ/ი (16:15) და ჰრქუა მათ : წარვედით ყოველსა სოფელსა და უქადქვეთ სახარებად ესე ყოველთა დაბადებულთა.

(16:16) რომელსა ჰრწმენეს და ნათელ-იღოს, ცხონდეს ; და რომელსა არა ჰრწმენეს, დაისაჯოს.

(16:17) ხოლო სასწაულნი მორწმუნეთა ესე შეუდგეს : სახელითა ჩემითა ეშმაკთა განასხმიდენ, ენათა ახალთა იტყოდიან,

13 Édition (H, I, K) : Imnaišvili 1979.

(16:18) გუელთა შეიპყრობდენ ; დაღაცათუ⁵ სასიკუდინე რადმე სუან, არარად ავნოს მათ ; სნეულთა ზედა ველსა დასდებდენ და განცოცხლდებოდნან.

(16:19) ხოლო უფალი შემდგომად სიტყვსა ამის მათა მიმართ ამალღდა ზეცად და დაჯდა მარჯუენით ღმრთისა.

(16:20) ხოლო იგინი გამოვიდეს და ქადაგებდეს ყოველსა ქუეყანასა უფლისა შეწევნითა და სიტყვსა ამის დამტკიცებითა მის მიერ, რომელნი-იგი შეუდგეს მას სასწაულნი. ამენ. დ(იდებ)(ა)დ შ(ენ)და ო(ვფა)ლ(ო).

¹ თანათა SK] თანა HI ² თროდეს S (!) ³ მათ ათერთმეტთა S ათერთმეტთა მათ HIK ⁴ – HIK ⁵ დაღათუ HIK

234/10 (16:9) Or quand il se releva le matin du premier (jour) de la semaine, il se montra d'abord à Marie Madeleine, de qui étaient sortis sept démons.

(16:10) Elle partit et le rapporta à ceux qui étaient avec elle, qui étaient dans le deuil et pleuraient.

(16:11) Mais eux, quand ils entendirent qu'il est vivant et s'était montré à elle, ils ne la crurent pas.

235/10 (16:12) Or après cela il se manifesta à deux d'entre eux pendant qu'ils allaient, sous une autre apparence, quand ils allaient à la campagne.

236/10 (16:13) Et ils vinrent et le rapportèrent aux autres, et ils ne les crurent pas non plus.

(16:14) Enfin il se montra aux Onze qui étaient à table (litt. : assis) et il réprimanda leur incrédulité et dureté de cœur, car ceux qui l'avaient vu relevé, ils ne les avaient pas cru.

237/10 (16:15) Et il leur dit : « Partez dans le monde entier et prêchez l'Évangile à toute créature.

(16:16) Qui croira et sera baptisé, vivra : mais qui ne croira pas sera condamné.

(16:17) Or ce signe accompagnera les croyants : en mon nom ils expulseront les démons, ils parleront en langues nouvelles,

(16:18) ils prendront des serpents, et s'ils boivent quelque chose de mortel, il ne leur nuira en rien. Ils imposeront la main sur les malades et ils reviendront à la santé.

(16:19) Alors le Seigneur, après ce discours à eux adressé, monta au ciel et s'assit à la droite de Dieu.

(16:20) Alors ils sortirent et prêchèrent à toute la terre avec l'aide du Seigneur et la confirmation de la parole par les signes qui les accompagnaient. Amen.

IX. Le Lectionnaire après Euthyme

Le ms Iviron géorgien 60, copié à Iviron en 1043 – deux ans avant la mort de Giorgi – est un Lectionnaire byzantin des Évangiles. Il a, ff. 11v–12v, une lecture de Mc 15:43–16:8 pour le troisième dimanche du temps pascal ; un renvoi à cette lecture pour l’office du matin du jour de Pâques, f. 121v (Mc 16:1–8) et, ff. 121v–122r, Mc 16:9–20.¹⁴

Voici les variantes collationnées sur le texte de Giorgi :

- 16:1 მაგდანელმან FG. მას ი(ესო)ჳს (comme les manuscrits grecs de la famille 13)
 16:4 მიჰხედეს HIK
 16:5 მდგომარე FHIK
 16:7 ვეგრა] – გალილეას HIK
 16:8 იყვნეს] + იგინი
 16:9 თავი ს'ლგ აღ-რად-დგა] აღდგა FG + ი(ესო)ჳ (comme les manuscrits grecs de la famille 13). შაბათთასა] შაბათისასა + და FG მაგდანელსა FG.
 იყვნეს შუდნი ეშმაკნი = HIK
 16:10 თანა] თანათა.
 16:11 ხოლო მათ = FG. ეჩუენა მას = FG. + და. ჰრწმენა + მისი.
 16:12 ხოლო] – = FG.
 16:14 მათ ათორმეტთა] – ურწმუნობად + იგი. რომელთა-იგი] რომელთა იხილეს იგი
 16:15 უქადაგეთ] ქადაგეთ. ყოველსა დაბადებულსა = HIK
 16:16 ცხოვნდეს და] ცხოვნდეს ხოლო.
 16:17 ხოლო] და. მორწმუნეთა + მათ HIK სასწაული + ესე. მათ + თანა. შეუდგეს] უვიდოდის
 16:18 გუელთა შეიპყრობდენ = HIK სასიკუდინე] სასიკუდინჳ. არარად] არად კელსა დასდებდენ = HIK განცოცხლდებოდიან = HIK
 16:19 სიტყვსა ამის = FG მათა მიმართ] მათ თანა ამის] მის = FG
 16:20 რომელი-იგი შეუდგა მათ სასწაული + ამენ = FG

Le texte a des leçons qui s'accordent avec « Euthyme » : 10, d'autres avec Giorgi : 9, d'autres enfin propres : 18 ; le texte est loin d'être encore parfaitement stabilisé.

Le type de texte grec traduit

On peut trouver des accords avec W Θ 565 : l'accord en 16:2 a été signalé en son lieu pour la traduction de Géorgie et toutes les rédactions suivantes. 16:6 Ne **craignez** pas dans la traduction de Palestine ; **son** lieu : traduction de Palestine, texte mixte. 16:7 : partez **et** dites/rapportez. 16:8 ayant entendu elles sortirent et : toutes les rédactions.

WΘfamille13 et Lectionnaire arabe de Jérusalem om. Mc 16:18 en mains = mss DEpRPT de la version longue, ms Tbilisi, CNKKMG, A-98, révision de Giorgi et Lectionnaire après Euthyme. Mc 16:20 amen Euthyme et Giorgi.

14 Voir Gippert et al. 2022, 539–542.

Θfamille13 om. Jésus Christ Mc 16:19 : révision de Giorgi.

W et famille13 om. δε en Mc 16:14, de même toutes les rédactions géorgiennes.

W Mc 16:8 φοβος = traduction de Palestine et lectionnaires ST.

Le géorgien a toujours la forme *Mariam* pour les *Maria* du grec, comme Θ. Mc 16,10 à ses disciples Θ : Version longue mss. RP. 16:11 : à eux : révision de Giorgi.

Alignements sur le texte de Matthieu (traces d'une harmonie évangélique pour la Passion-Résurrection ?) : 16:6 je sais < Mt 28:5 : traduction de Palestine, Lectionnaires Sinaï, Ste-Catherine, géo. 53 et KST : 16:7 : mais vite < Mt 28:7.

Les attaches du géorgien avec la famille dite césarienne sont bien visibles.¹⁵

Deux mots de conclusion

L'histoire de la finale de Marc en géorgien semble assez simple : pas d'attestation de la finale longue avant le dixième siècle. Plus d'attestation de la finale courte après le onzième siècle. Le texte a suivi la tradition de Jérusalem avant de se tourner vers Constantinople, tout en restant très fidèle à la tradition ancienne.

Il est intéressant de noter une certaine liberté des témoins manuscrits : textes combinant les deux traductions anciennes ou les deux révisions des X^e–XI^e siècles, texte avec variantes originales ; il faut aussi observer une certaine porosité entre le texte des manuscrits « bibliques » et le texte du Lectionnaire ; certains manuscrits bibliques ont été utilisés comme lectionnaires.

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15 Je remercie C.-B. Amphoux de m'avoir communiqué l'apparat critique de Legg.

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History of the Reception

Cerinthus and the Gospel of Mark: The Priority of the Longer Ending

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In the study of the endings of Mark, manuscript studies alone may not be able to answer the question of Mark's initial text. The reasons why certain texts were edited need to be explored. Here we will consider the issues arising from the adoptionist perspective of Cerinthus. This is important given that Cerinthians are attested as preferring the Gospel of Mark. In their perspective a great power—called 'Christ'—came down from God and entered into Jesus after his baptism, 'in the form of a dove', and departed before Jesus' death. Jesus rose from the dead, but not 'Christ'. What then of Cerinthus' reading of the ending of Mark? From the *Epistula Apostolorum* it appears that for Cerinthus Jesus' resurrection was not physical, but transformative. Indeed, we have a resurrection of the 'Lord Jesus' in the Longer Ending that reads as transformative: Jesus appears in different forms and is seen but not touched. Given this, it is very unlikely that such an ending so suited to Cerinthian interpretation could have been composed by the proto-orthodox out of elements of other gospels in which the physical resurrection of Jesus in the same body was affirmed (by men). Rather, the Longer Ending can be read as foundational for other Gospel developments. However, it is not entirely intact, as evidenced by a glitch at 16:9: there is missing piece concerning the details of Jesus' appearance to Mary Magdalene.

In discussions about the ending of the Gospel of Mark, the scholarly focus has been on analysing the textual tradition, in various traditions and languages. The present study departs from this, in that it ultimately asks what initial text discernible from examining the manuscript tradition has the strongest claims to priority. It builds on the distinction made in manuscript studies between an original text and an initial text: while we may not be able to determine exactly what was originally written by a Gospel author, we should be able to determine the initial text that has given rise to the manuscript tradition.¹ The interest here is in defining a sequence of developments that can account for our manuscript tradition.

My focus will be on Cerinthus, a first-century Christian leader (even 'apostle') who embraced a type of adoptionist Christology² that became deeply unpopular among the proto-orthodox. It is important to define his thought as accurately as possible, because there has been a scholarly tendency to place

1 Holmes 2013, 637–688. The focus on the 'Ausgangstext' is fundamental to the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) Project, see <<https://www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/ECM.html>> (this and other links last accessed 17 March 2023).

2 See Kok 2019; 2021. Kok resists the categorisation of Cerinthus' Christology as 'adoptionist' and for good reason, in terms of what precisely happens to make Jesus the 'Son' of God (see below), but I use this term as an umbrella convention.

him within categories of ‘Gnosticism’. It will be argued here that he is better understood in the light of Alexandrian Judaism. His relevance for our subject is that his adherents are attested by Irenaeus as preferring the Gospel of Mark (*Adv. Haer.* 3:11:7).

While it is easy to see how adoptionist theology fits well in terms of Mark’s beginning, our interest is on endings. Specifically, I will ask: what known ending of Mark most coheres with Cerinthian theology? Further, if a specific ‘Cerinthian-friendly’ ending is defined, might that provide a reason for proto-orthodox scribes to have edited it, or cut it out entirely? In doing this, the rhetorical strategy of the *Epistula Apostolorum* will be considered, given this work specifically identifies Cerinthus as a target.

Cerinthus

Cerinthus is a mysterious figure. Since the useful introduction by Klijn and Reinink, in their compendium of so-called Jewish-Christian groups,³ studies have demonstrated that there was a constant reshaping of Cerinthus’ memory. Various statements can be contested. Charles Hill has cast doubt on patristic assertions that link Cerinthus with authorship of books within the Johannine tradition, particularly Revelation.⁴ Matti Myllykoski noted how his portrayal changes with time.⁵ In terms of the debate about the canon, Cerinthus gets associated with whatever books certain people rejected or (apparently) misinterpreted, so that Cerinthus can be linked with different gospels (Mark, Matthew and John) and the Book of Revelation. In the literature, Cerinthus is on one hand a Jewish-Christian chiliast (millennialist), and on the other hand a Gnostic, or some strange blend. If we do not weigh up the credibility of patristic statements, the chances are we are creating a hybrid with no actual grounding in anything but rhetoric. His memory mutates by association with various books and theologies that are considered problematic at later times. He is the ‘Other’ linked with anything that is also deemed ‘Other’.

But Cerinthus, though elusive, is important. This is because he was very early, overlapping in time with the apostles themselves. Patristic authors often place Cerinthus in conflict with the disciple (or apostle) John in Ephesus, in the later first century. A tale was told by Polycarp (c.69–155 CE) that when John went to the bathhouse in Ephesus and found Cerinthus there he refused to enter it, fearful the very building would crumble given that such an enemy of truth was inside (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3:3:4, cf. 11:1). Johannine issues are in the mix in terms of the later second century configuration of Cerinthus, ei-

3 Klijn and Reinink 1973, especially 3–19.

4 Hill 2000; Hill 2005, 229–230.

5 Myllykoski 2005, 213–246.

ther regarding the authorship of the Book of Revelation or the Fourth Gospel, which again puts him in the first century.

In battles concerning the authority of certain books Cerinthus could be identified as the author. According to Eusebius (*Hist.* 7:25:2), it was asserted by a Roman presbyter named Gaius (c.200 CE) that the Book of Revelation was written by Cerinthus (the implication being that Cerinthus was also called John, given Rev. 1:4, 9; Rev. 22:8); it was therefore to be spurned. A group dubbed the Alogi—who rejected the concept of the Logos as defined in the Gospel of John—also spurned Revelation, saying it was written by Cerinthus (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 2:51). Already by the time of Irenaeus (c.180 CE), people had suggested instead that Cerinthus wrote the Gospel of John, but Irenaeus asserted precisely the opposite: this gospel was written *against* Cerinthus (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3:11:1) by the real apostle John.⁶

Cerinthus' authorship of Revelation appears to be founded on the ascription to Cerinthus of chiliasm (so Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* 3:28:2, 4–5; and see 7:25:1–3), a belief that a period of peace and messianic rule would precede final consummation of all things. But this belief was by no means unique to Cerinthus; it is a concept of Jewish apocalypticism evidenced widely in such works as the Book of Daniel, 1 Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, 4 Esdras and the Apocalypse of Abraham. This happens to appear explicitly in Rev. 20:4–5, but chiliasm is also followed by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus and Tertullian (e.g. Justin, *Dial.* 80; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5:32:1; 5:33:3; Tertullian, *de Anima* 55:4, 5; 56:8). Such a well-attested belief is rather little on which to hang the authorship of an entire book.⁷ More likely, Cerinthus was brought out as the author of the Book of Revelation simply to cast aspersions on its worth.

Was Cerinthus a Gnostic? While Brown and Hill both find this definition persuasive, largely on the basis of Irenaeus, it is hard to reconcile any definition of Gnosticism with a chiliastic (thereby earth-centred) eschatology.⁸ Irenaeus himself used chiliasm as a direct counter to Gnostic ideas that removed any notions of earthly eschatological bliss (*Adv. Haer.* 5:32).⁹ Irenaeus then does not identify this feature of Cerinthus' theology as a problem, or any other points of view that Cerinthus shared with those like himself in the proto-orthodox camp. He only points out where he erred: for Irenaeus he was therefore only 'Gnostic' in part.

6 Regul, 1969, 20.

7 Hill 2001, 69–74, associates Cerinthus with an anti-Judaistic chiliasm he links with Marcion, though against this view see Heid 1993.

8 This duly acknowledges the difficulty of definition, see Williams 1999.

9 Wood 1969, 36.

Basing himself somewhat on Irenaeus, the third-century bishop Hippolytus apparently stated that Cerinthus ‘taught circumcision’ against Paul, calling Paul and his disciples ‘false apostles and deceitful labourers’.¹⁰ The Gospel of Matthew is then linked with Cerinthus within a package of ideas that identify him as such a Judaizing Jewish-Christian.¹¹

This assertion is found also in Epiphanius, who mixes supposition and representation to have Cerinthus defined as an opponent of Paul. However, it seems quite likely that Epiphanius (or Hippolytus?) is mixing up Cerinthians with the Merinthians, or rather the name ‘Cerinthus’, meaning ‘bee-food’, with ‘Merinthus’, meaning ‘line’ or ‘cord’ (*Ancoratus*, 13:3), as we find in the *Panarion* (28:1:1–8; 28:4–6; 28:8:1–2; 51:7:3; 69:23:1). In the *Anacephalosis* (2:28) Epiphanius writes: ‘The Cerinthians, also [known as] the Merinthians: these are certain Jews from Cerinthus also [known as] Merinthus who are proud of circumcision, and are saying that the world has come to be by angels, and Jesus was called Christ on account of [spiritual] advancement’. If Epiphanius is wrong to conflate the two persons, on the basis of similarity of Greek words, then various isolated features of Cerinthus and those who follow him likely derived from the Merinthians alone. For example, only Epiphanius links the C/Merinthians with Galatia (28:6:4). This geographic localisation is the real clincher in terms of defining this confusion, since the real Cerinthus is strongly linked only with Ephesus (hence the debate with John), not Galatia. Epiphanius (or Hippolytus) then seems to have found a short mention of Merinthians in Galatia, linked them with Paul’s opponents, and lumped them with Cerinthians. We need then to weed the Merinthians out of the Cerinthian definition if we are to gain any kind of historical clarity.

As for Epiphanius’ suggestion that the C/Merinthians used Matthew, this comes from the stock formula of Epiphanius regarding Jewish-Christian sects: that they used a ‘Hebrew’ or ‘Ebionite’ version of the Gospel (*Pan.* 5:1–3, cf. 30:3:7; 30:14:2). This is also a misreading of Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 1:26:2), who states two separate things: (a) that the Ebionites have the same ideas about Jesus (as a man) as Cerinthus and Carpocrates and (b) that the Ebionites used the Gospel of Matthew.¹² Epiphanius then wrongly asserts that the Cerinthians and the Carpocratians used the Gospel of Matthew.

In conclusion, if we strip away the later ruminations on what heresies or gospels might be associated with Cerinthus, we are left with relatively reliable

10 So Dionysius Bar-Salibi, who died in the twelfth century, but he had access to an edition of Hippolytus no longer extant. The work in which this is found, *In Apocalypsim*, is cited in Klijn and Reinink 1973, 272–273.

11 Here meaning a ‘nomist’, someone who followed Judaic law while being a Christian.

12 Klijn and Reinink 1973, 11.

core material about Cerinthus being given primarily by Irenaeus¹³ and some subsequent authors who are largely consistent with this: parts of Ps. Tertullian and Hippolytus.

To Irenaeus, Cerinthus was wrong, in the same way the Nicolaitans were wrong, being ‘an offshoot of that, which is falsely called ‘knowledge’ (*scientia*)’ (*Adv. Haer.* 3:11:1); but such authors saw proponents of opposing positions in previous ages in line with their own current battles, as Myllykoski concluded.¹⁴ As a first-century Jewish follower of Jesus, frankly, he is better understood within the context of Second Temple Judaism. His chiliasm is a case in point, as noted above.

As for his particular views, Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 1:26:1) states that Cerinthus believed the world was made by a certain good Power, but one that is a lesser agent than the ‘supreme God’. This is why Cerinthus can get brushed into the Gnostic box, but there is here none of the denigration of the material world or any notion of a Demiurge directly opposing God, even though the one who creates is—in Irenaeus’ view—*ignorante eum, qui est super omnium, Deum*: ‘ignorant of him who is above all, God’ (1:26). The Creator was one entity and the Father another (*Adv. Haer.* 3:2:1), but both are good.

Intriguingly, Irenaeus states that Cerinthus was ‘educated in the wisdom of the Egyptians’ (*Adv. Haer.* 1:26). Hippolytus, writing some forty years after Irenaeus, states that ‘Cerinthus formed his opinion not from the scriptures, but from the opinions of the Egyptians’ (*Ref. Prol.* 7:7:1). He was ‘trained in the education of the Egyptians’; in fact—even though he ended up in Ephesus—he was ‘trained in Egypt’ (10:21:1–3). For Hippolytus this indicates that Cerinthus adopted a creation theology consistent with Plato’s *Timaeus*. As he states: ‘The origin, then, from which Plato derived his theory in the *Timaeus*, is (the) wisdom of the Egyptians. For from this source, by some ancient and prophetic tradition, Solon (sic) taught his entire system concerning the generation and destruction of the world, as Plato says, to the Greeks, who were (in knowledge) young children, and were acquainted with no theological doctrine of greater antiquity’ (*Ref.* 6:17, cf. 4:43). Ultimately, then, in being trained in ‘Egyptian’ education, Cerinthus is linked with Platonic creation theology. This theology is of course also what we find influencing the writings of Philo of Alexandria, with Philo’s *De Opificio Mundi* being a prime example of a Jewish philosophical reworking of Platonic theory, as David Runia has much explored.¹⁵ This is not Gnostic; it is Alexandrian.

13 As argued by Kok 2019.

14 Myllykoski 2005.

15 Runia 1986; 2003a; Runia 2003b.

Hippolytus further defines Cerinthus' particular creation theology as indicating that the world was made by a certain 'angelic power' (*Ref.* 10:21:1). If we look to chronologically appropriate contexts, it was widely understood within Judaism (and nascent Christianity) that angels play a part in the divine ordering of the universe. But, more particularly, for Philo the world was created by means of the Logos, who is specifically defined as God's firstborn son, the eldest of the angels, an 'archangel' (*Conf.* 146–147), or second god (*Questions and Answers on Genesis* 2:62).¹⁶ The archangel (Logos) intercedes for humanity and acts as God's ambassador, not uncreated as God, but not created as humanity (*Her.* 205–206).¹⁷ This 'archangel' Logos is an active and creative tool by which God created the world (*Migr.* 5–6), while yet God remains—true to Platonic thought—undisturbed in terms of Mind.

It is of course in the Fourth Gospel that the Logos appears. It is stated that this agent through which everything came into being 'was with God' and 'was God' (John 1:1), from the beginning, as if another more Platonic notion needs to be refuted.¹⁸ Understandably then, Irenaeus could see the Gospel of John as being written to counter a creation theology identified with Cerinthus (*Adv. Haer.* 3:2:1; 3:11:1). He describes Cerinthus' errant theology in hypostatic Platonic terms: 'indeed, Monogenes was the beginning; Logos was the true son of the Only-Begotten (*initium quidem esse monogenem; logon autem verum filium unigeniti*)', but the Creator was 'far beneath' the Father (*Adv. Haer.* 3:11:1). Irenaeus here also tells us that Cerinthus distinguished between 'Christ' as the impassable son of the Father and Jesus the son of the Creator (*Adv. Haer.* 3:11:1). Jesus was a man born normally: not the son of a virgin but the son of Joseph and Mary (*Adv. Haer.* 1:26).

16 This absorbs concepts of the angel Michael, who is otherwise identified as the leader of the angels (see for example *Rev.* 12:7–8). For a wide exploration of Christ as Michael, see Hannah 1999.

17 If Cerinthus actually was a Jew, with 'John' as his first name, his education may well have been within the Alexandrian Jewish philosophy that would ultimately provide the seedbed for Pantaenus, Clement and Origen's forms of Christian philosophy: the community whose conservation of Philo's writings was so vital. It is usually Apollos (1 *Cor.* 3:6; 4:6; 16:12; *Acts* 18:24–28)—who is also associated with Ephesus and called upon as a possible exponent of Alexandrian thinking in Christian circles, but, if Hippolytus is right, then Cerinthus is yet another figure with an 'Egyptian' education.

18 Given this, Cerinthus has been linked by Raymond Brown with the opponents of the Johannine circle, especially in regard to the Docetism indicated in 1 *John* 4:2–3. Brown 1972, 112, 152, places these opponents at a slightly later stage than the Gospel, but see Trebilco 2004, 290–291, who finds this suggestion too slight given how little we know about Cerinthus.

In Cerinthus' adoptionist perspective—or what Kok more accurately calls a 'possession Christology'¹⁹—a divine Power 'Christ' descended upon Jesus at his baptism, 'in the form of a dove'. From then on Jesus proclaimed the 'unknown Father and performed miracles'. Jesus was greater than everyone else in righteousness, prudence and wisdom. However, the spiritual Christ, who was impassable, left Jesus at his death, though Jesus the man rose again.²⁰ In short, 'Christ' did not suffer; only Jesus did.

In clarifying this, Hippolytus developed Irenaeus in two passages (found in *Ref.* 7:33:1–12; 10:21:1–3). He too states that Cerinthus thought that the world was made by a Power 'which is above the all and not knowing the God above all things' (*Ref.* 7:33:1), and is 'angelic' (*Ref.* 10:21:1). Jesus was not born of a virgin but from Joseph and Mary, but he was more righteous and wiser than other people, or excelled in 'justice, prudence and understanding' (*Ref.* 10:21:2). After his baptism Christ descended into him in the form of a dove from God, and he proclaimed the unknown Father and performed miracles. In the end, Christ flew away from Jesus. Jesus suffered and rose again but Christ did not: the spiritual Christ departed 'at the end of the Passion' (*Ref.* 10:21:3, cf. 7:33:12).

A separate testimony about Cerinthus' belief system is found in Ps. Tertullian, dated about the same time as Hippolytus, in the early third century. Cerinthus 'says that the world was instituted by angels. He proposes that Christ was born of the seed of Joseph, contending that he was merely human without divinity, affirming also that the law was given by angels, bringing forth the idea that the God of the Jews is not the Lord, but an angel' (Ps.-Tertullian, *Adv. Omn. Haer.* 3).²¹ The God of the Jews is then defined as the Creator, distinct from a Platonic impassable entity. Here Ps.-Tertullian does not distinguish between the earthly 'Jesus' and the heavenly 'Christ' in Cerinthus' theology but he does emphasise Cerinthian belief in Jesus' humanity from birth. He states that Cerinthus believed it was angels who gave the Law to the Jews, thereby apparently severing 'the God of the Jews' from the true God.²²

All this has much in common with what Irenaeus and Hippolytus attributed to Carpocrates (*Ref.* 1:25:1), which is probably why Cerinthus and

19 Kok 2019.

20 Klijn and Reinink 1973, 102–105.

21 Klijn and Reinink 1973, 122–125.

22 The latter comment seems to be an extrapolation. The notion that the Jewish Law was given by angels is found also within the Gnostic system of Basilides and Saturninus (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1:24:2, 4), as Klijn and Reinink (1973, 7) point out, concluding that 'it is quite obvious that Pseudo-Tertullian ... describes Cerinthus as a Gnostic, ascribing to him Gnostic notions derived from Irenaeus' description of well known Gnostic leaders'.

Carpocrates can be linked in patristic writing (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1:26:2), though that should not lead us to suppose any actual connection.²³ Once more the apparently obvious ‘Gnostic’ link for Cerinthus is not so obvious when he is viewed in the context of Second Temple Judaism. That the law was given to Israel by means of angels is attested in the Book of Jubilees (1:29–2:1), Josephus (*Ant.* 15:136), as well as in Jewish apocalyptic literature (*Apoc. Mos.* Preface) and in the LXX version of Deut. 33:2, where God on Sinai is accompanied by angels. It is likely implied in Philo (*Somn.* 1:141–3), and is a notion even found within the New Testament, despite Pseudo-Tertullian’s objection, in Gal. 3:19; Acts 7:73 and Heb. 2:2.²⁴

We then come to the Gospel of Mark. In his tirade against certain heretics in Book 3:11 of *Adversus Haereses*, Irenaeus particularly mentions Cerinthus (and the former Nicolaitans), Marcion, the Ebionites and Valentinus. He notes the Ebionites as relying on the Gospel of Matthew, Marcion as relying on a mutilated Luke and Valentinus as using John. Then, Irenaeus notes that people who ‘separate Jesus from Christ’ and ‘say that Christ remained impassable, but Jesus suffered’ preferred (*praeferentes*) the Gospel of Mark (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3:11:7). But, as Irenaeus explains, ‘reading it with the love of truth they can be corrected (*cum amore veritatis legentes illud, corrigi possunt*)’. Given Irenaeus’ description of Cerinthus’ ideas, a few paragraphs earlier, these are clearly Cerinthians. So, if one has to read Mark with ‘the love of truth’ not to be led astray, then this indicates that there were issues about its reading. This is all the more interesting given that Irenaeus quotes Mark 16:19, about Jesus’ ascension, indicating that he knew a/the Longer Ending (*Adv. Haer.* 3:10:5).²⁵

This is particularly curious given that the Gospel of John is increasingly understood to be an interpretive retelling of the Gospel of Mark, though drawing on other sources besides, as if truly a work that guides readers ‘with the love of truth’.²⁶ In other words: if Irenaeus is to be believed, Mark was a battleground.

We need then to approach the alternative endings of Mark, with their presentation of the resurrection, with an awareness that a Cerinthian interpretation was a serious problem to the proto-orthodox.

23 See for further Marksches 1998; Kok 2019.

24 See Callan 1980.

25 I am grateful to Mina Monier for this observation.

26 Much could be noted here, but for a collection of recent studies see Becker, Bond and Williams 2021, and Gregory 2006.

The Risen Jesus of Cerinthus and the Epistula Apostolorum

With the Gospel of Mark in hand, Cerinthians held that Jesus the man (not the divine Power ‘Christ’) was resurrected. But how exactly? To understand the Cerinthian perspective further there is the important evidence of the *Epistula Apostolorum*, which counters Cerinthus directly.²⁷ Probably dating from the first part of the second century,²⁸ this ‘dialogue gospel’ in letter format²⁹ tells of Jesus’ life and then records discourses ostensibly given by the risen Jesus on the Mount of Olives, prior to his ascension, to a group of eleven male apostles.³⁰ The text, written originally in Greek, is found only in a fourth-century miniature Coptic codex (discovered in 1895)³¹ as well as in much later Ethiopic manuscripts and a small piece in Latin showing textual developments, dating from the fifth-sixth century (Codex Vindobonensis 16³²). The Coptic text is itself damaged and restored on the basis of the Ethiopic, and some readings are uncertain or likely faulty, but we can discern quite clearly that it is designed to counter an assertion that the resurrection of Jesus was not physical.³³

In the introduction to the *Epistula*, it even states that it is written precisely because of ‘Simon³⁴ and Cerinthus the false apostles’ (1:1 Eth), in order to assert that ‘we’—the true apostles—‘touched him after he rose from the

27 For major discussions of this work, see Hornschuh 1965; Hills 2008. See also Campbell 2020.

28 Watson 2020, 7–11, suggests that this work comes from Ephesus, around the year 170 CE, though if it were so late, other possible future ‘heretics’ should have been alluded to. Watson associates the plague of *Ep.Ap.* 34–36 with the Antonine Plague of 165–72, but there were other plagues before this, for example one in the time of Hadrian (*Hist. Aug. Hadrian* 21.5). More preferable is the assessment of Hill, 1999, 1, who dates it just before 120 (or possibly in the 140s). The Parousia remains imminent, in that Christ would return in 120 years (so *Ep.Ap.* 17:2, Coptic), see Gantenbein 2022, 162, n.46.

29 Parkhouse 2019, 13–68.

30 John, Thomas, Peter, Andrew, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Nathanael, Judas Zelotes and Cephas (*Ep.Ap.* 2).

31 Hannah 2020. Coptic text: Cairo, Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale pap. 416 (=CMCL.BB), ff. 1–16 (fourth/fifth century).

32 Now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ex Vind. Lat. 2.

33 See the introduction by Müller 1991.

34 The adoptionist notion of Cerinthus as defined by Irenaeus and Hippolytus is not so different to what was being said about Simon Magus in Acts 8. There, it is stated that following the death of Stephen, and the persecutions of Saul, the church of Jerusalem scattered into other parts of Judaea and Samaria. Philip the deacon encountered Simon, whose followers called him ‘the power of God which is called Great’ (Acts 8:10). It implies a belief that a Power had come to dwell in Simon, in a similar way that Cerinthus thought a Power had come to dwell in Jesus. For further, see Cartledge 2005.

dead' (2:3 Eth, cf. 1 John 1; John 20:27).³⁵ That both Simon and Cerinthus are defined as 'false apostles' situates them as contemporaneous with the implied 'true' apostles: 'Cerinthus and Simon have gone out, they go around the world' (7:1 Cop). They are a danger, in that they have followers: the 'letter' was written 'that no-one should associate with them' (1:2).

The *Epistula* clearly wields both the Gospel of John and Johannine epistles authoritatively,³⁶ yet without direct quotation. In addition, it resources a range of early Christian literature to fling this at the errors of Cerinthus and Simon so as to ensure that people are not misled, as if this is a serious on-going problem (so 29:1–3).³⁷ Using Johannine language, it states categorically that 'our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is God, the Son of God, who was sent from God, ruler of the whole world, maker of every name that is named' (3:1–2). The Logos became flesh 'of Mary' (3:13), at conception, not at baptism. In fact, Jesus' baptism—so crucial to the adoptionist position—is not mentioned at all.

While the *Epistula* appears to know all four canonical gospels,³⁸ its anti-Cerinthian telling of the passion and the resurrection is distinctively different. The corporeality of the resurrection is a constant theme, and it is about the witness of the male apostles too: even more strongly than in the stories of physical contact by men in the Gospel of John (20:19–29; 21:12–14) or Luke (24:36–43)³⁹ the resurrected Jesus asks Peter to put his finger in the nail marks of his hands, and Thomas to put his finger in the spear marks of his side, and asks Andrew to look at his feet to verify they are touching the ground.

35 The translations here all come from Watson 2020, 40–80, unless otherwise stated. Watson states that even though 'the 'false apostles' Simon and Cerinthus are introduced as the occasion for the letter (1.1) ... in reality no clear anti-heretical agenda is in evidence' (p.7, and see a similar statement on p.211), following the same view of Hills 2008, 14. However, both Hills and Watson go down the route of looking for an anti-*Gnostic* agenda here (see Watson 2020, 19, 89). In reality, there is a strong stress on Jesus' bodily corporeality, as Parkhouse 2019 notes (3, 5, 104), which is precisely the anti-heretical agenda in the case of Cerinthus. See for the issue with false teaching also *Ep.Ap.* 29.1; 50.9–11, Hills 2008, 164–165.

36 Lindenlaub 2020.

37 E.g. the Ascension of Isaiah, or some precursor to the Paidika (Infancy Gospel of Thomas), see Watson 2020, 81–82, 95–96, 140–45. The view of Hannah 2008 is that the *Ep.Ap.* evidences only four gospels proper, but see below.

38 Hannah 2008.

39 The important physical verification by male apostles is a prominent aspect of both John and Luke, and the men are named. In John there is Thomas (20:24–29), Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee (21:2) and in Luke there is Simon (Luke 24:34), a pair including a named man, Cleopas (24:13–35), and the testimony of the Eleven and those with them is vital (24:36–49).

This verifies not only Jesus' physical resurrection but also his suffering on the cross (11–12).⁴⁰

The women are the first witnesses to the risen Jesus and function as his messengers, nevertheless. The Coptic text of the relevant passage is damaged and restored on the basis of the Ethiopic, where there are three women who come to the place where he was buried: Sarah, Martha and Mary. However, on the Coptic leaf II the word 'three' is missing and 'Magdalene' is found, and only two women (Mary and Martha) report to the other disciples, though there is also mention of a larger group of 'sisters', thus the *Epistula's* equivalent passage to the resurrection story at the tomb is (9:2–11:1):⁴¹

^{9:2}There went to that place [...] women: Mary and Martha and Mary [Mag]dalene.

^{9:3}They took perfumed oil to pour it on the body, weeping and mourning over what had happened. ^{9:4}When they approached to enter the tomb, they looked inside and did not find the body.^{10:1}As they mourned and wept, the Lord showed himself to them and said to them: 'Who are you weeping for? Don't weep. I am the one you seek.

^{10:2}Let one of you go to your siblings and say: 'Come, the Master has risen from the dead. ^{10:3}Martha came to us and told us. ^{10:4}We said to her: 'What's our business with you, woman? Is it possible that he who is dead and buried should be alive? ^{10:5}And we didn't believe her that the Saviour was risen from the dead. ^{10:6}Then she went to the Lord and said to him: 'None of them believed me, that you are alive.' ^{10:7}He said: 'Let another of you go to them and tell them again. ^{10:8}Mary came and told us again, and we disbelieved her. ^{10:9}She returned to the Lord and she also told him. ^{11:1}Then the Lord said to Mary and also her sisters? 'Let's go to them.'

At the tomb it is Jesus himself who appears, asking the women to witness. This hangs on the notion that Gabriel is actually the Logos: 'when I took the form of the angel Gabriel, I appeared to Mary and I spoke with her ... I became flesh' (14:5).⁴² This curiously reflects the idea that Christ can be identified with an angel. But the women do not touch Angel Jesus or see any marks on him.

The women are sent by Jesus as his chosen messengers. Eventually, after the men are repeatedly full of doubt, not believing the women's witness, Jesus goes to them (with the women). He finds the male disciples inside a room, and calls them out. They are still doubtful (unlike the women), thinking they have seen a phantasm or daemon (11:3, 8), and that is why Peter, Thomas and Andrew are asked to feel Jesus' physical body.

40 For a detailed exegesis of this section see Hills 2008, 67–95.

41 I am grateful to the late Carol Downer, who translated this part of the Coptic text for me. Cp. also the translation by Francis Watson (n.d.).

42 In *Ep. Ap.* 15:4–5 Jesus indicates he will take the form of the angel Gabriel again to unlock prison doors.

In the *Epistula* Jesus not only rises in the flesh, he is crucified (as Logos) in the flesh: ‘I have put on (your) flesh, in which I was born and in which I was crucified and raised by my heavenly Father’ (19:18, cf. 39:12). Jesus has worn flesh and redeemed flesh (21:2), but it is transformed into a ‘garment that will not pass away’. This is vitally important, because this prefigures how all human beings will also arise (21) and be judged (22, 24–26).

What we are left with is a concession to women’s seeing and messaging, but men’s touching, which is exactly what we have in the Fourth Gospel, where Mary Magdalene sees Jesus, and is likewise commissioned directly by him to tell the disciples (‘I have seen the Lord’), but touch is reserved for the men (20:19–29; 21:13). Jesus even says ‘don’t grasp me’ (20:17) to Mary, as if to tackle a criticism that Mary did not verify his existence as the same physical (suffering) being: Jesus told her not to touch him. It is only in Matthew (28:9) that the women themselves apparently touch Jesus’ feet (ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας), but, if this verse was known, the *Epistula* chooses not to use it. Instead, the physical verification of the risen Jesus, or rather Christ, rests with reliable men.

Nevertheless, for all its Johannine patterning, this version of the resurrection is singular, and may even reflect an account no longer extant. According to Justin Martyr, on the day Jesus rose, on the Sunday, he appeared to ‘apostles and disciples’, who doubted, and said, ‘You don’t yet have faith—see it is me’ (*On the Resurrection* 9; and see 1 *Apology* 1:50, 67; *Dialogue* 53, 108). The male disciples doubt ‘he had truly risen in the body’ when they were looking upon him’. In Justin’s version, Jesus lets the male disciples touch him, shows them the nail marks in his hands, eats honeycomb and fish, and then ascends directly into heaven. This overlaps somewhat with Luke 24:33–53 and Acts 1–2 (announcement that Jesus is risen, unbelieving disciples, Jesus asks them to touch him, he eats fish, he ascends, apostles go out from Jerusalem⁴³), but with differences, not only in the different words of Jesus, but also in mention of nail marks; and the nail marks are also specifically mentioned in *Epistula* 11.

Ignatius argues emphatically against those who claimed ‘Christ’ did not suffer (again, the Cerinthians?), and states that Jesus came to ‘those with Peter’ (Ignatius, *Letter to the Smyrneans* 2–3; and see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 3:36:11), and asked them to ‘take hold, touch me and see that I am not a bodiless daemon (δαίμόνιον ἀσώματον).⁴⁴ Jerome (*Illustrious Men*. 2:16), quoting from Ignatius, notes that it is in the Gospel according to the Hebrews,

43 See *Apol.* 1:45.

44 See Beatrice 2006, 147–195. For further on this gospel and its antiquity see Gregory 2017.

which he translated, that Jesus came to ‘Peter and those with Peter’ to say this. Origen (*First Principles*, Praef. 8) states that in a book called the ‘Doctrine of Peter’ Jesus came to ‘those with Peter’, and said: ‘Take hold, handle me, and see that I am not a bodiless daemon.’ Using very similar language, the *Epistula* has it that the male disciples ‘thought it was a phantasm’ but Jesus—after proving his physicality, states: ‘For it is written in the prophet, ‘as for an appearance of a *daemon*, its foot is not in contact with the ground’ (11:8).⁴⁵ As with Luke 24:36–53 and John 20:19–29, in this account there is a close link between the solid testimony of male apostles/disciples and bodily touching to verify Jesus’ suffering and post-resurrection corporeality in the same body, and it implies there has been an appearance-only event that is doubted prior to such physical verification.

However, in the *Epistula* the women are likewise important witnesses and they do deliver a message to the male disciples, but they only *see* Jesus, rather than touch him. As a counterweight to Cerinthus, the male apostles forge ahead with the proto-orthodox ‘truth’. The *Epistula* then shows the interpretational issues that were at stake. Nevertheless, it concedes that there was the women’s witness to an appearance of Jesus, and it endorses their commission and testimony.

The Gospel of Mark and the Risen Jesus

We need now to consider how Cerinthians would have read the Gospel of Mark, as it can also alert us to why scribal modifications occurred. The Gospel has long been considered one that lends itself well to adoptionist interpretation, and therefore modification. As Bart Ehrman notes:

we know of other Christians, at least by the mid-second century, who maintained that Jesus and the Christ were two different entities, that at his baptism the man Jesus received the heavenly Christ, who indwelt Jesus and empowered him for his ministry, before leaving him at some time prior to his death on the cross. Irenaeus specifically tells us that some such persons used Mark’s Gospel to the exclusion of all the others (*Adv. Haer.* 3.11.7).⁴⁶

45 Modifying Watson’s ‘demon’ to ‘daemon’ here. Luke (24:39) has: ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός· ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα, ‘See my hands and my feet, that I am myself. Touch me and see, because a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see me having’. But in the Gospel of the Hebrews/Doctrine of Peter there is mention of the ‘bodiless daemon’ rather than ‘spirit’, as Jerome (*In Isaiam* 18, prol.) himself notes, see Beatrice 2006, 148, and 156. The ‘Prophet’ referred to here must surely indicate a pre-Christian Jewish work, but Watson (2020, 255) considers this quote invented.

46 Ehrman 2006, 146.

While today Mark's Jesus is often read as the most human of all gospel presentations, Mark's Christ can easily be read as being aware of being considerably more than a human being. Jesus' question at Mark 8:27—'Who do people say that I am?'—does not presuppose a response like 'You are Jesus son of Joseph from Nazareth'. The 'I' here is patently *not* Jesus only as a man. Jesus in Mark may be read as behaving as a dual entity, incorporating an 'I' that was divine. This entity could even be equated erroneously with a past prophet (Moses, Elijah), but was in fact the 'Christ' (Mark 8:27–30).⁴⁷

As explicitly stated at the outset (Mark 1:1), the 'beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ' identifies the fulfilment of a prophecy of *divine* arrival ('Prepare the way of the Lord', Isa. 40:3). Mark's Son of God (Mark 1:1, 11; 3:11; 5:7; 9:7; 14:61–62; 15:39; 12:1–12; 13:32) could have been interpreted as the Power 'Christ' Cerinthus identified, as a heavenly entity that came to Jesus immediately after his baptism. This, according to Ehrman, led to deliberate textual modifications by the proto-orthodox. Ehrman suggests that the inclusion of $\Upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ at the end of the very first sentence (Mark 1:1) in almost all early manuscripts might counter an adoptionist view that Jesus became Son of God at his baptism: he is already identified as such in the very opening,⁴⁸ and so one should therefore prefer the omission of the Sinaiticus (\aleph) and Koridethi (Θ) and other ancient witnesses. However, alternatively, $\Upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ could be omitted for its Cerinthian flavour. It introduces the idea that, as predicted by Isaiah (40:3), the divine Son of God ('Christ') arrived in Jesus at the baptism event, with the way prepared by John the Baptist (Mark 1:2–8). Thus, the Sinaiticus (*inter alia*) omission may have been the defensive one in removing the link between 'Christ' and 'Son of God' in the first line.

Jesus, after coming up out of the water of the River Jordan sees 'the Spirit—like a dove—descending into him ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$)' and a voice states: 'You are my Son, the beloved one, in whom I am well-pleased' (Mark 1:10–11). Not surprisingly, a whole host of early manuscripts, including the Sinaiticus, sought to modify the troubling $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, 'into', to read $\epsilon\pi$, 'upon', a modification already in Matthew and Luke.⁴⁹

47 Note that the actual Christology of Mark is not the subject here, but rather how Cerinthus may have read Christology. For Mark's Christology the study of Kingsbury 1983 remains crucial, but see also Malbon 2014.

48 Ehrman 2006, 149–154. Interestingly, Ehrman strongly supports the original text, without the inclusion, as being found in \aleph^* , Θ , *inter alia*, and early witnesses such as Origen.

49 Ehrman 2006, 148. These modifying manuscripts include: \aleph , A, K, L, P, W. The text reading is, however, supported by B, D, and f_{13} .

Jesus' cry from the cross would fit with a Cerinthian reading. *'Eloi Eloi, lama sabachthani?'* translated as 'My God, My God, why have you forsaken me?' (Mark 15:34), could be read as indicating the moment that the divine Power, Christ, left the human Jesus. Unsurprisingly then, as Ehrman points out, there is an early variant to Jesus' cry, in the Bezae, where he says: 'My God, my God, why have you reviled (ὠνειδίσας) me?'.⁵⁰

We might speculate that for Cerinthus, there may have been a point of conflict in the words of the centurion: 'Truly this man was son of God' (Mark 15:39). However, the verb is in the past tense (ἦν): he *was* son of God, and the proclamation is defined as being directly related to the centurion 'seeing that he [Jesus] exhaled/expired' (cf. Mark 15:37). The crucifying centurion utters a statement indicating that a/the son of God has actually died, but that this statement comes from someone who is responsible for crucifying Jesus may not necessarily have been read by Cerinthians as a statement of faith.

Cerinthians would have needed to differentiate between 'son of man' (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)⁵¹ as meaning 'I' in the speech of Jesus (given the Hebrew or Aramaic self-referencing circumlocution *ben adam/ bar nash*)⁵² and the Son of Humanity as the heavenly figure (Christ) of Daniel 7, as found in Mark 13:26. As often noted, Jesus' predictions explicitly involve the suffering, death and resurrection of himself as 'I' = 'son of man':

Then he began to teach them that the son of man was destined to suffer grievously, and to be rejected by the elders and the chief priests and scribes, and to be put to death, and after three days to rise again.

Mark 8:31

The son of man will be delivered into the power of human beings; they will put him to death, and three days after he has been put to death he will rise again.

Mark 9:30

Now we are going up to Jerusalem, and the son of man is about to be handed over to the chief priests and the scribes. They will condemn him to death and will hand him over to the gentiles, who will mock him and spit on him and scourge him and put him to death, and after three days he will rise again.

Mark 10:34

But after I have been raised, I will go before you to Galilee.

Mark 14:28

50 Ehrman 2006, 147. The variant is found in D^{gr}, it^{c,i}, syr^h and Harnack 1931 even considered it original. This resource the second-century LXX version of Aquila, see Eusebius, Dem. Evang. 10.8.30.

51 I use this conventional form here though prefer 'this human son' as a translation; for further see Taylor 1997.

52 Vermes 1973, 160–186.

The glorified figure is referred to at the time of Jesus' passion. Jesus-as-Christ's response to the High Priest in Jerusalem when he is asked 'Are you the Christ, the son of the Blessed One?' is very telling: 'I am ... and you *will see* the Son of Humanity seated at the right hand of the Power and coming with the clouds of heaven' (Mark 14:62). In other words, Cerinthians would have had to read this as meaning that just as the divine Christ/Son had descended on the man Jesus at baptism, in resurrection the movement would go the other way: after the Power/Christ departed and Jesus died and was raised, he then ascended. In this glorification, the (human) son of man, Jesus, became the Danielic Son of Humanity that will be fully manifested to everyone, including the High Priest, at his return at the Eschaton. This would make the death and resurrection of Jesus essential to complete the transformation of a man to heaven, and indeed the transformation of all who stay faithful (so Mark 13). Thus, the earthly body itself would need to be transformed.

Markan Endings: Cerinthian Readings

Building on such observations, then, might the fact that Cerinthus' followers relied on the Gospel of Mark explain why we have—of all the gospels—such a messy textual tradition in terms of the ending of this gospel?⁵³ In terms of analysis, in whatever assessments we make, we surely need to think about what particular group would find different endings satisfactory. To analyse the endings in full detail would require too extensive a discussion for this paper, but here I sketch over what they contain, and consider them from a Cerinthian perspective. Put bluntly, given that the Cerinthians used the Gospel of Mark, what ending did they know?

– The Abrupt (Short) Ending at 16:8

The Abrupt Ending (16:8)⁵⁴ is found in two manuscripts from the fourth century: Sinaiticus (Ⲭ, GA 01)⁵⁵ and Vaticanus (B, GA 03),⁵⁶ perhaps in a

53 Among many summaries of the textual position, see Metzger and Ehrman 2005, 322–327.

54 I prefer to call it an Abrupt Ending simply because to call it the Short Ending does not sit well in meaning with a passage that is called the Shorter Ending, because the Shorter Ending is not shorter than the Short Ending, though it is Shorter than the Longer Ending.

55 The codex is dispersed among four repositories (the British Library, National Library of Russia, St Catherine's Monastery, and Leipzig University Library); virtually reconstructed at <<https://www.codexsinaiticus.org/>>. Mark is in MS London, British Library, Add. 43725.

56 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209,

twelfth-century commentary on [Matthew and Mark \(GA 304\)](#),⁵⁷ and in some Syriac, Coptic, Armenian and Georgian versions. It tells of how, after the Sabbath had ended, with the sun going down, Mary Magdalene and Mary of James and Salome⁵⁸ ‘bought perfumed oils (*aromata*) so that they could come and anoint him’ (16:1). Very early when the sun had risen they come to the tomb, and ask each other: ‘Who’ll remove the stone for us from the tomb entrance?’ They look up and find it had already been moved (16:2–4). They go inside, and see a young man dressed in white, who announces that Jesus the Nazarene, who was crucified, ‘has been raised’. He points out where Jesus had been laid. They are then commissioned: they should tell the ‘disciples, even Peter’⁵⁹ that he is going ahead of you to Galilee ‘just as he told you’.⁶⁰ There, ‘you will see him’. Then the women go out of the tomb and run off ‘for he brought them trembling and entrancement (εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις), and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid (καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ).’

An announcement that Jesus has risen, with the women running away afraid from the tomb and saying nothing to anyone, does not give Cerinthians any grounds for asserting that the risen Jesus was not fleshly. On the other hand, the Abrupt Ending does not give the proto-orthodox any grounds for asserting that Jesus’ risen body was corporeal either. In the few manuscripts where this ending is found both sides of the debate had to do without it.

There is a widespread assumption today that Mark was writing especially to his own early Christian community who did know and believe that Jesus was raised.⁶¹ This Abrupt Ending was written to prompt their need to have faith, despite faithlessness. As Donald English writes, ‘In spite of the abruptness of such a conclusion, it would be in harmony with Mark’s emphasis on the necessity of faith, faith now in the women’s testimony, even without the resurrection appearances’.⁶² But there is *no women’s testimony*; it is just a void.

57 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 194. See Monier 2019. Houghton 2023 has now strongly argued against this as evidence of the Abrupt Ending.

58 It is not clear that Salome is present at this point, since in 15:47 just two women, ‘Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joset’, see where he is laid. Following this, in 16:1, ‘Mary Magdalene and Mary of James and Salome’ bring perfumed oil. Salome may then be read as the daughter of the second Mary, thus Matthew (28:1) includes only two women at the tomb.

59 Here translating καὶ as ‘even’ on account of Peter’s previous betrayal (Mark 14:66–72).

60 See above. At the Last Supper, Jesus specifically tells the disciples (collectively—and hence also the women who come to the tomb) that he would meet them in Galilee after he was raised (14:28).

61 Stanton 1989, 49.

62 English 1992, 239.

There are of course numerous ingenious ways of accounting for this omission, but their problem is their very ingenuity. This gospel is not elsewhere an ingenious work, in a literary sense.⁶³ And—if it really did end with the Abrupt Ending—then one would need to suppose that others who used Mark (Matthew, Luke, John, Peter, *inter alia*) found it so inadequate that they included their own tellings. Whatever way you look at it, the Abrupt Ending was simply not satisfactory to the ancient mind.

Given the importance of the predictions of Jesus' suffering, death and resurrection, leading to glorification, it is hard to imagine that the Cerinthians would have been satisfied with any non-fulfilment of these. Furthermore, these statements do set up an expectation that all aspects of the predictions will be shortly related. We will soon see that Jesus would suffer (14:32–41), be handed over to and be rejected by the chief priests and elders and scribes (14:42–62), be condemned to death by them (14:63–64), handed over to the Gentiles (15:1), be mocked, spat on and scourged (14:65; 15:15–19), and be put to death (15:22–38), but as for his rising after three days and going ahead of the disciples to Galilee (14:28 and 16:7) we are left only with a proclamation by a 'young man' that Jesus' resurrection had occurred (16:6), with no narrative description at all, and in terms of the appearance in Galilee we are left hanging, with another prediction.⁶⁴ This not only fails to furnish Cerinthus with a story of a spiritual resurrection of Jesus, it fails to provide a model for the hope of Christian resurrection for all believers. As Robert Gundry well explored, the *telos* of the entire narrative is never reached.⁶⁵

– *The Shorter Ending*

An additional ending is found after an alternative reading of 16:8a in the Latin Bobbiensis (VL 1, codex *k*), with no reflection of the final words *καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εἶπαν, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* as the conclusion to the gospel, but more often it is found after the whole of 16:8b. It can also appear along with the Longer Ending:⁶⁶ Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς [ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς] ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας. ἀμήν, 'But all that had been commanded they told con-

63 So Elliot 2008, 94.

64 Stein 2008.

65 Gundry 1992, 1009–1021.

66 Bobbiensis (today Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, G.VII.15) is dated to the fourth or fifth century, and here the Shorter Ending appears without the Longer Ending, but usually it is found with the Longer Ending right afterwards: L, Ψ, GA 083, GA 099, GA 274^{mg}, GA 579, GA 1422, GA 2937 (see Monier 2021), I1602, k, Sy-H^{mg}, sa^{mss}, bo^{mss}, aeth^{mss}.

cisely to those with Peter. After these things and/also Jesus himself [appeared to them; he] sent out by them from east to west the holy and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation. Amen.’

This ending indicates that the women did successfully tell Peter and other disciples right away. There is no motif of doubt, but there is no corporeal Jesus either. Several manuscripts that contain the Shorter Ending also have Jesus directly appearing: Jesus himself ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς (‘appeared to them’).⁶⁷ This would have satisfied a Cerinthian reading, and also provided some justification to scribes to omit such wording. However, Jesus appears to ‘those with Peter’, which is the language Jerome attributes to the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Jesus (not named Saviour or Christ) then sends out through them the proclamation of salvation throughout the world. This is emphatically Jesus, not Christ, which would have satisfied Cerinthus, but it would be a flat conclusion. The final point should have been about glorification.

The Bobbiensis not only jumps in earlier than other Shorter Ending examples, and so the women are not silent, but it has a curiously different reading, in which the women ‘explained briefly to those who were with the boy’ (*qui cum puero erant breuiter exposuerunt*). In this version it is also clearly stated that Jesus appeared (*ipse Iesus adparuit*).⁶⁸ There is here too nothing about physical touching.

