



**Authentic:
The Case for
Mark 16:9-20**

James Snapp, Jr.



To whom it may concern:

James Snapp Jr. has written wisely and indeed widely on this important topic. His notes need attention, though. And, ideally, he ought to have indexes in the book!

He writes in a timely manner and has taken recent views into account!

With the correct publicity, it should sell well.

JKE

Sincerely Yours,

J. K. Elliott

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The University of Leeds



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Mark 16:9-20**

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Introductory Essay:
Mark 16:9-20: A Scholarly Consensus?

What am I about to read?

Is this a nutty essay by a humorously misinformed King James Only fanatic? No. I, the author, have never endorsed the King-James-Only heresy.

Is this propaganda against modern English versions? No. I recommend several recently-made English versions. I oppose the use of irresponsibly mangled English paraphrases such as “The Message,” “The Clear Word,” and “The Passion Translation,” and doctrinally tainted versions such as the “New World Translation” (the Watchtower Bible & Tract Society’s perversion) and the New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition (brought to you by advocates of sodomy) – but that intriguing subject is not in view in this book.

Is this a cleverly disguised advertisement for a new translation? No. The subject of this book is, as the title implies, on twelve verses of holy Scripture, specifically, on Mark 16:9-20 – twelve verses about which more information has been spread on planet earth than any other twelve verse segment of the Bible.

What are scholars saying about Mark 16:9-20? In 1970, Dr. Ralph Earle told his readers, “It is almost universally agreed that verses 9-20 were added centuries after the gospel was written.” [See p. 126 of *Mark - The Gospel of Action*, by Ralph Earle, © 1970 by the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago.] Over 50 years later, most scholars agree that Mark 16:9-20 is not original, and that it was added by a later copyist. Why do they say that?

In this brief introductory chapter, the scholars themselves display their reasons, regarding manuscripts, patristic evidence, versional evidence, and evidence from lectionaries.

Manuscript Evidence

Norman Geisler: verses 9-20 “are lacking in many of the oldest and most reliable manuscripts.” [See pp. 377-378 of *The Big Book of Bible Difficulties*, © 1992 by Norman L. Geisler and Thomas A. Howe, republished in paperback in 2008 by Baker Books, also published as *When Critics Ask*.]

Larry O. Richards: “In many ancient Greek manuscripts,” Mark’s Gospel ends at 16:8. [See p. 648 of *Bible Reader’s Companion*, by Larry O. Richards, © 1991, 2002 Cook Communications Ministries.]

Wilfrid J. Harrington: Mark 16:9-20 is omitted “in very many Greek manuscripts of the Gospel.” [See p. 128 of *Record of the Fulfillment: The New Testament*, by Wilfrid J. Harrington, © 1965 The Priory Press, Chicago.]

Donald Juel: “according to the almost unanimous testimony of the oldest Greek manuscripts,” Mark ends at 16:8. [See p. 168 of *An Introduction to New Testament Literature*, © 1978 by Donald Juel.]

Ernest Findlay Scott: these 12 verses “are found in no early manuscript.” [See p. 59 of *The Literature of the New Testament*, by Ernest Findlay Scott, © 1932 Columbia University Press.]

David Ewert: “All major manuscripts end this Gospel at 16:8.” [See the section “*So Many Versions*” in *A General Introduction to the Bible*, by David Ewert, © 1983 by David Ewert under the title *From Ancient Tablets to Modern Translations*, published by Zondervan.]

Eugene Peterson (in a footnote in *The Message*): Mark 16:9-20 “is contained only in later manuscripts.” [See the footnote at Mark 16:9 (page-numbers differ in different editions), *The Message*, © 1993 by Eugene H. Peterson.] This was changed in later editions.

Ron Rhodes stated that Codex Alexandrinus does not contain Mark 16:9-20. [See p. 31 of *The Complete Book of Bible Answers* by Ron Rhodes, © 1997 by Ron Rhodes, published by Harvest House Publishers, republished in 2007 as *What Does the*

Bible Say About...? in which the same false claim appears on page 32.]

G. W. Trompf (in the scholarly journal *New Testament Studies*) wrote that Codex D's text of Mark ends at 16:8. [See p. 315 of "*First Resurrection Appearance: Mark XVI*," by G. W. Trompf in *New Testament Studies*, 1972 (#18).]

Bob McCartney, who has two graduate degrees from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, told his congregation at the First Baptist Church of Wichita Falls, Texas, "It's also a fact that these verses, as I've said a couple of times, really don't have any substantiation until you get to medieval times. Until you get to about eight- or nine-hundred A.D., you can't find a manuscript that contains these verses of Scripture." [from the sixth minute of "*How Does Mark's Gospel Really End?*" (preached on July 17, 2011).]

Robert Grant wrote that Codex W "contains a different ending entirely." [See chapter two of *A Historical Introduction to the New Testament, Materials and Method of Textual Criticism*, ©1963 by Robert M. Grant.]

N. T. Wright wrote that "a good many of the manuscripts" with Mark 16:9-20 "have marks in the margin (asterisks or obeli) to indicate that the passage is regarded as of doubtful authenticity." [See p. 618 of *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, © 2003 Nicholas Thomas Wright, published by Fortress Press.]

The late Robert Stein wrote that "A number of the manuscripts have asterisks or other markings by the text indicating that the copyists thought the longer ending was spurious." [See p. 82 of "*The Ending of Mark*" by Robert Stein, in *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 18.1 (2008)]

James Edwards wrote that "Many of the ancient manuscripts" contain "scribal notes or markings" to indicate that "the ending is regarded as a spurious addition." [See p. 498 of *The Pillar New Testament Commentary on Mark*, by James Edwards, © 2002 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., D. A. Carson, General Editor.]

Craig Evans wrote, “Many of the older manuscripts have asterisks and obeli marking off the Long or Short Endings as spurious or at least doubtful,” and, “Later copies contain vv. 9-20, but they are marked off with asterisks or obelisks, warning readers and copyists that these twelve verses are doubtful.” [See p. 1103 of *Eerdman’s Commentary on the Bible*, © 2003 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., James G. D. Dunn and John W. Rogerson, editors; cf. the *Word Biblical Commentary on Mark*, Volume 2 (34b), by Craig A. Evans, © 2001 Thomas Nelson Publishers.]

Dr. Evans also stated that these verses “were added at least two centuries after Mark first began to circulate.” [See p. 30 of *Fabricating Jesus*, by Craig A. Evans, © 2006 by Craig A. Evans, published by InterVarsity Press. Dillon Burroughs, a graduate of Dallas Theological Seminary, similarly stated in 2011, “In fact, it is some centuries after Mark was written that we first find a longer ending,” at <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/holywrit/2011/03/mark-16-the-alternative-ending-of-mark/>.] If the Gospel of Mark’s production-date is placed in the mid-60s, that means that verses 9-20 were attached to Mark 16:8 some time after 260.

Robert H. Gundry wrote, “The earliest and best manuscripts end with Mark 16:8, and the rest hopelessly disagree concerning what follows.” [See p. 205 of *A Survey of the New Testament*, by Robert H. Gundry, ©1970 Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, MI.]

C. F. D. Moule wrote that in some manuscripts, the Shorter Ending is all that follows Mark 16:8. [See p. 132 of *The Gospel According to Mark* by C. F. D. Moule, in the *Cambridge Bible Commentary* series, © 1965 Cambridge University Press.]

A footnote in the *English Standard Version* (2010 edition) at Mark 16:9 states, “Some manuscripts end the book with 16:8; others include verses 9-20 immediately after verse 8. A few manuscripts insert additional material after verse 14; one Latin manuscript adds after verse 8 the following: *But they reported briefly to Peter and those with him all that they had been told. And*

after this, Jesus himself sent out by means of them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation. Other manuscripts include this same wording after verse 8, then continue with verses 9-20.” [See p. 52 of *The New Testament, English Standard Version*, © 2001, 2007 Crossway, a publishing ministry of Good News Publishers.]

Footnotes in the *New Living Translation* mention that “various endings” to Mark exist and that “Some early manuscripts add” extra material between verses 14 and 15. [See p. 1664 of *New Living Translation (Life Application Bible)*, © 1996, 2004 Tyndale House Publishers. The NLT’s translation-team for the Gospel of Mark consisted of Robert Guelich, George Guthrie, and Grant R. Osborne.]

Patristic Evidence

Philip Wesley Comfort told his readers that according to Clement and Origen (two important writers in the early church), Mark’s text ends at 16:8. [See pp. 137-138 of *The Quest for the Original Text of the New Testament* by Philip Wesley Comfort, © 1992 Baker Book House.]

Dr. Bruce Metzger and Dr. Bart Ehrman: “Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Ammonius show no knowledge of the existence of these verses.” [See p. 226 of *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, fourth edition, by Bruce Metzger and Bart Ehrman, © 2005 Oxford University Press. (In the first edition Metzger made this claim about Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius – which was a very ignorant thing to write.)]

Dr. Robert Stein told his readers that the ending at 16:8 is witnessed to by Clement of Alexandria and Origen. [See p. 81 of *The Ending of Mark* by Robert Stein, in *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 18.1 (2008).]

J. Harold Greenlee wrote that “the second-century Church Father Cyril of Alexandria” omitted these verses. [See p. 90 of

Scribes, Scrolls, and Scriptures by J. Harold Greenlee, Copyright © 1985 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids.]

Ralph P. Martin wrote that Eusebius and Jerome (two important writers in the early church) “say that the passage was unknown in all copies of Mark to which they had access.” [See p. 152 of *Where the Action Is - A Bible Commentary for Laymen - Mark*, © 1977 by Regal Books, USA.]

Stephen M. Miller (in his 2007 book *The Complete Guide to the Bible*) wrote that early commentaries confirm that Mark ends at 16:8, including a commentary “written by Clement of Alexandria (died about AD 101).” [See p. 332 of *The Complete Guide to the Bible* by Stephen M. Miller, © 2007 by Stephen M. Miller.] Note: after the author of this book (James Edward Snapp Jr) contacted Stephen M. Miller, a subsequent edition featured a slight, but still misleading, improvement from the 2007 edition.

W. R. Telford wrote that Mark 16:9-20 was lacking “from all Greek manuscripts known to Eusebius and Jerome.” [See p. 25 – p. 144 of *The Theology of the Gospel of Mark*, by W. R. Telford, © Cambridge University Press, 1999, in the *New Testament Theology* series edited by James Dunn.]

Ben Witherington III wrote, “Eusebius and Jerome both tell us these verses were absent from all Greek copies known to them.” [See pp. 412-413 of *The Gospel of Mark – A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* by Ben Witherington III, © 2001 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.]

Tim Geddert wrote, “Not only do “*some* of the most ancient authorities” lack these verses (as NRSV says) – they *all* do.” [See p. 150 of *Beginning Again (Mark 16:1-8)* by Tim Geddert in *Direction Journal*, Fall 2004, Vol. 33 #2.]

Versional Evidence

Bruce Metzger (in his extremely influential *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*) mentioned that the text of Mark ends at 16:8 in “about one hundred Armenian manuscripts, and the two oldest Georgian manuscripts (written

A.D. 897 and A.D. 913).” [See p. 122-123 of *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* by Bruce Metzger, © 1975 United Bible Societies, Stuttgart, Germany.]

In the fourth edition of *The Text of the New Testament*, Bruce Metzger and Bart Ehrman stated that “a number of manuscripts of the Ethiopic version” do not contain Mark 16:9-20. [See p. 226 of *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, fourth edition, by Bruce Metzger and Bart Ehrman, © 2005 Oxford University Press.]

Eugene Nida (in a book written for Bible-translators) mentioned that important Ethiopic copies omit Mark 16:9-20. [See p. 506 of *A Translator’s Handbook on the Gospel of Mark* by Robert G. Bratcher and Eugene A. Nida, © 1961 by UBS, published by E.J. Brill, Leiden.]

Ron Rhodes told his readers, “These verses are absent from the Old Latin manuscripts.” [See p. 31 of *The Complete Book of Bible Answers* by Ron Rhodes, © 1997 by Ron Rhodes, published by Harvest House Publishers, republished in 2007 as *What Does the Bible Say About...?*]

James Edwards told his readers that the Old Latin version omits Mark 16:9-20. [See pp. 497-498 of *The Gospel According to Mark: Pillar Commentary Series* by James Edwards, © 2002 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.]

Apologist James R. White (of Alpha & Omega Ministries) wrote that Mark 16:9-20 is not in “some manuscripts of the Sahadic Coptic version, manuscripts of the Armenian translation, and some versions of the Georgian translation.” [See p. 255 of *The King James Only Controversy*, © 1995 James R. White, published by Bethany House Publishers.]

John MacArthur, after informing Grace Community Church (in California USA) that that Vaticanus and Sinaiticus (two important manuscripts) end the text of Mark at 16:8, stated, “Whether you’re reading a Greek manuscript, a Syriac Bible, or whether you’re looking at a Latin Vulgate or whether you’re reading a quote from a church father, it is crystal clear that they all

had the same thing.” [See the transcript of John MacArthur’s sermon, preached June 5, 2011, at <http://www.gty.org/resources/sermons/41-85/the-fitting-end-to-marks-gospel> . On March 9, 2012, MacArthur stated that Mark 16:9-20 “shouldn’t be there.”]

Lectionary Evidence

James Brooks wrote that in most Greek lectionaries, the text of Mark ends at 16:8. [See p. 272 of *The New American Commentary* Vol. 23: Mark, by James Brooks, © 1991 Broadman Press.]

Darrell Bock wrote that “The earliest Byzantine lectionaries lack” Mark 16:9-20. [See p. 129 of *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark: Four Views*, in a chapter by Darrell Bock, ©2008 Broadman & Holman.] [Dr. Bock has subsequently retracted this claim, but continues to spread other falsehoods.]

It would appear that the manuscript-evidence, the patristic evidence, the versional evidence, and the lectionary evidence all testify against the genuineness of Mark 16:9-20. American and European scholars have been sharing these claims and similar assertions with their readers for over a century. The typical preacher and the typical man in the pew has been consistently given an abundance of reasons to conclude that Mark 16:9-20 was added by copyists, and is not part of the Word of God. The alternative would be to ignore all these academic experts.

I, James Edward Snapp Jr., recommend ignoring what these pseudo-experts have claimed, because all of the statements that I have just quoted are either flatly incorrect, or else ridiculously vague, distorted, and one-sided.

What follows in this opening prefatory essay (an appetizer, if you will, before the meat of this book is served) is a much more thorough and much more accurate examination of the relevant evidence. We will first examine two manuscripts – commonly called Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus – in detail. The

testimony of other manuscripts will be covered in the main section of the book.

Manuscript Evidence

The claim that many Greek manuscripts omit Mark 16:9-20 is **false**. Out of about 1,650 Greek copies of the Gospel of Mark, only three Greek manuscripts (“MSS”) end the text at 16:8. Two of those three are early. We are going to take a very close look at the unusual contents of these two MSS, and their unusual features at the end of Mark.

These two early copies – Codex Vaticanus (B) and Codex Sinaiticus (Aleph) – represent a form of the text of Mark which circulated in Egypt in the early 200s and was taken from there to the city of Caesarea, where it was still found in the 300s, when these two manuscripts were produced.

Although the text of Mark in Codex Vaticanus stops at 16:8, the copyist left a clear indication that he recollected the absent verses, even though the MS from which he was copying did not contain them: after Mark 16:8, there is a distinct blank space in Codex Vaticanus, including an entire blank column. This is an example of “memorial space.” (Occasionally copyists acquired MSS that contained nothing at points in the text where the copyists recollected something. The copyists copied the text of the exemplar but left blank space – memorial-space – to convey that something was missing.)

There are three other blank spaces in Codex Vaticanus, but those three blank spaces are readily explained by factors involved in the making of the codex.

- One of these blank spaces is between the end of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New Testament. (The last page of the Old Testament portion concludes with the apocryphal text of Bel and the Dragon, incorporated into the Greek text of Daniel.) To expect the Gospel of Matthew to begin in the next column would be preposterous.

- One of these blank spaces occurs in the Old Testament at the end of Second Esdras, before the beginning of the book of Psalms. Only two lines of text are placed in the first column of the last page of Second Esdras, and after the closing-title (and what appears to be the signature of someone named Klement, possibly a former owner of the codex). The rest of the page is blank. The reason for this is obvious: the text of Psalms is formatted in two columns, rather than three. It was necessary to begin Psalms on a new page, due to the difference in the number of columns on the page.

- One of these blank spaces occurs in the Old Testament between the end of the book of Tobit and the beginning of the book of Hosea. The text of Tobit concludes in approximately the middle of the second column of a page, and the third column is blank. The reason for this becomes obvious upon close examination. One copyist's work ended at the end of Tobit, and another copyist's work begins with Hosea (at the beginning of the Minor Prophets, which begins the Prophetic Books). At this point where one copyist's work was connected to another copyist's work, what we have after the end of Tobit is simply leftover space.

This should become very obvious when we notice that the leftover space after the end of Tobit did not initially consist of just the remainder of the page. As Dr. Dirk Jongkind mentioned on page 31 of *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, besides the one and a half columns on the remainder of the page on which Tobit concludes, there was an entire unused page (front and back) after that – the last leaf of quire 49 – that was cut out when the manuscript was sewn together.

To restate: what we have in Codex Vaticanus between Tobit and Hosea is nothing but a “seam,” that resulted from the production-process, where one copyist's work was attached to the pages produced by another copyist. The situation is entirely different in Mark, where Mark 16:8, and the blank space, are on one side of a page, and the beginning of Luke is on the opposite side, and the text on both sides is, of course, written by the same copyist.

Contrary to Daniel Wallace's inexplicable claim that "the reasons for the gaps are anything but clear," [See Wallace's claim in his chapter of *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark: Four Views*, © 2008 Broadman & Holman Publishers, Nashville, TN] the blank spaces between books in Codex Vaticanus in the Old Testament are fully capable of obvious explanation:

(1) The blank space before Psalms was required by the shift from a three-column format to a two-column format.

(2) The blank space before Hosea is a production-seam, where one copyist's work was attached to another copyist's work.

(3) The blank space between the text of Daniel (concluding with the story of Bel and the Dragon) is the end of the Old Testament portion.

Unlike the blank spaces in the Old Testament portion of Codex Vaticanus, the blank space after Mark 16:8 appears to be a clear example of memorial-space elicited by the copyist's recollection of verses 9-20. Although his exemplar's text ended at the end of 16:8, he wished to give the manuscript's eventual owner the option of adding the absent verses.

If Mark 16:9-20 is added to the page in question, in *exactly* the same lettering that the scribe normally used, there is not quite enough room: the end of the last line of the page would be reached with four lines left to be written. Scribes could (and occasionally did) compress their lettering, and with mild compression, there is room to contain the entire 12 verses, and the closing title.



Shown to left: Codex Vaticanus, with text ending the end of Mark
16:8
(plus the closing-title)

Shown to right: Codex Vaticanus with Mark 16:9-20 added
(using the copyist's lettering, slight compressed) in the memorial-
space.

The closing-title is written within the blank space, but the work of adding closing-titles may have been accorded to a different scribe. In any event, the erasure of a closing-title would not be difficult for a trained scribe. We see, for example, the thorough removal of a closing-title in Codex Sinaiticus at the end of John, where the copyist initially did not include the last verse, and wrote the closing-title after John 21:24, along with a decorative flourish. But the scribe, either on his own or at the insistence of his supervisor, changed his mind, erased the closing-title and the decorative flourish, and wrote verse 25, followed by a new closing-title and decorative design.

It is established by the seldom-mentioned details of Codex Vaticanus that while this MS attests to an exemplar in which Mark's text ended at 16:8, it also attests to its scribe's recollection of an exemplar in which the text of Mark included more text after 16:8 – enough to warrant the general contour of the blank space.

Codex Sinaiticus also contains features which convey its copyist's awareness of a form of Mark that did not end at 16:8. The first thing to notice about the pages of Codex Sinaiticus on which the Gospel of Mark concludes is that they are replacement-pages. They were not written by the same copyist who wrote the text on the surrounding pages. The text on these four pages (Mark 14:54*b* – Luke 1:76*a*) was written by the *diorthotes*, or proof-reader, of the manuscript, while it was still in production.

The second thing to notice is the remarkable inconsistency in the rates of letters-per-column on these replacement-pages. Like the other pages of Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospels, these four pages are formatted so as to have four columns per page, and 48 lines per column. Columns 1-10 contain text from Mark 14:54-16:8; columns 11-16 contain text from Luke 1:1-56.

The main copyist tended to write about 635 words per column. Thus, the 16 columns of the pages that he wrote – the pages which the *diorthotes* removed and replaced – had room for 10,160 letters, if written at the copyist's normal rate. The text of Mark 14:54-16:8 on the replaced pages probably consisted of 5,698 letters. Divided into columns of 635 letters each, the copyist would thus reach the end of Mark 16:8 just before reaching the end of the ninth column.

In the replacement-pages, however, the text of Mark 16:8 does not end near the bottom of column nine. It ends in column ten – even though the *diorthotes* probably wrote 84 fewer letters of Mark than what the main copyist had written on the replaced pages. This raises a question: why did the *diorthotes* make the text of Mark 16 extend into column 10, instead of finishing it in column nine?

To answer that question, we must examine the columns of Luke 1:1-76 that the *diorthotes* wrote on the replacement-pages. A simple count of the number of letters in each column of text demonstrated the extensive variation in the rate of letters-per-column.

Before proceeding further, it may be worth pointing out the following: Mark 16:9-20 contains 971 letters (depending on textual variants). Even if the main copyist had accidentally skipped the same 106 letters that the *diorthotes* skipped in 15:47-16:1, the remaining 886 letters would not fit into the remaining space after 16:8 (which would have a normal capacity of 662 letters) in columns nine and ten. Thus, whatever motivated the *diorthotes* to replace the four pages that the main copyist produced, it was **not** because those pages contained Mark 16:9-20. (If one wanted to write Mark 14:64-16:20 in columns 1-10, the resultant average rate of letters per column in columns 1-10 would jump to 667 letters per column. Such script compression is technically possible (an average rate of letters per column of 673 is observed in columns 11-16 in the cancel-sheet). But the main copyist, unlike the *diorthotes*, had no reason to suddenly compress his script.)

Now turn your attention to the columns in the replacement-pages that contain text from the Gospel of Luke. If the main copyist had accidentally repeated a large chunk of text, and the *diorthotes* made the replacement-pages in order to remove the repeated lines, this would require the corrector to fill the space with *fewer* letters than the original pages had contained. But what we see in columns 11-16 is a staggering **increase** in the rate of letters-per-line. Instead of 635 letters per column, we see here in Luke an average rate of **691** letters per column. If we work from the premise that the text of Luke began at the top of column 11 in the replaced pages, then the *diorthotes* made the replacement-pages in order to correct a large omission that the main copyist had committed.

With that premise in place, it looks as if a section of text consisting of over 330 letters was absent from the text of Luke 1:1-56 written by the main copyist. Probably the main copyist accidentally skipped from either the beginning of Luke 1:34 to the beginning of 1:38 (losing, in the process, 311 letters). (An alternative is that he skipped from the beginning of Luke 1:5 to the beginning of Luke 1:8, thus losing 319 letters, but this would almost require that he was not thinking at all about what he was

writing.) Without those 311 letters, the text of Luke 1:1-56 that is on the replacement-pages consists of 3,835 letters occupying six columns, which yields 639 letters per column – well within the copyist’s natural range of variation.

What if, instead, the main copyist began the text of Luke 1 at the top of column 10? In that case, it would appear that the main copyist accidentally **repeated** a large portion of text in Luke 1. If we add to 4,146 letters an additional 311 letters, caused by the *repetition* of verses 34-37, we reach a total of 4,475 letters occupying seven columns of text. Divided into seven, this yields (again) 639 letters per column – well within the copyist’s natural range of variation.

So: while we can discern that the creation of the replacement-pages was due to a problem in the text of Luke 1:1-56a, a definitive reconstruction of the format of the text on the replaced pages is not easy to make, because a reconstruction involving an *omission* in a text in which Luke 1 began at the top of column 11, and a reconstruction involving a *repetition* in a text in which Luke 1 began at the top of column 10, are both feasible. These competing possibilities, however, should not obscure the observation that in neither reconstruction is Mark 16:9-20 present on the replaced pages.

The remarkable range of variation in the *diorthotes*’ rate of letters per column in the cancel-sheet tells a little story about how the text on these pages was written. Instead of beginning his work at Mk. 14:54, the *diorthotes* realized that the main challenge he faced would be to format the text in such a way that the final line of the text would end at the end of the final line of the replacement-page. With that in mind, he began the replacement-pages by writing Luke 1:1 at the top of column 11. (This was a practical precautionary step, inasmuch as in the event that his attempt was unsuccessful, he would have thus saved himself the trouble of writing out the text of Mark 14:54-16:8 only to have to start the whole thing over.)

Only after he had carefully crammed Luke 1:1-56a into six columns did the *diorthotes* return to the top of the first column to

begin to write Mark 14:54b. He wrote columns 1-3 without any unusual deviation from the usual rate of letters per column (635, 650, and 639). In column 4, though, he accidentally reverted to the lettering-compression he had used when writing the text of Luke 1:1-56; this is why there are 707 letters in column 4. Then, realizing what he had done, he compensated by slightly stretching out his lettering in columns 5, 6, 7, and 8. But after accidentally skipping most of Mark 16:1, he still did not have enough text to reach column 10, even writing at a rate of 600 letters per column (30 letters less than usual).

The *diorthotes* could have simply written the rest of chapter 16, up to verse 8, in his normal lettering, and thus finished Mark in column 9. But then there would be a blank column between the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke. He made a conscious decision not to do that. Instead, he stretched out his lettering even more, so as to write only 552 letters in column 9. Thus he had 37 letters remaining to place in column 10.

With all these things in the equation, let's again approach the question: why didn't the *diorthotes* finish Mark 16:8 in column 9, and thus leave a blank column before the beginning of Luke? Why did he stretch out his lettering (and write Jesus' name in Mark 16:6 in its full, uncontracted form) so as to make his lettering reach the tenth column?

One might propose that the *diorthotes* simply had a strong sense of aesthetics and wished to avoid leaving blank columns between books in the same genre (genres such as Poetry, Minor Prophets, Gospels, Epistles). In Codex Sinaiticus, a book usually begins at the top of the column which immediately follows the previous book, unless a new genre is being introduced. Four columns (a single page) are blank after the Gospel of John. Six columns separate the end of Philemon from the beginning of Acts. A blank column separates the end of Acts and the beginning of James.

However, this pattern was not kept with complete consistency. There is no blank column between *Jude* and *Revelation*, and there is no blank column between *Revelation* and

the *Epistle of Barnabas*, although there is a blank column between the end of the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the beginning of the *Shepherd of Hermas*. And in the Old Testament portion of Codex Sinaiticus, after the end of the book of *Judith*, the first column of the next page is blank, followed by the beginning of *First Maccabees* at the top of column 2.

That last detail is particularly instructive, because the *diorthotes* served as copyist for the books of *Tobit* and *Judith*. Apparently another copyist (Scribe A) had finished a section which concluded at the end of Esther in the second column of a page. The same copyist had also made a section containing *First Maccabees*, beginning in the second column of a page. The *diorthotes* faced the task of writing the contents of *Tobit* and *Judith* in another section to be placed between the two already-written sections, beginning where the other copyist had left off.

After completing *Tobit* and most of *Judith*, he realized (as Dr. Dirk Jongkind has noted) that he didn't have enough text to reach the column next to the beginning of *First Maccabees*. For this reason, he resorted to stretching out his lettering (in much the same method that is seen in Mark 16:2-7) and wrote one or two fewer lines per column. His efforts, however, were still not sufficient, and that is why a blank column precedes First Maccabees. It is a "seam," so to speak – merely a side-effect of a quirk that occurred in the production of the manuscript.

Besides a desire to insert blank space only between books of different genres, something else seems to have motivated the *diorthotes* to take drastic action to avoid leaving a blank column between Mark and Luke: a determination to avoid leaving a feature which could be considered memorial-space for the absent twelve verses.

The *diorthotes* of Codex Sinaiticus realized that if he did not stretch his lettering so as to be able to put some text in column 10, he would run the risk that the resultant blank column would be interpreted as memorial-space. (The possibility cannot be ruled out that his exemplar

concluded Mark's text in column 9 and left column 10 as memorial-space in a format similar to that of Codex Vaticanus.) The *diorthotes* of Sinaiticus apparently staunchly rejected Mark 16:9-20: not only did he stretch the text of Mark 16:2-8, preventing any future readers from interpreting a blank column as memorial-space, but he practically turned his arabesque-design following Mark 16:8 – a decorative design which was usually much less ornate – into a fence, emphatically spread across the column, before the closing-title.

The *diorthotes*' embellished arabesque was noticed in the 1800s by several researchers, including John Gwynn and George Salmon. The arabesque-designs that the *diorthotes* drew at the end of Tobit, at the end of Judith, and at the end of First Thessalonians (where he had made another cancel-sheet) are much simpler than the one that follows Mark 16:8. Salmon drew the conclusion that "The scribe who recopied the leaf betrays that he had his mind full of the thought that the Gospel must be made to end with εφοβουντο γαρ, and took pains that no one should add more."

In 1883, John Gwynn wrote, "As regards the omission of the verses of S. Mk. xvi. 9-20, it is not correct to assert that Codex Aleph betrays no sign of consciousness of their existence. For the last line of ver. 8, containing only the letters το γαρ, has the rest of the space (more than half the width of the column) filled up with a minute and elaborate "arabesque" executed with the pen in ink and vermilion, nothing like which occurs anywhere else in the whole MS. (O.T. or N.T.)."

When pondering why the *diorthotes* enlarged and embellished his arabesque-design here, and only here, Salmon's deduction appears to be correct: the mind of the *diorthotes* was full of the thought that Mark should end at the end of 16:8. This implies that the *diorthotes* was aware of at least one other way in which the Gospel of Mark concluded. Which ending did the *diorthotes* reject: verses 9-20, or the Shorter Ending, or both? When we consider that Codex Sinaiticus was almost certainly

produced at Caesarea, the answer is clear: the *diorthotes* was aware of, and rejected, verses 9-20.

To show that the Shorter Ending was not in circulation at Caesarea in the early 300s, let's briefly diverge from manuscript-evidence to explore some patristic evidence that is often misrepresented.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in the early 300s, addressed several questions in his composition *Ad Marinum*, including this one: "How do you harmonize Matthew's statement that Jesus' resurrection was "late on the Sabbath" with Mark's statement that it occurred "early in the morning on the first day of the week"? (*Ad Marinum* has been fully translated into English, with the Greek text accompanying it, in Roger Pearse's book *Eusebius of Caesarea: Gospel Problems and Solutions*, © 2010 Roger Pearse, Chieftain Publishing, Ipswich, and Mr. Pearse has made it available online as a free download.) Quite a few commentators have been content to share only snippets of Eusebius' answer because their shallow research consisted of reading Metzger's selective description of it. We shall explore a little deeper.

In the course of his answer, Eusebius mentioned that there were two ways to resolve the perceived discrepancy: one person might say that the passage in Mark (beginning at 16:9) is not in every manuscript, or is not in the accurate manuscripts, or is hardly found in any of them, or is present in some copies but not in all of them, and is therefore superfluous, especially considering that it might seem to contradict the other accounts.

But – Eusebius continued – someone else, reluctant to dismiss anything he finds written in the Gospels, may accept both accounts instead of picking and choosing between them. Granting this premise, the way to resolve the perceived difficulty is to simply read the phrase in Mark with a comma: as "Having risen, early in the morning on the first day of the week He appeared to Mary Magdalene." This is in agreement with what John says. The meaning is not that Christ's resurrection was "early in the morning," but that this is the time when He appeared to Mary, afterwards.

Twice more in *Ad Marinum*, Eusebius utilized Mark 16:9. At one point Eusebius mentioned a theory that there were two women named Mary Magdalene (Mary the Theotokos, and Mary Magdalene), and points out that one of them was “the one of whom it is stated in Mark, in some copies, that he had cast seven demons out of her.” In the course of answering another question, Eusebius mentioned the theory that there were two Mary Magdalenes, and mentioned that the Mary Magdalene mentioned by John would be the same person from whom, according to Mark, he had cast out seven demons. In this third utilization of Mark 16:9, Eusebius did not bother to mention anything about manuscripts.

The details of what Eusebius says in *Ad Marinum* throw a hot light upon the various wax commentaries which misrepresent Eusebius’ statements about the ending of Mark. His comments are also instructive for the question at hand because of what he does **not** say. Eusebius displayed no awareness whatsoever of the existence of the Shorter Ending. If we take the evidence that Codex Sinaiticus was produced at Caesarea c. 350 (under the supervision of Acacius) alongside the evidence that the Shorter Ending was not known at Caesarea in the early 300s, then we may conclude that the ending of Mark 16 rejected by the *diorthotes* of Codex Sinaiticus was not the Shorter Ending, but was verses 9-20.

If the *diorthotes* was none other than Acacius (bishop of Caesarea from 339 to 365), it would not be surprising to find that he held a position against the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 when he oversaw the production of new parchment MSS, including Codex Sinaiticus, based on old papyrus copies which were wearing out. Jerome (in *Lives of Illustrious Men* – see chapters 98 and 113 – and in *Epistle 141, Ad Marcellam*), mentioned that Acacius and his successor Euzoius engaged in this enterprise. Jerome did not specify that Acacius and Euzoius preserved the texts of exemplars of books of the Bible, but it is very probable, and this would explain the use of a Western copy as a secondary exemplar in John 1:1-7:38 of Codex Sinaiticus – and not just any Western copy, but one with some affinities to the text used by the Gnostic heretic

Heracleon, which had been cited by Origen in his response against Heracleon (as Dr. Bart Ehrman has shown.)

The thing to see here is that when we take a close look at the two early Greek MSS in which the text of Mark clearly stops at 16:8, followed by nothing except the closing-title, one of them (Vaticanus) expresses the copyist's awareness of the absent 12 verses via memorial-space, and in the other one (Sinaiticus), the last chapter of Mark was written on replacement-pages by a copyist who, via his script-expansion and arabesque-enhancement, conveyed his own awareness of, and rejection of, the absent 12 verses.

These extra details should be kept in mind when reading Bible-footnotes about Mark 16:9-20 which frame the manuscript-evidence in vague terms without mentioning the patristic evidence (to which we shall soon turn our attention).

There is more to the picture than the simple statement that "Some early manuscripts do not include verses 9-20." As far as early Greek MSS are concerned, this "some" means *two*. This "early" means *over 100 years later than clear patristic use of the contents of verses 9-20*. And "do not include" means *do not include, but show their copyists' awareness of, verses 9-20*.

Let's consider the testimony from some other Greek MSS. The inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 is supported by Codex Alexandrinus (Codex A), by Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (Codex C), by Codex Bezae (Codex D) – although in Codex D the page containing the Greek text of 16:15^b-20 is not extant – and by Codex Washingtonianus (Codex W), which is the only extant Greek MS of Mark which has the interpolation known as the "Freer Logion" between verse 14 and 15.

Manuscript 2386 used to be cited (by commentator William Lane *et al*) as if it did not include verses 9-20. An examination of 2386 shows that this is because a thief removed the page of 2386 that originally contained Mark 16:9-20; a valuable illustration of Saint Luke was on the other side of the page. GA 2386 included Mark 16:9-20 when it was produced.

Manuscript 304 does not contain Mark 16:9-20, but 304 is a medieval MS in which the text of Mark is interspersed with a commentary that derived most of its material from the commentary of Theophylact (a writer in the 1000s), whose commentary included comments on all of 16:9-20. While 304's text of Mark ends at the end of 16:8, its commentary-content is derived from a source which attested to all of 16:9-20. In addition, the text in manuscript 304 is primarily Byzantine. We shall revisit this witness later.

Codex 042 – also known as Codex Sigma, or the Rossano Gospels – is an important Gospels-MS produced in the early 500s, on purple parchment. Bruce Metzger told his readers that its text of Mark ends, due to damage, at 14:14. However, while it is true that this codex is damaged, the damage caused the text of Mark to end in **16:14**, thus showing that Codex 042, when it was in pristine condition, contained Mark 16:9-20. Metzger's error was the result of his reliance upon a description of the manuscript from a source published in the 1800s, in which, due to a typographical error, the Roman numeral "xiv" appeared instead of "xvi." [See p. 46 of *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography*, by Bruce Metzger, © 1981 Oxford University Press. The error appeared in early editions of Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*; William Sanday pointed out the typographical error in 1885 in an article in *Studia Biblica*.]

Fifteen manuscripts (erroneously described as "many manuscripts" by writers such as J. P. Holding) contain special annotations about Mark 16:9-20 (which they all contain). But this does not mean that fourteen copyists independently composed annotations about the passage. These annotations take basically three forms, and they appear in small groups of MSS that are related to each other, either by containing the Jerusalem Colophon (a note stating that the manuscript's Gospels-text has been checked with ancient copies at Jerusalem) or by sharing the Caesarean text of Mark. The notes' contents are as follows:

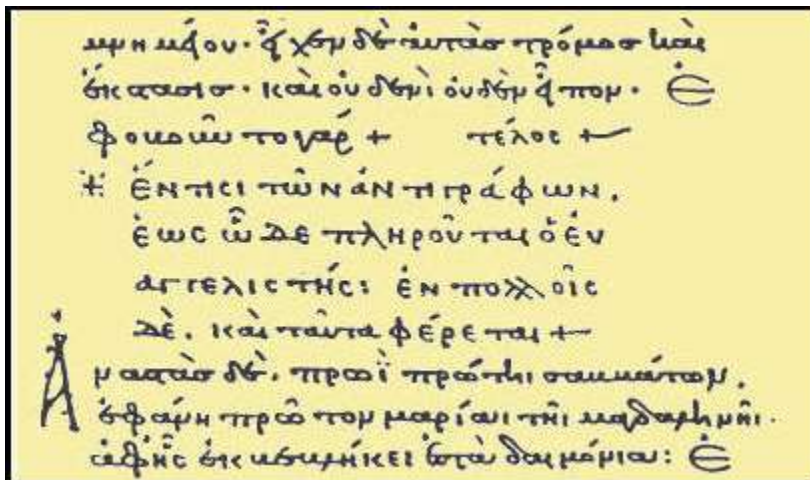
- Manuscript 199, a minuscule from the 1100s, is related to another manuscript (known as uncial Codex Lambda in Luke and

John, and minuscule 566 in Matthew and Luke) which has the Jerusalem Colophon at the end of each Gospel. Its note says, “In some of the copies this does not occur, but it stops here” (that is, at the end of 16:8).

- Manuscripts 20, 215, and 300 have the Jerusalem Colophon, and, at or near Mark 16:9, they share a note which says, “From here to the end forms no part of the text in some of the copies. But in the ancient ones, it all appears intact.” Rather than cast doubt on the passage, this note appears to have been written to affirm its genuineness.

- Manuscripts 1, 205, 2886, 209, and 1582 are representatives of the Caesarean text of Mark. They share a note which says, “Now in some of the copies, the evangelist’s work is finished here, and so does Eusebius Pamphili’s Canon-list. But in many, this also appears.”

- Manuscripts 15, 22, 1110, 1192, and 1210 share basically the same note, minus the part about the Eusebian Canons: “In some of the copies, the Gospel is completed here, but in many, this also appears.”



The annotations in these fifteen MSS have descended from two earlier comments:

(1) a note in an ancestor-MS of the copies with the Jerusalem Colophon, which stated that although some copies do not have Mark 16:9-20, the ancient copies contain it all.

(2) A note in an ancestor-MS of the copies with the Caesarean Text stated that some copies did not contain the passage, and the Eusebian Canons did not include it, but it was found in many copies. Contrary to the impression given by Metzger (and repeated, often with embellishments and distortion, by commentators parroting Metzger's statement), these notes tend to encourage readers to *accept*, rather than reject, the passage.

Even more misleading is Metzger's claim – repeated by many commentators – that “in other witnesses,” verses 9-20 are marked off with asterisks or obeli to warn readers that these verses are spurious.” I have investigated these MSS and in every case no such asterisks or obeli exist in MSS without annotations. Some MSS have marks which draw the reader's attention to commentary-material in the margins (just as asterisks in English printed books do nowadays), and some MSS have lectionary-related symbols which were added to signal the beginning and ending of Scripture-selections for reading during the church-services. But there is no such thing as a non-annotated Greek manuscript of Mark in which 16:9-20 is accompanied by asterisks or obeli.

Regarding the Shorter Ending, it is very misleading to vaguely say that *some* MSS have the Shorter Ending and *some* MSS have verses 9-20, because only eight Greek MSS contain the Shorter Ending. (In addition to the six Greek MSS with the Shorter Ending already known, Mina Monier recently discovered the Shorter Ending in MSS 2937 and 1422.) The Shorter Ending was composed in Egypt, where the abruptly-ending text had previously circulated, in order to round off the otherwise sudden stoppage of the narrative. All eight of the Greek MSS that contain the Shorter Ending also present at least part of the usual 12 verses, showing

that they contained the entire passage when they were in pristine condition.

The rest of the Greek manuscripts – that is, the remaining 99% of the manuscripts – uniformly present Mark 16:9-20 after verse 8. Dr. Gundry’s assertion that these MSS “hopelessly disagree” with each other is **absurd**.

Patristic Evidence

At least four compositions from the 100s attest to the existence of copies of Mark which contained Mark 16:9-20: *Epistula Apostolorum* (by an unknown author), *First Apology* (by Justin Martyr), the *Diatessaron* (by Tatian), and *Against Heresies* (by Irenaeus).

Epistula Apostolorum (150) echoes the narrative structure of these 12 verses; it depicts the disciples not believing the report of a woman who had seen the risen Jesus – an event unrecorded in the Gospels except in Mark 16:10-11. The author also mentions the command of Christ to the apostles to “Go and preach,” (resembling Mark 16:15), and his use of the phrase “mourning and weeping” resembles wording in Mark 16:10.

Justin Martyr (155), in *First Apology* chapter 45, as he interprets Psalm 110, makes a strong allusion to Mark 16:20 (blended with Luke 24:52, just as one would expect a person to do who was using a Synoptics-harmony, as Justin did). As Justin refers to how the apostles *went forth from Jerusalem preaching everywhere*, he used three words – *exelthontes pantachou ekeruxan* – which appear together nowhere else except in Mark 16:20, in a different order. In chapter 50 of *First Apology*, Justin alludes to the scene in Mark 16:14, using the phrase, “*And later, when he had risen from the dead and was seen by them.*”

Tatian (c. 172) incorporated all twelve verses into his *Diatessaron*, which expanded on his predecessor’s Synoptics-harmony by including the text of the Gospel of John. In Codex Fuldensis (a Latin Diatessaronic witness from the West), and in the Arabic Diatessaron (from the East), the contents of Mark 16:9-20

are given essentially the same arrangement, thus echoing their second-century ancestor.

Irenaeus (c. 184), in the tenth chapter of Book Three of *Against Heresies*, wrote, “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 sits on the right hand of God.’” Like most of Irenaeus’ work, this part of *Against Heresies* exists only in Latin. A Greek annotation in Codex 1582 (based on an ancestor-manuscript produced in the mid-400s) next to Mark 16:19 affirms the genuineness of Irenaeus’ statement; the annotation says, “Irenaeus, who lived near the time of the apostles, cites this from Mark in the third book of his work *Against Heresies*.” This annotation also appears in minuscule 72, and in the manuscript now known as GA 2954 (Shelf number 535, formerly 00022, in Craiovam Romania) described by Jeff Hargis of the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts. [Hargis reported about this MS in July of 2010 at the CSNTM news archive.]

Papias, a writer very early in the 100s (c. 110), wrote something that may relate to the contents of Mark 16:18. Eusebius of Caesarea, in Book 3, chapter 39 of his *Church History*, quotes Papias along the following lines: “*Papias, who lived at the same time, 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, regarding Justus surnamed Barsabbas: he swallowed a deadly poison, and received no harm, on account of the grace of the Lord.*” [See p. 315 of *The Apostolic Fathers, Second Edition*, edited and revised by Michael W. Holmes, © 1989 by Baker Book House Company, where Eusebius’ *Church History* 3:39 is translated with slight differences.]

Papias described a believer who was not harmed by poison, but he did not explicitly say that he was providing an example of the fulfillment of the prophetic words of Mark 16:18. It is conceivable that he mentioned this anecdote as an illustration of how Mark 16:18 was to be understood – that is, as a prophecy

about incidental dangers, rather than deliberate self-endangerment – but it is also possible that he told the story simply because it was interesting.

Now consider what has been said about Ammonius. If Bruce Metzger had read and understood Burgon’s analysis of the “Ammonian Sections,” he never would have made the claim that Ammonius composed the original form of the Eusebian Sections. Eusebius, in his letter “*To Carpian*,” which serves as a user’s guide to the Eusebian Canons, mentioned that Ammonius had made a Matthew-centered cross-reference system, in which the text of Matthew was accompanied by parallel-passages from the other Gospels, and that Ammonius’ work had provided the inspiration for Eusebius’ own cross-reference system. But the “Ammonian Sections,” as they appear in their earliest form, are not all Matthew-centered; they include sections that are not paralleled in Matthew at all. They are the work of Eusebius. Ammonius is no more the composer of the “Ammonian Sections” than birds are the creators of airplanes. An accurate understanding of this point shows that *we have no evidence from Ammonius at all* regarding the ending of the Gospel of Mark. **Ammonius is simply a non-witness.**

Likewise all the claims about Clement of Alexandria’s testimony against Mark 16:9-20 are based on silence and do not deserve to be taken seriously. Clement of Alexandria does not clearly quote from Mark chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15, and 16. Clement hardly used the Gospel of Mark at all except for chapter 10. It is ridiculous to convey to readers that Clement’s non-use of Mark 16:9-20 indicates that his copies of Mark lacked those verses, inasmuch as he declined to use almost the entire book except for chapter 10.

There is a chance that Clement was aware of the contents of Mark 16:9-20, as indicated in a comment by Clement on Jude 24 in *Adumbrations*, preserved in Latin by Cassiodorus. In this comment, Clement stated that he was quoting from Mark, and after

quoting Mark 14:61-62, he says, “*When he says, ‘at the right hand of God,’ he means the self-same beings [i.e., angels].*” It is possible that Clement misquoted Mark 14:62 – and, indeed, in one of the copies of this statement from Clement has, instead, the usual contents of Mark 14:62. But it is also possible that Clement is mentioning a cross-reference in the Gospel of Mark. Thus, if the “he” to whom Clement refers is not Jesus, then it must be Mark, and the only place where Mark mentions the right hand of God is in Mark 16:19.

What about Origen? Like Clement, Origen did not use the Gospel of Mark nearly as much as he used the other Gospels. Origen quoted nothing from Mark 1:36-3:16 (54 consecutive verses), or from 3:19-4:10 (27 consecutive verses), or from 5:2-5:43 (41 consecutive verses), or from 8:7-8:29 (22 consecutive verses), or from 10:3-10:42 (39 consecutive verses). Inasmuch as these cases of non-use do not require us to conclude that Origen’s MSS did not contain these larger segments, his non-use of Mark 16:9-20 does not imply that his MSS lacked this much smaller segment. In addition, a passage in *Philocalia*, a composition written by Origen and edited by later writers, has some similarities with Mark 16:15-20 (The evidence from *Philocalia* will be considered later in the book).

What about Eusebius of Caesarea? As we have already seen, in the early fourth century, Eusebius wrote a composition called *To Marinus* in which he answered several questions about harmonization-difficulties involving the events during and after Christ’s resurrection. One of Marinus’ questions was about how to harmonize Matthew 28:1 and Mark 16:9. Eusebius answered that there were two options: a person could settle the problem by rejecting the entire passage in Mark, on the grounds that it is not found in all manuscripts, or on the grounds that it is not in the accurate manuscripts, or on the grounds that it is seldom found in any manuscripts. But then Eusebius said that a person who accepted the passage could solve the difficulty by punctuating Mark 16:9 so as to say, “Rising early, on the first day of the week Jesus appeared,” and so forth. And Eusebius rather verbosely

recommended to Marinus that he adopt the second option. Further on in *To Marinus*, Eusebius casually says that some copies of Mark state that Jesus cast out seven demons from Mary Magdalene, which is only mentioned in Mark in 16:9. Many commentators have presented only snippets from Eusebius' composition, and others have badly misquoted it. Readers who wish to see its contents in English must resort to Roger Pearse's book *Eusebius of Caesarea: Gospel Problems and Solutions*.

Eusebius could see from the nature of Marinus' question that Marinus used a text of Mark that contained 16:9, but it is hard to fathom why Eusebius, as a bishop, would instruct Marinus to retain verses 9-20 at all if he really believed that the passage was only found in a few inaccurate manuscripts. It is possible that as Eusebius presented the first solution, he was borrowing material from an earlier writer, so as to inform Marinus of all his options, before presenting the option which he himself recommended. Yet, when Eusebius made his Canon-tables, he did not include Mark 16:9-20. On the question of whether or not Mark 16:9-20 should be retained in the text, Eusebius seems to have been of two minds. But at any rate, he showed that he was aware of some copies of Mark in which the text ended at 16:8. Very probably copies at Caesarea which had been brought from Egypt in the 200s (or which descended from such copies) displayed the abrupt ending, and it was to those copies that Eusebius referred to as the "accurate copies."

Not much weight should be placed on Eusebius' definition of "accurate," however, because although he was best-known as a historian, he was also an apologist, and from his perspective, the most accurate Gospels-MSS were the ones which presented the fewest problems for harmonizers.

What about Jerome? Why is Jerome presented by commentator after commentator as if he regarded Mark 16:9-20 as spurious, and knew of no Greek MSS, or only a few Greek MSS, that contained the passage? The answer is simple: Jerome often took large chunks out of other writers' compositions and included them, with minimal changes, in his own works. He freely admitted

to Augustine that he was a bit of a plagiarist: in *Epistle 75*, chapter 3, after mentioning compositions by Origen, Didymus, and other writers, Jerome stated, *“I have read all these; and storing up in my mind very many things that they contain, I have sometimes dictated to my secretary what was borrowed from other writers, and sometimes what was my own work, without distinctly remembering the method, the words, or the opinions which belonged to each.”*

A little further along, in chapter 5 he said, *“I candidly confess that I read the writings of the fathers, and, complying with universal usage, I put down in my commentaries a variety of explanations, that each may adopt from the number given the one which pleases him.”*

In 406 or 407, Jerome wrote *Epistle 120, To Hedibia*, to answer some questions that a Christian lady from Gaul had asked in a letter. After his opening remarks, in which he shows that he is composing via dictation, he begins to present Hedibia’s questions, followed by his answers. Hedibia’s third question is, “Why do the evangelists speak differently about the resurrection of our Lord, and how He appeared to His apostles?” Jerome responded by dividing her question into a group of sub-questions – and the first three sub-questions in *To Hedibia* are the same as three questions asked by Marinus, and answered by Eusebius, in *To Marinus*. They even appear in the same order. It is very obvious that at this point in *To Hedibia*, Jerome was not spontaneously composing his own material; he was summarizing and translating the contents of *To Marinus*. Here is the part of Jerome’s answer where he makes the comment about MSS of Mark:

“You first ask why Matthew says that our Lord rose ‘on the evening of the Sabbath, when the first day of the following week was just beginning to shine,’ and Saint Mark, on the contrary, said that He arose in the morning, ‘Jesus arising on the first day of the week in the morning appeared to Mary Magdalene, from whom He had expelled seven demons. And she, departing, told those who were His companions, as they mourned and wept. And these, hearing that He was alive, and that she had seen Him, did not believe in Him.’

“This problem has a twofold solution. Either we do not accept the testimony of Mark, on the grounds that this final portion is not contained in most of the Gospels that bear his name – almost all the Greek codices lacking it – or else we must affirm that Matthew and Mark have both told the truth, that our Lord rose on the evening of the Sabbath, and that He was seen by Mary Magdalene in the morning of the first day of the following week.

“So this is how this passage of Saint Mark should be read: “Jesus arising” – place a little pause here – then add, “on the first day of the week in the morning appeared to Mary Magdalene,” so that, being raised, according to Saint Matthew, in the evening of the last day of the week, He appeared to Mary Magdalene, according to Saint Mark, “the morning of the first day of the week,” which is how John also represents the events, stating that He was seen on the morning of the next day.”

That is what many commentators have misrepresented as if it is an independent observation by Jerome, or a rejection of Mark 16:9-20. If Eusebius had not written *To Marinus*, this statement would not have appeared in *To Hedibia*, because this part of *To Hedibia* is an abridged Latin translation of part of *To Marinus*. And just as Eusebius instructed Marinus to retain and harmonize Mark 16:9, Jerome instructed Hedibia to retain and harmonize Mark 16:9.

Jerome showed his acceptance of Mark 16:9-20 in 383 when he included these verses in the Vulgate Gospels. At that time, Jerome standardized the Old Latin texts of the Gospels by bringing them into conformity with the text of ancient Greek copies – copies, that is, that were ancient in the year 383. In 417, his view had not changed; in *Against the Pelagians*, he pictured a champion of orthodoxy explaining where he had seen the interpolation that is now known as the Freer Logion: *“In certain exemplars, and especially in Greek codices, near the end of the Gospel of Mark”* – and then he quoted almost all of Mark 16:14, and then presented the interpolation.

How is it that the same person who included Mark 16:9-20 in the Vulgate, and used Mark 16:14 to show where he had read the Freer Logion, says that “*almost all the Greek copies*” lack Mark 16:9-20? The answer is that this last statement is not from Jerome; it merely ricochets off him; it is from Jerome’s abridged translation of part of Eusebius’ composition *To Marinus*, which he included *To Hedibia* to provide an answer to her broadly worded question.

Clearly the mere mention of Eusebius and Jerome as witnesses against Mark 16:9-20 does not do justice to the evidence they provide. Each one is also aware of manuscripts of Mark that contain 16:9-20, and neither one insists that Mark 16:9-20 should be rejected: Eusebius recommended to Marinus that the passage be punctuated and retained, and Jerome, in his summarized translation of part of Eusebius’ letter to Marinus, made the same recommendation.

Readers should be on guard against trusting shallow lists of names when looking into evidence pertaining to Mark 16:9-20.

The following list of patristic references should give readers some idea of the scope of the patristic evidence that supports Mark 16:9-20. Please do not be exasperated by the length of this chapter; I have included some details about these pieces of evidence in order to avoid offering a simple list of names.

● **Tertullian** (195-220) probably had in mind Mark 16:15 in *Apology* chapter 21: “*He passed forty days with certain of His disciples in Galilee, a region of Judea, teaching them what they were to teach. Afterwards, having commissioned them to the duty of preaching throughout the world, He was taken up into heaven enveloped in a cloud.*” Tertullian probably had in mind Mark 16:15 in *De Fuga in Persecutione* chapter 6: “*So we preach throughout all the world; nay, no special care even for Israel has been laid upon us, except as we are also bound to preach to all nations.*” He seems to have used Mark 16:18 metaphorically in *Scorpiace* chapter 15: “*If anyone in faith will drink this antidote of ours, before being hurt by these poisons which he [i.e., Satan]*

poured forth long ago, or even immediately after being hurt by them, they will not be able to readily injure any of those who are weak.”

● **Hippolytus** (235) made a strong allusion to Mark 16:18 in *Apostolic Tradition* 32:1: “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.” He quoted Mark 16:16-18 in material incorporated into the beginning of Book Eight of *Apostolic Constitutions*: “*With good reason did he say to all of us together, when we were perfected concerning those gifts which were given from him by the Spirit, ‘Now these signs shall follow those who have believed: in my name they shall cast out demons; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they happen to drink any deadly thing, it shall by no means hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.’ These gifts were first bestowed on us the apostles when we were about to preach the gospel to every creature.*”

● The author of *Didascalia Apostolorum* (early 200s) seems to use 16:16 in chapter 20: “To everyone therefore who believes and is baptized his former sins have been forgiven.” He (or she) also appears to use 16:15 in chapter 23: “We had divided the whole world into twelve parts, and were gone forth among the Gentiles into all the world to preach the word.”

● **Vincentius** (256), bishop of Thibarisis, a coastal city in north Africa, was one of many bishops who attended the Seventh Council of Carthage in 256. He referred to Mark 16:15-18 and to Matthew 28:19 in his brief statement: “*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,’ etc.*”

● **The author of *De Rebaptismate*** (c. 258) utilized Mark 16:14 (and other passages) in his description of the unbelief of the apostles: “All the disciples also judged the declaration of the women who had seen the Lord after the resurrection to be idle tales; and some of themselves, when they had seen Him, believed not, but doubted; and they who were not then present believed not at all until they had been subsequently rebuked and reproached in all ways by the Lord Himself, because His death had so offended them that they thought that He had not risen again.”

● **Hierocles** (305), a pagan writer who wrote against Christianity, wrote a shorter work called *Truth-loving Words*, modeled on a more extensive work by his mentor Porphyry. Later, around 405, a writer named Macarius Magnes wrote a reply to Hierocles’ book, although he was unaware that Hierocles was the author. Macarius Magnes quoted many excerpts from the book to which he was responding, including the following challenge:

“Consider in detail that other passage, where he [Jesus] 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 bishop’s or president’s office, 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.”

● **Aphrahat** (336), a Syrian writer, used Mark 16:16-18 in the 17th paragraph of *Demonstration 1: On Faith*: “When our Lord gave the sacrament of baptism to His apostles, He said to them, ‘Whosoever believes and is baptized shall live, and whosoever believes not shall be condemned.’” At the end of the same paragraph, Aphrahat said that Jesus said, “This shall be

the sign for those who believe: they shall speak with new tongues and shall cast out demons, and they shall place their hands on the sick and they shall be made whole.’” This quotation is imprecise but still completely recognizable.

- **The Source-material of *Acts of Pilate*** (early 300s) includes, in chapter 14, a utilization of Mark 16:15-16; two characters in the story report that they saw Jesus after His resurrection, sitting on a mountain with His disciples, saying, *“Go into all the world and preach unto every creature. He who believes and is baptized shall be saved, but he who disbelieves shall be condemned.”*

- **The Freer Logion** (300s) is an interpolation that appears in Codex W (c. 400) after Mark 16:14: *“And they excused themselves, saying, ‘This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow, through the unclean spirits, the truth and the power of God to be understood. So then, reveal your righteousness now.’ Thus they spoke to Christ. And Christ told them, ‘The years of the reign of Satan are fulfilled, but other terrors approach. And for those who have sinned I was delivered unto death, so that they might return to the truth and sin no more, so that in heaven they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness. But”* – and at this point the text rejoins verse 15.

Codex W is the only extant MS that contains the Freer Logion. As I mentioned earlier, Jerome mentioned the existence of Greek codices with this material in *Against the Pelagians*, which he wrote c. 417. The composition-date of the Freer Logion may thus be traced to sometime before the late 300s, prior to Jerome’s visit to Egypt in 386, which is probably when and where he encountered the MSS to which he referred.

- **Fortunatianus** (mid-300s), bishop of Aquileia, wrote the earliest known Latin commentary on the Gospels. He wrote that Mark mentions Jesus’ ascension.

- **Ambrose of Milan** (c. 385), an influential bishop, repeatedly quoted from Mark 16:9-20. In *The Prayer of Job and David* 4:1:4, Ambrose wrote, “*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.’*” Around 384, in *Concerning Repentance*, 1:8 (section 35), he wrote that Jesus said about His disciples, “*In My name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they shall drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall do well.*” He quoted Mark 16:15 to 18 in *Of the Holy Spirit* 2:13 (sections 145 and 151).

In *Of the Christian Faith*, 1:14 (section 86), Ambrose says, “*We have heard the passage read where the Lord says, ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to all creation.’*” By stating specifically the passage had been heard, Ambrose demonstrates that it was included in the series of Gospel-passages selected to be read aloud in the church-services. Ambrose shows in other writings that he had read Eusebius’ *To Marinus*, but he was clearly not persuaded by its statements about MSS of Mark, inasmuch as he used this passage to illustrate the doctrine that Jesus is the Creator, not a creature, and he offers not a hint of hesitation about it.

- **The Claromontanus Catalogue** (300s or earlier) is a list of books and their lengths in an important Greek-Latin copy of the Pauline Epistles (Codex Claromontanus). The composition-date of this list has been assigned to the 300s. The length given for the Gospel of Mark is 1,600 sense-lines, which implies the presence of 16:9-20.

- **Marinus** (c. 325) is the correspondent who wrote to Eusebius. Marinus’ question makes it clear that 16:9 was in his text of Mark.

- **Ephrem** (c. 360), a Syriac-writing bishop of the city of Edessa, wrote a commentary on Tatian’s *Diatessaron*. In his commentary he mentioned that after Jesus’ crucifixion, “*He*

commanded his disciples, 'Go out into the whole world and proclaim my gospel to the whole of creation, and baptize all the Gentiles.'” The Syriac manuscript (Chester Beatty Syriac Manuscript 709) containing this use of Mark 16:15 was produced c. 500.

- ***Apostolic Constitutions*** (380) is a combination of earlier works, such as the *Didascalía*, the *Didache*, and a composition by Hippolytus. Its utilizations of Mark 16:9-20 include a quotation of Mark 16:16 in Book Six.

- **Didymus or Pseudo-Didymus** (380) wrote a Greek composition called *De Trinitate*, in which Mark 16:15-16 is explicitly quoted from the Gospel of Mark. There is some question about whether this was written by Didymus (who taught in Alexandria, Egypt, in the second half of the 300s) or another writer. Either way, it appears to be a composition from the time of Didymus.

- **Augustine** (400), in *On the Soul* 2:23, utilized Mark 16:18, treating the careful reading of heretical books as an allegorical fulfillment of the promise that believers will not be harmed by the poisons of heresy. He also quoted Mark 16:15 in *Fourth Homily on First John, To the Parthians*, chapter 2, and in his *Harmony of the Gospels*.

- **Augustine's Greek Manuscripts** (pre-400) are mentioned by Augustine in *Harmony of the Gospels*, where, in chapters 24 and 25, he commented on Mark 16:9-20 in detail. He stated that Mark reports, “*And after that He appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked and went to a country-seat,*” thus quoting 16:12. Then he wrote, “*In the Greek codices, indeed, the reading which we discover is 'estate' rather than 'country-seat.'*” Augustine thus demonstrates that he found the passage not only in his Latin copies, but also in Greek copies.

- **Epiphanius** (375 to 403), who served as bishop of Salamis on the island of Cyprus, wrote in *Medicine-chest*, 3:6:3, “*As the Gospel of Mark and the other evangelists put it, ‘And he ascended up to heaven and sat on the right hand of the Father.’*”
- **The Cy form of the Old Latin Chapter-Summaries** (300s or earlier). In one form of the Latin lists of chapter-numbers and chapter-titles and chapter-summaries, chapter 47 is summed up as follows: “*After the resurrection, Jesus appeared to the apostles and said, ‘He who believes and is baptized shall be saved, the unbeliever shall be damned,’ and the Lord was received into heaven.*”
- **The Leucian Acts** (300s?) is a collection of pseudepigrapha about the adventures of the apostles. These texts are sometimes assigned to the 200s, and a case could be made that their source-materials are that old. One of them is known as *The Story of John the Son of Zebedee*, and it is preserved in a MSmanuscript from the 500s. It includes clear utilizations of Mark 16:15-16.
- **Chromatius of Aquileia** (380-407) was a colleague of Ambrose and Jerome. In part of the preface to his commentary on Matthew, in a statement modeled on Irenaeus’ descriptions of the Gospels, Chromatius said that Mark is represented by the eagle, “*Because the eagle is often described as in the form of the Holy Spirit, who has spoken through the prophets, he [Mark] is thus depicted in the appearance of an eagle. For also only he reported that our Lord and Savior flew away to heaven, that is, went back to the Father.*” (This implies that Chromatius (and/or Fortunatianus) had a Gospels-text that included Mark 16:9-20, but not the reference to Christ’s ascension in Luke 24:51.)
- **Macarius Magnes** (405), a bishop of the city of Magnesia in Asia Minor, preserved Hierocles’ challenge based on Mark 16:18. Macarius Magnes also replied to Hierocles’ challenge by offering

an allegorical interpretation of the passage, thus demonstrating that the passage was in his own copies of Mark.

- **John Chrysostom** (c. 400), bishop of Constantinople, did not make explicit quotations from Mark 16:9-20, but three statements provide strong cumulative evidence that he was familiar with the passage. He may allude to Mark 16:16 in *Homily 3*, part 6 (on I Cor. 1:17):

“To teach the wrestlers in the games is the task of a spirited and skilled trainer, but to place the crown on the conqueror’s head may be the job of one who cannot even wrestle. So it is with baptism. It is impossible to be saved without it; yet it is no great thing which the baptizer does, finding the will already prepared.” He seems to allude to Mark 16:20 in *Homily 14*, part 2 (on I Cor. 4:19): *“If it were a contest and a time for orators, you might reasonably be elated thereby. But since it is a case of apostles speaking truth, and by signs confirming the same, why are you puffed up”* He seems to refer to Mark 16:9 in *Homily 38*, part 5 (on I Cor. 15:5):

“‘He appeared,’ says Paul, ‘to Cephas; he appeared to above five hundred brethren, he appeared to me also.’ Yet surely the Gospel says the contrary, that He was seen of Mary first.”

- **Doctrine of Addai** (early 400s; earlier source-materials) is a composite-work that preserves its component-parts fairly well. At one point in the story, the character Addai states, *“We were commanded to preach His gospel to the whole creation,”* clearly using Mark 16:15.

- **Pelagius** (400-410), a writer from Britain or Ireland who was an advocate of the doctrine of free will, composed *Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul* in Latin. In a comment on First Thessalonians 2:13, he cited Mark 16:17 in a distinctly non-Vulgate form.

- **Palladius of Ratiaria** (late 300s/early 400s), a little-known Arian bishop who was removed from office at the Council of Aquileia in 381, made a very specific quotation of Mark 16:19, recorded in the margin of the early fifth-century MS Latin 8907 at Paris.

- **Philostorgius** (425), who composed a book called *Church History*, presenting things from a heretic's point of view, was the subject of official condemnation by church-officials, and as a result, his work has barely survived, in an incomplete and summarized form. Joseph Bidez, in his critical edition of Philostorgius' work, identified seven compositions as source-materials used by Philostorgius. One of them was a collection of stories from an "Anonymous Homoean" who wrote around 380.

Among the anecdotes which Bidez attributed to the Anonymous Homoean was a story in which a Christian named Eugenius, when challenged by a Jew to eat a dead snake, did so immediately. The author states, "*Thus there was fulfilled with them the salvation-bringing Gospel-saying, 'And they will pick up snakes with their hands, and if they eat anything deadly, it will not harm them.'*" This reference could be assigned to the late 300s as the work of the Anonymous Homoean, but I have attributed it to Philostorgius due to the possibility that the reference to Mark 16:17 is Philostorgius' own interpretive comment upon the story.

- **Eznik of Golb** (440) was one of the Armenian scholars who took part in the revision of the Armenian translation of the Bible in the 400s. Eznik quoted Mark 16:17-18 in part 112 of his composition "*Against the Sects*" (also known as "*De Deo*") 1:25: "*And again, 'Here are signs of believers: they will dislodge demons, and they will take serpents into their hand, and they will drink a deadly poison and it will not cause harm.'*" This evidence is over 400 years earlier than the earliest Armenian MS of Mark which does not contain Mark 16:9-20.

- **Prosper of Aquitaine** (450), in *The Call of All Nations*, Book Two, chapter 2, after quoting Matthew 28:18-20, wrote, “According to Mark, he speaks thus to the same Apostles: Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, and he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned.” He quoted from Mark 16:15 again in chapter three.
- **John Cassian** (425) appears to use a phrase from Mark 16:17 in *On the Incarnation*, Book Seven, chapter 20, between citations of other passages with a similar theme: “Let us hear God Himself speaking to His disciples: ‘Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils.’ And again: ‘**In My name,**’ He says, ‘**you shall cast out devils.**’
- **Marius Mercator** (around 430) ministered in northern Africa, Rome, and Constantinople, and used bits of Mark 16:16 and 16:20 in *Sermon 10*, from an Old Latin text.
- **Marcus Eremita** (435) quoted Mark 16:18 at the end of ch. 6 of his Greek composition *Against Nestorius*.
- **Nestorius, as cited by Cyril of Alexandria** (c. 440). Cyril of Alexandria (who, contrary to J. Harold Greenlee’s statement, was active in the 400s, not the 100s) wrote a refutation of the heretic Nestorius, and in this refutation he included quotations from Nestorius’ writings. In one of them, Nestorius clearly used Mark 16:20, stating, “For they went forth, it says, preaching the word everywhere, the Lord working with them and the word confirming through the signs which followed.” Cyril did not challenge Nestorius’ quotation; instead, he proceeded to affirm that “the all-wise disciples, everywhere naming Jesus of Nazareth,” relied on Jesus’ power, and he developed objections to Nestorius’ doctrines along other lines. This shows that Nestorius recognized Mark 16:9-20 as Scripture, and indicates that Cyril expressed no objection against that sentiment.

- **Leo the Great** (453), an influential bishop of Rome, quoted Mark 16:16 in *Epistle 120*, a letter to Theodoret of Cyrus dated June 11, 453. In this Latin letter, Leo wrote that Jesus said to His disciples, “*He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned,*” thus quoting Mark 16:16. This is, however, an echo of the Vulgate, rather than an independent line of testimony.
- **Patrick** (mid-400s), the famous missionary to Ireland, loosely cited Mark 16:16 in chapter 20 of *Letter to Coroticus*, and he quoted 16:15-16 in chapter 40 of *Confession*. Patrick used an Old Latin text, not the Vulgate.
- **Peter Chrysologus** (c. 440), bishop of Ravenna, commented extensively on Mark 16:14-20 in his 83rd *Sermon*. He made it clear that he was preaching on a text that was part of the church’s normal series of Scripture-readings.
- **The Martyrdom of St. Eustathius of Mzketha** (500s) contains enough statements about, or from, the Gospels to show that its author was acquainted with either a Gospels-text or a Gospels-harmony. Researcher James Neville Birdsall acknowledged that its text reveals the author’s familiarity with Mark 16:9-20. [See p. 254 of *Collected Papers in Greek and Georgian Textual Criticism*, by James Neville Birdsall, © Gorgias Press LLC 2006.]
- **Severus of Antioch** (early 500s) has sometimes been treated as a witness in favor of the abrupt ending of Mark at 16:8, because in one of his writings he repeated, in a summarized form, the explanation that Eusebius gave to Marinus about how to resolve the apparent discrepancy between Matthew 28:1 and Mark 16:9. But when we see Severus speak for himself, near the end of his 77th *Homily*, he cited Mark 16:19 in the course of resolving another superficial difficulty.

Severus proposed that in Acts 1:4 and 5, Jesus' instructions not to leave Jerusalem must have been intended to mean that the disciples were not to go away for long, or to go far, because if the command had been absolute, it would have precluded obedience to His command to go to Galilee. Then he wrote: "*We must also understand that what is said at the end of the Gospel of Luke – ‘And it came to pass that as He was blessing them, He parted from them and was taken up into heaven,’ – which is the same occasion that is written about in Mark, ‘The Lord, after speaking to them, was taken into heaven and sat at the right hand of God.’ – took place on the fortieth day, following what has been said in the Acts. For what they abridged in their Gospels is developed and explained further along in the account.*"

- **Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae** (500s) used to be attributed to the fourth-century theologian Athanasius, but it should be credited instead to an anonymous author in the 500s. As the author finished his summary of the Gospel of Mark, he wrote, "*Arising, Christ appeared to Mary, from whom he had cast out seven demons. She told the disciples, but they did not believe. Next he appeared to two on the road, who told the eleven. And he rebuked those who had not believed. And he sent them out to preach, and baptize, and to do signs. Then he ascended.*" The Greek-writing author of this composition did not use a Byzantine Gospels-text, for elsewhere, when quoting Mark 1:2, he used the non-Byzantine variant, "in Isaiah the prophet" (instead of "in the prophets").

- **Leontius of Jerusalem** (c. 530) utilized Mark 16:20 in his composition "*Against the Monophysite - Testimonies of the Saints.*"

- **Eugippius** (early 500s), in his book *Thesaurus*, chapter 174, refers to Mark 16:15 and 16:19 in a list of Christ's post-resurrection appearances.

- **Fulgentius of Ruspe** (early 500s), an influential North African bishop, clearly used Mark 16:15-16 in his *Epistle 12*: “*After His bodily resurrection . . . He is found to have said to His disciples, ‘Go into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believes and is baptized shall be saved; he that does not believe shall be condemned.’*” Further along in the same composition, he quoted from Mark 16:16 again. (Many additional instances of the use of Mark 16:9-20 by Latin writers besides Eugippius and Fulgentius could be collected – compositions by writers such as Gregory the Great, who preached on Mark 16:14-20 in his *Homily 29* – but they would only constitute additional evidence that the Vulgate enjoyed wide usage in this period and on into medieval times.)
- ***Martyrium Arethae*** (mid-500s) is an anonymous composition that includes an account about a Christian leader named Theophilus who visited the city of Nedshran in the 520s. The author reports that the Jews of the city had convinced the city’s chief to decline to admit some Byzantine diplomats unless Theophilus himself came and worked some sign. At that point, the author used Mark 16:17: “*Encouraged by the divine promises that signs would accompany those who believe, he agreed unhesitatingly and showed great power in working the wonders requested.*”
- **The Syriac Canon Tables in a Syriac Manuscript from Edessa, the Beth Zagba Syriac Manuscript, and Dawkins 3** (mid/late 500s) show that by the mid-500s someone had thoroughly reconstructed the Eusebian Sections and the Eusebian Canons, and these expanded Section-numbers and Canon-tables were introduced into Syriac copies. Mark 16:9-20 is included in this Syriac cross-reference system, divided into nine sections.
- **Gildas** (500s) is known as the author of *The Ruin and Conquest of Britain*. In the preface to this work he cited a series of snippets

from the Old and New Testaments; one of them is from Mark 16:16. (This may be a later expansion.)

- **The Book of the Enthronement of the Archangel Michael** (pre-600), a little known Coptic text, was mentioned in a sermon by John of Parallos in the very early 600s. It includes a full quotation of Mark 16:17-18 (with the variant “*And in their hands*” in verse 18).

- **The Life of Saint Samson of Dol** (600s) contains stories about one of the saints who spread the word in Britain in the 500s. In Book One, chapter 16, the author stated that Samson, aware that a cup set before him had been poisoned, remembered the word of the Gospel where Christ says concerning His faithful who trust in Him, “*If they shall drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them,*” and so Samson happily entered the refectory, made the sign of the cross over his own vessel, drank it dry without any wavering of mind, and never felt the slightest heartache from it.

- **The Commentary of Pseudo-Jerome on Mark** (600s). This Latin commentary features extensive comments on Mark 16:9-20, treating it in the same manner as the rest of the book.

- **A Coptic Encomium Attributed to John Chrysostom** (600s?) is preserved in British Museum MS Oriental No. 7024 (from 985). Its author claims to have found a book about the apostles, and in this book it said, “*We, the apostles, were gathered together to our Savior upon the Mount of Olives, after he had made Himself to rise again from the dead. And He spoke to us and commanded us, saying, ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach unto the people thereof the Gospel of the kingdom.’*” Among several interesting features is the clear use of Mark 16:15.

- **Revelation of the Magi** (600s? – initial production-date: 100s?) is known from the Syriac text in a single MS (Vatican Syriac MS 162); the Syriac text was produced in 775. It has not received

much study. Brent Landau, in his 2008 dissertation, proposed that it was composed in stages in the 100s-400s. In Section 31:10, Mark 16:15 is clearly used; the apostle Thomas is depicted stating, “*Let us fulfill the commandment of our Lord, who said to us, ‘Go out into the entire world and preach my gospel.’*”

How many of these 55 patristic references that support Mark 16:9-20 are listed in the standard reference-works on the Greek New Testament? The textual apparatus of the 27th edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* lists **three**. It lists the Latin translation of Irenaeus, Eusebius’ MSS, and Jerome’s MSS as the patristic witnesses that support Mark 16:9-20. Readers are explicitly assured by Kurt and Barbara Aland that the documentation in the apparatus of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* is “practically complete” and “comparable to expectations for a large critical edition.” [See p. 245 of *The Text of the New Testament*, by Kurt and Barbara Aland, © 1987 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.]

What about the textual apparatus for Mark 16:9-20 in the United Bible Societies’ *Greek New Testament*? It has changed chaotically. The first (1966) and second (1968) editions (which plainly listed Clement and Origen as witnesses for the omission of verses 9-20) listed the following patristic witnesses as support for verses 9-20:

- (1) Diatessaron^{a, i, n} (that is, the Arabic, Italian, and Old Dutch witnesses to the Diatessaron)
- (2) Justin? (thus conveying that Justin offers possible support)
- (3) Irenaeus^{gr, lat} (that is, the Greek and Latin texts of Irenaeus’ *Against Heresies*)
- (4) Tertullian
- (5) Aphraates (that is, Aphrahat)
- (6) Apostolic Constitutions
- (7) Didymus.

Further along in the apparatus of the second edition of the *GNT*, in evidence-lists for variants within Mark 16:9-20, there are references to Ambrose, Augustine, Hippolytus, Jacob of Nisibis, and manuscripts of *Acts of Pilate*.

In the fourth revised edition (2001) of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*, Clement and Origen are no longer listed as witnesses for the omission of verses 9-20. Tertullian and the *Diatessaron* are no longer listed as a witness for the inclusion of verses 9-20. Justin's name has been removed too, even though a very strong case can be made that Justin utilized the language of Mark 16:20 in *First Apology* 45.

The patristic witnesses listed as support for the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 are:

- (1) Irenaeus^{lat} (that is, the Latin text of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*)
- (2) ms^{Sacc.} to Eusebius (that is, manuscripts mentioned by Eusebius)
- (3) Asterius^{vid} (that is, Asterius, probably)
- (4) Apostolic Constitutions
- (5) Didymus^{dub} (that is, *De Trinitate*, assigned to Didymus but thought by some researchers to have been written by someone else)
- (6) Epiphanius^{1/2} (that is, one of two statements by Epiphanius)
- (7) Marcus-Eremita
- (8) Severian (that is, Severian of Gabala)
- (9) Nestorius
- (10) ms^{Sacc.} to Severus (that is, manuscripts mentioned by Severus of Antioch)
- (11) Rebaptism (that is, *De Rebaptismate*)
- (12) Ambrose
- (13) mss^{acc.} to Jerome
- (14) Augustine

Suppose that somehow instead of having 54 patristic compositions that support the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20, we only have 50. In that case, the textual apparatus of the UBS' *Greek New Testament* would list almost a third of the patristic testimony in favor of Mark 16:9-

20. That is unacceptably incomplete.

The apparatus-list for Mark 16:9-20 in the fourth edition of the UBS' *Greek New Testament* is drastically different from the one in the second edition. Jacob of Nisibis is no longer cited in the evidence-list at 16:17. That is half an improvement. But instead of replacing his name with the correct name (Aphrahat), they have removed this reference entirely!

In addition, in the fourth revised edition, the textual apparatus lists "Epiphanius ½" as a witness for the omission of verses 9-20. This refers, however, to Epiphanius' report of how many sections each Gospel has in the Eusebian Canons. This is very misleading. Likewise Hesychius is listed as a witness for the omission of verses 9-20, but Hort long ago analyzed the evidence from Hesychius and dismissed it as non-evidence. Hesychius' reference to the end of Mark's report does not refer to the end of Mark's Gospel; it refers only to what Mark reported about the angel(s) at the tomb. Manuscript GA 304 is listed, too, without any indication that most of its commentary is derived from Theophylact's work. Codex Vaticanus is mentioned, with no indication that the scholars who prepared the apparatus are aware of its distinctive blank space after Mark 16:8. Likewise there is no indication anywhere in the apparatus to inform readers that Codex Sinaiticus has Mark 14:54-Luke 1:56 written on replacement-pages, or that it has emphatic decorative lines across the column after Mark 16:8.

If a seminary professor were to give a student the assignment of preparing a list of the patristic evidence that supports Mark 16:9-20, and the student submitted the apparatus-entry in the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*, the student's grade would be either "Incomplete" or "F."

The negligence and sloppiness on display in the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament's* textual apparatus (which has even more errors in it, which I have not mentioned) has been absorbed by very many commentators, who have confidently restated its contents for their own readers. This has yielded statements such as Eduard Schweizer's claim that only "a few

church fathers” were acquainted with verses 9-20. [See p. 374 of *The Good News According to Mark*, by Eduard Schweizer, © M. E. Bratcher 1970, published by John Knox Press, Richmond, Virginia, Donald Madwig, translator.] (In 2011, commentator Mary Ann Beavis recommended Schweizer’s commentary to readers desiring to learn more about the ending of Mark. [See the *Paideia* commentary-series volume *Mark*, by Mary Ann Beavis, © 2011 by Mary Ann Beavis, published by Baker Academic.]

Versional Evidence

In all the non-Greek manuscripts up to the 700s, only three manuscripts in which the text of Mark 16 is presented do not contain any part of verses 9-20. One is the Sinaitic Syriac MS, produced in the late 300s. (This is just one manuscript, not “manuscripts.”) [Kelly Iverson take note.]

Another non-Greek MS in which Mark ends at 16:8 is a Sahidic MS that has been assigned a production-date around 425 (Codex P. Palau-Ribes Inv. Nr. 182). It is kept in Barcelona, Spain. The third is the Latin Codex Bobbiensis, from the early 400s, which has the Shorter Ending after a shortened form of verse 8.

The Greek MSS with the Shorter Ending echo an ancient Egyptian form of the text of Mark 16 in which Mark ended at verse 8. There would be no reason for anyone to compose the Shorter Ending if their copies had contained verses 9-20. These copies thus provide indirect, but meaningful, evidence for the existence of the abrupt ending in Egypt. Recently a Coptic amulet has been shown to contain the beginnings and ends of each Gospel as they existed in an early form of the Sahidic Version, and for the Gospel of Mark, 16:8 is presented as the last verse. This adds to the evidence that in the 200s, the text of Mark circulated in Egypt in a form that ended at 16:8.

Codex Bobbiensis was almost certainly made in Egypt. Its text of Mark 16 is highly anomalous: it omits the names of the women in verse one; it includes an interpolation between

verses 3 and verse 4 which resembles a scene from the spurious *Gospel of Peter*, and it omits the part of verse 8 that mentions that the women said nothing to anyone. Even its presentation of the Shorter Ending contains mistakes that would embarrass any experienced copyist. For instance, instead of writing “from east to west,” the copyist of Codex Bobbiensis wrote “from east to east,” and instead of writing “Peter,” (Latin “*Petro*”) he wrote “a child” (“*puero*”).

In Matthew 6:10, Bobbiensis’ scribe mangled the Latin phrase for “Thy kingdom come.” Similar aberrations occur throughout the codex (which now consists of only parts of Matthew and Mark), demonstrating that the copyist who made Codex Bobbiensis was a rather incompetent copyist who was only slightly familiar with the material he was copying. [See pp. 107-108, *Further Notes on Codex k*, by F. C. Burkitt, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. V, 1904. See also the adjacent article by C. H. Turner. Both authors express a suspicion that the copyist of Codex Bobbiensis was a pagan, or else a brand-new convert.] The main thing to see is that Codex Bobbiensis does not enlarge the geographical range of the evidence for the abrupt ending at 16:8.

Meanwhile, non-Greek manuscripts from before the 700s that support the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 include the following:

- **Gothic Codex Argenteus** (from the 500s) is the chief representative of the Gothic translation which was made by Wulfilas in about 350. It thus echoes a form of Mark that existed at about the same time that Codex Sinaiticus was made. The last page of Mark from this manuscript was lost for some time, and 16:11 was the last intact verse, but in 1970 the last page was found, so Codex Argenteus now contains all of Mark 16:9-20.
- **Early copies of the Peshitta** (500s) represent a translation of the Gospels into Syriac that was probably made sometime around 375-420. Hundreds of copies of the Peshitta exist (most are medieval), and they all contain Mark 16:9-20.

- **The Curetonian Syriac** (c. 425) is a very mutilated manuscript that displays a Syriac Gospels-text remarkably similar to the text of the Sinaitic Syriac. Yet they are not copies of exactly the same Syriac version; while the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript clearly ends Mark at 16:8, the Curetonian Syriac manuscript contains (due to extensive damage) hardly any text from Mark at all; the sole material from Mark in the Curetonian Syriac is from Mark 16:17-20.
- **Old Latin Codex Corbeiensis** (*ff* 2) (400s) echoes an Old Latin version composed before the Vulgate was made. Its text of Mark includes 16:9-20 (parts of verses 15-18 have been damaged).
- **Old Latin Fragmenta Sangallensia** (*n*) (400s) echoes an Old Latin version that predates the production of the Vulgate. Its extant pages include Mark 16:9 through 13. A supplement, which has been categorized separately (as Old Latin “*o*”), contains the rest of the passage.
- **Early copies of the Vulgate**, as mentioned earlier, are all descended from the work of Jerome in 383.

If I were to individually list all the non-Greek MSS that support the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20, up to the date of the youngest piece of evidence listed in the United Bible Societies’ *Greek New Testament* for the omission of the passage, the list would run into the thousands.

I have not addressed the evidence from the Armenian and Georgian versions because research into these versions has not yet reached a firm conclusion about the contents of Mark 16 in the earliest stages of these versions. Colwell’s investigation, made in 1937, cannot be considered sufficient considering how many Armenian MSS have been catalogued since that time. A few generalized remarks here may be better than nothing at all.

Bruce Metzger's statement in *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* that "about one hundred Armenian manuscripts, and the two oldest Georgian manuscripts (written A.D. 897 and A.D. 913)" do not contain Mark 16:9-20 is technically true. But he did not inform his readers that Eznik of Golb, one of the scholars who assisted in the revision of the Armenian Version in the 430s, used Mark 16:17-18 in one of his compositions. Nor did mention that the Georgian version was translated from Armenian; as a result many readers are guaranteed to get the false impression that the Armenian and Georgian versions represent two independent lines of evidence.

In addition, Metzger did not mention that hundreds of other Armenian manuscripts include Mark 16:9-20. One of those copies is Matenadaran-2374 (formerly known as Etchmiadsin-229), a Gospels-manuscript produced in 989 which, according to an annotation, was copied from "authentic and old" exemplars. The covers and illustrations that accompany the main part of Matenadaran-2374 are from the 500s or 600s, and if they were taken from the manuscript of which Matenadaran-2374 is a copy (which is likely), this implies a line of descent for this particular Armenian manuscript that goes back to the earliest detectable stages of the transmission of the text of the Gospels in Armenian. In addition, Armenian and Georgian patristic writings (already described) add further confirmation that Mark 16:9-20 was used in Armenia and Georgia long before the earliest existing Armenian and Georgian manuscripts of Mark were produced.

Metzger's *Textual Commentary* did not describe the history of how the Armenian Version was made. After a somewhat rudimentary rendering from Syriac around 410, in 431-440 the text was brought into conformity with Greek copies which Armenian scholars brought to Armenia from Constantinople. When Armenian Gospels-manuscripts are separated into groups, and the many late medieval copies whose text appears to have been conformed to the Vulgate are set aside, among the groups that remain is a large group of Armenian manuscripts which display a Gospels-text with a distinctly Caesarean character.

The Armenian codices with a Caesarean Gospels-text are descended from the revision that was made on the basis of the Greek codices that were taken to Armenia from Constantinople in 431, and probably those Greek copies from Constantinople were among the 50 copies that had been prepared under the supervision of Eusebius of Caesarea, on orders from Constantine, for the use of the congregations in Constantinople. This explains the inconsistency of the Armenian evidence. There appear to be two early forms of the text of Mark in Armenian, and both descend from the 400s.

If one of those forms was produced during 431-440 as a result of conforming the Armenian Gospels-text to the Greek text of manuscripts that had been produced in Caesarea (and then used in Constantinople), then all the Armenian and Georgian evidence for the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 may essentially echo manuscripts from the same scriptorium where Eusebius and Acacius worked, and where Vaticanus and Sinaiticus were produced in the 300s – MSS which themselves echo a form of the text of Mark that was used in Egypt in the early 200s, before Origen and his collection of MSS moved from Alexandria to Caesarea in 231.

Lectionary Evidence

A Gospels-lectionary is a collection of passages from the Gospels arranged in the order in which they were to be read in the church-services over the course of a year. Although most existing lectionaries are medieval or later, the assignment of specific Gospels-passages for specific days on the calendar goes back to ancient times. In hundreds of Gospels-lectionaries used by Greek-speaking congregations in medieval times, Mark 16:9-20 is featured as a Scripture selection (or “lection”) to be read on Ascension-Day. Mark 16:9-20 is also the third of the eleven “Resurrection Gospels,” or “*Heothina*,” a series of Scripture-readings for Sunday mornings. In many manuscripts of Mark, at

the top of the page on which 16:9 begins, a note in red ink identifies Mark 16:9-20 as the lection for Ascension-Day; frequently the note includes an introductory phrase which was to be used when the passage was read aloud in the church services.

In the 400s, the Byzantine lection-cycle included Mark 16:9-20. The lectionary-system used by the Jacobite Copts also included Mark 16:9-20. The passage was used by the Jacobite Syrians as a reading during Easterweek.

The Palestinian Aramaic lectionary also included it. A statement from Ambrose shows that it was used in the church-services in Milan in the late 300s. Statements from Augustine show that it was used in the church-services in North Africa c. 400. The establishment of this passage in the normal cycle of readings in church-services over such a broad area shines a bright hot light on Jerome's statement that hardly any Greek codices contain Mark 16:9-20 – proving that Jerome harvested that claim from Eusebius' *To Marinus*, rather than from his own experience.

Mark 16:9-20's prominence in widespread lectionary-systems is a real problem for those who have tried to maintain that Eusebius' statement – or rather, one of the statements that Eusebius mentioned – the statement that hardly any copies have Mark 16:9-20 – reflected a situation which was typical throughout the Roman Empire. The lectionaries show that Mark 16:9-20 was recognized as Scripture in congregations throughout the Roman Empire (except in part of Egypt). Those who have proposed that Mark 16:9-20 was gradually accepted in the Middle Ages must believe that at some point, bishops introduced previously unheard-of material into the church services at Easter-time and on Ascension-Day, and that nobody objected to this novelty – even though it portrays the apostles in a negative light, it does not include the triune baptismal formula from the Great Commission, and it says that Jesus prophesied that believers will handle snakes and survive poison-drinking.

Besides the widespread Byzantine lectionary-system (represented by lectionaries more than 1,000 years old, such as

lectionaries #2, 17, 34, 42, 64, 115, 183, 250, and 292), a fragment of a Sahidic lectionary includes part of Mark 16:16-20, and Sahidic Oriental Manuscript 7029 includes Mark 16:1-20 in a list of lections. The *Liber Commicus*, a Latin lectionary produced in 1067, echoes a Gospels-text used in Spain which displays Old Latin variants; one of its lections for Ascension-Day is Mark 16:15-20.

Ignorance about lectionaries was not only displayed by Brooks and Bock but also by the producers of the first and second editions of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*, which incorrectly listed lectionaries 961 and 1602 as if they contained the Shorter Ending after verses 9-20. Fortunately this error is not in the fourth edition. Brooks' claim that the text of Mark ends at 16:8 in most Greek lectionaries, however, is sure to be spread far and wide by some of his readers, just like the false claim (spread by Craig A. Evans *et al*) that "many of the earlier manuscripts" mark off verses 9-20 with asterisks or obeli, and the other false and/or misleading claims that were presented at the beginning of this essay.

A review of scholarly descriptions of the external evidence pertaining to Mark 16:9-20 reveals that most commentators (including the authors of some of the most influential commentaries in print), if they discuss the external evidence at all, do so in an incomplete manner characterized by sloppiness. They are responsible for spreading all kinds of false statements and false impressions about the pertinent manuscript evidence, patristic evidence, versional evidence, and lectionary evidence. That is the foundation of the current academic consensus against Mark 16:9-20.

Something should be said about current interpretations of the **internal** evidence pertaining to Mark 16:9-20. In previous generations the external evidence was hailed as pivotal; the role of internal evidence was mainly corroborative. But several recent commentators, after sketchily describing the external evidence, have treated the internal evidence as if it provides the

real justification for the rejection of Mark 16:9-20. This treatment consists of three parts.

First, these commentators interpret the abrupt ending at Mark 16:8 as if Mark intentionally stopped writing there. This defies common sense, inasmuch as *(a)* Mark foreshadows, in 14:28 and 16:7, a future meeting between Jesus and the disciples in Galilee, *(b)* Mark would thus depict the women as if they disobeyed the angel's command, despite knowing that they had reported to the disciples as Matthew states, *(c)* Mark would thus deliberately omit some of what Peter had preached about Jesus, and *(d)* it is stylistically very improbable that Mark, or anyone else, would intentionally end a narrative with a sentence ending with the Greek word "*gar*." The analysis offered by commentators such as Robert Stein and Robert Gundry and James Edwards makes mincemeat of the idea that Mark 16:8 is an intentional ending.

Nevertheless several commentators convinced themselves that Mark meant to stop writing at 16:8. Those commentators claim that a growing number of commentators adhere to such a view – which is true (and which reflects poorly on modern scholarship). But when it comes to their explanation of *why* Mark ended his narrative there, many different reasons have been proposed. The abrupt ending is supposed to motivate readers to believe in Jesus without seeing Him after His resurrection (as if Mark thought that if he were to write about Jesus' post-resurrection appearances, readers would think that they themselves had personally seen the risen Jesus). The abrupt ending is supposed to encourage readers to re-read the book. The abrupt ending is supposed to encourage readers to travel to Galilee and await the Second Coming. The abrupt ending is supposed to encourage readers to develop the kind of state of mind that the disciples had when they were in Galilee. The abrupt ending is supposed to challenge readers to complete the story by having Jesus live through them, and so on and so forth.

The commentators who regard Mark 16:8 as an intentional ending are in disarray when it comes to proposing Mark's intention. Even if they were united, though, this would not

improve their view. Whatever reasons can be imagined to *not* describe Jesus' post-resurrection appearances are overwhelmed by the very strong reasons Mark had to describe them. Christ's post-resurrection appearances were, as Paul makes clear in First Corinthians 15, a very important concern, and not the sort of thing that Mark, urged by Christians at Rome to provide a written record of Peter's recollections about Jesus, would fail to mention just so that he could deliberately perplex his readers.

The commentators who have misinterpreted Mark 16:8 have told us more about their own interpretive creativity than they have told us about Mark. If they had been told that Mark stopped writing at 15:39 or 15:47 or 16:7, the proposals that they are already using to depict 16:8 as a deliberate ending could, with only slight adjustments, be used to defend the theory that he deliberately stopped writing at one of those points.

Second, commentators have misrepresented Mark 16:9-20 as if it is a patchwork composition made by someone who depended upon the other Gospels and Acts for his information. Typically after listing similarities between the contents of Mark 16:9-20 and parallel-accounts, these commentators seem to have thought that their point was proven (as if the same thing can't be done for most of the rest of the Gospel of Mark). These commentators do not present sustained verbal parallels between the contents of Mark 16:9-20 and the parallel-accounts, and there's a good reason for that: **there aren't any**.

Typically these commentators have either neglected to mention the parts of Mark 16:9-20 that are distinct, or else they have dismissed Mark 16:17-18 as "weird" or "bizarre." I have yet to see any commentator explain (1) why a person who was aware of Matthew 28 depicted the eleven apostles as if they failed to believe the report in which they were summoned to go to Galilee, or (2) why a person who was aware of Luke 24 stated that Jesus appeared to the eleven disciples after, rather than during, the report of the two travelers, or (3) why a person who was aware of John 21 did not use it, or (4) why a person aware of Matthew 28:19 did not repeat the triune baptismal formula found there, or (5) why a

person who was attempting to compose an ending to add to Mark 16:8 did not round off or continue the scene in 16:8.

Although several commentators have claimed that Mark 16:9-20 is “obviously” based on the other Gospels, their claim does not survive close scrutiny. The opposite is true: the internal evidence shows that these verses were not composed by someone who possessed copies of the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John.

Third, recent commentators have emphasized “non-Markan” characteristics of Mark 16:9-20. This is partly a symptom of their dependence upon Bruce Metzger’s statements about the vocabulary and style of these verses. Dr. Daniel B. Wallace’s approach is typical: he claimed that the internal evidence is “devastating,” but he did not present the details of this devastating evidence. The difference in *vocabulary*, it is claimed, is devastating, but this cannot be true since Mark 15:40-16:4 contains more once-used words than verses 9-20 do – a point which many commentators seem determined to avoid mentioning.

Josh Buice is another evangelical (now preaching in Douglasville, Georgia) who has declined to treat Mark 16:9-20 as Scripture. He reasoned, “The longer ending of Mark (16:9-20) contains at least 14 different words that are not found anywhere else in the Gospel of Mark. Considering the fact that John Mark is ending his work on Jesus’ life and ministry, it would be rather odd to start inserting new vocabulary in the last 12 verses of his work.”

Does his proposal make sense? Are “at least 14” once-used words in a 12-verse segment sufficient to show that such a segment is non-Markan? A researcher named Karim al-Hanifi has made a thorough investigation of the text of Mark to test that idea. He discovered the following:

- Mark 1:1-12 has 17 once-used words.
- Mark 2:16-27 has 18 once-used words.
- Mark 4:13-24 has 16 once-used words.
- Mark 4:37-5:7 has 17 once-used words.
- Mark 6:49-7:4 has 17 once used words.
- Mark 7:17-28 has 21 once-use words.
- Mark 11:31-12:9 has 16 once-used words.

Mark 12:34-13:1 has 19 once-used words.

Mark 13:14-13:25 has 21 once-used words.

Mark 13:26-13:37 has 16 once-used words.

Mark 14:1-14:12 has 20 once-used words.

Mark 14:37-14:48 has 19 once-used words.

Mark 15:13-15:24 has 23 once-used words.

Mark 15:37-16:1 has 24 once-used words.

Thus the rejection of Mark 16:9-20 merely because it has fourteen (or eighteen) words that do not occur else where in Mark is cavalier in the extreme, and does not take into consideration how many other passages in Mark utilize even more words which Metzger's loaded terminology would call "non-Markan."

The non-use of the terms "immediately" and "again" is said to be devastating, but this is simply not the case; the same thing is true of a third of the 12-verse sections of Mark.

At the same time, features of Mark 16:9-20 that are consistent with Mark's vocabulary and style are dismissed as mimicry. Anything that is unique – such as the use of the number "eleven" (as if Mark never counter beyond 10) – is treated as if it shows that Mark did not write verses 9-20, and whatever is *not* unique is *also* treated as if it shows that Mark did not write verses 9-20!

One piece of internal evidence testifies strongly in favor of the view that Mark 16:9-20 is not the ending with which Mark intended to end his account: the non-transition between verse 8 and verse 9. Although in Mark 16:1-8, Mark describes the day and the time of the women's visit to the tomb, and although he names two companions of Mary Magdalene who went to the tomb with her, in verse 9 the day and the time are stated again, and there is no mention of Mary Magdalene's companions at all. In addition, throughout verses 9-20, there is no record of the disciples journeying to Galilee, and the post-resurrection appearances of Christ in these 12 verses occur in or near Jerusalem instead.

Some of my readers, when they observe that Mark 16:9-20 is in 99% of the Greek manuscripts, and that it has ancient and widespread patristic support, and that it occupies a

prominent place in the lectionary, and that it was used to establish doctrine in the Reformation (by Martin Luther, for example), may conclude that there is no reason to seek an explanation for this aspect of the internal evidence, on the grounds that it is already clear that God would not have allowed His church to use Mark 16:9-20 so prominently, and for so long, unless He had inspired the passage. *Has the church asked for bread, and been given a stone, all this time?* Those readers may consider the matter settled.

Others, though, may want a scientific explanation. For them, I offer the following hypothesis:

When Mark was writing what we now know as chapter 16, and reached the end of 16:8, he was compelled by a sudden emergency to stop writing at that point. Without time to finish the text or oversee the preparation of copies of it, he entrusted it to colleagues at Rome to finish and to distribute, and then he left the city of Rome.

Let's stop there for a minute to ask a question: would that mean that verses 9-20 are not an authentic, original part of the text? Daniel B. Wallace seems to think so, stating, "The key issue for internal evidence is whether it is likely that Mark would have written vv. 9-20 or not." I emphatically disagree with the idea that if we cannot scientifically establish that a passage is likely to have been added by the main human author of a book, we should exclude that passage from the canon, and regard it as unoriginal, uninspired, and uncanonical. Such a principle cannot be applied consistently to all of the books of the Bible without catastrophic results.

If we were to reject all the passages in the Bible that can be reasonably regarded as unlikely to have been added by the book's primary human author, then entire chapters of some books would be jettisoned from the Bible. There goes Jeremiah 52 (on the grounds that Jeremiah 51:64 plainly says that the words of Jeremiah end there). There go Proverbs 30 and Proverbs 31 (because these chapters were obviously written by Agur and Lemuel). There go many of the Psalms. And if some scholars' interpretations of the Gospel of John are adopted, there goes John

21. If other scholars' interpretations of the Pauline Epistles are adopted, the last four chapters of Second Corinthians go next.

I am confident that Mark wrote the twelve verses under discussion – but as a matter of Bibliological method, the question that matters is not, “Who wrote this passage?” but, “Was this passage in the text when the book’s production-stage ended and its transmission-stage began?”.

We routinely accept that numerous passages in the Old Testament did not come directly from the primary human author of the book in which they are found. We do not regard as authoritative only those parts that bear the clear verbal fingerprints, so to speak, of the primary human author. Instead, we accept as authoritative the text in the form which it had when its production-stage was finished and its transmission-stage began, whether it was the work of a single human author, or several (as is the case in the book of Psalms).

Having answered the objections that were based on internal evidence, the remaining task is to account for the external evidence that shows that the Gospel of Mark circulated in Egypt without 16:9-20 in the early 200s.

Let’s return to the scenario I was describing: as Mark was in the process of writing chapter 16 in the city of Rome, having been urged by his fellow Christians there to write down a definitive collection of Peter’s remembrances about Jesus, a sudden emergency – persecution – arose, and Mark was compelled to place his unfinished Gospel-account into the hands of a co-worker, to whom he entrusted the tasks of finishing its text and beginning its distribution to the churches.

This co-worker possessed a short freestanding text which Mark had written about Jesus’ post-resurrection appearances. Refusing to compose a new ending, Mark’s co-worker attached that previously freestanding composition in order to conclude Mark’s otherwise unfinished account. The non-transition between the end of 16:8 and the beginning of 16:9 was not considered objectionable.

After this was done, copies of the Gospel of Mark began to be produced and distributed at Rome for Christians to read. Those copies contained Mark 1:1 to 16:20. When a copy of the Gospel of Mark 1:1-16:20 reached Egypt, someone there remembered encountering the final section as a separate text, rather than as part of the recollections of Peter. This overly meticulous person, believing that only the remembrances of Peter should be included in the Gospel of Mark, removed the verses – not necessarily because he completely rejected them, but because he believed that they should properly be treated as a separate composition.

Thus copies of Mark in Egypt began to be copied which contained only 1:1-16:8. Later on, someone in Egypt who could not tolerate the abrupt stop of the narrative composed the Shorter Ending.

This hypothesis requires that Mark 16:9-20 be included in any compilation intended to represent the original text of Mark – the text in the form in which the book existed when the production of the autograph ended, and the task of making copies began. It fully accounts for its very early attestation, for the immense scope of its support in manuscripts, patristic writings, versions, and lectionaries, and for its internal characteristics.

END OF THE INTRODUCTORY ESSAY



PREFACE



Does Mark 16:9-20 belong in the Bible? We have seen what many commentators say. But we have also seen an embarrassing, disgraceful amount of inaccuracy, selectivity, and groupthink affecting their work, even at the highest levels of scholarship, on this subject. Distortions and embellishments about these twelve verses are found in almost all modern-day commentaries on the Gospel of Mark. Misplaced trust in those distortions and embellishments is the primary reason why many Christians have denied the authenticity of Mark 16:9-20. May future scholars and commentary-writers pay more attention to the words of Proverbs 18:9: **he who is negligent in his work is a brother to him who destroys.**

Does Mark 16:9-20 belong in the Bible? Yes, and in the course of this book I will explain why. Against the expected charge that the basis for this answer is a sentimental attachment to tradition, I insist that my answer is compelled by the evidence. For that reason, most of this book consists of an investigation into the major evidence that pertains to this particular textual contest. First we shall consider the external evidence – manuscripts, patristic writings, and other sources.

Then we shall look into the internal evidence, testing the theory that these verses were created and inserted by a second-century copyist whose style and vocabulary differed from that of Mark.

After the evidence has been presented, I will test the plausibility of competing theories about the origin of Mark 16:9-20, and offer a theory which fully accounts for the external evidence and the internal evidence – a theory which includes the point that Mark 16:9-20 was present in the original text of the Gospel of Mark. But why keep you in suspense? Here is the gist of

the theory which accounts for the most evidence in the fewest quantities, as I already explained in the introductory essay:

Mark, after spreading the word with Paul (on his first missionary journey) and with Barnabas (on Cyprus), also preached in Alexandria, Egypt, until he was called to Rome to assist Peter. Peter was martyred in Rome in about 66. During the years when Mark served as Peter's assistant, Mark distributed collections of Peter's speeches when requested to do so. Shortly after Peter's death, Mark decided to put Peter's remembrances of Jesus into a definitive form.

That task was almost complete when an emergency arose – probably a direct attack by Roman persecutors – that forced Mark to suddenly stop writing and flee to Alexandria (where, according to a later tradition, he was martyred in 68). He entrusted his unfinished work to his Christian colleagues at Rome. Mark's Roman co-workers desired to release his Gospel for the benefit of the church, but they knew that Mark had not finished it. Not wishing to attach their own words, they decided to complete the account by attaching another text to it – a text which they already saw as authoritative: a brief composition that Mark had already written about Jesus' post-resurrection appearances, and which the churches at Rome already used.

This formerly freestanding account of Christ's post-resurrection appearances is what we know as Mark 16:9-20. Thus, when the Gospel of Mark reached the end of its production-stage and was initially released for church-use, it contained this passage.

This theory is essentially the same as the second of two theories which commentator George Maclear offered in 1883. After a brief review of the best-known external and internal evidence that was available in 1883, Maclear stated:

“The conclusion, therefore, appears to be that the passage is both genuine and authentic, and the most probable solutions of the special features of the verses are: — Either (*a*) That the Evangelist being prevented at the time from closing his narrative as fully as he had intended, possibly in consequence of the death of St. Peter, or the outbreak of the terrible persecution under Nero, *himself* added

in another land and under more peaceful circumstances the conclusion which we now possess; Or
(b) That it was added *by some other hand* shortly, if not immediately afterwards, but, at any rate, before the publication of the Gospel itself, and this in part accounts for its having been so early and widely accepted and transmitted as it has been.”⁹⁰¹ⁿ

This theory may initially seem objectionable to people who have assumed that books of the Bible must be written by one and only one inspired author. Thoughtful consideration of similar features in other books of the Bible will remove that objection. In the Old Testament, there are numerous instances of small notes, anecdotes, and even entire chapters (such as Jeremiah 52) which originated with individuals other than the main author. Bible-readers of every theological complexion acknowledge that books such as Psalms and Proverbs are compilations; to isolate the work of a single contributor and call it the original text would result in a much shorter book.

Different psalms have come from different authors, some known and some unknown. Paul named Timothy as co-author of the letter to the Philippians. Silvanus assisted the composition of First Peter. Several other examples could be supplied. Therefore a consistent definition of the “original text” cannot be restricted to the work of the main author of a book of the Bible; the original text is defined as the text as it existed when it was initially disseminated for church-use.

By that definition, Mark 16:9-20 is part of the original text, and therefore should be regarded as authentic and authoritative Scripture.

Before we begin exploring the external evidence, I present a literal translation of the last twelve verses of Mark.

⁹Having risen early on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons. ¹⁰She went and told those who had been with him, as they mourned and wept. ¹¹And they, hearing that he is alive and has been seen by her, did not believe.

¹²After these things, he was revealed in another form to two of them as they were walking, going into the country. ¹³These went and told it to the rest, but they did not believe them either.

¹⁴Later, when they were sitting down *at table*, he was revealed to the eleven, and he rebuked their unbelief and hard-heartedness, because they did not believe those who had seen him after he had risen. ¹⁵And he said to them, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation. ¹⁶He who believes and is baptized will be saved, but he who disbelieves will be condemned. ¹⁷These signs will accompany the believers: in my name they will cast out demons, they will speak with new languages, ¹⁸and in their hands they will take up serpents, and if they drink anything deadly, it will in no way hurt them; they will lay hands upon the sick, and they will recover."

¹⁹So then the Lord Jesus, after speaking to them, was taken up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God. ²⁰And these, having gone forth, preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by the accompanying signs. Amen.

PART ONE: EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

Chapter 1: External Evidence from the 100s

It is frequently assumed, when appeals are made to the oldest manuscripts in order to resolve textual issues in the New Testament, that the oldest *manuscripts* are the oldest *evidence*, but that is often far from the truth. Our oldest existing manuscripts of Mark 16 were produced in the 300s, over 250 years after the Gospel of Mark was written. Several writers in the early church (and in one case, an opponent of the early church), writing before the production-dates of the earliest extant manuscripts of Mark 16, made statements that in one way or another indicated that their copies of the Gospel of Mark contained ch. 16 verses 9-20. Here we will examine evidence from six writers:

- (1) Papias (circa 110),
- (2) the author of *Epistula Apostolorum* (150 to 180),
- (3) Justin Martyr (160),
- (4) Tatian (172),
- (5) Irenaeus (184), and
- (6) Ammonius (late 100s or early 200s).

(1) Papias (Date: 110). Papias was a bishop in the city of Hierapolis in Asia Minor (in west central Turkey). He is remembered as the author of *Five Books on the Sayings of the Lord*, completed by about the year 110. The remains of his writings exist today only as snippets and excerpts that were preserved by other writers. Eusebius of Caesarea, in the early 300s, was one such writer. In *Church History* (Book Three, ch. 39), after mentioning that the four daughters of Philip the evangelist were said to have resided in Hierapolis, Eusebius stated, “*We must now point out that Papias, who lived at the same time, 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, regarding Justus surnamed*

Barsabbas: he swallowed a deadly poison, and received no harm, on account of the grace of the Lord.''⁰⁰²ⁿ

In this recollection, Eusebius does not say that Papias was using Mark 16:18, and the Greek vocabulary involved does not match the words of Mark 16:18. Nevertheless, the incident about Justus (the same individual who is mentioned in the New Testament in Acts 1:23) bears a resemblance to that passage, as if Papias was illustrating the fulfillment of the prophetic statement that if believers drink anything deadly, it will in no way hurt them.

Another later writer, Philip of Side (circa 425), mentioned the very same statement, echoing Eusebius but including details which Eusebius did not mention: *“The previously-mentioned Papias recorded, as something he had heard from the daughters of Philip, that Barsabbas, who was also called Justus, drank the poison of a viper 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.*”⁰⁰³ⁿ

Philip of Side’s version of Papias’ story appears to be based on Eusebius’ statement, but Philip is more specific about the identity of the person who was resurrected, and the kind of poison that Justus drank; he also mentions that Philip drank the viper-venom because he had been compelled by unbelievers. More significantly, Philip of Side stated that Justus had done so “in the name of Christ” (εν ονοματι του Χριστου; compare Mark 16:17, εν τω ονοματι μου).

Papias was familiar with the Gospel of Mark. In another statement which Eusebius of Caesarea preserved, Papias states that “The elder,” one of his sources, had informed him, “Mark, who had been the interpreter of Peter, accurately wrote down – but not in order – the things Peter remembered about the Lord, whether sayings or actions. For he [Mark] had not heard the Lord, and had not been among his followers. But later, as I stated, Peter would adapt the teachings as necessary, but without arranging the sayings of the Lord chronologically. So Mark did not sin when he wrote things as he remembered them. For he made it a priority to omit

nothing of the things he heard, and to add nothing false to them.”
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Considering that Peter (according to Luke in Acts 2:32-33, 3:15, and other passages) preached about Christ’s resurrection and ascension, it seems unlikely that Papias was describing a text which mentioned nothing about what Jesus did after His resurrection. Possibly Papias mentioned the story of Justus as an example of the fulfillment of Mark 16:18’s prediction, to show that it pertained to an individual who had seen Jesus (rather than to later generations) and that the individual involved was not testing God by putting his life at risk, but instead had acted under compulsion. But this reference can be considered, at most, only a possible allusion to Mark 16:18.

(2) *Epistula Apostolorum* (Date: 150. Translated and revised form: 180). The anonymous composition *Epistula Apostolorum* was discovered by Carl Schmidt in 1895 and was published (rather obscurely) in 1913, too late to have any effect on Westcott and Hort’s compilation of the critical text. Kirsopp Lake brought it to the attention of American scholars in 1921.⁰⁰⁵ⁿ Analysts have consistently identified *Epistula Apostolorum* as a second-century text. Originally written in Greek, it exists in three versional forms: an Ethiopic form, an earlier Coptic form (the Coptic manuscript is from the 300s or 400s), and a small Latin fragment (from the 400s). In the Coptic text, Jesus is pictured stating that His second coming will occur when 120 years have past.

It is unlikely that the author would have pictured Jesus saying this if 120 years from the year of His ascension had already passed. In the Ethiopic version, this number is 150 – which implies that the text was translated into Ethiopic some time after 150, but before 180.

According to Martin Hengel, M. Horschuh stated (in *Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum*, P.T.S. 5, 1965) that this text’s resurrection-narrative “is closest to the so-called inauthentic

conclusion to Mark in respect of its structures,” and “The basic pattern of the account is thus derived from the inauthentic conclusion of Mark.”⁰⁰⁶ⁿ

The basis for Horschuh’s statement is subtle but substantial. There is more to consider in this witness than the reference to “mourning and weeping” which occurs in *Epistula Apostolorum* 1:10 (and in Mark 16:10). In a narrative portion of the text, one of the women (the name varies among the witnesses), after encountering Jesus, goes from the tomb to the disciples and reports that “the Master is risen from the dead.”⁰⁰⁷ⁿ

The disciples do not believe her. The only place in the Gospels where the apostles, as a group, disbelieve a woman’s report that she has seen Jesus, is Mark 16:10 to 11. The recurrence of Mark 16:11’s scene in *Epistula Apostolorum* is not so much a quotation as it is the perpetuation of the framework of a narrative, but it indicates that the author knew Mark 16:10 to 11 or a very similar tradition.

Epistula Apostolorum pictures the disciples saying, “We believed her not that the Saviour was risen from the dead. Then she returned unto the Lord and said unto him, ‘None of them has believed me, that you live.’” The phrase “that you live” resembles the phrase “that Jesus was alive” in Mark 16:11. The phrase “None of them has believed me” resembles the phrase “they did not believe it” in Mark 16:11. *Epistula Apostolorum*’s narrative does not seem to be based on Luke 24, where the women appear to report to the apostles without personally encountering Jesus. So, while *Epistula Apostolorum* does not contain an explicit quotation from Mark 16:9-20, its structure and verbiage indicate that its author knew the text that we know as Mark 16:9-11.

In *Epistula Apostolorum* ch. 12, the apostles are pictured remembering their encounter with the risen Christ: “We touched him, that we might learn of a truth whether he were risen in the flesh; and we fell on our faces (and worshipped him) confessing our sin, that we had been unbelieving.” Some elements of this statement echo episodes in the Gospel of Luke and the Gospel of John, but the statement that the disciples, as a group, had been

unbelieving, is paralleled nowhere in the Gospels except in Luke 24:11 and Mark 16:11 to 14, and Mark 16:14 stresses the apostles' unbelief far more than Luke 24:11 does.

In *Epistula Apostolorum* ch. 30, Jesus is pictured saying to the apostles, "Go ye and preach unto the twelve tribes, and preach also unto the heathen, and to all the land of Israel from the east to the west and from the south unto the north, and many shall believe on <me> the Son of God." This appears to be based on Matthew 28:19 and Mark 16:15 to 16, and John 20:31.

All in all, although *Epistula Apostolorum* does not contain an explicit quotation of Mark 16:9-20, its narrative structure indicates that its author was aware of the contents of that passage. Robert H. Stein, in his 2008 commentary on Mark, rejected Mark 16:9-20, but nevertheless listed *Epistula Apostolorum* as attestation for Mark 16:9-20.⁰⁰⁸ⁿ

(3) Justin Martyr (date: 160). Justin Martyr was a Christian leader known as the author of three compositions (*First Apology*, *Second Apology*, and *Dialogue With Trypho, a Jew*) in which he defended Christianity against various objections. In *First Apology* (written in about 160 and addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius), in the 45th chapter, Justin attempted to show that Psalm 110 is a prophecy of the ascension and enthronement of Christ and the spread of the gospel. Here is an excerpt from this chapter, with some words emphasized in bold print:

*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: "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."⁰⁰⁹ⁿ*

This excerpt shares some elements with Mark 16:9-20. Not only does Justin mention the ascension of Christ and his heavenly enthronement at the right hand of the Father (also mentioned in Mark 16:19) as fulfillments of Psalm 110:1, but he also mentions victory over devils (mentioned in Mark 16:9 and 16:17), the preaching of the word everywhere (mentioned in Mark 16:20), the name of Christ (mentioned in Mark 16:17), and a lack of true harm done to Christians (mentioned in Mark 16:18).

Part of this paragraph is especially significant: "That which he [that is, 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." Here Justin and the closing verses of Mark do not only share the same subjects, but also share some of the same words:

Justin's phrase in Greek: ἐξελθόντες πανταχου εκήρυσαν

Justin's phrase in English: went forth everywhere
preaching

Mark 16:20's phrase in Greek: ἐξελθόντες εκήρυσαν
πανταχου

Mark 16:20's phrase in English: went forth preaching
everywhere.

These words are not known to occur together in such close proximity anywhere else except here in Justin's *First Apology* and

in Mark 16:20. Nevertheless some commentators, including Bruce Metzger, have expressed doubt about whether this is decisive evidence that Justin knew Mark 16:20. In doing so, they echo statements made by Hort in 1881. Hort questioned this evidence on the grounds that “v. 20 does not contain the point specially urged by Justin, ἀπο Ιερουσαλημ ... ἐξελθόντες (cf. First Apology 39, 49), which is furnished by Luke 24:47ff.; Acts 1:4, 8.”⁰¹⁰ⁿ

The “specially urged” point is the point that it was from Jerusalem that the apostles went forth to preach the word. However, when Hort wrote, he was unaware of the arrangement of the text in Tatian’s Diatessaron (our next witness), which did not come to the attention of European scholars until 1888. He was also unaware that Justin’s quotations of the contents of the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) were not drawn directly from those three books, but from a text, no longer extant, in which their contents had been combined into one continuous narrative. This text, Justin’s Synoptics-Harmony, served as a model for his student Tatian, who took the additional step of adding the contents of the Gospel of John, thus producing the Diatessaron, a combination of the contents of all four canonical Gospels.

Near the end of Tatian’s *Diatessaron*, as preserved in Arabic, its 55th chapter combines the closing verses of Mark and the closing verses of Luke. In the following excerpt, Luke chapter 24 verses 49b through 53 is placed between Mark 16:18 through 19 and 16:20: “*”And they shall take up serpents, and if they drink a deadly poison, it shall not injure them; and they shall lay their hands on the diseased, and they shall be healed. But ye, abide in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.” And our Lord Jesus, after speaking to them, took them out to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And while he blessed them, he was separated from them, and ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God.*

And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy, and at all times they were in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen. And from thence they went forth, and

preached everywhere; our Lord helping them, and confirming their sayings with the signs which they did."⁰¹¹ⁿ

When the text of Mark 16 and the text of Luke 24 are thus combined, the resultant narrative states that the disciples went forth from Jerusalem. The point which, according to Hort, was specially urged by Justin, is there. Shortly after the Arabic Diatessaron became available in Europe, its impact upon Hort's objection was realized by two prominent scholars, J. Rendel Harris (in 1890) and Frederic Henry Chase (in 1893). They both noticed that the Diatessaron states that the disciples "returned to Jerusalem" and that the disciples went forth "from thence." Harris concisely expressed the implication of this: "Dr. Hort may therefore remove the query [i.e., the question-mark, indicative of doubt] from the name of Justin in the tabulated evidence for the twelve verses."⁰¹²ⁿ

Chase also confronted Hort's hesitation, mentioning that Hort's note was written before the Arabic text of Tatian was brought to light, and that there is probably a more or less immediate connection between the text used by Justin and the *Diatessaron* made by Tatian, and concluding, "It is not then too much to say that in the light of the evidence of the Diatessaron the connexion of the words *απο Ἱερουσ. . . . ἐξεληθόντες* [*apo Ierous exelthontes*] in Justin rather favours the belief that he had [Mark] 16:20 in his mind." Chase also observed that Justin used the word *πανταχου* "as if it were a word occurring in an authority quoted by him;"⁰¹³ⁿ its second appearance in chapter 45 of *First Apology* occurs when Justin says, *ημεις πανταχου και ασπαζομεθα και διδασκομεν* – "we everywhere both salute and teach" the name of Christ.

The objection may be raised that there is no proof that Tatian modeled the *Diatessaron* upon Justin's Synoptics-Harmony. However, as scholars have taken up the challenge of looking into the possibility of a very close connection between the two, the connection has become more and more clear. In 1990, an article on this subject by William Petersen, who specialized in research on the *Diatessaron*, was published in *New Testament Studies*. Peterson identified several features which are shared almost

exclusively by Justin's text and by Tatian's *Diatessaron*. With scholarly caution, Petersen concluded that we have "textual evidence of a connexion between the *Diatessaron* of Tatian and the ΑΠΙΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ used by Justin," and, "While one must speak provisionally, this evidence suggests that, at least for our Exhibits, Justin was citing a gospel harmony, not a 'separated' gospel." As he concluded the article, Petersen expressed that the source Justin used when quoting the Gospel "almost certainly" was a harmony.⁰¹⁴ⁿ

Although *First Apology* 45 sufficiently displays Justin's familiarity with Mark 16:20 (and thus implies that Mark 16:9-20 was known to him as part of the Gospel), three more pieces of evidence should also be examined. In 1893, Charles Taylor pointed out that Justin's verbiage in *First Apology* ch. 67, and in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 138, matches the terms of Mark 16:9.⁰¹⁵ⁿ Taylor pointed out that Justin's verbiage, when he refers to how Jesus was raised and appeared on the first day of the week, matches the terms of Mark 16:9:

Mark 16:9: Αναστάς (raised) / πρώτη (first) / εφάνη (appeared)

First Apology chapter 67: ανέστη / πρώτη / φανείς

Dialogue with Trypho chapter 138: αναστάς / πρώτης / εφάνη

The significance of this correspondence increases when it is noticed that Matthew, Luke, and John tend to use other vocabulary to describe Jesus' appearance on the first day of the week.

In addition, in chapter 32 of *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin cites Psalm 110 (as he did in *First Apology* 45, and for the same purpose) and prefaces the citation by saying that David was speaking of the time when the Father "has raised him [that is, Jesus] again from the earth, and had him sit at his right hand, until he makes his enemies his footstool; which has been happening from the time when our Lord Jesus Christ ascended to heaven, after he was raised from the dead."⁰¹⁶ⁿ

Finally, in *First Apology* chapter 50, after a lengthy quotation from Isaiah 53, Justin stated, "After his crucifixion, even

those who were acquainted with him all denied and forsook him. But later, when he had risen from the dead, and was seen by them, and they were taught to understand the prophecies in which all of this was foretold as about to happen, and when they had seen him depart into heaven, and had believed [in Greek, και πιστεύσαντες; see John 20:29], and they received power from there, which was sent to them from him, they went forth to the whole race of mankind, and taught these things, and became known as apostles.”⁰¹⁷ⁿ

The phrase “*And afterwards, when he had risen from the dead and appeared to them*” represents the Greek words, Ὑστερων δε, εκ νεκρων ανασταντος και οφθεντος αυτοις, which bear a close resemblance to the text of Mark 16:14 as preserved in one of the early Greek manuscripts, Codex Alexandrinus: Ὑστερων δε ανακειμένοις αυτοις τοις ενδεκα εφανερώθη, και ωνείδισεν την απιστείαν αυτων και σκληροκαρδίαν ότι τοις θεασμένοις αυτον εηγηγερμενον εκ νεκρων ουκ επίστευσαν.⁰¹⁸ⁿ

It may be safely concluded that cumulative evidence indirectly but strongly shows that Justin was familiar with the contents of Mark 16:9-20. The passage was embedded in his Synoptics-Harmony.

(4) Tatian (Date: 172). Tatian was a follower of Justin until Justin’s martyrdom. In Tatian’s later years he was regarded as an Encratite, a person who denied the full physicality of Christ and strenuously promoted celibacy and vegetarianism. For that reason, his works were subsequently widely regarded as doctrinally suspicious. His *Diatessaron*, a combination of the four Gospels into one continuous narrative, was once very popular in Syrian churches, but it has not survived intact in its original language (which was either Greek or Syriac). The task of reconstructing the contents of the *Diatessaron* therefore involved secondary materials – texts written in Arabic, Armenian, Old Dutch, Italian, Latin, and Persian. Adding to the challenge, most of these materials are not particularly early, and they have been influenced by other writings.

The contents of Mark 16:9-20 are consistently present in the witnesses to the text of the *Diatessaron*, but they are not all consistent when it comes to the way that these 12 verses are combined with the parallels from Matthew, Luke, and John. So although some scholars have categorically affirmed that Tatian's *Diatessaron* contained Mark 16:9-20, others have been less confident, on the grounds that perhaps the passage was independently grafted into each branch of the evidence, which would imply that it was originally absent from the *Diatessaron*.

This indecision is now addressed. Our fullest witnesses to the original arrangement of Tatian's *Diatessaron* are the Arabic *Diatessaron* and the Latin Codex Fuldensis. The best surviving copy of the Arabic *Diatessaron* (one of only two extant copies) was produced in 1043 by a copyist who was using, as his exemplar (master-copy), a manuscript of the Syriac text of the *Diatessaron* which had been made in 873. Even though the text of the exemplar of the Arabic *Diatessaron* shows signs of being conformed to the Syriac translation known as the Peshitta, its arrangement may be regarded, with some qualifications, as a fairly close representation of the original arrangement of the *Diatessaron*.

The arrangement of events in the 55th chapter of the Arabic *Diatessaron* features a difficulty which could explain why some other materials which echo the *Diatessaron* do not present Mark 16:9-20 in quite the same way. The encounter between Jesus and the disciples when the disciples were sitting down (see Mark 16:14) is pictured as part of the same mountainside scene described in Matthew 28:16 to 20. Then, when Jesus finishes commissioning the disciples, he immediately takes them to Bethany. To anyone who knew that Galilee and Bethany are very far apart, this sudden transition would pose a difficulty. So there are two possibilities: was this difficulty present in Tatian's *Diatessaron*? Or is it the effect of the insertion of Mark 16:9-20 by a copyist at some later point in the ancestry of the Arabic *Diatessaron*?

The evidence from the Latin Codex Fuldensis, produced in 546, provides the means to answer that question. In Codex Fuldensis, the Gospels do not appear in their usual form. The

person who supervised the production of this codex, Victor of Capua, utilized an Old Latin text which, he suspected, could be a translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. Victor saw the value in preserving such a curiosity, but he was not inclined to promote the Old Latin text instead of the text of the Latin Vulgate. He arranged for a new codex to be made in which the Vulgate text of the Gospels was written down in the arrangement of the Old Latin exemplar that had been found. The result is the Gospels-text in Codex Fuldensis.

By comparing the arrangement of the contents of the Arabic Diatessaron (which, being based on a Syriac exemplar, is not likely to have been influenced at all by the Vulgate) to the arrangement of the contents of Codex Fuldensis (which, as a Latin text, is not likely to have been influenced by any Syriac texts), we can see whether or not the arrangement of Mark 16:9-20 in each of these witnesses was the result of independent grafting (if they disagree), or of faithful reproduction of the *Diatessaron*'s original arrangement (if they agree).

A comparison of the arrangement of Mark 16:9-20 in the Arabic Diatessaron and in Codex Fuldensis is now presented. "AD" = Arabic Diatessaron, and "CF" = Codex Fuldensis.

- AD has Mark 16:9 after John 20:2 to 17.
- CF has part of 16:9 between John 20:2 to 10 and 20:11 to 17.
- AD uses Mark 16:10 after Luke 24:9.
- CF uses Mark 16:10 after Luke 24:9.
- AD uses Mark 16:11 between Luke 24:10 and Luke 24:11.
- CF uses Mark 16:11 between Luke 24:9 and Luke 24:11.
- AD uses Mark 16:12 between Luke 24:11 and Luke 24:13.
- CF uses Mark 16:12 between Luke 24:11 and Luke 24:13.
- AD uses Mark 16:13b between Luke 24:13b to 35 and part of Luke 24:36.
- CF uses Mark 16:13b between Luke 24:13 to 35 and part of Luke 24:36.
- AD uses Mark 16:14 between Matthew 28:17 and Matthew 28:18.

- CF uses Mark 16:14 between Matthew 28:17 and Matthew 28:18.
- AD uses Mark 16:15 between Matthew 28:18 (with a variant adopted from the Peshitta) and Matthew 28:19.
- CF uses Mark 16:15 between Matthew 28:18 and Matthew 28:19.
- AD uses Mark 16:16-18 between Matthew 28:20 and Luke 24:49.
- CF uses Mark 16:16-18 between Matthew 28:20 and Luke 24:49.
- AD blends “And our Lord Jesus,” from Mark 16:19, with Luke 24:50.
- CF does not.
- AD uses “and sat down at the right hand of God” between Luke 24:51 and Luke 24:52.
- CF uses “and sat down at the right hand of God” between Luke 24:51 and Luke 24:52.
- AD uses Mark 16:20 between Luke 24:53 and John 21:25.
- CF uses Mark 16:20 after Luke 24:53 and ends there with “Amen.” (John 21:25 appears in CF at the end of part 181.)

This evidence is compelling. The arrangement of the contents of Mark 16:9-20 in Codex Fuldensis is basically the same as the arrangement of the contents of Mark 16:9-20 in the Arabic Diatessaron. Both of these witnesses – one from the West, one from the East – contain the difficulty that is involved in picturing Jesus and the disciples proceeding from Galilee directly to Bethany. Both picture the scene in Mark 16:14 as occurring in Galilee. Both place “for they were sad and weeping” at the same point.

Therefore the conclusion that Tatian’s *Diatessaron* originally incorporated Mark 16:9-20 is entirely justified.

One more witness to the presence of these twelve verses in the *Diatessaron* should be noted. Until 1957, although it was known that Ephrem Syrus, a Syriac bishop who died in 373, had written a commentary on the *Diatessaron*, the Syriac text of that commentary was unknown. In 1957, though, Chester Beatty Syriac Manuscript 709 was discovered. That manuscript was produced in about A. D. 500, and it includes most of Ephrem's commentary, which was found to cover selected passages of the *Diatessaron* rather than the entire text. In the opening sentence of the eighth part of his commentary, Ephrem Syrus wrote that Jesus had told his disciples, "Go into all the world and baptize in the name of the Father, and Son, and Spirit."⁰¹⁹ⁿ This is a combination of Mark 16:15a and Matthew 28:19. In the Armenian text of Ephrem's Commentary, Ephrem utilizes Mark 16:15 again later in his commentary, as he presents Jesus saying, "Go out into all the world and preach My gospel to all creation."

(5) Irenaeus (Date: 184). In the Latin translation of *Against Heresies*, a large composition written by Irenaeus bishop of Lyons, in about A.D. 184, the author makes an explicit quotation from Mark 16:19 in Book Three, chapter 10: "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 sits on the right hand of God.'" The Latin text is, "*In fine autem euangelii ait Marcus: Et quidem Dominus Iesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus est in caelos, et sedet ad dexteram Dei.*"

Irenaeus served as a bishop in Gaul, but in his childhood he had lived in Asia Minor. In the 170's he visited Rome. He experienced Christian life in Asia Minor, in Gaul, and in Rome, apparently without seeing anything that would cause him to have reservations about quoting Mark 16:19 as part of the Gospel of Mark.

The Greek text of *Against Heresies* Book Three, chapter 10, like most of the composition, is not extant. However, there is no basis to suppose that this statement was absent from the genuine Greek text of *Against Heresies*. It is mentioned in a Greek

marginal note, written in the shape of an upside-down triangle, which appears next to Mark 16:19 in the important minuscule manuscript 1582, produced in 948 or 949:

Ειρηναίος ο των
αποστόλων πλη
σίον εν τω προς
τας αιρέσεις Τρι
τωι λόγωι τουτο
ανήνεγκεν
το ρητον
ως Μάρκω
ειρημέ
νον.⁰²⁰ⁿ

This means, “Irenaeus, who lived near the time of the apostles, cites this from Mark in the third book of his work *Against Heresies*.” Ordinarily a margin-note in a medieval manuscript would not be so decisive, but the copyist of minuscule 1582, whose name was Ephraim, was exceptional; he replicated his exemplars, including their margin-notes. Minuscule 1582 is one of a group of manuscripts which share a collection of textual variants, and which also share some other features. A virtually identical margin-note is displayed in minuscule 72 (and in GA 2954). This note did not originate with the copyist of 1582, or the copyist of 72, or the copyist of GA 2954. It was in an ancestor of the family of MSS of which 1582 is a member.

Manuscript 1582 and some other manuscripts in its family (called family-1, because minuscule 1 is another important member of the group) contain marginalia which include citations of patristic writers. None of these citations post-date the mid-400s (the most recent citation was of Cyril of Alexandria, who died in 444). This indicates that the ancestor-manuscript was made shortly thereafter. The implication of this is that the triangular note about Irenaeus is as old as family-1’s ancestor-manuscript. Its legitimacy as an ancient report about the Greek text of *Against Heresies*, Book Three cannot be reasonably challenged.

Additional evidence of Irenaeus' familiarity with Mark 16:9-20 may be found in Book Two, chapter 32, paragraphs 3 through 4 of *Against Heresies*, which was quoted by Eusebius in *Church History* 5:7. There, after mentioning that "*the Lord rose from the dead on the third day, and manifested himself to his disciples, and was in their sight received up into heaven,*" Irenaeus describes how the true disciples – unlike the false prophets he refutes – "*in His name perform miracles.*" He states, "Some do certainly and truly drive out devils," and "Others have foreknowledge of future events, seeing visions and uttering prophetic expressions," and others "*heal the sick by laying their hands upon them, and they are made whole*" (see Mark 16:18).⁰²¹ⁿ Although there are no strong verbal parallels between this passage and Mark 16:9-20, the subject matter seems very similar.

(6) Ammonius (Date: late 100s or early 200s.) Ammonius is included in this list, not to present his support for Mark 16:9-20, but to correct the erroneous claim that Ammonius supports the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20. In the second edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*, Ammonius was listed as a witness for the non-inclusion of the passage.⁰²²ⁿ The reasons why Ammonius was ever cited as a witness for the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 are not entirely clear. Possibly an abbreviated reference to the "Ammonian Tables" (actually constructed by Eusebius of Caesarea) was understood by a scholar in the 1800s or early 1900s to refer to Ammonius himself, with the result that "Ammonius" was subsequently written in full as a witness. A statement by Bruce Metzger in *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* seems to reflect such an error: "The original form of the Eusebian sections (drawn up by Ammonius) makes no provision for numbering sections of the text after 16.8."⁰²³ⁿ

The problem with Metzger's statement is that the earliest form of the Eusebian Sections were drawn up by Eusebius of Caesarea in the 300s, not by Ammonius. To understand this, it is

important to know what the Eusebian Sections are. Many copies of the Gospels include Eusebius' letter to Carpian as a sort of preface to ten tables, or lists, of numbers. The purpose of these ten tables is to show the reader where parallel-passages and cross-references can be found between or among the Gospels. The same Section-numbers appear in the margin alongside the sections themselves in the Gospels, usually accompanied by the Canon-numbers. The first table, or Canon, lists the sections which are paralleled in all four Gospels. The second Canon lists the sections which are paralleled in Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Canon Three lists the sections which are paralleled in Matthew, Luke, and John. Canon Four lists the sections which are paralleled in Matthew, Mark, and John. Canon Five lists the sections which are paralleled only in Matthew and Luke. Canon Six lists the sections which are paralleled only in Matthew and Mark. Canon Seven lists the sections which are paralleled only in Matthew and John. Canon Eight lists the sections which are paralleled only in Luke and Mark. Canon Nine lists the sections which are paralleled only in Luke and John. Lastly, Canon Ten lists the sections which are unique to each Gospel.

As Eusebius began his *Epistle to Carpian*, introducing and explaining the Eusebian Canons, he wrote, "Ammonius of Alexandria, with the expense of much industry and zeal – as was fitting – left us the Diatessaron Gospel, in which he had placed the similar pericopes of the rest of the Evangelists alongside Matthew."⁰²⁴ⁿ (Despite the use of the term "Diatessaron," this does not refer to Tatian's identically-named compilation.)

Eusebius thus acknowledged that Ammonius made a Matthew-centered cross-reference system, and that Ammonius' work had given Eusebius the idea for his own, more exhaustive, arrangement of Canons and Sections. However, contrary to Metzger's claim, Ammonius' Matthew-centered arrangement did not constitute the original form of the Eusebian Sections. The Eusebian Sections include, in Canons Eight, Nine, and part of Ten, sections which are not paralleled in Matthew and thus would have had no place in Ammonius' cross-reference system.

In 1871, John Burgon submitted a compelling case that Eusebius, not Ammonius, is the originator of the Eusebian Sections. Although they are often called the “Ammonian Sections,” that is a false name. Burgon pointed out that the Eusebian Sections divide Matthew 4:18 through 22, Mark 1:16 through 20, and Luke 5:1 through 11 into ten sections; three sections in Luke (Sections 29, 30, and 31) are not paralleled in Matthew: Sections 29 and 31 in Luke are assigned to Canon Ten, and Section 30, being paralleled by John, is listed in Canon Nine. Not only does the Matthew-centered cross-reference system of Ammonius, as described by Eusebius, provide no impetus for such division, but it would provide a strong motivation against dividing the text in this way. After observing that there are 225 Sections not paralleled in Matthew, Burgon wrote, “Those 225 Sections can have found no place in the work of Ammonius. And if (in some unexplained way) room was found for those parts of the Gospels, with what possible motive can Ammonius have sub-divided them into exactly 225 portions? It is nothing else but irrational to assume that he did so.”⁰²⁵ⁿ

Burgon also effectively answered the objection that because the Section-numbers are found in some manuscripts that do not contain the Canons, they must have existed prior to the existence of the Canons. In those manuscripts, the Section-numbers serve the same purpose that chapter-numbers and verse-numbers serve in our Bibles; that is, they were added for the sake of convenience. Nevertheless, a century after Burgon demonstrated all this, Metzger misrepresented the Eusebian Sections as the work of Ammonius, and this erroneous description, confidently stated in a popular handbook, has been believed by many readers, and has been repeated by several commentators.

A somewhat unusual factor probably contributed to the promotion of the idea that Ammonius attests to the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20. In the first edition of *The Text of the New Testament* (1964) on page 226, as he commented on this passage, Metzger wrote, “Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius show no knowledge of these verses,” but in the third

edition of the same book (1992), the sentence was changed: “Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Ammonius show no knowledge of these verses.”⁰²⁶ⁿ

Apparently after writing the first edition of *Text of the New Testament*, Metzger found out (or recollected) that Eusebius displays an awareness of these verses in his composition *Ad Marinum*, and so, when the opportunity presented itself, Metzger removed the reference to Eusebius and replaced it with a reference to Ammonius. His adjusted statement is technically factual, because none of the writings of Ammonius (other than fragments) are extant. I cannot help but wonder if Metzger, instead of simply removing “Eusebius,” replaced the word “Eusebius” with “Ammonius” as a convenient way of removing his earlier mistake without requiring that the whole page’s typesetting be redone.

In any event, Ammonius cannot be considered a valid witness for the inclusion or non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20. Ammonius is a phantom witness. The evidence at hand is incapable of revealing any comment of Ammonius about the last 12 verses of Mark.

The evidence from the 100s may be described as follows: at present, no manuscripts of the Gospel of Mark from the 100s have been confirmed to exist. The only evidence this early is in patristic writings which indicate what was in the writers’ copies of the Gospel of Mark. Papias’ statement about Justus, preserved by Eusebius of Caesarea and Philip of Side, is only a *possible* allusion to Mark 16:18, and is completely capable of being preserved merely as an interesting story.

The narrative structure and vocabulary of *Epistula Apostolorum* appear to reflect the influence of Mark 16:9-20. Mark 16:20 was blended with Luke 24:52 and 53 in the Synoptics-Harmony used by Justin Martyr, implying that he was familiar with the entire passage. The objection which Hort posed against this conclusion is obsolete. Tatian included Mark 16:9-20 in the *Diatessaron* and this is conclusively demonstrated by the shared arrangement of the contents of the passage in the Arabic *Diatessaron* and Codex Fuldensis. Irenaeus explicitly quoted Mark

16:19 as part of the Gospel of Mark; this is shown in the ultra-literal Latin translation of Irenaeus' work, and in a Greek margin-note that appears in at least three manuscripts, echoing an annotation from a copy written in the 400s; the margin-note states that Irenaeus quoted Mark 16:19 as part of the text of Mark in Book Three of *Against Heresies*. Also, the testimony of Ammonius is entirely insubstantial.

The testimony from these witnesses is 165 to 140 years earlier than the earliest extant manuscript of Mark 16 (Codex Vaticanus).



Chapter 2: External Evidence from the 200s

(1) **Tertullian (Date: 204)**. Tertullian wrote from about A.D. 195 to 220. He was cited in favor of the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 in the second edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* (page 196). In the fourth edition (page 189) he is not cited for inclusion or non-inclusion.

In 1881, Hort stated that there was "strong negative evidence" indicating that Tertullian's copies of Mark did not contain 16:9-20, but his primary evidence for this is Tertullian's failure to explicitly quote Mark 16:16 in *De Baptismo*.⁰²⁷ⁿ In that composition, Tertullian similarly declined to use Acts 2:38, Acts 22:16, Romans 6:4, Galatians 3:27, and First Peter 3:21, even though these passages would have similarly strengthened his case. To the extent that the evidence from *De Baptismo* does not require us to suppose that Tertullian's copies lacked those verses, it does not require us to conclude that they lacked Mark 16:16.

A trace of Mark 16:19 is conceivably present in *Against Praxeas*, ch. 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.***"⁰²⁸ⁿ Tertullian may here be relying on an early credal formula, though, so this is only a possible usage.

Tertullian's composition *Scorpiace*, written in about the year 204, was not mentioned by Hort. This composition contains what appears to be an allusion to Mark 16:18. In chapter 1, after introducing his subject by using imagery from Luke 10:19, Tertullian describes how Christians, applying their faith, can stomp on scorpions, smearing the heel with the animal. He then states, "*We often aid in this way even the heathen, seeing we have been endowed by God with that power which the apostle first used when he despised the viper's bite.*"⁰²⁹ⁿ

The apostle to whom Tertullian refers here is St. Paul, whose encounter with a viper is described in Acts 28. The power to tread upon serpents and scorpions is mentioned in Luke 10:19, along with a promise that the apostles would be completely invulnerable to harm. Tertullian's statement that Christians in general have been endowed with the same sort of invulnerability apparently exercised by Paul in Acts 28 might be based on Mark 16:18. But this is not all the evidence that Tertullian provides.

In the last chapter of *Scorpiace* (ch. 15), Tertullian likens true faith and sound doctrine to a protective potion against poison. In the process of supporting the view that baptism is necessary and commendable, he describes the martyrdoms of Peter, Stephen, James, and Paul, presenting them as instances of "baptism of blood." He then claims that if a false teacher (such as Prodicus or Valentinus) had stood by Paul and urged him not to undergo martyrdom, so that it would not appear that God is bloodthirsty, Paul would have replied, "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offense to me. It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."

Then: "*But even now it will be appropriate that he hears this. For if anyone in faith will drink this [protective] draught of ours, before being hurt by these poisons which he [i.e., the false teacher, or Satan] poured forth long ago, or even immediately after being hurt by them, they [i.e., the poisons, i.e., the false teaching] will not be able to readily injure any of those who are weak.*"⁰³⁰ⁿ

The final phrase, in Latin, includes vocabulary strongly reminiscent of the parallel-phrase in the Latin text of Mark 16:18, *et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit*. The Vulgate text is, ". . . nulli infirmorum facile **nocitura**, nisi si qui non hanc nostram ex fide **praebiberit** uel etiam **superbiberit** potionem."⁰³¹ⁿ [bold print added] And the Old Latin text from Codex *o* (a supplement to Codex *n*) is, ". . . **et si aliquid mortiferum quis biberint non illos nocebit.**"⁰³²ⁿ [bold print added]

The possibilities are (*a*) Tertullian has used verbiage which, by a remarkable coincidence, is similar to the language in Mark

16:18, or **(b)** Tertullian has borrowed verbiage from Mark 16:18. The parallel in the Old Latin Codex *o* is very close.

Also, in Tertullian's *Apology* ch. 21, concluding a summary of the ministry of Christ, Tertullian writes, "He passed 40 days with certain of His disciples in Galilee, a region of Judaea, teaching them what they were to teach. **Afterwards having commissioned them to the duty of preaching throughout the world**, He was taken up into heaven enveloped in a cloud." [emphasis added]

Hort dismissed this as a summary of Matthew 28 verse 19 and other passages; however, Tertullian's statement bears a closer resemblance to Mark 16:15 to 19 than to Matthew 28:19 or any other passage.

Along with that, we should consider a statement in *De Fuga in Persecutione* 6, where, as Tertullian builds a case for the inapplicability of Matthew 10:23 in his own era, he states, "So we preach throughout all the world [*quo per totum orbem praedicamus*"]; nay, no special care even for Israel has been laid upon us, except as we are also bound to preach to all nations." This sentence seems to utilize snippets from the Old Latin text of Matthew 28, verse 19 and Mark 16:15. In Old Latin Codex Colbertinus, Matthew 28 verse 19 includes the phrase, "*Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes*," and Mark 16:15 contains, in the same codex, "*Ite in universum orbem et praedicate evangelium universae creaturae*."

In 1969, Kurt Aland expressed the view that Tertullian used Mark 16:9-20.⁰³³ⁿ Although Tertullian does not make any explicit quotations from the passage (that is, he does not quote from it by saying that he is quoting the Gospel of Mark), at the very least the evidence opposes Hort's claim that Tertullian provides "strong negative evidence" against Mark 16:9-20.

(2) Clement of Alexandria (Date: 215). Clement of Alexandria is often cited as if he provided clear evidence that he used a form of Mark which ended with 16:8. Many commentators have

perpetuated Metzger's statement, "Clement of Alexandria and Origen show no knowledge of the existence of these verses,"⁰³⁴ⁿ including James Brooks, Philip Wesley Comfort, and Norman Geisler. Others have distorted it in various ways. To give just one example: Stephen M. Miller made the entirely fictitious claim that Clement of Alexandria states in a commentary that Mark ends at 16:8, and that Clement of Alexandria wrote in A.D. 101!⁰³⁵ⁿ

A. F. J. Klijn wrote that "According to Clement of Alexandria," the Gospel of Mark ends with 16:8.⁰³⁶ⁿ Several editions of the Nestle-Aland text, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, have cited "Cl" (i.e., Clement of Alexandria) as a witness for the omission of Mark 16:9-20.⁰³⁷ⁿ The second edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* also listed Clement as a witness for the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20.⁰³⁸ⁿ

All such claims are drawn from thin air. Clement does not state or suggest that the Gospel of Mark ends at 16:8. Nothing can justify the treatment of the absence of evidence from Clement as if Clement is a major patristic witness to a form of Mark ending at 16:8. As Burgon observed, it should not be very surprising "that Clement of Alexandria, who appears to have no reference to the last chapter of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, should be also without any reference to the last chapter of *St. Mark's*."⁰³⁹ⁿ

In 1881, Hort cautioned his readers against overstating the significance of the non-evidence from Clement and Origen (whose testimony will be examined soon). Hort wrote, "In the extant writings of Clem.al and Origen they [i.e., the verses in question] are wholly wanting.

Unfortunately no commentary of Origen on any Gospel narrative of the resurrection and the subsequent events has been preserved; and the evidence from the silence of both these writers is of the casual rather than the special kind."⁰⁴⁰ⁿ

Hort, in other words, acknowledged that all that Clement of Alexandria provides is an argument from silence, and that this silence is of very little weight.

When we look through Clement of Alexandria's four major works – *Exhortation to the Heathen*, *The Instructor*, *The Stromata*,

and *Who Is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved?* – we find that Clement does not explicitly quote from chapter 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, and 16 of the Gospel of Mark. With the exception of a large excerpt from chapter 10, plus an indirect use of 8:38, Clement scarcely used the Gospel of Mark at all. It is transparently ridiculous to treat Clement’s non-use of Mark 16:9-20 as evidence that his copy of Mark lacked those verses, inasmuch as he declined to use almost the entire book, other than chapter 10. Yet this is done by many commentators, all because Metzger did not heed Hort’s cautionary note against doing so.

It would be satisfactory if, in our examination of the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, all that was accomplished was the correction of the widespread exaggeration of the nature of Clement’s testimony. However, there is something else that merits attention. The Latin author Cassiodorus, in the mid-500s, claimed to have preserved some excerpts from one of Clement’s compositions. Cassiodorus stated that he had slightly edited Clement’s composition in the course of translating it from Greek into Latin. The excerpts preserved by Cassiodorus in Latin are called Clement’s *Adumbrationes*. They consist mainly of comments by Clement upon some books of the New Testament, including Jude.

In Clement’s comment upon Jude verse 24, Clement interprets the phrase “the presence of His glory” as a reference to the heavenly angels. As he attempts to reinforce this interpretation, Clement cites Mark 14:62 as follows:

In evangelio vero secundum Marcum, (Now, in the Gospel according to Mark,) *interrogatus dominus* (the Lord being interrogated)

a principe sacerdotum, (by the chief of the priests,)

si ipse esset “*Christus*, (if He was the Christ,)

filius dei benedicti” (the Son of the blessed God)

respondens dixit ; “*Ego sum*, (answering, said, “I am,)

et videbitis filium hominis (and you shall see the Son of

man)

a dextris sedentum virtutis.” (sitting at the right hand of power.”)

“*Virtutes*” autem significat (But ‘powers’ signifies) *sanctos angelos.* (the holy angels.)

Proinde enim cum dicit (Furthermore, when he says)

“*a dextris dei*” (“at the right hand of God,”)

eosdem ipsos dicit propter (He means the self-same [beings], by reason of)

aequalitatem et similitudinem (the equality and likeness)

angelicarum sanctarumque virtutum, (of the angelic and holy powers,)

quae uno nominantur nomine dei. (which are called by the name of God.)

Cum ergo “sedere in dextra” dicit, (He says, therefore, that He sits at the right hand,)

hoc est: in eminenti honore et ibi requiescere. (that is, He rests in pre-eminent honor).⁰⁴¹ⁿ

The statement, “Furthermore, when he says ‘at the right hand of God’” was interpreted in the 1800s as an allusion to Luke 22:69. However, Luke 22:69 does not contain that phrase; in Luke 22:69 Jesus refers to “the right hand of the power of God.” In addition, immediately after this passage, Clement stated, “In the other Gospels, however, He is not said to have replied to the high priest, on his asking if He was the Son of God. But what said he? ‘You say.’” This makes it seem as if Clement was referring to the contents of the Gospel of Mark until the phrase “In the other Gospels.”

The “he” in the phrase “Further, when he says,” is not easily understood as a reference to Jesus, because Jesus Himself does not use the phrase that Clement proceeds to use: “*a dextris dei,*” that is, the right hand of God. The only other possibility is that Clement thus refers to Mark, and is referring to another passage. Replace the pronoun with Mark’s name, and this becomes a reference to the phrase “*at the right hand of God*” found in Mark 16:19.

This conclusion is not irresistible. In one copy of Cassiodorus' text of Clement's *Adumbrationes*, Jesus is quoted as saying, "the right hand of the power of God" – *a dextris sedentium virtutis dei* – which fits Luke 22:69,⁰⁴²ⁿ instead of "the right hand of God" – *a dextris dei* – which fits Mark 16:19.

It is possible that Clement's intended point of reference was Luke 22:69, but he cited it imprecisely. Nevertheless, this evidence from Cassiodorus requires that the usual comments about Clement's testimony must be adjusted: not only does Clement of Alexandria **not** provide evidence of the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20, but it is possible that Mark 16:19 is among the very few passages in the Gospel of Mark (outside of chapter 10) which he used.

(3) Hippolytus (Date: 235). Hippolytus was a leader of the church in the city of Rome in the early 200s. In his composition *On Christ and Antichrist*, part 46, a close parallel to Mark 16:19 appears in a statement that Christ "was received into the heavens, and was set down on the right hand of God the Father." However, such creedal language is not unique to Mark 16:19.

Another composition, *Homily on Noetus*, was considered by John Burgon to include evidence that Hippolytus knew Mark 16:9-20. In *Homily on Noetus*, Hippolytus wrote, "This is the One who breathes upon the disciples, and gives them the Spirit, and comes in among them when the doors are shut, and is taken up by a cloud into the heavens while the disciples gaze at Him, and is set down on the right hand of the Father, and comes again as the Judge of the living and the dead."⁰⁴³ⁿ

Against the idea that Hippolytus was referring to the contents of creeds, Burgon claimed, "In the creeds, Christ is invariably spoken of as ἀνελθόντα: in the Scriptures, invariably as ἀναληφθέντα [*analefthenta*]. So that when Hippolytus says of Him, ἀναλαμβάνεται εἰς οὐρανούς καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν Πατρὸς καθίζεται [*analambanetai eis ouranous kai ek dexion Patros kathizetai*], the reference must needs be to St. Mark 16:19."⁰⁴⁴ⁿ

Hippolytus is considered the author of a composition called *Apostolic Tradition*, and this is believed to be embedded in the text of another work, specifically, Book Eight of *Apostolic Constitutions* (which was put together mainly as an edited combination of already-existing materials in 380). Samuel Tregelles commented upon this evidence: “Amongst the works of Hippolytus, enumerated as his on the ancient marble monument now in the Vatican, is the book *περι χαρισμάτων αποστολικη παραδοκικς* [*Peri Charismaton Apostolike Paradokis*], in which this part of St. Mark’s Gospel is distinctly quoted: (*apostoli loquuntur*) *ως αν τετελειωμένων ημων φησιν [ο κύριος] πασιν αμα περι των εξ αυτου δια του πνεύματος διδομένων χαρισμάτων,*”⁰⁴⁵ⁿ followed by the Greek text of Mark 16:17 through 18 (with *καιναις* (*kainais*) transposed before *λαλησουσιν* (*lalesousin*), and without *και εν ταις χερσιν* (*kai en tais chersin*) at the beginning of verse 18).

Tregelles maintained that although a later writer made various adjustments to the text of Hippolytus’ composition, in the course of incorporating it into the fourth-century work known as *Apostolic Constitutions* so as to make it all appear to consist of words spoken by the apostles, “The introductory treatise is certainly, in the main, genuine,” and, “This citation is almost essential to introduce what follows,” and, “I see no occasion for supposing that the compiler made other changes in this treatise, except putting it into the first person plural, as if the apostles unitedly spoke.”

Hort disagreed, stating, “Even on the precarious hypothesis that the early chapters of the Eighth Book [i.e., the eighth book of *Apostolic Constitutions*] were founded to some extent on the lost work, the quotation is untouched by it, being introduced in direct reference to the fictitious claim to apostolic authorship which pervades the Constitutions themselves (*τούτων των χαρισμάτων προτέρον μεν ημιν δοθέντων τοις αποστόλοις μέλλουσι το ευαγγέλιον καταγγέλλειν πάση τη κτίσει κ.τ.λ.*).”⁰⁴⁶ⁿ

To allow a full understanding of this disagreement between Tregelles and Hort, the paragraph from Book Eight of *Apostolic*

Constitutions which Tregelles and Hort quoted is provided here in English:

*“With good reason did he say to all of us together, when we were perfected concerning those gifts which were given from him by the Spirit, ‘Now these signs shall follow those who have believed: in my name they shall cast out demons; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they happen to drink any deadly thing, it shall by no means hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.’ These gifts were first bestowed on us the apostles when we were about to preach the gospel to every creature, and afterwards were of necessity afforded to those who had by our means believed, not for the advantage of those who perform them, but for the conviction of unbelievers.”*⁰⁴⁷ⁿ

Tregelles’ point is valid: undo the features of this text which give it the appearance of an address given directly from the apostles, and the quotation of Mark 16:17-18 would be entirely appropriate in any treatise on spiritual gifts. Hort’s objection is not very strong, because the second sentence could just as plausibly be a reworked statement, rather than an insertion. In other words, Hort’s objection does not stand in the way of the idea that Hippolytus cited Mark 16:17 through 18 and commented on it by saying something like, “These gifts were first bestowed to the apostles when they were about to preach the gospel to every creature,” etc., and that this was reworded in *Apostolic Constitutions*. (In which case, shorter representations of *Apostolic Tradition* lacking these sentences should be considered abridgements.)

On the other hand, there is no way to absolutely prove that this part of Book Eight of *Apostolic Constitutions* is not based on some other source.

Another part of *Apostolic Tradition*, 32:1, constitutes an additional piece of evidence that its author was aware of the contents of Mark 16:18. It runs as follows: “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.”⁰⁴⁸ⁿ This statement (similar to a statement of Tertullian, mentioned earlier) appears to be an interpretation of First Corinthians 11:30-31 seen through the lens of Mark 16:18b.

Unlike the material in the opening paragraph of *Apostolic Constitutions*, the evidence for *Apostolic Tradition* 32:1 is not limited to works in which it has been absorbed and edited. This particular part of the composition is extant in four non-Greek transmission-lines of the text of *Apostolic Tradition*: in Latin, in Ethiopic, in Sahidic, and in Arabic. When Hort formed his opinion of the authorship of this part of the text, he was not aware of this. But there is more:

Apostolic Tradition 32:1 is preserved in Greek. In the 1992 edition of Gregory Dix’s book on *Apostolic Tradition*, revised by Henry Chadwick, 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):

Ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων·
πας δε πιστος πειράσθῳ, προ του τινος γεύσασθαι,
ευχαριστίας μεταλαμβάνειν
· ει γαρ πίστει μεταλάβοι [v. l.: μεταλάβη], ουδ’ αν
θανάσιμόν τις
δόη αυτω μετα τουτο, ου κατισχύσει αυτου (cf. Mark xvi.
18).”⁰⁴⁹ⁿ

The term θανάσιμόν (*thanasimon*), which refers to a “deadly thing” that will not be able to harm the true believer in *Apostolic Tradition* 32:1, is the same word that is used in Mark 16:18. It appears nowhere else in the New Testament.

But is this from a work of Hippolytus, or of someone else? The question is rather complicated, but the authors of the Hermeneia series' commentary on *Apostolic Tradition* have shed a helpful light on things by drawing readers' attention to a statement made by Jerome in his Epistle 71:6. Jerome mentioned that a correspondent's questions about whether or not a person should fast on Saturday, and whether or not the eucharist should be received daily (observances which, he notes, were recommended by the Roman church and Spain) have been addressed by Hippolytus.⁰⁵⁰ⁿ

Bradshaw/Johnson/Philips note that Hippolytus wrote about fasting on Saturday in his "Commentary on Daniel" 4:20. But where is 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."⁰⁵¹ⁿ

Thus we have

(A) a persistent tradition that associates Hippolytus with a work called *Apostolic Tradition* (exemplified by the inscription on the base of the statue mentioned by Tregelles),

(B) four extant transmission-lines of *Apostolic Tradition*, including a Latin version from the very late 400s,

(C) the Greek text of *Apostolic Tradition* 32:1, in which the word θανάσιμον (*thanasimon*) is used to refer to something which will not harm the faithful after the eucharist is properly observed, and

(D) Jerome's apparent allusion to chapter 36 (= chapter 32, renumbered) of *Apostolic Tradition* as a statement by Hippolytus. The identification of this part of *Apostolic Tradition* as a work of Hippolytus, and the nature of 32:1 as an original part of *Apostolic Tradition*, are both favored by all these lines of evidence; against which the alternative is merely conceivable.

Taken as a whole, although it is currently impossible to separate the voice of Hippolytus from the interference that has been introduced by other writers who altered his compositions, the

evidence (arranged from least to greatest) from *On Christ and Antichrist*, *Homily on Noetus*, the reworked opening paragraph of *Apostolic Constitutions*, and *Apostolic Tradition* 32:1 favors the view that Hippolytus knew and used Mark 16:9-20.

(4) The *Didascalia Apostolorum* (Date: early 200s). This is a third-century text which was probably composed in Palestine or Syria (and was incorporated later into another composition). In the late 300s, it was used as the basis for the sixth book of *Apostolic Constitutions*. Only a small fragment of the *Didascalia*'s Greek text has survived as a distinct composition; the main piece of evidence for its contents is a Syriac translation, supplemented by an incomplete Latin rendering (preserved in a manuscript from 494). In its 20th chapter ("*Concerning the Resurrection of the Dead*"), the author – who presents his work as if the apostles are its originators – quotes Proverbs 20:9 and Job 14:4 through 5, and then states, "To everyone therefore who believes and is baptized his former sins have been forgiven; but after baptism also, provided that he has not sinned a deadly sin nor been an accomplice (to one)." ⁰⁵²ⁿ The phrase "everyone therefore who believes and is baptized" may be modeled on Mark 16:16, but the resemblance could be fortuitous.

In chapter 23 ("*On Heresies and Schisms*"), the Syriac *Didascalia* says, "When we had divided the whole world into twelve parts, and were gone forth among the Gentiles into all the world to preach the word, then Satan set about and stirred up the people to send after us false apostles for the undoing of the word." The statement that the apostles "were gone forth," together with the nearby statement that the apostles went "into all the world to preach," appear to show that the author was familiar with Mark 16:15 through 20.

It has been suggested by some researchers that the *Didascalia*'s source for its many utilizations of material from the Gospels was not the individual books but Tatian's *Diatessaron*. If this were the case, then the testimony of the *Didascalia* would be reduced to an echo of Tatian.

However, although it is sufficiently clear that the author of the *Didascalia*, like Tatian, frequently combined parallel-statements drawn from all four Gospels, in chapter 10 he depicts Matthew as the individual responsible for the *Didascalia*, and in chapter 21, the Gospel of Matthew is explicitly named, in a quotation of Matthew 28, verses 1 and 2. Possibly the author had access to the individual Gospels and to the *Diatessaron*.

(5) Source-materials of *Doctrine of Addai* (Date: early 200s?).

The story known as *Doctrine of Addai* is an evangelistic narrative that was put together some time in the late 300s or early 400s, incorporating some earlier materials. The storyline in *Doctrine of Addai* is along the following lines: Abgar the Fifth, king of the Syriac city of Edessa, sent representatives, led by his archive-keeper Hannan, on a journey to confer with a Roman official. On their return, they detoured to Jerusalem to see Jesus. After watching Him perform miracles, they returned to Edessa and informed Abgar the Fifth, who had been suffering from a disease for some time, that they had found a physician who could heal him. Abgar sent Hannan to Jesus with a letter inviting Him to come to Edessa. Hannan delivered the letter to Jesus, and Jesus replied by dictating a letter, which Hannan wrote down, to the effect that Jesus would not come but one of His followers would come later. Hannan also painted a picture of Jesus, which he took with him to Edessa along with the letter.

Later, the story goes, Thomas sent a Christian named Addai to Edessa, where he preached to king Abgar and his family. At one point, Abgar mentions his belief in Christ, and Addai states, “*I place my hand upon thee in His name.*”⁰⁵³ⁿ Abgar is thus healed. As the story proceeds, and as Addai continues to preach, he says at one point, “*We were commanded to preach His gospel to the whole creation,*” which clearly utilizes Mark 16:15.

The date of the source-materials of *Doctrine of Addai* is not easy to determine. Eusebius of Caesarea, writing no later than 339, presented the contents of what he believed to be the letters to and

from Jesus in Book One of *Church History*, translated, he claimed, from the Syriac archives at Edessa.

J. Rendel Harris theorized that the source-materials pre-date A.D. 217: "In the original document there stood these words of Addai: 'Because ye have so believed in me, the town in which ye dwell shall be blessed and the enemy shall not prevail against it for ever.' Now it seems almost certain that such predictions could hardly have been referred to the Lord in the time immediately following the year A.D. 217, when Edessa was devastated by the Romans; and perhaps this date may be an interior limit to the time of production of the *Doctrine of Addai*."⁰⁵⁴ⁿ

In addition, we should consider the tendencies of legend-embellishment. In later versions of the story about Abgar, the portrait is not painted by Hannan; it is made when Jesus presses his face on a towel, forming a representation of his face made without hands. Also, in Eusebius' version of the story, Jesus himself writes the letter, rather than dictating it to Hannan. The less sensational details in *Doctrine of Addai* suggest that its author obtained source-materials which had escaped the embellishments in the texts used by Eusebius and by later writers.

Also, the text, as it stands, indicates that the source-documents were made at a time when the *Diatessaron* was viewed as the default text used in church-services in Edessa: at one point the text says, "Moreover, much people day by day assembled and came together for prayer and for the reading of the Old Testament, and the New, the *Diatessaron*."⁰⁵⁵ⁿ It has been suggested that the word "*Diatessaron*" is an interpolation, but this conjecture requires that it was inserted awfully early, because the word (or its garbled remains, miswritten by copyists who did not recognize it) is in the earliest copies of *Doctrine of Addai*, from the 500s and 600s.

Doctrine of Addai also includes a legendary story about the discovery of Jesus' cross and other relics, and credits the wife of the Emperor Claudius, named Protonice, with this discovery. This is the same story as the account of the discovery of the true cross by Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, with different names. Without addressing the question of the

plausibility or historicity of the contents of *Doctrine of Addai*, it can be maintained that some of its source-materials are earlier than Eusebius of Caesarea, and may be as early as the very early 200s.

(6) Origen (Date: first half of the 200s). Origen was the most productive, and probably the most controversial, patristic author of his generation. He was well-travelled: he grew up in Alexandria, Egypt, and was the son of Leonides, a martyr. Origen briefly visited Rome in 211; in about 213 he visited Arabia. But he mainly resided in Alexandria until 231. A wealthy friend named Ambrose, whom Origen had led to Christ (not to be confused with Ambrose of Milan, who lived in the mid-300s), supplied him with plentiful resources to study and teach about the Bible there.

The Alexandrian bishop Demetrius gradually came to view Origen as a rival; he was concerned that an unordained scholar had so much academic clout. When, in 230, Origen visited Caesarea, and received ordination there, Demetrius strongly objected that such ordination was unauthorized. Origen, fully capable of seeing where he was and was not wanted, moved to Caesarea; after a short visit to Caesarea-in-Cappadocia to confer with his friend Firmilian, Origen settled down in Caesarea (in what is now Israel), and preached, taught, and researched, authoring very many books there, including a lengthy response to a pagan author named Celsus, (who, in an earlier generation, had published a series of objections against Christianity). Origen was arrested and tortured during the persecution that was carried out under the reign of Decius; in 254 he died of the injuries he had received.

Bruce Metzger wrote, "Clement of Alexandria and Origen show no knowledge of the existence of these verses,"⁰⁵⁶ⁿ and this claim has been spread by other commentators. (In many cases, Metzger's statement has been recycled *verbatim*). This statement has been frequently treated as if it is plain evidence that Origen used a form of the Gospel of Mark that ended at 16:8.

However, before we test the possible implications of Metzger's claim, we should test its veracity. A few statements from Origen exist in which he may have alluded to the contents of Mark 16:9-20. Perhaps the most interesting such statement is found in the fifth chapter of *Philocalia*, paragraph 5, a collection of miscellaneous comments by Origen edited and released by Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 389) and Basil of Caesarea (d. 379). In the fifth chapter of *Philocalia*, in the course of a review of prophecies about Jesus, Origen wrote, "Even the place of His birth was foretold: 'For thou Bethlehem, land of Judah, art in no wise least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a governor, which shall be shepherd of my people Israel.' And the seventy weeks were fulfilled, as Daniel shows, when Christ the 'governor' came. And, according to Job, He came who subdued the great sea-monster, and has given authority to His true disciples to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy, being in no wise hurt by them. **Let a man observe how the Apostles who were sent by Jesus to proclaim the Gospel went everywhere, and he cannot help seeing their superhuman daring in obedience to the Divine command.**"⁰⁵⁷ⁿ

In this paragraph, Origen has linked together a series of Scripture-references, beginning with Micah 5:2, Daniel 9:24, Job 3:8, and Luke 10:19. After presenting Luke 10:19 in a somewhat paraphrased form, when Origen mentions that the apostles went everywhere, having been sent by Jesus to proclaim the gospel, he uses these Greek words: . . . επιστησάτω δέ τις και τη των αποστόλων πανταχόσε επιδημία των υπο του 'Ιησου επι το καταγγειλαι το ευαγγέλιον πεμφθέντων, και όψεται και το τόλμημα ου κατα άνθρωπον και το επίταγμα θειον.⁰⁵⁸ⁿ

In terms of vocabulary, there are two interesting parallels between Origen's terms and Mark 16:15 to 20. Origen's term πανταχόσε (*pantachose*, "everywhere") matches Mark 16:20's term πανταχου (*pantachou*, "everywhere"), and Origen's reference to the proclamation of το ευαγγέλιον (*to euangelion*) matches Mark 16:15's command to preach το ευαγγέλιον (*to euangelion*, the gospel).

The odds that Origen was thinking of Mark 16:15 to 20 when he wrote the fifth chapter of *Philocalia* may increase if Origen's statement was the offspring of a chain of thematically cross-referenced passages: Luke 10:19, the preceding link in the chain, is connected to Mark 16:15 to 20 by the idea of divine protection, and Hebrews 2:4, the following link, is connected to the same passage by the mention of signs. But neither in Luke 10:19 nor in Hebrews 2:4 is there any impetus to bring to mind an episode in which the apostles were sent to proclaim the good news everywhere, or in which they apply superhuman daring. In Mark 16:15 to 20, however, there is a sufficient basis for both statements. Thus the often-repeated claim that Origen shows no knowledge of Mark 16:9-20 is open to question.

If one were to accept the claim that Origen never shows an awareness of Mark 16:9-20, would that constitute evidence that these 12 verses were absent from his copies of Mark? By no means. Origen used Mark the least of all the Gospels: taking *Philocalia* as a sample, there are only a few clear uses of the Gospel of Mark. In *Against Celsus*, Origen did not quote at all from chapters 2, 5, 8, 9, 11, and 12 of Mark, and appears to have used a total of 31 verses from Mark (only 15 verses from the first 12 chapters of Mark!), compared to 186 verses from Matthew, 111 verses from Luke, and 123 verses from John.⁰⁵⁹ⁿ

In *De Oratione* 18:3, Origen wrote something which indicates that he did not use the Gospel of Mark very much, and his silence ought to be considered with this low level of usage in the equation. In *De Oratione*, in a discussion of the Lord's Prayer, Origen 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."⁰⁶⁰ⁿ A person who frequently used the Gospel of Mark would not need to double-check its contents to affirm that it did not contain a prayer like the Lord's Prayer.

It would be difficult to issue unqualified statements about exactly how many times Origen quoted from Mark, because frequently Origen cited passages where Mark and Matthew, or Mark and Luke, or Matthew and Mark and Luke, say the same

thing. But if we sift through Origen's major works – *De Principiis*, *To Africanus*, *To Gregory*, *Against Celsus*, *Commentary on Matthew*, *Commentary on John*, *Philocalia*, *On Prayer*, and *Homilies on Numbers*, we find that the following series of consecutive verses of the Gospel of Mark are not used by Origen anywhere in these compositions:

- Mark 1:36 to 3:16 ~ 54 consecutive verses
- Mark 3:19 to 4:11 ~ 28 consecutive verses
- Mark 4:13 to 4:30 ~ 17 consecutive verses
- Mark 5:2 to 5:43 ~ 41 consecutive verses
- Mark 6:46 to 7:2 ~ 13 consecutive verses
- Mark 7:4 to 7:19 ~ 15 consecutive verses
- Mark 7:25 to 8:5 ~ 18 consecutive verses
- Mark 8:7 to 8:29 ~ 22 consecutive verses
- Mark 9:7 to 9:32 ~ 25 consecutive verses
- Mark 10:3 to 10:42 ~ 39 consecutive verses
- Mark 11:26 to 12:25 ~ 32 consecutive verses
- Mark 12:29 to 13:30 ~ 46 consecutive verses
- Mark 13:32 to 14:47 ~ 63 consecutive verses
- Mark 14:62 to 15:20 ~ 31 consecutive verses
- Mark 15:22 to 16:8 ~ 33 consecutive verses.⁰⁶¹ⁿ

In his major works, Origen shows no knowledge of 15 portions of the Gospel of Mark, which, combined, total 477 of Mark's 678 verses (as counted using the Byzantine Text). Would any sane analyst conclude that this silence implies that these 477 verses were not in the manuscripts of Mark that were used by Origen? No; the correct conclusion is simply that Origen quoted from the Gospel of Mark rather infrequently.

Picture the evidence a different way: imagine that the 678 verses of Mark 1:1 to 16:20 are a pizza, divided into 56 or 57 slices, each slice consisting of 12 verses. Origen did not use 34 of those 12-verse slices of the text of Mark. Origen's non-use of a 12-verse passage, therefore, cannot really tell us anything about whether or not he was aware of its existence. Thus it is profoundly unwarranted, and a misleading disservice to readers, to treat the claim that Origen "shows no knowledge"⁰⁶²ⁿ of Mark 16:9-20 as if

Origen's non-use of Mark 16:9-20 implies that the passage was not in his copies of Mark.

(7) Vincentius of Thibaris (Date: 256). Vincentius, bishop of a coastal city in north Africa, was one of the many bishops who attended the Seventh Council of Carthage in 256. Speaking in Latin, he made a statement which appears in the midst of many brief statements from other bishops expressing their agreement with the verdicts drawn up at that council:

Quam Dominus praecepto divino mandavit apostolis dicens, 'Ite in nomine meo manum inponite, daemonia expellite,' et alio loco, 'Ite et docete,' etc., (finishing with a quotation of Matthew 28:19 in Latin).

This means: "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,' etc."⁰⁶³ⁿ The first part of Vincentius' statement describes Mark 16:15-18 far better than any other single passage in the New Testament.

Hort questioned this evidence, proposing instead that Vincentius was referring to Matthew 10:6-8, and had made a "natural adaptation" by grafting on a reference to the name of Christ from some other passage (such as Mark 9:38) and adding a reference to the laying on of hands from yet another passage. After positing these steps, Hort concludes, "On the whole the balance of the somewhat ambiguous evidence is against any reference to vv. 17f. in the words of Vincentius."⁰⁶⁴ⁿ

Hort's contrived objections are easily answered. Hort objected that Mark 16:17 is not a command, but 16:15 contains the command to go and preach. Matthew 10:6 to 8 does not contain a reference to the laying on of hands; nor does it refer to doing this in Jesus' name.

Vincentius' statement looks just like what one would expect an off-hand reference to Mark 16:15 to 18 to look like: he refers to its salient features, and then quotes the Matthean parallel-passage. In addition, it should be observed that the Seventh

Council of Carthage was convened to settle questions related to baptism and the laying on of hands. Because Matthew 10:6 to 8 mentions neither of these things, but Mark 16:15 to 18 mentions them both, the latter would be the more appropriate text to cite. Thus, Vincentius' testimony shows that Mark 16:9-20 was used in North Africa in the mid-200s.

(8) Porphyry/Hierocles (Date: 270 or 305). Porphyry was an infamous critic of Christianity in the second half of the third century. He wrote a long, fifteen-volume composition called *Against the Christians* in about A.D. 270. This text is no longer extant but portions of it are preserved in quotations embedded in the writings of others, and some of those quotations are extensive. Eusebius of Caesarea is credited with a detailed response to Porphyry, but this is not extant either. A refutation composed by another author has been more fortunate. In about A.D. 405, a Christian bishop named Macarius who was located in Asia Minor in the city of Magnesia (and who is, for that reason, called Macarius Magnes), composed a text called *Apocriticus* in reply to an anti-Christian book. It is very probable that the text to which Macarius Magnes responded, and from which he provides some extensive quotations, was essentially a condensed form of Porphyry's *Against the Christians*, reworded and supplemented by another anti-Christian author named Hierocles.

One obstacle to the view that Macarius Magnes was replying directly to the work of Porphyry is that Macarius Magnes himself displays a lack of awareness that he is replying to Porphyry. At one point (in Book Three, chapter 42), he writes, as if addressing the objector,

"You can verify these things from the book "Concerning the Philosophy of Oracles" and learn accurately the record of the things sacrificed, as you read the oracle of Apollo concerning sacrifices, which Porphyry, puffed up with deceit, handed down to his intimates in a mystery, charging them with a terrible oath . . .

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However, Macarius Magnes' ignorance of the identity of the creator of the objections to which he responds is understandable if he was responding to an untitled copy of Hierocles' condensation of Porphyry's work, instead of the larger and more easily recognized form. Hierocles (who, as proconsul of Bithynia, aggressively persecuted Christians there during the persecution of 303) is known as the author of a text called *For the Truth-lover* (or *Truth-loving Messages*). Eusebius of Caesarea responded to a large part of Hierocles' composition in which he had compared Jesus to a philosopher named Apollonius of Tyana. Eusebius, in the first chapter of his response, notes, "Hierocles, of all the writers who have ever attacked us, stands alone in selecting Apollonius, as he has recently done, for the purpose of comparison and contrast with our Saviour."⁰⁶⁶ⁿ

In Book Three, chapter 1 of *Apocriticus*, Macarius Magnes presents an objection from the pagan writer whose objections he aspires to answer: the pagan author asks why Jesus was silent at his trials, when he could have given an instructive sermon, instead of submitting to being beaten and humiliated, "Unlike Apollonius, who, after speaking boldly to the Emperor Domitian, disappeared from the royal court."⁰⁶⁷ⁿ Thus, unless Eusebius' claim was incorrect, the untitled composition to which Macarius Magnes replied has a feature practically unique to Hierocles' composition.

Eusebius, in the same composition in which he replies to Hierocles about the comparison of Apollonius of Tyana to Jesus, states that it would be useless to take his stand against the rest of the contents of Hierocles' composition, because those parts "are not his own, but have been brazenly pilfered. I daresay that not only are their ideas not original, but even their words and syllables have been taken from other authorities."⁰⁶⁸ⁿ

Evidence that Hierocles pilfered material from his predecessor Porphyry comes to light when we examine the statements that Macarius Magnes presented in Book Three, chapter 21 of *Apocriticus*. There, Macarius Magnes cites the pagan text as stating that Peter put Ananias and Sapphira to death. The key

sentence is, “In the case of a certain man named Ananias, and his wife Saphira, because they did not deposit the whole price of their land, but kept back a little for their own necessary use, Peter put them to death, although they had done no wrong.”⁰⁶⁹ⁿ

Another writer, Jerome, writing around 414, at about the same as Macarius Magnes, offers some comments upon Acts chapter 5 in his *Epistle 130, part 14, To Demetrius*, and makes a casual reference to Ananias and Sapphira, saying, “The apostle Peter by no means called down death upon them as Porphyry foolishly says. He merely announced God’s judgment by the spirit of prophecy.”⁰⁷⁰ⁿ This is a fitting description of what Macarius Magnes presented in *Apocriticus*, Book Three, chapter 16. Clearly, Hierocles’ *Truth-loving Words* contained material that had been borrowed from earlier writers, and one of those earlier writers was Porphyry. Eusebius insisted that the part about Apollonius of Tyana was the only original thing about the composition.

With all this in the background, we come to *Apocriticus*, Book Three, chapter 16, where Macarius Magnes presented another objection from the pagan author whose objections he was answering:

“Again, consider in detail that other passage, where he [Jesus] 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.”⁰⁷¹ⁿ

The pagan author – Hierocles, probably depending on material from Porphyry or some earlier anti-Christian writer – quoted just enough text to form a target for his jibe, and the phrases are out of order; yet it is perfectly clear that the author was

quoting from Mark 16:17 to 18. This quotation is framed between quotations from John 6:53 and Matthew 17:20, showing that the author was accessing a Gospels-book.

(9) Cyprian (Date: 250's). An influential bishop in the African city of Carthage, Cyprian was martyred in 258 after years of industrious and prolific service, during which he wrote several compositions and many letters. According to Hort, Cyprian never quoted from Mark 16:9-20, and “There can be only one reason for its absence from the third book of *Testimonies* from Scripture”⁰⁷²ⁿ – the implied reason being that it was not in the text of Mark used by Cyprian.

However Hort’s claim about the implications of Cyprian’s silence does not survive close scrutiny. Cyprian has no meaningful testimony on the subject one way or the other.

The first heading from Cyprian’s *Testimonies* which Hort listed is “*Ad regnum Dei nisi baptizatus et renatus quis fuerit pervenire non posse* (25),” but since this is an interpretive paraphrase of John 3:5, it is no shock that Cyprian proceeds to use John 3:5 rather than Mark 16:16 as its proof.

The second heading which Hort listed is “*Eum qui non crediderit jam judicatum esse* (31),” but since this is a paraphrase of John 3:18, it is no shock at all that Cyprian proceeds to use John 3:18 rather than Mark 16:16, or Acts 16:31 or many other passages about the importance of faith.

The third heading which Hort listed is “*Fidem totum prode esse et tantum nos posse quantum credimus* (42),” that is, “That faith is of advantage altogether, and that we can do as much as we believe.”⁰⁷³ⁿ

Cyprian provided eight proof-texts for this heading, two of which are Mark 11:23 and Mark 11:24. His non-use of material from Mark 16:9-20 does not imply that he was unaware of the passage any more than it implies that he was unaware of a multitude of other passages which can be used to support such a statement.

The fourth heading which Hort listed is, “*Possee eum statim consequi [baptismum] qui vere crediderit (43)*,” that is, “That he who believes can immediately obtain [baptism]” (the word “baptism” being implied). Cyprian provides a single proof-text under this heading: “In the Acts of the Apostles: Lo, here is water; what is there which hinders me from being baptized? Then said Philip, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest.” (This is Acts 8:37, in the Western texttype.) Mark 16:16 does not speak specifically about the question raised by the heading, and thus Cyprian’s non-use of the passage here is not indicative of its absence in the form of the Gospel of Mark known to Cyprian.

In the course of Cyprian’s *Three Books of Testimonies*, he explicitly quotes the Gospel of Mark a total of three times, compared to 35 explicit quotations from Matthew, 20 explicit quotations from Luke, and 34 explicit quotations from John. What is indicated here is simply Cyprian’s tendency to find his proof-texts in the “Western” order in the Gospels (Matthew first, then John, then Luke, and finally Mark), and his preference for Matthean and Johannine material.

Those who read Cyprian’s *Three Books of Testimonies* will appreciate that for some questions he merely listed one or two passages which sufficiently provided what the heading required; Cyprian did not aspire to offer exhaustive collections of supportive Scriptures.

Cyprian’s Gospels-text is sometimes claimed to be comparable in various respects to the Latin text displayed in the Old Latin Codex Bobbiensis. This can really only be plausibly proposed for the text of Matthew, inasmuch as Cyprian uses Mark so rarely. In one of the few instances where Cyprian uses the Gospel of Mark, he refers to 11:26, a verse which is omitted in Codex Bobbiensis. The alleged connection between Cyprian’s text of Mark, and the text of Mark in Codex Bobbiensis, is somewhat dubious. If Cyprian’s text of Mark did not include 16:9-20, it would be the only known text to do so while including Mark 11:26.

In addition, even the general claim that Cyprian's text resembled the text of Old Latin Codex Bobbiensis has not been demonstrated as clearly as some commentators seem to have assumed. In 1886, researchers John Wordsworth, William Sanday, and H. J. White observed that in Codex Bobbiensis (in which only the text of Matthew is in agreement with Cyprian in 97 readings, and differs from Cyprian in 44 readings),⁰⁷⁴ⁿ when an adjustment of the calculations is made to account for four double-readings (instances where the same passage is re-used), the proportion of Cyprian's agreements with Codex Bobbiensis is 97 out of 137, or 71%.

If Wordsworth, Sanday, and White had been comparing two manuscripts to each other, a 71% rate of agreement would be just enough to conclude that the manuscripts represent the same text-type. However, Codex Bobbiensis is very incomplete: it contains, in Matthew, only 1:1 to 15:36, and the pages are missing in Mark which originally contained 1:1 to 8:8. Cyprian's quotations, likewise, are selective, and in Mark they are few. For almost all of the text of Mark there is really no basis for comparison; either pages are missing in Codex Bobbiensis, or else selections are absent in Cyprian's writings. Cyprian is thus a non-witness.

(10) *De Rebaptismate* (Date: circa 258). *De Rebaptismate*, an anonymous composition about rebaptism, is sometimes called a fourth-century work; however it is listed here as a third-century witness.⁰⁷⁵ⁿ Before investigating the question of the date of this witness, its pertinent contents, from the ninth chapter, should be examined:

“All the disciples also judged the declaration of the women who had seen the Lord after the resurrection to be idle tales; and some of themselves, when they had seen Him, believed not, but doubted; and they who were not then present believed not at all until they had been subsequently by the Lord Himself in all ways rebuked and reproached, 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.”⁰⁷⁶ⁿ

The beginning of this passage is crammed with allusions to various passages, beginning with Luke 24:11, Matthew 28:17 and perhaps John 20:24. But the part that states that the disciples, as a group, were “in all ways rebuked and reproached” fits no other passage but Mark 16:14.

Now we turn to the question of the production-date of *De Rebaptismate*. The scholar Jerome wrote a book called *Lives of Illustrious Men*, and another writer, Gennadius, wrote a sequel to it. In chapter 27, Gennadius wrote about an influential monk named Ursinus:

*“Ursinus the monk wrote against those who say that heretics should be rebaptized, teaching that it is not legitimate nor honouring God, that those should be rebaptized who have been baptized either in the name of Christ alone or in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, though the formula has been used in a vitiated sense. He considers that after the simple confession of the Holy Trinity and of Christ, the imposition of the hands of the catholic priest is sufficient for salvation.”*⁰⁷⁷ⁿ

In the early 1900s, the scholar Adolph Julicher, commenting on these remarks of Gennadius, wrote, “This Ursinus is doubtless the antipope” – that is, the individual named Ursinus who, in 366, was avidly promoted by his admirers, instead of Damasus, in an unsuccessful bid to become the bishop of Rome – “and the polemic mentioned by Gennadius is probably the pseudo-Cyprianic *De rebaptismate*, which modern scholarship places in the third century. Whatever the authorship of the work in question, it is known that during the time of Ursinus a certain deacon named Hilarius demanded the rebaptism of all who had been baptized by Arians, and it is probable that Gennadius was rightly informed when he stated that Ursinus polemicized against such tenets.”⁰⁷⁸ⁿ

If such comments were casually accepted, we could surmise that Ursinus is the author of *De Rebaptismate*, in which case it would shine a ray of light upon the text used by a very

popular deacon in the city of Rome in the mid-300s. However, the following pieces of information compel a different conclusion:

- In *De Rebaptismate*, chapter 1, the author states, “*It is fitting for no faithful and sane man to dare to hold such a view [i.e., the view that ex-heretics who had been baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit must be rebaptized]. This is particularly true of those who are ordained in any clerical office at all, and much more in the episcopal order; it is like a prodigy for bishops themselves to devise such scandals.*” The implication of this is that the author was writing against the views promoted by a bishop, which describes Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, in the mid-200s, but not Hilarius, a deacon.

- In chapter 6, the author writes, “It is the very greatest disadvantage and damage to our most holy mother Church, now for the first time suddenly and without reason to rebel against former decisions after so long a series of so many ages.” Inasmuch as the issue of rebaptism of heretics was famously debated in the 200s, no straightforward writer in Rome in the 300s would have made such a statement.

- In chapter 10, the author writes, “What wilt thou say of those who are in many cases baptized by bishops of very bad character, who yet at length, when God so wills it, convicted of their crimes, are even deprived of their office itself, or absolutely of communion?” and, answering this question, “Thou wilt assuredly say, with that marvelous carefulness of thine, that these too should be baptized again.” Two such men – Basilides of Leon and Martial of Merida, in Spain – were known to Cyprian; in 254, in his *Epistle 67*, Cyprian used Hosea 9:4 to describe such men and their ministry: “Their sacrifices shall be as the bread of mourning; all that eat thereof shall be polluted.” Thus if the author of *De Rebaptismate* wrote in 254 through 258, he could be assured indeed of what Cyprian would say in such cases.⁰⁷⁹ⁿ

- In chapter 16, the author focuses on the beliefs of a group of heretics who derive their teachings from a book called the “*Preaching of Paul*,” and treats it as a real possibility that his

readers might meet people from this group. This fits the mid-200s better than the 300s, and it seems more appropriate in a response to Cyprian's insistence that all heretical baptisms were invalid, than in a response by Ursinus, in the mid-300s, to the view that it was necessary to rebaptize repentant ex-Arians.

- The *Letters of Dionysius of Alexandria to Stephen and Xystus* (in which are objections to Stephen's view that it was adequate for a bishop to lay his hands on a converted ex-heretic, rather than to rebaptize him) challenge the idea that a longstanding custom exists in which Christians and non-Christians were identically received. This opening statement by Dionysius seems to be a reaction to the opening statement in *De Rebaptismate*, that "According to the most ancient custom and ecclesiastical tradition," those baptized outside the church in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord would be received, in repentance, if they submitted to the imposition of the hands of the bishop, for the reception of the Holy Spirit. Dionysius of Alexandria died in 265.⁰⁸⁰ⁿ

- Cyprian, in *On the Unity of the Church*, used Peter and the rest of the apostles as examples of the unique authority invested in the church. The author of *De Rebaptismate* selects Peter and the rest of the apostles as examples of individuals who lapsed, or who had imperfect ideas of Christ's mission, but were not rebaptized, as if to use Cyprian's own witnesses against him.⁰⁸¹ⁿ

- Cyprian, in *On the Unity of the Church*, used First John 5:7 to 8 to make a point about the oneness of the church; the author of *De Rebaptismate* uses the same passage, cited in a different (and more exact) form, to argue that baptism, whether it be by the Spirit, the water, or blood, testifies that the believer is saved.

- Cyprian, in *On the Unity of the Church*, cites First Cor. 1:10; the author of *De Rebaptismate* also cites it, as if in response to Cyprian's reference to it: "Since it is not in our power, according to the apostle's precept, 'to speak the same thing, that there be not schisms among us,' yet, as far as we can, we strive to demonstrate the true condition of this argument."

- Cyprian, in *On the Unity of the Church*, quotes First Corinthians 13:3, and so does the author of *De Rebaptismate*.

- Cyprian, in *On the Unity of the Church*, quotes Matthew 7:22 to 23 and Mark 12:29 to 31, very close together. The author of *De Rebaptismate* also quotes Matthew 7:22 to 23, and quotes Matthew 22:37 to 39 (the parallel to Mark 12:29 to 31).

It is as though the author of *De Rebaptismate* was determined to build his case with Scripture-blocks taken from Cyprian's treatise. These points cumulatively show that *De Rebaptismate* was composed no later than 258.

Now having reviewed the patristic testimony from the 200s, we may draw a few conclusions about how these writings have been treated by scholars and commentators. Claims such as the one made by C. S. Mann that "In fact, in all the literature before the middle of the fourth century there are only two possible allusions to this anonymous ending"⁰⁸²ⁿ may be immediately dismissed.

Clement – whose silence was misrepresented as evidence for decades in the apparatus of *Novum Testamentum Graece*, despite Hort's cautious warning – might refer to Mark 16:19 in his comment in *Adumbrationes* on Jude 24 which was preserved by Cassiodorus. Origen, likewise, is not an adverse witness but merely a neutral one, unless he alluded to Mark 16:18-20 in *Philocalia* chapter 5. The evidence does not justify listing either Clement or Origen as a witness for the abrupt ending at 16:8. Similarly, the implications of Cyprian's silence were overstated by Hort.

When the fourth edition of the United Bible Societies *Greek New Testament* produced a reedited textual apparatus in which Ammonius, Clement, Origen, and Cyprian were not listed as witnesses against the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20, this was a step in the right direction.⁰⁸³ⁿ

Unfortunately, some influential commentators still perpetuate the incorrect claim that these authors somehow testify for the non-inclusion of 16:9-20 in the Gospel of Mark.⁰⁸⁴ⁿ In addition,

the testimonies from Vincentius of Thibarisis, from the author of *De Rebaptismate*, and from the pagan writer answered by Macarius Magnes are only rarely mentioned by commentators, while the non-testimony of Clement and Origen has been treated as if it is a secure report against inclusion. Although scholarly treatment of patristic evidence from the 200s has been rather tilted, commentators' misrepresentations of evidence from the 300s are much worse, as we shall see in the following chapter.

First, however, we should consider the testimony of one more witness to the text of Mark from the 200s: Papyrus 45, the earliest extant manuscript to contain any part of the Gospel of Mark. Papyrus 45 was produced sometime between 200 and 250. Because of the extensive mutilation which Papyrus 45 has undergone, it only contains text from Mark chapters 4 through 12 (specifically, 4:36 to 40, 5:15 to 26, 5:38 to 6:3, 6:16 to 25, 6:36 to 50, 7:3 to 15, 7:25 to 8:1, 8:10 to 26, 8:34 to 9:8, 9:18 to 31, 11:27 to 12:1, 12:5 to 8, 12:13 to 19, and 12:24 to 28). On this basis, Papyrus 45 has no verifiable voice regarding the inclusion or non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20. This fact should be kept in mind by readers who encounter appeals to the "earliest manuscripts" of Mark in Bible-footnotes and commentaries.

Papyrus 45 is a non-witness to the same extent that two other early papyri, Papyrus 66 and Papyrus 75, are non-witnesses; these other two papyri contain no text at all from the Gospel of Mark. Yet some commentators have used them as if they supply indirect evidence for the noninclusion of Mark 16:9-20. How is this done? By identifying the text-form in the early papyri as the text-form that is more completely preserved in other manuscripts. The idea is that if it can be shown that two witnesses agree more than 70% of the time, then there is a 70% chance that at any given point in the non-extant parts of the earlier manuscript, the non-extant manuscript had the same reading that is displayed in the other manuscript.

In 2001, Michael W. Holmes applied this idea to Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, stating that although they were not produced until the 300s, they "have been shown to preserve a

textual tradition that dates back to around the time of Irenaeus (c. 175),” and a footnote explained the statement: “The discovery of papyrus copies of the Gospels of Luke and John dating from c. 200 C.E. or a bit earlier that preserve a text very similar to the text of Sinaiticus and Vaticanus demonstrates that these two fourth-century manuscripts in fact preserve a textual tradition that dates back at least to around the time of Irenaeus. These papyri, known as P66 and P75, are both in the Bodmer collection in Geneva.”⁰⁸⁵ⁿ

Such proposals are not unique to Holmes; it is not remarkable for textual critics to extrapolate tentative support for a reading from manuscripts that do not contain the passage in question (or even the book in which the reading is found!), if the manuscript displays a text-form that is also displayed, more completely, in another manuscript that does contain the reading in question.

In *The Early New Testament Papyri: A Survey of Their Significance*, Larry Hurtado noted, “P45 and Codex W have a significant level of agreement in Mark.”⁰⁸⁶ⁿ In 1981, in a detailed comparison of the textual variants in the Marcan text in P45 to textual variants in the same passages in the leading representatives of different text-types, Hurtado refuted previous scholars’ claims that the text of Mark in Codex W and P45 had close affinities with the Caesarean text of the Gospels, and showed that instead, an otherwise unattested form of the text is involved.

Hurtado’s data had another interesting implication, summarized by Eldon J. Epp: “In 103 variation-units where P45 is extant in Mark 6-9, W and P45 show a 68% agreement,” and, “All these figures suggest that W and P45 are primary members of a text-group (since their agreement approached the 70% norm).”⁰⁸⁷ⁿ

If it is reasonable to use P66 and P75 as if they, *without containing the book of Mark at all*, support a reading in the text of Mark in Codex B and Codex Aleph, then it must also be reasonable to use P45 to support a reading in the text of Mark in Codex W. At least P45 actually contains some text from Mark. This is mentioned, however, only to show the dangers of

overextrapolation, not to insist that P45 should be considered a witness for the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20, despite its 68% rate of agreement with Codex W described by Hurtado.



Chapter 3: External Evidence from the 300s

In the 300s, we no longer have to rely exclusively upon patristic writings for evidence of the contents of Mark 16 in the church's manuscripts. The Roman persecutions which were carried out in the reigns of Decius and Diocletian resulted in the destruction of many copies of New Testament manuscripts, but in the fourth century, Christianity was legalized, and before Emperor Constantine's death in 337 the production of Christian manuscripts was government-sponsored.

Several manuscripts from this period have survived, including two very important manuscripts, Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. Before we consider their testimony, we will turn our attention to some other witnesses of comparable age.

(1) Aphrahat the Persian Sage (Date: 336). Also known as Aphraates, Aphrahat the Persian Sage was a bishop in Syria who wrote a lengthy series of sermons in acrostic form, called *Demonstrations*. This collection of Syriac sermons was completed by A.D. 336 and was supplemented by a 23rd homily in 345.⁰⁸⁸ⁿ

In the 17th paragraph of *Demonstration One: Of Faith*, Aphrahat wrote, "*And when our Lord gave the sacrament of baptism to His apostles, He said to them, 'Whosoever believes and is baptized shall live, and whosoever believes not shall be condemned,'*" and at the end of the same paragraph, "*He also said thus, 'This shall be the sign for those who believe; they shall speak with new tongues and shall cast out demons, and they shall place their hands on the sick and they shall be made whole.'*"⁰⁸⁹ⁿ Aphrahat's quotations are clearly derived from Mark 16:16 to 18, although the passage is quoted imprecisely, without the phrases about taking up serpents and drinking poison.

Aphrahat is regarded as a frequent user of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, but his quotation is significantly different from the passage found in the Arabic *Diatessaron*. Aphrahat probably used the *Diatessaron* and a Syriac translation of the Gospels. Evidence that Aphrahat used the *Diatessaron* is found in *Demonstration 2*, paragraph 20, where he states that Jesus "showed the power of his greatness when he was cast down from a high place into a valley, yet was not harmed."⁰⁹⁰ⁿ This statement is not based on anything in the canonical Gospels as we know them; it is based on a quirky rendering of Luke 4:29 to 30 which recurs when the episode is described by other writers who used the *Diatessaron*. (It is not in the Arabic *Diatessaron*; at this point the Arabic *Diatessaron*'s exemplar appears to have been conformed to the text of the Peshitta). Ephrem Syrus, for example, wrote, "When they cast him down from the hill, he flew in the air."⁰⁹¹ⁿ

However, Aphrahat must have had at least one more source of Gospels-material besides the *Diatessaron*. Tatian did not include Jesus' genealogies in the *Diatessaron*, but in *Demonstration 23*, paragraph 20, Aphrahat quoted Jesus' genealogy as it appears in Matthew 1:13 to 16.⁰⁹²ⁿ

So it is not necessary to conclude that Aphrahat's use of Mark 16:16-18 is merely an echo of the *Diatessaron*; he may have been loosely recollecting an early Syriac Gospels-text. Against the possible objection that the use of Jesus' genealogies in *Demonstration 23* is itself evidence that Aphraates did not compose *Demonstration 23*, one could counter that such objections force a conclusion, and that *Demonstration 23* is present in British Museum Add. Manuscript 17182 (in which *Demonstrations 1* through 10 were written down in 474, and in which *Demonstrations 11* through 23 were written down in 510) and in British Museum Add. MS 14619, from the 500s.⁰⁹³ⁿ

(2) Wulfilas' Gothic Version (Date: mid-300s). This translation of the Bible was produced by Wulfilas, missionary to the Goths, a large tribe of people who had been allowed by the Romans to migrate into Moesia (west of the Black Sea, more or less in the

area of modern-day Bulgaria) earlier in the 300s. Wulfilas himself was a Goth, and he was appointed to be bishop, at age 30, by Eusebius of Nicomedia, in 341.⁰⁹⁴ⁿ Eusebius of Nicomedia was somewhat notorious for having expressed reservations about declaring Arius a heretic at the Council of Nicea in 325; his sympathy with the Arians was confirmed by the appointment of Wulfilas, who was Arian.⁰⁹⁵ⁿ

Wulfilas' Arian theology did not have much impact on his translation-work. He used a Greek Septuagint text as the base-text for the Old Testament. (He declined to translate the books of Kings, on the grounds that the Goths knew enough about war already). Greek manuscripts were his base-text for the New Testament. Only a smattering of manuscripts of New Testament books in Gothic has survived. The most important one is a Gospels-book called Codex Argenteus (the "Silver Book," because it is written mainly in silver ink, on purple parchment), which was produced in the early 500s.⁰⁹⁶ⁿ In Codex Argenteus the Gospels are arranged in the order Matthew-John-Luke-Mark. For some time, this manuscript attested for the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 but was missing the page that had contained 16:12 to 20. In 1970, Franz Haffner found the missing page, containing verses 12 to 20, in St. Afra's Chapel in the cathedral in Speyer, Germany.⁰⁹⁷ⁿ

(3) The first source of *Acts of Pilate* (Date: early 300s). *Acts of Pilate* is a composite-work. It is attested in a Coptic manuscript of the 400s, Latin manuscripts (including a manuscript at Vienna from the 500s or 600s), and medieval Armenian manuscripts. These witnesses present a complicated picture of the textual history of this composition: its main text originally did not contain the portion called the "Preface of Ananias the Protector," or the portion which describes Christ's descent into Hades. At some point in the Armenian transmission-stream it underwent a revision in which some additions and subtractions were made. The altered, expanded form of *Acts of Pilate* has received an alternate title, *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

In chapter 14 of *Acts of Pilate* (in its earliest form), “a certain priest named Phinees, and Addas a teacher, and Aggaeus a Levite” report to the religious leaders that they saw “Jesus and his disciples sitting upon the mountain which is called Mamilch, and he said unto his disciples: Go into all the world and preach unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned.”⁰⁹⁸ⁿ At this point, some forms of the text continue with Mark 16:17 to 18; others do not. The presence of Mark 16:15 to 16 is sufficient to show that the author of *Acts of Pilate* was acquainted with Mark 16:9-20.

(4) Old Latin Codex Vercellensis (a). This Old Latin manuscript, known as it^a, is something of a relic; its production is attributed to Eusebius of Vercelli, who died in 371. