

Mark's Ending in the Digital Age: Paratextual Evidence, New Findings and Transcription Challenges

Mina Monier

Department of Digital Humanities +, Swiss Institute of Bioinformatics

Mina.Monier@sib.swiss

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Abstract

In approaching the classic problem of Mark's ending, it has been assumed that there was no stone left unturned. However, the dawning of the digital age has proven otherwise. As part of the SNSF-funded project MARK16,¹ I have studied the complex evidence of Mark 16's textual transmission to understand the scribal textual decisions. This was followed by electronic transcription of the studied material as part of the digitisation process. I will argue, in the first part, that the hitherto neglected paratexts and codicological remarks provide rich evidence on the dynamics of the Endings' reception, conception and later transmission, being inextricably interwoven with patristic interpretation. As a result, I will provide two new witnesses to the Shorter Ending, embedded in a commentary text. In the second part, I will show how transmitting this complex evidence through electronic transcription is another stage in line with earlier scribal experience that problematizes established categories in scholarship.

Introduction

One of the oldest classic problems of New Testament textual criticism is the end of the Gospel of Mark. It has long been assumed that evidence related to this issue has been exhausted, and diverse opinions are drawn from the common pool of that same body of evidence. If we look at the successive critical editions of the New Testament, we are likely to find the same list of witnesses for each of the endings. In two majuscules (Codex Sinaiticus and Vaticanus) as well as the twelfth century minuscule GA 304, the Gospel of Mark concludes at verse 16:8, as the women flee the tomb "saying nothing to anyone, for they

¹ This article is part of the research supported by the SNSF-funded project MARK16: < <http://p3.snf.ch/project-179755> >. The author is grateful to Dr. Claire Clivaz, the Principal Investigator, for her comments on the text.

were afraid.” This is known as the *Short Ending*. On the other hand, a further twelve verses that contain the post–resurrection apparitions are found in the rest of the surviving copies, which is known as the *Long Ending*. A third short passage that summarises Jesus’ commission of the disciples to preach the Gospel appears in a small number of Greek manuscripts,² and is known in scholarship as the *Shorter Ending*. Consequently, what differs amongst scholars is the way that they weigh evidence, in terms of quantity over quality (and vice versa);³ yet the textual evidence itself is not subject to any substantial disagreement. Likewise, studies that aimed to contextualize manuscript evidence by reaching out to patristic testimonies have echoed what had been observed previously, giving this evidence further interpretation and validation.⁴

As Clivaz and Monier have argued elsewhere, just as the transition from manuscript to print culture prompted fundamental re–evaluation of the texts’ perception, a new shift in our understanding of the sacred texts and their transmission has been triggered by the new generation of digitization.⁵ Digitization has facilitated wider access to materials that were accessed by a very limited number of scholars. By looking *into* manuscripts, rather than relying on lists or secondary literature, digitization has helped us reconsider the basic views and judgements made regarding the manuscripts at hand. A good example is the case of GA 304. As I have demonstrated in a previous publication, the way the content of the minuscule was reported, which was based on a single eye that saw the microfilm, is inaccurate, and this in turn later misled scholars who followed it (Monier 2019a). Revisiting existing evidence does not necessarily lead to the abrogation of an earlier report regarding a certain manuscript, but it could lead to finding more missing elements that would justifiably alter our view of the content. This would consequently lead us to question the established categories that define the endings and the possible scenarios that explain their reception. Finally, it has become important to understand how the transcription of these materials can take into consideration the rich experience of the transmission process.

In the first part of this article, I will focus on the transmission of Mark 16 in the commentary form known as *catena*, which will reveal the importance of paratextual materials and codicological remarks in understanding how the endings were perceived by those who transmitted them to us, not just as vehicles that carry ancient traditions but as contributors to the shaping of the texts they are interpreting. This will

² Yet, it appears in a large number of Ethiopic, Coptic and Syriac manuscripts.

³ For bibliography on textual evidence see Parker (2008, 341-2). Ehrman and Metzger (2005, 322-7). On the spectrum of views regarding the ending of Mark see the essays in Black (2008).

⁴ See most recently, James A. Kelhoffer (2014), and later, yet with opposite conclusions, Lunn (2015). In discussing the content of patristic and paratextual references to Mark’s ending, both works are based on the substantial study of J. Burgon (1871).

⁵ See Clivaz, Monier and Barda (2021).

also include two new witnesses to the Shorter Ending. By dealing with these cases in the digital domain, I will argue in the second part that electronic transcription faces the same questions and challenges that scribes faced, and interpretation will be implemented within the process.

Part 1: The Transmission of Mark 16 in Catenae

Exegetical Tension and the Short Ending

One fundamental lesson that has been learned in the Mark16 project is that patristic commentaries/scholia in the classic form, known as *catena*, are too rich to be ignored by New Testament scholars whose scope is limited to the biblical text. In this respect, the catena provides the context that explains the textual choices the catenist made. A catena (Latin for ‘chain’) is a special type of commentary. It is a series (hence the name) of anthologized patristic passages (scholia) arranged next to their relevant biblical text (lemma) (Houghton and Parker 2016, 1-35). Catenae come in two essential layouts. When the scholia and biblical lemmata appear in series, in the same paragraph, this layout is defined as *alternating catena*. A more sophisticated and richer layout is the *frame catena*, in which the fully quoted biblical lemma appears as a rectangle in the middle left (recto) or right (verso) and is surrounded from the other three sides by scholia.

Mark 16 as a whole posed several problems for an ancient reader of the narrative in comparison to the other Gospels. The catenist’s textual choices were not solely dictated by the presence of a certain ending (or reading) in his antegraph(s). Some passages have doctrinal implications such as: the prominence of Mary Magdalene (*vis-à-vis* Jesus’ mother) who received the first apparition (16:9), the timing of the resurrection (Saturday or Sunday), the conflicting details between the Markan account of the walking men (verses 12–13) and the Lukan Emmaus narrative (24:13–35), Jesus’ post-resurrection teachings on the signs that follow the believer (16:14–18), and the timing of his ascension. These issues led the catenist to convey some wariness about reporting the long ending. But the catenist’s technique also led him to cite authoritative patristic comments, even to express such problems.

A copyist of Theophylact’s catena (GA 888) felt the need to add scholia that could solve problems that Theophylact’s catena had failed to address. The copyist borrowed from Zigabenus’ catena scholia such as explaining the presence of Mary the mother of Jesus, being Matthew’s “other Mary (27:56),” and that anguishing grief hindered her from joining the women at the tomb, which justifies why Jesus chose the Magdalene and granted her the privilege of the first appearance, as the long ending states (16:9).⁶ A

⁶ I am grateful to Professor Joan E. Taylor of King’s College London for the helpful discussion we had regarding the meaning of the scholion and the context of the traditions it included.

similar scholion attributed to Hesychius of Jerusalem⁷ addresses the same concerns. While a Syriac catena surviving in Arabic offers the same solution, a copyist registered his harsh disagreement in the margin, stating that “anyone with a brain in his head,” knows that it is impossible for the Evangelist to address the Mother of God as the *other* Mary, in such an uncourteous manner.⁸ In these catenae, the text of Mark 16 appears within this tense context of apologetic scholia. Some manuscripts even reflect disagreement over the proper ending, such as the case of GA 304 in which the original short ending was probably found unsatisfactory to later holder(s) of the copy (Monier 2019a). A Coptic catenist considered it sufficient to merely refer to the long ending by saying “and then the Evangelist continues,” citing verse 9, with a single short scholion from Epiphanius on the allegorical meaning of the seven demons.⁹ Curiously, even this scholion is repeated (it originally appears in the part of Matthew), as if the copyist had nothing else in his antigraph to copy.¹⁰ This strange end of the catena is certainly not coincidental.

Amongst these catenae, one was dedicated to the Gospel of Mark, known in scholarship as *Catena in Marcum* (henceforth, CiM). This catena had been attributed to a mysterious figure called Victor of Antioch in a number of manuscript witnesses. However, a sizeable number of manuscripts attributed it to other figures, and primarily Cyril of Alexandria. Earlier scholars noticed how considerable the inconsistencies between its manuscripts are, which led von Soden and Joseph Reuss to arrange them under specific recensions (Von Soden 1911, 536-593).¹¹ However, the increasing number of copies discovered later makes it impossible to narrow them down to specific recensions.¹² Today, it is understood that this work acted as an open book with freedom in the way it was used and edited (Lamb 2012, 23). The tension over Mark’s ending crystalizes this textual fluidity. The driving force behind the catenist’s compilation was clearly bringing what he called “disagreements” (διαφωνία) amongst the reports in the different Gospels into “harmony” (σύμφωνος). As he goes through the exegetical difficulties these disagreements pose in order, he discussed the problem of the timing of Jesus’ resurrection in 16:2. Yet, he does not wait until he reaches Mark 16:9 (the first verse of the Long Ending)

⁷ Beside GA 2937 (94^v) it also appears under his name in GA 1684 f. 84^v-85^r.

⁸ This is a Syriac catena, translated in Arabic by Abul Faraj ibn al-Ṭayib (died in A.D. 1043), who also translated the Diatessaron from Syriac. This marginal note is found in the manuscript: Chaldean Cathedral 83, f. 113^r. Permanent Link: < <https://w3id.org/vhmm1/readingRoom/view/130080> >

⁹ British Library - Oriental 8812, formerly *praham* 102.

¹⁰ The Coptic catena has been published in (de Lagarde 1886). There are many lost folios, and this is probably the case with the end of Mark in the catena. However, we have a complete version in Arabic (Vat. Ar.452.pt.1 f.188^r), which informs us about the end of Mark’s section as described above. The Arabic manuscript is accessible at: <<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.452.pt.1>>. The part of Matthew with a general introduction was published in the edition of Caubet-Iturbe 1969.

¹¹ See also, Reuss 1941, 133-134 and Cahill 1946, 258-268.

¹² An ERC-funded project on Greek Catenae at Birmingham’s Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (ITSEE) has offered a helpful checklist of Greek catena manuscripts compiled by Georgi Parpulov. Accessible online here: < <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/3086/> > (accessed 18.03.2021).

to discuss its apparent disagreement with the rest of reports: did Jesus rise at the end of the Sabbath (Ὁψὲ δὲ σαββάτων) as Matthew reports (28:1) or as late as in the early morning of Sunday (πρωὶ πρώτη σαββάτου) as the first verse in the Long Ending suggests (16:9)? His response, which reminds us of Eusebius' argument in *Ad Marinum*,¹³ reflects the deep entanglement between exegesis and textual decisions:

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔν τισι τῶν ἀντιγραφῶν πρόσκειται τοῦ κατὰ Μαρκοῦ εὐαγγελιοῦ “ἀναστὰς δὲ τῆ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου πρωί, ἐφάνη Μαρία τῆ Μαγδαληνῆ,” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. δοκεῖ [δὲ] τοῦτο διαφωνεῖν τῷ ὑπὸ Ματθαίου εἰρημένῳ, ἐροῦμεν ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν εἰπεῖν ὅτι νενόθευται ἐν τῷ παρὰ Μάρκῳ τελευταίῳ ἐν τισι φερόμενον. πάλιν πλὴν ἴνα μὴ δόξωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτοιμον πεφυγέναι, οὕτως ἀναγνωσόμεθα: “ἀναστὰς δὲ,” καὶ ὑποστιζαντες ἐπάγομεν, “πρωὶ τῆ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου ἐφάνη Μαρία, τῆ Μαγδαληνῆ.”

Since, however, in some of the antigraphs of the Gospel according to Mark this is placed: “when he rose early on the first day of the week, he appeared to Mary Magdalene,” and so on. It appears, however, to be in disagreement with Matthew, we could have said that the ending of Mark has been corrupted in some of its copies. However, again, lest we seem to be fleeing to ready-made [answers], thus we read it: “when he rose,” we insert a comma, “he appeared early on the first day of the week to Mary Magdalene.”

This passage is unstable amongst its witnesses. For example, since the text of the Long Ending was not present in the catena, the copyist of GA 1230 took the opportunity of the reference to Mark 16:9 (147^r) to complete the ending of Mark by adding the other eleven verses.¹⁴ On the other hand, GA 2937 (93^r) and 1422 (178^r) have a shorter edition of that scholion, which lacks the allegations that question the authenticity of the Long Ending, yet it does not cite the text of the Long Ending itself.¹⁵ Whether it was Eusebius' idea in the first place or not, the addition of a comma to dissociate Jesus' resurrection from the timing “early morning of the first day of the week” seemed to be a common textual solution to this problem. We find it cited, albeit briefly, in the catenae of Theophylact and Euthymius Zigabenus.¹⁶

Interestingly, we can see the impact of this scholion on the text in the catena manuscripts of Zigabenus, whereby the comma was indeed inserted in the cited verse lemma.¹⁷ It is important to note that these texts are listed amongst the commentary manuscripts (K) in the lists of influential textual apparatuses. Further,

¹³ On Eusebius' comment on the Long Ending see his text in Kelhoffer (2001, 78-112).

¹⁴ Transcription of the folios accessible here: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0ExMjMw> >

¹⁵ ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔν τισι τῶν ἀντιγραφῶν πρόσκειται τῷ παρόντι εὐαγγελίῳ οὕτως ἀναγνωσόμεθα: “ἀναστὰς δὲ,” καὶ ὑποστιζαντες ἐπάγομεν, “πρωὶ τῆ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου ἐφάνη Μαρία, τῆ Μαγδαληνῆ.”

¹⁶ For Theophylact's catena see PG 123:677. For Zigabenus see PG 129:845.