The Shorter Ending has nine words unique to Mark in a very short section and is universally considered unoriginal, but, as Mina Monier has explored,⁶⁹ in catenae GA 2937 (tenth century)⁷⁰ and GA 1422 (tenth–eleventh century)⁷¹ the Shorter Ending is defined as a ὑπόθεσις, which is a summary, like ‘an abstract to what unfolds afterwards’, very common in manuscripts.⁷² This makes sense of why it usually appears before the Longer Ending. It is not actually an ending at all.

– *The Longer Ending*

The Longer Ending appears in the vast majority of ancient texts. While some scholars have defended its authenticity,⁷³ many today trust the textual witnesses to its omission, and think it likely composed out of various elements from

67 GA 099, sa^{mss}, bo^{mss}, aeth^{mss}, while some drop αὐτοῖς Ψ, GA 274^{mg}, GA 579, L1602, k. The mention of ἐφάνη parallels Mark 16:12, 24.

68 Clivaz 2021; Clivaz 2020.

69 Monier 2021.

70 Alexandria, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, MS 122. See also Monier 2022a.

71 Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, XXV B 07. See also Monier 2022b.

72 Monier 2021, 84.

73 Farmer 1974; Robinson 2008; Lunn 2014; Hester 2015.

the other gospels sometime in the early to mid second century.⁷⁴ On literary grounds alone, the Longer Ending has often been deemed a later piece, because it has some different vocabulary.⁷⁵ This may not be so surprising given the new subject matter, but perhaps there is more polished Greek in places.⁷⁶ It also arrives with a glitch. One moment the women have run away, and then we read: ‘now after he had risen, early on the first day of the week, he appeared (ἐφάνη) first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons’ (16:9). No details of this appearance are given. There is nothing even about *where* this happened, or why Mary was alone.

Nevertheless, from a Cerinthian perspective, it is the word ‘appeared’ (ἐφάνη) that is interesting. Nothing is said of Mary touching Jesus. She then goes to ‘those with him’ (τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ) and reports ‘that he was alive and had been seen by her’ (ὄτι ζῆ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, cf. John 20:18). This resulted from her own *experience* of seeing, not because a young man in white clothing told her anything at the tomb (16:5–7). There is no physical verification of his corporeality here, and no mention of his wounds. Indeed, all the resurrection appearances of Mark 16:9–20 involve Jesus appearing and people seeing, but there is no physical touching.

There is a pattern of female seeing, and a commission (from the young man) that is fulfilled after Mary sees the risen Jesus, but also a refusal of ‘those with him (τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ)’ to believe her, similar to the *Epistula*. Even so, Mary is celebrated as the first true witness in the face of continuing misunderstanding on the part of the other disciples. While she runs off with her companion/s, given the young man had caused trembling and entrancement, the Longer Ending indicates only a temporary silence on the part of the women.

Then ‘after these things he appeared in another form (ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἑτέρῳ μορφῇ)’ to two of them (δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν) walking on their way to the country’ (Mark 16:12, cf. Luke 24:13–35), implying a previous form as seen by Mary. The gendered dichotomy of the *Epistula* and other proto-orthodox gospels is much harder to discern, since the two disciples going into the country may be either two men or a man and a woman. As before though, the two also go and report to the others, and they do not believe them.

Jesus then ‘appeared’ (ἐφανερώθη) to the Eleven while they were lying at a meal (16:14), and reproached them for their unbelief. No physical proof is provided. His appearance alone convinces, and they are commissioned to go into the world and proclaim the good news to all of creation (16:15). While

74 For example, France 2002, 685–688; and see Kelhoffer 2000.

75 English 1992, 240

76 Hooker 2003.

the young man had asked the women to tell the disciples to go back to Galilee, as instructed, where they will see Jesus, the appearance of Jesus to ‘the Eleven’ is not here explicitly said to take place in Galilee, but it could be read as implied in their gathering for a meal on their return. It is not indicated as being in Jerusalem.

Jesus gives final instructions and he enters into his promised glory: ‘So then, when the Lord Jesus had spoken to them, he was received up into Heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God’ (Mark 16:19). This is a statement to which the entire gospel is surely leading. In Cerinthian terms, Jesus transformed sits at God’s right hand, as Son of Humanity, ready to return in the Parousia (Mark 13:26–27). Importantly, for a Cerinthian interpretation, the resurrected being is defined as ‘Lord Jesus’ (Mark 16:19), not ‘Christ’. Throughout, Jesus is not touched by anyone. He simply appears. That he could appear in different forms to different people implies he was not even the same body that died on the cross. This means no one could expect to verify he had wounds.

Given the *Epistula* and the debates of the early second century, it is impossible to imagine how such a Cerinthian-friendly Longer Ending could have been composed by the proto-orthodox out of components from the other gospels.⁷⁷ It would have been counter-productive in terms of their argument for there to have been a resurrection passage written *after* Matthew, Luke and John—all of whom stress *physicality*—that was added on to an original Marcan ending, which just happened to present a resurrection story so suited to Cerinthian interpretation. If it were added later, and composed by adoptionists, it would surely not have been dutifully preserved by proto-orthodox church circles.

Might it work then if we turn it the other way around, and use the common redaction-critical method of historical Jesus studies, founded on the theory of Marcan priority, which looks at how Matthew, Luke and John developed, deleted or edited Mark?

Briefly, the key parallel or developmental elements are as follows:

- 1 appearance to Mary Magdalene (Mark 16:9–11 // Matt. 28:9–10 [two Mary’s]; Luke: omits; John 20:11–18);
- 2 Mary Magdalene is one from whom seven demons had gone out⁷⁸ (Mark 16:9 // Luke 8:1–2);

⁷⁷ Despite the fine work done by Kelhoffer 2000.

⁷⁸ This does not need to read as an introduction to Mary as such, but may have something to do with the significance of her name, at this point, if it is understood as ‘magnified’, Schrader and Taylor 2021, 770. It is also clear here that she did not ‘have a demon’ at the time of her witness to the risen Jesus (cf. Mark 3:22).

- 3 commission and reporting of woman/women to the rest of the disciples (Mark 16:10 // Matt. 28:10; Luke 24:9–10; John 20:17);
- 4 apostles/other disciples' doubt female witness (Mark 16:11, 13 // Matt. 28:17b; Luke 24:11, 37–38);
- 5 appearance to two disciples walking (Mark 16:12–13 // Matt. 28:9–10;⁷⁹ Luke 24:13–32);
- 6 continuing disbelief (Mark 16:13);
- 7 appearance to Eleven (Mark 16:14 // Matt. 28:16–17; Luke 24:33–43; John 20:19–29);
- 8 commission to apostles/disciples (Mark 16:15–18 // Matt. 28:18–20; Luke 24:36–49; John 20:19–23; Acts 1:6–8);
- 9 Jesus' ascension to Heaven to sit at right hand of God (Mark 16:19 // Luke 24:50–53; Acts 1:9–11, cf. Matt. 28:18);
- 10 proclaiming of disciples everywhere, with signs (Mark 16:20).

In terms of the appearances of the risen Jesus, all three other gospels stress physicality, sometimes including the eating of food. The two women who come to the tomb in Matthew also touch Jesus' feet (Matt. 28:9–10). In Luke it is particularly stressed that it is 'Christ' (not only 'Jesus') who suffers, and this is illuminated by the correct interpretation of the scriptures ('was it not necessary for the *Christ* to suffer these things also to enter into his glory?' 24:26; 'thus it is written that the *Christ* should suffer and rise again from the dead on the third day' 24:46), as if specifically correcting Cerinthus' understanding, and/or a Cerinthian reading of Mark. Jesus' appearance to the Eleven while they (not him) were lying at a meal (Mark 16:14) is developed in John 20:19–29, with an emphasis of the physicality of Jesus' suffering and resurrection. The developmental flow clearly works. This is not to say that the Longer Ending has no problems as it stands (see below), but substantively such a Cerinthian-friendly resurrection account could not be secondary to the other Gospels. It also works in terms of the Gospel version cited by Justin (probably the Gospel according to the Hebrews) and the *Epistula*, to have some form of the Longer Ending as a basis, since both insist on physical verification to men, following an appearance to the women/Mary that is doubted: both move in the same proto-orthodox direction as the other canonical gospels (without directly drawing from them) from the same kind of baseline story.

In conclusion, the Longer Ending is indeed suited to a Cerinthian reading, in which the Lord Jesus is raised alive and *appears*, in different forms,

79 If one thinks of a developmental flow, a reference to 'two from them' (Mark 16:12) would suggest to Matthew that the two Marys encounter the risen Jesus while they are walking to report to the others; the different appearances in Mark have been conflated into one.

but is not touched by anyone, and thus there would have been good reason for some copyists to consider this passage better out than in.⁸⁰ There was also good reason for leading proto-orthodox authors not to quote from it.⁸¹ However, it provides a fitting ending for the Gospel of Mark, for Cerinthians and others besides, and is more appropriate as a theological conclusion than the Abrupt Ending. It provides an initial foundation for the developments of other gospels, all of which stress the physicality of Jesus' resurrection. As such, on redactional grounds, it is the oldest form of the Markan text that has survived.

– *A Missing Section?*

Nevertheless, we may suspect that the Longer Ending as it survives has also been tinkered with. As noted, one of the peculiarities of the Longer Ending is the way it sits oddly with what has just preceded it, namely 16:8. One minute the women are running away afraid and the next Jesus 'appeared' to Mary Magdalene alone (Ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτὴ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρία τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, παρ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια: 'After rising early on the first day of the week he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom seven demons had gone out' (16:9). It is not said where she was, when she saw Jesus, or what happened precisely. Since it does not flow on neatly, many scholars use this as a reason for suggesting that the whole of 16:9–20 is a later addition, and/or that there was an ending that is now missing.⁸² In terms of the latter, as Robert Gundry noted, there is something quite telling in that in 16:8b there is a καί rather than an adversative δέ; one would expect the women would deliver the message to the disciples, after not saying anything to anyone else.⁸³

However, rather than suggesting that there was a missing ending *instead of* the Longer Ending *in toto*, should we think of a missing piece, skipped over quite briefly with 16:9? It certainly seems that something has dropped out, because soon after Jesus appears 'in a different form' (16:12) to two disciples walking into the country, but we are not told what the previous form was.

In this case, evidence for a more detailed description of Jesus' appearance to Mary Magdalene (and companion/s?) and commission can be determined on the basis of the developmental flow of the canonical gospels, as noted above. Notably, Mary Magdalene's encounter with the risen Jesus (Mark 16:9–11) features in the story of the two Mary's (Matt. 28:8–10) and in the

80 It could also float into different locations: most Armenian manuscripts do not have it, but some locate it after John, and one after Luke, see Colwell 1937.

81 For a neat summary of non-appearances and non-quoting, see Elliot, 2008, 86–87.

82 For example Croy 2003.

83 Gundry 1992, 1010, as also Stein 2008, 97, n.87.

single encounter of Mary Magdalene with Jesus in the Fourth Gospel (John 20:11–18). It should then be somewhere in the antecedent.

We may also return to the *Epistula* for this antecedent. Initially there are women coming to the tomb to ‘pour ointment on his body’ (*Ep.Ap.* 9, Mark 16:1); they find the stone rolled away (Mark 16:4), but the young man who commissions them with a message is the angel-Christ (*Ep.Ap.* 10; Mark 16:5–7, 9).⁸⁴ There are numerous elements that recall the Longer Ending:⁸⁵ disciples are ‘weeping and mourning’ (*Ep.Ap.* 9–10, Mark 16:10); the male disciples did not believe (*Ep.Ap.* 11; Mark 16:11–12); there is an appearance the Eleven (*Ep.Ap.* 12; Mark 16:14); Jesus ‘sits at the right hand of the Father’ (*Ep.Ap.* 3; Mark 16:19). For the story of Jesus appearing and commissioning the women, as we have it in *Ep.Ap.* 9–10, one also has to look for elements from Matt. 28:7–10 and John 20:15–17 (thus also in the missing section?), but the dutiful obedience of the women is consistent.

In the *Epistula*, the form of Jesus was as an angel (= the young man); Jesus’ appearance at the tomb to the women and Jesus’ appearance to Mary Magdalene are conflated. Might this have been based on some description of the form of Jesus as a young man in the missing piece? The curious innovation of the ‘boy’ in the Bobbiensis⁸⁶ could then be explained as an echo. Certainly, the depiction of Jesus as a young man/boy in early Christian art is very common.⁸⁷

Was there an appearance to Mary alone, or were there more women? In the Peshitta of Mark 16:11 the reference is to women, plural, not just to Mary: ‘And when they (masc.) heard them (fem.) saying that he was alive and had appeared to them (fem.) they (masc.) would not believe them (fem.)’.⁸⁸ Mina Monier has noted also that this repeats in Ibn at-Ṭayyib’s catena on Mark 16:11 and the Arabic Diatessaron. In the Bohairic Coptic and Arabic text of Huntington 17, Gregory Aland number: bo 2, 194v–195r, there is also an involvement of more women in seeing.⁸⁹

In the *Epistula*, would it not have been more effective for the proto-orthodox to remove the explicit women’s witness to the appearance of Jesus entirely, as does the Gospel of Luke and the Shorter Ending of Mark? The

84 See for an exploration of the use of Mark in the *Epistula* see Hannah 2008, 615–25.

85 Hannah 2008, 625), nevertheless finds this usage ‘far from certain’.

86 Clivaz 2020; 2021.

87 Taylor 2018, 83–107.

88 I am grateful to Mina Monier for pointing this out.

89 <<https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=Qk8y>>, last accessed 28 August 2022. I am grateful to Mina Monier for pointing this out to me.

Gospel of Peter (12–13/50–57)⁹⁰ likely uses Mark and cites an abbreviated Abrupt Ending at 16:8a: ‘Then the women fled frightened’ (57).⁹¹ This ensures there is no appearance of the risen Jesus to the disciple Mary Magdalene at all, or to her friends, and the definitive appearance of the risen Jesus (as implied) is to men, who have miserably returned to their homes (in Galilee) and gone fishing (14/58–60).

All this suggests that Jesus’ appearance to Mary Magdalene (and companion/s?) was in the ending of Mark, and so had to be addressed directly in the *Epistula*. Therefore, in the *Epistula* it is acknowledged that Jesus appeared to women, who were commanded to witness, and did so, but his bodily resurrection was properly validated by reliable men. This is exactly the strategy employed in the Fourth Gospel (John 20:1–17), which provides the fullest extant description of Mary Magdalene’s experience of seeing the risen Jesus. Her proclamation, ‘I have seen the Lord!’ (John 20:18) develops what is indicated in Mark 16:11 into speech.⁹²

Instead of the conflation of Jesus with the young man/angel in the *Epistula*, in John there is juxtaposition. There is a distinction between two angels in the tomb and Jesus outside; Mary thinks he is the gardener, and his age is not mentioned (John 20:11–14). In Matthew, the difference is also stressed: Jesus meets the two women after they have departed from the angel at the tomb (Matt. 28:9–10, blending in Mark 16:12). But this raises a question about whether the distinction was there previously.

As noted above, John also provides a rationale for why Mary did not touch Jesus, in that Jesus told her not to (20:17). But Mary’s experience is sandwiched in between the better witness of men who are concerned with verifying physical evidence (20:2–10; 19–29). Indeed, the Fourth Gospel strongly insists on the equation between the risen Jesus, Christ and the Son of God (John 20:31).

Likewise, there is the same patterning of women’s belief versus male unbelief in Luke (24:1–43), now based solely on what two men/angels say at the tomb, not (apparently) on the women’s actual witness of the risen Jesus. The insistence is on both the suffering of Christ and the physicality of the

90 There has been a supposition that there is a Docetic element in the Gospel of Peter 5:19: ‘And the Lord cried out, ‘My Power, Power, you have forsaken me!’ However, this is now rejected, since elsewhere Docetic elements do not appear. See McCant 2009 and Omerzu 2018.

91 Foster 2010, see esp. 120–124, 496; Ehrman and Pleše 2011, 374–375.

92 In a presentation on October 25, 2021 to the Durham New Testament/Early Christianity seminar, titled ‘John’s Dramatic Transformation of the Synoptics’, Mark Goodacre noted how it is a practice of the Fourth Gospel to render descriptive sections of Mark in the form of speech.

resurrection.⁹³ For the appearance, the gospel focuses on the other cases: the appearance to the ‘two’—Cleopas and an unnamed (female?) partner (Luke 24:13–35)—and to the men (24:36–43). In both cases physicality is proven.

In conclusion, given this developmental flow, the peculiar ‘glitch’ of Mark 16:9 would result from an early anti-Cerinthian deletion. In this missing section, Mary Magdalene (and the other Mary?) at the tomb saw the risen Jesus (perhaps as a youth), as Mary does in John, and she is/they are commissioned by Jesus to tell the ‘siblings’.⁹⁴ The obedient reporting to the disciples of this experience follows in Mark 16:11, and is echoed in Matthew (28:2), Luke (24:10–11) and John (20:2, 18), and indeed in the Shorter Ending. After all, even there, if nothing was said to any others initially out of fear,⁹⁵ the fact that the women’s experience is recorded implies they did share it.

But there were good reasons to reduce this story of Jesus’ appearance or to omit it completely, and not only because of the Cerinthians. The women’s testimony could be used by the likes of Celsus to say that the claim for Jesus’ resurrection rested merely on being seen by a ‘delirious woman’ and perhaps another (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2:55). There is nothing in Celsus’ statement that suggests he thought anyone had touched Jesus.⁹⁶ In a patriarchal world, Mary’s ‘experience’ was the weakest link in the Christian proclamation. That other gospels that base themselves on Mark were so determined to stress the physicality of Jesus’ resurrection itself would point to a problem with a pre-existing ‘appearance-only’ model. The representation of Mary’s encounter could only be presented with major qualifiers. Kara Lyons-Purdue has rightly pointed out how Mary Magdalene in the Longer Ending is a model

93 It also coheres better with the passage of 1 Cor. 15:4 in which Paul jumps over who actually witnessed Christ rising on ‘the third day’.

94 In Matt. 28:1 there is the curious omission of the women bringing *aromata*, so the women just went ‘to see the tomb’ (θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον); this better suits the purpose of a returning Mary Magdalene: to see the tomb again. In John also it is not said that she comes with *aromata*: no reason is given for her visit.

95 Previously, when the disciples (including the women) were walking with Jesus to Jerusalem, it is said: ‘They were on the road, going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus was walking ahead of them, and they were astonished, but those who followed were afraid (ἐφοβοῦντο)’ (10:32). The fear is justified by Jesus’ predictions that he was going to Jerusalem to be killed (8:31; 9:30), which he repeats (10:34); nevertheless, the disciples continue to Jerusalem.

96 This is even when he used different gospels, for which see Origen, *Against Celsus* 1:34, 38, 40, 58; 2:24, 34, 36, 37, 45, 49, 59–61, 69, 70, 73, 76, and knew a story of doubting disciples: 2:61.

disciple and true witness to the resurrection.⁹⁷ The trajectory of the re-tellings would suggest that there was a *prior* fuller portrayal of this witness.

As such, the Longer Ending of Mark—so suitable for Cerinthus' theology—is not intact, in not providing the whole description of the appearance of the risen Jesus to Mary Magdalene and her companion/s. But excavating the textual tradition alone may never get us back to finding all this. We can only ever reach an initial text for the extant manuscript tradition, not necessarily an original one, as Michael Holmes has argued.⁹⁸ Celsus signals the issues thus (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2:27):

some of the believers, like people influenced by strong drink who come to stand against themselves, alter the gospel (*euangelion*) from the original text three or four or several times over, and refashion it, so as enable them to counter objections.

Objections to a Cerinthian interpretation, then, could well account for a deletion, not only of a problematic part, but of a whole final section.

Conclusion

In this study Cerinthus has been defined, with a view to considering the endings of Mark, since Cerinthus' followers are known to have relied on this gospel. Cerinthus believed 'Christ' as a divine power came to Jesus on baptism and that 'Christ' departed from Jesus ahead of his death; 'Christ' did not suffer and die, and therefore 'Christ' was not raised either; rather, the man Jesus was raised, ultimately (as I suggest) to become the heavenly and glorified Son of Humanity, in accordance with a pattern of transformation that would provide hope for all fellow-human believers. The Gospel of Mark, used by Cerinthians, therefore had to be read carefully, 'with the love of truth', as Irenaeus warned, a/the Longer Ending (known to Irenaeus) included.

The endings of the Gospel of Mark need to be understood within this context. When different endings are considered from a Cerinthian perspective, the Longer Ending is shown to fit well with the Cerinthian concept of the transformative resurrection of the 'Lord Jesus', as opposed to the divine 'Christ'. There is no mention of the marks of his suffering. The risen Jesus appears, in different forms, but is not in fact touched by any of his disciples. The Abrupt Ending provides no appearance of Jesus at all, while the Shorter Ending is a kind of summary of the Longer Ending (or something similar).

Given the earliness of Cerinthus, one cannot argue that the Longer Ending was a late and derivative piece, composed by the proto-orthodox. They were at pains to argue against the notions of Cerinthus, and to insist on the physicality

97 Lyons-Purdue 2020, though she works with an *a priori* position that the Longer Ending is a second-century development.

98 Holmes 2013.

of *Christ's* suffering and resurrection, and consistency in terms of Jesus rising as the same suffering body, as evidenced in other canonical gospels and especially in the *Epistula Apostolorum*. The Longer Ending then precedes them, and there were reasons for proto-orthodox scribes to cut it out. However, the Longer Ending as we have it is probably not entirely the initial text. There was likely more development of an appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene (and companion/s) and commission. The excision creates a rupture at 16:9, and makes the Longer Ending seem to follow awkwardly from what precedes it. Nevertheless, as a whole, it forms a necessary theological completion to the predictions of Jesus about his resurrection and glorification.⁹⁹

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Trajectories in the History of Textual Scholarship on Mark's Endings: A Reconsideration

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This article reconsiders the history of textual scholarship on the issue of Mark's endings. Particular attention is given to the period from the sixteenth to the late-eighteenth century, when Birch discovered that Codex Vaticanus does not contain the traditional ending as found in the Textus Receptus. Although direct attestation of the absence in Greek manuscripts was unknown to most scholars of that time, textual critics did in fact discuss the various Markan endings, informed as they were by ancient versions and patristic sources. Our contribution presents the opinions of important scholars, which in many ways anticipate discussions and arguments persisting till today. It aims to provide an exploratory overview of the scholarly history of Mark's endings and to show the elements that led to the so-called 'turning point' in the late-eighteenth century.

Introduction¹

Traditionally, discussions about the history of scholarship on the endings of Mark often start with the nineteenth-century 'critical period', especially the debate in the middle of that century between the defenders of the Longer Ending (like Burgon) and those who questioned the authenticity of Mark 16:9–20 (like Westcott and Hort).² Scholarship before that period is usually touched upon without further exploration. Kelhoffer, however, in his *Miracle and Mission*, goes beyond this scope and traces the scholarly discussions back to Birch's work published at the turn of the nineteenth century, who was the first critic who publicly introduced the absence of Mark 16:9–20 in Co-

- 1 The two authors exchanged ideas from the very beginning, distributed authors and works, and together composed the article in this published form. We thank the editors, Claire Clivaz, Mina Monier, and Dan Batovici, for their support and suggestions, and also the participants of the Mark 16 conference for their remarks and feedback, especially James Kelhoffer. Particular thanks go to Régis Burnet, who kindly shared with us the pre-published version of his article in this issue. Although Burnet's article and ours both deal with the issue of the Markan endings in the history of scholarship, the theme is approached from different angles. Whereas his focuses on the scholarly doubts about the Longer Ending, framed by the tension between Protestant and Catholic circles, our article traces and analyses trajectories and recurring themes in the scholarly debates. We also thank Tom Parker for his valuable suggestions.
- 2 E.g. Hug 1978, 12–14; Cox 1993, 56–66 (particularly on Burgon 1871).

dex Vaticanus (B, GA03).³ Indeed, because of Birch's contribution, scholars began to notice the manuscript attestation of the Shortest Ending of Mark. It significantly influenced the scholarly discussions on this issue from the nineteenth century onwards.

The present article intends to serve as a supplement to previous studies. We will reconsider the history of scholarship in the so-called 'precritical' period.⁴ Our research question can be formulated as follows: *how did critics see the text-critical issue of Mark's endings before and up to Birch?* As will be shown in our analysis through the centuries, several themes already occurred from the time of Erasmus onwards, which still recur in present-day discussions. Although there are several recent publications on Mark's endings, the scholarly history itself is seldom discussed.⁵ Consequently, the time before the information on Codex Vaticanus became available through Birch's publications merits fresh attention.

Descriptions and Analysis

In what follows, we will describe a number of representative scholars in chronological order. Our analysis will focus on their arguments on this specific issue, as well as some important parts of the reception of their contributions.

– Erasmus (1466–1536)

First of all, let us begin with the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus. His opinion on the Markan endings can be found in his annotations on Mark 16:14.⁶ These annotations mainly deal with the apparently conflicting stories about the resurrection of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels. A series of exegetical problems are raised and discussed. For instance, Erasmus criticises Augustine for his interpretation of Mark 16:14, who indicates a chronological discrepancy between the Markan narrative and the version given by John. That is, Mark 16:14 speaks of Jesus' appearance to his disciples at the table as the last event (according to the rendering of the Vulgate: 'Novissime recum-

3 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209. Kelhoffer 2000, 6–20, especially 7. Kelhoffer refers to Birch 1801. For discussions from text-critical perspectives, see Westcott and Hort 1881, 28a–51b; Metzger 1994, 102–106; Parker 1997, 124–147.

4 This periodisation is very popular among textual critics; see e.g. Metzger and Ehrman 2005, 137–164. The period began with the *edition princeps* of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus.

5 E.g. Black 2008. A rare exception is the brief account given in Kamphuis 2013.

6 Erasmus 2000, 434–437. Although the annotation is located at verse 14, Erasmus also discusses verse 9.

bentibus illis'), but in John 21 Jesus appeared again at the sea of Tiberias.⁷ By referring to the Greek ὄσπερον, Erasmus rightly notices that it does not necessarily mean 'novissime' ('lastly'), as rendered by the Vulgate. If one opts for the Greek meaning of 'later', Erasmus continues, there is no contradiction between Mark and John.

Then Erasmus turns to the traditional ending of Mark and its conflict with the other Gospels. He addresses the two solutions proposed by Jerome. The first one is, according to Jerome: 'For either we do not accept the testimony of Mark, because it is present in few [copies of the] Gospels — nearly all the Greek manuscripts do not have this section to the end.'⁸ In other words, the Longer Ending of Mark was not found in most of the Greek manuscripts of Jerome's time. In response to that, Erasmus states:

Haec solutio impia erat, si tum temporis hoc capitulum idem habebat autoritatis quod reliquum Marci Euangelium.⁹

This solution was irreverent, if at that time this section had the same authority as the rest of Mark's Gospel.

Erasmus further discusses another solution given by Jerome:

[A] Admonet autem et illud [E] Hieronymus, [A] subdistinctionem esse faciendam ante *mane*; ut intelligamus Christum vespere surrexisse, deinde *prima sabbati* visum esse Mariae, hoc modo legentes: *quum surrexisset Iesus* — et hic interposita hypostigme sequatur —, [E] *mane prima sabbati* [A] *apparuit* [E] *primo* [A] *Mariae*. Hanc distinctionem indicat et Theophylactus.¹⁰

However Jerome also suggests that before 'mane' ('early') a minor division [through punctuation] should be applied. We can then understand that Christ rose in the evening, after which he was seen by Mary 'prima sabbathi' ('on the first day'). The way of reading is then: 'When Jesus had risen—and here follows the inserted hypostygme [comma]—early on the first day he first appeared to Mary'. Theophylactus also indicates this division.

- 7 The reference is Augustine's *Cons.* Cf. Erasmus 2000, 435 (Hovingh's note on l. 126).
- 8 Jerome 1912, 481: 'Aut enim non recipimus Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur Euangeliis, omnibus Graeciae libris paene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus' (Erasmus has 'pene' instead; translation: Donaldson 2009, 402). It should be noted that Jerome's use of Eusebius would only become known by scholars in the nineteenth century. For an extensive discussion of Eusebius and his view on the Markan endings, see Kelhoffer 2001.
- 9 Erasmus 2000, 434 ll. 159–160.
- 10 Erasmus 2000, 434 ll. 160–164. In the ASD editions, parts marked with '[A]' are from Erasmus' first edition (1516), while parts marked with '[E]' are from his fifth edition (1535).

Here Jerome tries to resolve the conflict between the times given in Mark 16:9 and Matt 28:1. By adding a comma between ‘surgens autem’ and ‘mane’, Jerome believes that the problem can be solved.

Next to this, Erasmus discusses the addition in Mark 16:14 as reported by Jerome.¹¹ He thinks that the addition comes from some apocryphal gospels. There is an intriguing side remark here:

Caeterum ut hoc extremum Marci caput hodie habetur in omnibus quae sane viderim, Graecorum exemplaribus ...¹²

Further since this final chapter of Mark is today found in all Greek copies that I consulted

This remark could imply that Erasmus did not find any additions in all the manuscripts he consulted.

In short, Erasmus does not question the canonicity of the traditional ending of Mark. Instead, what is important for him is how to tackle the various narratives after Jesus’ resurrection. His annotations on Mark 16:14 typify his way to approach exegetical problems, namely returning to the Greek to find better ‘solutions.’ As will be shown in our exploration below, the references to Jerome and his response would then become a ‘hub’ for subsequent scholars interested in this issue. Another minor but noteworthy aspect is Erasmus’ appeal to manuscript attestation by personal inspection.

Except for the elements mentioned, it is also interesting to note what is missing in Erasmus’ annotations of the text. It is well known that he once received a list of 365 readings in the Codex Vaticanus from one of his opponents Sepúlveda. Yet, apart from a few references in his last edition, Erasmus did not make extensive use of the list.¹³ Since the list is now lost, one may wonder whether Sepúlveda’s list contained the information on the omission of the Markan ending in the Vaticanus. Because of the nature of the list, which focuses on the differences between the text of Erasmus’ edition and the ancient manuscript, it is unlikely that Sepúlveda would have included such an omission. Therefore, we can conclude that Erasmus probably did not know about the omission in the Vaticanus.

– *Cajetanus (1469–1534)*

The next representative scholar to be discussed is Erasmus’ contemporary, Tommaso de Vio, known by his Latin name Cajetanus. During the course of the last decade of his life, Cajetanus produced a series of biblical com-

11 See NA²⁸ app. *ad loc.*, and also the discussion in Donaldson 2009, 407–408.

12 Erasmus 2000, 436 ll. 175–176. In the 1535 edition Erasmus adds: ‘quod enarrat etiam Theophylactus’ (‘what Theophylact also tells’).

13 On this affair and Erasmus’ use of Vaticanus, see Krans 2020.

mentaries including most books in both Testaments. The issue of the Markan endings appeared in his annotation on Mark 16:9.¹⁴ Two elements deserve our attention. First, Cajetan refers to Jerome just as Erasmus does. Jerome's proposals are unacceptable for Cajetan. On the one hand, he does not think that the differences between Mark and the other Gospels are very significant. More importantly, on the other hand, it is unthinkable to have a Gospel that ends without the resurrection narrative, since the resurrection of Jesus is the essential part of faith (as Paul confirmed in 1 Cor. 15:14). In this regard, Cajetan provides an argument that would last for centuries, namely: Mark cannot have ended with 16:8; if 16:9–20 is a later addition, the original ending must have been lost. In his own words:

Nec quisquam mentis compos asserere aut credere potest hoc ultimum quod habetur apud marcum capitulum totum adiectum esse nisi aliud quo caremus perditum fuerit: quia sequeretur euangelium marci terminari in sepultura christi, ita quod nihil penitus de resurrectione iesu marcus scripserit. Quod non solum stultum sed perfidum est cogitare.

Neither can anyone in his right mind assert or believe that this final section in Mark is an addition unless another one which we lack was lost, since it would follow that Mark's Gospel ended with Christ's burial, and Mark would have written nothing at all on Jesus' resurrection. Which to consider is not only stupid but even deceptive.¹⁵

Another notable element is that, although he would not himself doubt the authenticity of Mark 16:9–20, Cajetan notes that many Greeks did, because of the addition in Mark 16:14 reported by Jerome,¹⁶ and because of verses 17–18 concerning the miraculous signs. Those doubts, according to Cajetan, may have been the reason for the omission among the Greeks. Somewhat surprisingly he concludes:

Quicquid autem sit de veritate, suspicionum tamen istarum effectus est, quod haec scripta non sunt solidae autoritatis ad firmandam fidem sicut sunt reliqua marci indubitata.

Whatever may be true in all this, the result of those suspicions is that these texts do not have the same authority to establish the faith as does the undoubted remainder of Mark's Gospel.

Cajetan offers some interesting though puzzling comments on the Markan endings. On the one hand the Gospel must have ended with a nar-

14 de Vio 1530, 83v. His annotations on Mark were completed on 2 December 1527 (cf. 84r). In the reprint edition, *Opera Omnia* (1639), the ending of Mark is discussed in vol. 4, 168b–169a. See also the discussion in O'Connor 2017, 156–157.

15 By referring to 'Christ's burial' Cajetan creates some confusion, because he could give the impression that he has the entire chapter 16 in mind. It seems however his discussion is limited to Mark 16:9–20.

16 Jerome, *Pelag.* 2.15. A similar reading is nowadays found attested in W032.

native of the resurrection, since that is the foundation of the entire Christian faith. On the other hand he seems to be impressed by the fact that the Greeks were divided on the Markan endings.

Unsurprisingly, Cajetan's opinion became criticised by some Catholic scholars after him. For instance, Baronius reproached him for having doubted the authenticity of Mark 16:9–20. Although Jerome's approach to this issue was somewhat disappointing, for Baronius, the church father did not question the authority of the passage.¹⁷

– *Beza (1519–1605)*

In addition to the aforementioned discussions, another element concerning the different endings in Mark can be found in the Geneva reformer Theodorus Beza's annotations to his New Testament edition. Already in his first edition (1556), Beza refers to Theophylact and to Erasmus — as referencing Jerome's observation — at the place of his annotation on Mark 16:9.¹⁸ He then comments:

Ego vero in hoc capite nihil animadverto quod cum caeterorum Euangelistarum narratione pugnet, vel diversi authoris stilum arguat: et testor in omnibus vetustis codicibus quae nobis videre contigit, hoc caput inveniri. Reperimus tamen in octavo codice quaedam interiecta. Nam post ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ haec addita erant eadem manu in ipso contextu, πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλε δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας: id est, Omnia autem quae ipsis fuerant imperata, celeriter Petro et ipsius comitibus renuntiavit. Postea vero etiam Iesus ipse ab Oriente ad Occidentem per eos sacrum illum et incorruptum aeternae salutis nuntium promulgavit. Sed quis haec non animadvertat a diverso prorsus autore profecta? Certe mihi mirari subit eorum audaciam quos non puduit sacra profanis tam temere permiscere.

But I do not detect anything in this chapter that contradicts the story as told by the other evangelists, or that points to the style of a different author: And I testify that the chapter is found in all the old manuscripts that we were able to consult. In the eighth manuscript however we came across some added elements: after ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ the following was added in the text itself by the same hand: πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλε δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας, that is: 'And all that had been ordered they reported concisely to those around Peter. And after that Jesus himself also sent out from the East and till the West, through them, the sacred and incorruptible proclamation of the eternal salvation.' But who would not notice that this stems from a different author? It certainly

17 Baronius 1588, 196–197. See also Burnet's article in this issue for his discussion about Cajetan's opinion and its reception in Catholic circles.

18 Beza 1556, 68v. In the 1598 edition, Beza explicitly rejects Theophylact's 'solution.'

makes me wonder about the audacity of those who are not ashamed to mix profane things into sacred things so rashly.

Beza is aware of apparent contradictions as raised by some patristic authors and Erasmus, but he does not consider them unsolvable.¹⁹ He then provides a counterargument against Jerome's testimony, namely manuscript attestation of Mark 16, on the basis of his personal inspection.²⁰ But he also reports the Markan ending as found in Stephanus' 'eighth manuscript', that is, Codex Regius (L, GA 019).²¹ However, the manuscript's reading is dismissed by Beza immediately. He argues for its inauthenticity stating that the style is clearly non-Markan.

Three aspects in Beza's remarks are relevant for our current discussion. First, Erasmus is directly referred to for the information on Jerome. Second, manuscript attestation plays a central role for his argumentation supporting the traditional reading. The third and perhaps most interesting aspect is the introduction to scholarship of a different ending, the one found in Codex Regius. On the one hand he mentions and even cites and translates this additional ending, but on the other hand he rejects it because of the stylistic differences, that is, on the basis of an *internal* argument. This 'weapon' would be frequently employed in the centuries to come. Beza does not connect the existence of this Codex Regius ending with the question of the authenticity of the Longer Ending.

