

The Authenticity of Mark 16:9-20

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Be sure to consult the footnotes as you go. Some of them significantly clarify or reinforce the text.

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CHAPTER ONE: Preface

For centuries, the Christian church has regarded Mark 16:9-20, the “Long Ending” of Mark (a.k.a. the “Longer Ending”) as part of the New Testament. However, in 1881 B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, reinforcing the conclusions of some scholars who preceded them, presented evidence which has convinced many people that the Gospel of Mark originally did not contain these verses.^{1-a} Today most commentators deny, often almost casually, that Mark 16:9-20 was an original part of the Gospel of Mark.^{1-b} That view has affected modern Bible translations and may affect them more noticeably in the future.^{1-c} I contend, however, that the modern consensus is largely the result of a pandemic of commentators’ exaggerations and inaccuracies, and that the external and internal evidence build a strong cumulative case that Mark 16:9-20 was originally present in the Gospel of Mark when it was first published for church use.

The statement that Mark 16:9-20 was originally present in the Gospel of Mark at that point is not the same as a statement that Mark wrote these 12 verses immediately after writing the preceding part of the book. I propose that Mark unintentionally stopped writing at the end of 16:8, leaving the unpublished and unfinished text to his surviving colleagues in Rome. These colleagues, not desiring to publish the book in its incomplete state, and simultaneously hesitant to create an ending from their own minds, decided to attach a short composition which Mark had written previously -- a composition which summarized the post-resurrection appearances of Christ. That short composition is what we known today as Mark 16:9-20.

I also propose that this passage was lost from a narrow channel of textual transmission either due to an accidental loss -- that is, the loose page containing the text of the resurrection-accounts was disconnected from the main scroll, and was lost -- or because a copyist in the second century recognized this short composition as what it had originally been -- that is, a separate composition -- he excised it from the text of the Gospel of Mark. This loss affected the transmission-stream in Egypt, from which descended all extant manuscripts which attest to the abrupt ending of the book at 16:8. Because, as I will show, the evidence favors the theory that this passage was originally present in the book, its legitimacy as part of the canonical text should not be questioned, even if questions about its authorship remain.^{1-d}

That is the main argument of this book. A secondary point runs along these lines: the loss occurred to the archetype itself, before a copy was made which reached Ephesus in the late first century. This copy at Ephesus contained the Abrupt Ending (that is, the ending at the end of 16:8). Some copies of the Gospel of Mark were made at this stage, and were sent to Egypt where they were recopied and disseminated. Meanwhile in Ephesus, John composed a text resembling John 21:1-19 (which I shall call the “Johannine Ending”) to complete the Markan narrative which ended at 16:8. Only shortly thereafter, however, a complete copy of the Gospel of Mark, containing the Long Ending, reached Ephesus from Rome. The Johannine Ending was removed from the Gospel of Mark, and briefly became a “floating” text which was soon incorporated into John 21. Later, in the second century, the Short Ending was composed as a flourish for a copy in Egypt which was descended from a copy which had displayed the Abrupt Ending.

This theory is more detailed than, but basically identical, in its first part, to the theory proposed by G.F. Maclear in 1877 that the Long Ending was added by someone other than Mark before the Gospel of Mark was published (see footnote [1-n](#)).

A NOTE ABOUT THE CANONICITY OF THE LONG ENDING

Some researchers, including even some who believe that Mark did not write verses 9-20, nevertheless consider these verses a canonical text which the Lord has used to instruct His church.^{1-e} ^e Canonicity does not preclude co-authorship; I am confident that the Long Ending was written by Mark as a freestanding summary of Christ’s post-resurrection appearances -- perhaps as a liturgical or catechetical tool. But even if someone else wrote it, as part of a final revision prior to the publication of the Gospel of Mark, both authors’ work are part of the original text, and both are canonical. Some scholars, especially Roman Catholic scholars, say that the longstanding

acceptance and usage of Mark 16:9-20 and the pronouncements of the Council of Trent^{1-f} make it “canonically authentic” regardless of its authorship and date. However, if we were to embrace every form of Biblical text which God has used to bless the church, we would have to embrace several forms, with competing variations. Only one text can be the original inspired text written by the authors at any given point where the manuscripts differ -- and for this reason, discussion about the original form of the text of the Gospel of Mark should matter, and do matter.

The contents of Mark 16:9-20 are historically and doctrinally significant. Martin Luther quoted 16:16 with great emphasis.^{1-g} The fellowship of Churches of Christ and Christian Churches has used Mark 16:16 to augment the case for baptism for the forgiveness of sins.^{1-h} Some Pentecostal and Charismatic groups, for better or for worse, have appealed to 16:17-18 to support various practices.¹⁻ⁱ Most variants are of no doctrinal significance, but this one definitely is.^{1-j} —

Although a theological case for the passage’s canonicity may be made based on its widespread use, dogmatically asserted inclusion, and other factors, the purpose of this essay is to employ a text-critical approach to demonstrate that, as a textual variant, the presence of 16:9-20 in the Gospel of Mark explains the rise of other variants better than other variants explain the rise of 16:9-20, and therefore this passage should be received as part of the original, canonical text of the Gospel of Mark.

A NOTE ABOUT EARLIER STUDIES OF THIS ISSUE

Many commentators on the Gospel of Mark have gotten their facts wrong when describing the evidence related to 16:9-20.^{1-k} Others have uncritically echoed the sentiment made in 1881 by Hort.^{1-l} Others have presented facts in ways that are highly misleading and needlessly vague. This is especially true regarding descriptions of the external evidence – manuscripts, early versions, and usage or non-usage of the passage by early church writers. In order to rectify this situation, in chapters 2-11 I will describe the external evidence. I will refer to the main variants as the Short Ending (SE, a brief one-verse conclusion), the Abrupt Ending (AE, in which 16:8 is the last verse of Mark), and the Long Ending (LE, Mark 16:9-20).^{1-m} In chapters 12-14 I will review several hypotheses that attempt to account for the external evidence. Then in chapters 15-16 I will examine internal evidence, with a supplemental essay by Dr. Bruce Terry. Along the way, I will provide evidence and argumentation to show that the probability that the LE was an original part of the Gospel of Mark is greater than the opposite scenario.¹⁻ⁿ

PART ONE: EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

Chapter Two: The External Evidence - A Panoramic View

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE LONG ENDING

It is sometimes said that only two out of 620 Greek manuscripts of the Gospel of Mark are missing the last twelve verses.^{2-a} That estimate can be improved. Today the list of Greek MSS containing the Gospel of Mark is over 1,500. It is still essentially true that only two Greek manuscripts clearly display the abrupt ending of Mark at the end of 16:8.

Scholars often appeal to early papyri to support a variant-reading. Unfortunately the oldest copy of Mark, Papyrus 45 (P⁴⁵), from about A.D. 225, is somewhat fragmentary, and is missing several pages, including all of chapter 16. Therefore it cannot be confidently considered a witness for or against the LE.^{2-b} Some other MSS must also be considered mute due to their mutilated condition. Nevertheless, with one or two trivial exceptions, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus are the only two undamaged Greek MSS of Mark 16 which clearly support the Abrupt Ending of Mark.

Four other MSS are sometimes cited as not containing the LE: 2386, 1420, 16, and 304. Minuscules 2386 and 1420 are damaged. Minuscule 16 is damaged, and is missing not only verses 9-20 but also verses 6-8 for this reason. Minuscule 304 is an unusual MS which mingles the text with a commentary, and it is difficult to tell whether 304 is a valid witness against the inclusion of the LE or not.^{2-c}

After withdrawing damaged MSS from consideration, and after categorizing 304 as Probably Damaged, the percentage of extant Greek MSS in favor of the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 is higher than 99.5%.^{2-d} This numerical avalanche in favor of the LE, however, must be considered in light of the relationships among Greek MSS, which will be examined after we consider the evidence for other variants, and some relevant margin-notes which appear in some witnesses.

EVIDENCE FOR THE ABRUPT ENDING AND THE SHORT ENDING

In the fourth edition of the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament, the following 15 pieces of evidence (of which only three are extant Greek MSS) are listed as support for the Abrupt Ending: \aleph , B, 304, syr^s, cop-sa^{ms}, arm^{mss}, geo^{1, A}, Eusebius, mss^{acc. to Eusebius}, Epiphanius^{1/2}, Hesychius, mss^{acc. to Severus}, Jerome, and mss^{acc. to Jerome}.^{2-e}

The GNT also lists, on p. 189, six Greek MSS which include the Short Ending (or "Shorter Ending") as well as the LE: L Ψ 083 [part of 083 used to be referred to as 0112] 099 274^{mg} (that is, in the margin), and 579. The SE is an important textual variant. Its presence in these MSS is often interpreted to mean that they have descended from an earlier MS or MSS which did not contain Mark 16:9-20. The Greek text of the SE, with my own line-by-line translation, is as follows:

παντα δε τα παρηγγελμενα τοις περι τον Πητρον συντομως εξηγγειλαν.

Everything that had been told to them, unto Peter and his companions they related.

Μετα δε ταυτα και αυτος ο Ιησους [εφανε αυτοις] [και] απο ανατολης και αρχι δυσεως

And after this Jesus Himself [appeared to them] [and], from east even unto west,

εξαπεστειλεν δι' αυτων το ιερον και αφθαρτον κηρυγμα της αιωνιου σωτηριας.^{2-f}

sent forth through them the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation."

Of the six Greek MSS with the SE, Dr. H.B. Swete, using the symbol "d¹²" to refer to 083, made a significant comment about a scribal note that is found in three of them:

"Since the formula *εστιν δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το 'εφ. γαρ'* is common to L Ψ d¹², we must suppose that these manuscripts, notwithstanding other features which attest independence, drew at this point from the same relatively early archetype."^{2-g} This ancestor of L, Ψ , and 083 almost certainly was produced in Egypt. This is demonstrated by the way in which L, Ψ , and 083 agree, or

almost agree, with the Greek-Coptic lectionary 1602 in the inclusion of this note. Before the SE, l-1602 says “Εν αλλοις αντιγραφοις ουκ εγραφη ταυτα,” and 099 says “Εν τισιν αντιγραφον ταυτα φερεται.” Then, when presenting the LE, l-1602 and 099 both begin mid-way through 16:8 at the words “ειχεν γαρ” rather than at the beginning of 16:9.^{2-h}

THE FREER LOGION

Another variant – which some commentators erroneously describe as another ending – appears in Codex Washingtonensis (“W,” from the early 400’s). This four-Gospel codex displays 16:9-20 at the end of Mark. A unique interpolation appears between v. 14 and v. 15. This extra material is known as the *Freer Logion* (“Freer” being the last name of Charles Lang Freer, an art collector from Detroit, Michigan who purchased the codex in Egypt in 1907, and “Logion” meaning “Saying”). Its contents are as follows (with line-for-line translation):

κακεινοι απελογουντε λεγοντες οτι ο
They excused themselves, saying (that)
αιων ουτος της ανομιας και της απιστιας
“This age of lawlessness and unbelief
υπο τον Σαταναν εστιν ο μη εων τα υπο
is under Satan, who does not allow, through
των πνατων ακαθαρτα την αληθειαν
the unclean spirits, the truth
του Θυ καταλαβεσθαι δυναμιν. δια
and power of God to be understood. So
τουτο αποκαλυπον σου την δικαιοσυ-
then, reveal your righteousness
νην ηδη εκεινοι ελεγον τω Χω και ο
now,” they said to Christ. And
Χς εκεινοις προσελεγεν οτι πεπληρω-
Christ told them (that), “Fulfilled are
ται ο ορος των ετων της εξουσιας του
the years of the reign of
Σατανα αλλα εγγιζει αλλα δινα. και υ-
Satan, but other terrors approach. And
περ ων εγω αμαρτησαντων παρεδοθη
for those who have sinned I was delivered
εις θανατον ινα υποστρεψωσιν εις τη
unto death, that they might return unto the
αληθειαν και μηκετι αμαρτησωσιν,
truth and sin no more,
ινα την εν τω ουρανω πνικην και α-
so that in heaven the spiritual and
φθαρτον της δικ—αιουσυνης δοξαν
incorruptible glory of righteousness
κληρονομησωσιν. — αλλα πορευθεντες ...²⁻ⁱ
they may inherit. But go ...”

Jerome (c. 417) wrote that “in some copies and especially Greek codices” there was such a text.^{2-j}

Dr. Bruce Metzger states that the addition in W “has no claim to be original” and “It is probably the work of a second or third century scribe who wished to soften the severe condemnation of the Eleven in 16:14.”^{2-k} If so, W’s reading attests to the existence of the LE in the 100’s or 200’s. Dr. Metzger also rejected the SE, stating that internal evidence “is decidedly against its being genuine.”^{2-l} The sparseness of its external attestation in Greek MSS and its lack of patristic support weigh in heavily against it. The apparent implication that ancestor-MSS of the copies with the SE lacked Mark 16:9-20 is, in a way, more important than the SE itself.

W’s expansion and the SE are interesting, but not authentic. They are not seriously considered to have been original. Despite these factors our original question remains focused: did Mark originally contain 16:9-20 or not?

MARGIN-NOTES

The GNT lists “f¹, 205 and others” as witnesses which “add vv 9-20 with critical note or sign.”^{2-m} Initially it may appear that these MSS should be regarded as testimony against the inclusion of 16:9-20. It is not unusual for commentators to refer to these MSS as if they all have “scribal notes stating that older Greek copies lack them,” as Metzger wrote in *Textual Commentary*, p. 123. However, the note involved typically appears as,

“Ἐν τισιν τῶν αντιγραφῶν εὐς ὧδε πληροῦται ὁ εὐαγγελιστῆς εὐς οὐ καὶ Εὐσεβίου ὁ Παμφίλου ἐκανόνισεν. Ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φέρεται.”²⁻ⁿ This translates as, “In some of the copies, the evangelist is completed here, and here is Eusebius Pamphili’s canonization. But in many, this also appears.”

The existence of this note in these MSS suggests that they are descended from a common ancestor or group of ancestors. It also indicates that the earlier ancestor(s) existed in a location where (a) some MSS ended at 16:8, (b) the Eusebian Canon Tables were known, and (c) many MSS contained the LE. The tone of this note favors the inclusion of the passage, as does the presence of the LE in all these MSS. Rather than stating that the older copies omit Mark 16:9-20, when the margin-notes compare the ages of MSS, as a whole they stress that Mark 16:9-20 is present in the ancient copies. This note may be a summary of a statement in the Commentary of Victor of Antioch, which will be described later.

Now that the major variants in the MSS have been introduced, an assessment of their implications may begin. It is important to realize that a text does not become more original by being copied more frequently than other texts. (More MSS of the Latin Vulgate exist than copies of the Greek text; that does not mean that the Vulgate is original; it was produced in the late 300’s.^{2-o}) Manuscripts must be considered in light of their date, provenance, and textual genealogy. When it can be demonstrated that 10 MSS are copies of a previous MS, the attestation of those 10 boils down to the testimony of their one ancestor. (This sort of thing does not actually happen very often, however.) And if that sort of genealogical relationship can be demonstrated for many MSS, then theoretically a vast numerical advantage may carry little weight.

Because most medieval Greek MSS contain the Byzantine Text, and because many researchers in the 1900’s accepted Westcott and Hort’s theory that the Byzantine Text was essentially an editorial production made in the lifetime of Lucian of Antioch,^{2-p} those MSS were generally regarded as reflecting a text which did not exist prior to A.D. 250. As a result, many researchers have regarded the Byzantine Text’s inclusion of the LE to reflect the reading-preference of one individual, or one team of copyists, in the late third century.

In the 1900’s, some Byzantine readings were discovered in papyri written before 250. As a result of this discovery (and other factors), Hort’s view that all unique Byzantine variants ought to be regarded as unoriginal has gradually and correctly been abandoned. However, the fact remains that the hundreds of MSS which contain the Byzantine Text descend from earlier MSS which represent

much less than the full spectrum of local texts which radiated from the original text. Therefore a consideration of the whole spectrum is justified.

However, whether or not one believes that many of the unique readings of the Byzantine Text originated in the late 200's, the LE cannot realistically be placed among those accretions because of the patristic evidence and the versional evidence, which are reinforced by the evidence from lectionaries.

I will examine these three groups of evidence, summarize their impact, and show why they do not support the position that the LE is a late addition to the Gospel of Mark. Then I will closely examine Vaticanus and Sinaiticus.

Chapter Three: Patristic Evidence

Here is a list of writers of the early church whose writings are most frequently consulted for quotations from Mark. Dates given are for the death of the individual.

Ambrose of Milan (397), Aphrahat [also called Aphraates] (367), Athanasius (373), Augustine (430), Basil (379), Chrysostom (407), Clement of Alexandria (215), Cyprian (258), Cyril of Alexandria (444), Cyril of Jerusalem (386), Ephrem Syrus (373), Epiphanius (403), Eusebius of Caesarea (339), Gregory Nazianzus (390), Gregory of Nyssa (394), Hilary (367), Hippolytus (235), Irenaeus (202), Jerome (420), Justin Martyr (165), Origen (254), Tatian (c. 175), Tertullian (220), Victor of Antioch (mid-400's).^{3-a}

Although the fourth edition of the UBS Greek New Testament lists Eusebius, Manuscripts-according-to-Eusebius, one citation by Epiphanius, Hesychius, Manuscripts-according-to-Severus, Jerome, and Manuscripts-according-to-Jerome as patristic evidence for the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20, the second edition of the GNT had provided a significantly different list of patristic support for the non-inclusion of the LE: **Clement** (that is, Clement of Alexandria), **Origen, Eusebius** (that is, Eusebius of Caesarea), **Jerome**, and **Ammonius**.^{3-b}

In some ways the new list is better than the previous one. In some ways, however, it is worse. There is no clear evidence that Clement of Alexandria used the LE. However, Clement of Alexandria seems to have not used the Gospel of Mark very much. As a result, the negative evidence of Clement is weak; it says nothing about the LE which cannot be said about numerous other parts of Mark. William Farmer noted, "Clement is equally silent about the last chapter of Matthew, and, therefore, it is difficult to evaluate his silence with regard to Mark 16:9-20."^{3-c}

Origen, likewise, does not quote explicitly from the LE in his extant works.^{3-d} However, emphasis must be placed on the words: "in his extant works." Both he and Clement are known to have written a lot of material which has not survived. At best, their testimony is an argument from silence, and this silence is capable of other explanations besides the theory that they never encountered the LE in their copies of the Gospel of Mark.

Furthermore, Metzger's statement that Origen does not indicate knowledge of the Long Ending should be reconsidered in light of Origen's statements in Against Celsus. Were it not for the cloud of doubt in regard to Mark 16:9-20, at least two statements by Origen in that composition would probably be cross-referenced as usages of, or allusions to, material in those verses.

A citation in Origen's work De Oratione 18:3 indicates that Origen did not use the Gospel of Mark very much. In a discussion of the Lord's Prayer, he wrote, "We have also searched Mark for some such similar prayer that might have escaped our notice, but we have found no trace of one."^{3-e}

It is less than accurate to cite Clement and Origen as evidence for the omission of the LE unless one also cites them as evidence against all other passages of similar size upon which they fail to comment in their extant works.

It is also misleading to cite Ammonius. Ammonius is mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea as the producer of a Gospels-harmony in which Ammonius had arranged the text of Matthew with parallel-passages from the other Gospels, where parallels existed, alongside the Matthean text. Eusebius used Ammonius' section-divisions of the Gospel of Matthew and the sections of the other

Gospels which contained parallels to the Matthean text as a prototype of his more elaborate system of text-divisions; although Eusebius is responsible for the full system of section-divisions, at an early period they came to be referred to as the “Ammonian Sections.” It should be emphasized, though, that the Ammonian Sections are unknown in any form earlier than the form they had after Eusebius had adapted and expanded them for his Canon Tables. Because Ammonius’ Matthew-centered Gospel-harmony would not be expected to contain passages from Mark, Luke, and John that are not paralleled in Matthew, and because Eusebius thoroughly adjusted, according to his own purposes, his predecessor’s reference-system, Ammonius should be regarded as silent on the question of how the Gospel of Mark ended.

The fourth edition of the GNT is improved by the non-citation of Ammonius, Clement or Origen as evidence for or against the LE.

The earliest patristic citations now offered in the GNT (fourth edition) against the LE are **Eusebius** and **manuscripts-according-to-Eusebius**. Eusebius and Jerome are frequently cited as saying that the LE is missing in accurate copies. One prominent commentator has incorrectly written that Eusebius and Jerome “say that the passage was unknown in all copies of Mark to which they had access.”^{3-f} Their actual statements are quite different. I shall examine Eusebius’ statement first.

In the work in which Eusebius’ statement is found (Ad Marinum), Eusebius was framing a hypothesis in which he pictured two individuals to show two ways to deal with an apparent discrepancy between Mark 16:9 and Matthew 28:1. The paraphrase of Ad Marinum which follows was double-checked with a more literal translation of part of Ad Marinum made by Dr. James Kelhoffer.^{3-g}

First, Eusebius presents the question which Marinus has asked: “How is it that in Matthew, the risen Savior appears ‘late on the Sabbath’ but in Mark ‘early on the first day of the week?’” He offers two ways to resolve the difficulty.

“There might be two paths to a solution to this. On one hand, the person who rejects the passage itself ~ the pericope which says this ~ might say that it does not appear in all copies of the Gospel of Mark. At least, the accurate copies have the subscription, “The end of the account given by Mark,” [Or, “At least the accurate copies indicate the end of Mark’s account”] with the words of the youth who appeared to the women and said to them, “Do not fear. You are seeking Jesus the Nazarene” and so on, continuing on to where, in addition, it says, “And having heard, they fled, and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid.”

“For there appears the subscription ‘The end of the Gospel of Mark’ [Or, “For there is indicated the end of Mark’s Gospel”] in almost all the copies. The next part appears seldom, in some copies but not in all, and may be spurious, especially since it implies a disagreement with the witness of the other Gospels.” So, someone might make such a statement to avoid and altogether dismiss a superfluous question.

“On the other hand, someone else, who dares to set aside nothing at all which appears, by whatever means, in the Gospel-Scriptures, says that the reading, like many others, is double, and each of the two must be accepted, being advocated by the faithful and pious, not this one instead of that one, or that one rather than this one.

“Furthermore, since it is granted that this section is true, it is appropriate to expound the meaning of the passage. And if we accurately discern the sense of the words, we would not find it contrary to what Matthew said (“late on the Sabbath” the Savior was raised). For we will read Mark’s “and having risen early on the first day of the week” with a pause: after “and having risen” we shall add a comma.”

A little further down, Eusebius states, “Mark referred to the later time when he wrote, saying what must be read with a pause ~ “and having risen.” Then, after adding a comma, one must read the rest ~ “early on the first day of the week He appeared to Mary Magdalene, from whom He had cast out seven demons.”^{3-h}

Eusebius’ remarks in this composition are heavily nuanced. The proposal offered by the first individual indicates Eusebius’ own ideal approach to the question; however he seems to have assumed that his approach was already, and would continue to be, rejected in Marinus’ church, and he acquiesced to Marinus’ acceptance of the passage by advocating the second resolution. In

addition, Eusebius framed the first resolution in such a way that, if questioned about it, he would be able to deny personally advocating it.

The decisive evidence, in the first resolution, is the “accurate copies.” Eusebius does not seem concerned about precisely describing the quantity of the MSS involved: his posited apologist states that 16:9-20 “does not appear in all the copies” (an ambiguous description which could describe a scene in which it was only missing in one copy) but goes on to claim that the Gospel ends at 16:8 “in nearly all the copies.”

Since Eusebius advises Marinus to harmonize and retain the LE, it would be easy to suppose, on first glance, that when Eusebius wrote Ad Marinum, he favored the inclusion of the passage; after all, if he had firmly excluded it, there would be little reason to offer a way to harmonize it with Matthew. However, Eusebius seems to have advocated the inclusion and harmonization of the passage only because it was clear to him that Marinus already accepted it. Hort’s claim that Eusebius “allows it to be transparent that he did not seriously regard the disputed verses as part of the Gospel”³⁻ⁱ is not entirely justified but at least Eusebius made it clear that he felt that a credible case could be made that there was no need to harmonize Mark 16:9 with Matthew 28:1 because Mark 16:9 and the rest of the LE were not in accurate copies (though, inasmuch as Eusebius quotes from the LE, it obviously was present in at least one MS available to him at Caesarea).

The idea that this was Eusebius’ own view ~ however tactfully and safely presented ~ is supported by his non-inclusion of the LE in his Canon Tables.^{3-j} The extant forms of the Canon Tables are not entirely identical; many include the LE.^{3-k} But it seems more likely that later copyists adjusted Eusebius’ original arrangement so as to include the LE than that Eusebius originally included it and some later copyists altered the Canon Tables to omit it. So, on balance, although Eusebius refers to 16:9 as the work of Mark, and although his comments in Ad Marinum culminate in a recommendation that the LE be retained, Eusebius almost certainly did not regard the LE as a legitimate part of the Gospel of Mark. It is significant that Eusebius’ descriptions of the quantity of MSS are employed rhetorically and he builds nothing on them. He may have borrowed the descriptions from unrelated writings of earlier apologists such as Origen.

(Burgon speculated that Eusebius may have been borrowing material in Ad Marinum from a composition made by Origen. Hort was inclined to agree with Burgon about this: referring to Eusebius’ comments in Ad Marinum, he stated, “Whether the statement is original or, as Matthaëi and Dr. Burgon suggest, reproduced from the lost comment of an earlier writer, as Origen, cannot be decided. If it was borrowed from Origen, as we strongly suspect that it was, the testimony as the MSS gains in importance by being carried back to a much earlier date and a much higher authority.” (p. 32, Introduction, Notes.) In Eusebius’ descriptions of the manuscripts in Ad Marinum, he seems to have echoed a phrase which Origen used in a different context: Eusebius’ first apologist states that the Gospel of Mark ends with 16:8 “σχεδον εν πασι τοις αντιγραφοις” (“in nearly all the copies”); Origen, in the course of commenting on the Bethany-or-Bethabara variant in John 1:28, stated that “Bethany” “σχεδον εν πασι τοις αντιγραφοις κειται” (is in nearly all the copies). (Cf. the Greek text provided by Kelhoffer in “*The Witness of Eusebius’ ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings*,” p. 85, and Bruce Metzger’s citation of Origen on p. 96 in “*References in Origen to Variant Readings*,” New Testament Textual Studies Vol. VIII, © 1968 by E.J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands.)

Jerome included the LE in the Vulgate, produced in 384, even though he knew about, and used, the Eusebian Canon Tables (which in their original form did not include the LE). Jerome also used text from the LE in 417 in Against the Pelagians 2:14-15, where he mentions the Freer Logion.^{3-l}

^l Why, then, is Jerome cited as evidence against the inclusion of the LE? It is because in about A.D. 406, in Letter to Hedibia (“Epistle 120”) he summarized and repeated (paraphrasing and re-phrasing into Latin) part of Ad Marinum. Jerome wrote:

“This difficulty admits of a twofold solution. Either we shall reject the testimony of Mark, which is met in scarcely any copies of the Gospel – almost all the Greek codices being without this passage – (especially since it seems to narrate what contradicts the other Gospels); - or else, we shall reply that both Evangelists state what is true . . . For the passage must be punctuated through, ‘When he was risen’: and presently after a pause, must be added, ‘Early the first day of the week, He appeared to Mary Magdalene. . . .’”^{3-m}

Jerome's statement about the ending of Mark in his Letter to Hedibia is a loose condensation of Eusebius' statement in Ad Marinum. That is obvious. What is not as immediately obvious, but equally true, is that this is just a portion of part of Jerome's letter which was, for the most part, essentially a re-presentation of Eusebius' material. Not only are the answers the same, but, as John Burgon showed, a series of questions – supposedly asked by Hedibia – are the same questions which Marinus asked Eusebius.

Therefore, it would be misleading to cite Eusebius and Jerome simply as support for the omission of verses 9-20. Eusebius' statement shows that he had seen MSS which were missing the LE and that he regarded them as accurate, but it does not imply that they were truly a majority of all MSS, or that they were superior in some way to MSS which included the LE. If Jerome's statement in Ad Hedibiam means that he believed that a large majority of Greek MSS of Mark lacked 16:9-20, then it also means that he did not consider that decisive. But his statement might simply mean that, like many other busy writers, he borrowed and summarized material which others had written and, in the process, he exaggerated it. Either way, the statement in Ad Hedibiam is effectively outweighed by Jerome's inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 in the Vulgate, and his assumption in Against the Pelagians that his readers' copies of Mark contained 16:9-20.³⁻ⁿ

Now I shall consider some other patristic evidence.

Irenaeus, a bishop, writing in about A.D. 180 in Gaul (France), quoted Mark 16:19 and attributed it to Mark. In Adversus Haereses ("Against Heresies"), Book Three, 10:5-6 he says, "Also, towards the conclusion of his Gospel, Mark says: 'So then, after the Lord Jesus had spoken to them, He was received up into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God.'"^{3-o}

Irenaeus' testimony is particularly weighty, since – besides being a bishop, and besides writing about 145 years before Codex Vaticanus was made – he refers at least once to "the ancient and approved copies" of New Testament material (Eusebius quoted this comment in Ecclesiastical History, Book Five, chapter 8, referring to copies of Revelation). Inasmuch as Irenaeus wrote in the late 100's, it seems fair to think that a manuscript which was "ancient" to him would have to be genealogically close to the autographs.

Further evidence of Irenaeus' use of the LE may be found in Book Two, 32:4, of Against Heresies, which was quoted by Eusebius in Ecclesiastical History, Book 5 chapter 7. There the phrases "in His name," "drive out demons," "the laying on of hands, and restore them to health," and "speak through the Spirit, with all kinds of tongues" occur close together.^{3-p}

Tatian, in about A.D. 172, merged the texts of the Gospels into one continuous narrative called the Diatessaron. Some MSS used to reconstruct the Diatessaron are not written in Greek or Syriac; they are Arabic, Armenian, Old Dutch, Italian, Latin, and Persian – and most of them are late. They arrange the text of the LE differently.

Working mainly with late evidence, several prominent scholars have categorically affirmed that Tatian's Diatessaron contained the LE. However, because each branch of evidence treats the LE differently, it could be argued that the LE was independently assimilated into each branch, which would imply its original absence from the Diatessaron.

The Arabic Diatessaron, made in 1043, was based on a MS (which was written in 873) of the Syriac text of the Diatessaron. The Arabic Diatessaron's arrangement may be regarded, with some qualifications, as a fairly close representation of the original arrangement of the Diatessaron.^{3-q} This might partly explain why other texts of the Diatessaron do not incorporate Mark 16:9-20 in the same way.^{3-r} The Arabic Diatessaron (part 55) neglects to mention that the disciples "sat at table." Instead it pictures them on a mountain (as in Matthew 28:16), and warps the text of Mark 16:14 so as to present the individuals who failed to believe as the same individuals who first saw the risen Jesus.^{3-s} It seems likely that the Arabic Diatessaron reflects the Syriac text of the Diatessaron faithfully at this point, and that the Diatessaron's question-raising structure elicited independent adjustments in various branches of the late evidence.

The Arabic Diatessaron is allied with much earlier evidence from a commentary on the Diatessaron written by Ephrem Syrus. In his commentary, Ephrem included a quotation of Mark 16:15 combined with Matthew 28:19. Ephrem died in 373, and the Syriac manuscript – Chester

Beatty Syriac MS 709 – of his commentary was produced in about A.D. 500. The only conclusion which can be justified by this is that the Diatessaron included the LE.^{3-t}

Papias, a writer in the early 100's in Asia Minor (northwestern Turkey), did not explicitly quote from the LE. However, he did mention a story about Justus Barsabbas (an individual mentioned in Acts 1:23), stating that Justus once drank a poisonous drink and suffered no ill effects. His motivation for mentioning this story may have been to provide an example of the fulfillment of Mark 16:18.^{3-u} Perhaps more significantly, Papias stated that Mark did not omit any of what Peter had preached (which, according to Acts, included the post-resurrection appearances, and ascension, of Jesus).

Justin Martyr, in his First Apology part 45, wrote in the mid-100's, "That which he [i.e., David, in Psalm 110] says, 'He shall send to thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem,' is predictive of the mighty word, which his apostles, going forth from Jerusalem, preached everywhere."^{3-v} This seems to be an allusion to Mark 16:20. The bold print here indicates five Greek words, used by Justin, which are also used together in Mark 16:20. In Greek the parallel between Justin and Mark 16:20 looks like this:

Justin: ἐξεληθοντες πανταχου εκηρυξαν ~ went forth everywhere preaching.

Mark: ἐξεληθοντες εκηρυξαν πανταχου ~ went forth preaching everywhere.

The likelihood that Justin was recollecting the LE is increased in light of the rarity of the word πανταχου. Justin used πανταχου again just two lines later in ch. 45, in the phrase ημεις πανταχου και ασπαξομεθα και διδασκομεν — "we everywhere both salute and teach" the name of Christ. As Frederic Henry Chase suggested on p. 154 of The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae (© 1893, MacMillan and Co., NY), Justin uses the word "as if it were a word occurring in an authority quoted by him." The likelihood that Justin was recollecting a Gospels-harmony (possibly one which he himself had composed, using yet more ancient materials) which incorporated Mark 16:9-20 is extremely high. Thus the earliest witness for the Long Ending as part of the Gospels is earlier than the earliest witness for almost any other part of the Gospel of Mark -- and virtually contemporary, in an indirect way, with P⁵², the earliest manuscript containing text from the New Testament.

Tertullian, who wrote from about A.D. 195 to 212, was cited in favor of the inclusion of 16:9-20 in the second edition of the GNT (p. 196). In the fourth edition (p. 189) he is not cited for inclusion or non-inclusion. This is an improvement, because Tertullian's testimony is not clear. Hort stated that there was "strong negative evidence" indicating that Tertullian's copies of Mark did not contain 16:9-20.^{3-w} However in Against Praxeas, Tertullian uses a creedal phrase which echoes Mark 16:19, and in De Baptismo 10:7, despite Hort's correct assertion that Tertullian did not explicitly use Mark 16:16 in that composition, Tertullian states "... a true and steadfast faith is baptized with water unto salvation, but a feigned and feeble faith is baptized with fire unto judgement." This sentence may be modeled upon Mark 16:16, "He who believes and is baptized shall be saved, but he who disbelieves shall be condemned."^{3-x}

Vincentius of Thibar, a bishop at the Seventh Council of Carthage, in A.D. 256, said, "We have assuredly the rule of truth which the Lord by His divine precept commanded to His apostles, saying, 'Go ye, lay on hands in my name, expel demons.' And in another place: 'Go ye and teach the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'" ^{3-y} His second reference is to Matthew 28:19; his first reference is probably based on Mark 16:15-18.

Hippolytus (who died in 235), who was known as a student of Irenaeus, also supports the LE. Hort dismissed the testimony of Hippolytus, apparently because he believed that writings attributed to Hippolytus actually came from some other source. However, in Treatise on Christ and Antichrist, part 46, Hippolytus refers to how Christ "was received into the heavens, and was set down on the right hand of God the Father," a close parallel with Mark 16:19.^{3-z} In Apostolic Tradition 32:1,

Hippolytus wrote, "Let every one of the believers be sure to partake of communion before he eats anything else. For if he partakes with faith, even if something deadly were given to him, after this it cannot hurt him." This appears to allude to Mark 16:18b. (See footnote 12-a.)

Aphrahat the Persian Sage (also known as **Aphraates**) wrote, no later than 345, in paragraph 17 of Demonstration One: Of Faith, "And again when our Lord gave the sacrament of baptism to His apostles, He said thus to them: Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall live, and whosoever believeth not shall be condemned," and, "Again He said thus: This shall be the sign for those that believe; they shall speak with new tongues and shall cast out demons, and they shall lay their hands on the sick and they shall be made whole."^{3-aa} Aphrahat's quotations are clearly derived from Mark 16:16-18, though he skips the part about taking up serpents and drinking poison.

So: Ammonius is not a valid witness. The silence of Clement of Alexandria and Origen is not weighty at all. Eusebius indicates his sympathy with MSS of Mark that concluded at the end of 16:8; yet he acknowledged the existence of the LE in other MSS and acquiesced to its usage by Marinus and her associates to the point of showing how 16:9 could be harmonized with Matthew 28:1.^{3-ab} Jerome's comment in Ad Hedibiam is essentially based on Ad Marinum and is more than equalled in weight by other evidence from Jerome that favors the LE. Taking into consideration Jerome's explicitly-stated practice of lessening his workload by issuing replies which consisted of the statements made by others, and the fact that the pertinent part of Ad Hedibiam is a condensation of Ad Marinum, the evidence on balance indicates that Jerome regarded the LE as a normal part of the Gospel of Mark.

Thus the patristic evidence presented in the UBS GNT's textual apparatus (fourth edition) in favor of the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 grows thin. Jerome should be removed from the list of independent witnesses against the LE. Because Jerome, in composing Ad Hedibiam, was abridging Ad Marinum, there is a strong probability that "mss^{acc} to Jerome" is merely an amplified echo of Eusebius. This leaves (besides mss^{acc. to Eusebius} – which is also listed in the GNT in favor of the inclusion of 16:9-20) Epiphanius^½, Hesychius, and mss^{acc. to Severus}.

In regard to Hesychius and mss^{acc. to Severus} the observations made by Burgon in 1871 should be taken into consideration. Burgon pointed out that a single composition ~ a "*Homily on the Resurrection*" ~ has been attributed to three different authors, of whom two are Hesychius of Jerusalem and Severus of Antioch (the third is Gregory of Nyssa).^{3-ac} Thus one of these two citations must be dismissed.

Furthermore, in "Appendix C" of Burgon's book, selections from this homily are placed side-by-side with selections from Ad Marinum, and the parallels demonstrate that the author of the Homily (whether Hesychius or Severus) was basically repeating Eusebius' statements.^{3-ad} Therefore it seems unjustifiable to cite Severus or Hesychius as independent evidence. Hort succinctly stated in a list, "[Hesychius irrelevant]."^{3-ae} Finally, in this same homily, the author "appeals to the 19th verse [i.e., Mark 16:19] and quotes it as St. Mark's at length."^{3-af} However, in another composition, Hesychius refers to Mark's account of the resurrection by saying that Mark concluded his account with the angel (i.e., the angel at the tomb), and reference has been employed as evidence that Hesychius' copy of Mark ended at 16:8. However, Hort's description of this piece of evidence (in Introduction, Notes, p. 34) ought to be considered:

"Another work attributed to Hesychius (*Quaest.* lii in Cotel. *M.E.G.* iii.45) has been supposed to imply the absence of vv. 9-20, by saying that Mc "ended his narrative when "he had told in a summary manner "the particulars down to the men-"tion of the one angel". [sic] But the context shews that the writer is speaking exclusively of the appearances to the women, and has especially in view the absence of the additional incident supplied by Lc xxiv 24: moreover in *Quaest.* l, p. 40, he uses a phrase founded on xvi.19."

This leaves us with the testimony of Epiphanius^½. This is Epiphanius of Salamis (also known as Epiphanius of Constantia), who died in 403. Inasmuch as the GNT also cites Epiphanius^½ in favor of the inclusion of 16:9-20, whatever weight is given to Epiphanius in favor of omission must be extremely little, and it dwindles further when one considers Epiphanius' statement in his composition "Panarion" ~ "He [Christ] had the same true body ... and nothing else besides the body which he had assumed ... **He was assumed into heaven** in the same body, soul, and mind And

because this was done by the divine power, **he sits on the right hand of God** the Father.^{3-ag} The connection from this statement to Mark 16:19 is not explicit, but it should be combined with “*Haer.* 386, 517” which Hort cited as evidence of the use of Mark 16:9-20.^{3-ah}

Thus what may initially appear to be solid patristic evidence against Mark 16:9-20 in the GNT’s textual apparatus is shown to be almost entirely devoid of substance. **Only four patristic references – Eusebius, mss^{acc.} to Eusebius, Eusebius, mss^{acc.} to Jerome and Jerome – survive close examination**, and Jerome’s statement is essentially an expansion of Eusebius’ statement in Ad Marinum, rather than an independent expression of an independent observation.

Mss^{acc.} to Severus and mss^{acc.} to Jerome may thus be removed from the GNT’s list of patristic writings that support Mark 16:9-20, since they do not constitute independent testimony. For the 12 citations that remain, I here show the dates either of the composition or of the death of the writer.

Irenaeus^{lat} (writing around **180**),

mss^{acc.} to Eusebius (that is, the text Eusebius described as the work of Mark in Ad Marinum, before **340**),

Asterius^{vid} (**341**),

Apostolic Constitutions (**380** – though some parts perpetuate older material, including the earlier *Didascalia Apostolorum*),

Didymus^{dub} (**398**),

Epiphanius^{1/2} (**403**),

Marcus-Eremita (**430**),

Severian (**408**),

Nestorius (**451**),

Rebaptism (see the description in footnote **3-aj**),

Ambrose (**397**),

Augustine (**430**).^{3-ai}

However, that list is not complete. Also weighing in for the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 are the **Diatessaron** (produced by Tatian, c. **170**) and the testimonies of the well-traveled **John Cassian (435)**, the heretical **Porphyry(?) - according to Macarius-Magnes (400** - though Porphyry wrote earlier, c. 270, and his disciple Hierocles wrote c. 305), and **Aphrahat (345)**,^{3-aj} as well as Eusebius’ contemporary **Marinus** and the **"Acts of Pilate" (early 300’s?)**^{3-ak} and **Victor of Antioch (c. 450)**, whose comments merit special attention.

The fifth-century commentator Victor of Antioch wrote (or compiled) later than almost all the other patristic evidence listed, but the *Commentary on Mark* attributed to him is especially interesting, due in part to what was written about it in the 1800’s by Burgon and by Hort. Burgon observed that Victor’s commentary is mainly a compilation and adaptation of comments made by previous writers: “**He comes before us rather in the light of a Compiler than of an Author.**”^{3-al} As evidence of the derivative nature of (much of) Victor’s commentary, Burgon noted that Victor’s comments on Mark 15:38-39 are derived directly from John Chrysostom’s 88th Homily on Matthew.^{3-am}

Victor’s commentary presents an abridged version of Eusebius’ comments from Ad Marinum (with numerous verbal parallels). Following that, there is, according to Burgon, the following note:

“**Notwithstanding that in very many copies of the present Gospel, the passage beginning, ‘Now when [Jesus] was risen early the first day of the week, He appeared first to Mary Magdalene,’ be not found, - (certain individuals having supposed it to be spurious,) – yet WE, AT ALL EVENTS, INASMUCH AS IN VERY MANY WE HAVE DISCOVERED IT TO EXIST, HAVE, OUT OF ACCURATE COPIES, SUBJOINED ALSO THE ACCOUNT OF OUR LORD’S ASCENSION, (FOLLOWING THE WORDS “FOR THEY WERE AFRAID,”) IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PALESTINIAN EXEMPLAR OF MARK WHICH EXHIBITS THE GOSPEL VERITY: THAT IS TO SAY, FROM THE WORDS ‘NOW WHEN [JESUS] WAS RISEN EARLY THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK,’ &C., DOWN TO ‘WITH SIGNS FOLLOWING. AMEN.’**”^{3-an}

Hort, however, dismissed this note as a later addition to Victor's commentary.^{3-ao} His case against the originality of the note consists mainly of four points:

- (1) Victor makes no comment about the contents of 16:9-20; this "can have but one interpretation: vv. 9-20 must have been absent from his copy of the Gospel."^{3-ap}
- (2) The note appears chiefly in copies of the commentary which do not identify Victor as the author of the entire work,
- (3) This note "does not qualify Victor's own words but contradicts them,"^{3-aq} and
- (4) The text of Victor's commentary is riddled with later alterations.

Hort's case is overstated. His four points may be deflected as follows:

- (1) Victor may have added no other comments about 16:9-20 because Eusebius' comments raise the question of the passage's legitimacy, and further comments would have little impact if the text's legitimacy was in doubt; therefore Victor focused on the textual question. (The note-writer explicitly claimed to have seen the LE in an esteemed Palestinian copy but nevertheless did not add further comments, so obviously it was possible for an individual to have access to these verses and yet make no further comment upon them.) Furthermore, Victor was writing marginalia, and would thus tend to include only those comments which he considered most worthwhile.
- (2) It is understandable that some copyists would not attribute to Victor a work which was mainly a compilation of the comments of others.
- (3) The note contradicts the abridged comments which Victor obtained from Ad Marinum, but this is not the same as saying that it contradicts Victor's own words, because the abridgement is an abridgement of Eusebius' statements, not Victor's. Inasmuch as Victor's commentary is mostly a reference-free collection of quotations, it is not problematic to suppose that Victor could supply a quotation from Eusebius – a quotation which explains how to remove a difficulty via adding a comma to Mark 16:9 – as well as his own clarifying observation, without being inconsistent or contradictory.
- (4) While the copies of Victor's commentary differ from each other in many ways, that is not a sufficient reason to assert that this note is an accretion.

Furthermore, Hort affirms that Victor has presented Eusebius' comments (including his solution-via-the-addition-of-a-comma). He also states that Victor's own copy of Mark lacked 16:9-20. This, however, implies that Victor selected for inclusion in his commentary a recommendation which disagreed with the treatment given to 16:9-20 in his own copy. This elicits the question, "Why would Victor include in his commentary a recommendation to retain Mark 16:9-20 if he himself rejected it, or was unaware of its contents?"

With the note in question, Victor emphatically affirms that although copies known to him lacked verses 9-20, he had discovered the LE in very many copies and in accurate copies, including a Palestinian MS held in high esteem. This is strong testimony in favor of the passage.

Without the note in question, Victor accepts Eusebius' statements in Ad Marinum which culminate in a recommendation to retain verses 9-20. Either way, the case for Victor's acceptance of Mark 16:9-20 is stronger than the case for the contrary.

[+++ Start new page here +++]

Chapter Four: Lectionary Evidence

The evidence from lectionaries must be approached with caution, because none of the extant non-fragmentary lectionaries were produced before A.D. 350. Some partial lectionary-arrangements developed independently in different locales; most of them were eventually replaced by a standardized Byzantine arrangement (even though variations continued to exist in different locales, due to elements such as special reverence for local saints and martyrs). The lectionaries probably show at many points which texts were read on which Sundays of the year in earlier times.

Hort observed, "Whatever may have been the earlier history of these verses, they were very widely current in the Biblical text at the time for which any lection-system is known in its details."^{4-a} However, Hort downplayed the lectionary evidence, proposing that lectionary-arrangements were adapted to include the LE nearly as soon as it was accepted into the MSS of Mark. Hort did not see the prominence that was given to the LE in the Byzantine lectionary -- it is assigned to Easter-time and Ascension Day -- as a problem. He stated, "It could rarely happen that a church would fail to read them publicly at one or both of these seasons [i.e., Easter and Ascension Day], so soon as it possessed them in the current copies of the Gospel itself: an accepted change in the Biblical text, bestowing on it a new narrative which touched the Resurrection in its first verse and the Ascension in its last, would usually be soon followed by a corresponding change in public reading."^{4-b}

Let's review the scenario which Hort proposed:

Leaders of the early church first celebrated Easter and Ascension Day without using the LE, and they did not use it on any other days, either. Then the LE appeared, and, *although other texts had already been assigned to be read on these occasions*, the LE was considered so appropriate that no one objected when the previously-used Scripture was abandoned and a novel text, previously not recognized as Scripture, was read instead -- and not on just any days, but on two prominent holy days, at Easter-time and Ascension Day.

Is that plausible? Would any bishop be likely to introduce a new text ~ *this text* ~ to his congregation at Easter or Ascension-Day? And if so, would a congregation happily embrace a text in which the apostles are seen in a bad light (contrasted to Mary Magdalene), and in which Jesus prophesies that His followers will handle snakes and drink deadly poison?^{4-c} Would *many* bishops accept and advocate this text, and would *any* congregation seamlessly incorporate it into their lectionary? According to Hort, almost every bishop and every congregation did so.

The lectionary evidence is accounted for with equal or superior plausibility by the theory that the LE was accepted as Scripture from the very earliest stage of the development of lectionaries. With the exception of the Armenian lectionary and lectionary-systems dependent upon it, the lectionaries offer almost the strongest support for the genuineness of the LE that they possibly could.^{4-d}

Something else should be said about the early use of selected portions of text for use on "high days." Although no lectionaries from the second century are extant, the assignment of specific texts to specific days -- especially "high days" such as Easter -- seems practically certain. Justin Martyr mentioned in chapter 67 of his First Apology that when Christians meet on Sunday, "*the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the presider verbally instructs, and encourages the imitation of these good things.*"^{4-e}

Also, Eusebius mentioned (in Ecclesiastical History, Book Five, chapters 23-24) a dispute about the date of Easter in the second century, which came to a climax in the time of Irenaeus. Eusebius quoted a letter in which Irenaeus stated, "*This variety in its [that is, Easter's] observance has not originated in our time, but long before in that [time] of our ancestors*" and mentioned Anicetus and Polycarp as two who had disagreed over the same issue.^{4-f} It seems extremely likely that early (second-century) bishops who were determined to regulate the date of Easter-celebration would also desire to regulate its liturgy.^{4-g}

Chapter Five: Versional Evidence

The versional evidence cited in the Greek New Testament (fourth edition) against Mark 16:9-20 is as follows:

The Sinaitic Syriac MS.
Coptic (Sahidic) Codex P. Palau Rib. 182 (in Barcelona).
Many Armenian MSS.
Two Georgian MSS: 1 and A.
The Old Latin Codex Bobiensis (it^k) is cited as including the SE only.^{5-a}

The versional evidence cited as texts in favor of Mark 16:9-20 are:

Old Latin MSS aur, c, d^{supp}, ff², l, n+o, q
The Vulgate
The Curetonian Syriac MS (though mutilated)
The Peshitta
The Harklean Syriac (with the SE in the margin)
The Palestinian Syriac
Coptic Bohairic version (double-inclusion)
Coptic Fayummic version
Coptic Sahidic MSS (double-inclusion)
Many Armenian MSS
Ethiopic MSS (double-inclusion)
Old Georgian ^B MS
Slavic version (one MS with only verses 9-11).

With some notable exceptions, early translations of Mark indicate that the LE was considered part of the Gospel of Mark by Christians in diverse locations. This evidence will now be examined in more detail.

The **Old Latin** evidence should be approached cautiously because of the fragmentary nature of some Old Latin MSS and the diversity among Old Latin texts. Most extant Old Latin MSS of Mark 16 support the LE. However, the mutilation of some Old Latin MSS has rendered it difficult or impossible to discern their original contents at the end of Mark.^{5-b}

One Old Latin MS in the GNT's textual apparatus for Mark 16:9-20 is listed separately as a text which contains the SE and does not contain the LE. That MS is Codex Bobiensis, it^k.^{5-c}

Codex Bobiensis (sometimes spelled "Bobbiensis") will be considered shortly. Another Old Latin MS, Codex Vercellensis, deserves a closer look. It is not listed in the GNT either for or against the inclusion of 16:9-20. Although Codex Vercellensis (it^a) contains the LE, the passage is on a replacement-page, and the text on the replacement-page is derived from the Vulgate, not the exemplar that was used for the rest of Mark. C.H. Turner calculated (in a brief essay published in 1928) that originally it^a did not have sufficient room to contain the LE.^{5-d}

If Codex Vercellensis did not originally contain Mark 16:9-20, an explanation for this can be deduced. It^a is traditionally said to have been made by Eusebius of Vercelli, who died in 371.^{5-e} Eusebius of Vercelli may have used MSS from the same library accessed by Eusebius. Jerome records that Eusebius of Vercelli translated Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on the Psalms from Greek into Latin: in a discussion about preserving the works of heretics, Jerome wrote, "Eusebius of Vercellae, who witnessed a like confession, must also be held in fault; for he has translated into our tongue the Commentaries upon all the Psalms of his heretical namesake [i.e., Eusebius of Caesarea], omitting however the unsound portions and rendering only those parts which are profitable."^{5-f} Also, Eusebius of Vercelli visited Alexandria in 362 and may have obtained there a copy of Mark which displayed the AE or SE.

The **Vulgate** is sometimes casually passed over in the list of evidence. However one should remember that in 384, Jerome stated that he produced the Vulgate Gospels with the intention of correcting significant mistakes in the Old Latin MSS. He also stated that corrections were made on the basis of old Greek MSS (i.e., MSS which he considered old in 383).^{5-g}

Of the two **Old Syriac** MSS, one -- the Sinaitic Syriac (late 300's), which was found at the same monastery (Saint Catherine's) where **Ⲭ** was discovered -- ends the Gospel of Mark at 16:8.^{5-h} The other -- the Curetonian Syriac (late 400's) -- is heavily damaged but includes Mark 16:17-20. Other Syriac MSS and versions -- the over 350 MSS of the **Peshitta Version**, for instance -- include verses 9-20. The later **Philoxenian** (A.D. 508) and **Harklean Syriac** (A.D. 616) versions also include the LE. In the Harklean Syriac, the LE is in the text and the SE is in the margin.