¹⁷ See for example GA 196 (108^r), 305 (196^r), 334 (263^r) et al.

mutual influence between text and paratexts could be seen beyond manuscripts into the early stage of printed editions. When he prepared the first printed edition of the first Greek New Testament (Erasmus 1516, 116),¹⁸ Erasmus had on his table three Greek exemplars for the Gospels: GA 1, 2 and 817.¹⁹ His main base text was GA 2, which he used as the printer's copy, by adding to it page breaks and notes from other witnesses (De Jonge 2019, 17). This minuscule has the majority reading, yet he added the caret (insert) symbol χ after $\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ δὲ and “, ὁ Ἰησοῦς” in the right margin of the folio.²⁰ Of his several exemplars, Erasmus chose the reading he found only in GA 817 (98^r), which adds a comma and “Jesus.” This minuscule is not a continuous text like the other two, but a catena of Theophylact. Not only did Erasmus adopt Theophylact's reading, he also stated in his *Annotationes* that his decision to add a comma before $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}$ was based on Theophylact's commentary, to separate the timing of Jesus' resurrection from his apparition to Mary Magdalene (Erasmus 1540, 148).²¹ Erasmus' rationale, which prioritised a commentary reading over continuous biblical witnesses, was not found troubling by his fellow European translators. Even for a staunch protestant like the Swiss reformer Theodore Beza, this approach was found prudent, as he himself echoed it in his own edition.²²

The concluding scholion that appears in many of its copies, which we will deal with separately below, supports the authenticity of the Long Ending. Yet, despite addressing the exegetical problems of the Long Ending, the catenist stops at 16:8. On the other hand, Zigabenus conveys his reluctance to support the authenticity of the Long Ending, yet he was willing to continue his exegesis through it to “maintain truth unharmed.”²³ Based on Kurt Aland, an almost identical statement was attributed to Theophylact by Kelhoffer who states that the latter is the original source of this scholion (Kelhoffer 2001, 106-7; 2014, 158-9). However, this attribution is questionable. Thanks to digital accessibility to the vast number of Theophylact manuscripts, we can see that it appears only in GA 888 (231^r), as one of three scholia brought in by the copyist from Zigabenus' catena.²⁴

This evidence shows us how the interplay between texts and paratexts has a reciprocal impact that should be considered when we try to understand the complex reception history of Mark's ending, and why these

¹⁸ Later, Erasmus produced his definitive edition in 1519, that was used as a base text to later key translations in Europe (p. 112). DOI: <<https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-45895>>.

¹⁹ On his sources, see De Jonge (2019, 1-25). See also Andrist (2016, 81-124).

²⁰ Folio 118^r: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0Ey> >

²¹ It is important to observe that Erasmus' revision and collation was implemented directly in the Latin text, which is the main priority, while the Greek was simply auxiliary and subsidiary to the main text. See De Jonge (2019, 6).

²² Commenting on this verse, Bezae said: “In the Complutensian edition, it adds ‘, Jesus.’ It suggests, however, that it was Theophylact who made this distinction so that ‘ $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}$ ’ applies to what follows ...” (1559, 170).

²³ PG 129:845 says: $\varphi\alpha\sigma\iota$ δε τίνες τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἐνταῦθα συμπληροῦσθαι τὸ κατὰ Μαρκὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. δὲ ἐφεξῆς προσθήκην εἶναι μεταγενεστέραν. χρῆ δὲ καί ταύτην ἐρμηνεῦσαι μηδὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λυμαινομένην.

²⁴ Complete transcription and high-resolution images can be accessed here: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0E4ODg=> >.

texts took that shape. However, the significance of looking into paratexts goes beyond supporting our understanding of its associated text. It could also provide gospel texts that had gone unnoticed due to their survival solely within the body of paratexts. The following case shows just such an example.

The Shorter Ending: New Witnesses

GA 2937 is one of the four new manuscripts recently found by the author and Professor Hugh Houghton on a field trip to Alexandria, Egypt (Houghton and Monier 2020).²⁵ It is a 240×200 mm parchment made of 263 folios, containing four catenae on the Gospels. Based on palaeographical assessment, it is dated to the tenth century CE (Houghton and Monier 2020, 126). The Gospels conclude with the subscriptions known as the Jerusalem Colophons, and therefore it should be added to the list of the “Zion–Zeugnisse” manuscripts (Schmidtke 1911, 7; Frey 2003; Wasserman 2010).²⁶ The section on Mark extends between folios 42^v to 95^r, which is the only part that did not suffer deterioration due to the poor preservation conditions. The dating makes it amongst the earliest surviving CiM witnesses of which we are aware. Further, it has some features that are common with the earliest catena traditions.²⁷ Its layout is an alternating catena with blank space separating between the end of the scholion and the verse in the same line. The biblical verse is highlighted in yellow and is concluded by the common dicolon and horizontal line. After the discovery of this manuscript, a careful analysis of its colophons and hypotheses led to the identification of another twin to the Markan catena, although in the frame catena layout, which is in a 10/11th century codex GA 1422, preserved in Prague.²⁸

In GA 2937, Mark 16 appears in folios 93^r–95^r.²⁹ This part shares most of its material with the rest of CiM witnesses. However, the manuscript offers a large section on the problem posed by the Long Ending. After the comment on the women’s experience in 16:8, GA 2937 departs from the rest of the CiM manuscripts and reports the so-called *Shorter Ending*:³⁰

Αὐτῆ ἢ ὑπόθεσις ὅπιθεν ἐστὶ(ν) εἰς τὸ “ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ”: Παντὰ δὲ τὰ παραγγελμένα [*sic*]
τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπ’

²⁵ See its entry in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchal library catalogue (Μοσχονάς 1945, 80-1). Images, transcription and translation available here: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EyOTM3> >

²⁶ Pinakes database provides a list of the manuscripts and the different versions of this colophon. For Mark: < <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/15554/>>, for Matthew: < <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/15553/>>, for Luke: < <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/15555/>>.

²⁷ Houghton and Monier, “Greek Manuscripts,” 126.

²⁸ Dr. Georgi Parpulov is working on the part of Matthew with a forthcoming publication on it, while Dr. Panagiotis Manafis is working on the Lukan part.

²⁹ The author would like to thank Dr. Agamemnon Tselikas and his team of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, for providing images of folios 93^{r-v}.

³⁰ Images, transcription and translation available here: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EyOTM3> >

ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξάπεστειλεν δ' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας. ἀμήν.

This hypothesis is at the rear of “for they were afraid”: Thus they passed on all these commandments to those around Peter, briefly. Afterwards, Jesus himself sent forth through them, from east to uttermost west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation. Amen.

This citation of the Shorter Ending is important on several levels. First, it adds two more witnesses to the already small number of Greek witnesses (only seven) to this ending.³¹ Second, this becomes the only known commentary to have the Shorter Ending. It is also the only known attestation which the copyist defines with clear words. The Shorter Ending has not been introduced in GA 044 (Ψ) or 579, while it was added by a later copyist in the margin of GA 274 (104^r) without a comment.³² In the rest of Greek manuscripts it was introduced with vague annotations:

- L (113^r)³³ : φέρετε³⁴ πού καὶ ταῦτα.
- l 1602 (3^r)³⁵ : ἐν ἀλλοῖς αντιγραφοῖς οὐκ εγγραφῆ ταῦτα.
- 099 (162^r)³⁶ : ἐν τίσι τῶν αντιγραφῶν ταῦτα φέρεται.

As seen, these annotations offer nothing but a notification of the presence of merely *that* (ταῦτα), being placed *somewhere* (πού). Unlike these vague annotations, the catenist behind GA 2937 and 1422 defined the Shorter Ending as a ὑπόθεσις, which is a category commonly used in Greek manuscripts. A hypothesis is an opening statement that offers basic information on the profile of the author, historical context of the work, and the main elements of its content. A hypothesis does not appear at the end of a work, nor is it a summary to something that precedes it, but it is an abstract to what unfolds afterwards. Hypotheses are very common in New Testament catena manuscripts, as they appear at the beginning of each New Testament book.³⁷ The catenist behind GA 2937 found the Shorter Ending with the title

³¹ In Greek, it appears only in seven manuscripts: l 1602, L, Ψ, 083, 099, 274 and 579 (in the lower margin). All these witnesses have been transcribed in the MARK16 project, and deposited here: <<https://mark16-snsf-prima-project.nakala.fr/>>

³² Images, transcription and translation available here: <[> Although 083 does not show the introduction to the ending due to the damage, there is a space of two lines for it that are unfortunately illegible. Yet, the Shorter Ending is followed by the standard introduction that usually comes before the Longer Ending, which means that the introduction to the shorter ending was also there.](https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EyNzQ=)

³³ Images, transcription and translation available here: <[>](https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EwMTk=)

³⁴ Not φερεται as NA28 puts it.

³⁵ Images, transcription and translation available here: <[>](https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=TDE2MDI=)

³⁶ Transcription of Horner (1911, 640-1). Images, transcription and translation available here: <[>](https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EwOTk=)

³⁷ See von Soden's comprehensive listing and description of New Testament hypotheses here in von Soden (1911, 301-704).

ὑπόθεσις, and located it “at the rear of (ὄπιθεν)” the Short Ending. If ὄπιθεν means here “behind,” or in the back, as it usually does,³⁸ then we can imagine that the ὑπόθεσις appeared in the catenist’s antigraph in a separate section, as hypotheses generally do. This could also be inferred from the obelisms of GA 1422. Since it is a frame catena, the scribe added cross–references between the biblical lemma and its corresponding commentary. For the note on the Long Ending he used a symbol for cross-referencing to annotate its place after ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ in the biblical lemma. However, for the Shorter Ending, he put a symbol without inserting its cross reference anywhere in the biblical lemma (see *Figure 1*), because he understood from ὄπιθεν that it should not be placed where we usually expect it to be, after Mark 16:8.

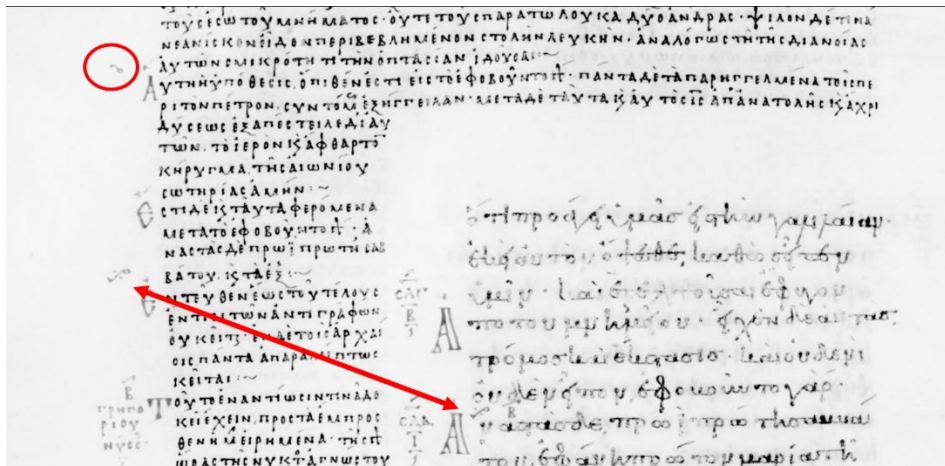


Figure 1 GA1422 f.178v shows the cross referencing for the Long Ending (illustrated by the double–headed arrow), while the symbol of the Shorter Ending (circled) has no corresponding sign in the lemma. *Copyright: The National Library of the Czech Republic.*

But since it was found as a “hypothesis” then we should ask: a hypothesis to what? A possible case is that the Shorter Ending was understood as a hypothesis to the Long Ending. If we look at these endings from the perspective of this catena, we will be able to see that it is a sensible reading of the relationship between the two endings. The Shorter Ending captures the core of the Longer Ending in its few words, for it reports the main points: The women indeed preached the resurrection to “those” around Jesus (16:11), until Jesus himself appeared to them and sent them forth to preach the entire world (16:15). The association between the Shorter and Long endings concurs with the fact that in most of the surviving corpus of manuscript witnesses across languages, the Shorter Ending precedes the Long Ending.³⁹

³⁸ LSJ Accessible online: < lsj.gr/wiki/ὄπιθεν >

³⁹ The only exception is the Latin Codex Bobiensis (f. 41^r), which remains as an anomaly against the rest of witnesses.

The categorisation of the Shorter Ending as a ὑπόθεσις justifiably questions the perception of Mark's ending in scholarship. By designating this passage as an *ending* today, scholars perceive it as one of three alternatives. In a few manuscripts a heading that appears between the Shorter and Long Endings, such as in GA 019, could imply that the Long Ending is *another* Ending,⁴⁰ but we should remember that the copyist was accessing several antegraphs in which the Long Ending succeeded the Short Ending straightaway, and this is why he had to add an extra annotation. In the different manuscript witnesses, we cannot see the Shorter Ending set in any way as an alternative to the Long Ending. In fact, the copyists of several cases, across languages, did not even implement any boundaries, as the stream of the text runs smoothly across these presumed endings.⁴¹ Interestingly, GA 044 (14^v) has only one annotation between the Shorter and Long Endings.⁴² If the scribe meant by these annotations to introduce alternative endings, then the Shorter Ending for him was not considered an alternative, since it did not have an annotation, while the Long Ending apparently was. It is also curious to note that the Short Ending (16:8) concludes with a dicolon and a horizontal stroke, which marks the end, while the Shorter Ending concludes with a dicolon only.

In conclusion, the discovery of the Shorter Ending in GA 2937 (and GA 1422) offers further insights into the way it was handled by some early writers, especially regarding its definition and location with regard to the other endings. It is certainly important to revisit the modern scholarly construction of the so-called Markan endings and how faithful the designation "Shorter Ending" is to manuscript evidence.

The Long Ending

Scholion on the Ending

GA 2937 continues the special section by moving to the Long Ending. It starts with Mark 16:9, yet accompanied with a further statement:

ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φερομένα μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ: “ἀναστᾶς δὲ πρωὶ πρώτη σάββατον”
καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

This is also extant after *for they were afraid*: “When he rose early on the first day” and so on.

⁴⁰ In GA 019 (113^r) a heading to the Longer Ending says: ἐστὶν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φερομένα μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. See < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EwMTk=> >

⁴¹ See GA 579 (70^r). Images, transcription and translation are available here: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0E1Nzk=> >. This is the case particularly in Ethiopic tradition. See manuscripts Eth 2 (101^{r-v}) and 3 (179^v). Images, transcription and translation of these manuscripts can be found: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=RVRIMg==> > and < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=RVRIMw==> >, respectively. For Mark's ending in Ethiopic manuscript see Metzger (1980).

⁴² It says: ἐστὶν καὶ ταῦτα φερομένα μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ

As already noted, this standard statement appears, verbatim, in GA 019, 044, 099 and the Coptic part of *I* 1602. The catenist then probably added it from an exemplar to which he had access. From here, the catenist adds a long scholion on the problem of the timing of the resurrection. The catenist (in both GA 2937 and 1422) attributes the scholion to Gregory of Nyssa, which seems accurate since it appears in his second oration on Pascha.⁴³ The original section in Gregory’s work starts from the textual problem, before moving to interpretation, but the catenist skipped Gregory’s opening textual statement, and replaced it with another one. The reason becomes clear when we compare the two texts:

Table 1

Gregory of Nyssa (<i>Pascha oratio 2</i>)	GA 2937 (94 ^{r-v})
<p>ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις ἀντιγράφοις τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον μεχρὶ τοῦ “ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ,” ἔχει τὸ τέλος. ἐν δὲ τίσιν πρόσκειται καὶ ταῦτα</p> <p>“ἀναστὰς δὲ...”</p>	<p>Ἐντεύθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους ἐν τίσιν τῶν ἀντιγραφῶν οὐ κείται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαιοῖς, πᾶν τοῦ ἀπαρλειπτῶς κείται</p> <p>Γρηγόριος Νύσσης: “ἀναστὰς δὲ...”</p>
<p>The most accurate copies of the Gospel according to Mark have the end at “for they were afraid”. In some [copies], then, this is placed:</p>	<p>From here until the end [the text] does not stand in some of the copies. But in the ancient ones all of this continues uninterruptedly.</p>

⁴³ PG 96:644-645. A similar, yet shorter and fragmentary, edition was attributed to Hesychus in a commentary attributed to Severus of Antioch (*Hom. 77*). Burgon accepts that attribution to Hesychus. Based on a brief and unsubstantiated claim he could not accept the attribution to Gregory of Nyssa (1871, 57, 268). Later Kelhoffer followed him (2014, 151). Then Lunn (2015, 106-7) followed Kelhoffer. However, Gregory of Nyssa is earlier and his text is part of a well attested work, while the quotation that Burgon relied on is later and its attribution to Hesychus or Severus is unclear in terms of manuscript evidence. The scholion also appears in Cramer’s edition of the catena on Matthew (1844, 250) but it is rather unlikely to be GA 2937’s source for two reasons. First, the catena on Matthew in the same codex is an entirely different work (I am grateful to Georgi Parpulov for sharing a copy of his forthcoming study on the catena part of Matthew in this manuscript). Secondly, for the good reason that GA 2937 correctly attributes it to Gregory of Nyssa. Therefore, the most plausible source for the catenist is Gregory’s aforementioned work.

“When he rose...”	Gregory of Nyssa: “When he rose..”
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The two statements clearly reflect opposing views. While Gregory disputes the authenticity of the Long Ending by appealing to “the most accurate antegraphs,” our catenist uses the same criterion to vouch for the Long Ending. Therefore, our catenist omits the first part of Gregory’s scholion and starts the quotation from the following point. It is worth noting that the catenist’s statement also appears as a marginal note in GA 1187 (158^r). Interestingly, the two cases of GA 20 (140^v) and 215 (142^v) that have been reported by Kurt and Barbara Aland (2012, 417) are frame catena editions of CiM, and they support the reading of GA 2937. Both cases have the annotation inserted by a later copyist within the lower margin between the biblical lemma and the lower side of the catena commentary. This suggests that these copyists found that note in earlier exemplars of CiM, like GA 2937, and added it to their held copies.

“The Palestinian Gospel of Mark”

The catenist concludes the special section of GA 2937 with a return to the material common with CiM. That is, a scholion on the question of the Long Ending in manuscripts (bracketed numbers are mine).

[1] Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀναστᾶς δὲ πρωΐ μετὰ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα παρὰ πλείστοις αντιγραφοῖς οὐ κεῖνται ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐαγγελίῳ, ὡς νοθὰ νομισάντες αὐτὰ εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἀκριβῶν αντιγραφῶν ἐν πλείστοις εὐρόντες αὐτὰ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ Παλαιστιναῖον εὐαγγέλιον ὡς εχει ἀληθείᾳ Μάρκον, συντεθήκαμεν, καὶ τήν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιφερομένην δεσποτικὴν ἀνάστασιν. [2] μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, [3] τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναστᾶς δὲ πρωΐ πρώτη σάββατον καὶ καθ’ ἐξῆς μέχρι τοῦ δία τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων. ἀμήν.

[1] Even if what is after “when he rose early,” which is recounted in the present Gospel, is not found in the largest number of antegraphs, as being customarily considered spurious, we added it along with that in which the Lord’s resurrection is recounted, having it found in the most of accurate antegraphs and in accordance with the Palestinian Gospel of Mark, which holds the truth. [2] After “for they were afraid,” [3] that is, from “when he rose early on the first day of the week,” to “accompanying signs. Amen.”

This scholion is the most bewildering piece of the catena's jigsaw. It speaks of a Palestinian Gospel of Mark, which is hitherto unknown, and with a great superiority amongst most accurate editions of Mark. The first clause conveys the sense of response to a judgment similar to Eusebius' regarding the limited extent of the Long Ending's attestation.⁴⁴ However, the confusing aspect is the large diversity of versions in which this scholion is found, and the way it appears in manuscripts. Copyists took the liberty to adjust its wording to the point that it is difficult to specify how many editions there are, as Kurt Aland shows.⁴⁵

However, the further we assess digitised manuscripts, the more complex the image becomes. Amongst these variations we can confidently show a specific line of gradual expansion in the scholion, which seems to be suggested in light of the manuscript evidence. The core of the scholion is the first part [1]. Then, we note that the second part: “μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ” was added in other editions. Finally, the third part that defines the limits of the Long Ending from verse 9 to 20 appears in other editions. To understand this gradual expansion, we need to look into the added value of these additional parts to the meaning of the scholion.

This scholion tells us that the author found himself between two contradictory facts: on the one hand, the ending is not found in most of the antegraphs, “as if it was perceived as a forgery.” On the other hand, they (he uses “ἡμεῖς”) found that the ending is extant in the accurate antegraphs and notably in “the Palestinian Gospel of Mark,” which “contains the truth.” Weighing evidence, he (unsurprisingly) favoured adding the account of “the Lord's resurrection.” But is the added lemma equal to the twelve verses of the long ending? Why did later redactors feel the need to add part 2? And why was it not enough so that a second redactor needed to explain further (τοῦτ' ἐστίν ...) in part 3 that the concerned biblical lemma starts from verse 9 and ends with verse 20? Looking carefully at the manuscripts can explain this problem.

First, the presence of this scholion should not be taken for granted. Some important manuscripts of CiM lack it.⁴⁶ At the same time, it appears in works that are not CiM.⁴⁷ Its place in the manuscript also varies. There are cases where the scholion appears as a marginal note and is not part of the catena's layout.⁴⁸ At least in two cases, the scholion was added separately in the margins by a later copyist.⁴⁹ In other cases it

⁴⁴ Kelhoffer cautiously prefers to leave that point as “an open question.” See Kelhoffer (2014, 57 n. 132).

⁴⁵ The most common versions are found in Aland (1974, 444-5). See also, Burgon (1871, 288-90) and most recently Lamb (2012, 62).

⁴⁶ For instance, GA 25, 34, 77, 92 and BnF Grec 206 (no GA number).

⁴⁷ For example GA 24.

⁴⁸ Such as GA 137 and 143.

⁴⁹ GA 800 and 222.

appears in a distinctive form, in beautifully designed shapes like a diamond, a tree, or an ornamented cross.⁵⁰ However, the most striking observation is that some old manuscripts leave cross-references connecting this scholion specifically to verses 9–18, which is indeed the resurrection part of the story, since verses 19–20 are about Jesus’ ascension. This lemma in GA 137 (150^v – 151^v) and 222 (164^v) is bracketed by crosses before verse 9 and after 18, and the scholion is annotated with the same cross to associate it with this section (9–18) only. GA 2604 (177^v – 178^r) adds cross-reference number β̄ at the end of verse 18 and the scholion, while GA 12 (290^r) uses number 49 (μ̄θ̄) for the same purpose. Leaving no room for speculation, GA 143 (128^r) repeats the first three words of verse 19 in the margin above the scholion to draw the reader’s attention to the connection between the lemma and the scholion. In these three cases we have the scholion in its shortest form, without parts 2 or 3. Therefore, for these cases the *επιφερόμενην δεσποτικήν ανάστασιν* is strictly verses 9–18. To emphasise this understanding, the scholion in these three witnesses is followed by another separate statement saying: “Afterwards, [there is] the ascension and sitting at the right hand of the Father” with a concluding doxology.⁵¹ Both Burgon and Lamb treat the statement of ascension and doxology as part of the previous scholion. This is based on Burgon’s incorrect transcription of GA 12 which connects the two passages with a comma and *καὶ τῆν* (Burgon 1871, 289; Lamb 2012, 62). However, by looking into the manuscript images we can see that these elements do not exist. In all of these witnesses, including the very GA 12 that Burgon consulted, the scholion ends with a clear middle point and is followed by a capitalized *Εἶτα*, which indicates the beginning of a new scholion. From this we can make four major correlated observations:

1. Manuscript evidence shows that the “Palestinian Gospel of Mark” scholion was not always treated as part of CiM. Sometimes they were absent, added in the margin, or crystalised in heavily stylised shapes.
2. The scholion in its shortest (and probably oldest) recension is only about the “Lord’s Resurrection.”
3. With annotations and obelisms, manuscript evidence shows that the short recension strictly referred to verses 9–18 only, which indeed covers the resurrection block in the narrative.
4. This explains the otherwise unnecessary expansion of the scholion to accommodate verses 19–20 of ascension and evangelisation, which also comes with the removal of annotations that previously associated the scholion to verses 9–18 only.

⁵⁰ GA 259, 12 and 299 respectively.

⁵¹ It appears in GA 2604 (178^r) and GA 12 (145^v): “Εἶτα ἀνάληψιν καὶ καθέδραν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ὃ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμὴ [καὶ ἡ προσκυνήσις] νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.” For GA 2604, images, transcription and translation are available here: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EγNjA0> >

In light of this, we should ask whether this scholion provides a window into a very early chapter in the composition history of the Long Ending. Outside this tradition, one curious case is found in the Liège harmony. In this 13th century Dutch codex, the scribe de-harmonised the last chapters of the Gospels and rewrote them in successive blocks for each Gospel. He started with John (21:1–25), then Matthew 28:16–20, and concluded with Luke 24:49–53. Between the Matthean and Lukan blocks, we have the final Markan block 16:14–18,⁵² without verses 19–20. It is unlikely that this was a deliberate omission due to an overlap with other Gospels, since at least verse 20 has unique elements (this is why other editions of the Diatessaron report it).⁵³ What should be emphasised here is that the lack of textual witnesses to the presence of the resurrection section (verses 9–18) without the ascension (19–20) should not hinder us from reporting the findings as they stand.

Part II: Challenges of Electronic Transcription

Systematic digitization of thousands of manuscripts has enabled scholars to capture more than the notes taken by previous scholars, towards a more comprehensive transcription of these materials. Electronic transcription mainly serves two objectives:

1. Improving our understanding of the studied manuscripts by incorporating as much of the extracted data, including codicological features, as possible.
2. The production of future critical apparatuses and special editions such as the *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* (ECM).

This has also necessitated reconfiguring the way we report and categorize these findings, which are expected to be produced through electronic transcription. This has proven that the process of transcription is by no means a blind process of converting written material into a digital text. For instance, what should we make of the loose category of “paratexts”? Patrick Andrist, a member of the *ParaTexBib* project dedicated to the study of paratexts in biblical manuscripts,⁵⁴ justifiably states that “there is a striking lack of shared terminology and methodology for dealing with paratexts, marginal notes and other types of secondary content in ancient codices in general and for the way they relate to one another and to the main contents in the same book” (Andrist 2018, 130). Thus, a cloud of ambiguity shrouds the dynamics of labelling the materials that accompany biblical texts. For instance, as we saw earlier (Table 1 above), the *Text und Textwert* enlists the scholion on the Short Ending for appearing in GA 20 and 215, while it

⁵² The text was published in De Bruin (1970).

⁵³ On Mark’s ending in the Diatessaron see Monier (2019b).

⁵⁴ For more information, see the project website is: < <http://paratexbib.eu/> >

missed the one in GA 1422, because it was part of the catena. The reason is because the latter has the annotation within the body of the commentary, while the note in 20 and 215 appears to have been added to the catena at a later time.

This ambiguity should not be examined apart from the biblical text itself. It blurs the hypothetical distinction between scholarly categories, and this directly impacts transcription decisions. For instance, in the case of GA 019, a transcriber on the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NTVMR) did not have a suitable button on the transcription editor for the Shorter Ending. So, he included it into the <ab> markup of verse 8, along with the heading that separates the Short from the Shorter Endings.⁵⁵ A collation software would find the transcription of this verse extraordinarily long and perplexing. This is not simply due to a transcription error. It reflects the shortcomings of our textual categorization; to which side does the Shorter Ending belong, the canonical text or “paratexts”? This problem is furthered by the new findings reported in this article: is the Shorter Ending really an ending, or is it a ὑπόθεσις as the catenist behind GA2937 and 1422 found it? If it is an ending, then the electronic transcriber will face the problematic situation described above in the case of GA 019. If it is a hypothesis, then the transcriber will follow the strict INTF/IGNTP transcription policy on hypotheses: “They are not transcribed.”⁵⁶ This circular problem that revolves between our perception of the text and transcription requires a fresh approach that does not presume scholarly categorization of texts in printed culture, as Clivaz succinctly explains (2019, 40-2). In this new digital reality we must acknowledge, rather, that transcription as a choice between possibilities is an act of interpretation (Clivaz 2019, 42). Therefore, constant dialogue must be maintained, in order to refine the output transcription.

A good example of constructive collaboration was the production of Mark 16 transcription and encoding in GA 2604. Appreciating the role of paratexts as a communicator through Aesthetic Cognitivism (Allen and Royle 2020, 523), Garrick Allen and Anthony Royle left no single codicological feature unreported in their transcription. The next stage was sending a plain transcription to me in order to encode it in XML and HTML. In this rich frame catena manuscript that I referred to above,⁵⁷ the scribe used cross-referencing to maintain the connection between the biblical lemma and its corresponding commentary. This one is of particular importance as it shows how the “Palestinian Mark” scholion, in its shortest form (without defining its end at verse 20)⁵⁸ is connected to the block that ends at verse 18. Therefore, it was

⁵⁵ XML transcription can be accessed here: <<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/community/vmr/api/transcript/get/?docID=20019&indexContent=Mark%2016:6-9&pageID=2300&format=teiraw>>. My transcription of folio 113^r can be accessed here in «GA 019 f.112v, f.113r, f.113v and f.114r» [Dataset] Nakala. <<https://nakala.fr/11280/4242f209>>

⁵⁶ INTF-IGNTP Guidelines online: <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1676/1/Unicode_Transcription_Guidelines5.pdf>

⁵⁷ See n. 51 above.

⁵⁸ See on page 10 above.

important to meet three key remarks that could deliver the voice of the scribe and the dynamics of his handling of the text:

1. To encode everything, and not just the biblical lemma.
2. To translate the cross-referencing into data in the XML output.
3. To maintain the frame-catenata layout that could help the researcher see the connections and appreciate the factor of visualization that the electronic transcribers Allen and Royle underscored in their approach to paratexts.

In other words, my task was to deliver the voices of the manuscript copyist and the digital transcribers. To meet these objectives, a new XML structure had to be implemented since the common IGTP guidelines do not accommodate such materials. Beside the main division Book/Chapter <div> of the biblical lemma, I have added another <div> for the commentary, in which a breakdown of the catena scholia <ab> were created to meet the original copyist's own structure. Each <ab> scholion is given an ID and number. If the catena has a cross-reference, as it is the case with GA 2604, a pointer element <ptr> is added to the scholion's reference <ab>. ⁵⁹ This pointer is supplied with a @target attribute that connects it with the corresponding verse, as the original catenist himself did:

```

..... <div id="commentary">
..... <ab id="catena1" n="1"><ptr target="B02K15V47" n="1">α</ptr>
..... <lb/> Ευσεβιος φασιν· ως μαρια η μαγδαληνη· και μαρια η του Ιακωβου· και σαλωμη· ητοιμη
..... <lb/> αρωματα· ουκ αυται δε· εισιν αι πρωι ελθουσαι ανατειλαντος του ηλιου· αλλα αλλαι ε
..... <lb/> πολλαι γαρ ησαν αι συναναβασαι αυτω απο της γαλιλαιας· αυται δε αι κατα μαρκον ελ
..... <lb/> τειλαντος του ηλιου· και ασθενεστερον πως διεκειντο και ατελεστερον· οθεν και ουδε

```

Figure 2 catena division showing pointer number 1 and its targeting verse. Transcription by Anthony P. Royle and Garrick V. Allen. Encoded by Mina Monier (DH+, SIB). © SNSF MARK16 & Paratextual Understanding Templeton Religion Trust projects, CC-BY 4.0. Available here: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EyNjA0> >

In the biblical lemma division, the corresponding cross-reference the catenist left also receives a pointer within the verse's <ab> and a @target attribute that directs it back to its twin in the commentary division.

```

.....
..... <ab n="B02K15V47"><ptr target="catena1" num="1">α</ptr><w>η</w><w>δε</w><
..... <w>γδαληνη</w><w>και</w><w>μαρια</w><w>ιωση</w><pc>· </pc><w>εθεωρου</w>
..... <lb/><num type="EusCan" n="238">σλη</num>· <w>που</w><w>τιθεται</w></a

```

Figure 3 The corresponding cross-reference in verse 15:47, with a pointer and target. Transcription by Anthony P. Royle and Garrick V. Allen. Encoded by Mina Monier (DH+, SIB). © SNSF MARK16 &

⁵⁹ On pointers in TEI/P5 guidelines, see: < <https://tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/ref-ptr.html> >

Paratextual Understanding Templeton Religion Trust projects, CC-BY 4.0. Available here: < <https://mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=R0EyNjA0> >

Finally, to enable the reader to see the full codicological features, an entire HTML encoding system had to be implemented in order to create the frame-catena layout. This has been done in the case of GA 2604 as shown here:

Folio 176v			
Col 1	Col 2		
1	Ευσεβίος φασιν · ως μαρια η μαγδαλινη · και μαρια η του Ιακωβου · και σαλωμη · ητοιμασαν μεν		
2	αρωματα · ουκ αυται δε εισιν αι προι ελθουσαι ανατειλαντος του ηλιου · <i>αλλα αλλα ανωνιμοι</i>		
3	πολλα γαρ ησαν αι συναναβασαι αυτω απο της γαλιλαιας · αυται δε αι κατα μαρκον ελθουσαι ανα-		
4	τειλαντος του ηλιου · και ασθενεστερον προς διεκειντο και ατελεστερον · οθεν και ουδε νυκτωρ		
5	παρηγιονται · <i>αλλα προι</i> · και ακουσασαι δε απαγγειλαι τοις μαθηταις αυτου και το πετρο ·		
6	εφυγον και ουδενι ουδεν ειπεν εφοβουντο γαρ · μοναι γαρ αυται ελθουσαι και αληθει οφει πεισθει-		
7	σαι · ως μετα ανατολην ηλιου		
8	επεστησαν · ουτε τον στρα θε-	του $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ · τολμησας εισηλθε προς πι-	
9	ασασθαι καταξιουνται · η τον	λατον · και ητησατο το σωμα του	
10	αγγελον τον εξαστραπτοντα ·	$\overline{\iota\upsilon}$ · ο δε πιλατος εθανυμασεν ει	
11	η τους δυο τους εσω του μνη-	44	
12	ματος · ουτε τους δυο τους	ηδη τεθνηκε · και προσκαλεσα-	
13	παρα τω λουκας ανδρας · ψυλον	μενος τον κεντυριωνα · επηρω-	
14	δε τινα νεανισκαν ειδον · περι-	τησεν αυτον ει <i>παλαι απεθανε</i>	
15	βεβλημενον στολην λευκην ·	και γνους απο του κεντυριωνος ·	
16	αναλογως τη της διανοιας	45	
17	αυτων σμικροτητι · την ο-	εδωρησατο το πτωμα τω ιωσηφ ·	
18	πτασιαν ιδουσαι ·		
19	$\overline{\beta}$ Ο μεν Ματθαιος οψε σαββα-	$\overline{\sigma\kappa\iota\eta}$ $\overline{\alpha}$ Κ αι αγορασας σινδωνα και καθελων	46
20	των φησιν · ο δε λουκας · ορθρου βα-	αυτον · ενειλησε τη σινδوني · και κα-	
21	θεος · ο δε $\overline{\iota\omega}$ · τη μια των σαβ-	τεθηκεν αυτον εν μνημειω · ο ην λε-	
22	βατων προι ετι σκοτιας ουσης ·	λατομημενον εκ πετρας · και προ-	
23	ως φαινεσθαι προκεκοφει-	σεκυλισε λιθον επι την θυραν	
24	αν την νυκτα πολυ · και προς	του μνημειου · $\overline{\alpha}$ η δε μαρια η μα-	
25	ημεραν ειναι · τον γαρ τοιουτον καιρον	47	
26	δυνατον και οψε σαββατων	$\overline{\sigma\kappa\theta}$ $\overline{\alpha}$ Γ γδαλινη και μαρια ιωσηφ · εθεωρουν	
27	καλεισθαι · και βοηθον ορθρον	16:1	
28	της μιας των σαββατων ·	$\overline{\sigma\lambda}$ $\overline{\eta}$ Τ του σαββατου · μαρια η μαγδαλινη	
29	και προι · <i>λιαν δε προι και ουτος</i>	και μαρια ιακωβου και σαλωμη ·	
30	ειπον · τον νυκτερινον ετι της ωρας	ηγορασαν αρωματα ινα ελθου-	
31	εδηλωσεν · δηλον γαρ οτι οι μεν	38	
32	μιαν σαββατων ειποντες · την ανα-	$\overline{\sigma\lambda\alpha}$ $\overline{\alpha}$ Β και λιαν προι	
33	στασιμον ημεραν ηβουληθησαν	2	
34	επιδειξει · ο δε ματθαιος το οψε σαβ-		
35	βατου λεγων της αναστασεως την		
36	αρχη δηλοι · αρχεται γαρ ο σαββα-		
37	τισμος ιουδαιois και πασα		
38	εορτη νομιμος · απο εσπειρας · επει-		
39	Δ δη εν τισι τον αντιγραφον		
40	προσκειται τω κατα μαρκον ευαγγελι-		
41	ω · το αναστας προι πρωτη σαβ-		
42	βατου · εφανη μαρια τη μαγδαλινη · δοκει τουτο διαφωνειν τω υπο τω ματθαιω ειρημενω · ερουμεν		
43	ως δυνατον μεν ην ειπειν οτι νενοθευται τω παρα τω μαρκω τελευταιον εν τισι φερομενον · πλην ινα		
44	μη δοξομεν επι το ετοιμον καταφυγεν · ουτως αναγνωσομεθα αναστας δε · και υποστιζαντες · επαγομεν		
45	προι τη μια του σαββατου · εφανη τη μαρια τη μαγδαλινη · ινα το μεν αναστας · περι πεμ-		
46	ψομεν · επι τω παρα τω ματθαιω οψε σαββατων · τοτε γαρ εγηγερθη αυτον φησι · το δε εξης		
47	ετερος ον διανοιας παραστατικον · συνανωμεν τοις επιλεγομενοις · τον γαρ οψε σαββα-		
48	των κατα ματθαιον εγηγερμενον · ιστορει προι εωρακεναι μαριαν την μαγδαλινην ·		
49	τουτο γουν εδηλωσε και τω προι και αυτος μαρτυρησας · ωφθαι αυτον τη μαγδαλινη		
50	ως παριστασθαι εν τωτοις καιρους δυο · τον μεν της αναστασεως τον οψε σαββατου τον δε της του $\overline{\sigma\rho\varsigma}$ επιφανειας		
51	του προι ·		

Figure 4 GA 2604 - f.176^v Transcription by Anthony P. Royle and Garrick V. Allen. Encoded by Mina Monier (DH+, SIB). © SNSF MARK16 & Paratextual Understanding Templeton Religion Trust projects, CC-BY 4.0. Available here: < <https://mr-mark16.sib.swiss/show?id=ROEyNjA0> >

Conclusion

Gaining new insights on the reception history of Mark's last chapter is still possible, provided that researchers push the boundaries of language, categories, and established theories they have taken for granted. The Markan endings did not appear in a vacuum. The catenae can inform us about the scale of tension and the problems that the church fathers, quoted therein, wrestled with in order to add the lemma as it was. They saw what we cannot see today, that is, the extent of the presence of the long ending in their antigraphs and how it was deemed orthodox or "a forgery." Is the "Palestinian Mark" scholion a patristic commentary? Or is it a marginal note that could be fortunate enough to find its way into future critical editions, as other notes did?

The first part of this article has shown us that digitization of manuscripts has enabled us to refine and expand our knowledge of the witnesses that were previously accessed by a much fewer number of scholars. Further, it has also enabled us to register new findings that were otherwise unknown, such as two new Greek witnesses to the Shorter Ending, yet under different categories that problematize our modern perception that separates biblical text from paratexts. Consequently, by stepping into the digital culture of electronic transcription, we are compelled to have a wider scope of interest into the details and features we can record, being unhindered by the established categories, preferences, and prejudices of classic biblical scholarship.

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