- 19 In fact, Beza offers solutions different than Erasmus for the harmonisation problem between Mark 16:9 and Matt 28:1 (see the annotations on both verses).
- 20 It should be noted however that Beza can present as personal inspection any information on manuscripts of which he is aware, for instance the collations made by Henricus Stephanus that were made available to him.
- 21 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 62, f. 113r (the so-called 'Shorter Ending'). In fact, this manuscript contains both the Shorter and the Longer Endings (ff. 113r–114r). In f. 113r, the last line of v. 8 is succeeded by ornamental marks (after column a, line 24), followed by a note (φέρετέ [for φέρεται] που και ταῦτα) that precedes the Shorter Ending. Then another note (ἔστιν [for ἔστιν] δὲ και ταῦτα φερόμενα μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ) was inserted between the two endings. For Beza's use of manuscript evidence, see Krans 2006, 211–216. His knowledge of the Markan endings in L (GA 019) probably derived from (Henricus) Stephanus' collation book. The information is not found in (Robertus) Stephanus' 1550 edition. From other annotations by Beza, it is clear that Henricus' collation book contained more information than what was eventually used in the 1550 edition. It is also known even from the 1550 edition itself that the collation book must have contained more than just variant readings (see, e.g., the textual notes at 1 Cor. 15:32 and 15:33). For various historical reasons, it is highly unlikely that Beza himself consulted Codex Regius. On the issue of the 1550 edition and its apparatus, see Yi 2019.

– *Lucas Brugensis (1549–1619)*

Next scholar in line is Franciscus Lucas Brugensis. In his extensive commentary on the Bible, published in 1580, no reference can be found on the Markan endings.²² In his later work, a series of notes on the Greek text of the New Testament, however, Lucas Brugensis provides a long discussion on this issue.²³ No new light is shone there, as he refers to Jerome’s words and responds by pointing to many other patristic sources and manuscript witnesses for the traditional ending. Moreover, the ‘Shorter Ending’ as attested in Codex Regius is cited and translated.²⁴ The information must have been copied from Beza’s edition, but as often he keeps silent about his sources.²⁵ The conclusion given by Lucas Brugensis is that it is important to retain the Longer Ending as printed in the editions at his time.

Although he does not provide new information concerning the endings of Mark, Lucas Brugensis does summarise what was at stake in the contemporary scholarly debates. Apart from his interesting silence on his use of Beza’s annotation, another point absent in his work may need some explanation. That is, in his notes Lucas Brugensis occasionally refers to an ancient manuscript in the Vatican, which often agrees with the renderings of the Vulgate. That manuscript is in fact our Codex Vaticanus.²⁶ Nevertheless, on the occasion of Mark 16:9–20, no reference regarding this manuscript can be found. Most probably Lucas Brugensis did not know the absence of the passage in the Vaticanus at all, since his knowledge of the manuscript was only partial and secondary: he received some collations given by others.²⁷ If he had known that the manuscript omits the Longer Ending, he would likely have mentioned it in his notes.

– *Maldonatus (1534–1583)*

Another Catholic critic, Joannes Maldonatus, deserves our attention regarding his opinion on the Markan endings. More than a decade after his death, in 1596 and 1597 his commentaries on the four Gospels were edited and pub-

22 Lucas Brugensis 1580. After Mark 15:47 (page 370), there are no further comments on the text of Mark. The reason is probably that there his focus is the Latin Vulgate, not the Greek text.

23 Lucas Brugensis 1606, 1042b–1043b.

24 Lucas Brugensis 1606, 1043a.

25 It is possible that, as a Catholic scholar, Lucas Brugensis tended to avoid mentioning Protestant scholars by name.

26 In Lucas Brugensis 1580, less than twenty of his notes on the New Testament text refer to Codex Vaticanus, all of which concern the four Gospels.

27 Lucas Brugensis explicitly mentions that he obtained a printed Greek New Testament edition containing a collation of the Gospels against an ancient Vatican manuscript by D. Werner. See Lucas Brugensis 1580, 21.

lished by his disciples. Maldonatus' comments on this issue can be found in the first volume, containing Matthew and Mark.²⁸ On the one hand, Maldonatus thinks that Jerome's remark concerns the entire chapter: 'I am very amazed about one thing from all antiquity: that Jerome in his third question to Hebidia recalls that in many manuscripts this entire chapter of Mark was not found, and that some authors had doubts about it.'²⁹ He finds the idea absurd. For Maldonatus, Jerome should have stated more clearly the authenticity of the chapter, since there is not a single hypothesis that sufficiently compelling to conclude that the chapter was added. If contradictions are a problem, then there would seem to be larger tensions between Luke or John and Matthew than between Mark and Matthew.³⁰

On the other hand, Maldonatus states that it is not even allowed to raise doubts regarding the authenticity of Mark's Longer Ending because the Council of Trent affirmed the canonicity of the books, including all their chapters. According to him, there has never been a Catholic author who doubted it. Moreover, he further points out that Irenaeus already used this chapter and explicitly mentioned parts of verses 16:19 and 1:1 as written by Mark. In Maldonatus' own words:

'Usus est Irenaeus lib. 3. adversus haereses cap. II. Et quidem ita usus, ut aperte dixerit hunc Euangelii finem, qui est ver. 19. *Et Dominus quidem Iesus postquam locutus est eis, assumptus est in caelum*, et principium illud capituli. I. versu 1. *Initium Euangelii Iesu Christi*, ab eodem Marco fuisse conscriptum.³¹

Irenaeus used it, *Adversus haereses* book 3 chapter 2. And indeed he used it in such a way, that he clearly said that the end of this Gospel, verse 19 'So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven' and the beginning of chapter 1, verse 1 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ' had been written by the same Mark.

Several aspects are interesting in Maldonatus' annotations. First, he is confused about Jerome's term 'capitulum.' Taking the word as referring to the entire chapter, he considers it unthinkable that the author would have stopped at Mark 15:47, and thus would have left out not only the resurrection narrative

28 Maldonatus 1596, cols 905–907 (on Mark 16:1 and 16:12).

29 Maldonatus 1596, col. 905: 'Vehementer miror unum ex omni antiquitate Hieronymum quaestione 3. ad Hedibiam meminisse totum hoc caput Marci in multis codicibus non reperiri, et a nonnullis de eo auctoribus dubitari.'

30 Cf. Maldonatus 1596, cols 741–747 (on Matt 28:1).

31 Maldonatus 1596, col. 905. The reference is to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.10.6 (Irenaeus uses a division that starts the second chapter of book 3 at *Haer.* 3.9.1). This citation and its text-critical issues can be found in the Münster database of *New Testament Patristic Citations* <<http://intf.uni-muenster.de/patristik/index2.php?submit=10081>> (accessed 11 August 2022).

but also the women's encounter at the empty tomb.³² Second, the way Maldonatus refutes the issue is remarkable. Apart from the reference to the authority of the Council of Trent—which is understandable—, he also cites Irenaeus as a counterexample to Jerome. From a historical perspective, this was the first time that the words from this second-century patristic author were brought to the fore. From then on Irenaeus' testimony would become an important piece of evidence for those supporting the Longer Ending of Mark. Third, in his commentary on John, Maldonatus mentions several variant readings of Codex Vaticanus. And yet, he does not seem to have been aware of the absence of Mark 16:9–20 in this manuscript.³³ As a consequence, scholars had to wait for two more centuries for the Vaticanus information on this specific passage.

– *Simon (1638–1712)*

Richard Simon's treatment of the Markan endings is worthwhile for discussion. The issue is addressed lengthily in his *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (1689).³⁴ Simon first mentions the Greek attestation as reported by Jerome. He points out that the word 'capitulum' ('chapter' or 'section') has to refer not to chapter 16 as a whole, but rather to Mark 16:9–20. This is clear from the discussion and from the fact that the word 'capitulum' meant something else at the time. And, Simon adds, it also concurs with the manuscripts that he was able to consult, as we will show.

Then Simon provides summaries of other scholars' accounts, including Grotius, Maldonatus, and Baronius, followed by his own evaluation. In particular, early attestation proven through patristic citations is discussed.³⁵ Yet Simon considers that Jerome's presentation of the attestation was correct (in Jerome's time), as traces can still be found through his own study of manuscripts. He first discusses Codex Regius, and suggests that the Longer Ending in this manuscript can be a later addition or a remark. According to Simon, the possible reconstruction is:

On peut facilement juger de là, que ceux qui ont décrit cet Exemplaire Grec qui est ancien, ont crû que l'Evangile de Saint Marc finissoit par ces mots ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ.

32 Maldonatus himself was troubled with the possible contradiction between Mark 16:1 and Matt 28:1, so perhaps this led him to misunderstand Jerome's expression. Besides, here Maldonatus seems to depend on Erasmus' work without mentioning the name.

33 E.g. Maldonatus 1597, col 635 (on John 5:2), col 786 (on the *pericope adulterae*). Interestingly, no information on Codex Regius was given by Maldonatus, although he did consult Beza's work.

34 Simon 1689, 114a–122a (chapter 11, in the title 'Des douze versets de cet Evangile qui ne se trouvent point dans plusieurs Exemplaires Grecs MSS').

35 Simon 1689, 114a–116b. The works under his discussion are Grotius 1641, 587–588; Maldonatus 1596, col 905; Baronius 1588, 196–197.

Ils ont néanmoins ajouté le reste écrit de la même main, mais en forme de remarque seulement, parce qu'on ne le lisoit point dans leur Eglise. Ce qui est entierement conforme au témoignage de St. Jérôme dans sa Lettre à Hediba.³⁶

Compared to Beza's judgement cited above, Simon provides a more cogent argument on the basis of his personal inspection of manuscripts. He also discusses another manuscript kept in Paris and the remark at Mark 16:8–9 as he noted during his examination.³⁷ Moreover, he points out that the Ammonian sections do not continue. Somewhat surprisingly, Simon concludes by simply accepting the authority, age, and canonicity of the Longer Ending.

In Simon's work, an interesting and conflicting combination can be observed. On the one hand, he examines the available manuscript witnesses to offer a critical evaluation of Jerome's words. Remarks made by scribes and the absence of the Ammonian sections seem to support the description Jerome gave. Similarly, based on his inspection of manuscripts, Simon offers a correct understanding of the word 'capitulum', as the reference to Mark 16:9–20 only. On the other hand, despite all the critical notes he gives, he still accepts the Longer Ending.

To be retained from Simon's contribution is the fact that paratextual elements can have bearings on text-critical discussions, and that is essential to study the manuscripts themselves instead of relying on second-hand information. In these respects, Simon is a pioneer: Simon introduced to scholarship the importance of the Ammonian sections on the authenticity of the Longer Ending.

– *Mill (1645–1707)*

In John Mill's Greek New Testament edition of 1707, he discusses the issue of the Markan endings in a few places. The most extensive one is found in the section on Gregory of Nyssa.³⁸ There Mill not only comments on the patristic author's explanation but also addresses the absence of Mark 16:9–20 in the Ammonian sections.³⁹ For Mill, other patristic references like Irenaeus should also be taken into account. That is, the Longer Ending has been well known from very early onwards. Hence Mill comes to the conclusion:

36 Simon 1689, 118b.

37 Simon 1689, 120b–121a (on BR 2868), that is, GA 15 (now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 64). The remark is found at the bottom of f. 98v in the manuscript.

38 Mill 1707, lxxvii a–b; also see cxi b and his critical notes at Mark 16:8.

39 It should be noted that, instead of the attribution to Gregory of Nyssa, the referenced passage is now commonly attributed to Severus of Antioch. See Donaldson 2009, 403–404 and also 396 n. 34.

Verum nec ἐναντιοφάνεια ista supra dicta, nec sectionum Ammonianarum conclusio ad versum octavum Capitis huius, obstant quo minus subsequencia omnia, quae in nostris habentur Codd. et Editt. pro Marci genuinis haberi debeant.

However neither such *apparent contradictions* (ἐναντιοφάνεια) mentioned above, nor the conclusion of the Ammonian sections at the eighth verse of this chapter, opposes regarding all the subsequent verses, which are found in our manuscripts and editions, as genuinely Markan.

In short, although he is aware of evidence against the traditional ending, Mill still considers Mark 16:9–20 as an authentic Markan passage, as attested in all manuscripts and printed editions of his day.

Despite all the opinions and information that he gathered, Mill does not contribute anything new to the discussion. In a way he typifies a default position of accepting the Longer Ending, even when evidence against it is mounting.

– Bentley (1662–1742)

Although he never published his proposed New Testament edition, Richard Bentley in fact had advanced knowledge concerning the issue of the Markan endings. In his working edition, Bentley notes down some variant readings on the pages where Mark 16 is found.⁴⁰ Notably on the top of one of the supplement pages, some relevant notes can be found. He cites several passages from Jerome, as many others do. More importantly, among his notes one concerns the absence of the Longer Ending in Codex Vaticanus: ‘9 [sign for omission] quae sequuntur in Cod Rom.’ (‘wanting is what follows in the Roman manuscript’).⁴¹ However, Bentley does not seem to have considered changing his text, despite his knowledge of the attestation in Codex Vaticanus. Otherwise, such a change would have been another piece of evidence showing his novelty and pioneering nature.

Historically speaking, Bentley’s role is both extremely important and hopelessly marginal: he was the first to know, from Mico’s collation, about Codex Vaticanus and the Longer Ending, but he did not convey this knowledge to the scholarly world. Neither did he, apparently, doubt the authenticity of the Longer Ending based on the new information.

– Wettstein (1693–1754)

In his famous *Novum Testamentum Graecum* of 1751–1752, Johann Jakob Wettstein accepts the verses Mark 16:9–20 and does not mark them for omission. He cites many sources from Greek manuscripts, versions, and patristic

40 Bentley 1716–1729, 79–80. Cf. Bentley 1862, 11–12 (as usual, Ellis makes some editorial changes).

41 This note is found in Bentley 1716–1729, 80 sup., on the top of the page. His knowledge of Vaticanus is of course based on the collation of Mico, made at his request.

citations, but does not give his own opinion.⁴² The most interesting element is perhaps his report on L019. Based on his personal examination, Wettstein provides both the Shorter Ending and the textual notes as found in the manuscript. He even tries to imitate the ornamental marks given by the scribe. It may be worthwhile to reproduce his efforts here:

γάρ] + 3 3 3 3 3 φέρετέ που και ταῦτα· πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περι τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα και αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς και ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλε δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν και ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας — — — ἐστιν δὲ και ταῦτα Φερόμενα μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. Ἀναστάς δὲ κ. τ. λ. L.⁴³

This remark signifies the growing awareness of manuscript attestation as well as paratextual elements in Wettstein's time. Besides that, his contribution does not introduce new material. Although he tried to obtain information on Vaticanus, he remained unaware of the absence of the Longer Ending therein.

– *Griesbach (1745–1812)*

Johann Jakob Griesbach's treatment of the Markan endings can be divided into two stages, namely before and after his knowledge of the attestation in Vaticanus.

In the first stage, Griesbach already paid attention to this text-critical issue. In the first edition of his synopsis, he addresses the issue by beginning with the evidence attested in the scholia of some manuscripts known to him:⁴⁴

Quae sequuntur [sic] inde a commate nono, in nonnullis, imo in plurimis, in accuratioribus, in omnibus pene Graeciae libris, deesse; in aliis vero raris, accuratis, multis, plurimis, extare, testantur scholia codicum L 1. 22. 24. 34. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. etc.

What follows from verse nine onwards is absent in some — indeed very many — in the more accurate ones, in almost all Greek books. However, in a few others, accurate ones, many, very many, it is present. This is evident from the scholia of the manuscripts L, 1, 22, 24, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, etc.

42 Wettstein 1751, 639–640; among the others are the Syriac, Jerome, Cajetanus, and Simon.

43 Wettstein 1751, 639; cf. also 41 (under the siglum L). Wettstein's description of L019 can already be found in Wettstein 1730, 19–20, in which the manuscript belongs to the second class of his division, and the description ends with an asterisk to indicate his personal inspection. In fact, it was Wettstein who identified the manuscript as the eighth one (η') used by Stephanus in the 1550 edition.

44 Griesbach 1774, 290 n. f (same in Griesbach 1777, 135 n. a).

In the light of the comparison between the synoptic Gospels, Griesbach further expressed his doubts about the traditional ending of Mark in one of his annual lectures in Jena in 1789:⁴⁵

Quae inde ab hoc commate leguntur apud Marcum, dubia sunt. Si vero genuina esse censes, facile videbis a tabula nostra, ea esse partim ex Matthaeo partim e Luca desumpta et in epitomen quasi redacta, (quod posterius tamen a more Marci abhorrere videtur,) adpersis etiam nonnullis, quae in neutro illorum occurrunt.

This [Mark 16:9] and the remaining verses of Mark are dubious. If you regard them as genuine, you will easily see from our table that they are taken partly from Matthew and partly from Luke, and are, as it were, reduced to a summary (which seems, looking back, to be inconsistent with Mark's usage) and interspersed with a few things which do not occur in either.

Remarkable are his observations: (1) that Mark 16:9–20 appears to have been abstracted from the resurrection narratives in Matthew and Luke, (2) that the wordings do not seem to be Markan, and (3) that interspersions can be found here and there.

Then in the second stage, after the ground-breaking report from Birch about the omission of the traditional ending in the ancient majuscule manuscript kept in Rome, Griesbach elaborated his discussion in his next annual lecture, given in 1790. Now he also referred to the evidence of Vaticanus:⁴⁶

Si ultima Marci commata, a nono inde usque ad vicesimum, genuina essent, aut Marcus commate iam octavo finem libello suo imposuisset, illius omissionis ratio probabilis reddi omnino non posset. Sed deesse ista commata in codice pereximio vaticano, et abfuisse olim a multis libris manuscriptis, scimus. Attamen omni veri specie caret, Marcum commate octavo verbis ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ librum finivisse. Itaque coniciere licet, genuinam Evangelii clausulam, in qua procul dubio itineris in Galilaeam mentio facta erat, casu periisse, et seculo primo finiente aut secundo ineunte ab ignoto homine utcumque suppletam esse; quoposito, non erit profecto, cur istam omissionem miremur.

If the last verses of Mark, from the ninth until the twentieth, were genuine, or if Mark had consciously ended his Gospel at the eighth verse, it is impossible to offer a probable explanation for this omission at all. But we know that these verses are missing in the esteemed Vatican manuscript, and were once lacking in many other ancient manuscripts. Nevertheless, it is very unlikely indeed that Mark ended his book at the eighth verse with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. It is therefore reasonable to conjecture that the genuine ending of the Gospel (one that undoubtedly mentioned the journey into Galilee) was accidentally lost, and that another ending was supplied either at the end

45 Griesbach 1789, 11 n. ff, translation by Orchard in Griesbach 1978, p. 211 n. 39. Although this lecture was given later than Birch's publication, Griesbach was probably unaware of that work while preparing his lecture.

46 Griesbach 1790, 6–7, translation after Orchard in Griesbach 1978, 127. See also Griesbach 1796, 253 n. e.

of the first century or at the beginning of the second century by someone unknown; and if this be so, there is surely no need to be surprised by this omission.