The presence of the SE in the margin of the Harklean Syriac, despite its relatively late date, is interesting because Thomas of Harkel produced the Harklean Syriac version at the Enaton library near Alexandria using some Greek MSS he found there as the basis for some of its readings.⁵⁻ⁱ

The Syriac evidence suggests considerable fluctuation within the Syriac tradition. A variety of underlying texts seem to have been used at different times: a Proto-Alexandrian exemplar (i.e., a MS with text resembling the contents of B) plus a Western exemplar for the Sinaitic Syriac, and an exemplar of the resultant Mixed Text plus an exemplar with Byzantine readings (and the LE) for the Curetonian Syriac. The Peshitta reflects the influence of the early Byzantine Text in a form which did not include the Pericope of the Adulteress but which did include Mark 16:9-20.

The **Palestinian Syriac** (or "**Aramaic**") includes Mark 16:9-20. The earliest MSS of this text are from the 500's. It is not related to the other Syriac versions.^{5-j}

The **Gothic** version (c. A.D. 350)^{5-k} is a significant witness for the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20. A major Gothic MS, Codex Argenteus, was once missing the page which contained Mark 16:12-20. This missing page was discovered in a church-building in Europe in 1970.^{5-l}

The Long Ending is also included in **Coptic** versions, but the degree of support varies widely between the MSS of the three Coptic dialects, **Sahidic**, **Bohairic**, and **Fayummic**. Only one Sahidic MS includes the LE without qualification, and only one Sahidic MS -- Codex P. Palau Rib. 182, made public in 1972 and now housed at the Seminario de Papirologia de la Facultad Teologica in Barcelona, Spain -- does not contain the LE. Four others contain the SE and the LE (always placing the SE first), and one fragment (from a lectionary) contains the SE. This suggests that the Sahidic version originally ended Mark at 16:8, and was revised to correspond to a text which featured both endings, and then was re-revised with the LE only.

Most **Armenian** MSS contain Mark 16:9-20. However, many of the older Armenian MSS display the AE. This implies that the LE was not in their ancestor-manuscripts.^{5-m} On the other hand, F.C. Conybeare cited a quotation of Mark 16:18-19 made by the Armenian cleric Eznik in the 400's in "*Against the Sects.*" E.C. Colwell, however, noted that Eznik's quotation does not conform to the Armenian version's text, and suggested that "**It is still possible that Eznik may have been quoting from the Greek, and/or quoting something that was not in the gospels.**"⁵⁻ⁿ Despite Eznik's quotation, most early evidence strongly indicates that the Armenian version that was made in the 400's did not originally include the LE as part of the text of Mark.

The Armenian evidence may be boiled down. The Armenian version was produced in about A.D. 410-414. In addition, it should be noted that the text of Mark in the Armenian version is somewhat "Caesarean," a point to which I shall return later.

The testimony of the **Georgian** version, which is commonly believed to have been translated from an early form of the Armenian version, is divided. The Adysh MS (897) and the Opiza MS (913) do not contain the LE, but the Tbet' MS (995) does.^{5-o} Dr. R.P. Blake seems to have stated that the Adysh copy -- represented by "geo¹" -- contains the LE after the end of John, but that claim is incorrect.^{5-p} The inconsistency of the Georgian MSS regarding the presence or absence of the LE may indicate that the Georgian version was based on Armenian texts which retained the LE but did so in a format which raised doubts about its authenticity or separated it from the rest of Mark. The Georgian MSS which fully include the LE seem to indicate that a majority of copyists believed that the LE ought to be included despite the doubt in which some exemplars placed it.

An interesting and often-overlooked detail which might cast some light on the Old Georgian version's medieval history is that St. Catherine's monastery (where **Ⲭ** was found) was home to a

group of Georgian clerics from about 900 until the 1700's, and Georgians may have visited the monastery before that time.^{5-q}

The **Ethiopic** version includes the LE. The only textual question raised in the Ethiopic evidence concerns the SE. This was not known to Hort, who was unfortunately misinformed that three Ethiopic MSS omit the LE.^{5-r} Many Ethiopic MSS contain the SE in the text, between 16:8 and 16:9. This is consistent with the theory that the SE entered the Ethiopic text as an insertion rather than as an alternate ending.

Also, an **Arabic** text of Mark [Arabic Lectionary 13, in the Vatican] was cited in the past as evidence against the ending; however, closer examination has shown that its final page is missing; it thus cannot be considered to have a voice regarding this question.

Chapter Six: A Review of External Evidence

The SE, the Freer Logion, and the Double Ending in some MSS indicate that Mark 16:9-20 has had an unusual history in some parts of the transmission-stream. However, inasmuch as the SE and the Freer Logion are both regarded as spurious, they do not broaden the possibilities regarding the content of the original text of Mark. The question remains, "Were these 12 verses originally present, or originally absent?"

The widespread acceptance of the LE is demonstrated by its inclusion in all extant undamaged Greek MSS except B and **ℵ** (and perhaps 304), and by its inclusion in MSS from all text-types: it is in Alexandrian, Western, Byzantine, and Caesarean MSS.^{6-a}

The only Old Latin MS which clearly displays non-inclusion of the LE is Codex Bobiensis (it^k). Probably Codex Vercellensis (it^a), unless it was originally supplied with extra pages of which no trace remains, did not originally have the LE, but its original material ends at Mark 15:15, and its text is related to the text of itⁿ, which supports the LE.

The LE is included in the Gothic version.

The LE is included (though fragmented) in the Curetonian Syriac MS, but it is absent from the Sinaitic Syriac MS.

The LE is included in the Syriac Peshitta, a translation made no later than 430, and which was probably produced earlier, at some time before the Syrian churches were split (since they all used the Peshitta despite their schisms).

The LE is not included in most of the old Armenian MSS, though it is in over 1,000 mostly late Armenian MSS. Some Armenian MSS contain a kind of "hexaplaric marks," that is, asterisks and obeli of the sort previously used in Origen's *Hexapla*,^{6-b} which may suggest a connection to the copyist-school at Caesarea. The text of the Armenian version of the Gospels is generally regarded as having been based on Caesarean Greek MSS.

In the Armenian MS Arm^{E229}, copied in the year 989, a note between the lines of text states at Mark 16:9 "*Ariston eritzou*," which suggests to some scholars that the passage was written by an elder named Ariston.^{6-c} According to Eusebius in *Ecclesiastical History* 3:39, Ariston (also known as Ariston) was the name of a contemporary of John mentioned by Papias. Eusebius states that Papias "hands on other accounts of the sayings of the Lord belonging to Aristion, who has been mentioned above, and the traditions of John the Elder."^{6-d} The note in Arm^{E229} probably exists due to a misunderstanding of a note in an older MS in which the same note was placed in the margin alongside 16:18. Originally intended to concisely identify the source of Papias' story about Justus Barsabbas' survival of poison-drinking, it was misinterpreted to mean that the entire passage was the work of Aristion.

It seems unlikely that the Aristion mentioned by Papias could be the author of the LE, if for no other reason than Aristion was connected with the Christian community in Asia Minor, rather than the community in Rome. However, an interesting interpretation of this note is mentioned by Bruce Metzger: "The identification [of the individual mentioned in the note in Arm^{E229}] has been contested by, for example, B.W. Bacon and Clarence R. Williams, who took the Ariston to be Aristo(n) of Pella, who, according to one interpretation of a statement by Moses of Chorene, was the secretary of the Evangelist Mark."^{6-e} If the short note in Arm^{E229} was intended to refer to a secretary

of Mark, then this piece of evidence is consistent with the theory that the LE was appended prior to the book's publication. It would also indicate that the editorial activity of Mark's survivors was not unknown in the early church.

Also, one Armenian MS contains the SE and the LE, but places the SE at the end of Luke. According to Metzger, the SE "occurs in several Armenian texts."^{6-f}

Two of the oldest Old Georgian MSS (geo¹ from 897, and geo^A from 913) do not contain the LE as part of Mark.

The LE is treated as Scripture in the Byzantine lectionary. One Greek-Coptic lectionary (*l*-1602) includes both the SE and the LE. An Armenian lectionary did not use the LE.

Some evidence in Ethiopic and Arabic that was once cited in support of the non-inclusion of 16:9-20 either lacks its original voice or actually includes the LE.

The external evidence against the LE has nowhere near the diversity and depth of the external evidence that supports the LE. Imagine what a person denying the authenticity of Mark 16:9-20 would have to say if Vaticanus and Sinaiticus were not available. He would first have to observe:

"If we begin by considering all copies in all languages, and set aside manuscripts which have lost their original contents at this passage, and translations made after A.D. 400, then we have exactly **three** manuscripts which exclude Mark 16:9-20." [Possibly four if we include P. Duke. Inv. 814, a Sahidic fragment at Duke University which contains the SE,^{6-g} but this MS is in mutilated condition and is thus essentially silent on the question. If, in its non-mutilated form, it displayed the SE and not the LE, it would be the only Sahidic witness to do so.]

Of these three MSS, **it^a** also omits part of Mark 16:8, alters the text of 16:7, and contains a highly unusual interpolation and the SE. The **Sinaitic Syriac** was found at the same monastery where **Ⲛ** was found (and it is possible that the Sinaitic Syriac MS was produced at St. Catherine's Monastery).^{6-h} The **Sahidic Codex P. Palau Rib. 182** MS reflects an underlying Greek text closely related to Vaticanus, and according to Bruce Metzger, its text of Mark "is divided into sections according to a pattern that differs markedly from the previously known divisions in the Coptic versions."⁶⁻ⁱ

Despite the appearance of a common thread connecting some of these MSS, the individual denying the authenticity of Mark 16:9-20 would have to conclude:

"Instead of suggesting that these three (or four) MSS were influenced by an early Egyptian text which had somehow lost the last 12 verses of the Gospel of Mark, this indicates instead that these three or four MSS did not get the unoriginal LE attached to them. All the other extant Greek, Latin, Gothic, Syriac, Aramaic, and Coptic MSS, or their ancestors, have had the unoriginal LE grafted onto them."

When one considers the later versional evidence, a common thread likewise presents itself: the absence of 16:9-20 in the Old Georgian Adysh and Opiza MSS must be considered in light of (a) the relatively late date of these MSS, and (b) the possibility of a link between Georgian scholars and the texts used in Egypt, particularly at St. Catherine's monastery and (c) the Old Georgian version's dependence upon Armenian MSS. The Armenian version as a whole must be weighed in light of its dependence upon MSS with a Caesarean Text. (The idea being that if the Armenian version depended at least in part on a Greek text which displayed 16:9-20 ~ as all extant Greek Caesarean MSS do ~ then the absence of the passage from old Armenian MSS must be attributed to some factor other than the complete absence of the LE in the earliest Greek ancestor of the Armenian version. One such factor could be copyist's heavy reliance on Eusebius' non-inclusion of the LE in his Canon Tables, or the influence of Eusebius' comments in Ad Marinum.)

The textual affinities of the earliest strata of the Sahidic version are more than sufficient to demonstrate its dependence on the Proto-Alexandrian Text. While it adds to the evidence against the inclusion of the LE, it must be considered an echo of the Proto-Alexandrian Greek text, allied behind it rather than beside it.

One might therefore expect the evidence from Vaticanus and Sinaiticus to be incredibly strong. However, those who approach B and \aleph expecting to find strong evidence that their copyists were not familiar with Mark 16:9-20 are in for a big surprise.

Chapter Seven: Vaticanus and Sinaiticus

Vaticanus and Sinaiticus both contain highly unusual features at the end of Mark.

Codex Sinaiticus contains a "cancel-sheet" at this point. Someone ~ probably a *diorthotes*, a proof-reader (perhaps the person in charge of a scriptorium) ~ removed four original pages (consisting of a bifolium – one sheet of parchment, folded in the middle, like a four-page church bulletin). This person then wrote four new pages, and inserted the newly written pages.^{7-a} The original pages of \aleph , containing the text of Mark 14:54-Luke 1:56, are not available for examination. For that portion of text, we only have a supplemental replacement.^{7-b}

However, the replacement-pages are the work of someone contemporary with the copyist of the original pages. Almost certainly the cancel-sheet was inserted into the codex as it was undergoing a final proofreading in a scriptorium, or at some similarly early point. So the replacement-pages are still important evidence.

The first two pages (containing four columns per page) of the four-page cancel-sheet contain text from Mark 14:54 to 16:1. Most of Mark 15:47 is missing, probably due to carelessness on the part of the cancel-sheet's writer, who seems to have accidentally skipped from the "Mary Magdalene" in 15:47 to the same words in 16:1.^{7-c} The third page contains Mark 16:2-8 in its first two columns, and the Gospel of Luke begins in its third column and continues to the end of the fourth page (at which point the text interlocks smoothly with the next -original- page).^{7-d}

Here is a replica of the Greek text of the first two columns of the page of \aleph which contains Mark 16:2-8.^{7-e} Verse-numbers (which are not part of the manuscript's text) are supplied. The mark ">" (a mark used as a line-filler) is shown as it appears in the MS.

[+++ Place Graphic Two – The Last Page of Mark in Sinaiticus – here. +++]

(This may be viewed at www.curtisvillechristian.org/Sinaiticus.html)

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In the fourth column of the cancel-sheet (and in Luke 1:1-56), the text is unusually compacted. The third column has 17 lines which contain 15 letters or more, and 12 lines which contain 12 letters or less, but the fourth column contains 27 lines containing at least 15 letters each, and only three lines in the fourth column contain 12 letters or less. The fourth column contains a total of 707 letters.

Six columns of 707 letters each would contain 4,242 letters. Columns 5-10 in the cancel-sheet (containing the text of Mark 15:16-16:8) contain 2,983 letters. Mark 16:9-20 contains 971 letters (taking the usual abbreviations of sacred names into consideration). Combined, the text of Mark 15:16-16:20 has 3,954 letters. So if the *diorthotes* had continued to write Mark 15:16-16:20 in the same way he wrote the fourth column of the cancel-sheet, Mark 16:20 would end in column 10, with room for 288 more letters between the end of 16:20 and the end of the column.^{7-f}

Why did the *diorthotes* compact his script in the fourth column of the cancel-sheet, expand his script in columns 5-10, and compact his script in columns 11-16? It is difficult to answer this question.

The *diorthotes* probably began to make the replacement bifolium after he had detected some problem in the pages which the main copyist had made. It seems highly probable that the defect was in the text of Luke in the original pages.

The original copyist probably accidentally skipped the text of Luke 1:5-7, which consists of 319 letters (with *nomina sacra* taken into account). By carelessly skipping from -AN EIENETO at the beginning of v. 5 to -AN EIENETO at the beginning of v. 8, he could have failed to realize that he had

not copied the material in between. (An alternative theory is that the original copyist accidentally skipped from the words ΕΙΠΕΝ ΔΕ ΜΑΡΙΑΜ at the beginning of v. 34 to ΕΙΠΕΝ ΔΕ ΜΑΡΙΑΜ at the beginning of v. 37, omitting the 311 letters in between.)

On the cancel-sheet, columns 11-16 (which begin with Luke 1:1) contain 4,146 letters. The average number of letters per column is 691, far above the usual amount. Without the 319 letters in Luke 1:5-7, Luke 1:1-56 (the text of Luke on the cancel-sheet) contains 3,827 letters (an average of 638 letters per column – only slightly above the usual amount).

It seems virtually certain that the original pages of **Σ** did not contain the Long Ending.^{7-g} It is possible, however, that the original pages of **Σ** contained the SE. But the most likely scenario seems to be that the original pages of **Σ** ended the text of Mark at 16:8 with an extensive blank space, including a blank column, between the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke, and omitted about 320 letters from somewhere in the text of Luke 1:1-56.

Columns 1-10 of the cancel-sheet contain 5,610 letters, and when added to the 88 accidentally-skipped letters this yields a total of 5,698 letters, which, when arranged in nine columns, yields an average column-length of 633 letters per column. To put it another way: nine columns consisting of exactly 630 letters each would leave 28 letters to place at the top of column 10. However, a very slight increase in the rate of letters-per-line (or a slight decrease in the number of letters written) would result in Mark 16:8 ending near the bottom of column 9: nine columns each containing 633 letters would contain 5,697 letters, leaving *one letter* to place at the top of column 10.

Also, it is clear that the corrector, had he written column nine naturally, would have finished writing in that column.

That still does not explain why the script in column four is compacted and why this compaction ends suddenly at 15:19. One possible scenario is as follows:

The scribe who produced the cancel-sheet realized that the new bifolium's text would have to end exactly where the next page began. He wrote the text of Luke 1:1-56 first, in columns 11-16. This reflects his assumption that the Marcan text would fit into 10 columns – something which it could do with either the AE or SE, but not with the LE if the lettering was normal and uncompact. After achieving a smooth interlock in the Lukan text at the end of the cancel-sheet, he began writing text from Mark 14:54 at the top of the first column of the cancel-sheet.

In the process of proofreading, he may have noticed that the original bifolium featured not just one but two parableptic errors (one in Luke, and one in Mark 15:19 – perhaps the omission of *καὶ τῆθεντες τὰ γόνατα προσεκύονον αὐτῷ*, an omission which is displayed – like the omission in 16:1 – in Codex Bezae and which is similarly supported by it⁴). The scribe compacted the preceding text (in column 4) so as to make room for the omitted text which he knew he would insert in 15:19. He included the missing text, but then because of his own parableptic error in 15:47, he had to proceed to stretch the rest of the text (from 15:19 onward) to fill the remaining columns of Mark in the cancel-sheet.^{7-h}

This neatly explains (a) why there is a cancel-sheet, (b) why the script of Luke 1:1-56 in the cancel-sheet is compacted, (c) why the script of col. 4 is compacted, (d) why the script-compaction of the Marcan text suddenly ends, and script-expansion suddenly begins, at 15:19, and (e) why Luke begins in column 11 although the cancel-sheet's creator could have easily ended Mark (with the AE) in col. 9 and begun Luke 1:1 in col. 10. In the process, this theory indicates that the missing original bifolium contained a large blank space, probably an entire blank column, between the end of Mark 16:8 and the beginning of Luke (if it did not contain the SE, which, given the probability that it was produced at Caesarea, it almost certainly did not).

Another feature of Sinaiticus which usually goes unmentioned in commentaries but which may have a bearing on the question of the ending of Mark is that **Σ** has not merely a blank column but an entire blank page following the four Gospels. This may be merely an aesthetic touch to separate the Gospels. On the other hand, if a scribe had desired to leave room for Mark 16:9-20 as a freestanding text rather than as part of the Gospel of Mark, he could easily have selected this location for it.

What about Vaticanus?

In Codex Vaticanus, in the Gospels, the text is arranged in three columns per page, consisting of 42 lines per column. On the page where Mark ends, the first column begins at Mark 15:43 and continues into the second column (which begins in the middle of Mark 16:3). Then, at the end of Mark 16:8, in the thirty-first line, the text stops. Further down are the words KATA MARKON ("According to Mark").

One would expect the next column to commence with the beginning of the Gospel of Luke. But it doesn't. Instead, the next column is entirely blank.⁷⁻¹ This is extremely strange. On two other occasions (in the Old Testament) B contains blank columns, but in those cases, the blank space is simply leftover space between the work of different copyists. The blank column in Mark is intentional and thus it is unique; the same copyist is at work before and after its appearance.

[+++ Place Graphic Three – The Last Page of Mark in Vaticanus Shown With Both Endings – here. +++]
(This may be viewed at www.curtisvillechristian.org/Vaticanus.html)
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Hort stated that the copyist of B did this "evidently because one or the other of two subsequent endings was known to him personally, while he found neither of them in the exemplar which he was copying." He proceeded to say, "The authority for the omission is the authority of the habitual character of B."^{7-j} However, if B's exemplar stopped at the end of 16:8, *and* the copyist knew or suspected that more text belonged at this location, *and* he made an almost-correct guess as to how much space to reserve for it, then the "habitual character of B" was questioned by B's own copyist.

Contrary to a much-repeated statement made by John Burgon,^{7-k} the blank space in B is **not** sufficient to contain verses 9-20 (unless one were to fill it with lines of the same width but less height). However, it is fairly close: when one writes the LE in B's blank space (using the same writing-style used by the copyist), one runs out of space with only 67 letters to go.

Also, if B's copyist had more than one exemplar (one with the LE, and another with the SE), or if B's exemplar had the SE but the copyist recalled the LE, or if B's exemplar had the AE but the copyist recalled the SE and/or the LE, then B's blank space may be the result of a non-decision. Faced with alternate endings, the copyist adopted neither so that the eventual owner of the MS could fill in the blank (or leave it) as he would see fit. Against the objection that the words "KATA MAPKON" exclude the possibility that the copyist intended to leave space for more text is the observation that the ink could be scraped away if necessary – if "KATA MARKON" was added by the original copyist in the first place (it probably was not).

Dr. William Lane claims that "Codex Vaticanus (B) also provides evidence for the existence of the shorter ending."⁷⁻¹ The blank space in the second column at the end of Mark has just enough lines (if one resumes writing immediately after the end of 16:8) to fit the SE into that column. However, if the copyist had only intended to leave space for the SE, there would be little reason for him to leave a blank column. To include all of the SE at the bottom of the column would have required the subscription to be placed in the lower margin, but that does not seem to have been a concern of the main copyist, inasmuch as the text of Philippians fills a column with the result that the subscription is written in the lower margin.

Another piece of evidence, drawn from both **ℵ** and B, is significant: in **ℵ** after the end of Mark 16:8, there is a decorative line. A remarkably similar decorative line appears in B at the end of Deuteronomy.^{7-m} This indicates that these two documents were almost certainly produced (or at least ornamented) by copyists trained at the same scriptorium; their copyists shared an influence that affected details of ornamentation. So if other MSS' testimony should be boiled down when it appears that they have a common ancestor, the testimony of B and **ℵ** should also be boiled somewhat, for they appear to be very closely related not only textually but historically.

Despite their age and usual importance, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus do not supply strong evidence for the AE. One deduction which can be drawn with some confidence is something which Hort acknowledged: the blank column at the end of Mark in B indicates that the copyist of B knew of MSS with the LE.⁷⁻ⁿ The evidence from **ℵ** favors the AE as the reading of the main copyist's

exemplar, but because of the unusual features in the cancel-sheet (namely, the compaction and expansion of the script), we cannot discern the format of the original pages. It seems likely that the replaced bifolium of **N** displayed a blank column between the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke, but it cannot be demonstrated that **N**'s main exemplar did not contain the SE.

Chapter Eight: Codex Bobiensis and the Short Ending

Only one extant MS displays the SE at the end of Mark instead of the LE. That MS is *it*^k, the Old Latin copy called Codex Bobiensis. *It*^k has some other interesting features in Mark 16 too.

It^k does not name the women who went to the tomb in 16:1.^{8-a} The names of Mary Magdalene, Mary of James, and Salome simply do not appear. This may indicate that *it*^k shared ancestry with some other MSS which also omit these words (such as Codex Bezae).^{8-b}

Also, *it*^k contains an interpolation between 16:3 and 16:4, which says, "*Subito autem ad horam tertiam diei factae sunt per totam orbem terrae, et descenderunt de caelis angeli et surgent in claritate vivi Dei simul ascenderunt cum eo; et continui lux facta est. Tunc illae excesserunt ad monimentum.*"^{8-c} In English this means, "But suddenly at the third hour of the day there was darkness over the whole circle of the earth, and angels descended from the heavens, and as he was rising in the glory of the living God, at the same time they ascended with him, and immediately it was light. Then the women went to the tomb."^{8-d} *It*^k also changes the angel's words in 16:7 so as to present the angel saying, "I go before you into Galilee; there you will see me, as I have told you."^{8-e}

It^k also omits the words "and they said nothing to anyone" from 16:8.^{8-f} Why? Probably because the full contents of 16:8 do not interlock well with the SE, which begins by saying that the women "reported briefly to Peter and those with him all that they had been told." A copyist probably thought that it would sound strange to say, "They said nothing to anyone" immediately before saying that they told everything to Peter and the others. So the copyist (either *it*^k's copyist or the copyist of an ancestor of *it*^k) deleted the phrase from 16:8.

These features, considered together, should tell us something about the person (or persons) responsible for the text displayed in *it*^k. He was willing to omit a text that prominently featured women (other than Mary, Jesus' mother). He interpolated. He altered the words of the angel in 16:7. He deleted text from Mark 16:8 to form a smooth transition to the SE. And, he framed the resurrection and ascension of Christ as occurring simultaneously.

The UBS Editorial Committee, working on the premise that it was practically impossible for the copyist of *it*^k to know that the LE existed, considered *it*^k as evidence for the AE. Metzger stated, "It should be observed that the external evidence for the shorter ending resolves itself into additional testimony supporting the omission of verses 9-20. No one who had available as the conclusion of the Second Gospel the twelve verses 9-20, so rich in interesting material, would have deliberately replaced them with four lines of a colorless and generalized summary. Therefore the documentary evidence supporting (2) [the Short Ending] should be added to that supporting (1) [ending the text at 16:8]."^{8-g} However, in the case of *it*^k this is more of an assumption than a deduction.

When one considers the text of *it*^k as a whole in this passage (with not only the SE but also with the interpolation and other changes) it is far from colorless.

The UBS Committee's conclusion about *it*^k is not the only one that can be supported by the evidence. Two points may re-focus their assessment. First, the evidence involving the SE may be adapted to support a case for the loss of the LE as readily as it may be adapted to support a case for the *unoriginality* of the LE. Second, an individual who was capable of producing *it*^k's text of Mark 16:1-8 would also be capable of preferring the SE to the LE.^{8-h} If he possessed two exemplars, one of which ended with the SE and another which ended with the LE, he would be capable of deciding to retain the SE and reject the LE entirely.

I am not convinced that such a thing occurred; nevertheless the idea merits consideration in light of the following factors:

- ℵ The text of it^k abundantly demonstrates a lack of dedication to the careful preservation of the text of Mark, and a willingness to alter the text.
- ⳨ Docetism, a heretical doctrine that involved the belief that physicality was a trait of imperfection, would be better served by the SE than by the LE (especially the form of the SE which lacks εφαναη).
- By presenting the resurrection and the ascension together, the interpolation in it^k between v. 3 and v. 4 anticipates an ending which does not contain the ascension.
- ϕ It^k is the only Old Latin MS which clearly did not originally contain Mark 16:9-20.
- Ⓢ With some extrapolation, it can be shown that the external evidence for the SE is earlier

than the external evidence for the AE. The SE in Codex Bobiensis contains the Latin word “adparuit,” supporting the Greek variant “εφαναη.” However, in L, and in the margin of 274, “εφαναη” is absent. In this case the shorter and more difficult reading is more likely to be original, and thus even though L, as a MS, is much later than it^k, it appears that the form of the SE preserved in L is earlier than the form of the SE preserved in it^k. The text of it^k is generally categorized as a text contemporary to Cyprian (mid-200’s). Therefore, the form of the SE preserved in L should be regarded as earlier than Cyprian. This implies that the SE originally lacked εφαναη, and that the SE cannot have originated later than the early 200’s – over a century before the earliest external evidence for the AE.

However, this merely exposes the incompleteness of the external evidence. If one reconstructs transmission-history strictly on the basis of the available external evidence, then one must conclude that ℵ and B echo an ancestor-MS of unknown date, and L and it^k echo an ancestor-MS from the late 100’s or early 200’s. If the ancestor-MS of L and it^k pre-dates the ancestor-MS of ℵ and B, then it would seem that at some point the SE was replaced by the AE, not the other way around.⁸¹ This would explain why the scribal comments in the Alexandrian MSS that contain the Double Ending fail to mention any MSS that contain the AE.

Chapter Nine: The Long Ending’s Presence in Separate Text-types

Those who deny the originality of Mark 16:9-20 either believe that it has been incorporated into Alexandrian, Western, and Caesarean MSS due to mixture with the Byzantine Text, or that it was a Western reading which has been incorporated into the Alexandrian, Caesarean, and Byzantine Text. However, when one examines the text of the LE in each text-type, there are some disagreements between the Byzantine Text, the Western Text, and these “mixed” MSS. Based on the textual apparatus in the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th edition), (pp. 148-149), here are some of those differences (using the Byzantine Text as the basis of comparison).

16:9 – f¹³ adds “ο ιησους” (“Jesus”) and deletes “δε” (“Now”). D, L, W, 33, 579, and 892 replace “παρ” with “αφ.” Minuscule MS 2427 agrees with the Byzantine Text. D has “εφανερωσεν πρωτοις” instead of “εφαναη πρωτον” and inserts “αυτοις” after “απηγγειλεν.”

16:12-13 - Θ has “εφαναη” instead of “εφανερωθη,” and “πορευθεντες” instead of “απελθοντες.”

16:14a ~ After υστερον, C, L, W, Ψ, f¹³, 099, and the Byzantine Text do not have “δε.” A, D, f¹, 579, and 2427 include it.

16:14b – At the end of the verse, A, C, Δ, f¹, f¹³, 28, 33, 565, 579, and more MSS add “εκ νεκρων.” W inserts the Freer Logion. 2427 agrees with the Byzantine Text.

16:17 – At the end of the verse, C, L, Δ, Ψ, and Coptic MSS do not include “καιναις” (“new”). Manuscript 099 entirely omits the phrase “γλωσσαις λαλησουσιν καιναις” (“They shall speak in new tongues”). 2427 agrees with the Byzantine Text.

16:18 – At the beginning of the verse, the words “και εν ταις χειρσιν” (“and in their hands”) are present in C, L, Δ, Ψ, 1, 33, 565, Coptic MSS, and more. 2427 agrees with the Byzantine Text.

16:19 - W adds “Ιησους Χριστος” (“Jesus Christ”) and L, f¹, f¹³ and 2427 add “Ιησους.” Irenaeus also reads “Jesus.”

16:20 – A, f¹, 33, Old Latin witnesses, the extant Syriac witnesses, and some Sahidic MSS do not include “Αμην.” 2427 agrees with the Byzantine Text.^{9-a}

How does an Alexandrian form of the LE which differs from the Byzantine and Western forms come into existence if the Alexandrian form of the LE is a combination of either the Byzantine form, or Western form, with *nothing*? How does a Caesarean form of the LE (which differs from the Byzantine form) arise if the LE is supposed to have become attached to Caesarean MSS through gradual assimilation to Byzantine MSS? More than one answer to these questions can be imagined; nevertheless the existence of these variants is consistent with the idea that the LE originated independently in all local texts rather than via mixture with the Byzantine Text.

Chapter Ten: The Relationships of Witnesses Against the Long Ending

Previously I referred to some textual and historical links between the various pieces of evidence which exclude Mark 16:9-20. In this chapter I will examine some of these connections more thoroughly.

Sinaiticus (Ξ)– displays a predominantly Alexandrian text of Mark. Ξ contains ΕΙΠΙΟΝ in 16:8 instead of the usual spelling, ΕΙΠΙΑΝ. As already noted, its text at the end of Mark (and the beginning of Luke) is on a cancel-sheet. An ornamentation which follows the text of 16:8 is very similar to an ornamentation which is displayed in Vaticanus at the end of Deuteronomy. This is just one indication of a very close relationship between these two MSS. Hort made a strong case for the theory that a common ancestor textually connected Ξ and B.^{10-a}

Clearly Ξ and B are closely related. However some additional investigation may reveal relevant details about the historical background of that relationship.

Sinaiticus contains at least four indications that its Gospels-text represents a mostly Alexandrian text which was known in Caesarea. The first indication is that in Ξ’s Old Testament portion, two notes, resembling one another, are featured at the end of II Esdras and Esther. The one at the end of Esther states, “*Collated with an exceedingly ancient copy which was corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus; and at the end of the same ancient book, which began with I Kings [that is, the book usually called First Samuel] and ended with Esther, was a note in the autograph of the same martyr, more or less to the following effect, viz. - Copied and corrected from the Hexapla of Origen corrected by himself. Antoninus the Confessor collated, and I, Pamphilus, corrected the volume in the prison by the great favour and enlargement of God. If one may say so without offense, it would not be easy to find a copy comparable with this copy. The same ancient book differed from the present manuscript [i.e., Ξ] in respect of certain proper names.*”^{10-b} This note probably dates from the 600’s or 700’s, and it indicates that Ξ was in Caesarea at that time.

Secondly, at Matthew 13:54, where the usual text says “εις την πατριδα” (“to his own country”), Ξ uniquely says “εις την Αντιπατριδα” (“to Antipatris”). Antipatris was a city 30 miles

south of Caesarea. Dr. Rendel Harris, in 1884, reasonably regarded this reading as an unconscious reference to the locale where **ℵ**'s copyist was working.^{10-c}

Thirdly, in Acts 8:5, where the usual text says that Philip went down to Samaria, **ℵ** says that he went down to Caesarea. Again this may be explained as the unconscious intrusion of the copyist's thoughts of his home, or of his workplace.

A fourth indication that **ℵ** was produced at Caesarea is the presence of the Eusebian Canon Tables in such an early MS in the copyists' handwriting. The acceptance and usage of the Canon Tables at such an early date would be most likely to be found at Caesarea, Eusebius' locale.

Together these four factors link **ℵ** to Caesarea. Yet the text of **ℵ** is predominantly Alexandrian.

If one assumes that MSS from Alexandria were collected and housed at the library in Caesarea, then the great similarities between **ℵ** and B, as well as many of the differences, are explained. This scenario invites acceptance of a speculation made by Kirsopp Lake: "Since it is known that Euzoius had copies made of a number of the papyri in the library at Caesarea, at the end of the fourth century, because they were wearing out, this may have been the occasion when **ℵ** was written."^{10-d}

If the exemplars of **ℵ** were worn MSS in the library at Caesarea, this could explain why the text in the first nine chapters of John in **ℵ** is Western instead of Alexandrian.^{10-e} The implication is that the oldest copy of John at Caesarea was missing its first nine chapters (or perhaps its pages were so weathered that it was very difficult to read the text) so a different exemplar was used to replace or supplement it.

Taking the cumulative force of these observations, one may make a calculated guess that the main exemplar of Mark in **ℵ** was probably a copy made in Egypt in the 200's and housed at Caesarea in the 300's.

Vaticanus (B)– displays an Alexandrian text of Mark. B contains ΕΙΠΟΝ in 16:8. As already described, B has a prolonged blank space after Mark 16:8. The space in the second column of the page in B on which Mark ends is exactly the number of lines which would be needed to contain the SE. If the space in the second and third column of this page is combined, it is almost sufficient to contain the LE. If someone was to slightly widen the third column and slightly compact the script therein, or if the third column was to be divided into 44 lines rather than 42 (with the result that there would be two more lines, and a slight increase in the number of letters per line), it would be sufficient to contain the LE. (No copyist, working with pages that already had 42 lines etched upon them, would re-etch the parchment, but if a copyist recollected the amount of space occupied by the LE in a MS which had 44 lines per column, he could easily imagine that it would take up the same amount of space in a 42-line-per-column MS, failing to perceive the decrease in the amount of lines available.)

Regius (L) – According to Metzger, L's type of text "is good, agreeing frequently with codex Vaticanus (B)."^{10-f} L has ΕΙΠΟΝ in 16:8. L contains the text of Mark 16 through the end of verse 8, and then has the note (ornamentally boxed, at the top of a column) "Φερετα[?]ι του και ταυτα," ("This also appears") followed by the SE. Following the SE is a note stating,

“εστιν δε και
ταυτα φερο-
μενα μετα το
εφοβουντο
γαρ.”^{10-g}

This is followed by the LE, which is followed by the subscription “ευαγγελιον Κατ Μαρκον.” Notice that L's note does not mention any MSS with the AE.

Athous Laurae 044 (Ψ) – Metzger wrote, "According to Kirsopp Lake, its text in Mark is an early one, with readings both Alexandrian and Western, but chiefly akin to the group **ℵ**, C, L, and D."^{10-h} Ψ has

the same note (εστιν δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ) which is included in L. Like L, Ψ's note does not mention any exemplars with the AE.

099 (cited as ζ in the 1800's) - This is a fragment consisting of Mark 16:6-8, the subscription "Gospel According to Mark," and the SE, followed by 16:9-18, with an unusual repetition of part of 16:8. Thus it is difficult to ascertain its textual pedigree. According to the textual apparatus in the 27th edition of the Nestle-Aland NTG, 099 contains the note "Εν τισιν αντιγραφων ταυτα φερεται" ["In some copies this appears"] before the SE, and "εστιν δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ" after the SE, preceding the LE.¹⁰⁻ⁱ However, Swete, referring to the contents of the "brief note of origin" in L and 0112/083, stated, "In ζ there are no such notes, but the scribe, after writing the shorter ending, returns to v. 8 and annexes the longer ending to it."^{10-j} An examination of the line-for-line replication of 099's (ζ 's) text which he provides on p. cvi shows what he means: after ending Mark 16:8 (with the last line consisting of only the word γαρ), 099's copyist wrote down the SE. Then, the copyist of 099 wrote "εν τισιν αντιγραφων ταυτα φερεται," and presented the LE, but instead of simply starting at verse 9, he wrote part of 16:8 ~ ΕΙΧΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΑΣ / ΤΡΟΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΚ / ΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΥ / ΔΕΝΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΙ / ΠΟΝ ΕΦΟΒΟΥ[Ν] / ΤΟ ΓΑΡ / ~ and then proceeded to begin verse 9 on the next line.

A review of the readings in the Nestle-Aland apparatus shows that in both the SE and the LE, the text of 099 has the following alignments with Egyptian versions: (1) After "Ιησους" in the SE, 099 agrees with Egyptian versions by containing εφανη αυτοις. (Ψ contains εφανη but not αυτοις.) (2) Unlike most other witnesses that contain the SE, 099 inserts ηλιου after ανατολης, a reading shared by Sahidic and Ethiopic copies. (3) 099 contains "Αμην" at the end of the SE (a reading which could naturally arise independently) and this feature is shared by Ψ, 274 (in the lower margin where the SE is found), 579, it^k, the margin of the Harklean Syriac, Sahidic MSS, and in a Bohairic MS. In the LE, the Nestle-Aland apparatus cites 099 in agreement (in 16:18) with L, Ψ, 099 and other witnesses in favor of the inclusion of και εν ταις χειρσιν.^{10-k}

0112 (cited as α^{12} in the 1800's)- This is a fragment now identified, along with 0235, as part of MS 083. 083 contains a fragmented text of Mark (beginning at 13:12). As was the case with 099, there is not an abundance of evidence on which to base a textual classification. However, fragment 0112 is housed at Saint Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai^{10-l} - the same place where \aleph was found. Also, 083 agrees with Ψ in the omission of "ο" before "Ιησους" in the SE and the inclusion of "Αμην" at the end of the SE. The feature which most clearly shows a relationship, though, is the note found in 0112: it is the same note found in Codices L and Ψ, in the same location between the SE and the LE: "εστιν δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ."^{10-m}

274 - In this tenth-century MS, the LE is presented as part of the text and the SE (without εφανη and without αυτοις) is presented in the margin at the bottom of the page. The LE was clearly regarded by the producers of the MS as genuine, inasmuch as it is given a lectionary-heading in the right-hand margin and the accompanying symbols are included *in the text*. The end of 16:8 and the beginning of 16:9 are on the same line with lectionary-symbols between them. The SE, though, is accompanied by asterisks at the bottom of the page (one asterisk is in the left margin at 16:8). In the right side-margin of 274, along with the lectionary-rubric, is a note at 16:9 which says, "Ο ΙΣ," ("ΙΣ" being an abbreviation of Ιησους, "Jesus"). This is linked by a ">" symbol to the space immediately after "αναστας δε." This was intended to show the lector how the text was to be read aloud in church.¹⁰⁻ⁿ

579 - This MS, copied in the 1200's,^{10-o} contains a "mixed" text which, in Mark, is predominantly Alexandrian. 579 is notable for arranging chapter-divisions in Mark in the same rare arrangement that is displayed in B. Inasmuch as there is some unique connection between 579 and B in regard to the chapter-divisions, it seems logical to posit a connection between B's treatment of the ending of Mark - in which neither the SE nor the LE are included, but space is reserved for one or the other - and 579's treatment, in which both endings are included.

1582 and its “relatives” (f¹) – this group of medieval MSS contains Mark 16:9-20, but is sometimes cited as testimony against it because of a note – between verse 8 and 9 in 1582, and at the top of the page in minuscule 1 – which says, *εν τισι μεν των αντιγραφων εως ωδε πληρουται ο ευαγγελιστης εως και Ευσηβιος ο Παμφιλου εκανονισεν εν πολλοις δε και ταυτα φερεται.*^{10-p}

Unlike the comments found in L and its allies, which only mention exemplars with either the SE or the LE, the comment in f¹ attests to the existence of MSS with the AE. Of all the MSS in this “family,” (the “f¹” or “Lake” family, named in honor of Kirsopp Lake who was largely responsible for its discovery), 1582 and 1739 are its oldest members (1582 is probably from the 900’s). These MSS share a distinct genealogical relationship. K.W. Kim gave an instructive (though somewhat overstated) description of the text of 1582:

“If we can say that Codex 1739 may represent the Origenian-Caesarean text more accurately than any other MSS, we can also say that Codex 1582 may well represent the Gospel text of Origen, especially his text of Matthew in Caesarea, more accurately than any other MSS. This fact is an important clue to Origen’s text. There can be no reason to doubt that Codex 1582, Codex 1739, and Origen are closely related to each other.”^{10-q}

The note in 1582 shows that its author was unaware of the existence of the SE. He knew two endings of Mark: the AE and the LE.

B.H. Streeter believed that “The text of Mark which Origen used at the time he wrote these works [here Dr. Streeter was referring to the later books of Origen’s *Commentary on Matthew* and the *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, composed in Caesarea] was that of *fam. Θ*” [*fam. Θ*] being Streeter’s designation for the Caesarean Text].^{10-r} Because Origen objected to a variant in the MSS he used at Caesarea (“Jesus Barabbas” in Matthew 27:16-17), it seems clear that the text in his copies at Caesarea was not a result of any revision made by him; a “Caesarean” text of Mark already existed before Origen arrived. Dr. Streeter affirms: “We conclude that *fam. Θ* represents the text which Origen found already established in the Church of Caesarea in 231.”^{10-s}

Dr. Streeter demonstrated a relationship between the text used by Origen after 231, and the text used by Eusebius of Caesarea a century later. However, he overstated the case when he wrote, referring to the LE, “That this was originally absent from *fam. Θ* may be inferred from the scholion [comment-note] to εφοβουντο γαρ, Mk. xvi. 8, in certain members of the family.”^{10-t}

This note definitely does *not* mean that the Caesarean Text originally displayed the AE. This note postdates Eusebius, so it could not possibly have been featured in the MSS used by Origen in the 200’s. It interlocks with a scenario in which someone who knew Ad Marinum and the Eusebian Canon Tables distilled Eusebius’ comments. However, the note *does* indicate that some MSS – which were either at Caesarea, or which were descended from MSS at Caesarea – displayed the AE when the ancestor-MS of f¹ was produced. This is consistent with the scenario described by Eusebius in Ad Marinum: the MSS of Mark at Caesarea in the early 300’s were not uniform; some had the LE but the copies which Eusebius considered “accurate” had the AE. Significantly, there is no evidence that any copies at Caesarea, at the time Eusebius wrote, had the SE or the Double Ending.

The Margin of the Harklean Syriac (Syr^{hmg}) ~ Kirsopp Lake, describing the conditions under which this version was produced, noted, “From the colophons it is found that Thomas [Thomas of Harkel, a bishop] worked at the library of the Enaton, near Alexandria, with the aid of “accurate and approved” Greek MSS. which he found there.”^{10-u} This provides a geographical and chronological marker: the Short Ending existed in Egypt in 616, and was displayed in the older Greek MSS which Thomas of Harkel found there. Furthermore, the SE’s form in the Harklean Syriac agrees with the form in L (without any explicit mention that Jesus appeared to the disciples), which seems earlier than the form displayed in it^k and which thus may be tentatively assigned a date before the mid-200’s.

The Sinaitic Syriac (Syr^s) ~ Dated to around A.D. 400, Syr^s is in some ways a stronger witness to the AE than **ℵ** or B. Unlike **ℵ**, it has its original pages at the end of Mark, and unlike B, it does not have a prolonged blank space after 16:8. Unfortunately this MS does not provide any geographical markers to indicate the locale in which it was made. Possibly Syr^s was produced for Syrians in

Egypt or Caesarea. Its fairly unique mixture of Western and Alexandrian readings may be the result of a hybridization of an Old Syriac text (related to an Old Syriac ancestor which Syr^s shared with the Curetonian Syriac) and a fourth-century Greek MS. If this is the case, then the appearance of the AE in the Syr^s might be inherited from that fourth-century Greek parent rather than from the Old Syriac parent. Non-Syriac influence seems to be the most likely source of the AE in Syr^s, since Syr^s is the only Syriac MS in existence which displays the AE, and since its closest Syriac relative, the Curetonian Syriac, supports the LE (and possibly contained the Double Ending). In appearance, the document which resembles Syr^s most closely at the end of Mark is Sahidic Codex P. Palau Rib. 182, which exhibits an Egyptian text, and which was made in approximately the same era as Syr^s.

Most old Armenian MSS and some Old Georgian MSS ~ It is generally thought that the Armenian Version as it is known today was originally based on MSS which displayed a “Caesarean” text.^{10-v} By 410, the Caesarean text may have developed into two sub-groups – one consisting of descendants of the 50 codices produced by Eusebius, and another consisting of the residuum of MSS at Caesarea. The second group is represented by copies such as the Koridethi Gospels (Θ) and f¹³ and 700; the first group is represented by the old copies of the Armenian and Old Georgian versions. Kirsopp Lake observed, “The Old Georgian is one of the best witnesses to the Caesarean text,” and it “was unquestionably translated from the Armenian.”^{10-w}

In the Armenian and Old Georgian witnesses we have good evidence that the MSS from Caesarea which were used as the basis for the Armenian Version displayed the AE. The Armenian version’s text, however, proceeded to undergo considerable change as it was influenced by other text-streams, including the Egyptian text-stream (perhaps as a result of pilgrimages by Armenian and Georgian copyists to Egypt, and specifically to St. Catherine’s monastery). As a result of this later mixture, the LE entered the Armenian version, and, to a much lesser extent, even the SE – without the equivalent of “appeared” or “appeared to them” – found its way to the Etchmiadzin monastery as shown by Arm^{E303}. Probably Arm^{E303} had an Egyptian ancestor which displayed the Double Ending. The influence of Egyptian texts on the Armenian version may be evident in the Armenian version in Mark 16:18 ~ Armenian MSS which contain the LE tend to include “and in their hands” in 16:18, agreeing with L, Ψ, and 099.

Codex Vercellensis (it^a) ~ Although various questions could be raised about this piece of evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that it^a originally did not include the LE. The chance that it^a was one of two Old Latin witnesses to contain the SE seems about the same as the chance that it was the only Old Latin MS with the AE. If it^a had the SE, this may be accounted for by Eusebius of Vercelli’s contact with a MS used in Alexandria in the mid-300’s. On the other hand, Eusebius of Vercelli could have acquired a MS in Alexandria which displayed the AE – i.e., a MS which agreed with the treatment displayed in documents that were almost contemporary with him, namely Sahidic Codex P. Palau Rib. 182 and the Sinaitic Syriac.

Codex Bobiensis (it^k) ~ Like it^a, this MS may reflect a Western-Alexandrian hybridization which did not penetrate the rest of the Old Latin transmission-stream. In Mark 16 it seems to have been influenced by the “Gospel of Peter” (see footnote 3-ak) or something like it. Where the text of Mark 16 is concerned, it^k is far from being “the best exemplar of the earliest African gospel text;”^{10-w} rather, here it^k deserves the description which Jerome gave to the Old Latin MSS. Yet it is valuable because, if it echoes a text used in the mid-200’s, it shows that the text of the SE in L and its allies descends from an ancestor-MS with a text of the SE that originated before the mid-200’s (i.e., before a sensitive copyist could add that Jesus appeared to the disciples). However, this does not resolve the question of whether the SE was composed to round off the AE, or as an alternative to the LE, or for some other reason.

When these pieces of evidence are organized, a transmission-history may be reconstructed which suggests the shape of the Egyptian and Caesarean branches of evidence in the early fourth century. If **Σ** and **B** are momentarily removed from the equation, the picture may come into focus. In the early 300’s, the SE and the LE were known in Egypt but the SE was not known in Caesarea.

At the same time, the AE was known in Caesarea but not in Egypt. If one does not put **ℵ** and B into a class by themselves, but instead assumes that both of these MSS should be interpreted to agree with their nearest relatives when feasible, then B, as a codex made in Egypt, may be interpreted to support the same state of affairs to which L and other Egyptian texts attest: rather than supporting the existence of an exemplar with the AE, B can be interpreted to support the existence of two exemplars – one with the SE and one with the LE (or of one exemplar with the SE, plus the copyist's recollection of the LE). It also suggests that **ℵ**'s cancel-sheet's format reflects the treatment given to the end of Mark in Caesarea in the mid-300's – a treatment that appears exclusively in a small cluster of witnesses (Eusebius' MSS, Syr^s, Sahidic Codex P. Palau Rib. 182, and possibly it^a) made in 300-425.

On the other hand, a different transmission-history can be reconstructed if one categorizes **ℵ** and B as attestation for the Egyptian text as it existed at a point earlier than the form attested by L and its allies. In this approach, B's exemplar of Mark was an Alexandrian MS with the AE, and B's blank space after 16:8 appears due to B's copyist's familiarity with the LE. Similarly, **ℵ**'s exemplar of Mark was an Alexandrian MS with the AE. The Sinaitic Syriac and Sahidic Codex P. Palau Rib. 182 are descended from ancestor-MSS which contained the Egyptian text as it existed at this time. It^k's text echoes an era in which someone added the SE to the AE. And the Double Ending in L and its allies are descended from MSS later than it^k; by the time they were produced, Egyptian witnesses with the AE had married witnesses that had either the SE or LE, with the result that their offspring-MSS inherited either the SE or LE but not the less satisfactory AE.

Something like this second reconstruction seems to be popular among text-critical scholars. However, it fails to explain six things: (1) how B's copyist knew about the LE, (2) why, in B, the blank space left in the column in which 16:8 concludes is precisely what is needed to contain the SE, (3) why the original pages of **ℵ** apparently contained a prolonged blank space, similar to what is displayed in B, between the end of Mark 16:8 and the beginning of Luke, (4) why subsequent Egyptian Greek copies of Mark preserve no memory of the AE, but only of the SE and the LE, although such a memory is abundantly attested in Caesarean MSS, (5) why L's form of the SE is earlier than the form preserved in it^k if L actually reflects a later, rather than earlier, stage of transmission, and (6) why, in witnesses which display the Double Ending, the SE almost always (with the exception of 274 and Arm^{E303}) precedes the LE.

Chapter Eleven: Sixty Early Witnesses

These witnesses, some of which are not extant but which may be fairly posited, are earlier than Codex Ephraemi, the fifth-oldest extant Greek copy of Mark 16. Dates given are for the most likely date of a pertinent

composition. Some dates are estimates. Five witnesses marked “™” have been cited against the LE in the past on the grounds that they do not manifestly use the LE.
 Witnesses in italics = support of LE.
 Witnesses in italics and bold print = strong support of LE.

1. *Papias (110)*
2. *Epistula Apostolorum (pre-160)*
3. **Justin Martyr - *First Apology* ch. 45 (pre-165)**
4. *“Gospel of Peter” (pre-150)*
5. **Tatian – *Diatessaron* (175)**
6. **Irenaeus - *Against Heresies* III:10:5-6 (180)**
7. ™ Clement of Alexandria (200)
8. ™ Ammonius (200)
9. Tertullian (210)
10. *Hippolytus (230)*^{11-a}
11. ™ Origen - *Against Celsus* VII:17 (230)
12. *p⁴⁵ – 68% alignment with Codex W (225)*
13. Non-extant ancestor of it^k (240) [Tenuous witness]
14. **Non-extant ancestors of other Old Latin MSS (pre-250)**
15. ™ Cyprian (250)
16. Non-extant earliest strata of Sahidic Version (250)
17. *Vincentius of Thibarisis (256)*
18. *Rebaptism* source used by Ursinus (250)
19. *Non-extant copy used by the author of the Freer Logion (pre-300)*
20. Non-extant ancestor of Sinaitic Syriac (pre-300)
21. *The Claromontanus Catalogue (pre-300?)*^{11-b}
22. **Porphyry (or Hierocles) as quoted by Macarius Magnes (pre-310)**
23. *Syriac Story of Abgar used by Eusebius in Ecclesiastical History (pre-300)*
24. *Acts of John* (usually assigned to c. 200; assigned here to c. 300)
25. **Non-extant MS known to copyist of Codex Vaticanus (pre-325)**
26. Non-extant MS used by copyist of Codex Vaticanus (pre-325, possibly pre-250)
27. Codex Vaticanus (325)
28. *Marinus (between 290 and 340)*
29. *Ad Marinum* – “best” MSS and “almost all” MSS posited by Eusebius (between 290 and 340)
30. *Ad Marinum* – text attributed to Mark by Eusebius (between 290 and 340)
31. Eusebian Canon Tables (between 290 and 340)
32. *Asterius (340)*
33. **Aphrahat, a.k.a. Aphraates (345)**
34. **Ulfilas - Gothic Version (350)**
35. ™ Hilary of Poitiers (pre-360)
36. **Non-extant ancestor of Curetonian Syriac (pre-350)**
37. **Non-extant ancestor of Bohairic Version (pre-350)**
38. ***Acts of Pilate*, a.k.a. *Gospel of Nicodemus* (330)**
39. it^a (365)
40. *Non-extant exemplar of Codex Sinaiticus (pre-370)*
41. **Ephrem Syrus, using *Diatessaron* (370)**
42. Codex Sinaiticus (370)

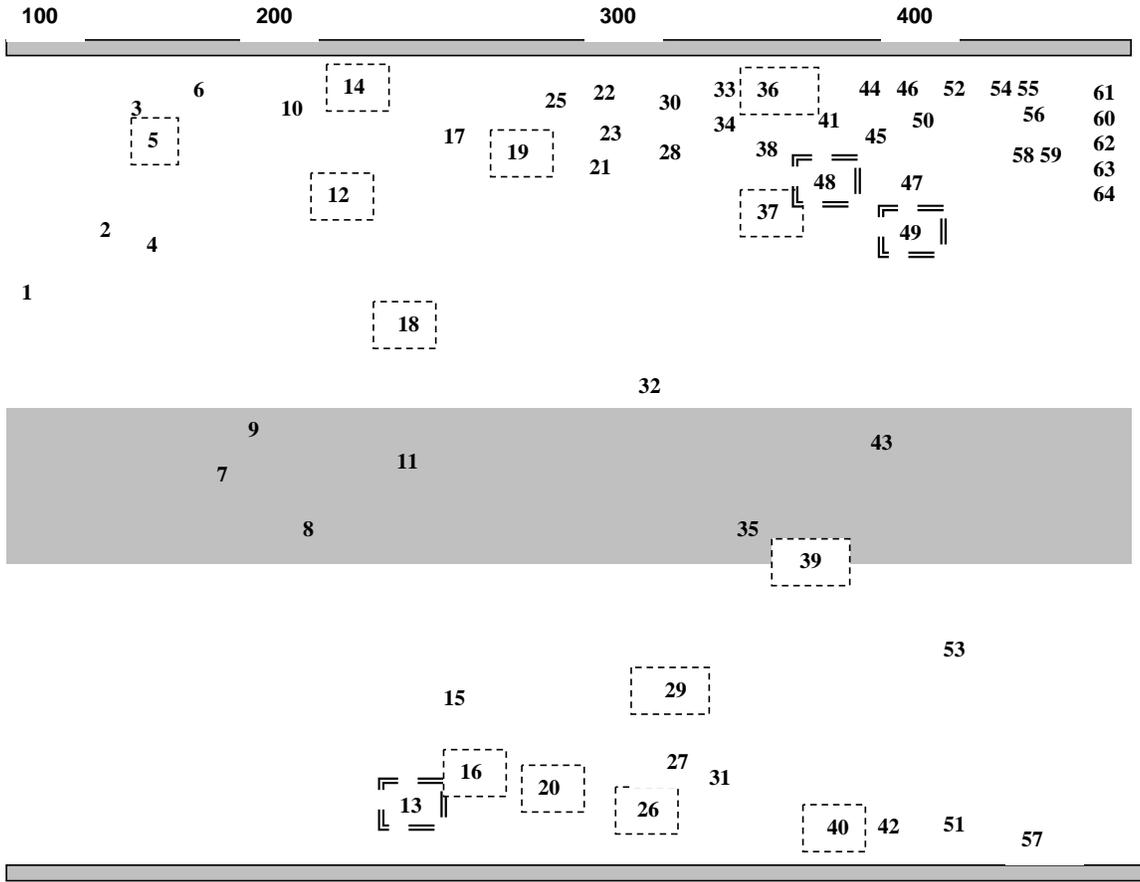
43. *Basil (pre-379)*
44. *Apostolic Constitutions (380 – possibly echoing Didascalia Apostolorum, pre-300)*
45. **Jerome – *Vulgate Gospels (384)***
46. **Ambrose (390)**
47. **Epiphanius (400)**
48. *Lectionary used by John Chrysostom (pre-360) [Tenuous witness]*
49. *Didymus of Alexandria (390) [Tenuous witness]*
50. **Macarius Magnes (400)**
51. *Armenian Version (410)*
52. **Codex Alexandrinus (400)**
53. *Jerome – Ad Hedibiam, using Ad Marinum (407)*
54. *Jerome – Against the Pelagians (417)*
55. **Codex Washingtonensis (425)**
56. **Peshitta (some time before 430)**
57. *it^k (c. 430)*
58. **Lectionary used by Augustine (pre-430)**
59. **Augustine (430)**
60. *John Cassian (430)*
61. *Nestorius & Cyril of Alexandria (pre-444)*
62. *Philip of Side, accessing Papias and Eusebius' record of Papias (430)*
63. *Marcus Eremita (pre-450)*
64. *Theodoret of Cyrillus (c. 450)*

CHART OF EARLY WITNESSES

Age is charted from left (early) to late (right).

The degree to which a witness favors inclusion is charted from top (highly favorable) to bottom (highly unfavorable) . Witnesses whose testimony is uncertain are in the shaded area, arranged higher or lower

according to what their testimony seems to indicate. Non-extant but solidly extrapolated MSS are in dashed-lined boxes. Three witnesses are tenuous (meaning that while their existence as a witness is credible, another explanation of the evidence which would render their existence questionable is equally or almost equally plausible), and are in double-dashed boxes.



In addition to the witnesses represented on the chart, it would be fair to posit exemplars of Codices W and A, and at least one ancestor of the family-II MSS, and several non-extant Old Latin MSS, as further support for the LE. One could also add more witnesses to the “unknown” category, including some who are not as silent as one would gather from Hort’s description of them.^{11-c} Nevertheless this chart may sufficiently show that the preponderance of the external evidence favors the inclusion of the LE. It also shows that statements to the effect that only late MSS contain the LE are false.

PART TWO: MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS

Chapter Twelve: How to Lose an Ending

Having examined the external evidence and developed a rough reconstruction of the transmission-history of the major variants involved, I will now review nine theories about how the external evidence may be explained in ways favorable to the idea that Mark 16:9-20 was originally part of the Gospel of Mark.

Option One (Scrivener's Theory): an orthodox copyist in the second century may have intentionally removed the LE because of apologetic, practical, and doctrinal motivations.^{12-a} His motives could have been along the following lines:

As Ad Marinum shows, Christians had trouble harmonizing Mark 16:9 with Matthew 28:1. Other points in the LE may also have puzzled harmonists: Mark 16:13 mentions that the disciples did not believe the report of Cleopas, but Luke 24:33-34 seems to present the disciples expressing emphatic belief. Mark 16:14 mentions "the eleven" but John 21:24 states that Thomas was not present at Jesus' first post-resurrection appearance to the apostles. And, while Matthew 28:16 seems to present the Great Commission being given in Galilee, in Mark 16:14ff. the Great Commission seems to be given just before the ascension. These discrepancies can be resolved,^{12-b} but a clever apologist might have preferred to slice the knot rather than untie it.

In addition, opponents of Christianity could misrepresent the five signs described in Mark 16:17-18 as if they were supposed to be normative prescriptions. In Apocritus, Book III, chapters 16 and 24,^{12-c} Macarius Magnes responds to such a misinterpretation which apparently had been wielded by an earlier opponent of Christianity.^{12-d} A practical, albeit draconian, response to that misinterpretation would be to remove the difficult text.

Another possible doctrinal motive involves the issue of the restoration of persecuted Christians who denied Christ under duress. The contrast in Mark 16:14-15, in which Christ rebukes the apostles one moment and commissions them the next, would possibly be comforting to those who hoped to rejoin the church after denying Christ during persecution. But for those who held a hard line against re-accepting those who had denied Christ, it may have posed a problem.^{12-e}

According to this theory, these motivations caused a copyist to object to component-parts of the LE, eliciting the conclusion that the LE as a whole simply could not be the Word of God, and should therefore be excised.^{12-f}

However, the odds are heavily against the idea that any copyist would delete such a large section of text rather than modify it simply because some parts of it were inconvenient. These motivations constitute a powder-keg of scribal concerns which, if ignited, could help explain the evidence, but they could not ignite themselves. This option must be rejected.

Option Two (Burgon's Theory): An early copy of Mark which contained 16:9-20 on its last page may have contained a *telos* symbol at the end of the preceding page to indicate the end of the Byzantine lection-reading for the second Sunday after Easter (that is, Mark 15:43-16:8). This copy then lost its last page. A subsequent copyist, unfamiliar with the text of Mark, concluded that the *telos* symbol meant that the book ended at that point, and he made copies which displayed the AE. This was proposed by John Burgon in 1871.^{12-g}

Burgon's theory requires that Mark 16:8 ended at the end of a page, that a lection-note was placed there, and that the following page was lost. While the odds of these ingredients combining in *some* MS is high (and they have coincided in the case of 2386), the odds of all three happening in an ancestor of Vaticanus seem rather low. Nevertheless this seems more probable than Scrivener's idea that a copyist would toss out the LE merely because it was difficult to harmonize.

Burgon's theory can be chiseled into a more likely form. Passages of Scripture about celebrated events – such as Christmas and Easter – were especially likely to be selected for annual reading in the early church.^{12-h} If Mark 16:9-20 was selected to be read on Ascension-Day or at Easter-time, it would be natural for a lector (church-reader) to make some indication in the margin of his copy of Mark of where to start, and stop, reading. He would not need to employ the words "*arche*" (beginning) and "*telos*" (end); simple crosses or asterisks at both the beginning and the end of the selected text would suffice.

The assumption of the early existence of fully developed lectionaries is not needed to make this theory viable. One need only consider that if a bishop, deacon, or lector in the early church

were to search for a text to read at the celebration of Ascension-Day or Easter-time, it would not be surprising if he selected Mark 16:9-20, and marked it (with crosses or asterisks) for special reading in his copy of the Gospels.¹²⁻ⁱ

These crosses or asterisks, originally intended to point out the beginning and end of a passage to be read at Easter-time or on Ascension-Day, could have been subsequently misinterpreted to signify that the passage was spurious. For that reason the passage was not perpetuated in some subsequent copies, resulting in the rise of the AE.^{12-j} This revised form of Burgon's theory adequately accounts for the external evidence, but not the internal evidence.

Option Three (An Early Copyist's Death): Sometime in the second century, a copyist died in the process of copying the Gospel of Mark. He died immediately after finishing Mark 16:8. His unfinished copy, valued as a relic, was taken to a locale where no other copies of Mark existed. There it was used as an exemplar.^{12-k} This theory, however, fails to explain the internal evidence.

Option Four (An Early Accidental Loss): Sometime in the second century, a copy of Mark existed in which the last page began at 16:9. This final page was particularly vulnerable to damage. When placed in a Gospels-collection in the "Western" order ~ Matthew, John, Luke, Mark ^{12-l} ~ the last part of the book would be no safer. At some point in transport, due to ordinary wear and tear, or to a poorly sewn seam in the codex, the last page separated from the rest of the MS and was lost.^{12-m} This theory fails to explain the internal evidence. However, it is similar in some respects to a satisfactory solution, as we shall see.

Option Five (A Scribal Accident): A professional copyist unfamiliar with the contents of Mark (and, perhaps, familiar with Greek tragedy),¹²⁻ⁿ coming to the end of the last recto (right-hand page) of his exemplar, thought the next page was empty. This would be especially feasible if the end of v. 8 was presented as the end of a paragraph (i.e., mid-line). It may seem hard for us to imagine that a copyist would not think to turn the last page of his exemplar. However, the codex-form was still in its infancy in the Roman Empire in the second century. Copyists were used to scrolls written on one side, and the recto (right-hand) page at the end of a codex could be assumed to be the point at which a book was intended to conclude. This theory, however, does not explain the internal evidence.

Option Six (A Critical Editor): A second-century copyist, who assumed (on the basis of church tradition) that the Gospel of Mark consists of the remembrances of Peter as told to Mark, did not believe that the LE was a Petrine text. He had encountered it, or something closely resembling it, in his own collection of miscellaneous Christian literature. On that basis he regarded the LE as a separate composition, rather than as part of the remembrances of Peter, and marked the LE as questionable. A subsequent copyist deleted the marked text, thus creating the AE.

Option Seven (A Critical and Creative Editor): a second-century copyist believed himself to be correctly informed that Mark himself had only written up to the end of 16:8, and that 16:9-20 had been added by someone else. Being concerned only to preserve what could validly be called the memoirs of Peter, this copyist removed the co-author's material and, bothered by the resultant abruptness, added the SE. The SE was thus incorporated into the text in part of the Alexandrian text-stream, instantly replacing the LE.

Option Eight (A Gospels-Harmony Exemplar): Eusebius of Caesarea, in "Letter to Carpian" (*Epistula ad Carpianus*), mentions a harmony of the four Gospels, made by Ammonius: "Ammonius the Alexandrine, with the expense of much industry and zeal – as was proper – left us the Diatessaron Gospel, in which he had placed the similar pericopes of the rest of the Evangelists alongside Matthew"^{12-o}

As related in footnote 3-b, later writers preserved a tradition that Ammonius' harmony did not include the Gospels' accounts of Christ's post-resurrection appearances. This may mean that Ammonius placed each Gospel's text about Christ's post-resurrection appearances side-by-side.

But it may also mean that Ammonius stopped providing parallel-passages at that point, and provided only Matthew's account of post-resurrection appearances. If the latter scenario occurred, then the text of Mark displayed in Ammonius' Gospels-harmony probably stopped at the end of 16:8.

Ammonius' Harmony could not have been used as an exemplar for a text of Mark, Luke, or John, since the material from those three Gospels would be out of order and incomplete in Ammonius' harmony. However, this would be least obvious in the case of Mark. In a time and place in which the Gospel of Mark was not very popular, and where Ammonius' Harmony was popular, some individuals could get their first impression of the contents – and the ending – of the Gospel of Mark from Ammonius' Harmony. Without a copy of the Gospel of Mark for comparison, these individuals could assume that the Gospel of Mark ended at the end of 16:8. As a result, if they later encountered a copy of Mark with the LE, they could suspect its genuineness and they, or the next generation of copyists, could remove the LE because of that suspicion. This theory, however, fails to explain the internal evidence, and assumes a high level of density on the part of some copyists.

Option Nine (Marginalia Confusion): a lector in a church in Egypt in the second century composed a liturgical flourish for a reading-unit which otherwise concluded at the end of 16:8, and placed his liturgical flourish in the margin, with symbols intended to convey that the lector was to finish the lection with the margin-note. A novice copyist used this lector's copy as an exemplar, and misunderstood the margin-note and its symbols as if they meant that he should replace the rest of the text on the page (consisting of 16:9-20) with the text in the margin (the lector's liturgical flourish). In this way, what began as a liturgical flourish became the Short Ending, and in one simple step it replaced the Long Ending.

This may seem to require a dense sort of copyist; however, a variant in the Alexandrian text of Matthew 27:49 (shared by \aleph , B, L, and some other MSS) seems to demonstrate that at least one very early Alexandrian copyist placed material from the margin (a margin-note which was originally intended solely to provide a cross-reference from John) into the text. At Matthew 27:49, the Proto-Alexandrian text has the phrase, “*ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἐνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν, καὶ ἐξήλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα*” (“And another took a spear and pierced his side, and out came water and blood”). According to Robert Waltz, this reading is supported by “ \aleph B C L U I 1010 1293 *dubl ept^{marg} kenan lich mac-regol mull mae slav*” but “is omitted by all other texts, including A D E F G H K M S W Δ Θ Σ Byz *it am cav ful hub tol cur pesh hark sa bo arm geo.*” (see Waltz's discussion at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/WestNonInterp.html#MajorInterp> .)

The recently-published Coptic MS “Mae 2” displays, at Matthew 26:51, the phrase “*and the name of the servant was Malchus,*” (from John 18:10). At Matthew 27:49, the phrase from John 19:33-34 appears, but with “*blood*” and “*water*” in the same order in which they appear in John (according to Burgon, in a footnote on p. 313 of [The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated](#), this order is also given (“*αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ*”) in MSS 48 and 67). This indicates that this variant is an insertion made by copyists. The “Mae 2” MS and other MSS in the private collection of Martin Schoyen collection may be viewed at <http://www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/4/4.1/413.html> (my thanks to Wieland Willker for pointing out variants in Mae 2).

In light of the fact that the resultant text creates a collision with the chronology of events given in John, it seems reasonable to deduce that the copyist responsible for this reading was not very familiar with the text of the Gospels. Per the theory under discussion, the copyist-error which resulted in the insertion of the SE in place of the LE is a similar sort of error, made by the same sort of copyist. Both errors could have originated with the same sort of copyist in the second or early third century. A window of opportunity for the occurrence of this sort of mistake was opened by the persecution which took place in Alexandria in A.D. 202 during the reign of Emperor Severus.

However, by itself, this theory fails to account for the internal evidence.

So:

Can the external evidence be plausibly explained by theories other than the theory that the LE is a late accretion? Yes.

Can all testimony for the AE be plausibly traced to a point in the history of the transmission of the text which is later than the earliest testimony for the LE? Yes.

Do most of the witnesses which do not include the LE show signs of common ancestry? Yes. **Ⲛ** and B probably even share a copyist, an individual who was a plain copyist when B was made and had become a scriptorium-supervisor by the time **Ⲛ** was made. And the possibility cannot be eliminated that B is one of the 50 copies produced by Eusebius (or produced, on request, for Eusebius, following his instructions about how the text should be formatted).^{12-p}

Furthermore, the earliest external evidence for the AE (B) is capable of being interpreted as evidence for the existence of both the SE and the LE in exemplars known to B's copyist.

In light of these points, the external evidence for the AE should be regarded as outweighed by the external evidence for the LE. The external evidence for the LE is older, more widespread, and exponentially more abundant. Internal evidence, however, demands that these solutions be rejected. It is to internal evidence that we now turn.

PART THREE: INTERNAL EVIDENCE

Chapter Thirteen: “Efobounto Gar”

Numerous commentators have stated that an important piece of internal evidence – namely, the way in which 16:8 ends – implies that the Gospel of Mark originally had more text after 16:8 which is now lost. One example among many is Edward W. Bauman, who stated, “Without this later

addition [by which he means 16:9-20] the Gospel ends right in the middle of the resurrection story: "And they went out and fled ... and they said nothing to any one, for they were afraid." In Greek the ending is even more abrupt, for the final word is one like our "however," rarely used at the end of a sentence. ... Many solutions to this problem have been suggested, but the most reasonable is that the last sheet of the Gospel was lost very early in its history."^{13-a}

Attempts to deflect that claim have been made by some scholars who favor the idea that Mark intentionally ended the Gospel at 16:8. Gilbert Bilezikian, referring to "the myth that a book cannot end with the construction εφοβουντο γαρ," summarized things in this way: "Numerous precedents have been established that sentences and even paragraphs can end with the word γαρ, and that a two-word sentence has to end with γαρ. Such endings have been found in Homer, Plato ... and notably in the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides." He continued with an observation that P. W. van der Horst "reported finding a precedent in Plotinus' *Enneads*, confirmed by his editor Porphyry, of a book actually ending with γαρ. He concluded, "... the argument that a book cannot end with the word γαρ, is absolutely invalid."^{13-b} In 1926 R. R. Ottley listed several examples of sentences ending with γαρ in ancient Greek writings, including Homer's *Odyssey* 60:612, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1564, Euripides' *Medea* 1272, 1276, Euripides' *Orestes* 251, Euripides' *Iph. Aul.* 1355, and, in the Septuagint, Genesis 14:3, Genesis 18:15, Isaiah 16:10, and Isaiah 29:11.^{13-c}

The most positive thing that can be said about how well this evidence supports the idea that the Gospel of Mark was intentionally concluded at the end of 16:8 is as follows: meticulous investigations have revealed only three examples, in all the extant Greek literature of ancient times, of a book ending in γαρ. Of those three examples, two ~ Plotinus' *Enneads* and Musonius Rufus' *Tractates* ~ were composed after the Gospel of Mark (and the example in *Enneads* does not reflect the arrangement made by Plotinus himself). The only example of a book older than Mark ending in γαρ is in Plato's *Protagoras* 328c, and there γαρ ends a speech, in which the speaker made a clarifying note (to the effect of, "these young men had evil fathers and may turn out bad; they are young, however."). The appropriateness of γαρ at the very end of a speech says next to nothing in regard to its appropriateness at the very end of a narrative.

At the same time, the new research demonstrates that sentences or paragraphs ending in γαρ are not exceptionally rare. The idea that the word γαρ in 16:8 necessarily implies that some lost phrase must have once existed after it should be abandoned. But this does not mean that the idea that Mark ended his Gospel with γαρ should be adopted.^{13-d} After the new evidence is taken into account, those who believe that Mark intentionally ended his Gospel with γαρ must acknowledge simultaneously their belief that the Gospel of Mark was the first narrative ever to end in γαρ. While only one example has been discovered of a book older than Mark ending with γαρ, more than ten examples have been brought to light of a sentence or a paragraph ending with γαρ. Of two possibilities – (A) γαρ in 16:8 was meant to end the book, or (B) γαρ in 16:8 was meant to end a sentence or paragraph – the new evidence supports B more than A. However, showing that a sentence can end in γαρ, and showing that Mark 16:8 was intended to end in γαρ, are two different things.

Dr. Daniel Wallace of Dallas Theological Society has stated that there are "excellent"^{13-e} reasons to think that Mark intentionally ended his Gospel with γαρ, so as to challenge the reader. But challenge the reader to do what, exactly? To travel to Galilee to experience the Second Coming there? To re-read the book? To re-read the parts of the book that relate events that took place in Galilee? To assume a Galilee state-of-mind? All of these theories have been proposed -- and all of these theories fantastically require that Mark's straightforward presentation has suddenly become a riddle, in which the angel's command must mean something other than what it says -- as if Mark wanted readers to think that the angel had intended to address readers of Mark's book, and not Peter and the disciples. They also require that Mark -- in setting forth Peter's memoirs -- deliberately left unfinished not only the story of Jesus, but the story of the apostles, who are last seen deserting Jesus and running away (in 14:50), except for Peter, who is last seen denying Jesus thrice, and then weeping (in 14:72). The angel mentions the disciples and Peter in 16:7, but then

16:8 says that the angel's message never got to the disciples, extinguishing the possibility of the hoped-for reconciliation.

One might say, "But Mark's readers would know that Jesus appeared after the resurrection, and commissioned the disciples." How would they have known that, if not from precisely the same Petrine memoirs that it was Mark's intent to preserve? If Mark's readers knew about Christ's post-resurrection appearances and the commissioning of the apostles, that is all the more reason why Mark would have intended to write about that, so as to affirm what the apostolic, Petrine teaching about Jesus was. It is amazing that some serious scholars have been able to persuade themselves that Mark, entrusted with the task of communicating the apostolic, Petrine teaching about Jesus -- which is displayed in Acts as a message which features Jesus' post-resurrection appearances and His ascension -- deliberately avoided telling people about Jesus' post-resurrection appearances and the commissioning of the disciples.

Chapter Fourteen: Explaining the Evidence

Most New Testament textual critics tend to view the non-originality of the LE as the simplest explanation of the evidence. Occam's Razor (the scientific principle that of two or more competing theories, the simplest one is more likely to be correct^{14-a}) is sometimes employed to advocate the view that the Gospel of Mark originally circulated with the AE, and that an early copyist added the LE to the AE, and another copyist added the SE to the AE, and later copyists with competing exemplars produced copies with the SE and the LE.

However, although that theory offers a simple sequence of events, it requires a component that is not very simple: Mark's reason for intentionally ending his book by forecasting but failing to provide a description of Christ's post-resurrection appearances. Although a number of evangelical commentators are apparently convinced that the AE was Mark's intended ending, many other scholars agree with Hort that the most plausible explanation for the AE is that some lost ending was originally present. The theory that Mark intentionally produced the AE exchanges one kind of complexity for another.

The correct explanation of the origins of the AE, the SE, the LE, and the Double Ending will necessarily involve some speculation about the mechanisms by which each variant began. The correct explanation will explain why several MSS that are textually related to B and \aleph display the Double Ending. It will explain why the Alexandrian MSS that have the LE have "καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν" in 16:18 but most other MSS do not. It will show why the copyist of B left a prolonged blank space after 16:8.^{14-b} It will account for the appearance of the SE exclusively in the same transmission-channel as the AE. It will explain why Eusebius was unaware of the SE. It will explain why, in the copies which display the SE and the LE, the SE is consistently placed before the LE. And it will explain why no patristic authors until Eusebius offer any observation about the abrupt ending of Mark.^{14-c} No matter how simple the variant-causing mechanism may be which resulted in such a wide range of variants, the explanation itself must be thorough if it is to explain both the variant-causing mechanism, the variants, and their transmission-history. The explanation offered by Hort is frequently regarded as the simplest solution; yet it filled 23 pages.^{14-d} I emphasize this necessity for thoroughness because some may misuse Occam's Razor so as to confuse the simplicity of the initial variant-causing mechanism with the complexity of the explanation of the resultant transmission-history.^{14-e} The explanations I have mentioned so far all explain how the LE may account for the rise of the AE, the SE, and the Double Ending. Some of them involve a reconstructed transmission-history in which the SE is earlier than the AE. That may seem counter-intuitive (and does not seem to have been seriously considered by Hort or by the UBS Editorial Committee); however the external evidence is capable of supporting this idea.^{14-g}

Having examined some ways in which the LE could account for the AE and the SE, I will now offer a general summary of how a singular loss of the LE in an early MS in Egypt may explain the AE's presence in B, \aleph^{supp} , Coptic Codex P. Palau 182, and the Siniatic Syriac, and the presence of the SE in it^k, and the presence of the Double Ending in L, Coptic versions, and other witnesses.

(This is, as far as the Egyptian and Caesarean texts are concerned, almost the same sequence of events implied by the theory that the AE is the original reading.)

A copy of Mark which concluded with the AE arrived in a relatively isolated locale in Egypt, and was copied many times. An ancestor of **N** and B, and Sahidic Codex P. Palau Rib. 182, and the Syr^s text of Mark attest to this stage of transmission. Slightly later in the second century, the SE was added to a copy descended from those copies. It* reflects a local Egyptian text at, or shortly after, this stage. The SE was rapidly accepted in this locale, exterminating the AE.

Before full acceptance of the SE occurred, though, some copies with the AE were transported to Caesarea (possibly by Origen). Some copies from another locale, displaying the LE, were also in Caesarea. This was how things stood in Caesarea in the early 300's, when Eusebius wrote Ad Marinum. A century later, copies from Caesarea with the AE were used as the basis for the Old Armenian version.

Meanwhile in Egypt, although the LE was absent in one locale in Egypt where the AE and then the SE had arisen, the LE persevered in another Egyptian transmission-stream (with "and in their hands" in 16:18), and soon MSS with the LE met MSS with the SE. Egyptian copyists decided to retain the SE and the LE. This sort of text, with a Double Ending, had a strong effect on some Coptic and Ethiopic channels of transmission.

I will now explore two theories that address the question of how the Long Ending was lost. Because these theories involve a reconstruction of events at the earliest stages of the transmission of the Gospel of Mark, knowledge of traditions about John Mark's career may be helpful here.

Eusebius, in Ecclesiastical History, wrote, "When Nero was in the eighth year of his reign, Annianus succeeded Mark the evangelist in the administration of the parish of Alexandria."^{14-h} It is possible to interpret that to mean that Annianus succeeded Mark due to Mark's death. Jerome, about a century after Eusebius wrote, seems to have done exactly that, since Jerome wrote:

"Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, wrote a short gospel at the request of the brethren at Rome, embodying what he had heard Peter tell. When Peter heard this, he approved it and published it to the churches to be read by his authority, as Clement in Book 6 of his *Hypotyposes*, and Papias bishop of Hierapolis, record. Peter also mentions this Mark in his first epistle, figuratively indicating Rome under the name of Babylon: "She who is in Babylon elect together with you salutes you, and so does Mark my son." So, taking the gospel which he himself composed, he [Mark] went to Egypt and first preaching Christ at Alexandria he formed a church so admirable in doctrine and continence of living that he constrained all followers of Christ to his example. Philo ~ most learned of the Jews ~ seeing the first church at Alexandria still Jewish in a degree, wrote a book on their manner of life as something creditable to his nation, telling how, as Luke says, the believers had all things in common at Jerusalem, so he recorded what he saw was done at Alexandria under the learned Mark. He died in the eighth year of Nero and was buried at Alexandria, Annianus succeeding him."¹⁴⁻ⁱ

Jerome thus posited the composition of the Gospel of Mark quite early, in Rome, and placed the death of Mark in A.D. 62. He also stated that Peter fully approved the Gospel of Mark.

Eusebius recorded that Papias had reported that Mark wrote as an "interpreter of Peter;" he "wrote down accurately, though not in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely."^{14-j}

But a different tradition must also be considered. In Eccl. Hist. V:8:1-3, Eusebius states that Irenaeus stated (at the beginning of Book III of Against Heresies), "Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the church in Rome. After their departure Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things which Peter had preached."^{14-k}

Eusebius also preserves a statement made by Clement of Alexandria to the effect that the Gospel of Mark was published after Matthew and Luke had already published their Gospel-

accounts. According to Eusebius, “Clement gives the tradition of the earliest presbyters, as to the order of the Gospels, in the following manner: the Gospels containing the genealogies [Matthew and Luke], he says, were written first. The Gospel according to Mark had this occasion: as Peter had preached the Word publicly at Rome, and declared the gospel by the Spirit, many who were present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time and remembered his sayings, should write them out. And having composed the Gospel he gave it to those who had requested it. When Peter learned of this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it.”¹⁴¹

The accounts conflict. Clement states that Mark was distributing the Gospel of Mark while Peter was alive, but Irenaeus states that Mark distributed the Gospel of Mark “after their departure,” which almost certainly alludes to the martyrdoms of Paul and Peter. This discrepancy is something we will just have to live with. For the question at hand, the important things to observe are that traditions preserved by early patristic sources indicate

- (a) Mark had been in Alexandria prior to the eighth year of Nero’s reign (A.D. 62), and
- (b) Mark had been succeeded in Alexandria by Annianus, and
- (c) Mark published the Gospel of Mark later, in Rome, and
- (d) Matthew’s Gospel-account was published before Mark’s Gospel-account.

The gist of early traditions considerably outweighs Jerome’s claim that Mark died in A.D. 62. Instead of adopting Jerome’s statement that Mark published the Gospel of Mark in Rome, and then went to Alexandria, and died there, all before A.D. 63, the logical deduction, taking all the traditions as seriously as they allow themselves to be taken, is that Mark was in Alexandria prior to A.D. 62, and departed, but did not die at that point. (Jerome probably misinterpreted a term for “departure” which sometimes served as a euphemism for death.) Later Mark arrived in Rome, where the Gospel of Mark was published in the 60’s.

However, Mark probably wrote down many of the component-parts of the Gospel of Mark before he went to Rome. Mark and Peter had both been part of the Jerusalem community in the formative years of the church. Nothing prevented Mark, who had for years heard the sermons and recollections of Peter and the other apostles and eyewitnesses of Jesus’ ministry, from writing about Jesus in the A.D. 40’s or 50’s.

Nevertheless, the earliest patristic sources (Papias, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus) assign the date of the publication of the Gospel of Mark in Rome, either (according to Clement) during the lifetime of Peter or (according to Irenaeus) shortly after his death. With this background in mind, we now turn to three theories about the relationship between the LE, AE, and SE.

Special Theory One: A Proto-Mark Elicited Apprehension Toward the Long Ending

While in Jerusalem, and later in Alexandria, Mark wrote down and organized a Petrine-based account of Jesus’ miracles and last days. Before departing Alexandria to go to Rome in A.D. 62, Mark left behind a form of this “Proto-Mark” composition. About five years later, in Rome, the Gospel of Mark was disseminated in a definitive edition, with some significant differences from the Proto-Mark which had been left in Alexandria. One such difference was the presence, at the end of the book, of a catechetical summary of Christ’s post-resurrection appearances, instead of the ending which was in the Proto-Mark in Alexandria.

Thus the stage was set for an interesting collision between the text of Proto-Mark that was known in Alexandria in A.D. 62, and the final form of Mark’s Gospel which was published later in Rome. A church-leader in Alexandria who recalled the contents of Proto-Mark acquiesced to most of the differences between the two, but when he noticed that the endings were significantly different, he suspected that the novel Roman ending was the result of tampering. He decided to either obelize it, separate it from the rest of the book, or remove it entirely. Any of those three steps would account for the rise of the AE in copies descended from his copies. (However, this does not explain why the ending in “Proto-Mark” would not be retained.)

Special Theory Two: Posthumous Publication of the Gospel of Mark

This is the best explanation for the external evidence and the internal evidence. In about A.D. 66, in Rome, Mark decided to write a definitive version of the Petrine Memoirs which he had previously disseminated in provisional forms. However, as he was writing 16:8, Mark was killed, or was forced to immediately leave the city, or was otherwise prevented from finishing. Mark's surviving associates, hesitant to publish the book without an ending, decided to finish Mark's book by attaching a short text which Mark had written previously – a text which told about post-resurrection appearances of Jesus. This material consisted of what is now known as the last twelve verses of Mark.

The autograph which Mark had been making was written on a scroll, and the attached ending was on a separate parchment or papyrus. The copies produced in Rome after Mark's death contained the contents of both pieces of material -- the main text (1:1-16:8) and the supplemental text (16:9-20). However, during the years 69-70, as unrest and chaos enveloped the city of Rome, the Roman Christians decided to transport the two-piece autograph to Ephesus for safe-keeping. The supplement-page of the autograph was lost in transit, with the result that for a short period, the AE was the only ending available in Ephesus.

At this point we turn to a new piece of evidence: the end of the Gospel of John. One of the unusual features of the Gospel of John is that it seems to conclude twice – once at the end of chapter 20, and again at the end of chapter 21. John 21 begins with a brief transition, and contains in its first 19 verses an account of how Jesus appeared to the disciples in Galilee and restored Peter. This is how one would expect the Gospel of Mark to conclude, inasmuch as in 16:7 the stage is set for Christ to appear to the disciples and Peter in Galilee. It is no exaggeration that John 21:1-19 interlocks with Mark 16:8 as well as (or better than) it does with John 20.

A simple explanation for this phenomenon is that a text resembling John 21:1-19 was written to finish a copy of Mark which displayed the AE – possibly the autograph (minus the lost supplement) itself, at some point before the Gospel of John was put together.

Thus a new question arises: if this scenario occurred, why didn't the highly satisfactory Johannine Ending permanently remain as the end of the Gospel of Mark? If its only competitor in the early second century had been the AE, the Johannine Ending (JE) would have been retained. And if somehow the AE had been perpetuated in other locales, prompting someone to compose and attach the LE, the JE would have held distinct advantages over the LE: the JE would be earlier, and it would possess an apostolic pedigree; it would lack the apparent harmonistic discrepancies one encounters in the LE, and it would end the book eloquently with exactly the satisfying narratives one would expect it to have. Yet the LE ~ which mainly overlaps post-resurrection appearances of Christ in the vicinity of Jerusalem rather than Galilee, and which does not contain specific details about Peter's restoration ~ is the dominant variant, and there is not a single copy of Mark that ends with Johannine material.

That is easily accounted for if, after John 21:1-19 had been composed to conclude the Gospel of John and the resultant text had been distributed for a very short period, a copy of the Gospel of Mark arrived in Ephesus which displayed the LE. Realizing that the lost ending of the Gospel of Mark was not lost after all, John removed his ending and restored the LE to its place. As a result, the Johannine Ending became a freestanding text until after John wrote his Gospel-account, at which time either he or his successors edited it (adding some new material and grafting in v. 14 and verses 20-25), and attached it as part of the text of the Gospel of John now known as John 21.

That hypothesis, which concisely explains internal evidence in both the Gospel of Mark and in the Gospel of John, also helps explain the rise of the AE in Egypt. An Ephesian copy of the archetype of Mark (minus the Long Ending; that is, with the AE) and a separate composition consisting of the Johannine Ending, were taken to Egypt in the late first century. This led some later Egyptian copyists to two conclusions: (a) the Gospel of Mark ended at 16:8, and (b) John 21 constituted the proper end of the Markan narrative.

Other Egyptian copyists, who were familiar with the original Roman form of the Gospel of Mark (1:1-16:20), encountered copies which ended at the end of 16:8, and responded by attaching the Long Ending, as found in their own copies of Mark.

Thus, for a brief time in the second century, there were forms of Mark with the AE, and with the LE, circulating in Egypt. The scribal school which perpetuated the AE also perpetuated the understanding that John 21 constituted the proper ending to the Gospel of Mark.

At the beginning of the third century, the transmission-streams in Egypt were disrupted by persecution and as a result, the next generation of copyists which inherited copies of Mark with the AE failed to understand that John 21 was supposed to be understood to be the proper conclusion of the Gospel of Mark. Finding the AE unbearably terse, a bold copyist composed the SE to relieve the suddenness with which the text otherwise stopped.

Eventually Egyptian copies of the text with the SE met Egyptian copies of the text with the LE. Some copyists resolved this major difference in their exemplars by choosing one ending or the other. Some copyists resolved the difference by including both endings -- putting the SE first because it worked as a flourish for a lection-unit which otherwise ended at the end of 16:8, and because the LE by this point was recognized as a lection-unit in the liturgy -- thus creating the Double Ending.^{14m} But still other copyists -- professional scribes -- may have resolved the differences by including neither ending, so as to let the eventual owner of the manuscript decide which ending to include. This third approach may explain the format in B, and possibly the hypothetical format of the original pages of **Ⲛ**.

With this series of events assumed, the external evidence may be arranged to reflect specific stages of the text's transmission:

λ Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, and Tatian used copies of Mark descended from the initial Roman dissemination of the Gospel of Mark.

λ B's exemplar displayed the AE followed by an extensive blank space which the exemplar's copyist had reserved for whichever ending the eventual owner of the manuscript deemed appropriate. B's copyist rigidly followed his exemplar but, being familiar with the SE and the LE in other MSS, he cleverly arranged the text so that the eventual owner of the MS could add either the SE or the LE or retain the AE.

λ **Ⲛ**'s exemplar displayed the AE with an extensive blank space, for the same reason as B. The producer of **Ⲛ**'s cancel-sheet, however, failed to understand the purpose of the blank space, and took special measures to avoid having a blank column in **Ⲛ**, probably because he simply did not like to leave blank columns between books of the same genre.

λ It^k's scribe used an exemplar which was descended from an Egyptian text which contained the SE.

λ Sahidic Codex P. Palau Rib. 182 and the Sinaitic Syriac both attest to a stage of transmission older than it^k and it^k's ancestor-MS that contained the SE. They both descend from an early Egyptian MS which displayed the AE. The Sahidic Codex's ancestor-MSS were relatively isolated and for this reason its text is fairly unmixed. The Sinaitic Syriac's ancestor-MSS, though, represented different local texts.

λ The "accurate copies" mentioned by Eusebius were descended from (or were themselves) Egyptian copies which displayed the AE.

λ The MSS mentioned by Jerome, who based his comment on Eusebius' earlier comments, were descended from Egyptian copies which displayed the AE. Jerome may have surmised, rather than observed, that most MSS from Egypt displayed the AE, basing this view on the idea that all Egyptian MSS reflected the editorial influence of Hesychius -- an influence which Jerome did not regard favorably.

This theory explains the following specific pieces of evidence.

(1) Why the LE does not explicitly describe post-resurrection appearances of Christ in Galilee, or the restoration of Peter, as one would expect in light of Mark 16:7.

(2) Why, after the Gospel of John eloquently concludes in 20:30-31, the final chapter starts with another narrative which consists of precisely of what one would expect of an ending designed to finish a copy of the Gospel of Mark that displayed the AE.

(3) Why John 21:1-19 works so well as a continuation of the narrative after 16:8, but was not maintained as the proper ending of the Gospel of Mark.

- (4) Why the AE is traceable to Egypt.
- (5) why the Double Ending arose in Egypt, with the SE preceding the LE.
- (6) Why B has an extensive blank space after Mark 16:8.
- (7) Why the narrative in the "Gospel of Peter" (see <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/gospelpeter.html>) quickly moves from the same scene described in Mark 16:8 to the scene in John 21:1. (That is, it reflects an early understanding that John 21, or a source incorporated into it, was the proper conclusion of the Markan narrative.)
- (8) Why, in Codex Vaticanus, a telos-symbol appears in the margin of the Gospel of John at 20:30 and at 21:1. (This suggests that a copyist retained the idea that one of these points should serve as the end of the Gospel of John, and the remaining last chapter was something else -- namely, the proper conclusion of the Markan narrative.)
- (9) Why Tertullian referred to John 20:30-31 as the conclusion of the Gospel of John, even though he was aware of material in John 21, and why Origen also referred to John 20:30-31 as the end of the Gospel of John even though he also used John 21. They both understood John 21 as a text which had been composed separately from John 1-20.¹⁴⁻ⁿ

Although this series of events can only be hypothetically reconstructed, it explains the internal and external evidence remarkably well.

CONCLUDING NOTE

One does not have to advocate either of these theories to maintain the authenticity of the LE. Other theories could be proposed.^{14-o} Or, one could refrain from precisely identifying the cause of the abrupt text, and still maintain that the internal evidence is not decisive and the attestation in favor of the LE satisfactorily outweighs the evidence for its absence in terms of age, geographical diversity, and quantity.

The question of the authorship of the LE remains an issue for source-criticism to address.^{14-o} But although preliminary drafts of Proto-Mark may have lacked 16:9-20 (and several other sections and phrases), the external evidence, which includes not less than three second-century witnesses for the Long Ending, favors the view that from the first century onward the Gospel of Mark was disseminated with the LE throughout the early church except in one narrow channel of transmission -- the same channel of transmission in which the SE arose, and in which the Double Ending later arose.

The internal evidence is best explained by the theory that the Long Ending was a Markan composition that existed prior to Mark's writing of the Gospel of Mark. The external evidence is best explained by the theory that the LE was part of the archetypal text (having been added after Mark was permanently interrupted), and was subsequently lost while the archetype was in transit. And the theory that this loss occurred between Rome and Ephesus, and that a composition similar to John 21:1-19 was written to conclude the truncated Gospel of Mark, but then was withdrawn (to be reconstituted later as part of the Gospel of John) is supported by the elegance with which John 21 continues the flow of the narrative from Mark 16:8, by the fact that we have no copies of Mark which end with John 21, and by the *telos*-symbols alongside John 20:30 and 21:1 in Codex Vaticanus.

Because the LE shares some linguistic features with other portions of Mark that are not reflected in Matthew or Luke, and because of the awkward transition (or non-transition) between 16:8 and 16:9, and because any later author wishing to compose an ending resuming the narrative from 16:8 would be prone to avoid using Luke's Judean scenes (since 16:7 anticipates Galilean scenes) and to make abundant use of John 21, it seems fair to deduce that the Long Ending was not only, as Hort surmised, "a narrative of Christ's appearances after the resurrection which he found in some secondary record then surviving from a preceding generation" (Introduction, *Notes*, p. 51), but a composition written by Mark which his associates considered the best available text with which to conclude Mark's Gospel-account.

The LE is attested in all transmission-channels, even the ones with members that have the AE (that is, the Alexandrian and, to a much much lesser extent, the Caesarean text-streams). The LE, when viewed *in situ*, explains the origins of the AE, the SE, and the Double Ending. Therefore it should be regarded as the original text of the Gospel of Mark. It follows that the canonical status which Mark 16:9-20 has always received from Christ's church should not be in doubt; its message ought to be used with confidence as the Word of God.

Chapter Fifteen: The Style Of The Long Ending Of Mark

by Bruce Terry

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The question of authorship of verses 9 through 20 of the last chapter of Mark cannot be decided on the basis of textual evidence, since they are omitted by some good manuscripts and included by other good ones. Rather it must be determined, if possible, on the basis of style: if these last twelve verses are in Mark's style, then the view that they were written by Mark is preferable; if they are in a different style, then the view that they were written by someone else is preferable.

Textual critics usually object to Mark's authorship of these verses on the basis of supposed differences of style between them and the rest of the Gospel of Mark. However, an in depth study of the stylistic features in question reveals that almost all of them can be found elsewhere in Mark. For convenience of discussion, these features may be categorized under four headings: juncture, vocabulary, phraseology, and miscellaneous.

Objections Based on Juncture

Five objections have been raised concerning the juncture of verses 8 and 9. It is claimed that the connection between these verses is awkward because: (1) the subject of verse 8 is the women, whereas Jesus is the presumed subject of verse 9; (2) the other women of verse 1-8 are forgotten in verses 9-20; (3) in verse 9 Mary Magdalene is identified even though she has been mentioned only a few lines before; (4) while the use of *anastas de* ("Now rising") and the position of *proton* ("first") are appropriate at the beginning of a comprehensive narrative, they are ill-suited in a continuation of verses 1-8; and (5) the use of the conjunction *gar* ("for") at the end of verse 8 is very abrupt.

With regard to juncture, it may be noted that the transition between verses 8 and 9 does seem awkward. An exact parallel containing all the features of this juncture cannot be found elsewhere in Mark; however, the various features may be found in different transitions between sections in Mark. In fact, the first two features are found together several times. There are at least five other verses in Mark which meet the following conditions: (1) the verse must begin a new section; (2) Jesus must be the presumed subject (referred to only as "he"); (3) the previous verse must not refer to Jesus; (4) the previous verse must have a subject other than Jesus; and (5) the subject of the previous verse must not be mentioned in the new section. Mark 2:13; 6:45; 7:31; 8:1; and 14:3 all meet these conditions. Thus the first two objections listed are not valid. Although this section does begin with these stylistic features, they are also found together five times elsewhere in Mark.

The third objection listed is that Mary Magdalene is identified in verse 9 as "from whom he had cast seven demons" even though she has been mentioned as recently as verse 1. However, it should be noted that this is not, strictly speaking, an identifying phrase; it is rather a type of flashback that gives additional information about Mary Magdalene.

This same type of flashback is found at least four times elsewhere in Mark. In Mark 3:16 we find that Simon was surnamed Peter by Jesus, although Simon had been mentioned several times previously. We know this is a flashback because John 1:42 tells us it happened when Simon Peter first met Jesus. In Mark 3:17 we find that James and John were surnamed Boanerges, which means sons of thunder, although they too had been previously mentioned. In Mark 6:16 we find that Herod had beheaded John the Baptist, even though Herod had been previously mentioned only two verses before. And in Mark 7:26 we find the additional information that the woman who was the subject of the previous verse was a Greek, a Syrophenician by race. Thus we see that the stylistic feature of giving additional information in a type of flashback about someone previously mentioned is not foreign to Mark. Therefore, the third objection is not valid either.

The fourth objection to the juncture between this last section of Mark and the previous one is that the use of *anastas de* ("Now rising") and the position of *proton* ("first") in verse 9 are ill-suited in a continuation of verses 1-8, even though they would be appropriate at the beginning of a comprehensive narrative. It is only necessary to point out that verse 9 is not a continuation of the section found in verse 1-8; it is the start of a new one. The resurrection of Christ is established by two great facts: the empty tomb and His appearances. Without the appearances of Christ, the empty tomb testifies only to a missing body. Without the empty tomb, the appearances are only those of a ghost or spirit. But together they prove the validity of the resurrection. Even so, the section of verses 1-8 relates the discovery of the empty tomb; the last section starting in verse 9 relates the appearances of the risen Christ. Mark does not mix the two proofs. Thus the words in question are appropriate to verse 9, because it starts a new section. The fourth objection is not valid either.

Perhaps the most serious objection with regard to juncture is that verse 8 ends with the conjunction *gar* ("for"), which is a very abrupt ending. The final clause of verse 8 ("for they were afraid") has only two words in Greek. Since the word *gar* cannot stand at the beginning of a sentence in Greek, it is found at the end of the sentence, which is a feature not found elsewhere in Mark. Some have suggested that there was more to the sentence but this has been lost. But even though there are no other two word clauses containing *gar* in Mark, there are three word clauses (Mark 1:16; 11:18) and four word clauses (Mark 1:38; 3:21; 5:42; 9:49; 14:70; 15:14; 16:4) that contain *gar*. Thus Mark did know how to use *gar* in short sentences.

Actually, as stated before, the transition between verses 8 and 9 does seem awkward. This is primarily due to the use of a participle as a sort of resume of what has already been stated in the previous section. Although the resurrection had been mentioned in verse 6, it is mentioned again with a participle ("rising") to begin the section on Christ's appearances. This is a rare feature, being found elsewhere in this Gospel only in Mark 14:66. This verse, which begins the section relating how Peter denied Jesus three times, begins with a participle ("being") placing Peter in the courtyard, a fact which had already been mentioned in verse 54. It may be noted in passing that the servants who were slapping Jesus in verse 65 are now forgotten (a feature which parallels the second objection once again). Thus even this rare feature is found elsewhere in Mark. Although all the stylistic features of this section are not found together elsewhere in Mark, they are found elsewhere in Mark and thus this juncture is Markan in style.

Objections Based on Vocabulary

Three objections to the Markan authorship of these last twelve verses are raised on the grounds of vocabulary. They are: (1) sixteen words used in this section are not used elsewhere in the Gospel of Mark; (2) three of these words are used more than once in this section; and (3) this section does not contain some of Mark's favorite words: *eutheos* or *euthus* (both meaning "immediately") and *palin* ("again").

The main objection to the Markan authorship of these verses based on vocabulary is that sixteen words used in this section are not used elsewhere in the Gospel of Mark. The sixteen words are: *poreuomai* ("go," three times, vv. 10, 12, 15), *pentheo* ("mourn," v. 10), *theomai* ("see," twice, vv. 11, 14), *apisteo* ("not believe, disbelieve," twice, vv. 11, 16), *heteros* ("another, different," v. 12), *morphe* ("form," v. 12), *husteron* ("afterward," v. 14), *endeka* ("eleven," v. 14), *parakoloutheo* ("follow, accompany," v. 17), *ophis* ("serpent, snake," v. 18), *thanasimos* ("deadly," v. 18), *blapto* ("hurt, harm," v. 18), *analambano* ("receive up, take up," v. 19), *sunergeo* ("work with," v. 20), *bebaioo* ("confirm," v. 20), and *epakoloutheo* ("follow, attend," v. 10).

In all fairness, however, it should be pointed out that eight of these sixteen do have their word root used elsewhere in Mark. *Poreuomai* may not be used before this section, but its compounds are used 25 times elsewhere (*eisporeuomai*—8 times; *ekporeuomai*—11 times; *paraporeuomai*—4 times; *prosporeuomai*—once; *sumporeuomai*—once); in fact *poreuomai* itself is a variant reading in Mark 9:30. It is certainly no surprise to find this word used three times in this section. *Apisteo* is not found elsewhere in Mark, but its noun form *apistia* ("unbelief") is found not only in this section (v. 14), but twice elsewhere (6:6; 9:24). *Morphe* is not found elsewhere in the four Gospels, but *metamorphoo* ("transfigure, transform") is found in Mark 9:2. *Parakoloutheo* and *epakoloutheo* are found only here in Mark, but *akoloutheo* is used 19 times in Mark and *sunakoloutheo* twice. *Thanasimos* occurs only here in the New Testament, but *thanatos* ("death") is found six times in Mark and *thanatoo* ("put to death") twice. *Analambano* is found only here in the

Gospels, but *lambano* is used 21 times in Mark. And although *sunergeo* occurs only here in the Gospels, *ergazomai* is found once and *ergon* twice in Mark.

In addition, it should be pointed out that three of these sixteen words are found only in the post-resurrection accounts in the story of Jesus' life (i.e., in the Gospels plus Acts 1). They are *apisteo* ("disbelieve"), *endeka* ("eleven"), and *analambano* ("take up"). It is therefore not unusual to find these words only here in Mark because of the subject matter.

But in spite of the fact that the presence of several of these words is explainable, it still remains that there are sixteen words which are used only in these twelve verses in Mark. Nothing can be inferred about the genuineness of this section of Mark from the presence of any one of these words; rather, it is the large number of them which calls the style of the passage into question. However, looking at the twelve verses of Mark 15:40-16:4, one finds not just sixteen such words, but twenty to twenty-two, depending on textual variants. This shows that the author knew quite well how to use in a brief passage many new words which he had not previously used. The words used in Mark 15:40-16:4 but not used elsewhere are *Salome* ("Salome," twice, vv. 40, 1), *sunanabaino* ("come up with," v. 41), *epei* ("because, since," v. 42), *paraskeue* ("preparation," v. 42), *prosabbaton* ("the day before the sabbath," v. 42), *Arimathaia* ("Arimathea," v. 43), *euschemon* ("honorable, respected, prominent," v. 43), *prosdechomai* ("wait for, look for," v. 43), *thnesko* ("die, be dead," v. 44), *palai* ("any while, some time," v. 44; some Greek manuscripts have a different reading—*ede*, "already"—reflected in the RSV and NASV text, but both the Nestle and UBS Greek texts have *palai*), *doreomai* ("give, grant," v. 45), *eneileo* ("wrap, wind," v. 46), possibly *katatithemi* ("lay," v. 46; several Greek manuscripts have the simple verb form *tithemi*—the 25th edition of the Nestle Greek text has *katatithemi* while the 26th edition joins the UBS Greek text in reading *tithemi*), *latomeo* ("hew," v. 46), *petra* ("rock," v. 46), *proskulio* ("roll," v. 46), *diaginomai* ("be past, be over," v. 1), *aroma* ("spices," v.1), *apokulio* ("roll away," v. 3), *anakulio* ("roll away, roll back," v. 4), and *sphodra* ("very, exceeding, extremely," v. 4).

Thirteen of these sixteen words found only here in Mark are used only once. But this is not as unusual as might be thought. In the 661 undisputed verses in Mark, there are 555 words that are used only once (WUOO) in this book; however, the distribution of words used only once is not uniform in Mark. For example, the first twelve verses of chapter 1 contain 16 words used only once in Mark, and the first twelve verses of chapter 14 contain 20, even though both of these chapters have ratios that are less than 1 such word per verse.

The distribution of words used only once in Mark across the chapters can be seen in the following chart, which was compiled from the statistics for infrequently used words found in Kubo's Reader's Lexicon.

Chapter	Number of Words Used Only Once	Number of Verses	Hapax Legomena	Ratio WUOO/Verses
1	39	45	6	.86
2	16	28	3	.57
3	13	35	1	.37
4	42	41	2	1.02
5	25	43	4	.58
6	46	56	3	.82
7	41	36 *	6	1.14
8	23	38	2	.61
9	43	48 *	10	.90
10	40	52	5	.77
11	14	32 *	2	.44
12	46	44	5	1.05
13	40	37	3	1.08
14	70	72	5	.97
15	53	46 *	5	1.15
16:1-8	4	8	0	.50
Subtotals	555	661	62	.84
16:9-20	13	12	1	1.08
Totals	568	673	63	.84

* Verses are missing from chapters 7, 9, 11, and 15 due to textual variants.

For chapters, the ratio of words used only once to verses varies between a low of .37 in chapter 3 and a high of 1.15 in chapter 15. The ratio of 1.08 for the long ending of Mark is well within this range, being exceeded by chapters 7, 13, and 15.

The analysis can be further clarified by using the sections found in the UBS Greek New Testament rather than chapters. There are four such sections in the long ending of Mark and ninety sections in the undisputed part of Mark. These sections contain between zero and thirty words each that are used only once in Mark, the longer sections on the average containing more such words. For sections, the ratio of words used only once to verses varies between a low of .00 for six sections (1:14-15; 3:31-35; 8:27-30; 13:1-2; 14:1-2; and 14:51-52) and a high of 2.40 in the section found in 15:16-20. The highest ratio of 2.00 for a section (verses 19-20) in the long ending of Mark is well within this range, being exceeded by sections in chapters 12 (verses 38-40 with 2.33), 14 (verses 3-9 with 2.29), and 15 (verses 16-20 with 2.4 and verses 42-47 with 2.33).

The four sections in the long ending of Mark range from two to five verses in length. Following is a summary table of the results of the analysis, grouped by section size, comparing the long ending to the rest of Mark.

Number of Sections	Number of Words Used Only Once per Section	Number of Verses per Section	Total Hapax Legomena	Ratio WUOO/Verses
Long Ending				
4	Range: 1-6; Ave. 3.25	2-5	1	.33-2.00 Ave. 1.08
Rest of Mark				
37	Range: 0-12; Ave. 3.32 (chapters 1-16) (chapters 12-16)	2-5	16	.00-2.40 Ave. .88 Ave. 1.10
29	Range: 1-16; Ave. 6.38	6-9	15	.13-2.29 Ave. .90
17	Range: 1-15; Ave. 8.24	10-13	15	.09-1.30 Ave. .74
7	Range: 8-30; Ave. 15.29	15-23	16	.53-1.36 Ave. .84

When the four sections of the long ending are compared with other sections in Mark that are two to five verses long, it is seen that they fall within the ranges of the undisputed sections of Mark. The average mean of words used only once per section of 3.25 compares favorably with the average in the rest of the book of 3.32 for similar sized sections. The average ratio of 1.08 words used only once/verses of the long ending is greater than the average of .88 for the whole book but comparable to the average of 1.10 for the last five chapters. This latter figure means that, for twelve verses composed of sections this size in the last five chapters of Mark (around the climax), the number of words to be expected that are used only once would be thirteen, which is exactly what is found!

By way of contrast, the shorter ending of Mark, although only about 2 verses long, contains 9 words not used in Mark, giving a ratio of 4.5, over 4 times that of the long ending and almost twice that of 15:16-20, which has the highest ratio of any section in Mark!

A second objection to the Markan authorship of these verses is that three of the sixteen words in question (*poreuomai*, *theaomai*, and *apisteo*) are used more than once. But an examination reveals that this is also characteristic of Mark's style. An analysis of words that are used more than once within a twelve verse span of text and only within that span in Mark reveals that there are 77 such words in the undisputed verses of Mark plus 5 proper nouns. If the selection is limited to a six verse span (the largest span actually used in 16:9-20), the number of words drops to 58 plus 3 names. The following chart shows the distribution:

Times Used	Twelve Verse Spread		Six Verse Spread	
	words	names	words	names
2 times	53	2	42	1
3 times	14	2	11	1
4 times	4	1	4	1
5 times	5	-	-	-
6 times	1	-	1	-

The long ending of Mark has a unique-words-used-more-than- once to verse ratio of .25. For chapters this ratio varies from 0 for chapter 10 (with no such words) to .25 for chapter 2 (7 such words in 28 verses). For sections it varies from 0 to 1. The most notable section is 2:18-22 with a ratio of 1 (5 such words in 5 verses: *nesteuo* "fast" [6 times], *numphios* "bridegroom" [3 times], *palaios* "old" [3 times], *neos* "new" [twice], and *askos* "wineskin" [4 times]). This five-verse section also contains at least 7 words that are used only once in Mark, including 2 hapax legomena. Other examples of such words throughout Mark include the following: *sporos* ("seed," Mark 4:26, 27), *sunthlibo* ("throng, press," Mark 5:24, 31), *telones* ("tax-collector, publican," Mark 8:9, 20), and *huperetes* ("servant, officer, guard, attendant," Mark 14:54, 65). Thus, this objection is not valid.

A third objection is that this section does not contain some of Mark's favorite words: *eutheos* or *euthus* (both meaning "immediately") and *palin* ("again"). This is to overlook the fact that not only do the last twelve verses of Mark not contain these words, the last fifty-three verses do not contain them. Looking at Mark as a whole, there are 650 sets of twelve consecutive verses, not considering the last twelve verses. Out of these, 373 sets do not contain *euthus* or *eutheos*; that is, more than 57% do not have them. Also, 399 sets do not contain *palin*; that is, more than 61% do not have this word. And finally, it may be noted that 229 sets do not contain *euthus*, *eutheos*, or *palin*; that is, more than 35% do not contain any of these words. It is hardly an objection to say that the last twelve verses are in the same category with more than one-third of the sets of twelve consecutive verses in the rest of the book.

Having examined the three objections based on vocabulary and found that all three are actually stylistic features found elsewhere in Mark, it is not inappropriate to point out some evidence from vocabulary in favor of the Markan authorship of these verses. There are several words in these last twelve verses which may be classified as Markan in some special sense. Defining this category as words which are used elsewhere in Mark as much or more than they are used in any of the other three Gospels, there are nine words in this section which can qualify. They are *proi* ("early," v. 9; also found 5 times elsewhere in Mark, 3 times in Matthew, and twice in John), *apistia* ("unbelief," v. 14; also found in Mark 6:6; 9:24 and in Matthew 13:58), *sklerokardia* ("hardness of heart," v. 14; also found in Mark 10:5 and in Matthew 19:8), *kerusso* ("preach," twice, vv. 15, 20; also found 12 times elsewhere in Mark, 9 times in Matthew, and 9 times in Luke), *euaggelion* ("gospel," v. 15; also found 7 times elsewhere in Mark, and 4 times in Matthew), *ktisis* ("creature, creation," v. 15; also found in Mark 10:6 and 13:19, but in none of the other Gospels), *arrostos* ("sick," v. 18; also found in Mark 6:5, 13 and in Matthew 14:14), *kalos* ("well, recover," v. 18; also found 5 times elsewhere in Mark, twice in Matthew, and 4 times in Luke), and *pantachou* ("everywhere," v. 20; also found in Mark 1:28 and Luke 9:6). The presence of these words lends credence to the idea that Mark wrote this section.

Objections Based on Phraseology

The phraseology of these last twelve verses is claimed to be non-Markan because: (1) eight phrases used in this section are not used elsewhere in Mark; (2) similar but different phrases are used elsewhere in Mark; and (3) the phrase *oi met' autou genomenoi* ("those having been with him") is used to designate the disciples only here.

The eight phrases which are used in this section but not elsewhere in Mark are *prote sabbatou* ("first [day] of the week," v. 9), *ekballo apo* or *ekballo para* ("cast out from," v. 9), *oi met' autou genomenoi* ("those having been with him," v. 10), *etheathe hup'* ("was seen by," v. 11), *meta tauta* ("after these things," v. 12), *pasa ktisis* ("all creation, every creature," v. 15), *kalos echein* ("to have well, to get well, to recover," v. 18), *men oun* ("on the one hand therefore," v. 19). Once again, it is not so much the presence of any particular phrase as it is the large number of phrases which is the stylistic feature in question. However, in the twelve verses of Mark 15:42-16:6 there are nine phrases used which are not found elsewhere in this Gospel. They are: *ede opsias genomenes* ("now evening having come," v. 42), *ginosko apo* ("know from," v. 45), *proskulio epi* ("roll on," v. 46), *he thura tou mnemeiou* ("the door of the tomb," twice, vv. 46, 3), *lian proi . . . erchomai* ("come very early," v. 2), *mia ton sabbaton* ("[day] one of the week," v. 2), *en tois dexiois* ("on the right," v. 5), *stolen leuken* ("white robe," v. 5), *me ekthambeisthe* ("Be not affrighted, Do not be amazed," v. 6). Thus Mark did know how to use a large number of new phrases in a particular section.

But a second objection regards the use of *prote sabbatou* ("first of the week") in verse 9 for Sunday. In verse 2 Mark used *mia ton sabbaton* ("one of the week") to designate the same day. Some have argued that *prote sabbatou* is not in Mark's style, but since *mia ton sabbaton* is only found once itself in the Gospel of Mark, it can hardly be said to constitute Mark's style in this regard. A more serious question is whether Mark would shift to a similar but different form to designate the same thing. Once again we can find this stylistic feature elsewhere in Mark. For example, in Mark 2:23, 24 the sabbath is referred to in the plural form in Greek (*ta sabbata*) while three verses later in verses 27-28 Mark switches to the singular form (*to sabbaton*). Both forms have a singular meaning. Again, in Mark 5:2 the word that Mark uses for "tomb" is *mnemeion* while in verses 3 and 5 he switches to the similar word *mnema*. The same variation is found in Mark 15:56-16:8.

It may also be noted that *prote sabbatou* would sound better to a Roman than *mia ton sabbaton* and that Mark is usually stated to be the Gospel for the Romans. The use of the cardinal (*mia*—"one") for the ordinal (*prote*—"first") is a known Aramaic characteristic that is used in the Talmud. On the other hand, Latin (like English) prefers the ordinal in such a phrase. In English, we prefer "first day of the week" to "day one of the week"; in the same way, a Latin speaker would prefer *prima sabbati* ("first of the week") to *una sabbati* ("one of the week"). This is shown by the Latin translation of Matthew 28:1 which literally would have been *unam sabbatorum* or *una sabbati*, but which in fact is the better sounding *prima sabbati*. Thus it is not surprising to find the corresponding Greek phrase *prote sabbatou* in the Gospel of Mark which is supposedly primarily for the Romans.

The third objection is that the phrase *oi met' autou genomenoi* ("those having been with him") is used nowhere but verse 10 to designate the disciples. A similar objection sometimes made is that *thanasimos* ("deadly," v. 18) is used only here to designate the disciples, but *thanasimos* is not referring to the disciples but to something that may be drunk. However, *oi met' autou genomenoi* is here referring to the disciples. But the past flavor given to the phrase by the use of the aorist participle *genomenoi* ("having been") would hardly have been appropriate previous to the crucifixion. Thus one would not expect to find this phrase referring to the disciples except in the last chapter. And the shorter expression *oi met' autou* ("those with him") is found three times elsewhere in Mark (1:36; 2:25; and 5:40).

In addition, there are at least four other phrases which are found in this section and also elsewhere in Mark. They are *eis agron* ("into the country," v. 12; also found in Mark 5:14; 6:36, 56; 13:16), *kerusso to euaggelion* ("preach the gospel," v. 15; also found in Mark 1:14; 13:10; 14:9), *en to onomati mou* ("in my name," v. 17; also found in Mark 9:38), and *epi . . . cheiras epitithemi* ("lay hands on," v. 18; also found in Mark 8:25). This is additional evidence that this last section is in Mark's style.

Miscellaneous Objections

Several miscellaneous objections have also been raised to Mark's authorship. (1) It is claimed that Mark's usual style is to expand the accounts of incidents in Christ's life as compared with the other Gospels while this section condenses the accounts. (2) It is noted that Mark has a fondness for the word *kai* ("and") which is lacking in this section. (3) It is claimed that *ekeinos* ("that one") and the contraction *akeinos* ("and that one") are used in a weakened sense of simply "he," "she," or "they" in this section as opposed to the rest of the Gospel. (4) It is noted that Jesus is referred to as "the Lord" or "the Lord Jesus" only in this section of Mark. (5) And it is noted that the only appearances recorded in this ending of Mark are also recorded in the other Gospels, implying that the writer relied on the other Gospels for his information.

Regarding the first objection, it is often true that Mark has more material on an incident in Christ's life than the other Gospels (compare Mark 5:21-43 with the parallel accounts in Matthew 9:18-26 and Luke 8:40-56). However, in this section we find only one verse describing Christ's appearance to two on the road, while Luke gives that incident twenty-three verses (Luke 24:13-35). But Mark also knows how to pass over quickly important events in Christ's life. Passing over Jesus' birth completely, Mark gives only seven verses to John the Baptist's preaching, three verses to Jesus' baptism, and two verses to His temptation! Thus condensation can also be a stylistic feature of Mark.

Probably the most serious objection against Mark's authorship of these verses relates to the strange distribution of conjunctions in this last section as compared with the rest of Mark. It is often stated that Mark had a fondness for the conjunction *kai* ("and") which is not shown in these verses. Other conjunctions are used and verse 10 is even without a conjunction to begin it. While *kai* is used at least once in every verse in some sections, here it is used only nine times, and only three of these are used to join clauses. There are also three contractions with *kai* in this section: once *kai* contracts with *an* ("if") to form *kan* and twice *kai* contracts with *ekeinos* ("that one") to form *akeinos*. These are all used to begin new clauses. But the scant usage of *kai* in this section is paralleled in the twelve verse sections of Mark 7:15-26 (only eight uses of *kai*, six joining clauses) and 13:26-37 (only nine uses of *kai*, four joining clauses). All of the other conjunctions in this section are used elsewhere in Mark. Regarding the lack of a conjunction to begin verse 10, it should be noted that the first four verses of the Gospel do not contain a single coordinating conjunction (there is one subordinating conjunction in verse 2). Thus Mark knew how to use the stylistic features of a few uses of *kai* and no beginning conjunction.

Still another objection is that *ekeinos* ("that one") and the contraction *akeinos* ("and that one") are used in a weakened sense of simply "he," "she," or "they" (this is called an "absolute" use of the pronoun). While it is true that *ekeinos* is not used elsewhere in Mark in the absolute sense, the contracted form *akeinos* is used absolutely in Mark 12:4, 5 (the only two other places in Mark where it is used).

A fourth objection is that Jesus is referred to as "the Lord" or "the Lord Jesus" only in this section of Mark. There is a textual question as to whether verse 19 should read "the Lord" or "the Lord Jesus." Both the Nestle and UBS Greek texts include "Jesus" in brackets in the text. The objection, however, is the same regardless of which reading is accepted.

Both show a heightened respect for Christ after His resurrection. But the term "Lord" is also used in reference to Christ in Mark 1:3; 2:28; 7:28; 11:3; and 12:36-37. In some of these passages the term "Lord" does not have the full significance that it does here, but Luke, who uses the term "Lord" extensively to refer to Christ, also uses the heightened term "the Lord Jesus" only in Luke 24:3, after His resurrection.

The last objection to be discussed is that the only appearances recorded in the long ending of Mark are also recorded in the other Gospels, implying that the writer relied on the other Gospels for his information. While the observation is correct, the implication that is drawn from it is not. It only needs to be noted that this section contains new information about the appearances not revealed elsewhere. For example, this section alone tells us that the disciples were "mourning and weeping" (v. 10), that Christ appeared to the two on the road in a "different form" (v. 12), and that one of the signs to follow the disciples would be the drinking of deadly things without harmful results (v.18). Thus this objection is also invalid.

Cumulative Style and Peak

In conclusion, we see that all the objections to Mark's authorship of this section based on style fall into one of two classes: (1) either the stylistic feature in question is found elsewhere in Mark, or (2) there is a reasonable explanation for its presence. By far the largest number of objections fall in the first category. This indicates that it is not correct to state that this long ending is not in Mark's style.

It is possible that someone might object that it is not that these stylistic features are not found elsewhere in Mark, but that they are rare in Mark, being used infrequently by him. Thus it is the cumulative factor of using so many rare stylistic features in one place that makes this section non-Markan. This objection is well-taken and must be given consideration.

With the recent discovery of the concept of peak, however, this frequent use of rare features in an important part of the story is exactly what should be expected. Peak is an area of grammatical turbulence. Little used features become prominent in peak sections and often used features are abandoned. Background devices become foregrounded and vice versa. In languages around the world, peak has been shown to occur in sections of climax and denouement, and sometimes inciting incident, in narratives told by good storytellers. If the crucifixion is the climax, the resurrection is the denouement. One would expect this to be a peak area in which the use of expected stylistic features is abandoned in favor of less frequently used ones. This is exactly what is found in the increased use of words used only once in Mark in the last five chapters. Rather than revealing that Mark is not the author of these last twelve verses, this different cumulative style may show that he was a good storyteller.

To Dr. Terry's analysis, I would add six observations:

1. Mark is well-known for his fondness for presenting things in groups of three. T.A. Burkill lists numerous examples of this tendency on pp. 256-258 of *New Light on the Earliest Gospel* (© 1972 Cornell University). The Long Ending exhibits the same tendency: the material is arranged to form three post-resurrection appearances of Christ: to Mary Magdalene (v. 9-11), to the two travelers (12-13), and to the eleven (14-18). The triple use of *εφανερωθη* ("appeared") is striking.
2. It is sometimes objected that the LE does not mesh with Mark 16:7 because there is no mention in the LE of a meeting in Galilee (for instance, Dr. Michael Holmes presented this objection in "To Be Continued ...," p. 48, *Bible Review* August 2001). In response, I would note that inasmuch as there is no mention in the LE of any other location, it would be natural for Roman readers to assume that the encounter in vv. 14-18 took place in Galilee. (Only after reading the Gospel of Luke would they draw a different conclusion.) 16:7 already identifies the location of an expected encounter between Jesus and His disciples and therefore there was no reason to re-identify the location.
3. It is sometimes claimed that 16:17-18 shows the author's familiarity with the contents of the book of Acts. For instance, the taking up of serpents is associated with Acts 28:3-6. However, not only is the term for "serpent" different in Acts (*εχιδνα*) than in 16:18 (*οφεις*), but a much closer Old Testament parallel exists: Moses' picking up of a serpent in Exodus 4 (where, in the Septuagint, the word *οφεις* is used). While a detailed comparison of the signs listed in 16:17-18 to

the signs manifested by Moses (and Elisha) would be somewhat tangential to the present study, it is pertinent that while the author of the LE was probably aware of many events which are related in the book of Acts, nothing in the LE indicates that he had ever read Acts. Except for speaking in new tongues and healing through the laying on of hands (experiences which were not unusual in the first-century church), the signs listed in 16:17-18 resemble signs which accompanied Old Testament prophets, especially Moses (Exodus 4:2-5) and Elisha (II Kings 2:19-22, 4:38-41).

The parallels with Elisha seem particularly apt since they accompanied Elisha after Elijah went up to heaven (και ανελημφθη Ηλίου εν συνσεισμω ως εις τον ουρανον – II Kings 2:11 LXX) and similar signs likewise accompany the apostles after Jesus' ascension (ανελημφθη εις τον ουρανον – Mark 16:19). (Septuagint quotations from The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint, edited by Henry Barclay Swete, © 1925 Cambridge University Press.)

4. Some scholars disagree about the value and meaning of the internal evidence. In 1881 Hort described the internal evidence in the following way: “**Vocabulary and style of vv. 9-20 indicative, but not favorable to genuineness.**” (p. 29, Introduction, Notes.) Less than two decades later, Ezra Gould stated, “**The internal evidence for the omission is much stronger than the external, proving conclusively that these verses could not have been written by Mark.**” (p. 302, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Mark, International Critical Commentary series, © 1896 Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.) [emphases added] But more recently, Harvard professor Helmut Koester stated that the vocabulary and style of the LE is “**fully compatible with the Gospel of Mark**” (p. 295, Ancient Christian Gospels, © Helmut Koester 1990, SCM Press and Trinity Press International). [emphasis added in these three quotations.]
5. If the Long Ending was written in a setting that was different from the conditions under which the rest of the Gospel of Mark was written, then some stylistic differences are accounted for. Similarly, if the Long Ending was simply a different genre than Mark's other source-materials -- for instance, if it was intended to be put to heavy liturgical use -- then this, too, would explain some stylistic differences.
6. If, prior to publication, the entire Gospel of Mark was adjusted and expanded after Mark's death by an associate, who added the LE, then the book was co-authored and the question of style is moot.
7. Although it is sometimes alleged that “**all of the material in 16:9-20 appears to be garnered from accounts found in the other three Gospels**” (Garland, p. 616), this claim rests not only on exaggerations but on the flawed assumption that no one but Matthew, Luke, and John related these events. Certainly more than three people in the early church knew about the post-resurrection appearances of Christ, and knew them well. This claim also overlooks the outstanding lack of sustained verbal parallels between the LE and the other Gospels. Most obviously, it ignores the various features of the LE which clearly are not shared by the other Gospels.

Chapter Sixteen: A Detailed Look at Internal Evidence

Part One: Examining Proposed Evidence that the Author of Mark 16:9-20 used Matthew, Luke, John, and Acts

The observations made by Dr. Bruce Terry in the supplemental chapter are more than sufficient to deflect most objections to the Markan authorship of Mark 16:9-20 which have been made on the basis of internal evidence. However, some additional response is required in light of some studies which have tended to reject the views of Hort and Metzger^{16-a} in favor of the view that the LE was created to conclude the Gospel of Mark.

A very thorough case in favor of the view that the LE was written especially for the purpose of supplementing Mark 1:1-16:8 was written by James A. Kelhoffer in his 480-page dissertation Miracle and Mission. Because it seems unlikely that a more thorough examination of the internal

evidence will be produced in the near future, and because Dr. Kelhoffer's work seems likely to affect future commentators' approaches to the internal evidence, I have added this chapter to specially engage some of his claims.

Dr. Kelhoffer acknowledged that "numerous parts of 16:9-20 bear a striking resemblance to Mark 1:1-16:8,"^{16-b} but explained that this is a result of the author's desire to imitate Mark. Dr. Kelhoffer acknowledged that the LE "does not reflect extensive, verbatim citations"^{16-c} of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Yet the substance of his view is that the author of the LE depended on the four Gospels and Acts for material, rather than that the author used other sources and/or wrote creatively.

In this chapter I will show that the parallels between Mark 16:9-20 and Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Acts may be attributed to shared sources and fortuitousness with greater probability than they may be attributed to direct literary dependence.

Before examining in detail the evidence which has been used as the basis of the view that the author of the LE depended on the Gospels and Acts, it is appropriate to provide an example of the effects that two authors' use of a common source may have. In First Corinthians 11:23-25, the apostle Paul records the institution of the Lord's Supper. When compared to the Gospels, there are close verbal parallels: "Jesus ... took bread, and when he had given thanks, He broke it ... and said ... This is My body which is for you. Do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise the cup after supper, saying, 'This cup ... new covenant in my blood.'" The parallels are especially strong between First Corinthians 11:23-25 and Luke 22:17-20, but there is also considerable agreement between First Corinthians 11:23-25 and Mark 14:22-25. Yet even though these sustained parallels are obvious, it would be erroneous to conclude that Mark had read First Corinthians, or that Paul had read the Gospel of Mark. Mark did not depend on Paul and Paul did not depend on Mark; both depended on a circulating tradition. This example shows that extra-canonical sources are capable of eliciting verbal parallels much more extensive and exact than any of the parallels between the LE and the Gospels.

Dr. Kelhoffer listed 60 passages as the sources of material in the LE. Since the LE of Mark is only 171 words long, this suggests the improbable scenario that the author consulted a different source-passage, on average, every 3 words. Eighteen of those source-passages are in the Gospel of Mark itself. If Mark or an associate of Mark was the author of the LE, he would have access to the (rest of the) Gospel of Mark; thus those 18 pieces of evidence are essentially neutral. I will now ask and answer 26 questions about the remaining components of the theory of source-dependence.

1. Is John 20:11-18 the source of 16:9's phrase "Μαρια τη Μαγδαληνη"? Even though Mark 16:9's "Μαρια τη Μαγδαληνη" is slightly different from Luke 8:2's "Μαρια η καλουμενη Μαγδαληνη" and John 20:1, 20:18's "Μαρια η Μαγδαληνη," source-dependence has been posited anyway. This seems inexplicable in light of Mark's use of "Μαρια η Μαγδαληνη" in Mark 15:40 and 16:1.

2. Is Luke 8:2b the source of 16:9's phrase "παρ ης εκβεβληκει επτα δαιμονια"? Luke states that seven demons had gone out (εξεληλυθει) of Mary Magdalene; 16:9's statement that Jesus had cast them out of Mary is more detailed than Luke's. The data conveyed by both statements was probably available in sources that were accessible to both authors. Farmer pointed out that "The phrasing at this point in Mk. 16:9 can be said to be characteristically Marcan."^{16-d}

3. Is John 20:15-16 the source of 16:10's use of εκεινη? See Dr. Terry's comments about κκεινης. The LE displays a much more frequent absolute use of εκκεινης than Mark 1:1-16:8. I will comment about this in more detail later.

4. Is Matthew 28:7 the source of 16:10's word πορευθεισα? Because Matthew 28:7-11 contains seven references to various sorts of "going," a fortuitous parallel to one of Matthew's words seems almost unavoidable. In addition, Matthew 28:7 is part of an angel's message at the tomb -- which has already been paralleled in Mark 16:7. J.W. McGarvey made the observation, in regard to the usage of πορευομαι in the LE, "The argument really stands thus: Because, in a book which eight times uses the expression "go in," and eleven times the expression "go out," there is a passage which

three times employs the simple word "go," it is inferred that the latter passage must have been written by a different author."^{16-e}

5. Are John 20:18, Matthew 28:8-11, and Luke 24:9 the source of 16:10's word ἀπηγγείλεν?

Mark 5:14 has ἀνηγγείλεν, 5:19 has ἀπαγγείλον, and 6:30 has ἀπηγγείλεν. This word provides no momentum for the theory that the author of the LE used Matthew, Luke, or John.

6. Are Luke 24:23, 24:5, and Acts 1:3 the source of 16:11's word ζῆ? This is very dubious. Having observed that "the most analogous uses of the verb ζῶ appear in Luke-Acts (Luke 24:5, 24:23, Acts 1:3, 2:8, 25:19) and Revelation (Rev 2:8, cf. 13:14, 20:4-5) rather than in extracanonical writings," Dr. Kelhoffer concluded, "The only plausible source for ζῆ [in 16:11] is Luke-Acts and possibly Revelation."^{16-f} However, none of the passages offered as analogous have, exactly, that one plain word "ζῆ." (Also, the reference to Acts 2:8 is an error; the "2:8" is from the list of passages in Revelation; also, it is extremely unlikely that anyone would borrow from Revelation 13:14, where the Beast is described, to describe how Mary Magdalene announced that Jesus lives.) A much more plausible explanation is that "ζῆ" in Mark 16:11 is the independent creation of the author.

7. Is Luke 24:11 the source of 16:11's word ἠπιστήσαν? Mark 6:6 employs ἀπιστοῦν, 9:19 uses ἀπιστος, and 9:24 has ἀπιστία. Inasmuch as Mark 6:6 and 9:24 are not dependent upon Luke, it seems unsound to propose that Mark 16:11 is evidence of anything other than the author's usage of essentially the same vocabulary used elsewhere in Mark.

8. Is John 21:1 the source of 16:12's phrase μετα δε ταυτα? John 21:1 has "μετα ταυτα." This proposal is congruent to suggesting that the author of the LE sifted through the Gospels to find a phrase meaning "After these things," and found "μετα ταυτα" in John 21:1, and then altered it. A simpler explanation is that two authors independently employed similar transitional phrases. On the other hand, Mark 1:1-16:8 does not use this phrase.

9. Are Luke 24:13a and 24:13-27 the source of 16:12's phrase δυσιν εξ αυτων? The similarity between Luke's δυο εξ αυτων and Mark 16:12's δυσιν εξ αυτων is easily accounted for: they are describing the same event. Any two authors describing this event as something experienced by two disciples would almost inevitably use such a phrase.

10. Is John 21:14 the source of 16:12's word εφανερωθη? The use of the same word to refer to appearances, in two accounts about appearances of Jesus, reflects the authors' common subject; it does not necessitate the dependence of one upon another. Mark 4:22 uses φανερωθη, so the presence of εφανερωθη in 16:12 gives no momentum to the idea that the LE's language here is not Markan. (Also, if the author of the LE had used Luke as a source, we would expect ωφθη (from Luke 24:34) to be used to describe Jesus' appearance on the road to Emmaus.)

11. Are Luke 24:13 and 28a the source of 16:12's phrase περιπατουσιν ... πορευομενοις εις αγρον? No linguistic basis for this speculation exists. Overall, 16:12 supports the view that the author of the LE was independently reporting the same event that Luke reported. Luke refers twice to a village, and even names it; Mark 16:11 mentions no village. Why, after reading Luke's two references to a journey to a *village*, would an author proceed to describe the journey as a trip into *the country*?

12. Is Luke 24:28-35 the source of 16:12's phrase εν ετερα μορφη? Luke does not use the phrase "εν ετερα μορφη." Luke says that the two disciples did not recognize Jesus "because their eyes were holden" (24:16). Luke does not say that Jesus' form was different. If the author of Mark 16:9-20 depended on Luke 24, we would expect him to mention the eyes of the two disciples. The relationship of these two accounts looks much more like that of two distant cousins rather than a

parent and child.

13. Is Luke 24:9 the source of 16:13's words *τοις λοιποις*? Luke 24:9 and Mark 16:13 share these two words exactly; however, it is not improbable that both authors derived the same words from a shared source. The usage is not congruent: Luke used *πασιν τοις λοιποις* to refer to some who heard the report of Mary Magdalene, while in Mark 16:13 *τοις λοιποις* is used on the occasion of the report of the two disciples journeying into the country.

14. Is John 20 (esp. vv. 8, 25, 29-31) the source of 16:13's word *επιστευσαν*? This is not implied any more than the idea that Luke, who used *ηπιστουν* in 24:11 and *απιστουντων* in 24:41, also depended on John 20. The mention of the disciples' unbelief, or doubts, is a feature of Matthew, Luke, and John; it is thus not surprising that the same topic is mentioned in another report (the LE). This does not indicate source-dependence, especially since Mark 11:31 uses *επιστευσατε*.

15. Are Matthew 28:16-17, Luke 24:9, 24:33, Acts 1:26, or Acts 2:14 the source of 16:14's words *τοις ενδεκα*? Any author would be capable of independently referring to the disciples as *τοις ενδεκα* at this point in the narrative. The LE's use of *τοις ενδεκα* to describe the disciples indicates that the author of the LE had not read John; otherwise, in light of Thomas' absence (mentioned in John 20:24) he probably would not have referred to the disciples in this way.

16. Is Luke 24:46 the source of 16:15's phrase *και ειπεν αυτοις*? Since *και ειπεν αυτοις* is used in Mark six times, this phrase cannot be considered non-Markan. Furthermore, Luke 24 contains various introductory phrases (*ειπεν δε προς αυτοις* in 24:17, *και αυτος ειπεν αυτοις* in 24:25, *και λεγει αυτοις* in 24:36), so fortuitous agreement with one phrase or the other is practically inevitable.

17. Are Matthew 28:19a and Luke 24:47 the source of 16:15's phrase *πορευθεντες ... κηρυξατε*? This may initially appear to have some weight, since the word *πορευθεντες* appears only here in Mark (and 16:15 has "the third of the LE's three participial uses of *πορευομαι*."^{16-g} This is noted with Mark's penchant for threefold arrangements in mind.) On the other hand, the Great Commission would have been an important component of oral tradition, so it would not be surprising if Matthew and the author of the LE both depended on a tradition (or memory) that contained this term. As for the idea that Mark 16:15 depends on Luke 24:47, one should first observe that Luke's *κηρυχθηναι* ("should be proclaimed") and Mark 16:15's *κηρυξατε* do not form an exact verbal parallel (while Mark 13:10's word is an exact match to Luke 24:47's, and refers to the proclamation of *το ευαγγελιον*), and that Mark 14:9 includes *κηρυχθη* and *το ευαγγελιον* together. When these observations are added to the equation, there can be no doubt that "preach the gospel" should be categorized as a Markan phrase.

18. Is John 3:18a the source of 16:16? Inasmuch as Mark 9:23 and 9:42 use the substantive participle,^{16-h} the generalized reference in 16:16 to "the believer" ought to be regarded as having been Markan before it was Johannine. While the structure of Mark 16:16 is similar to the first part of John 3:18, the similarities and the differences may be accounted for by both authors' usage of earlier sources. Also, it seems hard to explain why an author would harvest John 3 in the course of gathering material to present as the last words of Christ.

19. Is John 20:30-31 the source of 16:17's word *σημεια*? John 20:30 refers to *σημεια* as past events; Mark 16:17 refers to *σημεια* in the future. And the signs which Mark 16:17-18 goes on to describe are definitely not the signs which John 20:30-31 describes. This is a case of the same ordinary word being used by two authors.

20. Is John 14:12 the source of 16:17's words *τοις πιστευσασιν*? John 14:12 states, "He who

believes in Me, the works which I do, he also shall do, and greater than these shall he do..." John used ο πιστευων in 14:12, not τοις πιστευουσασιν. Meanwhile in Mark 9:42 there is a reference to "the little ones who believe (πιστευοντων) in Me." If dependence exists, it is dependence upon Mark 9:42. In addition, it seems highly questionable that author would regard the signs described in Mark 16:17-18 as greater than the signs that Jesus did.

21. Are Acts 2:4 and 2:11 the source of 16:17's phrase γλωσσαις λαλησουσιν καιναις? It is not surprising that the believers would do anything with languages other than speak them, so once γλωσσαις are mentioned, some reference to speaking is practically required. The identification of the references in Acts (which refer to ετεραις and ημετεραις (other) tongues) as the source of Mark 16:17 (which refers to καιναις (new) tongues) is not propelled by evidence, especially considering that the occurrence of tongues-speaking was no secret in the early church.

22. Is Luke 10:19b the source of 16:18's words ου μη? Since ου μη is used in Mark 9:1, 9:41, 10:15, 13:2, 13:19 (... και ου μη γενηται), 13:30, 13:31, 14:25, and 14:31,¹⁶⁻ⁱ and inasmuch as Luke 10:19 follows with the word αδικηση and Mark 16:18 does not, this is not a good basis on which to posit a non-Markan feature.

23. Are John 20 and Luke 24:34 the source of 16:19's (and 16:20's) ο ... κυριος? In Mark 2:28 Jesus calls Himself "Lord of the sabbath." He again refers to Himself as "Lord" in 11:3. Mark 12:36-37 (a quotation of Psalm 110) also alludes to Jesus as "Lord." On the other hand, 16:19-20 are the only instances in Mark in which the author, as narrator, refers to Jesus as "the Lord" or "the Lord Jesus."

24. Are Luke 24:51, Acts 1:2, 1:11, and 1:22 the source of 16:19's phrase ανελημφθε εις τον ουρανον? Can dependence upon Luke and Acts be denied in light of the observation that "every word of 16:19b (ανελημφθη εις τον ουρανον) appears also in Luke 24 and Acts 1"^{16-j}? Certainly, because these words are in the LXX in Second Kings 2:11 (where Elijah's ascension is described). Luke 24:51 has ανεφερετο, not ανελημφθη, and Luke 1:2 has ανελημφθη but not εις τον ουρανον. Acts 1:11 has εις τον ουρανον but not ανελημφθη. The conclusion that "The most likely sources for the description of the ascension in Mark 16:19b are Acts 1:2 and 1:22a (ανελημφθη), and Luke 24:51 and Acts 1:11"^{16-k} is not driven by the evidence. There is no objective reason to assume that a weak parallel (in Acts), rather than a strong parallel in a source which Mark clearly used elsewhere (the LXX), was the source from which these words were derived.

25. Is Acts 7:55-56 the source of 16:19's phrase εκαθισεν εκ δεξιων του θεου? Acts 7:55-56 describes Jesus standing, not sitting, at the right hand of God. To say that the common use of εκ δεξιων του θεου indicates source-dependence is one thing; saying that it shows that Mark 16:19 derived the words from Acts 7:55-56 is something else. In Mark 14:62, Jesus states, "You shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power" and thus both parts of the phrase εκαθισεν εκ δεξιων του θεου may be justly called Markan. Furthermore, the LXX-text of Psalm 110 (the same text used in Mark 12:36) refers to the Anointed being instructed by God to "Sit at My right hand" (Καθου εκ δεξιων μου). The likelihood that εκαθισεν εκ δεξιων του θεου is based on Psalm 110:1 is considerably greater than the proposal that it is based on Acts 7:55-56. In addition, one may observe that independent references to Christ's enthronement at God's right hand were not unusual in the first century (cf. Col. 3:1, Heb. 12:2, and I Pet. 3:22).

26. Is Luke 9:6 the source of 16:20's word πανταχου? Dr. Kelhoffer acknowledged, "The word [πανταχου in 16:20] could stem from Mark 1:28a."^{16-l} Inasmuch as the preceding two words of 16:20 (εξεληθοντες εκηρυξαν) employ Markan language (6:12, εξεληθοντες εκηρυξαν), it seems probable that if an extant source was used here, the source was Mark 1:28.

Of the 26 textual features which have been used as a basis for positing dependence on Matthew, Luke, John, and Acts, only a few are in any way impressive: #3, 8, 18, and 23. A case that the LE is derived material from the canonical Gospels and Acts has not been made.

Dr. Kelhoffer claimed that "There are enough "strikes" against the LE to "strike out" the case for its authenticity many times over."^{16-m} However the reason why this may appear to be the case to an absorbent reader of Miracle and Mission is that the definition of a "strike" has been enlarged: when the batter is hit (that is, when the LE's style and vocabulary appears to be Markan), this is called a strike (i.e., it is regarded as mimicry). When the batter hits the ball, but not uniquely (that is, when LE's verbage is similar to verbage of Matthew, Luke, or John), this is called a strike. And when the batter hits the ball uniquely, this is called a strike (that is, it is regarded as a non-Markan feature). And of course true strikes are also called strikes. With such rules in place, almost any passage can strike out.

John Burgon, on pages 174-175 of The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated, demonstrated the ease with which internal evidence can be shaped and molded. Some of his observations about Mark 1:1-15 could be stated as follows:

1. Mark, as narrator, nowhere calls Jesus "Jesus Christ."
2. The phrase "The gospel of Jesus Christ" has been borrowed from the Pauline epistles.
3. Mark never quotes an Old Testament prophet by name.
4. Mark always calls Judea simply "Judea," not "the land of Judea."
5. Mark always calls the Jordan River simply "Jordan," not "Jordan River."
6. Mark never uses "the Spirit" to refer to the Holy Spirit; he always uses "Holy Spirit."
7. Mark uses "οι απο Ιεροσολυμων," never "οι Ιεροσολυμιται," to refer to the people of Jerusalem.
8. Mark wrote about "heaven" rather than "the heavens" which occurs in 1:10 and 1:11.
- 9-18. The words *τριχες*, *δερπατινη*, *οσφυς*, *ακριδες*, *μελι*, *αγριος*, *κυπτειν*, *μας*, *υποδηματα*, and *ευδοκειν* are non-Markan.
19. The word *παλιν*, one of Mark's favorite words, appears nowhere in this passage.
20. The phrase *πιστευειν εν τω ευαγγελιω* is different from Markan style.

However, all of these features in Mark 1:1-15 are regarded as original. So even if the LE had 20 similarly "non-Markan" features, it would not be necessary to explain this as anything other than the same kind of flexibility displayed in 1:1-15.

Nevertheless the evidence presented in points 3, 8, 18, and 23 ought to be examined.

- The use of "the Lord" in 16:19-20 to refer to Jesus is not entirely unique (as noted earlier) and its presence may signal the author's indirect acknowledgement that the resurrection has revealed Jesus' nature as the Lord. It is possible that Mark 12:36-37 foreshadows this.

- The use of "μετα δε ταυτα" in 16:12 is unique. However as Dr. Terry showed, some unique material can be found in practically any 12-verse passage of the Gospel of Mark. It is not altogether unMarkan inasmuch as "μετα δε" begins Mark 1:14. "Μετα δε ταυτα" occurs only once in Luke (10:1) and only once in John (19:38), and not at all in Matthew (though "μετα δε" is found in Matthew 1:12, 25:19, and 26:32). This does not suggest that the LE is derived from John any more than it suggests that Luke 10:1 is derived from John. Furthermore, an author attempting to mimic the Evangelists could scarcely do a better job of picking out a more obscure feature if he had tried to do so.

A writer making a patchwork-account of resurrection-appearances to complete the Gospel of Mark would be expected to use much more of John 21 than its opening phrase. And inasmuch as "μετα δε ταυτα" is not an exact match of John 21:1's "μετα ταυτα," and inasmuch as "μετα δε ταυτα" in 16:12 introduces the anecdote about the two disciples on the road while "μετα ταυτα" in John 21:1 introduces a different narrative, this parallel is best explained as fortuitous. More than one author in the process of wrapping up his composition might utilize such a phrase.

- Mark 16:16 is just one of several passages in Mark which appear to overlap similar material in John. Other examples of Johannine material with similar passages in Mark are John 1:27 (cf. Mark 1:8), 1:42 (cf. Mark 3:16), 4:44 (cf. Mark 6:4), 5:8-9 (cf. Mark 2:11-12), 12:8 (cf. Mark 14:7) and 12:25 (cf. Mark 8:35). Inasmuch as a scenario in which Mark depends on John is not suggested by these examples, dependence upon John is not suggested by the internal evidence in

the case of Mark 16:16 either.

- In the LE, the words *εκεινη*, *κακεινοι*, *κακεινοι*, *εκεινοις*, and *εκεινοι* appear (in 16:10, 16:11, 16:13a, 16:13b, and 16:20); in each case the demonstrative pronoun is used absolutely. (This is somewhat similar, in English, to the words “that” or “those” being used as the subjects of a sentence.) Mark used *εκεινοις* similarly in 4:11, *εκεινοι* in 4:20, *εκεινο* in 7:20, and *κακεινον* in 12:4 and 12:5. One occurrence of the absolute use of *εκεινος* in the LE would not be impressive. Five such uses, however, constitute a stylistic change.

However, this appears to be a natural trait, rather than a borrowed one, because the absolute usage of the demonstrative pronoun is so sustained. An author who borrowed *εκεινη* from John 20:15-16 would have little motive to keep on using the absolute demonstrative pronoun in his descriptions of individuals other than Mary Magdalene. While this feature could be an author’s way of quickening the pace of the Gospel-narrative, it seems more likely that the repeated use of the absolute demonstrative pronoun appears in the Long Ending because Mark had originally written this material not as the conclusion to a longer work, but as a summary of Christ’s post-resurrection appearances, and in that summary, this feature was a natural component.

In conclusion, the internal evidence does not support the theory that the LE is derivative of the Gospels and Acts more than it supports the theory that the LE and the Gospels share descent from non-canonical sources. Nothing has been presented which rules out Mark as the author, and no internal evidence has been presented which precludes the composition of 16:9-20 and its inclusion in the Gospel of Mark prior to the official publication of the Gospel of Mark.

Part Two: Obstacles Against the Theory that the Author of Mark 16:9-20 Depended on Canonical Sources

Several textual features in Mark 16:9-20 pose problems for the theory that the LE is derivative of Matthew, Luke, and John, and favor the idea that the Long Ending originated, and was attached to the Gospel of Mark, before those Gospels were widely known. They are listed here in the order in which they appear in the text.

1. In 16:10, the disciples are pictured “as they mourned and wept” (*πενθουσιν και κλαιουσιν*). While the phrase “*you shall mourn and weep*” (*κλαυσετε και θρηνησετε υμεις*) is in John 16:20, those words are not a precise match -- the words for “mourn” and “and” are very ordinary terms; the one word that could be used to suggest a parallel is not used. Yet the idea that there was a source-tradition that mentioned -- not as a prediction made by Christ, but as part of a narrative -- the disciples mourning and weeping is sustained by the use of this language in the pseudepigraphical *Gospel of Peter* and in the second-century *Epistula Apostolorum*. (If, on such light evidence, Mark 16:10 may be said to be dependent upon John 16:20, then *Gospel of Peter* and *Epistula Apostolorum* may be said to be dependent upon Mark 16:10.)

2. In 16:13, the two disciples who met Jesus as they were walking into the country, when they reported to the others, were not believed (Luke 24:41 mentions that the disciples “yet believed not for joy,” but by this point in the narrative Jesus Himself is standing in front of them; Luke describes the main group of disciples’ sense of incredulity, not their response to the report of the two other disciples). In Luke 24, the report of the two road-walkers to the disciples, and the appearance of Jesus, take place in essentially a single scene. Would any second-century author, with only Luke’s account of these two events to consider, have presented the report of the two disciples to the others, and the appearance of Jesus to the others, as two distinct incidents? The answer is a significant “No.”

3. In 16:14 the LE, unlike Matthew, Luke, and John, mentions that the disciples were “reclining at table” when Jesus appeared to them. Luke 24:42 shows that the disciples had on hand a piece of broiled fish, but says nothing about the disciples themselves reclining at table.

4. In 16:18, Jesus says that those who believe shall "pick up serpents" ("serpents" here = οφεις). Exodus 4, not Acts 28, offers the strongest parallel to this text, which no author is likely to have spontaneously invented. In Acts 28, the viper (εχιδνα) fastened onto Paul; Paul did not pick up the viper. Furthermore, the canonical parallel to the sentiment of 16:18a has nothing to do with physical serpents; it is found in Luke 10:19. There we find the word οφειον. But we do not find anything about picking up serpents.

5. In 16:18, Jesus says that if those who believe "drink any deadly thing, it shall in no way hurt them." This is paralleled nowhere in the Gospels or in Acts. Something similar is related in the career of Moses (Exodus 15:23-25) and in the career of Elisha (Second Kings 4:38-41) which may be significant since, just as Elisha succeeded Elijah who ascended, the believers succeed Jesus who ascended. An overlapping idea is also present in Numbers 5:16-28. But the closest parallel is in the story about Justus (who is mentioned in Acts as taking part in events in the first half of the first century) which was related by Papias.

6. In 16:18, the verbiage used to describe the recovery of the sick is unique.

7. In 16:20, the affirmation that the predicted signs came to pass is unique.

These seven features constitute a considerable part of the LE. One must also ask whether any second-century author who intended to construct an ending for the Gospel of Mark using material from the Gospels and Acts would intentionally refrain from mentioning Jesus' reconciliation with Peter, avoid including the promise of the Holy Spirit, decide not to include the record of the disciples' handling of Jesus, refuse to mention that Jesus ate food after the resurrection, skip the triune baptismal formula, and refrain from making an explicit (rather than implicit) identification of Galilee as the location of one of the post-resurrection appearances – while inserting seven statements which are not paralleled in the conclusions of the other Gospels.

Something may now be said in response to two claims about the internal evidence in 16:9 ~

- It has been alleged that Mark would have naturally used Jesus' name in 16:9 if he had written that verse. However, the angel at the tomb had just stated "He is risen," referring to Jesus. Besides Jesus, who else is the Greek-reader supposed to be thinking of as the individual who is rising? Theodor Zahn observed, "Mark himself is very sparing in the use of the name Jesus and its equivalents. We miss it in i.21b after 21a, and in i.30-ii.4 after i.29, and in the entire section iii. 7-v. 21, with all its changes of actors and speakers."^{16-o} So, if any author was likely to leave out Jesus' name at this point in the narrative, it would be Mark. But another point should be stressed: this objection places the text in a lose-lose scenario: suppose that the name "Jesus" did appear here in 16:9 -- as it actually does, in *f*. Such a feature could be utilized as grounds for an objection, similar to the way in which the repetition of Mary Magdalene's name is used.

- The repetition of Mary Magdalene's name in 16:9 has been interpreted as a sign of disjointedness between Mark 16 and the LE. Metzger stated that "in ver. 9 Mary Magdalene is identified even though she has been mentioned only a few lines before (15.47 and 16.1),"^{16-p} as if this indicated non-Markan authorship. However, that is an inaccurate description; in a MS with 24 characters per line, the occurrences of "Mary Magdalene" in 16:1 and 16:9 would be 26 lines apart. Also, the name "Mary Magdalene" in 16:9 is considerably further from 16:1 than 16:1 is from 15:47, where she is named.

Furthermore, in 15:40, 15:47, and 16:1, Mary Magdalene is mentioned together with other women, and in 16:8 they depart the tomb together, while 16:9 refers to a particular appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene. Any author wishing to include accounts of the appearance of the angel to the women at the tomb, and the appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene, would *have* to mention Mary Magdalene by name in the second account; otherwise it would be impossible to tell which woman he was talking about. So, while the re-naming of Mary Magdalene, combined with her description as the woman from whom Jesus cast out seven demons, forms a slight bump in the road, it is not a drastic jolt. This is completely consistent with a scenario in which a survivor of Mark finished his Gospel-account by attaching a freestanding account of Christ's post-resurrection

appearances which Mark had previously written.

It may also be noted that in an alternative scenario, in which a second-century copyist composed the Long Ending deliberately to finish the Gospel of Mark, the author would have no motive to begin his ending-of-Mark by picturing Mary Magdalene, alone, who had just been pictured with her companions; nor would he have any motive to mention her exorcism, even if he had been aware of that, either from a floating tradition or from Luke 8:2. When writing a short freestanding composition which presented Mary Magdalene once and only once, it is easy to see why Mark would have felt inclined to describe her in this way, at this point, but it is difficult to see why Mark, or any author, would do so with the awareness that she was already on stage, so to speak.

PART THREE: Internal Evidence that the Short Ending is Derived from the Long Ending

I wish to add a few paragraphs to show why a healthy skepticism is in order when it comes to arguments for literary dependence based on vocabulary and style, especially when they concern short texts. What if someone wanted to make a case that the Short Ending was derivative of the Long Ending? Could such a case be made with about the same level of cogency as the case that the Long Ending was based on the canonical Gospels? The following tongue-in-cheek observations may whisper that the answer is "Yes."

1. The SE uses the phrase "μετα δε ταυτα." The author of the Short Ending took these words *verbatim* from Mark 16:12. (It may be worth noting, by the way, that the Latin and Syriac equivalents of μετα δε ταυτα replace "When He had entered Capernaum" in Matthew 8:5 in it^k and the Sinaitic Syriac.)
2. The SE, in the form supported by it^k and Ψ, includes the word εφαναη -- obviously borrowed *verbatim* from Mark 16:9.
3. The SE describes the proclamation of the Gospel being made "from the east unto the west." This is clearly a poetic expansion (based on Matthew 24:27 -- "απο ανατολων και φαινεται εως δυσμων") of the sentiment of Mark 16:15 and 16:20, where the gospel is said to be spread to all creation, everywhere.
4. The SE closes by mentioning the spread of the gospel as a past event. The only place in the Gospels to refer to the spread of the good news as a past event is Mark 16:20.
5. The SE mentions the "message" (κηρυγμα) or "proclamation;" this echoes "κηρυξατε" in 16:15.
6. The SE mentions the message of "salvation" (σωτηριας); this expands on the promise of salvation mentioned in 16:16 (where "σωθησεται" is used).

I do not think that the SE was derived from the LE. But these points of similarity between the two may suggest how easy it is to innocently exaggerate the significance of common textual features so as to make an inflated case for literary dependence where no such dependence exists.

THE END

APPENDIX ONE: A List of Technical Terms and an Explanation of Some Symbols

In order to make this book useful to non-specialists, I have added this list of terms and symbols. Although scholars of the past have employed other symbols, the ones listed here are by far the most popular. For most manuscripts in the symbols-list I have noted the approximate date of production and the treatment each one gives to Mark 16:9-20.^{AP-1}

TEXT-CRITICAL TERMS

Amanuensis: a secretarial assistant, whose responsibilities may vary from pure dictation to the translation, organization, and clarification of the author's work.

Canonicity: inclusion in the text of the Bible.

Codex: a hand-made book.

Colophon: a note placed at the end of a composition. This may consist of a description of when and where it was written, the name of the copyist, and so on.

Critical Text: a Greek text of the New Testament produced via the comparison and analysis of manuscripts in an attempt to scientifically reconstruct their archetype. Chief representatives of the critical text are the Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece ("NTG") and the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament ("GNT").

Exemplar: the master-copy from which a copy was made.

Extant: currently in existence.

Interpolation: an insertion of additional material into the text, usually in the form of a short comment or a phrase from one Gospel into another Gospel.

Lacuna: a blank space or missing part.

Lectionary: a book in which Scripture is arranged in sections ("lections") for formal reading in church-assemblies on certain days of the year.

Lucian Recension: a hypothetical revision of the Greek text of the New Testament, made after A.D. 250, from which descended the text that is in most Greek manuscripts.

Markan Priority: the theory that the first Gospel-account to be written was the Gospel of Mark, which was subsequently used by Matthew and Luke as a source.

Minuscule: a manuscript written in cursive letters (usually of a later date than uncials). Most minuscules are known by numbers (700, 1241, 2427). Two groups of minuscules, the members of which contain indications that they derive from a common ancestor, are known as the Lake Family ("f^l") and the Ferrar Family ("f³").

MS and MSS: abbreviations for "manuscript" and "manuscripts."

Papyrus (plural "papyri"): a text written on an ancient writing-material made from the reeds of a plant that grew at riverbanks, especially in Egypt. Papyrus manuscripts are the earliest New Testament texts.

Patristic evidence: quotations and allusions made by writers in the early church and their contemporaries.

Palimpsest: a manuscript consisting of pages on which the original writing has been removed in order to re-use the pages for a more recent composition. The text of a palimpsest may be recoverable through careful study and the use of chemicals and ultra-violet light.

Pseudepigrapha: a writing which contains a claim to have been written by someone other than the actual author. This term applies especially to writings by false teachers in the early church age who hoped to improve the credibility of their writings by attributing them to the apostles and their associates.

Scriptorium: a center for the production of manuscripts.

Telos: a Greek word meaning "end." Symbols for "arche" ("beginning") and "telos" appear in many manuscripts, indicating where lection-units started and ended.

Text-type: a group of manuscripts sharing a unique array of variant readings which indicate common ancestry. There are four major text-types: the "**Western**," which is notable for its expansions, the "**Alexandrian**," which is

notable for its verbal precision, the *Byzantine*, which is notable for its liturgical usefulness, and the *Caesarean*, which is a text of the Gospels, especially manifest in Mark, which is notable for the scribal tendencies which it reflects. See the illustration of the textual araneum (“web”), which shows how, in the Gospels, the text-types relate to one another and to the original text.

Textual Criticism: the analysis of manuscripts of an ancient composition, their differences, and their relationships to one another, with the goal of the reconstruction of the original text.

Uncial: a manuscript written in capital letters with no regular space between words and little if any punctuation. Most uncials are known by English or Greek letters (A, B, Δ, Ψ, etc.) and by numbers preceded by the number “0” (070, 099). One uncial manuscript, Codex Sinaiticus, is represented by the Hebrew letter א (Aleph).

Versional evidence: the text in non-Greek manuscripts.

Witness: a text, whether in a Greek manuscript, or non-Greek manuscript, or a patristic writing, supporting a particular variant.

LIST OF RELEVANT MANUSCRIPTS

“**Damaged**” (meaning that this part of Mark has been damaged),

“**Inclusion**” (meaning that 16:9-20 is included with no special treatment),

“**Omission**” (meaning that 16:9-20 is not included),

“**Inclusion with Note**” (meaning that the passage is accompanied by a copyist’s note),

“**Short Ending only**” (meaning that the SE is included, but not the LE),

“**Double Inclusion**” (meaning that both the LE and the SE are displayed), and

“**Freer Logion**” (meaning that the text has, between v. 14 and v. 15, an interpolation known by this name, which is described in chapter two).

P ⁴⁵	Papyrus 45 (225) ~ damaged
B	Vaticanus (325) ~ omission (with a prolonged blank space)
א	Siniaticus (375)~ omission (cancel-sheet) (Note: some writers use “S” instead of “א”)
A	Alexandrinus (400) ~ inclusion
C	Ephraemi (450) ~ inclusion
D	Bezae (500?) ~ inclusion
L	Regius (750) ~ double inclusion (with note)
M	Campianus (850) ~ inclusion
N	Purpureus Petropolitanus (550) ~ damaged
U	Nanianus (900) ~ inclusion
W	Washington (400) ~ inclusion with Freer Logion
Δ	Sangellensis (900)~ inclusion
Θ	Koridethi (800?) ~ inclusion
Π	Petropolitanus (850) ~ damaged/inclusion (lacks 16:18-20)
Σ	Rossanensis (550) ~ damaged/inclusion (lacks 16:14-20)
Φ	Beratinus (550) ~ damaged
Ψ	Laurensis (850) ~ double inclusion

The f¹ minuscules (1, 118, 131, 209, 1582 – medieval, beginning mid-900’s) ~ inclusion with note

The f¹³ minuscules (13, 346, 543, 826, 828, 69, 124, 788, 983, 1689 – medieval) ~ inclusion

28	(1100’s?) ~ inclusion
33	(1000) ~ inclusion
157	(1100) ~ inclusion
565	(800’s) ~ inclusion
579	(1200’s) double inclusion
700	(1100’s?) ~ inclusion
892	(950?) ~ inclusion
1071	(1100’s) ~ inclusion
1342	(1000’s) ~ inclusion

Some important non-Greek witnesses that do not have the LE:

Syr^s = Sinaitic Syriac (c. 400)

Cop-sa^{ms} = a Coptic Sahidic MS in Barcelona, Codex P. Palau Rib. 182 (c. 425)

Arm^{mss} = Armenian MSS (none earlier than 800, but echoing a translation made in the early 400's)

Geo^{1.A} = two Old Georgian MSS: Adysh (geo¹, 897) and Opiza (geo^A, 913)

APPENDIX TWO: MARK AND PROTO-MARK

Does the priority of Mark (i.e., the idea that the Gospel of Mark was written before Matthew and Luke, and was used as a source by the authors of those two Gospels) imply that the Long Ending of Mark is inauthentic? Neither Matthew nor Luke can be shown to have used the LE. Some scholars have assumed that this is because the LE was not in the copies of the Gospel of Mark used by Matthew and Luke. The force of this conclusion relies on the force of its main premise that Matthew and Luke used post-publication copies of Mark rather than pre-publication, provisional drafts.

First, it should be noted that several scholars who specialize in the study of the Synoptic Problem adhere to the idea that the Gospel of Mark was written after Matthew and Luke. Their view is in sync with early traditions. If the premise of Markan Priority is not granted to begin with, then it poses no obstacle at all, in which case this appendix may be ignored.

However, the theory of Markan Priority is widely held and so this aspect of the issue will be addressed. Rather than deny that Matthew and Luke used Mark, I will ask, "What sort of Mark did they use – pre-publication forms, or a post-publication form?"

Pre-publication forms of Mark used by Matthew and Luke might have had an ending other than the LE – and a different beginning, too.^{AP-2} Proto-Mark may have contained an ending that was previously contained in a source-document about Good Friday – a text called the Passion Narrative. If so, Matthew 28:9-10 and 28:16-20 may preserve the gist of the ending of Proto-Mark. Luke, however, seems to have decided to employ other source-material, which described post-resurrection appearances in or around Jerusalem. Robert H. Gundry commented about this: "P.J. Achtemeier (104) argues that the wide divergence between Matthew and Luke after their parallels to Mark 16:8 imply that their copies of Mark ended at 16:8. In fact, however, the announcement to the apostles in Luke 24:9-10 seems related to Jesus' command to make such an announcement in Matt 28:9-10 (N.B. esp. the common use of *απαγγελλω*, "announce"). For the rest, Luke's well-known preoccupation with Jerusalem couples with use of non-Markan tradition to explain the differences from Matthew."^{AP-3}

Careful comparison of the Synoptic Gospels supports the idea that the Gospel of Mark was a mutating text until its official publication at a point after the addition of the LE.^{AP-4} I will now reconstruct two theories about the production-history of the Gospel of Mark.

(1) Mark began writing and collecting pericopes and anecdotes in Jerusalem, beginning in the A.D. 40's. He continued to add and organize material, and took his collection to Alexandria (after his mission with Barnabas to Cyprus, mentioned in Acts 15:39). Then c. A.D. 62 he went to Rome, where he was reunited with Peter. Roman Christians asked him for copies of his collection of Peter's remembrances. This Proto-Mark collection was not always disseminated in its entirety; sections were sometimes distributed like slices of bread from a loaf. Until A.D. 66, Proto-Mark had been a mutating collection of Peter's sermon-narratives (forms of which were utilized by Matthew and Luke). The church in Rome then asked Mark to produce the book in a definitive form for church-use (as the letters of Paul were being used), so Mark revisited his composition, making some changes, and produced a definitive text of the Gospel of Mark, probably about the same time as Peter's death but possibly a little later. It was in the course of this final revision

that, following Mark's departure, an associate of Mark attached the LE.^{AP-5} Other adjustments made at this stage account for some of the "Minor Agreements" between Matthew and Luke as well as some of their shared omissions.

- (2) As in the first theory, Proto-Mark was a mutating text which Mark began to write in the A.D. 40's. After his mission to Cyprus, Mark went to Alexandria, where he disseminated a form of Proto-Mark which ended similarly to Matthew 28:9-10 and 28:16-20. In A.D. 62 he went to Rome, where he was reunited with Peter. Roman Christians asked him to produce the book in definitive form for church-use (as the letters of Paul were being used), so Mark began a final revision of the text. Unfortunately, he was killed. An associate finished the revision. In the process, he created several features throughout the book which are not reflected in Matthew or Luke, and attached the LE, which had previously existed as a freestanding Marcan/Petrine account of Jesus' post-resurrection appearances.^{AP-6}

In both of these theories, by A.D. 70 a form of Proto-Mark was circulating in Alexandria, as the Gospel of Mark was circulating in Rome. When a copy of the Roman text was taken to Alexandria, some Christians there might have been surprised to encounter the new ending. If they were told (perhaps by the person who brought the text from Rome) that someone other than Mark had been finished the book, or even if they were unsure of its origin, they may have felt that the removal of the LE was justified.^{AP-7}

A brief statistical analysis may sufficiently demonstrate that the sections of Mark which correspond to Minor Agreements (where Matthew and Luke contain wording different than Mark) or Shared Omissions (where Mark contains material that is not in Matthew or Luke) share some linguistic features with the LE which may suggest that they originated from a common special source or occasion. The LE contains 171 total words, which include 97 significant vocabulary words (counting repeated words and words in which the main form is duplicated as one vocabulary word, and not considering words that begin with αυτ- and words containing three letters or less).

Out of 97 significant vocabulary words in the LE, 25 (26%) appear in Unique Mark letter-for-letter. 39 others (40%) make a substantial appearance in Unique Mark. Thus, 64 significant vocabulary words (66%) in the LE appear either exactly or substantially in Unique Mark. Thirty-six significant vocabulary words (37%) in the LE do not appear in Unique Mark.

APPENDIX THREE: SOME DOCTRINAL FACETS OF THE ISSUE

In recent decades, quite a few Evangelical scholars have advocated that the Gospel of Mark originally and intentionally ended at 16:8. This new approach rejects the view that the original ending of Mark has been lost.^{AP-8} It is a departure from the traditional view that Mark 16:9-20 is canonical. The *Westminster Confession*, a Reformation creed still used in Presbyterian churches, states, "The Old Testament in Hebrew ... and the New Testament in Greek ... being immediately inspired by God, and, by His singular care and providence, kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentic; so as, in all controversies of religion, the Church is finally to appeal unto them."^{AP-9} It is difficult to see how any individual can affirm that the Gospel of Mark has been kept pure in all ages while simultaneously affirming that the LE, which is in over 99% of the Greek copies of Mark and which has consistently been used by the church (including the leading figures of the Reformation), is not authentic.

At first glance, this view may appear theologically convenient because it avoids the position that a portion of inspired Scripture has been lost. Just as cooks might hesitate to trust a recipe which is known to have a few lines missing, readers of the Gospel of Mark might not readily trust it if they are told that a few verses are missing. For Evangelicals who do not want to defend the

position that the last part of Mark has been lost, this alternative may seem attractive. It also removes the need to integrate the contents of Mark 16:9-20 into Evangelical theology. The statements about baptism, snakes, poisons, and tongues-speaking may all be dismissed by one uncomplicated step.^{AP-10}

However, even though the contents of the LE may present some (surmountable) difficulties, this adoption of the AE creates problems for Evangelicals who subscribe to Biblical inerrancy. James Edwards has cogently pointed out some of the serious technical difficulties involved. So has N. Clayton Croy in [The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel](#). Three doctrinal difficulties of this view also exist.

First, if the Gospel of Mark intentionally ended at 16:8, it is difficult to acquit Mark of misrepresenting the women who visited the tomb. Matthew and Luke both present the women as obedient: in Matthew 28:8, they “**ran to report it to the disciples**” (NASB) and in Luke 24:9 they “**returned from the tomb and reported all these things to the eleven and to all the rest**” (NASB). The picture presented by Matthew and Luke is that the women obeyed, or intended to obey, the instructions of the angel. This is the opposite of the scene presented by the AE. If one assumes Markan Priority then Matthew 28:8 and Luke 24:9 can be seen as nothing but corrections of Mark 16:8 if the Gospel of Mark originally ended there. And even if one does not assume Markan Priority, but believes that Mark intentionally ended at 16:8, the problem is still there.

Second, if the Gospel of Mark originally ended at 16:8, this implies (again, if one assumes Markan Priority) that Matthew closed his Gospel-account without mentioning the Ascension, while knowing that his primary source for narrative material also did not mention it. This would leave us with only one narrative account of the Ascension in the four Gospels: Luke's account. In addition, as a reading of the [New English Bible](#) will show, some scholars regard the Gospel of Luke's account of the Ascension as an interpolation.^{AP-11} Thus an unintended consequence of the rejection of Mark 16:9-20 may be the thinning of the Biblical testimony for the Ascension.

Third, if the Gospel of Mark intentionally ended at 16:8, then the centerpiece of Mark's climactic appeal to have faith that Christ is risen is the empty tomb. The empty tomb, however, is not the centerpiece of the appeal made by any other New Testament authors, including Peter. In Acts 2:32-36, when Peter appeals to the crowd to believe that Jesus is both Lord and Christ, he does not point only to the resurrection, but also to the ascension. Likewise in Acts 3, after mentioning the resurrection in v. 15, Peter alludes to the ascension in v. 21. In Acts 10:40-42, Peter mentions the resurrection and Christ's post-resurrection commissioning of the disciples (and then is interrupted). And in First Peter 3:22, likewise, Peter mentions Christ's ascension and enthronement.

Similarly Paul, in I Cor. 15:1-7, establishes his case for the resurrection not on the evidence of the empty tomb, but on Christ's appearances to Peter, the twelve, James, and the rest of the apostles.^{AP-12} Likewise in Hebrews 1, the demonstration of the victory of Christ is not the empty tomb; it is the enthronement of Christ in heaven: God's Son, “**when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high.**”^{AP-13}

Everyone in the early church who wrote about the resurrection also wrote something about either Christ's post-resurrection appearances, or His ascension, or both. The burden of proof is definitely on the shoulders of those who maintain that Mark mentioned predictions of post-resurrection appearances of Jesus in his Gospel-account (in 14:28 and 16:7), and yet declined to record any mention of a post-resurrection appearances of Christ and declined to mention the ascension. While Mark is not required to describe post-resurrection appearances simply because Matthew, Luke, and John did so, a point of probability may nevertheless be raised. Without the post-resurrection appearances of Christ, the Gospel of Mark is missing a component of the *kerygma*^{AP-14} which Peter helped define.

I wish to add just three more notes:

(1) A text-critic who acknowledges that the external evidence for the LE outweighs the external evidence against it, but nevertheless double-brackets the LE on the basis of internal evidence, may later have difficulty resisting conjectural emendations which propose the double-bracketing of parts of Scripture which are attested in all MSS but against which a strong case based on internal considerations can be imagined.

(2) Those in modern times who have rejected Mark 16:9-20 chiefly on internal considerations may be overshooting their mark. While attempting to recover the original text of the Gospel of Mark, they may have done their job too well by discovering a form of text (Alexandrian Proto-Mark) that existed before the *finished* form of the text, and by confusing this preliminary text, at a stage still in the production process, with the finished composition.

Kurt & Barbara Aland stated, "**The competence of New Testament textual criticism is restricted** to the state of the New Testament from the moment it began its literary history through transcription for distribution. All events prior to this are beyond its scope."^{AP-15} If the AE echoes a form of Proto-Mark, rather than the Gospel of Mark which was published in and disseminated from Rome, then this principle of restriction works in favor of acceptance of the LE as an authentic part of the Gospel of Mark.

(3) If the SE originated as a liturgy-related margin-note, and the AE originated as a subsequent rejection of the SE, then SE and AE might not be the only features in the Alexandrian text-stream that may have been caused by the confusion of material in the margin of MSS. The absence of some other passages in major Alexandrian witnesses – passages which have widespread and early support in other witnesses – may have their absence explained by an early misinterpretation of marginalia. These other passages include Matthew 6:13b (a misunderstood mark in the margin may have been intended to indicate that this passage was to be recited congregationally as the benediction or “ecphonesis” of the prayer) and Matthew 16:2-3 (a misunderstood margin-note may have been intended to convey that verses 2b-3 are omitted in the parallel-passage in Matthew 12:39). Misinterpretation of marginalia may also be the cause of the Alexandrian text’s contents at Matthew 27:49 (regarding this, see footnote [14-n](#)).

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FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

1-a ~ Westcott & Hort made their case in *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek, Notes on Select Readings* pp. 28-51 (© Harper & Brothers, New York 1882), and their presentation is used to this day. For example Dr. Craig Evans, in his commentary on Mark 8:27-16:20 in the *Word Biblical Commentary* series, simply stated, “For descriptions of the MS evidence, see Westcott-Hort, *Introduction* 2:28-51; Metzger, TCGNT1, 122-28.” (footnote, p. 544, *Word Biblical Commentary* 34b – Mark 8:27-16:20 © 2001 by Thomas Nelson, Inc.)

Though the 1881 *Introduction* embodied the conclusions drawn by both Westcott and Hort, the author was Hort. Philip Schaff assembled the varied opinions of scholars from the 1800’s about the subject: “The passage is defended as genuine by Simon, Mill, Bengel, Storr, Matthaei, Hug, Schleiermacher, De Wette, Bleek, Olshausen, Lange, Ebrard, Hilgenfeld, Broadus (“Bapt. Quarterly,” Philad., 1869), Burgon (1871), Scrivener, Wordsworth, McClellan, Cook, Morison (1882). It is rejected or questioned by the critical editors, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort (though retained by all in the text with or without brackets), and by such critics and Commentators as Fritzsche, Credner, Reuss, Wieseler, Holtzmann, Keim, Scholten, Klostermann, Ewald, Meyer, Weiss, Norton, Davidson. Some of these opponents, however, while denying the composition of the section by Mark, regard the contents as a part of the apostolic tradition.” -- from the essay at <http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/hcc1/htm/i.XII.81.htm> .

Schaff himself wrote in 1866, “The reasons for assuming that vers. 9-20 are an original portion of Mark’s Gospel much outweigh those to the contrary. 1. They are found in the Uncial Codd. A., C., D., X., Δ., E., G., H., K., M., S., U., V.; as well as in 33, 69, and the rest of the Cursive MSS. which have been collated. They are in copies of the Old Latin, in the Vulgate, Curetonian Syriac, Peshito, Jerusalem Syriac, Memphitic, Gothic, and Aethiopic. 2. Irenaeus (*Cont. Haer.* iii 10, 6) recognizes their existence; as do Hippolytus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, Augustine, Nestorius. . . . The chief argument against the genuineness of this section is found in the fact, that it was wanting in *some* of the early copies of Mark’s Gospel. This is attested by Eusebius, Gregory Nyssa, Victor of Antioch, and Jerome. But this is certainly an insufficient reason for affirming its spuriousness in the face of the strong testimonies upon the other side.” (pages 158-159, *Critical, Doctrinal and Homiletical Commentary, Mark-Luke*, by John Peter Lange, translated and edited by Philip Schaff, © 1866 Scribner, Armstrong & Co., New York.)

Earlier, Samuel Tregelles initially opposed Marcan authorship but by 1854 stated that 16:9-20 “might have been written by Mark at a later period.” (see p. 23, The Mutilation of Mark’s Gospel by N. Clayton Croy, © 2003 by Abingdon Press.)

Dr. James A. Kelhoffer of St. Louis University has listed some authors from the 1880’s onward “who have argued for, or tacitly assumed, the authenticity of the LE [Long Ending]” on pp. 18-19 of Miracle and Mission (© 2000 by J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, Germany); they include J.W. Burgon (1871), J.P.P. Martin (1884), George Salmon (1885), J.E. Belser (1901), J.-P. van Kasteren (1902), Gerhard Hartmann (1936), Samuel Zwemer (1945), M. van der Valk (1958), Lee Alfred (1958), Ernest Streets (1959), William Farmer (1974), Edward Hills (1959), Hans Lubczyk (1977), David Eymann (1978), and Bruce A. Nathan (1980). Yet some commentators incorrectly state that all scholars are agreed on this question; for instance Francis J. Moloney (echoing J.B. Phillips) refers to “the universal agreement that the present endings are the work of later scribes” (p. 340, The Gospel of Mark – A Commentary, © 2002 by Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., Peabody, MA).

The work of William Farmer is especially noteworthy. In 1972 he concluded a scholarly investigation of Mark 16:9-20 by stating, “Neither the external nor the internal evidence can be said to be decisive. Furthermore, to the extent that either on balance weighs for or against the originality of the present ending of Mark, this study finds that each, considered separately and taken together, argues for inclusion of these verses” (p. 109, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark, © Cambridge University Press 1974). Similarly, in 1973, Dr. Harold Ford reviewed the evidence offered for and against Mark 16:9-20 and concluded, “There is no reason to question either the authenticity or the genuineness of these verses” (p. 49, “The Last Twelve Verses: Mark 16:9-20,” The Seminary Review, Vol. XIX, #2, © 1973 Cincinnati Bible Seminary).

The view that Mark 16:9-20 is not original has been adopted by many Evangelicals, some of whom have maintained that the Gospel of Mark originally ended at 16:8. These include Dr. Ned Stonehouse and Dr. William L. Lane. Dr. James R. Edwards agrees with Lane that the LE is not Marcan, but he effectively repudiates the proposal that Mark intentionally stopped writing at 16:8, in pp. 497-504 of The Gospel According to Mark (Pillar New Testament Commentary, © 2002 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. Grand Rapids, ed. D.A. Carson). Dr. Edwards forthrightly states, “What might have happened to the original ending we shall probably never know. The most plausible suggestion is that it was lost due to wear-and-tear on the last leaf of the codex” (p. 503, Mark PNTC).

The same sentiment is supported by Robert H. Gundry on pages 1009-1021 of Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross (Copyright © 1993 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids). It is unfortunate that Dr. Gundry, in a commentary of such depth, hardly touched this text-critical question.

Robert H. Stein, in his Princeton dissertation The Proper Methodology for Ascertaining a Marcan Redaktionsgeschichte, observed that although scholars such as Lohmeyer, Lightfoot, and Marxsen argued that 16:7 referred to the *parousia* of Christ, “We have pointed out, however, that Mark 14:28 and 16:7 can not refer to the *parousia* but in the light of their context must refer to the appearance of the risen Lord to his disciples,” and, “We have concluded that Mark 14:28 and 16:7 witness not to the appropriateness of Mark ending at Mark 16:8 but to the inappropriateness of the present ending” (p. 230, © 1969 Harry Robert Stein).

1-b ~ This point should, however, be viewed alongside the observations that most commentators do not go into great detail about the pertinent manuscript-evidence, and that the commentators who do so often give inaccurate descriptions of the manuscript-evidence.

1-c ~ Treatments in the 1900’s included complete omission of Mark 16:9-20 (on p. 374 of The Short Bible, © 1933 by the University of Chicago, edited by Edgar J. Goodspeed and J.M. Powis Smith) and full inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 (on p. 573 of The Reader’s Digest Bible ©1982 by the Reader’s Digest Association, Inc. Bruce Metzger, General Editor.) More recently, the hyper-paraphrase known as The Message featured a footnote which misinformed readers that Mark 16:9-20 is found only in “later manuscripts.” (p. 99-100, © 1993 by Eugene H. Peterson) In a small book called The Message of Hope, which consists mainly of selections from The Message, the Gospel of Mark is presented except for 16:9-20. The text of Mark stops at the end of 16:8 with no footnote, followed by an extremely loose paraphrase of Psalm 8. (p. 70, The Message of Hope, Copyright © 2001 by Eugene H. Peterson, published by NavPress Publishing Group and distributed in association with Alive Communications.) Also, the controversial Today’s New International Version separated Mark 16:9-20 from the rest of the book, and presented it in a small italicized font, and stated that the passage has “a very questionable—and confused—standing in the textual history of the New Testament.” (Preface and p. 77-78, The Holy Bible, Today’s New International Version, © 2001 by International Bible Society).

1-e ~ John Burgon framed this point over a century ago: “The question is not at all one of *authorship*, but only one of *genuineness*. Have the codices been *mutilated* which do not contain these verses? If they have, then must these verses be held to be *genuine*. But on the contrary, Have the codices been *supplemented* which contain them? Then are these verses certainly *spurious*.” -- p. 11, The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to S. Mark Vindicated Against Recent

Critical Objectors and Established, © 1871 James Parker & Co., Oxford and London. [This book will be referred to as “The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated.”]

1-e ~ Despite denying Markan authorship, Dr. Metzger stated, “**Many translators, including myself, consider verses 9 through 20 to be a legitimate part of the New Testament**” in 1994 in *Christian History* magazine, cited at the KJV-Only website http://www.purewords.org/kjb1611/html/hmar16_9.htm . C.E. Graham Swift even stated in The New Bible Commentary, Revised, “**Although the question of literary authenticity must remain uncertain, all scholars agree that these verses are canonically authentic. They are part of the Canon of Holy Scripture.**” (p. 886, © 1970 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, D. Guthrie & J.A. Motyer, editors.) [emphasis added]

Similarly, The Oxford Annotated Bible With the Apocrypha states, “**The contents of vv. 9-20 . . . appear to have been gleaned from traditions known to us from the other gospels and Acts. From early Christian times these verses have traditionally been accepted as part of the canonical Gospel of Mark and therefore as inspired Scripture.**” (footnote, p. 1238, © 1965 by Oxford University Press, New York.)

A footnote in The Jerusalem Bible, p. 89 (New Testament), © 1966 by Darton, Longman & Todd, Ltd. and Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York (Alexander Jones, Editor) agrees: “**The ‘long ending’ of Mark, vv. 9-20, is included in the canonically accepted body of inspired Scripture.**” See also the quotation of Kurt Aland at <http://www.credoquarterly.com/admoneo.htm>

However, Douglas R. A. Hare disagrees, stating the following: “**It must be emphasized that these lines about handling poisonous snakes and drinking poisonous liquids are not scriptural. They do not belong to the authentic Gospel of Mark, and therefore are not part of the biblical canon.**” (p. 227, Westminster Bible Companion: Mark, ©1996 Douglas R. A. Hare, published by Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, KY) [emphasis added]

Similarly, C. R. Gregory, an important scholar of the late 1800’s and early 1900’s, emphatically rejected Mark 16:9-20, writing in Canon and Text of the New Testament that “**These closing verses of Mark positively do not belong to this Gospel, positively have no right to be in the New Testament.**” (p. 513, © 1907 by Charles Scribner’s Sons, NY).

1-f ~ Alfred Wikenhauser affirmed, “**Even if the longer ending of Mark is not by Mark himself, yet it is an integral part of Holy Scripture**” (p. 173, New Testament Introduction, © 1963 Herder and Herder, New York. Nihil Obstat and Imprimatur ≅ 1958 Daniel Mageean, Bishop of Down and Conner). Wikenhauser, on p. 19 of the same book, described the decrees of the Council of Trent as “**infallible and irreformable decisions of the magisterium.**” To read a pertinent citation from the Council of Trent, see <http://www.ntcanon.org/closing-west.shtml> .

1-g ~ See Luther’s Large Catechism, Part 13:4, “About Baptism” and Small Catechism, Part IV, “The Sacrament of Holy Baptism,” at <http://www.iclnet.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/luther/catechism/web/cat-13.html> and <http://www.immanuevluth.org/catechism/c-iv.htm> .

1-h ~ As a Church of Christ minister, I have a doctrinally-based interest in this subject, which may tinge my investigation. I have tried to be extra careful to base conclusions and surmises on empirical evidence and probabilities, rather than theological concerns.

1-i ~ As an example of Pentecostal use of Mark 16:17-18 as part of a case for tongues-speaking, see <http://www.upci.org/doctrine/tongues.asp> . For a history of snake-handling in the 1900’s, see <http://www.geocities.com/alanstreet/snakehan.html> and <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ch/58h/58h025.html> .

1-j ~ Charles Spurgeon, a prominent preacher in the 1800’s, expressed his opinion of the importance of the Long Ending in this excerpt from a sermon: “**The lines containing the commission of our ascended Lord are certainly of the utmost importance, and demand devout attention and implicit obedience A clear understanding of these words is absolutely necessary to our success in our Master’s work, for if we do not understand the commission it is not at all likely that we shall discharge it aright. To alter these words were more than impertinence, it would involve the crime of treason against the authority of Christ and the best interests of the souls of men.**” The full text of this sermon is at <http://www.spurgeon.org/sermons/0573.htm> .

1-k ~ It would nearly require another book to document the inaccurate and misleading statements that commentators have made about Mark 16:9-20. In the interest of brevity, I decided not to go into detail about this, except to note that there are incorrect descriptions of physical evidence pertaining to Mark 16:9-20 in the published comments of W. Barclay, E. Bauman, F. W. Beare, James Brooks, J. Burgon, D. English, W. Farmer, Tim Geddert, Norman Geisler, Robert Grant, D. Guthrie, F.J.A. Hort, L. T. Johnson, A.F.J. Klijn, Marilyn Kunz, W. Lane, C. S. Mann, Ralph P. Martin, A.H. McNeile, W. Marxsen, B. Metzger, E. Nida, D. E. Nineham, E. Peterson, Catherine Schell, E. F. Scott, J. Carter Swaim, James Tabor, and G.W. Trompf, and this list could easily be lengthened. I also discovered errors pertaining to either the SE or the LE in the fourth edition of the UBS Greek New Testament and in the 27th edition of the Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece. Like manuscripts, scholars and commentaries ought to be weighed, not counted.

1-l ~ As an example of how closely the United Bible Societies’ Textual Commentary echoes Westcott & Hort, consider the following comparison. Metzger wrote, “**No one who had available as the conclusion of the Second Gospel the twelve**

verses 9-20, so **rich in interesting material**, would have deliberately replaced them with **four lines** of a **colorless** and **generalized summary**" (p. 126, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, printed in Germany). Hort wrote, "The petty historical difficulty mentioned by Marinus as to the first line of v. 9 could never have suggested the substitution of **4 colourless lines for 12 verses rich in interesting material....**" (p. 44, Westcott & Hort, Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek, Notes, New York) [emphasis added.]

1-m ~ Other special terms are explained in [Appendix One](#).

1-n ~ The essence of the solution I advocate was proposed by G. F. Maclear over a century ago: "The two most probable solutions [for the difference of style between the LE and the rest of the Gospel of Mark] are either (I) That the Evangelist, being prevented at the time from closing his narrative as fully as he had intended, *himself* added, "in another land, and under more peaceful circumstances," [here he is quoting another scholar, Ellicott] the conclusion which we now possess; Or (ii) That it was added by *some other hand*, shortly if not immediately afterwards, but at any rate before the publication of the Gospel itself." (p. 16, The Gospel According to St. Mark, © 1902 The University Press, Cambridge; printed by C.J. Clay & Sons. First edition 1877; reprinted many times.)

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FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

2-a ~ This statement originated with John Burgon in 1871. He wrote, "With the exception of the two uncial MSS. which have just been named [Sinaiticus and Vaticanus], there is not one Codex in existence, uncial or cursive, - (and we are acquainted with, at least, eighteen other uncials, and about six hundred cursive Copies of this Gospel,) - which leaves out the last twelve verses of S. Mark." p. 71, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated, © 1871 James Parker & Co. The increase in the number of MSS discovered and catalogued in the 1900's is indicated by Dr. Michael W. Holmes' reference to "1,700 surviving ancient Greek manuscripts and early translations of the gospel" (in "To Be Continued ... The Many Endings of the Gospel of Mark" p. 13, Bible Review, August 2001, © Biblical Archaeology Society, Washington, D.C.).

2-b ~ Dr. Helmut Koester's statement that "These verses are never attested in any early papyri" (p. 286, Ancient Christian Gospels, © Helmut Koester 1990, pub. SCM Press Ltd. and Trinity Press International) and similar statements are not particularly helpful to novice readers, since the same thing can be said about any portion of Mark that is not preserved in P⁴⁵ and a couple of fragmentary papyri of Mark (P⁸⁴ and P⁸⁸).

P⁴⁵ (from about A.D. 225), though heavily damaged, is not entirely silent. Its text shows the most textual affinity with Codex W, which includes the LE. In Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark, Dr. Larry W. Hurtado established (p. 43) that "In Mark 5:31-16:8, W is usually described as a Caesarean witness, but the average quantitative relationship of W and Θ in Mark 6-16 is 39.7 percent." On p. 87, Hurtado stated, "The W-P⁴⁵ relationship (68.9%) borders on the 70 percent suggested criterion of a text-type relationship." He concluded, "Of all the MSS studied, P⁴⁵ is the closest ally of W in the sample where P⁴⁵ is extant." (p. 65, © 1981 by William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids. Studies and Documents Volume 43.)

2-c ~ MSS 16, 304, 1420 and 2386 seem to be the only Greek MSS which have been brought forward as exceptions to Burgon's observation - and their impact is virtually nil. Dr. Bruce Metzger, in Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, in a footnote on p. 122, explains that 2386 "is only an apparent witness for the omission, for although the last page of Mark closes with *εφοβουντο γαρ*, the next leaf of the manuscript is missing, and following 16:8 is the sign indicating the close of an ecclesiastical lection (*τλ = τελος*), a clear implication that the manuscript originally continued with additional material from Mark."

See also the footnotes on p. 98, Dr. James Kelhoffer, The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings, © Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2001 (published in Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 92. Bd., S. 78-112). Kelhoffer noted (p. 106) Kurt Aland's observation that MSS 138 and 264 have verses 9-20 apparently written in different handwriting.

Regarding MS 304, see Dr. Maurice Robinson's description at the Website Inspired by the Encyclopedia of New Testament Textual Criticism, at www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Manuscripts1-500.html. According to Dr. Robinson, 304 displays a filled-in "o" after 16:8, after which there are many pages of commentary, "all of which summarize the endings of the other gospels and even quotes portions of them. Following this, the commentary then begins to summarize the "ETERON DE TA PARA TOU MARKOU," presumably to cover the non-duplicated portions germane to that gospel in contrast to the others. There remain quotes and references to the other gospels in regard to Mary Magdalene, Peter, Galilee, the fear of the women, etc. But at this point the commentary abruptly ends, without completing the remainder of the narrative or the parallels. I suspect that the commentary (which contains only Mt and Mk) originally continued the discussion and that a final page or pages at the end of this volume likely were lost. Also, MS 304 has no

note regarding the Eusebian questions regarding the ending of Mark, nor any mention of what the "AKRIBWS" manuscripts might read regarding the ending, either of which would likely be expected within a commentary MS at such a point."

Furthermore, the text of 304 is (according to Wieland Willker) 96% Byzantine; it fits a profile that normally includes the LE.

2-d ~ For more details, see the list of manuscripts in [Appendix One](#). The data displayed there was drawn mainly from pp. 33-37 of [The Gospel According to St. Mark](#) by Vincent Taylor, © 1963 St. Martin's Press, and verified and supplemented by other sources.

2-e ~ p. 189, [The Greek New Testament](#), © 1994 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. See [Appendix One](#) for the identification of the MSS represented by symbols and numbers. The remaining abbreviations and names are identified as follows:

Eusebius = early church writer Eusebius of Caesarea (died 340)

mss^{acc. to Eusebius} = manuscripts mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea

Epiphanius^{1/2} = one of two quotations made by early church writer Epiphanius (died 403)

Hesychius = early church writer Hesychius (wrote 451)

mss^{acc. to Severus} = MSS described by church writer Severus of Antioch (died 538)

Jerome = early church writer Jerome (died 420)

mss^{acc. to Jerome} = MSS described by Jerome.

2-f ~ See p. 213, [Synopsis of the First Three Gospels](#), by Albert Huck, 9th edition revised by Hans Lietzmann; English edition by F.L. Cross, © 1963 Basil Blackwell, Oxford. The text is also supplied in the Nestle-Aland [NTG](#), p. 147, with some variations, and in other works.

H. B. Swete presented the Latin text of the Short Ending, as preserved in it^k, as follows:

“omnia autem quaecumque praecepta erant et qui cum puero (sic) erant breviter exposuerunt posthaec et ipse h^s adparuit · et ab orientē usque · usque in orientem · misit per illos · sanctam · et incorruptam · [praedicationem] salutis aeternae · amen.”

(p. cvii, [The Gospel According to St. Mark](#), © 1909 Macmillan and Co., Limited, New York.) A footnote explains that “*praedicationis*” is written in the lower margin of the page; apparently the copyist accidentally skipped this word.

The page of it^k with this text (and most of Mark 16:7-8) is displayed as Plate 54 on p. 184 of Kurt & Barbara Aland's [The Text of the New Testament](#) and may be viewed online at www.vetuslatina.org.

Kurt and Barbara Aland stated that the Gospel of Mark “was provided with an ending, certainly by the second century.” (p. 288, [The Text of the New Testament](#), © 1987 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids.) This seems to be have been intended to refer to the SE. It may seem strange to more than one observer that the SE (the earliest extant evidence of which is it^k, made in the 400's) is thus assigned a pre-100 date by two leading scholars, while the LE (supported by Justin Martyr, the [Diatessaron](#), and Irenaeus in the second century) apparently is not.

2-g ~ The quotation from Dr. Swete is from p. cvii, [The Gospel According to St. Mark](#), © 1909 Macmillan and Co., Ltd. Dr. Swete also notes that Ψ places the SE “immediately after εφοβουντο γαρ, without either break or note.”

Some other observations may supplement the general statements given in the text:

Ten MSS (minuscules 1, 15, 22, 205, 205abs, 209, 1110, 1192, 1210, and 1582) include a note which says (with some variation), “Εν τισιν των αντιγραφων εως ωδε πληροται ο ευαγγελιστης εως ου και Ευσεβιος ο Παμφιλου εκανονισεν. Εν πολλοις δε και ταυτα φερεται.” (Nestle-Aland 27th [NTG](#), p. 148). This translates as, “In some of the copies, the evangelist is completed here, and here is Eusebius Pamphili's canonization. But in many, this also appears,” followed by the LE. (See p. 108, [The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings to Text-Critical Debates concerning the Original Conclusion to Mark's Gospel](#) by James A. Kelhoffer in [Zeitschrift fur die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft](#) 92, © Walter de Gruyter 2001. The MSS are listed in a footnote, citing Aland & Schluss, 443.)

The reference in this note to “Eusebius Pamphili's canonization” refers to the Canon Tables devised by Eusebius of Caesarea (around 330) as a means of cross-referencing parallel passages in the four Gospels. Because these MSS descend from a common source, their testimony may boil down significantly.

Kelhoffer, citing Aland, also noted that Minuscules 20 and 215 include a note stating, “From here until the end does not occur in some manuscripts; but in the old ones the entire passage occurs without omission” (Kelhoffer, p. 1-5 © Walter de Gruyter 2001). Kelhoffer also observed that “a plethora of medieval manuscripts” contain a claim attributed to Victor of Antioch (c. 450) that despite the claim [i.e., Eusebius' apologist's claim in [Ad Marinum](#)] that the LE is not in

most copies, Victor made an investigation and found that it is in most of the accurate copies and in “the Palestinian Gospel of Mark.” Kelhoffer also notes that “a myriad of minuscules dating from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries” contain similar statements, according to Kurt Aland, who listed Minuscules 24, 36, 37, 40, 63, 108, 129, 137, and 143 as examples of these MSS). (Dr. Kelhoffer’s essay © Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2001, Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft).

There is some disagreement about the contents of MS 137. Though cited (according to Kelhoffer) by Kurt Aland as containing a note to the effect just described, MS 137 was cited by William Lane in a list of MSS which “have scholia stating that older Greek copies lack them” [“them” being verses 9-20]. Dr. Lane does not mention the close family relationship of some of these MSS. (see p. 601, Commentary on the Gospel of Mark, © 1974 by William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.)

Scrivener made the following observation: “In their respective margins the annotated codices 12 (of Scholz), 24, 36, 37, 40, 41, 108, 129, 137, 138, 143, 181, 186, 195, 210, 221, 222, 237, 238, 255, 259, 299, 329, 374 (twenty-four in all), present in substance the same weighty testimony in favour of the passage: παρα πλειστοις αντιγραφους ου κειται (thus far also Cod. 119, adding only ταυτα, αλλ ενταυθα καταπαυει) εν τω παροντι ευαγγελιω, ως νοθα νομισαντες αυτα ειναι αλλα ημεις εξ ακριβων αντιγραφων εν πλειστοις ευροντες αυτα και κατα το Παλαιστιναιον ευαγγελιον Μαρκου, ως εχει η αληθεια, συντεθεικαμεν και την εν αυτω επιφερομενην δεσποτικην αναστασιν.” [emphasis added to the MSS in Aland’s list]

Burgon presents this text, with some variations, in Appendix E of The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated, pp. 289-290. He also offers (on pages 64-65) a translation of this passage.

Scrivener continued: “Now this is none other than an extract from Victor of Antioch’s [v] commentary on St. Mark, which they all annex in full to the sacred text, and which is expressly assigned to that Father in Codd. 12, 37, 41. Yet these very twenty-four manuscripts have been cited by critical editors as adverse to the authenticity of a paragraph which their scribes never dreamt of calling into question, but had simply copied Victor’s decided judgement in its favour.” (See the excerpt at <http://www.bible-researcher.com/endmark.html#dissent>.) [emphasis added]

A summary of much of the external evidence is at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09674b.htm#IV>.

The Greek manuscript-evidence may be re-presented as follows:

2 MSS (S and B) do not contain the LE and this is not attributable to damage to these two MSS.

4 MSS do not contain the LE, but this is attributable to random damage.

6 MSS include the SE and the LE, which suggests to some scholars that an earlier ancestor of these MSS contained neither ending.

25 MSS, including MS 137, contain notes which repeat or summarize the comment in Victor of Antioch’s commentary which emphatically affirms that the LE is strongly attested.

10 MSS include a note (possibly based on Ad Marinum or on Victor’s Commentary) which says that in some copies the Gospel is completed at 16:8, but in many these (i.e., the LE) appear. This seems to indicate that the author of this note knew, but rejected, Eusebius’ non-inclusion of the passage. Five of these MSS are closely related.

2 MSS (20 and 215, medieval copies) contain a note which says that some copies do not contain 16:9-20, but in the old ones the passage is not omitted. In both MSS, the note is not located immediately after or alongside 16:8 or 16:9. Instead, it appears after 16:15. The note is: εντευθεν εως του τελους εν τισι των αντιγραφων ου κειται εν δε τοις αρχαιοις παντα απαραλειπτα κειται. (See Burgon, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark, p. 117-118.)

1 MSS (199) contains a shorter note, stating only that some copies do not contain 16:9-20. The wording of this short note seems to be based on the longer note found in 15, 22, 205, etc.

1 MS (22) contains a note between 16:8 and 16:9 almost identical to the note in 15, 22, 205, etc., but without the mention of Eusebius.

Over 1,200 MSS of Mark contain 16:9-20 with no special treatment.

One could adjust these numbers slightly. For instance, fragment 0112 (part of MS 083) contains the text of Mark 16 up to the end of verse 8, followed by the SE, followed by verses 9-10. Technically, it is not a witness for verses 11-20, but it still supports the inclusion of the LE. No matter how one might tweak things, the picture is far different than what some commentators have depicted. These observations collide with the statement of William Barclay that “The verses which follow (Mark 16:9-20) are not in any of the great early manuscripts; only later and inferior manuscripts contain them,” (p. 5, The Gospel of Mark commentary, © William Barclay, published by Westminster John Knox Press.) and with the statement of Ernest Findlay Scott that “The last twelve verses of our present Mark (16:9-20) are found in no early manuscript, and even in later manuscripts they appear in several diverse forms.” (p. 59, E.F. Scott, The Literature of the New Testament, © 1936 Columbia University Press, NY.).

Dr. Henry Barclay Swete described the evidence rather differently: “The longer ending [verses 9-20] follows v. 8 without break in every known Greek MS. except the two which end at εφοβουντο γαρ (S B) and the four which append

both endings as partially attested alternatives (L Ψ d¹² q).” (p. cix, The Gospel According to St. Mark, © 1909 Macmillan and Co., Ltd., New York.) (The last two symbols used by Dr. Swete refer to MSS 099 and 0112.)

2-h ~ Data drawn mainly from Nestle-Aland NTG, 4th edition. A photo of lectionary 1602’s text of part of the LE is featured as Plate 60 on p. 199 of Kurt & Barbara Aland’s The Text of the New Testament (© 1987 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.). On p. 288, the Alands seem to refer to *I*-1602 as “an uncial lectionary of the twelfth century,” but this might be a mis-citation.

2-i ~ This Greek text, and the information about the Freer Logion, is based on pages 378-379, The Gospel According to St. Mark, by Alfred Plummer, © 1914, Cambridge Greek Testament for Colleges and Schools; reprinted 1982 by Baker Book House Co.; the text was modified to agree with the arrangement shown in photographs of the MS. Words or letters underlined by dots are special contractions (*nomina sacra* – “sacred names”) in the MS. The translation is based on Plummer’s. A similar translation is offered on p. 124 of the UBS Textual Commentary. A remarkably popular photograph of the page of Codex W which contains this interpolation is presented in Dr. Bruce Metzger’s book Manuscripts of the Greek Bible – An Introduction to Greek Palaeography, as Plate XVI (p. 83, © 1981 Oxford University Press), and as Plate XXVII in Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts by Sir Frederick Kenyon (© 1958 by Kathleen Mary Kenyon and Gwendoline Margaret Ritchie; pub. by Harper & Row, New York), and as Plate 30 in Kurt & Barbara Aland’s The Text of the New Testament, p. 112, and on p. 21 of the August 2001 Bible Review magazine.

Dr. David E. Garland (of Baylor University), in a popular commentary-series, inexplicably refers to Codex W as an “ancient fragment” (p. 617, The NIV Application Commentary: Mark, © 1996 by David E. Garland, published by Zondervan Publishing House, a division of HarperCollins). Dr. Garland also flatly states, erroneously, that “early church fathers show no knowledge of its [Mark 16:9-20’s] existence” (p. 616). He also said that the SE “appears in only a handful of later manuscripts” (p. 617), thus misleading readers in several ways: he does not mention the SE’s abundant presence in Egyptian versions, he categorizes it among “later” MSS, and he neglects to inform readers that the SE appears by itself in only a single extant MS. Probably hundreds of Bible students have been misled by Dr. Garland’s book.

2-j ~ Jerome’s citation, from Dialogue Against the Pelagians, II:15, is as follows, with a line-to-line English equivalent:

In quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in graecis codicibus

In certain exemplars and especially in Greek codices

iuxta Marcum in fine eius evangelii scribitur:

near the end of the Gospel of Mark the same thing is written:

‘postea quum accubuissent – crediderunt (v. 14).

After they reclined at table – believed [Jerome cites Mark 16:14 from its first phrase to its last word, “crediderunt.”]

Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes:

And there, making this point, they say,

Saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis

This age of iniquity and unbelief

sub Satana est, qui non sinit per immundos

is under Satan, who does not allow, by unclean

spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem.

spirits, the truth and power of God to be understood properly.

Idcirco jam nunc revela justitiam tuam.”

Therefore right now reveal your righteousness.”

(Latin text given according to Albert Huck’s citation on p. 213, Synopsis of the First Three Gospels, © 1963 Basil Blackwell, Oxford. Plummer’s commentary, p. 378, was also consulted.)

Hort noted that some copies of Jerome’s writings, instead of the phrase “sub Satana,” have “substantia,” which disagrees with W’s contents (p. 51, Introduction, Notes).

2-k ~ p. 124-125, Textual Commentary on the New Testament, Bruce M. Metzger. © 1971 by the United Bible Societies. The Textual Commentary also gives a translation of the interpolation, on p. 124.

2-l ~ p. 124, Textual Commentary, Bruce M. Metzger. © 1971 by the United Bible Societies. The same conclusion is reached by Michael Holmes in his article “*To Be Continued...*” (Bible Review August 2001, © 2001 Biblical Archaeology Society), in which – after getting the readers’ attention by claiming that there are “At least nine versions of the ending of Mark” in his opening paragraph (p. 13) – he states, further on, “Of the nine surviving forms, only two have any serious claim to be original, Form 1 (the short form) [by which he means the AE] and Form 3a (the long form) [by which he means the LE]” (p. 22).

2-m ~ p. 189, GNT-4. Besides the notes in the f¹ MSS, which probably all echo a single source, in MS 1241 the last line of Mark 16:8, which is also the last line on the last page in a folio, is centered on the line. This is not a note or critical sign, but it may reflect a copyist’s desire to make the MS’s format ambivalent, leaving the reader free to accept or reject verses 9-

20. In “Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts,” edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva New, the authors observed that “The end of f. [folio] 55 is εφοβουντο γαρ written in the centre of the line. The scribe has not done this elsewhere.” (p. 111, Harvard Theological Studies XVII, © 1932 Cambridge University Press.) On the same page of the same study, 1241 is observed to read “ειπον” in 16:7 (agreeing with NB) and κυριος ιησους in 16:19 (agreeing with Irenaeus).

2-n ~ p. 148, Nestle-Aland 27th NTG. Also noted in Burgon, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark, p. 119. See footnote **2-g**. **2-o** ~ In The Text of the New Testament, p. 76, Bruce Metzger refers to “more than 8,000 Vulgate manuscripts which are extant today.” © 1992 Oxford University Press, Inc.

2-p ~ Lucian of Antioch lived in the mid-late 200’s. In 1881, Hort cautiously avoided firmly identifying Lucian as the person responsible for the Byzantine Text; he merely stated that “Of known names his [i.e., Lucian’s] has a better claim than any other to be associated with the early Syrian revision.” (Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek, p. 138, reprint by Hendrickson Publishers, © 1988, first printing 1882 © Harper & Brothers, New York). However, some modern researchers, such as Dr. Philip Comfort, have presented the theory of the Lucianic Recension as if it is a proven fact.

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FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

3-a ~ The list is based mainly on Vincent Taylor’s commentary on Mark; the dates are derived mainly from the UBS Greek New Testament, pages xxxi-xxxiv. Several other sources repeat this data.

3-b ~ p. 196, Greek New Testament, second edition © 1966 United Bible Societies. Ammonius, Clement, and Origen resided in Alexandria. In 231 Origen moved to Caesarea, where Eusebius resided a century later. Eusebius was taught by Pampophilus of Caesarea, and was familiar with Ammonius’ Gospels-harmony.

Although the fourth edition of the Greek New Testament does not cite Ammonius, Clement and Origen as witnesses for the AE, some commentators still enlist them as such. Dr. Sharyn Dowd (of Baylor University) recently wrote, “The ending at 16:8 is attested by Clement, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome.” (p. 169, Reading Mark: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Second Gospel, by Sharyn E. Dowd, © 2000 by Smyth & Helwys Publishing, Macon, GA.)

An interesting comment about Ammonius is contained in the comments of Dionysius bar Salibi, who died in 1171. He stated, “Eusebius of Caesarea took care to draw up the canons of the gospels, and this is known from his Epistle to Carpianus, and he showed in them the agreement of the Evangelists. Ammonius – also Tatian – has written the Gospel of [the] Yitessaron [sic] – that is, of [the] four – as we remarked above. And when they came to the narrative of the resurrection and saw that [the accounts] varied, they gave up their work.” (p. 59-60, Tatian’s Diatessaron, by William L. Petersen, © 1994 by E.J. Brill, The Netherlands) Dionysius bar Salibi seems to have either confused Ammonius with Tatian, or regarded Ammonius and Tatian as the same person.

Dionysius bar Salibi’s comment is corroborated by a note in the margin of MS Vatican Syriac 154, a MS which contains the Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew written by Gregory of Be’eltan, who died in 790. The MS is from the 700’s or 800’s and the margin-note is from the 1200’s. The MS includes part of Eusebius’ letter to Carpian, in which Eusebius explains his Canon Tables and mentions that Ammonius had made a Gospels-harmony centered upon the Gospel of Matthew. In the margin, alongside this part of the text, a Syriac note states, “Tatian, the heretic, is – some say – he who made this. And when he came to the story of the resurrection and saw that it was different, he gave up his work.” (This quotation and the gist of the description here are from p. 62, Tatian’s Diatessaron, by William L. Petersen, © 1994 by E.J. Brill, Leiden, the Netherlands. Petersen was citing Tjitze Baarda, *Vier = Een: Enkele bladzijden uit de geschiedenis van de harmonistiek der Evangelien* (Kampen 1969), 51-53.)

Dionysius bar Salibi – or a source which he used – evidently confused the Diatessaron made by Ammonius and the Diatessaron made by Tatian. Since Tatian’s Diatessaron contained the harmonized resurrection-accounts, it seems clear that Dionysius bar Salibi’s statement reflects a tradition about the harmony made by Ammonius.

If Ammonius’ Gospels-harmony stopped harmonizing at the beginning of the resurrection-accounts, then its text of Matthew would have ended at the end of Matthew 27:66 or 28:8; its text of Luke would end at the end of Luke 23:56 or 24:11 (or 24:12), its text of John would end at the end of John 19:42 or 20:10, and its text of Mark would end at the end of Mark 15:47 or **16:8**.

3-c ~ p. 30, William Farmer, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark, © Cambridge University Press 1974. Farmer may have relied on Burgon (pp. 38-39) for this information.

Clement was acquainted with a work called the “Preaching of Peter” which he apparently regarded as genuine. In Stromata VI:6, Clement wrote, “In the Preaching of Peter, the Lord says, “I chose out you twelve, judging you to be disciples worthy of me, whom the Lord willed, and thinking you faithful apostles; sending you **unto the world to preach**

the Gospel to men throughout the world, that they should know that there is one God; to declare by faith in me [the Christ] what shall be, that **they that have heard and believed may be saved**, and that **they which have not believed may hear and bear witness, not having any defense so as to say "We did not hear."** [emphasis added] See the text and comments at www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/preachingpeter.html . If Clement did not use the LE, that may have been due to disagreements between it and the Preaching of Peter. (Also, notice the similarity between the emphasized words and parts of Mark 16:15-16.)

Several commentators, including even A.F.J. Klijn, have exaggerated Clement of Alexandria's silence as if it were the equivalent of an explicit statement that Mark ends at 16:8. Klijn wrote, "In the mss. Σ B k sy^s arm^{codd}, and according to Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius and Jerome, the gospel ends with 16, 8." (p. 27, An Introduction to the New Testament, © 1967 by E.J. Brill, Leiden. Translated by Mrs. M. van der Vathorst-Smit.)

The neglect endured by the Gospel of Mark in Egypt may be indicated by the papyri which were, and were not, found at Oxyrhynchus. In an article at <http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/Tyndale/staff/Head/NTOxyPap.htm> , Dr. Peter Head noted that although seven copies of Matthew, four copies of John, and one copy of Luke have come to light, no copies of Mark have been discovered there. (However, see also <http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/vol08/Head2003.html> .)

3-d ~ In *Contra Celsum* ("Against Celsus") VII:17, Origen wrote, "There is nothing absurd in the fact that a man [Christ] died, and that his death was not only an example of death endured for the sake of piety, but also the first blow in the conflict which is to overthrow the power of the evil spirit of the devil, who had obtained dominion over the whole world. **For there are signs of the destruction of his empire; namely, those who through the coming of Christ are everywhere escaping from the power of demons.**" (p. 197, A Sourcebook for Ancient Church History, by Dr. Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr. © 1913 Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; © 1941 Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.) [emphasis added] The emphasized words may be based on Mark 16:17. A little further in Contra Celsum (at the beginning of Book VIII) Origen may allude to 16:19-20 ~ "The Holy Spirit gave signs of His presence at the beginning of Christ's ministry, and after His ascension He gave still more; but since that time these signs have diminished."

3-e ~ This quote from Origen is noted on p. 101 of New Testament Textual Studies Vol. VIII, "References in Origen to Variant Readings" by Bruce Metzger (© 1968 by E.J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands), where Metzger thus supports his statement that Origen "was apparently less well acquainted with the Gospel of Mark than with the other Gospels." The quotation of Origen is from a rendering by Paul Koetschau.

3-f ~ Ralph P. Martin stated this in his commentary on Mark entitled "Where the Action Is," page 152. (Where The Action Is, © Copyright 1977 Regal Books, Bible Commentary for Laymen Series, Ventura, CA). Here is a fuller quotation: "The last 12 verses printed in the *King James Version* are missing from the two oldest Greek manuscripts, and other important witnesses, including several church fathers, Eusebius and Jerome, say that the passage was unknown in all copies of Mark to which they had access."

Dr. Martin, Professor of New Testament at Fuller Theological Seminary, is a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of *Bible Review* magazine, and has written at least three books about Mark. The presence of such a major miscitation in the sixth printing of a book by such a prominent scholar may elicit some doubt as to whether an appeal to the consensus of modern scholars about Mark 16:9-20 is worth making. Misstatements of this sort frequently trickle down to Bible classes in churches, becoming more and more erroneous along the way, with the result that students have been deceptively taught that "All the available reliable manuscripts conclude at Mark 16:8" (p. 12, The Gospel of Mark, Neighborhood Bible Studies, (c) 1963 by Marilyn Kunz and Catherine Schell, published by Tyndale House Publishers, Wheaton, Illinois, 27th printing Dec. 1984).

3-g ~ Dr. Kelhoffer's essay is available as a downloadable file at http://www.slu.edu/colleges/AS/theology/fac_jak.php . The text of The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings to Text-Critical Debates concerning the Original Conclusion to Mark's Gospel, published in *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92, is © Walter de Gruyter 2001.

3-h ~ For a more literal rendering, see pages 84-86, The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings, by James Kelhoffer in ZNW, © 2001 Walter de Gruyter. Dr. Kelhoffer ends the statement of the first hypothetical individual immediately before the words "For in this way." I think that Eusebius intended the first person's statement to include the text up to the words "This then."

It is not altogether clear whether Eusebius, when describing the copies which end at 16:8, meant that that the text completely ends at that point, or that the words "τελος του κατα μαρκον ευαγγελιον" (end of the Gospel according to Mark) appear there. Hort stated that Eusebius used here a "unique compound phrase το τελος περιγραφει (περιγεγραπται), literally to 'limit (or determine) the end.' This might mean to mark off the end, as by a colophon, ornamental line, or other notation. But it is probably only a pleonastic way of expressing more emphatically the sense of the common elliptic περιγραφω (to 'end' a book or statement) . . . The Greek words cannot possibly mean the inscription of the formula [το] τελος, either followed (as in 22) or not followed by vv. 9-20; so that Eusebius is not likely to have had

the formula in view when he was employing the common word *τελος* in its natural sense.” (p. 31, *Introduction, Notes*.) By stating that Eusebius might have been referring to a notation (which *could* include the word *τελος*) and that Eusebius *could not* have been referring to το *τελος*, Hort seems to have overlooked (or dismissed) the possibility that Eusebius’ MSS contained the words το *τελος* as a subscription or as part of a subscription.

Kelhoffer (p. 84-85) translates Eusebius’ remarks as if he observed that there [i.e., at the end of 16:8] “the accurate ones of the copies define the end of the history according to Mark” and “In this way the ending of the Gospel according to Mark is defined in nearly all the copies.” It seems feasible that when using the terms “περιγραφει” and “περιγεγραπται,” Eusebius was recalling subscriptions.

Some MSS in the Kenneth Willis Clark Collection at Duke University (Durham, North Carolina) have subscriptions which include the word *τελος* (or an abbreviation of it). These MSS include 1813 (Duke MS 25), from about A.D. 1100, in which the subscriptions of Matthew, Mark, and Luke include “*τελος*” but John’s does not, and 2757 (Duke MS 64), from about A.D. 1300, which has an abbreviation of *τελος* in the subscription to Matthew, the word *τελος* in the subscription to Mark, and the word *τελος* in the subscription to Luke (the last page of John is lost). (This data is based on data at http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/codex/clark_history.html.) Although medieval subscriptions do not prove that the same kind of subscription existed in the 300’s, this at least suggests that it is a real possibility that Eusebius described subscriptions which included the word “*τελος*.”

Comment [JES111]:

3-i ~ p. 32, Westcott & Hort, *Introduction, Notes*. It is instructive to observe how Eusebius’ nuanced statement, in which he offers both a basis for the rejection of the passage, and a basis for accepting and harmonizing the passage, has been misrepresented in some commentaries; for instance the *Jerome Biblical Commentary* states that Mark 16:9-20 was “declared inauthentic by Eusebius” (42:96, *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, © 1968 by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ, edited by Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy).

3-j ~ p. 33, Westcott & Hort, *Introduction, Notes*. William Farmer made the following suggestion about Eusebius’ decision not to include the LE in his Canon Tables: “The Eusebian Canons make no provision for passages found only in Mark and John but not in Matthew and Luke, and no provision for passages found in Mark, Luke and John, but not in Matthew, presumably because they were not felt to be needed. . . . an agreement between Mark and John, like Jesus appearing to Mary Magdalene, would have necessitated the creation of a new Canon with perhaps only a single entry.” (footnote, p. 63, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, © 1974 Cambridge University Press) In other words, a factor in Eusebius’ decision not to include the LE in the Canon Tables may have been that such a step would have been unavoidably awkward. It is interesting that Eusebius, by arranging several closing sections of the Gospels in large blocks in the Canon Tables, made it easy for others to adapt his work so as to include the LE. This may indicate that although he did not regard the LE as a legitimate part of the Gospel of Mark, he held this view tentatively.

3-k ~ p. 33, Westcott & Hort, *Introduction, Notes*. An apologetic motive may have figured into Eusebius’ rejection of Mark 16:9-20. As Eusebius wrote his lost work *Against Porphyry*, he may have realized that if the reading of the MSS with the AE was adopted, the jibe of Porphyry against Mark 16:18 would be silenced.

3-l ~ p. 33, Westcott & Hort, *Introduction, Notes*. See footnote **2-i** for Jerome’s citation in *Against the Pelagians*.

The weight of Jerome’s letter to Hedibia lightens when one realizes, as Hort did, that “the answers are condensations of the answers of Eusebius.” Farmer reinforces that observation on pages 22-23 of *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark* (© 1974 Cambridge University Press); a close examination of Jerome’s letter shows that Jerome was using *Ad Marinum* as the model for both the question and the answer that he provided. Hort conceded, after presenting part of the Latin text of *Ad Hedibiam*, “This is certainly not an independent statement” (pp. 33-34, *Introduction, Notes*). Nevertheless he attempted to salvage his approach: “It is not likely that a man so conversant with biblical texts as Jerome would have been content to leave it unmodified, considering the number and importance of the verses in question, had it found no degree of support in the Greek MSS which had come under his observations.” (p. 34, Westcott & Hort, *Introduction, Notes*). See, however, footnote **3-m**.

A further point to consider is the method by which Jerome determined the text of the Vulgate. In his *Preface to the Four Gospels* in A.D. 383 (at <http://people.bu.edu/dklepper/RN305/jerome1.html>), Jerome stated: “... If we are to pin our faith to the Latin texts, it is for our opponents to tell us which; for **there are almost as many forms of texts as there are copies**. If, on the other hand, we are to glean the truth from a comparison of many, why not go back to the original Greek and **correct the mistakes introduced by inaccurate translators, and the blundering alterations of confident but ignorant critics, and, further, all that has been inserted or changed by copyists more asleep than awake?** ... I am now speaking of the New Testament. This was undoubtedly composed in Greek, with the exception of the work of Matthew the Apostle, who was the first to commit to writing the Gospel of Christ, and who published his work in Judaea in Hebrew characters. . . . We must confess that as we have it in our language it is marked by discrepancies, and now that the stream is distributed into different channels we must go back to the fountainhead. I pass over those manuscripts which

are associated with the names of Lucian and Hesychius, and the authority of which is perversely maintained by a handful of disputatious persons. ... **I therefore promise in this short Preface the four Gospels only, which are to be taken in the following order, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, as they have been revised by a comparison of the Greek manuscripts. Only early ones have been used. But to avoid any great divergences from the Latin which we are accustomed to read, I have used my pen with some restraint, and while I have corrected only such passages as seemed to convey a different meaning, I have allowed the rest to remain as they are.**"

This is a significant criticism of the Old Latin texts. It ought to notify us that, to Jerome, the Vulgate represented the text found in old Greek MSS better than the texts in Old Latin translations. Since the Vulgate includes Mark 16:9-20, and since the addition of these verses conveys a different meaning than their exclusion, it would seem that Jerome found Mark 16:9-20 in his old Greek MSS.

3-m ~ See Westcott & Hort's Introduction, Notes, p. 41, and p. 23 of William Farmer's The Last Twelve Verses of Mark, © 1974 Cambridge Univ. Press, which cites Burgon's rendering, found on pp. 52-57 of Burgon's earlier book, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated).

Jerome's statement about the lack of Mark 16:9-20 in "almost all the Greek codices" may be merely an abbreviation of the material Jerome was echoing (that is, Ad Marinum). Or, Jerome may have actually believed that Egyptian codices which had been edited by Hesychius lacked Mark 16:9-20, and that very many copies of the Hesychian text had been produced. In either case, Jerome referred to 16:9-20 as the "testimony of Mark" and recommended its inclusion. According to Bruce Metzger, Jerome similarly stated that "most manuscripts known to him" omitted Matthew 16:2-3 and nevertheless he included it in the Vulgate (see p. 41, Textual Commentary).

Compare Ad Hedibiam with what Jerome says – based on his own observations – in Contra Pelagians 2:14-15 about the Freer Logion: Jerome writes that the Freer Logion is in "some copies and especially Greek MSS ... in the end of the Gospel according to Mark." (p. 51, Westcott & Hort, Introduction, Notes). How can Jerome say that the Freer Logion is in "some copies and especially Greek MSS" of Mark, expecting his readers to find the location of the Freer Logion by fingering Mark 16:14, and also say (in Ad Hedibiam) that the entire LE – in which the Freer Logion appears – is missing in almost all Greek copies of Mark? Only by being inconsistent. Of these two conflicting statements, the one which echoes another author ought to be regarded as less likely to be the result of Jerome's own investigation, and the other ought to be considered indicative of the contents the MSS that he used.

Something else merits notice here: Burgon observed that Jerome, when questioned about some point of interpretation, sometimes responded via a presentation of the work of previous writers. In one case, Jerome frankly stated, "Being pressed for time, I have presented you with the opinions of all the commentators; for the most part translating their very words, in order both to get rid of your question, and to put you in possession of ancient authorities on the subject." He also stated, "My plan is to read the ancients; to prove all things, to hold fast that which is good [he is quoting First Thessalonians 5:21 here]; and to abide steadfast in the faith of the Catholic Church. I must now dictate replies, either original or at second-hand, to other questions which lie before me." (quoted on p. 52, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated by John Burgon, © 1871 James Parker and Co., Oxford & London.)

3-n ~ A review of Jerome's career is online at www.newadvent.org/cathen/08341a.htm. It may be gathered that Jerome shifted his position on more than one subject, and relied heavily on the writings of Eusebius.

As pointed out in footnote **2-i**, Jerome quoted Mark 16:14 in Against the Pelagians 2:15, along with part of the Freer Logion, and stated that the Freer Logion appears in some copies ~ especially Greek codices ~ of Mark, near the end. Thus he shows that he knew the LE well enough to recognize the Freer Logion as something unusual, and he shows that he expected his readers to be able to find 16:14 in their copies of Mark. By stating that the Freer Logion is in some MSS, especially Greek codices, he implies that the entire LE was also in those Greek codices.

3-o ~ See the text at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-01/anf01-60.htm#P7435_1989248. The Latin text of this passage in Against Heresies is "*In fine euangelii ait Marcus: Et quidem Dominus Iesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus in caelos, et sedet ad dexteram Dei.*" The Greek text of this part of Against Heresies is not extant as such; however, on p. 270 of Miracle and Mission, Dr. James Kelhoffer quotes from pp. 137-138 of A. Rousseau's book "Irenee de Lyon," in which the author provides a quotation from Theodoret of Cyrillus (a prominent clergyman of the 400's) in which Theodoret quotes Irenaeus' "Against Heresies" at this very spot. Kelhoffer states, "Theodoret of Cyrillus' (ca. 393 – ca. 466 CE) citation of Irenaeus' statement attests to the following Greek text: "ἐπι τελει δε του ευαγγελιου φησιν ο Μαρκος, ο μεν ουν Κυριος Ιησους μετα το λαλησαι αυτοις ανελημφθη εις τον ουρανον και εκαθισεν εκ δεξιων του θεου."

Irenaeus' statement is also mentioned in a Greek marginal note in MS 1582 (dated to the 900's – the oldest MS in f¹). (This was noted by H.C. Thiessen, pp. 50-51 in Introduction to the New Testament, © 1943 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids; Dr. Thiessen relied on the testimony of Streeter on p. 124 of Textual Criticism of the Greek

New Testament.) K. W. Kim presented the text of two significant notes in this MS in 1950. One note occurs after Mark 16:8 ~ “Εν τισιν των αντιγραφων εως ωδε πληρουται ο ευαγγελιστης εως ου και Ευσεβιος ο Παμφιλου εκανονισεν. Εν πολλοις δε και ταυτα φερεται.” This is followed by the LE. Thus it may be deduced that the person who wrote this note (which the copyist of 1582 and other copyists replicated) was aware of Eusebius’ comments in Ad Marinum, and was aware that Eusebius’ Canon Tables did not include the LE, and that many copies of Mark contained the LE.

The other note appears at 16:19. It says,

Ειρηναιος ο των αποστολων πλησιον εν τω προς τας αιρεσεις
Τριτω λογω τουτο ανηνεγκεν το ρητον Μαρκω ειρημενον.

So the genuineness of this quotation is strongly affirmed. (Quotations taken from pages 169-170, K. W. Kim, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 69, June 1950 © Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Georgia.) Irenaeus’ composition Against Heresies was known in Egypt almost as soon as it was written. Papyrus Oxrhynchus 405, assigned a second-third century date, contains Against Heresies Book III, 9:2-3. See the Conspectus of Papyri from the Rise of Christianity in Egypt at www.anchist.mq.edu.au/doccentre/Conspectus.pdf (formatted as an Adobe Acrobat file).

3-p ~ See the text at www.newadvent.org/fathers/250101.htm and (presented in context) at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-01/anf01-59.htm#P6719_1628705.

3-q ~ See Leslie McFall’s mention of the view of Baarda and Howard in “Tatian’s Diatessaron: Mischievous or Misleading?” in *Westminster Theological Journal* vol. 56 (1994), pp. 87-114, at <http://www.btinternet.com/~lmf12/>.

3-r ~ The Arabic Diatessaron displays an unusual treatment of 16:14. At <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-10/anf10-07.htm#TopOfPage> in Section LV, it frames the encounter described in Mark 16:14-18 as occurring on a mountain in Galilee (*a la* Matthew 28:16) – though a table set on a mountain can be imagined.

3-s ~ Section LV, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-10/anf10-07.htm#TopOfPage>. These two features could motivate copyists to make independent corrections.

3-t ~ On p. 196, the UBS Greek New Testament (second edition) cites the Old Dutch and Persian harmonies, which reflect influence from the Diatessaron, and the Arabic translation of the Diatessaron, as evidence for the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20. The commentary of Ephrem Syrus, as edited by Louis Leloir, provides more satisfactory evidence of the Diatessaron’s inclusion of the LE. (My thanks to Dr. Andreas Juckel of the University of Muenster for pointing out this reference.) Ephrem’s commentary on the Diatessaron, as preserved in Chester Beatty Syriac MS 709 (c. 500), clearly displays the use of Mark 16:15. An Armenian text of Ephrem’s commentary (preserved in two medieval MSS, both from A.D. 1195) appears to have abridged this portion of the composition. Details about Ephrem’s use of Mark 16:15 may be found in Leloir’s Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l’Evangile Concordant, Texte Syriaque (Manuscript Chester Beatty 709), Chester Beatty Monographs #8, Dublin, 1963. (Later, in 1990, Leloir produced Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l’Evangile concordant, texte syriaque (Mauscrit Chester Beatty 709), Folios Additionnels, a presentation of parts of Ephrem’s commentary which came to light in the 1980’s.)

Another piece of evidence is a reading in the West-Saxon text of the Gospel of Mark. Tjitze Baarda, a specialist in Diatessaron-studies, observed in a study published in NTS, Vol. 41, #3 (July 1995), pp. 458-465, that in the West-Saxon text of Mark 16:11 (in the “Wessex Gospel”), the text reads the equivalent of “they did not believe *them*.” Baarda points out that this reading, which is found (in the West) in Codex Fuldensis and the Old High German and (in the East) in the Arabic Harmony, does not fit the context, since only Mary Magdalene is in view. Baarda proposes that inasmuch as all these texts have been influenced by the Diatessaron, the co-occurrence of this variant suggests that it was present in the Syriac Diatessaron (which influenced texts in the East) and the Latin Diatessaron (which influenced texts in the West). This implies that it was originally in Tatian’s Diatessaron, and thus that Tatian’s Diatessaron included Mark 16:9-20.

Baarda noted that this variant in the Wessex Gospel is also present in Mark 16:11 in Codex Θ, two Greek minuscules (209 and 346), and the Peshitta. 209 is a member of f¹ and 346 is a member of f¹³. A line of descent from these MSS to the Wessex Gospel seems extremely unlikely.

Also, Ephrem combines Mark 16:15a and Matthew 28:19b in a line in a hymn, giving the sense of “Go into all the world [from Mark] and baptize in the name of the Father, and Son, and Spirit [from Matthew].” This hymn is mentioned in a footnote in an appendix in the article “A Latin Diatessaron in the Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica” by Roelof van der Broek, in *New Testament Studies*, Vol. XXI (1975), p. 132. For some more information about Ephrem Syrus see the article by Andrew Palmer at <http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol2No1/HV2N1Palmer.html>.

The Arabic Diatessaron does not include the Pericope of the Adulteress. Nor does it contain (in its text) Jesus’ genealogies, even though the Syriac text of the Gospels did so (the Borgian Arabic MS of the Diatessaron includes the genealogies, but placed separate from the Diatessaron’s text). Inasmuch as the Arabic Diatessaron has resisted assimilation in regard to the genealogies and the Pericope of the Adulteress, it seems reasonable to consider it a fairly reliable witness to the original arrangement of the Diatessaron, including its arrangement of material from the LE.

Baarda has noted that the Arabic harmony text “appears to be of high value for the reconstruction of the original Syriac Diatessaron,” and “The neglect and disregard which was so often the share of the Arabic harmony is unwarranted.” (p. 25, T. Baarda, “To the Roots of the Syriac Diatessaron Tradition (TA 25:1-3)” in *Novum Testamentum*, Vol. XXVIII, Jan. 1986, © 1986 by E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands.)

It should be noted that even among scholars who specialize in the study of the Diatessaron, there is disagreement about basic points such as the identification of the Diatessaron's original language. Some useful materials for the study of the Diatessaron (and Syriac texts) are named in the footnotes in A.F.J. Klijn's essay on pp. 5-31 of A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts, Part Two, © 1969 E.J. Brill, Leiden, Vol. XXI of *Supplements to Novum Testamentum*. The book Tatian's Diatessaron by William L. Petersen, © 1994 by E.J. Brill, is also recommended. See also the article by Peter Head at <http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/Tyndale/staff/Head/Tatian.htm> and the essay “*Tatian's Diatessaron: Mischievous or Misleading?*” by Leslie McFall, at <http://www.btinternet.com/~lmf12> in which the author lists 12 points in the Arabic Diatessaron which have not been assimilated to the Syriac Gospels.)
3-u ~ See the Fragments of Papias at <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/ANF-01/papi/fragmentsofpapias.html> which accesses Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* III:39, as well as the similar testimony of Philip of Side (fifth century) in Lightfoot & Harmer's Apostolic Fathers (edited by Michael Holmes, © 1989 Baker Book House Co., Grand Rapids). Eusebius wrote, “...We must now point out how Papias, who lived at the same time [i.e., the same time that Philip's four daughters were said to be living in Hierapolis], relates that he had received a wonderful narrative from the daughters of Philip. For he relates that a dead man was raised to life in his day. He also mentions another miracle relating to Justus, surnamed Barsabbas, **how he swallowed a deadly poison, and received no harm**, on account of the grace of the Lord.” [emphasis added]

Philip of Side, echoing Eusebius but also including significant details not mentioned by Eusebius, wrote (in Apostolic Fathers p. 318), “The aforesaid Papias recorded, on the authority of the daughters of Philip, that Barsabbas, who was also called Justus, **drank the poison of a snake in the name of Christ** when put to the test by the unbelievers **and was protected from all harm**. He also records other amazing things, in particular one about Manaim's mother, who was raised from the dead.” [emphasis added]

The account of Philip of Side (from about 435) includes details not given by Eusebius (the identity of the individual who was raised from the dead, for example). Philip of Side says that both the story of a resurrected individual and the story about Justus were from the daughters of Philip; he also says that Justus drank snake-venom “**in the name of Christ**,” which appears to allude to Mark 16:17-18. Either Philip of Side incorporated his own memory of Mark 16:17-18 into the account, or else he repeated details he found in the writings of Papias, or in some previous citation of Papias.

Dr. James Kelhoffer (in Miracle and Mission, p. 433) noticed that “on the issue of Justus' drink, the later author, namely Philippus Sidetes, preserves the more original version of what Papias wrote.” This is because Philip of Side stated that Justus drank “viper's poison” while Eusebius stated that Justus drank “a noxious poison.” Snake venom can be digested without harm, as long as it does not enter the bloodstream, and as Kelhoffer observes (with examples), this was not unknown in ancient times. Eusebius, perhaps aware that the ingestion of snake venom was not a particularly impressive feat, may have decided to describe the substance ambiguously.

Dr. R.H. Gundry makes an important observation about the date of Papias' writings in Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross: “Modern handbooks used to put the date [for Papias' writings] at ca. 130 C.E. or later . . . but a consensus seems to be developing that Papias wrote earlier by a quarter century or more, i.e. in the first decade of the second century.” (p. 1027, © 1993 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids) He supports this statement well, and concludes (on p. 1028-1029) that “A large number of considerations unite to disfavor a date of 130 or later in accordance with Philip of Side and to favor a date of 101-108.” Thus, if Papias' comment about Justus was elicited by a desire to provide an example of the fulfillment of Mark 16:18, the earliest patristic support for the existence of the LE may be dated to A.D. 101-108.

The objection may be raised that Papias' statement is too early to qualify as evidence that the LE was known as *part of the Gospel of Mark*. That is true. However, a researcher's exasperation may be forgiven when some support for the LE is dismissed because it is too *late*, and another piece of evidence is dismissed because it is too *early*.

3-v ~ See the English translation of Justin Martyr's First Apology at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-01/anf01-46.htm#P3821_705110 and see also the UBS Textual Commentary, p. 124. Justin wrote in chapter 45 (slightly modified from the text online at CCEL):

“And that **God the Father of all would bring Christ to heaven** after He had raised Him from the dead, and would keep Him there until **He has subdued His enemies the devils**, and until the number of those who are foreknown by Him as good and virtuous is complete, on whose account He has still delayed the consummation - hear what was said by the prophet David.

These are his words [from Psalm 110:1-3]. *"The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit at My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool. The Lord shall send to Thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem; and rule Thou in the midst of Thine enemies. With Thee is the government in the day of Thy power, in the beauties of Thy saints: from the womb of morning have I begotten Thee."*

That which he says, *"He shall send to Thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem,"* is predictive of **the mighty word**, which His apostles, **going forth** from Jerusalem, **preached everywhere**. And though death is decreed against those who teach or at all confess **the name of Christ**, we everywhere both embrace and teach it. And if you also read these words in a hostile spirit, you can do no more, as I said before, than kill us; which indeed **does no harm** to us, but to you and all who unjustly hate us, and do not repent, brings eternal punishment by fire."

The contents of this short chapter strongly suggest that Justin had Mark 16:9-20 on his mind. The bold-text words show the possible parallels between things mentioned in this passage and things mentioned in Mark 16:9-20: the ascension of Christ [16:19], victory over devils [16:9, 16:17], the preaching of the word everywhere [16:20], the name of Christ [16:17], and a lack of true harm done to believers [16:18].

More support for the view that Justin knew the LE is supplied in chapter 42 of the First Apology, where Justin states, "But our Jesus Christ, being crucified and dead, rose again, and having ascended to heaven, reigned," and in chapter 50. In "Notes on Select Readings," p. 39, Hort expressed a measure of doubt about the connection between Mark 16:20 and Justin's statement in First Apology ch. 45 because "v. 20 does not contain the point specially urged by Justin, *απο Ιερουσαλειμ ... εξελθοντες* (cf. *Ap. I. 39, 49*), which is furnished by *Lc. xxiv. 47ff. ; Acts i. 4, 8.*" When Hort wrote those words in 1881, he was unaware of the arrangement of text in Tatian's Diatessaron as preserved in the Arabic Diatessaron, which was published in 1888 by P. Agostino Ciasca. Frederic Henry Chase, writing in 1893, noticed something in Ciasca's text that has a heavy impact on Hort's statement. It may be best to present an English translation of Section 55 of Ciasca's text in its entirety:

Section LV of the Diatessaron (according to Ciasca's Arabic text)

- 1 But the eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had appointed them.
- 2 And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but there were of them who doubted.
- 3 And while they sat there he appeared to them again, and upbraided them for their lack of faith and the hardness of their hearts, those that saw him when he was risen, and believed not.
- 4 Then said Jesus unto them, "I have been given all authority in heaven and earth; and as my Father hath sent me, so I also send you.
- 5 Go now into all the world, and preach my gospel in all the creation;
- 6 and teach all the peoples, and baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and teach them to keep all whatsoever I commanded you:
- 7 and lo, I am with you all the days, unto the end of the world.
- 8 For whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but whosoever believeth not shall be rejected.
- 9 And the signs which shall attend those that believe in me are these: that they shall cast out devils in my name; and they shall speak with new tongues;
- 10 and they shall take up serpents, and if they drink deadly poison, it shall not injure them; and they shall lay their hands on the diseased, and they shall be healed.
- 11 But ye, abide in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be clothed with power from on high."
- 12 And our Lord Jesus, after speaking to them, took them out to Bethany: and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. 13 And while he blessed them, he was separated from them, and ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God.
- 14 And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy:
- 15 and at all times they were in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen.
- 16 And from thence they went forth, and preached in every place; and our Lord helped them, and confirmed their sayings by the signs which they did.
- 17 And here are also many other things which Jesus did, which if they were written every one of them, not even the world, according to my opinion, would contain the books which should be written.

Notice that 55:14 states that the disciples "returned to Jerusalem" (using Lk. 24:52) and it is following this, in 55:16, that the Diatessaron says that the disciples went forth "from there," that is, from Jerusalem. Thus the Diatessaron displays precisely the point specially urged by Justin. The objection may be raised that just because Tatian's harmony of the

Gospels had this feature, that does not mean that it was assumed by Justin. That is true; however, Chase, after pointing all this out on pages 154-155 of The Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae, also noted, “It will be, I think, generally admitted that the probability is that there is some kind of connexion, more or less immediate, between Tatian’s Diatessaron and Justin’s N.T. quotations.” The case for such a connection has only grown stronger since Chase made that statement, as shown in specialized essays by scholars such as the late William L. Petersen (see NTS 36 - 1990 - pages 512-534) -- so much so that it is no great leap to say that Tatian’s Diatessaron was modeled after Justin’s harmony of the Gospels.

All things considered, the likelihood that Justin used a Gospels-harmony which contained Mark 16:20, and had this Gospels-harmony text in mind in First Apology chapter 45, is very high.

3-w ~ Introduction, Notes, p. 37.

3-x ~ See specifically Against Praxeas, chapter 2, where Tertullian states, “We believe [Jesus] to have suffered, died, and been buried, according to the Scriptures, and, after He had been raised again by the Father and taken back to heaven, to be sitting at the right hand of the Father.” (Cited from the text at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-03/anf03-43.htm#P10395_2912630) It is possible that this implies contact with the LE on the part of the author of an early creedal statement which Tertullian accessed, rather than direct contact by Tertullian.

Another reference to Christ “seated at the right hand of God” occurs in chapter 30, but it may be considered a reference to Colossians 3:1. Similarly Tertullian’s words in An Answer to the Jews, ch. 5, may or may not allude to Mark 16:20 (see the text at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-03/anf03-19.htm#P2021_691723 (at note 76).

See De baptismo at http://www.tertullian.org/articles/evans_bapt/evans_bapt_text_trans.htm

3-y ~ Vincentius’ statement may be read, in English translation, at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-05/anf05-124.htm#P9405_2933103 . Hort stated that “On the whole the balance of the somewhat ambiguous evidence is against any reference to vv. 17f. in the words of Vincentius” (p. 41, Introduction, Notes). The alternative is that Vincentius was using Matthew 10:6-8. Contrary to Hort, three pieces of evidence tilt in favor of the proposal that Vincentius was using Mark 16:

Both quotations would thus have in view the pronouncement of the Great Commission.

Mark 16:17 matches Vincentius’ reference to deeds done “in my name;” Matthew 10:6-8 does not.

Mark 16:18 matches Vincentius’ reference to laying on hands; Matthew 10:6-8 does not.

3-z ~ Hippolytus’ statement may be read at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-05/anf05-18.htm#P3417_1067439 . The UBS Greek New Testament (2nd edition), on p. 197, cited Hippolytus at Mark 16:17. In the fourth edition (p. 191), Apostolic Constitutions is cited.

3-aa ~ The English text of Aphrahat’s Syriac work is at <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-13/Npnf2-13-38.htm#TopOfPage> . Aphrahat’s Demonstration One may also be read at <http://www.synaxis.org/ecf/volume36> .

3-ab ~ In addition to Ad Marinum, Eusebius might demonstrate indirect contact with the LE (or a source which used the LE) in Ecclesiastical History Book One, chapter 13, where he offers a translation of a Syriac text called the Story of Abgar (a text which was eventually incorporated into another composition, the Doctrine of Addai). This story pictures a conversation between Thaddeus and a sick king named Abgar, in which Thaddeus mentions Christ’s ascension, Abgar mentions his belief in Christ, and Thaddeus states, “I place my hand upon thee in His name.” Abgar is thus healed. The story also states that Abgar’s son, “having received a benediction by the imposition of his [Thaddeus’] hands, he was healed” and that Thaddeus “did wonders and marvelous works, and preached the word of God.” [emphasis added] The inexplicit similarities between this text and Mark 16:16-20 may suggest that the author knew the LE. See the text of Ecclesiastical History at www.newadvent.org/fathers/250101.htm .

In a related text, the “Letters of Jesus and Abgar” (see <http://wesley.nnu.edu/noncanon/writing/jnabgar.htm>), a letter from Jesus to Abgar is depicted as stating, “It is written concerning me that they that have seen me shall not believe in me, and that they that have not seen me shall believe and live.” The first citation seems to be alluding to either John 9:41 or 20:29; the second citation seems to allude to the Syriac form of Mark 16:16a ~ “He who believes and is baptized shall live.”

Doctrine of Addai displays fairly obvious usage of material from the LE. It states, “the force of the signs compelled many to believe in Him” and “We were commanded to preach His Gospel to the whole creation” (16:15) [emphasis added], and “they received powers and authorities at the time that He ascended, by which same power he (Addai) had healed Abgar...” (See www.earlychristianwritings.com/fathers/addai_2_text.htm)

3-ac ~ p. 40, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated. Burgon states, “Inasmuch as page after page of the same Homily is observed to reappear, word for word, under the name of “Severus of Antioch,” and to be unsuspectingly printed as his by Montfaucon in his “Bibliotheca Coisliniana” (1715), and by Cramer in his “Catena” (1844), - although it may very reasonably become a question among critics whether Hesychius of Jerusalem or Severus of Antioch was the actual author ... it is plain that critics must make their election between the two names; and not bring them both forward. No one, I say, has any right to go on quoting “Severus” and “Hesychius” ...”

3-ad ~ pages 267-268, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated. See also pages 57-58, where Burgon gives a sample of the parallels in English.

3-ae ~ p. 28, Introduction, Notes. Hesychius actually is not altogether irrelevant, because he comments elsewhere about Mark's account of the empty tomb, and how Mark's account ends with the report of the angel -- though this evidence is tempered by the context, a point noticed by Hort. Still, it seems possible that Hesychius may have inherited, so to speak, Eusebius' view by perceiving the meaning of his statements in Ad Marinum.

3-af ~ p. 29, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated. Burgon provides the text:

ομοιος δε και το παρα τω Μαρκω γεγραμμενον. Ο μεν ουν Κυριος – εκ δεξιων του Θεου.

3-ag ~ Panarion 1.1, as quoted in The Two Natures in Christ, p. 356, at

<http://www.angelfire.com/ny4/djw/epiphanius.html>, a website maintained by David Jay Webber. This quote is supplemented by another quotation at the same website: "The one deity achieved total perfection and sits in heaven on the right hand of the Father on the throne of the majesty of his eternal dominion." (Panarion 5.2, as quoted in The Two Natures in Christ, pp. 357-58) And, "The body of Christ, having been made divine sits at the right hand of God." (Panarion 1.1, as quoted in The Two Natures in Christ, p. 408) [emphasis added]

3-ah ~ p. 40, Introduction, Notes. Hort also mentions (on p. 37) that Cyril of Alexandria (who died in 444) "transcribes without objection Nestorius' quotation of v. 20."

3-ai ~ For this list, see p. 189, Novum Testamentum Graecae, © 1994 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart, Germany (Henceforth referred to as NTG). For dates, see Introduction, p. xxxi in the Greek New Testament, second edition, © 1966 American Bible Society. Kurt & Barbara Aland stated, "For such instances as the ending of Mark, or the passage known as the Comma Johanneum (I John 5:7-8), etc., the documentation in the apparatus [of the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece] is practically complete, comparable to expectations for a large critical edition." (p. 245, The Text of the New Testament, © William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands.) Unfortunately in the case of the ending of Mark that is far from the truth.

3-aj ~ Most of these witnesses are cited in UBS Greek New Testament, pages 196-198. Porphyry-according-to-Macarius-Magnes is an interesting witness. In a way, it is two or three witnesses. See also the lists of witnesses in the essay at <http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/hcc1/htm/i.XII.81.htm>. One exact quotation from Ambrose is in The Prayer of Job and David 4:1:4 ~ "Therefore, it was with good reason that the Lord became a stage, so that the word of the Lord might prepare such stages for Himself; of these He says, "In my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak in new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them."" Farmer provides a thorough list in footnote #5 on p. 33 of The Last Twelve Verses of Mark. One exact reference for Augustine is in On the Soul and Its Origin 2:23, where he wrote, "The Lord, however, foretold concerning his faithful followers, that even "if they should drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them."" (p. 253, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Vol. II, © 1998 by the Institution of Classical Christian Studies (ICCS), Thomas C. Oden and Christopher A. Hall.) Another instance is Homilies on the Epistle of John to the Parthians, IV:2. Augustine mentioned that he occasionally consulted the readings of old manuscripts in his research.

In addition to these witnesses one may add a writer/transcriber known as Ursinus, whose text is described and presented at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-05/anf05-147.htm#P10705_3371855 and <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-05/anf05-148.htm>. He states in Part 9 of a treatise on rebaptism, "And in addition to these things, all the disciples also judged the declaration of the women who had seen the Lord after the resurrection to be idle tales [Lk. 24:11]; and some of themselves, when they had seen Him, believed not, but doubted [Mt. 28:17]; and they who were not then present believed not [Mk. 16:11-13?] at all until they had been subsequently by the Lord Himself in all ways rebuked and reproached [Mk. 16:14], because His death had so offended them that they thought that He had not risen again, who they had believed ought not to have died, because contrary to their belief He had died once." [words in brackets added; emphasis added]. Ursinus may have written around 350; however, he may have been repeating an earlier composition written around the time of Cyprian. The fourth edition of the UBS GNT refers to this work as "Rebaptism" and cites it in favor of Mark 16:9-20.

The composite apocalyptic work The Ascension of Isaiah should also be examined. It states (in parts 17-20), "And the Beloved [i.e., Christ], sitting on their shoulders [i.e., the shoulders of the angels Gabriel and Michael] will come forth and send out His twelve disciples, and they will teach all the nations and every tongue of the resurrection of the Beloved, and those who believe in His cross will be saved, and in His ascension into the seventh heaven from whence He came. And that many who believe in Him will speak through the Holy Spirit, and many signs and wonders will be wrought in those days." (emphasis added) Some phrases in this text, which seems to have been put together around the end of the second century using earlier works, may have been drawn from Matthew 28:19, Luke 24:47, and Mark 16:15-20. See <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/ascension.html>.

An extra note is in order regarding Macarius Magnes' use of a quote which seems to have come from Porphyry. Because Macarius Magnes does not seem to be aware of the authorship of the pagan composition to which he is responding, it has been questioned whether he is indeed quoting from Porphyry's book "Against the Christians" or not. Because "Against the Christians" was a lengthy, 15-part work, it is highly likely an admirer of Porphyry (probably Hierocles, who was proconsul of Bithynia during the persecution of Christians there in 303) condensed it, and in Macarius Magnes' copy of the abridged version, the name of the original author was not included.

Macarius Magnes cites the pagan as stating that Peter put Ananias and Sapphira to death (Book III, chapter 21). This is very similar to a view which Jerome (in Epistle 130, *To Demetrius*) attributed to Porphyry. It seems logical to conclude that the material used by Macarius Magnes is a condensation made by Hierocles, only slightly less ancient than the original publication of "Against the Christians." *Apocritus* thus attests to the use of Mark 16:18 by Porphyry, Hierocles, and Macarius Magnes.

3-ak ~ In the fourteenth chapter of *Acts of Pilate* (a.k.a. *Gesta Pilati*) three men report to the chief priests and recite Mark 16:15-16 and mention Jesus' ascension. See the text at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-08/anf08-77.htm#P6572_1985146. (The date of the production of "Acts of Pilate" is debatable; Justin Martyr mentioned a work by this name but he may have been referring to some other similarly named composition.)

The second-century composition *Epistula Apostolorum* has also been cited as early testimony for the LE. Martin Hengel gave this text his attention, referring to a study done by M. Horschuh. He states that Horschuh stated in *Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum*, PTS 5, 1965, (14) that this text's resurrection-narrative "is closest to the so-called inauthentic conclusion to Mark in respect of its structures," and (15) "The basic pattern of the account is thus derived from the inauthentic conclusion of Mark." Hengel stated, "As the *Epistula Apostolorum* is to be put at the latest in the middle of the second century, and very probably earlier, the addition of Mark 16.9-20 must be dated to the first decades of the second century." (p. 168, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, English translation © John Bowden 1985. Originally published in part as articles appearing in WUNT 28 (1983) and 33 (1984)). What is really implied by the *Epistula Apostolorum*'s dependence upon the LE is the LE's existence, distribution, and usage by that point in the first decades of the 100's.

If the case for the *Epistula Apostolorum*'s dependence upon the LE can be sustained, the fourth-century evidence of B and **Ⲛ** may certainly appear outweighed by the second-century evidence of Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenaeus, and the *Epistula Apostolorum*. But the list of second-century support for the LE is not yet complete.

Yet another composition which is assigned to the second century is the legend-rich *Acts of John*, which may be read at <http://wesley.nnu.edu/noncanon/acts/actjohn.htm>. In *Acts of John*, the apostle John is depicted (in part XX) stating to a pagan opponent, "If thou give me poison to drink, when I call on the name of my Lord, it will not be able to harm me," and he is also depicted (in part XVI), after a re-telling of Luke 16:19-31, saying, "And these words our Lord and Master confirmed by examples of mighty works." These sentences are plainly based on Mark 16:17 and 16:20. [My thanks to Bob Morse for alerting me to this text.]

These references cumulatively give an altogether different picture than the one offered by commentators such as C.S. Mann, who wrote, "In fact, in all the literature before the middle of the fourth century there are only two possible allusions to this anonymous ending." (*The Anchor Bible Commentary*, vol. 27 (Mark), © 1986 Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York.) Readers may also be amazed to compare this evidence with statements such as the claim made by Dr. J. Carter Swaim, former Executive Director of the Department of the English Bible in the Division of Christian Education for the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, that "The medieval church, not content with the work in its original form, added a variety of endings, three of which are known" (p. 324, *Answers to Your Questions About the Bible*, by J. Carter Swaim, Ph. D., D.D., © 1965 by Edward Ernest, Inc.).

Also, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who died around A.D. 450, wrote in one of his letters, "**The four evangelists testify that it was not the divine nature but the body which was nailed to the cross, all teaching with one voice that Joseph of Arimathea came to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus; that he took down the body of Jesus and wrapped in fine linen, and laid in his own new tomb the body of Jesus; that Mary the Magdalene came to the tomb seeking the body of Jesus and ran to His disciples, and reported these things when she could not find the body of Jesus. This is the unanimous teaching of the evangelists**" (from letter #144, "To the Soldiers"). [emphasis added]

Finally, conceivable support is found in *Shepherd of Hermas*, which was composed in about 130-140. In *Mandate 4*, ch. 31, as two individuals discuss baptism, one says, "For now I know that if I no longer add to my sins, I will be saved." "You will be saved," says the other individual. (p. 219, *The Apostolic Fathers*, translated by J.B. Lightfoot and J.R. Harmer, edited and revised by Michael Holmes, © 1989 by Baker Book House Company). Mark 16:16 may be reflected here. See <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/shepherd.html>.

The second edition of the *Greek New Testament* cited Jacob of Nisibis as attestation for the LE; however this seems actually to be a citation of Aphrahat (regarding this see Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated*, pages 26-27).

3-al ~ p. 61, [The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated](#).

3-am ~ p. 61, [The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated](#). Victor would be considered a plagiarist by modern standards.

3-an ~ p. 64-65, [The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated](#). Burgon supplies the Greek text of this comment on pages 288-289, with a qualifying remark that wide variations exist among copies of Victor's commentary.

3-ao ~ p. 35, [Introduction, Notes](#). Hort states that it is "found in many MSS" but "Victor himself cannot be its author." However, Burgon noted that in MSS 12, 37, and 41, this text (or a summary of it) is attributed explicitly to Victor. See the comments at <http://www.bible-researcher.com/endmark.html#dissent>.

3-ap ~ p. 34, [Introduction, Notes](#).

3-aq ~ p. 34, [Introduction, Notes](#).

[+++ Start new page here +++]

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

4-a ~ p. 42, [Introduction, Notes](#). This contradicts the statement made by Dr. James A. Brooks in the [New American Commentary](#): "Thus ends [at 16:8] the Gospel according to Mark. At least it does in the two earliest and generally regarded most reliable Greek manuscripts, in one inferior Greek manuscript, in most Greek lectionaries (apparently because the lectionaries reflect older texts), in one Syriac manuscript, in one Coptic manuscript, in some Armenian manuscripts, in the two oldest Georgian manuscripts, and in several early Christian writers, including Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. A.D. 215) and Origen (d. A.D. 254)." (p. 272, [The New American Commentary](#) Vol. 23: Mark, © 1991 Broadman Press, David S. Dockery, General Editor) [Emphasis added.]

Dr. Brook's statement has some inaccuracies. An examination of the Byzantine lectionary will show that although a lection ends at 16:8, another lection, consisting of Mark 16:9-20, was used regularly on Ascension Day and on the Feast-Day of Mary Magdalene (July 22). This can be verified by consulting F.H. Scrivener's [Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament](#), page 511, and the listing for Ascension Day in the table of the "Synaxarion and Eclogion of the Gospels and Apostolic Writings Daily Throughout the Year" on page 75, and the list of the Menology (showing Feast-Days) on page 82. A similar list of lections is at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Lectionary.html>. Scrivener stated that Mark 16:9-20 was a reading for Eastertime in the Byzantine lectionary, and "comprised the Gospel [selection] for Easter Monday in the old Spanish or Mozarabic Liturgy, for Easter Tuesday among the Syrian Jacobites, for Ascension Day among the Armenians. Vers. 12-20 was the Gospel [selection] for Ascension Day in the Coptic Liturgy." (see the excerpt online at <http://www.bible-researcher.com/endmark.html#dissent>).

Research done subsequent to the time of Westcott and Hort has shown that an Armenian lectionary of the 400's did not use the LE. Instead, Acts 1:1-14, Psalm 23, and Luke 24:41-53 were read on Ascension-Day. This reinforces the already well-supported idea that the Armenian version originally did not contain the LE, at least not as part of the Gospel of Mark. See a description and translation of this Armenian lectionary at <http://www.bombaxo.com/renoux.html> and, for a look at other lectionaries, see <http://www.bombaxo.com/lectionaries.html>.

4-b ~ p. 42-43, Westcott & Hort, [Introduction, Notes](#). Almost all lectionary evidence points to the utilization of Mark 16:9-20 from the earliest existence of lectionaries. Hort stated that "Chrysostom alleges "the law of the fathers" (Hom. In Act. ix, Opp. iii 102 B) as the authority for the arrangement of lessons; which cannot therefore have been introduced in his own memory." So, as far as John Chrysostom knew, the lectionary-sections had been arranged a long time prior to his career. Hort also observed that "Three of Augustine's sermons (ccxxxi I, ccxxxiii passim, ccxxxix 2) shew that in his time, early in Cent. V, the narratives of all four evangelists were read at Easter in N. Africa, and that vv. 9-20 was included."

An interesting reference to a lector – a person entrusted with the reading of passages selected for public reading in church-services – occurs in the pseudepigraphical "Apocalypse of Paul," a form of which seems to have been known by Origen, who died in 254. Therein, in one scene, as Paul is taken on a tour of hell, he observes a man standing in fire up to his knees, while a demon lacerates the man's mouth with a razor. Paul's angelic escort explains, "He whom you see was a lector; he read to the people; but he himself did not keep the commandments of God." (p. 291 and 311-312, [Apocalyptic Literature – A Reader](#), edited by Mitchell Reddish, © 1995 Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., Peabody, MA.)

4-c ~ Some congregations were capable of taking great offense to changes in their liturgy. Hans-Joachim Schulz relates an account of what happened when a liturgical alteration was attempted in the early sixth century: "In 512 Emperor Anastasius attempted to introduce the expanded Trisagion into Constantinople and gave instructions to this effect to the cantors of Hagia Sophia. When the people were assembled in the church on Sunday and suddenly heard the theopaschite Trisagion, they broke into a tumult during which the cantors were shouted down by the orthodox formula and were even attacked physically." (p. 24, [The Byzantine Lectionary](#), © 1986 Pueblo Publishing Co., NY; English translation by

Matthew J. O'Connell.) It seems fair to suspect that conservative attitudes taken toward liturgical hymns extended to the liturgical texts.

4-d ~ It should be noted that Lectionary 961, which was cited as including the SE in the second edition of the UBS GNT (p. 196), does **not** contain the SE. See Robert Waltz's comments at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Lectionary.html> .

4-e ~ See the text of Justin Martyr's First Apology, ch. 67 at <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/ANF-01/just/justinapology1.html#Section67>

4-f ~ See Ecclesiastical History Book Five at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/250105.htm> .

4-g ~ A composition in the Crosby-Schoyen Codex (Schoyen Collection MS #193), from the 200's, consists of what is "probably the oldest Christian liturgical manuscript," according to the description given at <http://www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/4/4.1/413.html> . It is an unidentified Easter sermon.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

5-a ~ p. 189, GNT (fourth edition). The Coptic versions which display the SE are sometimes employed as evidence supportive of the earlier existence of the AE. Part of the Bohairic evidence (all of which includes the LE) is not simple. According to H.B. Swete, the SE is displayed "in the margin of two important MSS. of the Bohairic or Memphitic version, and in several MSS. of the Ethiopic, where it stands in the text between v. 8 and v. 9 without note or break." (p. cvii, The Gospel According to St. Mark, © 1909 Macmillan & Co., Ltd., New York.) This is confirmed by Sir F. Kenyon, who wrote, "The last twelve verses of Mark are contained in all Bohairic MSS.; but two copies (Hunt. 17 and Brit. Mus. Or. 1315) give in their margins a short alternative ending which is practically identical with that found in L" (p. 184, Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, © 1912 Macmillan and Co., Limited, London). [Huntington 17 is from A.D. 1174.]

The Bohairic A MS has an interesting feature: "At the end of v. 8, in the break, as if referring to the last twelve verses, is a gloss [in Arabic] 'this is the chapter expelled in the Greek.'" (p. cvii (footnote), H.B. Swete, The Gospel According to St. Mark, © 1909 Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)

Inasmuch as no Bohairic MSS end with the SE, the Bohairic evidence may be interpreted to imply a transmission-history in which, at the earliest stage of the Bohairic Version, the LE was part of the text and the SE was in the margin alongside 16:8 (to be used as a liturgical conclusion of a lection-unit which would otherwise conclude at the end of 16:8).

Some readers may be surprised to see no Ethiopic MSS listed as displaying a non-inclusion of the LE. Important reference works of the past stated that some Ethiopic MSS did not contain the LE. A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark – a major book used by Bible translators – stated that the LE is omitted "by important codices of the Armenian, Ethiopic, and Georgian versions." (p. 506, by Robert G. Bratcher and Eugene A. Nida, © 1961 by the United Bible Societies, published by E.J. Brill, Leiden.) This statement is incorrect in regard to the Ethiopic evidence, as pointed out by Metzger: "The present writer, having examined the ending of Mark in sixty-five Ethiopic manuscripts, discovered that none, contrary to statements made by previous investigators, closes the Gospel at xvi.8, but that most (forty-seven manuscripts) present the so-called shorter ending directly after vs. 8, followed immediately by the longer ending (verses 9-20)." (p. 234, Bruce Metzger, The Early Versions of the New Testament, © 1987 Oxford University Press.) This may imply that (a) no Ethiopic MS ever lacked the LE, and (b) the SE entered the Ethiopic text between 16:8 and 16:9 at some point after it existed in the margin as a liturgy-related note.

Dr. Metzger provides, in a footnote on the same page, an English translation of the Ethiopic rendering of the SE. It includes the equivalent of "εφ'ανη αυτοις" ("he appeared to them").

5-b ~ See the table on pages 714-717 in Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece, © 1993 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. J.N. Birdsall, referring to the absence of Mark 16:9-20, wrote, "This lacuna was very ancient and has left traces in the Old Latin (a version without Alexandrian leanings)" (pp. 159-160, "Reviews: The Last Twelve Verses of Mark," in The Journal of Theological Studies, April 1975). Dr. Birdsall's statement may need clarification, for while the Old Latin tradition in general is not closely related to the Alexandrian Text, the one Old Latin MS which clearly testifies against the LE – Codex Bobiensis – was said to have "considerable affinity with the early Alexandrian text as represented by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus" by C.R. Williams in 1915 (quoted by Farmer in "A Note on J.N. Birdsall's review of The Last Twelve Verses of Mark in The Journal of Theological Studies, April 1975," distributed at Bridwell Library, S.M.U. © 1980 William Farmer). Farmer also stated, in the same essay, "Williams has succeeded in demonstrating an Egyptian origin for the shorter ending."

5-c ~ p. 196, UBS Greek New Testament. The Old Latin MSS displaying their original voice about the end of Mark are **aur** = Aureus, copied in the 600's, **c** = Codex Colbert., copied in the 1100's,

ff² = Codex Corbeiensis, copied in the 400's (or 300's, according to M.E.S. Buchanan, following a careful examination of the MS; see Kenyon's Handbook, p. 201-202). This MS shares an unusual feature with it^a: "At the end of **Matth. xxvii, 66**, after the word << *Custodibus* >> and before the first verse of the following chapter stand the figures **LXXIII**." This is a section-number, indicating that the Old Latin text was divided into small chapters, the 74th of which began at the beginning of Matthew 27. "Codex *ff*². Corbeiensis, has this same number in the same place, whilst other Old Latin versions have it very near the same position in the sacred text" ~ "This division is found in *Mss. h. ff. c. ept. g*¹ and Paris 6." (All three quotations taken from Collectanea Biblica Latina, Vol. III, p. vi, © 1914 Fredericus Pustet, Pontificius Bibliopola, Rome.)
k = Codex Bobiensis, copied c. 400 (Kenyon assigned it to the "fifth or sixth century" in his Handbook, p. 203, but noted that Burkitt had proposed a date in the fourth century). This incomplete MS contains Mark 8:19-16:8a with the Short Ending followed by Matthew 1:1-3:10, Matthew 4:2-14:17, 15:20-16:1, and 16:5-7.

l = Codex Rhedigerianus, copied in the 600's,

n = Codex Sangallensis, copied c. 400 and not very well preserved. Ends with Mark 16:13. Kenyon (on p. 205 of his Handbook) states that the text of **n** is "closely akin to that of *a*" ("*a*" = Codex Vercellensis).

o = a fragment, apparently written (possibly in the 600's) to replace a damaged page of Codex Sangallensis; it contains Mark 16:14-20. (**n** and **o** count as only one witness.)

q = Codex Monacensis, copied in the "sixth or seventh century" according to Kenyon (p. 205, Handbook). A link to a picture of the last page of Mark in it^l is available online at the www.vetuslatina.org website (on the "manuscripts" page). Although the text shown there mostly corresponds to the Vulgate text, the differences imply that an Old Latin MS which contained Mark 16:9-20 was in it^l's ancestry.

A more detailed description of the evidence in the Greek-Latin Codex Bezae ("D" represents the Greek part and "d" represents the Latin part) is appropriate. D usually presents the Greek text on the left-hand page, accompanied by the corresponding Latin text on the right-hand page. At the end of Mark, this pattern is abandoned by D in its present form. The preceding set of two pages (Fol. 346B and 347A) both contain the text of Mark 15:43-16:6, in Greek on one page and in Latin on the other page. The next page contains the text of Mark 16:6-15 in Greek. The next page contains the text of Mark 16:6-16 in Latin, but it is basically the Vulgate rendering; it is not the same sort of text displayed in the rest of Mark.

On the following page, the text of Mark 16:16-20 is supplied in Greek and in Latin (both on the same page; the Greek text is written in blue ink). According to F.H.A. Scrivener, this is one of several replacement-pages, the Latin parts of which "are transcribed from copies of the Vulgate which resembled the Clementine printed edition more closely than do Cod. Amiatinus and the best manuscripts ..." (pp. xx-xxi, "Introduction," Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, Edited with a Critical Introduction, Annotations, and Facsimiles, Frederick H. Scrivener, 1864 Deighton, Bell & Co., reprint © 1978 the Pickwick Press, Pittsburgh, PA)

It seems unlikely that the Latin half of D originally displayed the AE; this would collide with the current consensus that the Latin portion of this MS is based on the Greek portion. (Bonifatius Fischer, cited by Kurt & Barbara Aland: "Today it is nearly universally recognized that the (Latin) text is almost completely dependent on its parallel Greek text." (p. 185, The Text of the New Testament, © 1987 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. Grand Rapids, co-published by E.J. Brill, Leiden.) Very probably the replacement-pages here were required not by dismay at an unusual reading, but by an accidental loss of pages, the same sort of loss which has happened to 128 leaves out of an original 534 leaves in the MS. D's attestation to Mark 1:1-16:14 is secure, and this implies that the MS was based on an exemplar which contained the entire text of the LE.

5-d ~ See the brief description of it^a at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Versions.html#Latin>. C.H. Turner's findings were published in a brief essay in 1928. He concluded that it^a "in fact must have had either the Shorter Ending or none at all." (p. 18, "Did Codex Vercellensis (a) Contain the Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark?" in Journal of Theological Studies, Vol. 29 (1928), reprinted ©1965 Oxford University Press).

Bruce Metzger gave the following description of it^a in The Early Versions of the New Testament: "The last four leaves of the codex (after Mark xv. 15) have been cut out, and then follows a single leaf containing Mark xvi. 7 (from the word *galileam*) to 20 in a later hand and in the Vulgate text. According to C.H. Turner, the four excised leaves probably did not contain the long ending of Mark, 'unless both very drastic methods of compression were employed in the text itself, and also there was a complete absence of colophon or subscription. . . ." (p. 312-313, © 1977 Oxford University Press.)

Turner based this conclusion on several pieces of evidence. First, he noticed that it^a's original text ends at 15:15, and then three pages are missing, followed by a replacement-page which contains Mark 16:7 (beginning at *galilaenum*) – 20 of the Vulgate. He reasoned that the last leaf had originally begun at the same point in the text. He then observed that "The new leaf is written in much longer lines than the original scribe of *a* had used (about 17 letters per line instead of about 10), and so the matter of the Longer Ending is easily got into one complete page, and one column of the second page, of a single leaf." (p. 18, "Did Codex Vercellensis (a) Contain the Last Twelve Verses of Mark?")

Turner then calculated the capacity of the final page based on how much space would be taken up by the printed Greek text. Although it may seem imprecise to use a printed Greek text as the basis on which to calculate the space-capacity of a page in an Old Latin MS, Turner's conclusion is confirmed by a calculation based on a comparison to Latin texts:

I consulted Volume III of *Collectanea Biblica Latina* (which presents the text of it^a line-by-line) and counted the number of letters per line for the last four complete columns of Mark before the break at 15:15 (columns 631a, 631b, 632a, and 632b) and for the last complete column of Matthew (522a) and the last complete column of Luke (174a). (The MS is hopelessly damaged at the end of John.) I did the same for three other columns, chosen more or less at random. Here are the results (counting only letters written in full):

631a: 217 letters. Average number of letters per line: 9.042

631b: 231 letters. Average number of letters per line: 9.625

632a: 220 letters. Average number of letters per line: 9.167

632b: 221 letters. Average number of letters per line: 9.209

522a: 217 letters. Average number of letters per line: 9.042

174a: 238 letters. Average number of letters per line: 9.917

66a: 248 letters. Average number of letters per line: 10.333

162b: 219 letters. Average number of letters per line: 9.125

578b: 220 letters. Average number of letters per line: 9.167

Using these nine columns as samples, the average line in Codex Vercellensis has 9.4 letters.

Next, I counted the number of letters in Mark 16:7 (from *Galilaeum* onward) - 15 in E. Nestle's *Vetus Latina* ~ 664 ~ and added this to the number of letters in Mark 16:16-20 in Codex Monacensis ~ 402. This yields a total of 1,066 letters. Spread over a two-page sheet with two columns on each page and 24 lines in each column (that is, 96 lines, the format in it^a), a text 1,066 letters long could only fit into 96 lines if the average line contained 11.1 letters.

However, it is indiscernable whether the absent pages of it^a displayed the AE or the SE, and it still seems possible that the absent pages of it^a included an extra bifolium with the LE.

5-e ~ See Eusebius of Vercelli's biography at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05614b.htm> and

http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/encyc/encyc04/htm/eusebius_of_thessalonica.htm.

5-f ~ See Jerome's comments in chapter 96 of *De Viris Illustribus* at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm> and his statement in Epistle 61 at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001061.htm>.

Regarding Jerome's statement about Eusebius of Vercelli: Jerome was not condemning Eusebius of Vercelli. An examination of the context of his statement will verify that Jerome was referring to Eusebius of Vercelli's actions as a precedent to defend his own use of unorthodox writings.

5-g ~ Jerome made this statement in *Letter to Damasus* (see <http://people.bu.edu/dklepper/RN305/jerome1.html>).

Jerome's preference for older MSS may explain how, in *Ad Hedibiam*, he could state that "almost all Greek codices" lack the LE and proceed to recommend that the LE be retained. Like most scholars today, Jerome did not consider the majority text of his day as valuable as the text of the oldest MSS.

5-h ~ See the transcript of the Sinaitic Syriac at purl.org/BibleMSS. The introduction there states that quite a few paragraph-divisions and even line-divisions in the Sinaitic Syriac are exactly the same as those in the Curetonian Syriac.

James Scott Trimm, in the online book *Textual Criticism of the Semitic New Testament* (at <http://www.nazarene.net/hantri/FreeBook/AramaicTextualCriticism.htm>, see especially chapter 8) has proposed the intriguing theory that some Old Latin texts descend from Syriac MSS. Codex Bobiensis may be descended from a Syriac MS similar to the Sinaitic Syriac. The following phrases are omitted (uniquely or nearly uniquely, though the NA-27 apparatus used for this comparison is not exhaustive) in both the Sinaitic Syriac and it^a: Matthew 1:25 ("did not know her until") [This seems related to the Sinaitic Syriac's rendering of Matthew 1:16, in which the Sinaitic Syriac states the Joseph sired Jesus.], Matthew 3:3 ("make his paths straight"), Matthew 4:17 ("Repent, for"), Matthew 5:33 ("to the ancients"), Matthew 5:38 ("right"), Matthew 5:47 (entire verse omitted; verse 46 ends identically), Matthew 9:34 (entire verse omitted; this reading is also attested in D and it^a), Matthew 11:5 ("and the poor have the gospel preached to them;" the preceding phrase ends with the same five letters), and Matthew 12:2 ("on the Sabbath;" also omitted in ff¹ and in the Curetonian Syriac).

In addition, a highly unusual reading in Mark 1:41 in some Old Latin MSS ~ supporting *οργισθεις* ("being indignant") instead of the usual *σπλαγγισθεις* ("moved with compassion") ~ may be simply explained if the Old Latin rendering was based on a Syriac text in which the two similarly-sounding words *ethraham* ("he had pity") and *ethra'em* ("he was enraged") had been confused, and subsequently someone translated the passage from Latin into Greek [see also Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, pp. 76-77].

5-i ~ The Sinaitic Syriac, the Curetonian Syriac, and the Harklean Syriac are described at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Versions.html#OldSyr> . This is the only part of Mark preserved in the Curetonian Syriac MS. For more information about the Harklean Syriac, see the essay by Andreas Juckel at <http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol1No1/MsVatSyr268.html> . Also, for a somewhat tinged presentation of the Peshitta, see www.peshitta.org (the website promotes the idea that the Gospels were originally written in Aramaic).

5-j ~ See <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Versions.html#CPA> for a more thorough description. There is a possibility that this might be related to the little-known Khaboris MS, which can be viewed online at <http://whyagain.com/KhaburisKhaboris/index.php> (The makers of that website have some unorthodox beliefs).

5-k ~ This translation was made by Ulfilas; see <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Versions.html#Gothic> . According to Metzger an investigation made by Roger Gryson in 1990 “challenges the commonly held opinion that the Gothic version of the Gospels is an Antiochian text-type contaminated by the Latin version, and, on the basis of a detailed study of Mark I, concludes that the version is an early witness to the early ‘Western’ text.” Metzger seems to disagree with Gryson’s appraisal. (p. 274 and 82, Bruce Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 3rd edition, © 1992 by Oxford University Press, Inc.) Ulfilas was, theologically, something of an Arian. Before his missionary career he was installed as bishop of Antioch in 341 (according to B.H. Streeter on p. 114, *The Four Gospels*, © 1924, 1961 Macmillan and Sons, Ltd., London).

5-l ~ This page is listed among the Gothic MSS at <http://extranet.ufsia.ac.be/wulfila/Corpus/Manuscripts.asp> . In Kurt & Barbara Aland’s *The Text of the New Testament*, a photograph of this page of Codex Argenteus is featured as Plate 64 (p. 207). The text of Mark 16 in the Gothic version may be viewed at <http://extranet.ufsia.ac.be/wulfila/corpus/Corpus.html> . Alfred Wikenhauser cites K. Kauffmann as stating that Codex Argenteus and the Old Latin MS Brixianus (it^f) were both written in northern Italy in the 500’s (p. 109, *New Testament Introduction*, © 1963 Herder and Herder, New York).

5-m ~ See “Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version” by Ernest Cadman Colwell, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 56 (1937) © Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. Dr. Colwell presents a table of 220 Armenian MSS, of which “88 include Mark 16 9-20; 99 end the gospel at 16 8.” (p. 371) In addition, 33 MSS include Mark 16:9-20 with different sorts of indications that its genuineness was questioned (according to Dr. Colwell) or that it was not written by the original copyist of the MS. He also shows that the older an Armenian manuscript is, the less likely it is to contain the LE.

Dr. Colwell also points out four MSS which are somewhat unique. These include two MSS found at the Etchmiadzin monastery near Mount Ararat. Arm^{E260} (the “E” stands for “Etchmiadzin”), copied in 1072, has the LE at the end of John. Arm^{E303}, copied some time in the 1300’s or 1400’s, contains the LE at the end of Mark, and the SE (in an unusual but recognizable form) at the end of Luke.

The inclusion of the SE in Arm^{E303} in a form which may be earlier than the form preserved in it^k suggests that an early Egyptian text of the SE somehow migrated to Armenia at some time. This exemplar/ancestor may have contained the LE in the text of Mark and the SE in the margin, or the Double Ending (as in L), and the copyist, unsure what to do with the SE, attached it to Luke.

5-n ~ p. 384, “Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version” by Ernest Cadman Colwell, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 56 (1937) © Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. For a profile of Eznik, see <http://www.ccel.org/w/wace/biodict/htm/iii.v.xxi.htm> where it is mentioned that Eznik was a well-traveled bishop in the mid-400’s. See also the essay about Armenian texts at <http://ambarts.tripod.com/files/abrief.htm> .

5-o ~ See p. 226, *The Text of the New Testament*. Metzger does not name some other early Georgian copies of the Gospels, such as the Jrutchi I Gospels (936) and the Parhal Gospels (973). See the article on the Old Georgian version at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Versions.html> for more information. An essay at http://georgianmanuscripts.caucasus.net/en/man_history.asp mentions the existence of Georgian palimpsests from as early as the 400’s, including some with Biblical text.

5-p ~ p. 122-123, UBS Textual Commentary and p. 82, *The Text of the New Testament*, Bruce M. Metzger, © Oxford University Press, 1992 (3rd ed.). B.H. Streeter, relying on a statement by R.P. Blake, states, “In the oldest MS. of the Georgian version, which is dated 897, [the date of the Adysh MS] the Gospel ends at xvi. 8. But the “Longer Conclusion” (as the last twelve verses are usually styled) is added as a sort of Appendix to the Four Gospels after the end of John, having apparently been copied from another text.” (p. 335, *The Four Gospels*, © 1924, 1961 Macmillan & Co. Ltd.) This claim has been perpetuated by other authors. However, Dr. Jost Gippert of the University of Frankfurt, after examining a facsimile of the Adysh MS, has assured me that the Adysh MS contains Mark 13:34-37 after the end of John, not 16:9-20.

F.H.A. Scrivener offers a brief history of the origins of the Armenian version: Mesrob, a translator, invented the Armenian alphabet and “was enabled to undertake a vernacular translation direct from the Greek, only by the aid of manuscripts brought from the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) . . .” (p. 360, *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, © Deighton, Bell, and Co. 1874) However, this history is not unanimously agreed upon. See pages 164-171 of Metzger’s *The Early Versions of the New Testament* for various theories about the early development of the Armenian

Version. It appears that different parts of the New Testament had different roots; the Gospels have a Caesarean base, but according to Lyonnet, “the textual affinities of these Epistles [the General Epistles] are with the Greek codex Vaticanus.” (p. 168, Bruce Metzger, The Early Versions of the New Testament, © 1987 Oxford University Press)

It seems possible that an early Armenian Gospels-text (or Gospels-Harmony text) was based on Old Syriac MSS, but was replaced by Mesrob’s translation which was based on Greek Gospels-MSS which may have been produced by Eusebius. At some later point other MSS, Egyptian ones with a predominantly Alexandrian text, were imported and were used as the basis for an Armenian translation of the General Epistles. Some of these Egyptian codices displayed the Double Ending at the end of Mark, and in this way the LE entered the Armenian transmission-stream (with “and in their hands” in 16:18) and the SE also showed up.

5-q ~ Not only Georgians but also Armenians visited Sinai during the Middle Ages. In “Holy Image, Hallowed Ground - Icons from Sinai,” it is stated, “Some Armenian monks lived in the monastery in the sixth and the first half of the seventh centuries. A few sources mention large groups of several hundred Armenian pilgrims visiting Sinai, which must have included many laymen” (p. 80), and “Anastasios of Armenia mentions an Armenian monastery on Mount Sinai. It is not clear whether he is referring to the monastery at the foot of the mountain” (p. 93). This or similar interaction between Egypt and Armenia is the likely explanation for the appearance of the SE at the end of Luke in an Armenian MS.

5-r ~ See p. 123, UBS Textual Commentary. In the appendix of the third edition of *The Text of the New Testament*, Bruce Metzger stated that he had examined photographs of the end of Mark in 65 Ethiopic MSS, and “ascertained that all of them have the text of Mark xvi. 9-20. In addition, what is known as the Shorter Ending of Mark, found in several Greek and Syriac manuscripts, occurs in many Ethiopic manuscripts between xvi. 8 and 9. Subsequently William F. Macomber ... examined 129 additional Ethiopic manuscripts of Mark. Of the total of 194 (65 + 129) manuscripts, all but two (which are lectionaries) have Mark xvi. 9-20, while 131 manuscripts contain both the Shorter Ending and the Longer Ending.” (p. 275, The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration, © 1992 Oxford University Press.)
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FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER SIX

6-a ~ p. 197-198, UBS Greek New Testament.

6-b ~ p. 132 of the Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia at <http://www.bible-researcher.com/e02-132.html>.

6-c ~ See the descriptions of the Armenian Version at <http://www.bible-researcher.com/e02-132.html> and <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Versions.html#Armenian> which features a picture of the Armenian MS with the note about Ariston. (According to Alfred Wikenhauser, a photo-facsimile of this MS (“*L’Evangile armenien*”) was produced by F. Macler in 1914 ~ p. 127, New Testament Introduction, © 1963 Herder and Herder, NY). A picture of this MS may also be viewed on p. cx of H.B. Swete’s commentary The Gospel According to St. Mark (copyright © 1909 Macmillan and Co.). Dr. Swete states (p. cxi) that F.C. Conybeare, who brought this MS to light in 1891, “with much probability suggests that the person intended is the Aristion who is mentioned by Papias as one of the disciples of the Lord.” E.C. Colwell, however, pointed out mistakes in Conybeare’s description of the MS and in the extrapolations which Conybeare drew from them, in “Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version” (p. 382-385, *Journal of Biblical Literature* vol. 56, © 1937 Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis). Dr. Colwell noted, “It seems to me that the possibility that this Ariston note might refer to what precedes has not been fully canvassed,” meaning apparently that observers have tended to overlook the possibility that the “Elder Aristou” might simply be the name of the manuscript’s copyist. (Colwell pointed out that at least one other Armenian copy of Mark has the name of its copyist at the end of Mark). That, however, seems less likely than the following explanation.

The note in Armenian MS E-229 may indicate that in an earlier copy, the same note had been placed in the margin near 16:18, having been originally intended to signify that an account of the fulfillment of Christ’s prophecy about a believer being impervious to poison was supplied by Aristion the Elder. Theodor Zahn (on p. 474 of Introduction to the New Testament Vol. II, © 1909 Charles Scribner’s Sons) observed that there is “a marginal gloss to Rufinus’ translation of Eusebius, H.E. iii. 39.9, though inserted by a later hand, which connects Aristion’s name with the story taken by Eusebius from Papias, that Justus, called Barsabbas (Acts i. 23), once drank a deadly poison, but was preserved by the grace of the Lord from all harmful effects.” The comment was added to supply a detail which Eusebius did not include; Eusebius mentioned that Papias received a story from the daughters of Philip (about a person who was raised from the dead – identified by Philip of Side as the mother of Manaen), but he did not plainly say where Papias got the story about Justus. If a later scribe saw the marginal note but did not realize that it referred to part of 16:18, and if he was aware that there was some question about the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20, it would have been very easy for him to incorrectly assume that the note had been intended to describe the entire questioned passage, and for that reason he placed the note at the beginning of

16:9. (Zahn later mentions (p. 485) that the MS of Rufinus in question is at Oxford and refers readers to the Dec. 1895 issue of *The Expositor*, p. 415 for more details.)

In 1911, Sir Frederic Kenyon, after discussing the note in Arm^{E-229}, stated, “The original ending having been lost (or never written), a brief summary was added, to round off the narrative, by Aristion, one of the disciples of Jesus, and therefore in a position to know the facts; but this conclusion, not being by St. Mark, was sometimes omitted, and consequently does not appear in some of our earliest extant authorities. On this hypothesis we can accept the passage as true and authentic narrative, though not an original portion of St. Mark’s Gospel.” (p. 173-174, Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, © 1-12 Macmillan and Co., Limited, London) Even if the attribution in Arm^{E-229} is completely incorrect, the essence of Dr. Kenyon’s view is tenable: if Mark stopped writing at 16:8, and an associate finished the account by adding 16:9-20, the passage would be canonical.

6-d ~ p. 315, Apostolic Fathers, Lightfoot-Harmer-Holmes, © 1989 Baker Book House Co., Grand Rapids.

6-e ~ p. 163, The Early Versions of the New Testament, by Bruce M. Metzger, © 1987 Oxford University Press. It should also be noted that in the little-known “Vercelli Acts” portion of the second-century composition “The Acts of Peter,” preserved in one Latin manuscript from the 600’s, a believer named Aristion appears at Puteoli, in Italy. This text can be accessed in English at <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/actspeter.html>; cf. chapter VI.

6-f ~ p. 164, The Early Versions of the New Testament, by Bruce M. Metzger, © 1987 Oxford University Press. Metzger cites “Lyonnet in M-J Lagrange, *Critique textuelle* (Paris, 1935), pp. 345 and 372” for support.

6-g ~ Exceptional photographs of Sahidic fragment P.Duke.inv. 814 are at

<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/814.html> accompanied by a brief description. One fragment contains Mark 16:7 on one side and Luke 22:5 on the other side, and the other fragment contains the SE on one side and Luke 22:25 on the other side. It seems likely that this fragment is part of a lectionary and thus it indicates that the SE was used to conclude a reading-unit which would have otherwise concluded at the end of Mark 16:8.

6-h ~ See pp. xvi-xvii in the “Introduction” by Agnes Smith Lewis in The Four Gospels in Syriac Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest by Robert L. Bensly, J. Rendel Harris, and F. Crawford Burkitt, © 1894 Cambridge University Press, 1894, at purl.org/BibleMSS. It is explained that the Sinaitic Syriac is a palimpsest: an attempt was made to remove the Biblical text from its pages so that the pages could be re-used to provide writing-material for another composition. Many of its pages originally held the contents of the four Gospels (and that is what is usually referred to when someone refers to the text of the Sinaitic Syriac, even though its pages also contain other texts). But someone took apart the Gospels-text, washed them in an attempt to remove the ink, and re-used the pages to write an entirely different text – a collection of profiles of martyrs – upon them. The person who did this also dismantled another book to re-use its pages. This other book was an apocryphal Syriac composition consisting of the “Acts of Thomas” and the “Repose of the Virgin Mary.” J. Rendel Harris noticed that part of the text of Sinai Arabic MS 588 (at St. Catherine’s Monastery) consists of part of the text of “Repose of the Virgin Mary.” It seems fair to deduce that the Sinaitic Syriac and the “Repose of the Virgin Mary” were both housed in St. Catherine’s Monastery from an early period.

6-i ~ p. 113, The Early Versions of the New Testament, by Bruce Metzger, © 1987 Oxford University Press. Metzger also notes that in this MS, the text of Luke precedes the text of Mark. This MS features a symbol at the end of Mark (resembling a tilted “T”) which appears at the end of several books in Vaticanus (and in the Psalms in **Ⲛ**).

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER SEVEN

7-a ~ p. 13, The Text of the New Testament, Kirsopp Lake, 1959 © Billings & Sons Ltd. (6th edition). Despite this, the UBS Greek New Testament does not add “supp” (meaning “supplemental pages”) to the notations in its textual apparatus at this point; nor does the Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece (27th ed.).

George Salmon noted that “in these leaves [that is, in the cancel-sheets in Sinaiticus] the words *ανθρωπος, υιος, ουρανος* are written at full length, as in the Vatican [that is, Codex Vaticanus], not abbreviated, as elsewhere in the Sinaitic. Again, these leaves agree with the Vatican against the Sinaitic as to certain points of orthography. For instance, Pilate’s name is spelt with *ι* in the Sinaitic, with *αι* in these leaves and in the Vatican; *ιωαννης* is spelt with one *ν* by the Vatican scribe, with two by the Sinaitic.” (p. 146, Introduction to the New Testament, © 1913 John Murray) Nevertheless all these considerations – proposed as indications that a copyist took part in the production of both B and **Ⲛ** – seem not to have persuaded Kirsopp Lake when he examined the MS. On the other hand, in the 1930’s Herbert Milne and Theodore C. Skeat made a meticulous examination of the handwriting of the copyists who produced **Ⲛ**, in which they concluded that although Tischendorf had attempted to identify Scribe D of Sinaiticus with Hand B of Vaticanus, “if anything, the resemblance of Scribe D of Sinaiticus was to the other scribe of Vaticanus, Hand A” (T.C. Skeat, p. 597, *Journal of*

Theological Studies, NS, Vol. 50, Pt. 2, October 1999, © 1999 Oxford University Press). Dr. Skeat also quoted J.N. Birdsall's comment in *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (Vol. 1 (1970), pp. 359-360): "It would seem plausible after the palaeographical work of Milne and Skeat that the same scribe had worked upon both manuscripts, scribe A of the Vaticanus being probably identical with scribe D of the Sinaiticus." (p. 597, *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS, Vol. 50, Pt. 2, October 1999, © 1999 Oxford University Press).

7-b ~ This is one of several replacement-portions in the New Testament in **Σ**. The others are located at Matthew 16:9-18:12 (folio 10), Matthew 24:36-26:6 (folio 15), First Thess. 2:14-5:28 (folio 88), and Hebrews 4:16-8:1 (folio 91). See p. xvi, F.H.A. Scrivener's *Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus, Introduction*. (© 1864 Deighton, Bell, and Co.)

Scrivener supports the idea that the person who produced these cancel-pages used an exemplar other than the one used by the main copyist: "The second process was that of the *διορθωτης* or corrector, seldom the same person as the comparer, whose business was to revise the text, often by the aid of a second manuscript varying a little from that first employed." (p. xx, F.H.A. Scrivener's *Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus, Introduction*. © 1864 Deighton, Bell, and Co.)

7-c ~ My thanks to Dr. Leslie McFall for pointing out this textual feature in **Σ**, and for advice about the analysis of the contents of the cancel-sheet at the end of Mark. Though included in Kirsopp Lake's photographic facsimile, the margin-note consisting of the correction of the accidental omission at Mark 15:47 is not featured in Tischendorf's Pseudo-facsimile.

7-d ~ This may be verified by viewing the Pseudo-facsimile at the Biblical Manuscripts Project at <http://209.19.227.169:8083/cgi-bin/Ebind2html/BibleMSS/TischendorfSinv4>

7-e ~ This text-reproduction was deduced via the citations in the Nestle-Aland NTG apparatus, and double-checked with Scrivener's 1863 *Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the Received Text of the New Testament*, and re-checked with the Pseudo-Facsimile produced by Tischendorf, which is online at the Biblical Manuscripts Project.

7-f ~ This can be verified by a simple numerical count: column 5 contains 592 letters, column 6 contains 593 letters, column 7 contains 604 letters, column 8 contains 605 letters, column 9 contains 552 letters, and column 10 contains 37 letters, giving a total amount of 2,983 letters. Adding on the 971 letters of verses 9-20 yields a total of 3,954 letters ~ 288 letters less than the capacity of these six columns when written like column four. (Even if one were to add the 76 letters which the *diorthotes* skipped in Mark 15:47 and the 12 letters skipped in 16:6, there is still plenty of room.)

Imitating a study by Christian Tindall (posthumously published as *Contributions to the Statistical Study of the Codex Sinaiticus*, Edinburgh, 1961), I counted the number of letters in each column of this cancel-sheet, using the Pseudo-Facsimile at the online Biblical Manuscripts Project. The columns contain the following amounts of letters:

Col. 1: 635	Col. 5: 592	Col. 9: 552	Col. 13: 702
Col. 2: 650	Col. 6: 593	Col. 10: 37	Col. 14: 687
Col. 3: 639	Col. 7: 604	Col. 11: 681	Col. 15: 725
Col. 4: 707	Col. 8: 605	Col. 12: 672	Col. 16: 679

7-g ~ Written in the usual way, with 630 letters per column, columns 5-10 of the original pages could hold only 3,780 letters. However, the text of Mark 15:16-16:20 (that is, the text in columns 5-10 of the cancel-sheet [2,983 letters], plus letters which the cancel-sheet's producer accidentally skipped [88 letters], plus the text of the LE [971 letters] comes to a total of 4,042 letters – that is, **262 letters too many** for these six columns to hold if written in the main copyist's usual format.

7-h ~ The Pseudo-Facsimile at the Biblical Manuscripts Project shows that at the end of Matthew, the original copyist placed the last three letters of the last word of Matthew 28:20 (the "voς" of αἰvoς) in the last column of the page. These three letters could easily have been put in the previous column. It may be deduced that the main copyist of **Σ** preferred not to have totally blank columns between books of the same genre, but used blank spaces to separate major sections (such as at the end of the Gospels -- where Sinaiticus has an entire blank page -- and at the end of Acts).

7-i ~ See the comments at <http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/hcc1/htm/i.XII.81.htm>. Dr. Schaff seems to downplay B's blank column: "I find, on examination of the facsimile edition, blank spaces from a few lines up to two-thirds and three-fourths of a column, at the end of Matthew, John, Acts, 1 Pet. (fol. 200), 1 John (fol. 208), Jude (fol. 210), Rom. (fol. 227), Eph. (fol. 262), Col. (fol. 272)." That is irrelevant, though, because a partly-blank column at the end of a book of the Bible was not unusual at all. It's the **entirely** blank column in B that begs for an explanation.

He also cites Dr. Ezra Abbot's observation that in B, "There are two blank columns at the end of Nehemiah, and a blank column and a half at the end of Tobit." However, the handwriting changes after the end of Nehemiah and after the end of Tobit (Wieland Willker, a notable researcher with access to a facsimile of Codex Vaticanus, informed me of this.). The blank space in each location simply consists of space leftover after a copyist completed the text assigned to him to copy. That is not the scenario at the end of Mark; Mark ends and Luke begins on different sides of the same page-leaf. Dr. Abbot proceeds to show that in other MSS there are various instances of blank columns, and states, "These examples

show that the matter in question depended largely on the whim of the copyist; and that we can not infer with confidence that the scribe of B knew of any other ending of the Gospel.” In response: those other MSS simply are not B, and the copyist(s) who produced B shows no signs of any such whim whatsoever about the insertion of blank columns. Throughout B, no blank columns are intentionally inserted anywhere, except here. The blank column *does* imply that the copyist knew about the Long Ending.

7-j ~ p. 29-30, Westcott & Hort, Introduction, Notes. Hort seems not to have considered the possibility that the copyist was familiar with the LE, but found the SE in his exemplar and rejected it.

7-k ~ Burgon stated that in B displays, after Mark 16:8, “a blank space abundantly sufficient to contain the twelve verses which he nevertheless withheld.” (p. 87, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated © 1871 James Parker & Co.) This statement is incorrect. (Burgon did not have, when he wrote, a photograph of this page, so he had to rely on the descriptions supplied by others.) Unfortunately, despite the current availability of better data, several modern writers perpetuate his claim (especially in online articles).

7-l ~ p. 602, Commentary on the Gospel of Mark by William L. Lane, Copyright © 1974 by William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company (The New International Commentary on the New Testament series).

7-m ~ See a side-by-side comparison at <http://www-user.uni-bremen.de/~wie/Vaticanus/ends.html> . The pages are also compared by T.C. Skeat on p. 623 of *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. 50, Pt. 2, October 1999, © 1999 Oxford University Press, accompanying a detailed article in which Dr. Skeat proposes that Vaticanus and Sinaiticus were both produced at Caesarea by copyists under the direction of Eusebius – a proposal which would essentially reduce the weight of the testimony of **Ⲛ**, B, and Eusebius (as well as the Armenian Version and the Old Georgian Version, if the Armenian Version was based on an exemplar made under Eusebius’ supervision) to the weight of a single witness.

Also, several lines in **Ⲛ** and B begin at the same point in Mark 16:3-8.

7-n ~ In Introduction, Notes, p. 45, in a “List of documents supporting vv. 9-20,” Hort includes “MSS known to the scribe of B.” Furthermore, it should be noted that although the blank space at the end of Mark in B is four lines too short to contain verses 9-20, earlier in B the amount of lines per column is different. According to T.C. Skeat, “Although the total height of the column remains the same throughout, up to and including p. 334 there are in fact 44 lines per column” (p. 615, *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS, Vol. 50, Pt. 2, October 1999, © 1999 Oxford University Press).

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER EIGHT

8-a ~ p. 195, UBS Greek New Testament.

8-b ~ Why were the women’s names removed? Probably due to a copyist’s desire to make harmonization among the Gospels easier.

8-c ~ p. 146, Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece.

8-d ~ p. 122, UBS Textual Commentary. The “Gospel of Peter” is a pseudepigraphical work (which may be read at <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/gospelpeter.html> and at <http://gospels.net/translations/akhmimpetertranslation.html>). Familiarity with the “Gospel of Peter” may have influenced the copyist of it^k (or it^k’s exemplar). Notice the similarities between the interpolation in it^k and the following excerpt from the Gospel of Peter:

“(9) When the Sabbath morning dawned, a crowd came from Jerusalem and the surrounding area that they might see that the tomb had been sealed. But during the night in which the Lord’s day dawned, while the soldiers were stationed in pairs to keep watch, a great voice came from heaven. And they saw **the heavens open and two men descend from there, having a great radiance** and approaching the tomb. Then, the same stone which had been put in the entrance rolled away from it and gave way partially. And the tomb was opened and both young men went in.

(10) Then, seeing this, these soldiers woke up the centurions and elders, for they themselves were all there to keep watch. And while they were describing what they had seen, again they saw **three men coming out from the tomb**, two supporting the other and a cross following them. The heads of the two reached up to the heavens and the head of the one they were leading by the hand went beyond the heavens. And they heard a voice from heaven saying, “Did you preach to those who sleep?” Obediently, there was heard from the cross, “Yes.”” (adapted from <http://gospels.net/translations/akhmimpetertranslation.html>)

Compare that to it^k’s interpolation, noticing the overlap between the phrases put in bold print: “But suddenly at the third hour of the day there was darkness over the whole circle of the earth, and **angels descended from the heavens**, and as he was rising in the glory of the living God, at the same time **they ascended with him**, and **immediately it was light.**”

Furthermore, in ch. 13, the *Gospel of Peter* presents the encounter between the women and an angel, resembling the events in Mark 16:5-8 (adapted again from the text at <http://gospels.net/translations/akhmimpetertranslation.html>) ~

“When they arrived, they found that the tomb had been opened. And going in, they stooped over and there was a beautiful man sitting in the middle of the tomb and he had an extremely bright robe wrapped around him. Whoever he was, he said to them, “Why did you come? Whom are you seeking? Is it not the one who was crucified? He has risen and gone out. If you do not believe, however, bend down and look there at the place he lay because he is not there. For he has risen and gone out there, where he was sent.” Then, the terrified women fled.”

At this point (the end of chapter 13) the scene changes. Chapter 14 begins, “It was the last day of the feast of the unleavened bread and many people were going out, returning to their houses since the festival was over. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, were weeping and grieving, and although everyone was mourning because of what had happened, each departed for his own house. But I, Simon Peter, and my brother Andrew took our nets and went out to the sea. And with us was Levi, the son of Alphaeus, ...”

Three points are worth special mention:

- The Gospel of Peter shifts scenes at the same point in the narrative where Mark 16:8 ends, but also includes the phrase “weeping and grieving” which occurs in Mark 16:10.
- The Gospel of Peter, unlike Matthew and Mark (but like *it^k*), does not present the angel telling the women that they will see Jesus later.
- The Gospel of Peter presents no contrast between the faithful obedience of Mary Magdalene and the unbelief of the apostles.

8-e ~ p. 148, Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*. In addition to these quirks, *it^k* displays some other strange readings. Bruce Metzger noted the following examples and more: in *it^k*'s rendering of the SE, instead of “cum Petro” (with Peter) the copyist wrote “cum puero.” And, “He twice brings in pagan deities: ‘he calls Elias’ appears as *Helion vocat* (Mark xv. 34) [“Helion” refers to Phoebus, a sun-deity], and ‘How much does a man differ from a sheep’ is made into *Quanto ergo differt homo Ioui* (Matt. xii.12)!” [“*Ioui*” refers to Jove, that is, the god Jupiter.] (p. 315-316, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, © 1977 Oxford University Press, Oxford)

8-f ~ p. 147, Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*. In *The Text of the New Testament*, by Kurt and Barbara Aland, the last page of Mark in *it^k* is pictured with the caption, “This is the only known example of the “shorter ending” added directly to Mark 16:8.” (p. 184, *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1987 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids) It is added to Mark 16:8, but not quite directly, since the last part of 16:8 has been removed.

8-g ~ p. 126, *UBS Textual Commentary*. To an individual whose exemplar displayed the angel saying, in 16:7, that he (the angel) would appear to the disciples, the SE would not be problematic, but the appearances of Jesus described in the LE would certainly be dissonant. The copyist of *it^k*, if he had both endings at his disposal, could therefore decide to do exactly what the UBS Committee considered impossible – reject the LE and retain only the SE.

8-h ~ *It^k* is a cherished copy, despite its quirks, because of its early date and the belief on the part of some scholars that it was copied from a second-century papyrus. Metzger states, “It was thought by Hoogterp to be ‘a direct copy of an archetype of the end of the third century’, and Lowe considered it, on palaeographical grounds, to have been copied from a second-century papyrus.” (p. 315, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, © Oxford University Press). However, I suggest that in light of Burkitt’s view that the copyist was “a professional copier of books,” (cited by Metzger, *Ibid.*) what has been thought to be an echo of second-century letter-forms might be simply the elegance of the copyist’s script.

8-i ~ p. 232, *Miracle and Mission – The Authentication of Missionaries and Their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark*, by James A. Kelhoffer, © 2000 by J.C.B. Hohn (Paul Siebeck), P.O. Box 2040, D-72010 Tubingen, Germany.

8-j ~ p. 232, *Miracle and Mission*. These portions of *Sophia of Jesus Christ* seem to share imagery with Luke 10:18 and to share verbage with the SE.

8-k ~ on p. 232 of *Miracle and Mission*, in a footnote Dr. Kelhoffer points out that this passage in *Sophia of Jesus Christ* bears “a resemblance to Mark’s Shorter Ending” and that the phrase “Gospel of God” “bears a certain affinity to Mark 1:14.”

8-l ~ ~ This raises the question, “Why would a copyist remove the Short Ending?” The answer is that a copyist recognized the SE as a corruption, but did not have an uncorrupted exemplar available, so he made copies with blank space after Mark 16:8 – space reserved for the proper ending.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER NINE

9-a ~ In this list, notice especially the contents of 2427. This is a copy of Mark dated by N-A to the 1300's ("XIV?" – NTG p. 711). 2427 often agrees with Vaticanus. According to the N-A textual apparatus, B and 2427 stand almost by themselves (and sometimes totally alone) at Mark 1:40, 3:35, 4:20, 4:28, 4:41, 5:36, 6:2, 6:6, 6:33, 7:9, 7:37, 8:25, 9:1, 9:8, 9:21, 9:29-31 (three closely-arranged variants), 10:9 (the omission of "and cleaves unto his wife"), 10:35, 10:47, 11:1, 11:3 (twice), 11:11 ("late" is omitted), 12:9, 12:25, 13:15, 13:21, 13:32, 13:33, 14:10, 14:11, 14:18, 14:43, 14:69, 15:6, 15:7, 15:12, 15:15, 15:46, 16:4, and 16:5.

The text of 2427 should be considered Proto-Alexandrian. Yet it contains the LE. Thus MSS from every text-type including the Proto-Alexandrian contain the LE – unless in the case of 2427 a medieval Byzantine copy was used to supplement an abruptly ending Proto-Alexandrian exemplar. Against that idea one may observe that 2427 disagrees with the Byzantine Text in 16:14 (2427 includes "δε" and "εκ νεκρων"), 16:17 (2427 has a different word-order), and 16:19 (2427 includes "Ιησους"). The inference may be drawn that the text displayed by 2427 in Mark 16:9-20 is not purely Byzantine, and is a very early text.

However, 2427 should not be depended on at all presently, because of doubts regarding its authenticity. See its description at www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn for details. A modern pigment – Prussian Blue – was found to be a component in some of the illustrations in 2427. I think that that 2427 is a forgery.

In the April 23, 1988 issue of *Science News*, an article explains that Dr. Tom Mathews of New York University and Mary V. Orna of the College of New Rochelle conducted tests of samples of paint from 2427, using "polarized-light microscopy and X-ray diffraction" to "clearly identify the compounds in the pigments" used in the illustrations in 2427. They also used "Fourier-transform infrared spectroscopy." The conclusions of their study about the composition of what they examined is not questioned. However, it is not unheard of for a modern-day manuscript-owner to attempt to enhance a manuscript's value by touching it up, especially if he intends to sell it. For this reason, the analysis of the samples may be regarded as inconclusive until 2427 itself has been thoroughly examined and has been shown to lack earlier (lapis-based) blue pigments. (My thanks to Dr. Mathews for providing information about 2427.)

See also the information and picture at <http://jchemed.chem.wisc.edu/Journal/Issues/1997/Apr/abs373.html>. A picture of the ending of Mark in 2427 (16:16-20) is displayed as Plate 51 on p. 151 of Kurt & Barbara Aland's *The Text of the New Testament*. The last eight lines of text are arranged in a "V" shape. Notably, 2427 does not include "Και εν ταϊς χειρσιν" in 16:18, thus disagreeing with the usual Egyptian form of the LE.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER TEN

10-a ~ See pages 212-226, Westcott & Hort, *Introduction*. Hort also regarded it as a fact that the scribe of B was a corrector of **Σ** (*Introduction*, p. 214).

10-b ~ See p. 18, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus* (special publication of the British Museum, first printed in 1938 and revised by T.C. Skeat and reprinted in 1955, University Press, Oxford). The text goes on to explain that this note means that this portion of **Σ** was compared with, and corrected on the basis of, a text which Antoninus and Pamphilus took from the Septuagint-column of Origen's *Hexapla*. Antoninus and Pamphilus were martyred in 309.

Although Pamphilus was located at Caesarea, one should not assume that he used (or produced) MSS with a "Caesarean" text. Referring to Codex Coislinianus ("H," a MS of portions of the Pauline epistles), Vaganay and Amphoux relate that "According to a note in the manuscript [which appears after the book of Titus], the text was collated at Caesarea with a copy written by Pamphilus although it appears to have an Alexandrian text-type" (p. 20, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, © 1991 Cambridge University Press).

10-c ~ p. 21, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus* (special publication of the British Museum, first printed in 1938 and revised by T.C. Skeat and reprinted in 1955, University Press, Oxford).

Balanced against this evidence favoring Caesarea as the place where **Σ** was made is some other evidence which favors Egypt. Kirsopp Lake stated (on p. 15, *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1959 Rivingtons, Billing & Sons Ltd.), "**Σ** may also have been written in Alexandria. The chief argument in favour of this view is that the text of Psalms in **Σ** has peculiarities identical with those found in the *Pistis Sophia*, an Egyptian gnostic book." And Scrivener observed (apparently citing another writer) that "It has also been remarked that no line in the Cod. Sinaiticus begins with any combination of letters which might not commence a Greek word, unless it be *θη* in Matt. viii.12; xxv. 30; John vi. 10; Acts xxi. 35; Apoc. vii. 4. Inasmuch as *θη* is found at the beginning of *Coptic* words (Herod. ii. 166, &c.), it has been ingeniously suggested that this apparent exception to the scribe's general practice is a proof that he copied line for line from an Egyptian papyrus, to the writer of which such forms would be familiar." (p. xiv, footnote, F.H.A. Scrivener's *Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus, Introduction*. © 1864 Deighton, Bell, and Co.)

10-d ~ p. 15, *The Text of the New Testament*, by Kirsopp Lake, © Billing & Sons 1959, Guildford and London. Dr. Lake was repeating an observation made by Lagrange. Here is a fuller citation of Lake:

“N̄ may also have been written in Alexandria. The chief argument in favour of this view is that the text of Psalms in N̄ has peculiarities identical with those found in the *Pistis Sophia*, an Egyptian gnostic book. The alternative suggestion is that it was written in Caesarea, where it was undoubtedly to be found at some time between the fifth century and the seventh, when the group of collectors known as N̄c did their work. Lagrange has pointed out [the reference is to *Revue Biblique*, January 1926, p. 91] that in a number of points N̄ is in agreement with the Palestinian topographical tradition, and not with the Alexandrian. He also suggests that, since it is known that Euzoios had copies made of a number of the papyri in the library at Caesarea, at the end of the fourth century, because they were wearing out, this may have been the occasion when N̄ was written.” (p. 15, *Text of the New Testament*, 6th ed. ©1959 Billing & Sons Ltd.)

Lake tentatively favored placing the location of N̄'s scriptorium in Alexandria. The evidence on each side may complement the other via the theory that N̄ was produced at Caesarea and its main exemplar was from Alexandria. If N̄ was indeed produced at Caesarea, then its *diorthotes* may have been either Acacius or Euzoios, bishops of Caesarea.

T.C. Skeat vigorously critiqued Lake's view in the essay “*The Codex Sinaiticus, The Codex Vaticanus, and Constantine*,” as part of a case for the theory that N̄ and B were both produced under Eusebius' supervision around 330. Skeat also quotes Lake himself referring to “certain facts which show that they [N̄ and B] were originally both together at the same spot. This spot is Caesarea.” (pp. 586-587, *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS, Vol. 50, Pt. 2, © 1999 Oxford University Press.) Although Skeat's case cannot survive a sustained consideration of the differences between N̄ and B (for instance, his theory necessitates that N̄ was made before B, and yet it is B that has a less elaborate system of *nomina sacra* [abbreviations for sacred names] and simpler subscriptions), some of the valid evidence he presents may be easily adopted for use in a case that B was one of the MSS produced in Caesarea in c. 330 under the supervision of Eusebius as instructed by Constantine, and N̄ was produced about 40 years later by Euzoios and Acacius, one of whom could have been working earlier, in 330, under the supervision of Eusebius in Caesarea.

A biography of Acacius, who became bishop of Caesarea when Eusebius of Caesarea died in 340, is available at <http://www.ccel.org/w/wace/biodict/htm/jii.i.ii.htm> and some information about Euzoios (who is not the same Euzoios as the Arian individual of the same name who became bishop of Antioch in 360) is given in Jerome's “*De Viris Illustribus*,” part 113 (See <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm>). Jerome mentioned that Euzoios was expelled from the church when Theodosian was Emperor, which implies that Euzoios was, or was suspected or being, an Arian, since Theodosius decreed that Arians should be barred from church offices; see <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14577d.htm> . Jerome also mentioned that Acacius had one eye; if Acacius was involved in the production of N̄, that might explain the unusually high amount of accidental line-skipping which the copyist committed.

The following quotation from K. Lake's 1911 *Introduction* to his photographic facsimile of Sinaiticus is about the similarities of the subscriptions to Acts in both MSS. “The similarity is extremely great, and is scarcely explicable unless we assume that both hands come from the same scriptorium, while the differences might conceivably be taken merely to mean that there is a difference of time between the two hands, -- that is to say that the *praxeis* of Codex Vaticanus was written by a scribe in his youth, and the *praxeis* of Codex Sinaiticus by the same scribe in his old age.” He did not pursue or reinforce this idea, but continued by saying, “But whether this be so or not is not really of great importance: the serious thing is that there is in any case good evidence for thinking that the two great codices [N̄ and B] come from the same scriptorium.” (p. xii, *Introduction, Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus – The New Testament*, Leiden) Practically all palaeographers and textual critics have similarly concluded that N̄ and B were made at the same scriptorium (or by scribes trained at the same place); the only question is, “Where was this scriptorium located?” The best-supported view is that the scriptorium was in Caesarea. There is a record of two incidents in the fourth century which were likely to result in the production of Bibles like N̄ and B: the production by Eusebius, in 330, of 50 Bibles which Emperor Constantine instructed him to provide, and the preservation, by Euzoios and Acacius, probably in the 360's, of texts in the library of Caesarea which were wearing out. These two dates interlock with the dates usually assigned to Vaticanus and Sinaiticus.

(Athanasius, in Egypt, was also instructed to make Bibles in about 340, during the reign of Constans. However, in Athanasius' *Festal Letter 39*, in which Athanasius lists books of Scripture (both “first class” and “second class” books), he does not mention “Barnabas,” so it seems unlikely that he would include “Barnabas” (as N̄ does) in a volume of Scripture.)

10-e ~ see the description at <http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/extras/Sinaiticus.html> .

10-f ~ p. 54, *Text of the New Testament*, © 1964 Oxford University Press.

10-g ~ p. 508, F.H.A. Scrivener, *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*; see also *Plate XIV picture 21* in the same book for a facsimile-rendering of L's text at this point in Mark. Burgon makes this photo-facsimile available after p. 125 of *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated*. A photographic plate of the same page is provided by Sir Frederic

Kenyon as Plate VII in Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament (after p. 108, © 1912 Macmillan and Co., Limited, London.). In Kenyon's plate, the note preceding the SE appears to read "φερεται," not "φερεται." Another page from Codex L, featuring Mark 16:17b-20 and the beginning of the headings for the Gospel of Luke, is pictured on p. 110 of Kurt & Barbara Aland's The Text of the New Testament, Plate 29.

10-h ~ p. 60, Text of the New Testament. Metzger is thus summarizing the gist of Lake's work in pages 94-131 of Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica, v (Oxford, 1903), which he cites in a footnote. Dr. Metzger's statement is remarkably similar to one previously written by Sir Frederick Kenyon on page 217 of Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts: Kenyon wrote about Ψ, "Examined in 1899 by Lake, who showed that its text in Mark is an early one, with readings both Alexandrian and Western, but chiefly akin to the group N, C, L, Δ." (Dr. Kenyon's book Copyright © 1958 by Kathleen Kenyon and Gwendoline Margaret Ritchie, published by Harper and Row.)

H.B. Swete's printed line-by-line replication of Ψ's text has a "telos" symbol in the text immediately after the end of 16:8. (p. cvi, The Gospel According to St. Mark, © 1909 Macmillan & Co., Ltd.).

10-i ~ NTG, p. 148-149.

10-j ~ p. cvii, The Gospel According to St. Mark, © 1909 Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

10-k ~ NTG, pp. 148-149.

10-l ~ NTG, p. 695.

10-m ~ NTG, p. 148. One may also consult pages cv-cvi of Swete's commentary on Mark for a line-by-line comparison of L, 099 (d¹²), 0112 (ϰ), and Ψ at this passage.

10-n ~ Curiously and suggestively, N, B, L, the repetition of 16:8 in 099, and 274, despite having different line-lengths, each end Mark 16:8 with the five letters τολα at the beginning of a line.

A photograph of 274, with a brief description, is contained in Dr. Bruce Metzger's The Text of the New Testament, Plate XI, © 1964 Oxford University Press. (Notice the neumes on this page; they are described at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Neumes.html>) In the right-hand margin, next to 16:9, an abbreviated lectionary-note tells the reader, when deciphered, "το αυτ. και εις το ορθρος της αναληψεως," meaning that though the second morning-reading ends at the end of 16:8, the rest (that is, from the beginning of 16:9 onward) is to be read at the morning prayer-time on Ascension-Day. (My thanks to Earl Kellett of the Center for New Testament Textual Studies in New Orleans for his assistance getting this information.)

A significant feature of 274 is that unlike copies such as L and Ψ, 274 contains the SE *without an explanatory phrase*. It seems feasible that the tenth-century copyist who produced 274 surmised that the SE had originally served as a cap for the preceding lection (or perhaps as a long introductory title for verses 9-20). The format of the SE in 274 is somewhat similar to the format in which chapter-titles are displayed in minuscule 623 (from A.D. 1037), as seen in Plate 35 of Bruce Metzger's Manuscripts of the Greek Bible – An Introduction to Greek Palaeography (© 1981 Oxford University Press). In both instances the main text is cursive but the marginalia is in small uncials.

In the fourth edition of the Greek New Testament, and in the 23rd edition of the Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece (1963), the textual apparatus states that 274^{ms} (the margin of 274) reads "Ιησους εφ᾿ανη." That is incorrect. A close examination of Plate XI in Bruce Metzger's book The Text of the New Testament shows that 274^{ms} supports Ιησους. The word εφ᾿ανη is nowhere to be seen.

10-o ~ See the description at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Manuscripts501-1000.html>. According to Sir Frederic Kenyon, 579 was the subject of a special study undertaken by A. Schmidtke, "who shows that it was copied from an uncial MS., perhaps of the sixth century, with a text of the NB family." (p. 138, Handbook of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, © 1912 Macmillan and Co., Limited, London.)

10-p ~ This is basically the same note presented and translated in footnote **2-g** - "In some of the copies, the evangelist is completed here, and here is Eusebius Pamphili's canonization. But in many, this also appears." The page of MS 1 which contains this note is displayed as Plate 34, p. 126, in Kurt & Barbara Aland's The Text of the New Testament. The text of 16:8 apparently ends at the end of the preceding page of the MS, and the note begins, accompanied by a symbol resembling "σ", at the top of the page. In the left-hand margin, three section-numbers are given to the text of the LE.

10-q ~ p. 175, Codices 1582, 1739, and Origen, K.W. Kim, Journal of Biblical Literature 69, June 1950 © The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.

10-r ~ p. 94, The Four Gospels, © 1924, 1961 Macmillan and Co., Ltd.

10-s ~ p. 101, The Four Gospels, © 1924, 1961 Macmillan and Co., Ltd. On page 102 Dr. Streeter proclaimed a high level of confidence in his view: "This particular conclusion is not a matter of theory but rests on definitely ascertained fact." He also stated, on p. 103 of The Four Gospels, "As K. Lake has recently shown, Eusebius as well as Origen used a text of the type preserved in fam. Θ."

10-t ~ p. 88, The Four Gospels, © 1924, 1961 Macmillan and Co., Ltd. See footnote **2-g**.

10-u ~ pp. 42-44, The Text of the New Testament, © 1959 Billing & Sons, Ltd.

10-v ~ Bruce Metzger, in the 3rd edition of his The Text of the New Testament (sub-titled “Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration”), pages 82-83, describes differing traditions about the origin of the Armenian version, but affirms that there was Caesarean influence upon some Armenian MSS: “Whether the Greek text which served as the basis for the revision [Metzger posits a revision of the Armenian version sometime before the 700’s] was predominantly Caesarean or Koine [another term for “Byzantine”] in textual type is a question which has not yet been satisfactorily been answered. In any case, the text of Matthew and Mark in many Armenian manuscripts and even in Zohrab’s printed edition appears to be strongly Caesarean in character.” (The Text of the New Testament, © 1992 Oxford University Press) See also the following footnote and the material at <http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol1No1/MsVatSyr268.html>.

10-w ~ See p. 44, The Text of the New Testament, © 1959 Billing & Sons, Ltd. E.C. Colwell, in his important essay “Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version” (*Journal of Biblical Literature* 56 (1937) © Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis), listed several MSS as “ARM. MSS WHOSE INCLUSION OF MK 16 9-20 SHOWS EARLIER OMISSION.”

Colwell listed some Armenian MSS which contain the LE, and some which do not contain it, and some which he believed show “Earlier Omission” of the LE. However, at least one MS which he placed in this third category did not originally omit the LE.

Arm²⁶²⁰ from A.D. 1217, at Cambridge, ends the text of 16:8 near the end of a page: in the second column of a right-hand page, the text of verse 8 is arranged in centered lines of decreasing width, so that the text is shaped like a “V.” Underneath the end of v. 8 are six blank lines. On the next page, Mark 16:9 begins, and the Long Ending fills the next three columns (consisting of 19 lines each), plus 13 more lines in the next column. The text of v. 20, like the text of v. 8, is arranged in a “V” shape. After v. 20 there is, between two horizontal decorative lines, a one-line note (probably the subscription, saying the Armenian equivalent of “Gospel of Mark”). The next page is blank. (My thanks to Dr. Leslie McFall for supplying this data.)

This means that if this MS had originally lacked the LE, it would have had three blank pages between the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke. Clearly Arm²⁶²⁰ had the LE from the day it was made. A fourth category of Armenian MSS ought to be established ~ MSS which include Mark 16:9-20 separated from the rest of the Gospel of Mark ~ without an attempt to require this to imply earlier omission.

It may be worth noting here that Colwell observed that Arm^{E303} is aligned with the text of L (and disagrees with it^k) by not including “appeared” after “Jesus himself” (p. 380). The Harklean Syriac’s margin also agrees with L. If we may here apply a canon of textual criticism and regard the more difficult reading as more likely to be original, then L’s (and Arm^{E303}’s) form of the SE (without the equivalent of “appeared”) represents an earlier text than it^k. (As pointed out already, the SE in the margin of 274 does not contain “appeared.”)

It^k’s form of the SE thus appears to be later than L’s, 274’s, and Arm^{E303}’s. This raises the question, *Did it^k get the Short Ending from an exemplar dating to the time of Cyprian, or from a later source?*

10-x ~ This description is taken from The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ, by Dr. Ned Stonehouse, p. 90 (© Ned Bernard Stonehouse 1944). Dr. Stonehouse seems to have considered the evidence in a cursory way, for he stated that Codex Bobiensis “ends at Mk. 16:8,” whereas in fact it contains the SE after 16:8a.

It is granted that it^k displays an early text. However, according to C.R. Williams, it^k has “considerable affinity with the early Alexandrian text as represented by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.” (As quoted by W.R. Farmer in “A Note on J.N. Birdsall’s review of The Last Twelve Verses of Mark in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1975,” 1980, distributed at Perkins School of Theology, S.M.U. Dallas.) If it^k echoes a text from c. A.D. 250, its text in Mark may be considered evidence that some second-century copyists sometimes added to, and subtracted from, their exemplars, using their own familiarity with other texts (such as the Gospel of Peter, and perhaps source-materials such as a Passion Narrative) as the basis for doing so.

10-y ~ The Armenian version and the Georgian version have a “Caesarean” text of Mark. B.H. Streeter suggested that Eusebius, having been instructed by Emperor Constantine in 331 to prepare 50 Bibles for use at Constantinople, based the text of these codices on MSS in Caesarea. It may have been one of these Eusebian MSS which was accessed by Mesrop and Sahak when they revised the Armenian version (which had, it is theorized, previously existed only as a translation of the Old Syriac version). Dr. Streeter climaxed: “I venture the suggestion that one of these discarded MSS. was used by St. Mesrop and St. Sahak to revise the Armenian version. These two, we are told, translated the Scriptures into Armenian about A.D. 400; but subsequently, receiving “correct” copies from Constantinople, proceeded to revise their earlier work.” (pp. 103-104, The Four Gospels, © 1924, 1961 Macmillan & Co. Ltd.)

If Mesrop and Sahak accessed a Caesarean-Eusebian copy which displayed the AE and which featured the Eusebian Canons without the LE, then they would probably accept the AE as the authentic text and end the Gospel of Mark at the end of 16:8 in their revision. But others, recollecting the LE and finding it in copies that were not Caesarean-

Eusebian, would tend to accept the LE (as Eznik, and the scribes who made the majority of Armenian MSS, seem to have done).

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER ELEVEN

11-a ~ Part of the testimony of Hippolytus, Didascalia Apostolorum, and the Apostolic Constitutions merits a closer examination. Burgon offered two citations as evidence of Hippolytus' use of the LE: a use of 16:17-18 in Peri Charismaton (About [Spiritual] Gifts) and another reference in Hippolytus' Homily on Noetus. Hort regarded the connection between Hippolytus and Peri Charismaton as a "precarious hypothesis" (p. 39, Introduction, Notes). In the Homily on Noetus, Hippolytus alluded to some events which took place after the resurrection: "This is the One who breathes upon the disciples, and gives them the Spirit [John 20:22], and comes in among them when the doors are shut [John 20:19], and is taken up by a cloud into the heavens while the disciples gaze at Him [Acts 1:9], and is set down on the right hand of the Father, and comes again as the Judge of the living and the dead." (Against Noetus and other works are at <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/hippolytus-dogmatical.html> .) When using the phrase, "and is set down at the right hand of the Father," was Hippolytus using Mark 16:19, or Colossians 3:1, or Hebrews 10:12, or some other source? It is difficult to say. Burgon, however, pointed out (in The Last Twelve Verses of Mark, p. 25) that "In the creeds, Christ is invariably spoken of as ἀνελθοντα : in the Scriptures, invariably as αναληθεντα. So that when Hippolytus says of Him, αναλαμβάνεται εις ουρανοους και εκ δεξιων Πατρος καθιζεται, the reference must needs be to S. Mark xvi. 19."

James Kelhoffer presented a statement of Hippolytus in Apostolic Tradition 32:1 (p. 445, Miracle and Mission, using the translation by Gregory Dix.) and stated that "The similarities between The Apostolic Tradition and the LE are remarkable." He concluded that Hippolytus' expectation "seems to reflect the influence of Mark 16:18b" (p. 445, Miracle and Mission).

In 1551, a marble statue was discovered in a Roman cemetery which featured an inscription which reads, on lines 9-11, "[P]ERI XARISMATWN / [A]P[O]STOLIKH / PARADOSIS." This statue from the 200's (a date discernible by the analysis of a calendar inscribed on its sides) is usually considered a tribute to Hippolytus, though analysis of the statue seems to indicate that it was originally a female figure, thoroughly altered after its medieval discovery.

In addition, it should be noted that Apostolic Tradition 32.1 (reckoned in some editions as ch. 36) is extant in all four transmission-lines of the text -- Latin, Ethiopic, Sahidic, and Arabic. Not only that, but the passage that pertains to Mark 16:18 is one of the few sections of Apostolic Tradition which has been preserved in Greek. In the 1992 edition of Gregory Dix's book on this text, revised by Henry Chadwick, on the third page of the Preface, the reader is informed of the following:

"Two new Greek fragments have to be reported here. The first is preserved in a dogmatic florilegium of patristic quotations contained in two manuscripts, cod. Ochrid.86 (saec. XIII) f. 192 and Paris.gr.900 (saec. XV) f.112. The discoverer, Professor Marcel Richard, printed the excerpt from the /Apostolic Tradition/ in /Symbolae Osloenses 38 (1963), page 79 This new fragment preserves the original Greek of chapter xxxii.1 (= Botte 36):
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ

ΠΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΙΡΑΣΘΩ, ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΓΕΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ. ΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΒΟΙ [v.l.: ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΒΗ] ΟΥΔ' ΑΝ ΘΑΝΑΣΙΜΟΝ ΤΙΣ ΔΩΗ ΑΥΤΩ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΟΥ ΚΑΤΙΣΧΥΣΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ (CF. Mark xvi.18)."

Also, in the Hermeneia series' commentary on Apostolic Tradition, authors Bradshaw/Johnson/Phillips, on p. 180-181, draw readers' attention to a statement by Jerome, in his Epistle 71:6. Jerome wrote, "What you ask about Saturday, whether one ought to fast on that day, and about the Eucharist, whether one ought to receive it daily, observances which the Roman church and Spain recommend, has been treated of by Hippolytus, a man of great learning." Bradshaw/Johnson/Phillips note that Hippolytus wrote about fasting on Saturday in his "Commentary on Daniel" 4:20. But where's the reference to daily celebration of the eucharist? "While chap. 36 does not specifically mention daily reception, it seems to be the only place in works attributed to Hippolytus that hints at it," say Bradshaw/Johnson/Phillips. (The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary, Copyright © 2002 Augsburg Fortress, by Paul Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips.)

Inasmuch as we have (a) a third-century inscription in honor of Hippolytus naming "Apostolic Tradition," and (b) the passage in all extant transmission-lines of "Apostolic Tradition," which include a Latin version from the very late 400's, and (c) the Greek text of the passage, and (d) an apparent allusion to the passage by Jerome as a statement by Hippolytus, it seems to me that the identification of "Apostolic Tradition" as essentially a work of Hippolytus, and the

nature of 32:1 as an original part of “Apostolic Tradition,” are both favored by all the evidence; against which the alternative is merely conceivable.

11-b ~ The “Claromontanus Catalogue” is a list of books (mostly but not exclusively books of the Bible) and the number of lines they contain. It was inserted between Philemon and Hebrews in Codex Claromontanus. Codex Claromontanus itself is from the 500’s but the catalog’s text is regarded as having been composed earlier, in the 200’s, by scholars such as Zahn and Harnack; Julicher assigned it to the 300’s (see the descriptions at http://www.ntcanon.org/codex_Claromontanus.shtml and <http://www.bible-researcher.com/claromontanus.html>). While the Claromontanus Catalogue does not explicitly quote from Mark 16:9-20, it does state the approximate number of “*stichoi*,” or line-units (containing 15 or 16 syllables each ~ see the essay at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Divisions.html#stichoi> for more information), in the Gospels: the line-totals are 2,600 for Matthew, 2,000 for John, 1,600 for Mark, and 2,900 for Luke. Kirsopp Lake, in *The Text of the New Testament*, in a discussion of ordinary *stichoi*-lists, states that the listing of 1,600 for Mark is probably an approximation for 1,616, and that it implies “**the presence of xvi. 9-20 in Mark**” (p. 61, *The Text of the New Testament*, © Billing & Sons 1959, Guildford and London).

The Latin text of the Claromontanus Catalogue is given in *Some Early Lists of the Books of the New Testament* by F.W. Grosheide, © 1948 by E.J. Brill.

11-c ~ Hort stated that “It is at least worthy of notice that vv. 9-20 have apparently left no trace in the voluminous writings of Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret” (p. 37, *Introduction, Notes*). However, two statements by Basil in *De Spiritu Sancto* (“The Holy Spirit”) are possible uses of Mark 16:16. In chapter 12, Basil states, “Faith is perfected through baptism; baptism is established through faith.” In chapter 14 he writes, “Why, then, it is asked, do we, on account of faith and of baptism, exalt and magnify the Holy Spirit so far above creation?” (Also, regarding Theodoret, see footnote **3-ak**.)

Also, Gregory Thaumaturgus, who died in about 270 and who was trained by Origen, wrote in the twelfth part of *Twelve Topics on the Faith* that “The Son of God became man, according to the Scriptures; . . . and that **He was taken up to heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father.**” [emphasis added] The emphasized words resemble Mark 16:19 more than any other passage, but may be based on an early creed. See the text at www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-06/anf06-18.htm .

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER TWELVE

12-a ~ This was the view of F.H.A. Scrivener. His defense of the LE may be read at <http://www.bible-researcher.com/endmark.html#dissent> . Despite the unlikelihood of Scrivener’s contention, his comments contain valuable data (along with some which is obsolete).

12-b ~ The resolutions may be made along these lines: Luke presents the disciples affirming that Jesus had appeared to Simon (at an entirely different location) *rather than* to the two travelers on the road to Emmaus. Mark 16:13 may refer to the occasion when Jesus appeared to Thomas, or it may use “the eleven” in a titular sense. A scene-shift may be posited between 16:14 and 16:15.

For a modern example of the apologetic motivation in action, see the comments about Mark 16:9-20 made by Dr. Robert Bowman, Jr. at http://www.atlantaapologist.org/Thinking_Like_an_Apologist.html .

12-c ~ available in English at http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/macarius_apocriticus.htm .

12-d ~ At http://www.ccel.org/p/pearse/morefathers/macarius_apocriticus.htm#3_16 one may read Macarius Magnes’ quotation of the use of Mark 16:18 by a false teacher from some earlier time (probably Porphyry or Hierocles) in chapters 16 and 24:

“Again, consider in detail that other passage, where He says, “Such signs shall follow them that believe: they shall lay hands upon sick folk, and they shall recover, and if they drink any deadly drug, it shall in no wise hurt them.” So the right thing would be for those selected for the priesthood, and particularly those who lay claim to the episcopate or presidency, to make use of this form of test. The deadly drug should be set before them in order that the man who received no harm from the drinking of it might be given precedence of the rest. And if they are not bold enough to accept this sort of test, they ought to confess that they do not believe in the things Jesus said.”

Three observations about this passage, and the reply to it in *Apocritus*, are relevant to our discussion: the objector is obviously accessing a copy of the text of the Gospels. Second, he frames his quotation from Mark 16:17-18 between quotations of John 6:53 and Matthew 17:20, giving no hint that the passage from Mark is questioned by anyone. Third, the reply in *Apocritus* does not draw the authenticity of the passage into question at all. Macarius Magnes attempts to allegorize the “sickness,” “deadly thing,” and other contents of Mark 16:18.

12-e ~ A dispute about this issue raged in the early and mid-third century.

12-f ~ The essence of this theory was proposed by F.H.A. Scrivener (in the *Introduction to A Full Collation of Codex Sinaiticus*, 1863, p. xlviv) who stated, "In fact, after having been cited as genuine by the Fathers of the second and third centuries, from Irenaeus downwards, the difficulty of harmonizing their narrative with the other Gospels (a circumstance which ought to plead in their favour) brought suspicion upon these verses, and caused their omission in some copies seen by Eusebius (*Questiones ad Marinum*), whose influence over the Scripture codices of his age we have seen to be very considerable."

The difficulty of harmonization weighs in on the side of the originality of the LE; the burden of proof is on the person who claims that a forger ~ whether by composing material or by selecting it ~ intentionally inserted question-raising material. (Why would anyone, being familiar with the relatively peaceful conversation between Jesus and the disciples in John 20:19-23, emphasize that Jesus rebuked the disciples for their unbelief? Why would anyone with Luke 24:33-35 at his fingertips compose Mark 16:12-13? These questions should not be belittled.) However, the suspicion posited by Scrivener is not sufficient to cause the removal, rather than the modification, of the LE.

12-g ~ In *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated*, Burgon proposed that an early copy of Mark contained simple marginalia ("arche" and "telos," or abbreviations of each of these two words) to indicate the beginning and end of lections. He expanded this theory as follows: "Of course it will have sometimes happened that S. Mark xvi. 8 came to be written at the bottom of the left hand page of a MS. And we have but to suppose that in the case of one such Codex the next leaf, which would have been the last, was missing, - (the very thing which has happened in respect of one of the Codices at Moscow) - and what else could result when a copyist reached the words,

ΕΦΟΒΟΥΝΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ

but the very phenomenon which has exercised critics so sorely The copyist will have brought S. Mark's Gospel to an end there, of course. What else could he possibly do?" (p. 240, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, © 1871 James Parker & Co.)

The main weakness of Burgon's theory is that little tangible evidence exists for the existence of the lectionary-related "arche" and "telos" symbols in the second and third centuries. Kurt and Barbara Aland noted, "The earliest of the αρχη/τελος notes comes from the eighth century: there is no trace of this pattern from any earlier period." (p. 163-164, *The Text of the New Testament* © 1987 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.) The Alands stated that the evidence "suggests that even a fourth-century date for the origin of a lectionary system is doubtful" (p. 164). This is immediately clarified, though, by a statement to the effect that they are referring to the *Byzantine* lectionary system rather than to lectionaries in general.

The more concretely it can be shown that some lectionary-divisions were made at an early stage – as early as the second century – the more Burgon's theory, or something like it, gains feasibility.

In the Byzantine arrangement, the text of Mark 15:43-16:8 was part of the reading for the second Sunday after Easter. Mark 16:9-20 was part of the reading for the fifth Thursday after Easter (that is, Ascension Day). This may have contributed to a copyist's remembrance of the Gospel of Mark as ending at 16:8 if he failed to attend non-Sunday meetings. (See the table at <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Lectionary.html>.)

12-h ~ According to Chrysostom and Epiphanius, Ascension-Day was one of the five major annual feast-days of the early church. See John Burgon's statement and supplementation on pages 203ff. in *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated*. Burgon also points out that Hesychius described the conclusion of Mark as a lection for Easter, and that "A rubricated copy of St. Mark's Gospel in Syriac, certainly older than A.D. 583, attests that S. Mark xvi. 9-20 was the "lection for the great First Day of the week," (μεγάλη κυριακή, i.e., Easter Day)."

Kurt and Barbara Aland, while strongly opposing the idea of early, developed lectionaries, stated that "The Church had long associated certain feasts with certain scripture passages – almost inevitably for Holy Week, Easter, Pentecost, as well as for particular dominical feasts (cf. the early evidence of the papyri) – but when and how a fixed lectionary system was developed for the whole Church is not at all clear." (p. 164-165, *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1987 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.)

12-i ~ Quite a few MSS – including B – have had incomplete lectionary-notes added to their margins. Burgon mentions as an example MS 282, in which the "telos" symbol has been added "only at S. Mark xv. 47 and xvi. 8." (p. 231, footnote, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated*.)

12-j ~ The ease with which one sigla can be confused with another may be observed by noting the statement made by Birch (an important early textual researcher) -- a statement repeated by Griesbach, a very important textual scholar, and by Scholz, another important textual scholar -- to the effect that Mark 16:9-20 is accompanied by an asterisk in Codices 137 and 138. John Burgon arranged for these two MSS to be re-examined, with the result that the investigator discovered that 137 displays a cross, not an asterisk, and that 138 does not have a cross or an asterisk. See pages 116-118, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark Vindicated*, © 1871 James Parker & Co.

12-k ~ While this theory may be fanciful, a similar scenario – the death of Mark – has been seriously proposed by several commentators as a means of accounting for the AE. Perhaps it is worth noting that Origen’s father Leonides was martyred in 202 in Alexandria, and there is no evidence for the AE, or for the SE, prior to that year.

12-l ~ Metzger refers to this order on p. 56 of Text of the New Testament in a description of Codex Washingtonensis.

12-m ~ Supporting the theory that the last page of Mark was accidentally lost is the observation that in several extant MSS of Mark, the last page has been lost. This is attested by the condition of the Old Latin MSS and the Gothic MS Codex Argenteus, the last page of which has been recovered. Another piece of evidence is Beinicke MS 402, a Vulgate MS from the 1000’s at Yale University. Its last page of Mark (containing the last part of 16:19 and 16:20) is a replacement-page from the 1100’s. (Thanks to Robert Babcock, Curator of Early Books and Manuscripts at the Beinicke Library, for this information.) See <http://webtext.library.yale.edu/beinflat/pre1600.MS402.htm> for a description of this MS.

In the Kenneth Willis Clark Collection at Duke University (in Durham, North Carolina), at least four MSS of the four Gospels are either damaged, or were based on exemplars which were damaged, at or near their final page. Duke MS 15 (better-known as 2615), a collection of the four Gospels from about A.D. 1100, is missing the last chapter of John (although John 20:31 ends with plenty of space remaining on the page), suggesting that its exemplar was missing John 21. Duke MS 16 (better-known as 2616) is also missing the last chapter of John; the text of John 20:29 breaks off mid-word at the end of the last extant page. The last leaf of the last quire of Duke MS 38 (better-known as Codex Daltonianus, 1423, from about A.D. 1050) is missing. Duke MS 64 (better-known as 2757) is missing text from John 14:26 onward. More information about these MSS can be accessed at http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/codex/clark_history.html.

It is also possible that in an early copy of the Gospel of Mark, the text ended on a recto (right-hand) page, and the following verso was blank, and a copyist in urgent need of writing-material may have simply torn off the last page to use for his own composition. This may initially appear highly improbable, and the idea will not be pursued here. But there is at least one known case of a freshly-made scroll being dismantled in order to re-use its material: Oxyrhynchus Papyri 2832 has the text of the oracle-book Sortes Astrampsychoi on one side. This text was copied in the third century, and may have even been composed in the third century. On the other side there is the text of a private letter – which is also dated to the third century. See Dr. Peter Head’s description in the midst of the essay at

<http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/Tyndale/staff/Head/P64TB.htm> : “P. Oxy 2832 consists of two fragments from an oracle book of Astrampsychus, the verso of which was reused for a private letter in the latter half of the third century. This suggests an early or mid third-century date for the original script which is somewhat similar to P64+67.” (For a description of Sortes Astrampsychoi, see <http://omega.cohums.ohio-state.edu/hyper-lists/bmcr-1/2001/0273.html> .)

Also, at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~hummm/Resources/Bauer/bauer08.htm> an essay by Walter Bauer mentions that Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 412 displays, on one side, the conclusion of the text of Julius Africanus’ composition *Kestoi* ~ written during the reign of Emperor Alexander Severus, who died in A.D. 235. On the other side of the same page is the text of a document from the reign of Emperor Claudius Tacitus (275-276). Bauer observed: “From this we deduce that it was possible for a manuscript to be separated into its component parts within a generation of its original production, and so disappear.” (from Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, © 1934 J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen. Updated Electronic English Edition © 1993 Robert A. Kraft.)

12-n ~ Dr. Gilbert Bilezikian, professor emeritus of Biblical Studies at Wheaton College, made a thorough comparison of the Gospel of Mark to Greek tragedy in his doctoral dissertation, published as The Liberated Gospel. Convinced that the Gospel of Mark intentionally ends at 16:8, he wrote, “Considered from the viewpoint of dramatic composition, the conclusion of the Gospel at 16:8 is not only perfectly appropriate but also a stroke of genius.” He compared Mark’s ending to the conclusions of *Prometheus Bound*, *Oedipus the King*, and *Phoebissae*. (pages 134-135, The Liberated Gospel, © 1977 by Baker Book House Co.) While Dr. Bilezikian meant for his statement to support the AE as the original, intended ending of Mark, it also supports the idea that if a copyist had classical literary training, when he encountered the text of Mark for the first time, the AE (or the *apparent appearance* of the AE, in a MS in which the end of 16:8 coincided with the end of a page) might not have automatically provoked the thought that something was missing.

12-o ~ p. 144, “*The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus*,” introduced and translated by Harold H. Oliver in pp. 138-145, Novum Testamentum, Vol. 3, #1-2, 1959, (c) E.J. Brill, the Netherlands.

12-p ~ See the essay by T.C. Skeat, *The Codex Sinaiticus, The Codex Vaticanus, and Constantine*,” in *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS, Vol. 50, Pt. 2, © 1999 Oxford University Press, in which the author proposes that B and \aleph were both produced under Eusebius’ supervision.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER THIRTEEN

13-a ~ p. 107, An Introduction to the New Testament by Edward W. Bauman, © 1961 W.L. Jenkins, published by Westminster Press, Philadelphia.

13-b ~ p. 136-137, The Liberated Gospel. Genesis 45:3's use of *εταραχθησαν γαρ* is cited in a footnote as an example of the use of *γαρ* ending a sentence in the Septuagint. Austin Farrar, on p. 174 of A Study in St. Mark (1951 © Dacre Press), made the same observation.

13-c ~ Cited by Kelly Iverson in the essay "Irony in the End: A Textual and Literary Analysis of Mark 16:8" at http://www.bible.org/docs/soapbox/scholars/irony.htm#P47_16422. (The footnotes there are significant, since they make it obvious that *Enneads* 32:5, when it proceeded directly from the hand of its author, did not intentionally end with *γαρ*.) In The Gospel According to Mark, James Edwards noted "Plotinus' *Ennead* (32.5), Musonius Rufus' *Tractatus XII*, and Plato, *Protagoras* 328c" as texts which end in *γαρ* (citing an article by Lincoln which appeared in the Journal of Biblical Literature in 1989), p. 501, footnote, © 2002 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

13-d ~ The *Enneads* of Plotinus were written c. A.D. 250. A translation of *Enneads* is available to read at <http://classics.mit.edu/Plotinus/enneads.html>. R.H. Gundry referred to *Enneads* 5.5 as a "possible exception" to the failure of *γαρ* to ever end a book, and notes that "the comparative rarity with which *γαρ* ends sentences, paragraphs, and sections still favor an original continuation beyond 16:8." (p. 1011, Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross, © 1993 Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.)

13-e ~

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FOURTEEN

14-a ~ For a brief description of Occam's Razor, see <http://hepweb.rl.ac.uk/ppUK/PhysFAQ/occam.html>. Stated simply, Occam's Razor means that simple explanations are more likely than complicated ones to be correct. (This is a sound principle but not a rigid rule, since sometimes complicated things happen.)

14-b ~ A.T. Robertson noted, "B has a blank space, which shows that the scribe knew of the longer ending but concluded not to give it." (p. 128-129, Studies in Mark's Gospel, © 1958 Archie Robinson, pub. By Broadman Press.) Even though the LE does not quite fit into the blank space in Vaticanus after Mark 16:8, this is the proper deduction to make. Against the idea that B's copyist simply liked to leave space between books, one may consider the treatment given to the text in B at the end of Luke and at the end of Philippians: Luke ends in the next-to-last line of the middle column and the Gospel of John begins immediately at the top of the next column (the closing title "KATA LOUKAN" enters the lower margin). The Epistle to the Philippians ends exactly on the last line of a middle column, and the Epistle to Colossians begins immediately at the top of the next column (the subscription is placed deep in the lower margin).

14-c ~ Dr. Donald Juel's reaction to the abrupt text seems to be the natural reaction which 99 out of 100 readers or listeners would have, whether living in the 2000's or in the 100's: "It is not a satisfying ending. It is also not an 'ending' in a sense that it wraps things up and finishes the story. Readers are left with unfulfilled promises and silent witnesses." (p. 171, The Gospel of Mark, Copyright © 1999 by Abington Press, "Interpreting Biblical Texts" series.) Could the Gospel of Mark have been originally disseminated throughout northern Africa, Syria, Italy, Egypt and Asia Minor without anyone commenting on the abruptness of its ending? Those who claim that Mark intentionally ended at 16:8 must answer "Yes," or assume that such comments were made but have not survived.

14-d ~ Hort discussed Mark 16:9-20 from page 28 to page 51 of the "Notes on Select Readings" in the 1881 Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek. Like the UBS Commentary which echoes him, Hort assumed (p. 45, in a discussion of it), "Since the Shorter would never have been substituted for the Longer Conclusion, the fundamental text must have had neither," and therefore "The documentary authority for the Shorter Conclusion is, when reduced to its elements, *a fortiori* documentary authority for the omission of both Conclusions."

14-e ~ The simplicity of Theory 4 is acknowledged by Hort, who also realized its failure to fully explain the internal evidence: "The loss of a leaf in Cent. II does afford a tenable mode of explaining omission, and would deserve attention were the Documentary and the Intrinsic evidence ambiguous." (p. 50, Introduction, Notes.) It is regrettable that the idea apparently did not occur to Hort that the loss of an appended page which was originally included in the archetype elegantly accounts for the documentary (external) and intrinsic (internal) evidence.

14-f ~ The theory that the LE was intentionally deleted by someone who discerned that it was not Marcan may seem more speculative than the other theories. However, in the third century, Dionysius of Alexandria demonstrated that he was capable of assigning or denying common authorship due to stylistic differences between different works (see his comments about the authorship of Revelation at <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-06/anf06-33.htm#TopOfPage>). There seems to be no impediment against assigning a similar ability to an early copyist, especially if such a copyist had encountered one of Mark's sources in an independently-circulating form.

A proclivity to remove secondary features (or *perceived* secondary features) from the text, even if they appeared in one's exemplar, may have been at work later, when **ℵ** was produced. As evidence of this one may observe the

treatment of John 21:25 in **Ⲛ**: “The text originally concluded with verse 24, followed by the customary coronis, or ornamental tail-piece, and the title, Gospel according to John . . . subsequently both coronis and title were erased by the scribe himself (scribe A), who, after inserting verse 25 in the now vacant space, rewrote them further down the page.” (p. 29 (with a photo of the pertinent part of **Ⲛ** on p. 28), The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus), © 1955 The Trustees of the British Museum, London.) (Photographs of the same feature in **Ⲛ** are provided in An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism by Leon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, pp. 54 and 55. H.M. Teeple was the photographer.)

14-g ~ MSS with the SE constitute a sizeable portion of the evidence which is used to testify against the LE: the SE is in it^k, Coptic MSS, L, Ψ, 099, 0112, 274 (in the bottom margin), 579, and Arm^{E303}, all of which, except it^k and one Sahidic MS, contain the LE).

What is really being presented as support for the AE is not these MSS with the SE, but their hypothetical non-extant ancestors. Their entire weight as support for the AE depends on the assumption that the SE was appended to the AE.

14-h ~ In Ecclesiastical History Book II, ch. 24.

14-i ~ From De Viris Illustribus, chapter 8, see the text online at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm> .

14-j ~ From Eccl. Hist. III:39:15. See the text online at <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-01/Npnf2-01-08.htm#TopOfPage> .

14-k ~ See the text online at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-01/Npnf2-01-10.htm#P2978_1390975 . John Chrysostom was apparently unfamiliar with this tradition, stating instead in his first Homily on Matthew that the Gospel of Mark was written in Egypt (according to the essay at www.newadvent.org/cathen/09674b.htm).

14-l ~ from Eccl. Hist. VI:14:5-7, see the text online at http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-01/Npnf2-01-11.htm#P3700_1728536 . See also Stephen Carlson’s article in which he proposes that Clement was describing the point at which Matthew and Luke were officially published, rather than the points at which they were composed, in New Testament Studies, Vol. 47, pp. 118-125. © 2001 Cambridge University Press.

14-m ~ As support for the idea that lectionary-systems were devised at an early period, I present the following quotations.

In The Gospel of Mark – The New Christian Jewish Passover Haggadah, Dr. John Bowman stated, “It is indeed very likely that by the middle of the second century . . . the Gospels came to be looked on as the New Law. This combined with possible greater interest in liturgical Order may have led to the selection of some pericopes as being suitable for reading on certain Sundays, and in time led to the scribes copying out the New Testament making paragraph divisions such as one finds in Codex Vaticanus.” (p. 99, © 1965 by E.J. Brill, Leiden.)

Justin Martyr, in chapter 67 of his First Apology, stated, “On the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things.” (See the text at <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/ANF-01/just/justinapology1.html#Section67>) This supports the theory that Scriptures were regularly read at church-services in the second century.

C.R. Gregory stated, “It seems to me likely that at an extremely early date the lessons were chosen for the Sundays” and “It seems to me that the moment that the distinctively exceptional and divine character of the Gospels became clear to the Christian churches, that at that moment they will have proceeded to set for the Church services for Sunday lessons from the Gospels.” (p. 387 and p. 388, Canon and Text of the New Testament, © 1907 Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York.)

By such deductions, the existence of primitive lection-systems may be reasonably assumed to exist in the days of Justin Martyr, if not earlier. One may also deduce (from passages such as Matthew 28:19-20) that New Testament authors themselves desired for their works to have a degree of liturgical usefulness. So copyists in Egypt who wished to retain both the SE and the LE would naturally place the SE first -- since it makes a nice flourish to an otherwise open-ended pericope -- followed by the LE. To place the SE after the LE would create a pericope in which the flow of the narrative rewound, i.e., in which, after relating how Jesus commissioned the disciples and ascended to heaven, a new commission-scene presents itself.

14-n ~ Tertullian wrote in A Treatise on the Soul, “Even John underwent death, although concerning him there had prevailed an ungrounded expectation that he would remain alive until the coming of the Lord” -- a statement based on John 21:20-23. But in Against Praxeas, Tertullian wrote, referring to the Gospel of John, “Why also does this Gospel, at its very termination, intimate that these things were ever written, if it be not, to use its own words, “that you might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God?” -- a clear quotation from John 20:31. So it would appear that Tertullian knew all 21 chapters of John, but he regarded the end of chapter 20 as the termination of John’s Gospel, and the final part as something else.

Origen wrote, in Commentary on John X:27, “They say, ‘Those are more blessed who have not seen and yet believe, than those who have seen and believed,’ and for this they quote the saying to Thomas at the end of the Gospel of John, ‘Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.’” Yet in Commentary on Matthew, Book XIV, Origen used John 21:25 to convey the scope of the full meaning of Jesus’ parables: “Every solution and exposition of such parables was of such a kind that not even the whole world itself could contain the books that should be written.” (Origen used the same material in De Principiis Book II also. And in Against Celsus, Book II, Origen referred to Jesus’ prediction that when Peter was old, he would stretch out his hands.) So Origen, like Tertullian, described John 20 as the end of the Gospel of John, even though they both knew and used the text we know as John 21.

14-o ~ For instance, one could theorize that the AE originated when a copyist whose church used the LE as an Easter-time lection-reading intended to use red ink to write it, and for this reason he stopped writing in normal ink at the end of 16:8, and left space for the remaining verses, but he was interrupted and never finished the MS. Another theory – that the LE was deleted because the first words of Mark 16:9 were used to augment a case for a heterodox Easter-calendar – is suggested at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09674b.htm#IV>.

14-p ~ The combined efforts of Burgon, Farmer, and Terry form a formidable case against the position that internal evidence is capable of tipping the scales on this issue, and may cause readers to conclude that some previously-made appeals to internal evidence against authenticity (such as the treatment given in the UBS Textual Commentary, p. 125) are unbalanced and must be reconsidered in light of the ease with which several other portions of the Gospel of Mark can be shown to be non-Markan by the same sort of approach. It must be emphasized, however, that ~ as noted in chapter one ~ a determination of authenticity is not the same as a determination of authorship. If it is granted that the first officially disseminated copy of the Gospel of Mark contained the LE, the “Marcan or non-Marcan” question becomes somewhat academic.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER SIXTEEN

16-a ~ The gist of Hort's view about the origin of vv. 9-20 (as stated on pp. 50-51 of Introduction, Notes) was that the passage was not originally composed to supplement Mark 1:1-16:8; it was inserted after 16:8 after having been found “in some secondary record then surviving from a preceding generation.” Metzger stated, “In view of the inconcinnities between verses 1-8 and 9-20, it is unlikely that the long ending was composed *ad hoc* to fill up an obvious gap; it is more likely that the section was excerpted from another document, dating perhaps from the first half of the second century.” (p. 125, Textual Commentary). Metzger seemed to have changed his view, however, by the time he revised the third edition of Text of the New Testament (see his comments on the subject in the appendix).

16-b ~ p. 49, Miracle and Mission.

16-c ~ p. 52, M&M.

16-d ~ p. 85, The Last 12 Verses of Mark.

16-e ~ as quoted by Harold W. Ford on p. 43 of The Seminary Review, Vol. 19, #2 (Winter 1973), citing The New Testament Commentary: Matthew and Mark, p. 380. See also Dr. Terry's comments. Also,

16-f ~ p. 54, M&M.

16-g ~ p. 98, M&M.)

16-h ~ p. 101, M&M.

16-i ~ p. 107, footnote, M&M.

16-j ~ p. 63, M&M.

16-k ~ p. 117, M&M.

16-l ~ p. 118, M&M. In the Byzantine Text, πανταχου is absent from Mark 1:28.

16-m ~ p. 121, M&M.

16-n ~ p. 69, M&M.

16-o ~ p. 486, Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. II, part 52, by Theodor Zahn, © 1909 Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

16-p ~ p. 125, Textual Commentary.

FOOTNOTES FOR THE APPENDICES

AP-1 ~ For a detailed description of early Greek papyri and manuscripts of Mark, see pages lix-lx of Craig A. Evans' commentary on Mark 8:27-16:20, Word Biblical Commentary © 2001 by Thomas Nelson, Inc.

AP-2 ~ See the data in The Formation of the Gospel According to Mark, by Etienne Trocme, p. 216ff.: “That Matthew was based on an edition of Mark different from the canonical version is, we believe, unlikely.” But, “In short, to turn to both figures, whereas in the other sections common to Mark and Luke there are more than 50% of the words common to both texts, in the case of the Passion story the percentage drops to 27%, despite the similarity of the two accounts.” And, “Only one course remains: to admit that the Mark used by Luke as his chief source contained no account of the Passion.” (© The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1975. Translated by Pamela Gaughan.) If a case can be sustained that Luke used a pre-canonical form of Mark which did not contain chapters 14-16, then the theory that Luke did not use the LE because he did not possess it is no obstacle to the theory that the LE was present in the finished form of the Gospel of Mark.

Against Trocme’s thesis, however, see pp. 180-264 of New Light on the Earliest Gospel, by T.A. Burkill, (© 1972 by Cornell University). After acknowledging that Trocme’s main thesis is “closely reasoned in a manner that exemplifies insight and scholarship” (p. 198), Burkill reinterprets the evidence gathered by Trocme to bolster a different theory: instead of agreeing with Trocme that the Gospel of Mark originally consisted only of chapters 1-13, and that the Passion Narrative was attached at a later point, Burkill contends that “The Markan gospel did not pass through two editions, but was written in A.D. 70 or soon afterwards by a person who composed the first thirteen chapters to provide what might be termed a propaedeutic to a suitably adapted form of the traditional passion narrative” (p. 264). Trocme and Burkill agree on a significant point: Burkill states, “We are of the opinion that, as Trocme argues, the passion tradition received by St. Mark may well have originated in the church at Jerusalem” (p. 256, footnote).

If a Proto-Mark consisted of a collection of Markan anecdotes preceding a Passion Narrative text that had an ending that resembled Matthew 28:9-20, this could provoke an early copyist who encountered the finished Gospel of Mark to delete or obelize any portion that disagreed with the preliminary text with which he was familiar, supposing that the unfamiliar text was either a spurious addition or that it should be presented as a separate composition.

On a related note, in a chapter entitled “The Original Conclusion of Mark,” Edgar J. Goodspeed constructed a hypothetical text of the original conclusion to Mark, consisting basically of snippets from Matthew 28:9-10 and 28:17-20 (p. 116-122, New Solutions of New Testament Problems, © 1927 The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.) It is possible that, if Matthew used a Proto-Mark, it may have had such an ending.

AP-3 ~ p. 1020-1021, Robert H. Gundry, Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross, © 1993 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. Dr. Gundry makes a further comment on p. 1009: “Canonically speaking, however, we first have to interpret Mark as ending with 16:8. Despite the addition of a long ending (vv 9-20) in the Textus Receptus, we should not think of that ending as canonical any more than we think of the myriad other unauthentic readings in the Textus Receptus as canonical.” It is difficult to say which part of his statement is more disturbing: the assertion that the LE should not be thought of as canonical Scripture, or the insinuation that the evidence for the LE is simply the evidence of the Textus Receptus.

AP-4 ~ The idea that Mark’s Gospel-account was not openly published until after Matthew and Luke had openly published their Gospels (though some form of it may have been composed earlier), may be supported by a statement made by Clement of Alexandria. For details see Stephen C. Carlson’s essay Clement of Alexandria on the ‘Order’ of the Gospels in New Testament Studies, Vol. 47, © 2001 Cambridge University Press.

David Dungan, describing research done by Georg Strecker, Albert Fuchs, and Andreas Ennulat, summed up their conclusions about the implications of the Minor Agreements. He stated, “Strecker and Fuchs decided that these networks [of minor disagreements of Mark with parallels in Matthew and Luke] were clear-cut evidence that Matthew and Luke had copied from a slightly revised version of Mark that later disappeared” and that Ennulat’s investigations “led him to state that 97 percent of the more than one thousand minor agreements indicated that Matthew and Luke probably used a modified version of Mark (known as Deutero-Markus) and not the canonical Mark we now have (hence the “minor agreements” against it).” (p. 387, A History of the Synoptic Problem, © 1999 David Laird Dungan, pub. by Doubleday, *The Anchor Bible Reference Library*.)

Richard Simon proposed, way back in 1689, that Mark may have written two editions of his Gospel-account (in *Hist. Crit. Du Texte du N.T.*). John C. Hawkins, in 1909, similarly proposed that the forms of Mark used by Matthew and Luke were slightly different from the form of Mark in which it is now known. (see p. 152, Horae Synopticae, © Oxford University Press, 1909, 1968, Oxford, Great Britain.)

AP-5 ~ The idea that Mark stopped writing at 16:8, and an associate finished the work by attaching the LE, interlocks with a scenario imagined by Dr. C. Clifton Black (Professor of Biblical Theology at Princeton University) in his extensive profile of Mark: “The Evangelist may have died in the imperial capital . . . during Nero’s notorious pogrom against the Roman Christians (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.44). Perhaps Mark was completing a revised edition of his Gospel only moments before his own demise, since the narrative appears to end all too abruptly . . .” (p. 4, Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter, © 1994 University of South Carolina, Fortress Press edition 2001).

AP-6 ~ The opening verses of Mark are one example of these features. In a brief article in *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 46, pp. 584-588 (© 2000 Cambridge University Press) Dr. J. K. Elliott states that “In many ways the non-Markan character of Mark 1:1-3 is more pronounced than that of Mark 16:9-20” (p. 586). While Dr. Elliott suggests that this may indicate that someone added Mark 1:1-3 as a repair to a mutilated manuscript, the evidence may also be accounted for as part of a final revision prior to official dissemination. Helmut Koester similarly stated about Mark 1:1, “It is quite possible that a later scribe added this phrase” (p. 13, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, © 1990 Helmut Koester, SCM Press Ltd. and Trinity Press International).

AP-7 ~ Much of the groundwork in these two theories was thought out by John A.T. Robinson in *Redating the New Testament* (© SCM Press Ltd., 1976), pp. 112-117, and by G. Edmundson in “*The Church in Rome in the First Century*,” which Robinson repeatedly cites. Robinson proposes that sometime in the 40’s, Mark produced “unordered transcripts of Peter’s preaching” which “certainly cannot simply be equated with our present gospel of Mark, which reflects wider and more developed church tradition” (p. 114).

AP-8 ~ This view was expressed by Edgar J. Goodspeed in *The Story of the New Testament*, page 52 (© 1916 The University of Chicago Press): he wrote in 1916 that the Gospel of Mark “more than once predicts his [Christ’s] resurrection; and in its complete form it doubtless contained a brief account of his appearance to the two Marys and Salome after his burial.” More recently, Bruce Metzger wrote, “Three possibilities are open: (a) the evangelist intended to close his Gospel at this place; or (b) the Gospel was never finished; or, as seems most probable, (c) the Gospel accidentally lost its last leaf before it was multiplied by transcription.” (footnote, p. 126, *Textual Commentary* ©1971 by the United Bible Societies)

Dr. Ned Stonehouse, aware of the theological edge of the inferences drawn by liberal commentators, wrote in *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ*, p. 103-104 (© Ned Bernard Stonehouse 1944), “The question remains then whether the view that Mark 16:8 was the intended end of Mark can be dissociated from its radical implications, and be integrated with the witness of the gospel as a whole.” Dr. Stonehouse went to exceptional lengths in his attempt to do so. For instance, he states, “In particular the conclusion is extreme that Mark implies that they [the women at the tomb] were disobedient to the angelic command. No particular stress is placed upon this detail.” I respond that if the text indeed ended at the end of 16:8, any reader would conclude that Mark had just told him that the women were told to do something and did not do it, because *that is what the text plainly says*. Stress is not applied to the point because the point is obvious.

Dr. Stonehouse admits, “There remains the difficulty, presented emphatically by the advocates of the supposition that the Marcan record is incomplete, that the gospel is silent concerning the fulfillment of the prophecy with which it ends. Since Mk. 14:28 and 16:7 point so definitely to a reunion in Galilee, can one successfully resist the conclusion that the gospel is incomplete?” (p. 115-116) Dr. Stonehouse apparently can invent a way to resist that conclusion, but his approach has been effectively answered by James Edwards.

More recently, Dr. Robert H. Gundry wrote, “But we do not know how the Gospel ended. Some of the best early manuscripts and versions end with 16:8. Others add the “long ending” (included in the familiar King James Version), and others a short ending. The long ending appears to be a scribal attempt to make up an appropriate conclusion by summarizing the resurrection appearances recorded in the other Gospels. The short ending likewise appears to lack authenticity. But it is unknown whether the Gospel ends at 16:8 or the true ending is lost.” (pp. 78-79, *A Survey of the New Testament*, © 1970, 1981 by Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, MI) The vagueness in Dr. Gundry’s description of the evidence -- “Some” MSS end at 16:8; “Others” include 16:9-20; “others” have the SE – is not unique in Evangelical commentaries, New Testament surveys, and Bible footnotes.

Likewise, the use of the term “many” by Evangelical commentators merits some criticism. For instance, R.T. France tells his readers, “In many early manuscripts and versions these verses are either absent altogether or marked as of doubtful authority.” (p. 214, *Doubleday Bible Commentary: Mark*, © 1998 by the Bible Reading Fellowship and R.T. France) This is difficult to harmonize with Kurt & Barbara Aland’s statement that “The longer ending of Mark 16:9-20 is found in 99 percent of the Greek manuscripts as well as the rest of the tradition.” (p. 287, *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1987 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.) The actual number of extant un mutilated early (pre-800) MSS of Mark 16 in any language which clearly feature the AE or SE is **five**. (they are B, S, Sy^s, it^k, and Coptic Codex P. Palau Rib. 182).

AP-9 ~ in Chapter 1, Part 8. The full text of the Westminster Confession is at http://www.pcanet.org/general/cof_chap1_v.htm#chapi and <http://www.freepres.org/westminster.htm#chapter1>.

AP-10 ~ The rapidity of the shift of Evangelical opinion about the idea that the AE was intentional may be grasped by considering a statement written by Henry C. Thiessen in 1943: “Burgon, Miller, Scrivener, Salmon, and a few others, accept it [Mark 16:9-20] as genuine. But the majority of New Testament scholars reject it, including such conservatives as Tregelles, Warfield, Zahn, and A.T. Robertson. Yet few, if any, scholars hold that Mark originally ended at vs. 8; instead, all hold that there was another section after that verse, but that it was lost at an early date.” (p. 149, *Introduction to the New Testament*, © 1973 by William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.) [emphasis added]

AP-11 ~ At Luke 24:52, the New English Bible removes the phrase “and was carried up into heaven” and relegates it to a footnote. (p. 190, The New English Bible: The New Testament, © 1961, 1970 The Delegates of the Oxford University Press and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press) This is one of the passages which Hort identified as “Western Non-interpolations.”

AP-12 ~ It should be noted that in I Cor. 15:1-7, Paul’s description of Christ’s post-resurrection appearances is quite summarized; Paul could have gone into more detail about Christ’s appearances, but did not. This shows that summaries of Christ’s post-resurrection appearances did not spring into existence after the apostolic era; such summaries were native to Mark’s own era.

AP-13 ~ Hebrews 1:3b, The New King James Version New Testament, © 1979 by Thomas Nelson, Inc.

AP-14 ~ By “kerygma” (a Greek word) I mean the good news of what God has accomplished through Jesus Christ, as presented in the early church. A fuller definition may be found at <http://www.afn.org/~afn52344/kerygma.html>.

AP-15 ~ p. 292, The Text of the New Testament, © 1987 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, MI) [Bold print in original.]

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