For the existence of the Gospel without the Longer Ending, Griesbach now has, besides Jerome's words, Codex Vaticanus, the knowledge of which made him strengthen and elaborate his previous position as explained above. Thus, he formulates even more clearly a position still current today, namely—echoing more or less Cajetanus' *horror vacui*—that it is inconceivable that Mark's Gospel ended with verse 8 ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. Both the Shortest Ending and the traditional Longer Ending are questionable. In his reconstruction, the original ending was lost, and someone else supplied the Longer Ending as we know it.

Thus the 'new evidence' of Codex Vaticanus provided by Birch does not really make Griesbach change his position, for instance reconsidering the possibility that Mark's Gospel really ended with 16:8. To him Codex Vaticanus is not an ultimate authority, but just a building block in his argumentation.

His specific proposal was probably influenced by his own solution to the synoptic problem, which argues that Matthew was written first and Mark last. If Mark did actually end at verse 8, then this would become a serious drawback for his theory. For it is inconceivable that the author of Mark would have *intentionally* omitted all the resurrection materials available to him through Matthew and Luke.⁴⁷

In Griesbach's discussion, we see how new scholarly tools such as his synoptic edition helped him formulate new theories, in this specific case a hypothesis on the secondary nature of the Longer Ending. It is salient to note that Griesbach is acutely aware of the scholarly obligation he has to explain all the available evidence.

– Birch (1758–1829)

It is well known that the Danish scholar Andreas Birch reported the absence of Mark 16:9–20 in Codex Vaticanus in his 1788 *Quatuor Evangelia Graece*, an edition of the four Gospels containing the Textus Receptus and a rich collection of variant readings.⁴⁸ Up until present-day scholarship, however, little is

47 This observation is pointed out by Parker 1997, 131–132.

48 Birch 1788, xxi–xxii, 315–316. While he does mention the 1788 edition, Kelhoffer only uses the 1801 edition in his *Miracle and Mission*. Birch 1801 was actually a reproduction of this 1788 edition, including only the prolegomena and the collection of variants (with some modifications). Had Kelhoffer begun his discussion from Birch onwards with the 1788 edition, his periodisation would have been 'From Birch to Burgon (1788–1871)' instead of 1801–1871. See Kelhoffer 2000, 6–7. See the same phenomenon in Lyons-Pardue 2020, 6–8, esp. nn. 9–11, in which a discussion of Birch's 1788 edition is missing.

known about his publications before 1788. In fact, already in 1785 Birch published two works based on his inspection of manuscripts. The first one was written in Danish, and thus its reception was insignificant except for some colleagues from his own country.⁴⁹ The other publication, a German article of the same year in the journal *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, has drawn much more attention.⁵⁰ In this article Birch announces his finding of the omission when he introduces several of the remarkable variant readings found in Vaticanus:⁵¹

Marci XVI, 8. Mit den Worten Εφοβουντο γαρ, wird der Evangelist beschlossen, so das der neunte und folgende Verse bis zum Ende des Kapitels in der Handschrift mangeln.

Die Auslassung dieser verdächtigen Verse ist merkwürdig. In mehreren Handschriften finden sich bey dem neunten Verse Randanmerkungen die den Mangel dieser Verse in mehreren alten Handschriften bezeugen; doch kante man bisher keine Handschrift in der sie würrklich ausgelassen werden, die Vatikanische Handschrift ist die einzige.

He then refers to (and even cites) Jerome's testimony, indicating that at that time only a few Greek manuscripts contained the Longer Ending. Marginal notes found in two manuscripts he examined in Venice also confirm the doubt of the traditional ending.⁵² Further, Birch points out that the Eusebian Canons commonly end at Mark 16:8, without any indication of the last twelve verses.⁵³ Here, without mentioning, he follows Simon.

For Birch, the 'discovery' of the omission in Codex Vaticanus becomes the strongest evidence for supporting Jerome's report. From the perspective of scholarly history, this has indeed become a watershed for the discussion of the Markan endings. Interestingly, Birch himself only speaks of the omission to be 'remarkable' ('merkwürdig' here probably does not mean 'strange' or 'peculiar') and does not provide his opinion on whether it represents the original ending. Instead, the omission in Vaticanus is mainly used to support the antiquity of the manuscript: it must be very ancient since this omission confirms the information given by Jerome and (indirectly) by the Eusebian Canons.

49 Birch 1785b; the issue of the Markan endings, including the omission in Vaticanus, is discussed in 66–72.

50 Birch 1785a; the issue is discussed in 146–149.

51 Birch 1785a, 146–147.

52 The two referred manuscripts should be GA 209 (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 10 (394), ff. 1–381) and GA 2886 (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 6 (coll. 336)), both of which belong to the Family 1 group.

53 Birch mentions that there are manuscripts in which the numbering of the sections is continued, but these are invariably of a later date and often the additional numbers have been added by another hand (Birch 1785a, 149).

In his 1788 publication, Birch repeats his position and provides some more details, notably on the subscription in Vaticanus, on patristic evidence other than Jerome's testimony, and finally on the Eusebian Canons as found in manuscripts in Rome and Venice.⁵⁴

In the end Birch's contribution is not so much his own opinion on the original ending of Mark, but the inescapable fact that finally an old manuscript is known to the entire scholarly world that ends with Mark 16:8.

Trajectories and Evaluation

As we have shown, the discussion on the endings of Mark far predates Birch's publication of his collations. It should be noted that no scholar before the nineteenth century thought Mark had intentionally ended his Gospel at 16:8. And even if that is the earliest attainable (attested) state of the text, various critics stated that in that case the original ending must have been lost.⁵⁵

Especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries issues of harmonisation loom large, though the positions do vary. Some deny any contradiction between Mark 16:9–20 and the other Gospels, even by means of some intricate exegesis, but some others, such as Cajetan, still detect problems in parts of Mark 16:9–20. Alleged contradictions can play a different role in the discussion, namely, to explain why scribes omitted the Longer Ending, which they unnecessarily thought to be too much at odds with the other resurrection narratives. So, what clever exegetes can explain, naive scribes simply took away.

Even before Birch's publications, critical information on Mark's endings was growing gradually. The Shorter Ending as cited in L019 was known from Beza onwards, and the argument from (the silence in) the Ammonian sections was first pointed out by Simon.

Some of the reconstruction proposals, such as the one by Griesbach, are still found today. Also, the typical statement that Mark's Gospel must have had a resurrection narrative in order to be a true Gospel is found already in Cajetan's discussion, with an obvious reference to Paul's famous chapter 1 Cor. 15.

54 Birch 1788, xxi–xxii.

55 E.g. Griesbach (discussed above). Another interesting proposal was offered by Michaelis, who conjectured that Mark could have composed his Gospel in two editions ('Ausgaben'): first the text up to Mark 16:8, based on Peter's memories, and second the complete Gospel including the last twelve verses, written in another place after the interruption of Peter's martyrdom. According to this hypothesis the entire chapter 16 was still written by the same author Mark. See Michaelis 1788, 1052–1060 (§ 141), in which he refers to Birch's 1785 German article (1059). He seems to think Codex Vaticanus contains that first edition. See also the article by Burnet in this issue.

The moment Codex Vaticanus enters the discussion, it does not tip the balance in favour of a Gospel ending with 16:8, but merely intensifies the problem. Therefore, to see Birch's publications as the turning point of this issue does not seem to be historically accurate. It is another building block to the century-long debate.

Let us make some final remarks on the aspect of Digital Humanities. Our study as presented here was only possible thanks to current-day digital tools and rapid digitisation projects.⁵⁶ Thereby it also sheds light on discussions about the application of Digital Humanities to historical investigations such as these. More than before, we are privileged to hear the voices from the past. And while it remains important to avoid the temptation of anachronism, that is, to impose our questions and concerns on the scholarship of previous centuries, this historical approach, as part of Digital Humanities, allows for a more comprehensive and more critical evaluation of issues such as the Markan endings.⁵⁷

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56 To be sure, one should always be aware of the danger of focusing only on those materials that have been digitised, in order to prevent unbalanced scholarship and one-sided conclusions.

57 We are very grateful for the Mark 16 VRE made available by the SNSF Mark 16 project. It should be noted, however, that thus far their website does not cover most of the material discussed in our contribution. Including important samples of the scholarly history on the endings of Mark could considerably enhance the project, and make it more encompassing than it already is.

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Mark 16 from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century: Why Were the Doubts not Expressed Earlier?

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Concerning the *conclusio longior* of the Gospel of Mark, scholars often assume that the few doubts of the Fathers ceased after Jerome and rose from the end of the eighteenth century. But a closer look at the history of the readings from the sixteenth-nineteenth leads to three findings. First, radical mistrust about Mark's ending was formulated as early as the sixteenth century. Secondly, these reservations were expressed by a Catholic commentator, Cajetan, yet were ignored by both the Catholic and Protestant sides. Thirdly, it took almost 300 years to have these doubts heard for different reasons, but leading to the same result: the principle of *sola scriptura*, the competing principle of tradition, and ecclesiological concerns. This study reminds the contemporary scholars that they are not belonging to the sole rational era. Many of the hypotheses that are currently in vogue can already be found in texts from the sixteenth centuries onward. It also raises the question of the canonical text, even beyond the present day. Finally, it confirms the weight (or the burden?) of theological considerations in research, and the influence of beliefs in interpretations.

‘Since this last chapter of Mark is found today in all the Greek copies I have consulted, this conclusion [*coronis*] of it appears to be inserted from some apocryphal Gospel to the least daring reader’.¹ As most commentators on the history of the readings of Mark's ending point out, these doubts expressed by Erasmus in the notes to his *Novum Instrumentum Omne* were short-lived. Scholars began to question the authenticity of the ending only at the end of the eighteenth century.² How can these three centuries of delay (sixteenth-nineteenth century) be explained and why Erasmus's prevention was not echoed and amplified? A careful examination of the arguments of the scholars of that time reveals that theological and ecclesiological issues played a very large part in the indecision about concerning this ending of Mark.

1. The Ending of Mark from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century

To fathom what happened in the sixteenth century, it is useful to briefly retrace the situation of the Markan ending before these days, and to remember that the awareness of the existence of manuscripts without this ending gradually faded away in the Latin world.

- 1 ‘Caeterum ut extremum illud caput habeatur hodie in omnibus quae sane viderim, graecis exemplaribus, ita coronidem hanc ex Apocrypho quopiam evangelio, asscriptam apparet a lectore studioso’, Erasmus 1516, 313. See also Hovingh 2000, 434.
- 2 Schweizer 1998, 207; France 2002, 687; Stein 2008, 727; Marcus 2009, 1089.

As Jörg Frey showed, following Harnack, the Humanists knew that some Greek codices from Jerome's time bear the ending included in GA 032 Washingtonensis (MS Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 06.274; the 'Freer Logion'): the *Dialogue against the Pelagians* (*Dialogus adv. Pelagianos* 2:15) quotes some sentences from it, which Jerome seems to translate directly from the Greek.³ Moreover, he pointed out in his epistle to Hedibia (*Ep. 120 ad Hedibiam* 3) that *in raris fertur euangelii omnibus Græciæ libris pæne hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus* — '[the paragraph] is contained only in rare gospels, since almost all the books in Greek do not have this chapter at the end'. Nevertheless, he includes chapter 16 without further ado in the revision of the translation of the gospels that Pope Damasus commissioned from him. The West thus forgot his caveats, all the more quickly that two authorities, Gregory the Great in his homily 29 (May 24, 591) and Bede the Venerable (673–735) in his commentary on Mark, ratified its authenticity. The only other information available in the beginning of the sixteenth century was given by Euthymius Zigabenus, a twelfth-century Byzantine monk whose works had been known from the Council of Florence onwards. Repeating Jerome, he stated:

Φασὶ δὲ τινες τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἐνταῦθα συμπηροῦσθαι τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον Εὐαγγέλιον· τὰ δὲ ἐγεξῆς ποσθήκην εἶναι μεταγενεστέραν. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐρμηνεῦσαι, μηδὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λυμαινομένην.

Some interpreters say that the Gospel of Mark ends here and that what follows is a later addition. However, it must also be explained because it contains nothing against the truth. PG 129, 845

One might have expected that the well-known return of the Humanists to the Fathers of the Church would have put Jerome's extremely explicit preventions back on the agenda. However, they were not recorded by the major Greek editions. The Polyglot of Alcalá or the Polyglot of Antwerp give the text of Mark 16:9–20 without any reluctance. To see hesitancy voiced, one must read the annotations. As mentioned above, Erasmus expresses some reticence, but then clarifies that he did not consult any manuscript containing an alternative ending, although some may be devoid of the *conclusio longior*.⁴ Theodore Beza, for his part, recount in 1594 he has read a manuscript includ-

3 Frey 2002; von Harnack 1908. Many thanks to Claire Clivaz for this reference and for the numerous remarks she made to improve this paper. We have developed the analysis further in this forthcoming article, Burnet and Clivaz 2023.

4 'hoc extremum Marci caput hodie habetur in omnibus quæ sane viderim, Græcorum exemplaribus', Erasmus 1516, 313; Hovingh 2000, 436. For a more extensive analysis of Erasmus' statements, see Krans and Yi 2022.

ing the *conclusio brevior* (the Codex Regius, apparently), but he does not draw any assumptions from this fact.⁵

The expositors, for their part, continued to comment on the end of chapter 16. On the Protestant side, in 1561, Augustin Marlorat, who was to die a year later (he was executed after the siege of Rouen), produced a kind of catena of reformed commentaries on the New Testament. Coming to chapter 16, he does not even mention the problem of the ending, and cites the treatises of Calvin, Bullinger and himself on verses 9–20.⁶

The case of the pietist Bengel (1687–1752), who is often regarded as one of the fathers of modern criticism is particularly exemplary. It is obvious that he was aware of the difficulty, since the notice he wrote in his *Apparatus criticus ad Novum Testamentum* is clear. Not only does he quote the texts already evoked by Erasmus and Theodore Beza, but he also discusses the newly edited texts of Gregory of Nyssa, and of the *Catena in Marcum*. He also knows that *conclusio brevior* can exist in certain manuscripts, which he cites. Finally, he lists the Fathers who ignore the pericope (Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Dionysius of Alexandria, John Damascene, Anastasius the Sinaitic, etc.).⁷ However, in his *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, he comments bluntly on all the verses of chapter 16.⁸

2. The Turning Point at the End of the Eighteenth Century

The turning point came in the last years of the eighteenth century.⁹ The concrete evidence provided by manuscripts and patristic quotations began to accumulate. Scholars from this period had at their disposal the Codex Regius (GA 019, L^e) preserved in the Royal Library in Fontainebleau since the reign of Henri II (1547–1559; now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 62).¹⁰

5 Beza 1594, 229. Beza quotes Jerome and then affirms: ‘Ego vero in hoc capite nihil animadverto quod cum cæterum Euangelistarum narratione pugnet’ (‘as for me, I do not notice anything which opposes the narration of the other evangelists’). Then he explains that he has not seen any manuscript containing the Short Ending but has read a manuscript containing the Shortest Ending, which he quotes. But here again, he distances himself: ‘Sed quis hæc non animaduerat a diuerso auctore prorsus profecta? Quod autem ad illam quæstionem attinet, non est quod in ea soluenda multum laboremus. Nata enim est ex falsa verborum Mattæi interpretatione’ (‘But who does not notice that this has been taken entirely from another author? About this question, it is not as if we must work very hard to solve it. For it is born of a false interpretation of the words of Matthew’). See also Krans and Yi 2022.

6 Marlorat 1574, 304.

7 Bengel 1763, 170–171.

8 Bengel 1759, 217–218.

9 As shown in Krans and Yi 2022.

10 Omont 1889, 71.

The Codex Vaticanus (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209) was known to them after the middle of the sixteenth century; it may have been brought to Rome by Cardinal Bessarion after the Council of Ferrara, according to T. C. Skeat.¹¹ The minuscule GA 304 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 194) appeared in the collection of Charles de Montchal (archbishop of Toulouse in 1628–1651). Of course, they never heard of the Washingtonensis, acquired by Charles Lang Freer in 1906, nor of the Armenian manuscript of Etchmiadzin known since the end of the nineteenth century.

Concerning the patristic testimonies, the doubts expressed by Gregory of Nyssa were gradually accessible to them. Combefis was the first to ascribe them to Gregory of Nyssa in his *Novum Actuarium* of 1648, Montfaucon attributed the same statement to Severus of Antioch in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* in 1715, and Cramer located it in a catena of Hesychius of Jerusalem (*Catena*, 1844). The fragment of Eusebius of Caesarea preserved in the *Letter to Marinus* was published lately in 1825 and again in 1847 by Cardinal Mai.

Philologists were thus in position to challenge the authenticity of the *conclusio longior* towards the end of the eighteenth century. The edition of Mill began to sow doubt in the minds,¹² but it is certainly the *Novum Testamentum Græcum* by Wettstein (1693–1754) released in 1751 that represents the most complete account of the matter. Wettstein brought all the testimonies on two dense pages,¹³ he was followed by Griesbach in 1774.¹⁴

In a second stage, commentators drew the consequences of these remarks. It is obviously impossible to be systematic within the bounds of this article. Let us limit ourselves to noting that Michaelis tried a first interpretation: for him, the divergences in the manuscripts can be explained by Mark's life. Relying both on Eusebius of Caesarea and on the Alexandrian legend about Mark's presence in Egypt, Michaelis postulates that the first eight verses were composed while Mark was collecting the memories of Peter in prison and that the redaction process was interrupted by Peter's death. Only a few copies of this first version of the book were distributed. The *conclusio longior* was written later in Alexandria, based on different testimonies that Mark had compiled. This explains the fact that the Codex Alexandrinus (GA 02, London, British Library, Royal ms 01 D V–VIII) contains it.¹⁵

Doubts were repeated by Eichhorn's influential 1804 synthesis:

11 Skeat 1984.

12 Mill 1746, 118.

13 Wettstein 1751, 639–640.

14 Griesbach 1809, 252–255.

15 Michaelis 1788, 1052–1061.

Hat nicht dieser das volle Gepräge einer unächtten, von der Hand irgend eines Abschreibers hinzugefügten Ergänzung? Und darf man daher die Handschriften, welche den Schluß des Markus (16,9–20) nicht haben, für historische Zeugen gelten lassen, d. i. für Zeugen, welche aus alten unverfälschten Manuscripten abgeschrieben worden?

Die Kritik kann auf keine Weise die Ächtheit dieser Stelle anfechten, und der Widerspruch muß entweder durch historische Combinationen gehoben, oder mit der geringen Autorität entschuldigt werden, welche Markus, als apostolischer Gehülfe, hat, wenn er sich mit Matthäus nicht vereinigen läßt.¹⁶

Does not this have the full character of an unauthorized expansion added by the hand of some copyist? And therefore, can the manuscripts that do not have the ending of Mark (16:9–20) be considered historical witnesses, i.e., witnesses that were copied from old unaltered manuscripts?

Criticism can in no way dispute the authenticity of this passage, and the contradiction must either be removed by historical combinations, or excused with the low authority which Mark, as an apostolic assistant, has, if he cannot be united with Matthew.

One sees again caution at work. The small quantity of manuscripts that do not contain the ending of Mark does not grant a definitive conclusion about its adventitious nature. However, the number of the issues it raises allows for serious reservations that Eichhorn mentions only with questions. The step towards the spurious character of the ending is nevertheless taken, since Eichhorn revives the old tradition of the disciple of Peter, whose authority would therefore be less than that of Matthew, who was one of the Twelve. August Meyer makes the final step. Analyzing the vocabulary and the theology of the passage, he boldly calls the ending apocryphal:

Plötzlich ein vom vorherigen Modus der Berichterstattung abstechendes Excerpten eintritt, der ganze Abschnitt überhaupt aber keine Eigenthümlichkeiten des Markus enthält (kein εὐθέως, kein πάλιν usw.,—und welche compilierende, anschauungslose Kürze und Unklarheit!), in einzelnen Ausdrücken ganz gegen die Weise des Markus ist, auch das vorher Berichtete nicht voraussetzt (s. bes. V. 9, παρ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἐπ' αὐτὸν δαίμων u. d. Mangel eines Berichts des v. 7 versprochenen Zusammenkunft in Galiläa), und sogar apokryphische Entstellungen hat (v. 18. ὄφεις – βλάβη). Ist nach dem Allen unser Abschnitte entschieden für unächt zu erklären, so erhellt zugleich, daß das Evangel. ohne Schluß ist. [...] Ob aber Mark selbst das Evangel. unvollendet gelassen habe, oder aber ob der Schluß verloren gegangen, ist nicht zu mitteln, und desfallsige Hypothesen sind willkürlich.¹⁷

Suddenly, an excerpt that stands out from the previous mode of reporting occurs, but the whole section does not contain any features of Mark (no εὐθέως, no πάλιν, etc.)—and what compiling, viewless brevity and obscurity!), is in individual expressions quite contrary to the manner of Mark, also does not presuppose what has been

¹⁶ Eichhorn 1820, 623.

¹⁷ Meyer 1846, 171–172.

previously reported (see esp. v. 9, *παρ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαίμ.* and the lack of an account of the v. 7 promised meeting in Galilee), and even has apocryphal distortions (v. 18. *ὄφεις—βλάφη*). If, according to all this, our passage is to be decisively declared inauthentic, it is clear at the same time that the Gospel is without a conclusion. But whether Mark himself left the Gospel unfinished, or whether the conclusion was lost, cannot be determined, and hypotheses of this kind are arbitrary.

This conjecture was accepted by German exegesis, notably thanks to the thorough study of Codex Vaticanus by Birch.¹⁸ Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849) made the connection with the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles to date the Longer Ending to the end of the second or third centuries.¹⁹ He is a kind of precursor for the work of James Kelhoffer.²⁰

3. Why did it Take so Long for Erasmus's Doubts to be Taken into Account?

3.1. The Unique Commentary by Cardinal Cajetan

Why did it take so long to address Erasmus's remarks? Actually, there is one exception. Cardinal Thomas de Vio (1469–1534), born in Gaeta (hence his nickname Cajetan), was considered the greatest theologian of his generation and the best commentator on Thomas Aquinas. He served as Master General of the Dominicans in 1508, and as papal theologian in the Councils of Pisa and Lateran. He is famous for examining the teachings of Martin Luther after having summoned him to Augsburg in 1518. He was also a celebrated expositor of the New Testament. In his commentary of the Gospel of Mark, he wrote about the last verses:

Quæ ideo attulerim, ut intellegamus quam varie habeatur capitulum hoc. Et revera nonnulla sunt in hoc capitulo, quæ in nullo alio Evangelista habentur: nihil tamen ego video contrarium manifeste alii Evangelistis. Nec quisquam mentis compos afferere, aut credere postest, hoc ultimum quod habetur apud Marcum capitulum totum adjectitium esse, nisi aliud quo caremus perditum fuerit: quia sequeretur Evangelium Marci terminari in sepultura Christi, ita quod nihil penitus de resurrectione Iesu Marcus scripserit. Quod non solum stultum, sed perfidum est cogitare; nam tota fides Evangelii ex resurrectione Christi pendet, dicente Paulo, Si Christus non resurrexerit, inanis est fides nostra, inanis est prædicatio nostra (1 Corinth. 15, 14). Crediderim ego suspectum apud multos Græcos habitum hoc capitulum propter admixtionem a nescio quibus illorum verborum quæ Hieronymus retulit in Dialogo: et etiam propter promissionem subjunctam. Signa autem eos qui crediderint hac sequentur: in nomine meo dæmonie eijcient, &c. Quicquid autem sit de veritate, suspicionum tamen istarum effectus est, quod hæc scripta non sunt solidæ autoritatis ad firmandam fidem sicut sunt reliqua Marci indubitata.²¹

18 Birch 1801, 225 See Kamphuis 2013.

19 de Wette 1846, 256.

20 Kelhoffer 2000.

21 de Vio [Cajetan] 1530, 83.

Therefore, I would add to that that we understand how much this paragraph [*capitulus*²²] must be considered with nuance. And, indeed, there are some points in this paragraph that are not found in any other gospel. However, I do not see anything manifestly adverse to the other gospels. And no one in control of his own mind can claim or believe that this final paragraph in Mark was entirely added, or that anything else missing has been lost. For it would entail that Mark's Gospel ended with the burial of Christ and that Mark would have written nothing complete about the resurrection of Christ. This is not only silly, but also perfidious thinking, because the whole faith of the Gospel depends on the resurrection of Christ, as Paul says, *if Christ has not risen, our faith is vain, our preaching is vain* (1 Corinth. 15:14). Personally, I consider this paragraph, which is present in many Greeks [manuscripts], to be suspect because of a mixing-up with I don't know which of these terms that Jerome reports in the *Dialogue [against the Pelagians]* and even because of the promise that follows: *And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils*, etc. Whatever the truth is, the suspicion towards these verses is thus demonstrated because these words do not have the solid authority to strengthen the faith as the rest of Mark's unquestionable writings do.

We can observe the complexity of the argument. Cajetan asserts at the same time that some elements are not found in the other evangelists, but that nothing is contrary to the teaching of the latter; that everything has been lost or added afterwards, but that nothing has complete authority. The reader gets the impression that he sees these verses as a kind of gloss on an authentic ending, but without daring to write it down.

When Cajetan quotes St Jerome to cast doubt on Mark's ending, he is ultimately the worthy heir of the humanist movement: he makes use of the Patristic heritage to correct the text itself. In doing so, he does not really break with the practice of the Middle Ages, which compiled the opinions of the Fathers in the form of glosses (like the *Glossa ordinaria*) or catenas (like the famous *Catena aurea* of his master Thomas Aquinas). He thus fully acknowledges the tenet of the authority of tradition. His modernity lies rather in the application he makes of it: using mostly Jerome (as Michael O'Connor has shown²³), he assesses the biblical text in a new way. The main innovation lies in his assumption that the texts, born in specific historical contexts, under the pen of distinct and variously gifted individuals, have come to him through a long and eventful human history;²⁴ the ending of Mark is too strange to be without corruptions. His recourse to tradition thus permits him to accept that there are texts enjoying less authority in the Bible, because the prejudices of the Fathers against them make them more questionable.

22 *Capitulum* takes its modern sense of 'chapter' very lately. Obviously, it refers here to the last paragraph of the Gospel of Mark. See Dames 2019, 154.

23 O'Connor 2017, 129–166.

24 O'Connor 2017, 131.

3.2. *On the Catholic Side: the Tradition Principle*

Endowed with such authority, doubts about Mark's ending could not remain silent on the Catholic side. They were even expressed in the middle of the Council of Trent, in the session trying to define the authority of the holy books. On March 27, 1546, Cardinal Pacheco, bishop of Jaén, requested that the status of some disputed passages of the Gospels that the decree of Florence had purposely omitted, be examined. He carefully listed them all: the episode of the adulterous woman, the appearance of the angel in Gethsemane, and, most of all, the last twelve verses of St Mark.²⁵ After Pacheco's intervention, the strife was fierce, and the Council was about to move towards a Protestant option: to rely solely on philological arguments and to recognize a lesser authority to certain passages of the Bible. The bishop of Fano gave a speech granting primacy to Sacred Scripture that made a great impression; for a short time, the Council Fathers had their Wittenberg moment. However, bishops and cardinals soon headed towards the parity of tradition and Scripture solution.²⁶ This allowed them to write the decree 'On the holy books and traditions to be received' in these terms (*Decretum de libris sacris et de traditionibus recipendis*, April 8, 1546):

Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contempserit: anathema sit (Denzinger, § 1504).

If anyone, however, should not accept the said books as sacred and canonical, entire with all their parts, as they were wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition, and if both knowingly and deliberately he should condemn the aforesaid traditions let him be anathema.

The problem was solved: if there were doubts about some passages, the usage of the text recognized by tradition, the Vulgate, had to take precedence. It was therefore no longer possible to present philological arguments alone to challenge the text: if it lacks authority, the constant use of the churches throughout the centuries was sufficient to provide it. The same doctrine on the authority of tradition used by Cajetan was here employed in a different way to achieve the opposite result.

Since worries were expressed at the Council, it was permissible to state them, but, of course, with the appropriate dénouement. Jansenius of Ypres (1585–1638), the father of Jansenism, concludes: 'Since St Irenaeus quotes explicitly this ending of the Gospel of St Mark as we have it, and there is no reason to doubt that it is authentic'. *Sed Irenæus lib. 3 cap. 2 finem istum*

25 Hefele and Richard 1930, 267. See also Jedin 1957, 156.

26 Jedin 1957, 156–157.

*evangelii Marci expresse ponit, quem nos habemus, neque jam ulla dubitandi ratio superest.*²⁷ Similarly, Maldonatus:

Nam quod nonnulli repugnantiam, quæ inter Marcum hoc loco et Matthæum videtur esse, causam putant ejusmodi suspitioni præbuisse, absurda prorsus est ratio. Isto enim modo et ultimum caput Lucae et penultimum Joannis inducere deberemus: major enim inter illos et Matthæum quam inter Matthæum et Marcum apparet repugnantia. Dubitare igitur de hujus capitis auctoritate non licet, præsertim Concilio Tridentini non solum libros omnes, quos nunc habemus in canone, sed singulorum etiam librorum singulas partes approbante.²⁸

For since it has seemed to some that there is a contradiction between Mark and Matthew at this point, they think that this constituted the cause of some suspicion, this reason is quite absurd. We should also consider the last chapter of Luke and the penultimate chapter of John: there are more contradictions between them than between Matthew and Mark. It is therefore not tolerable to doubt the authority of this chapter, especially because of the approval of the Council of Trent not only of all the books we now have in the canon, but also of each part of each book.

The example of a somewhat obscure Jesuit from Trier, Jodocus Coccius (1581–1622), illustrates the importance of tradition in the response to the canonicity of Mark's ending. Claiming to settle ancient controversies in the *Thesaurus catholicus*, he composed an article 19, *Ut Canonicam scripturam valere ad ecclesiastica dogmata confirmanda*. This article begins with the reservations expressed by Jerome as well as the above quotation from Cajetan. Then, in two parts (*asserunt Patres græci, asserunt Patres latini*), he cites 20 Greek Fathers and 34 Latin Fathers and medieval writers who commented on verses of Mark 16:9–20, to create a proof by the number.²⁹ The principle of tradition used by Cajetan is thus turned against the Cardinal.

We have already spoken of the doubts registered by Bengel in his critical edition; it is worth pointing out that he had a predecessor in the person of Richard Simon, who revisited the work of Theodore Beza and described the Regius manuscript with greater precision.³⁰ His conclusion was very cautious and not likely to shift the paradigm: as an Oratorian priest living in very Catholic France, he was not trying to question the decisions of the Council of Trent. He merely repeated in a scholarly manner the opinion of Saint Jerome. He argues, namely, that these verses were not read in most of the Greek churches, while the manuscripts show that they were known in the churches that preserve them. And since there is no variation in the Latin or Syriac cop-

27 Jansen [Jansenius] 1688, 396.

28 Maldonado [Maldonatus] 1598, 850.

29 Coccius 1599, 693–697.

30 Simon 1689, 121–122.

ies, he proves that they were read in these communities, as in the Alexandrian communities.

3.3. *On the Protestant Side: Sola Scriptura and Ecclesial Practices*

On the Protestant side, recourse to the tradition of the Church guaranteed by the Council (and the Pope...) was obviously excluded. Grotius therefore develops a completely different argumentation.

Omissam a Marco Resurrectionis historiam quæ Euangelii vel potissima pars est indignum sit creditu. Scriptam ab ipso sed perditam et ab alio partem hanc suppletam æque mihi videtur incredibile. Unde enim ista labes advenire potuit libro qui statim ut est editus haud dubie plurimis exemplis descriptus et longe lateque distractus est? Tum vero qui supplevit cur non ipsa secatus esset Matthæi verba? Adde iam quod Latinus Syrus Arabs agnoscunt et cuius magna in hac re debet esse auctoritas Irenæus. Quare quod in quibusdam Græcis exemplaribus hæc pars aut tota aut ab illis verbis ἀναστάς (nam in verbis ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ desiisse quosdam libros et Gregorius Nyssenus docet et manuscripti quidam ostendunt) omissa fuit ex scriptoribus tribuendum est, qui in hac parte esse putaverunt cum Matthæi verbis ἄσπονδον πόλεμον.³¹

For Mark, to have omitted the story of the Resurrection, which is the strongest part of the Gospel, is not worthy to be believed and it seems to me equally incredible that what he had written was lost and replaced by this part, written by others. How could this loss have happened to a book that was undoubtedly duplicated in many copies and distributed far and wide as soon as it was published? And whoever supplemented it, why did he not follow the words of Matthew? Add to this the fact that the Latin, Syrian and Arabic know them, as well as the one whose authority in these matters must be the greatest, Irenæus. The reason why in certain Greek copies this part has been omitted either in its entirety or from ἀναστάς (for Gregory of Nyssa teaches and some manuscripts show that some books end with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ), it must be attributed to the scribes who thought that this part was in ἄσπονδον πόλεμον [irreconcilable struggle] with Matthew's words.

Although he does not express it explicitly, Grotius wants to save the inspiration of the text by affirming it would be absurd to surmise that the text would end without a resurrection account. And it is equally unlikely that the supposedly missing part could have been replaced by this *conclusio longior* and not by an ending inspired by Matthew: since Irenæus of Lyons (*Adv. Hær.* 1:1), everyone believes that Matthew composed his gospel first and that the others wrote after him. If he admits a somewhat complex transmission history, like Cajetan, he sticks to the mass of manuscripts. This is a costly solution, for he cannot make any other hypothesis than to accuse the scribes of malice. The principle of *textus receptus* is therefore at work here. This is the first form of the *sola scriptura* principle that could be called *sola recepta scriptura*.

31 Grotius 1641, 587.

This explains the positions of the two sides. On the Reformed side, even though the doubts formulated by Erasmus have never been forgotten, one holds to the received text. On the Catholic side, the same point is reached by different paths, but the principle of tradition permits the suspicions to remain voiced: not only the conciliar authority, but also the evaluation of the traditions, allow them to be expressed without changing anything in substance.

It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the habit of editing ancient texts (Greek and Roman Classics, Patristic texts) led to the development of another tenet in German academia, the precept of the original text, *Urtext*. Continuing our play on words, we could call this the principle of *sola pristina scriptura*. This latter authorized Michaelis and then Eichhorn to express their doubts, and finally it was this principle that allowed Meyer to revive the term ‘apocrypha’.

But the *sola scriptura* principle is not the only explanation. There is also a second reason for the relative conservatism about the Markan ending in the Protestant communities: the *conclusio longior* suited their ecclesiological vision perfectly. This ending, which insists on the mission of the disciples, justifies their practice. The commentary of a Bernese Reformed, Benedictus Aretius (1522–1574), is particularly revealing in this respect. For him, these verses provide clear instruction on ministry: it must be universal and not reserved for clerics; it must be centered on the preaching of the gospel; it must be done by trained ministers; and ultimately, it must flourish in a visible way, with miracles. Nevertheless, Aretius remains cautious: what is said in Mark 16 concerns above all the apostles and some rare believers afterwards (*quæ in Apostolis proprie locum habuere, et in paucis aliis fidelibus*³²).

An opponent, Cornelius a Lapide, describes the Protestant use of v. 16.³³ He successively lists the case of the Lutherans, who extrapolate from it the idea that faith alone saves, without the need of works, then the case of the Anabaptists, who draw from it the argument that only adults in the proper position to believe should be baptized and not little children, and finally the case of the Calvinists, who affirm that baptism is not necessary since Christ is speaking here of faith alone. There is certainly a good deal of simplification in his presentation, but it gives a picture of the possible approaches to these verses.

To conclude, let us return to Bengel for a third time. To explain why the man who is often held to be one of the fathers of the critical exegesis does not question these verses, we must read his exposition in a precise manner. Commenting on verse 17, he states: *Signa initio fuere adminicula fidei: nunc*

32 Aretius 1580, 39.

33 a Lapide 1639, 619.

etiam sunt fidei objectum,³⁴ ‘The signs were initially the means of bringing people into faith, they are now the object of faith’. Afterwards, he recounts the story of a young girl from Leonberg in Württemberg who was paralyzed and was suddenly healed during the pastor’s sermon. It should never be forgotten that Bengel was above all a pietist, for whom faith must become conspicuous, through signs.

Diving into the history of the readings of Mark’s ending from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries not only allows us to perceive by which steps our predecessors arrived at the idea that the *conclusio longior* might not be part of the original literary project of the redactor of the third gospel, which is already an interesting result. Readers of the past also remind us that many of the solutions proposed today were not invented by our time. In this way, they thwart the illusion of the *tabula rasa* according to which everything has been renewed from Reimarus onwards. The doubts about Mark’s ending are much older than one would expect; they go back to the sixteenth century and immediately challenge the very authority of the final verses of the text. And they come from Cajetan, which, thanks to the principle of tradition, was able to question their authority without definitively casting doubt on them, which no one was prepared to do at that time. Both Catholics and Protestants eventually kept these verses in their Bible, using different principles achieving the same result. Finally, readers of the past remind us of an essential principle of all exegeses: if philology can claim a certain objectivity, its findings can only then be interpreted according to conceptions concerning the authority of the Scriptures (and thus in some way a theology of inspiration), the application of these verses in the community (and thus an ecclesiology) and ultimately the place of the resurrection stories in the narrative program of the gospels (and thus soteriology).

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34 Bengel 1855, 202–203.

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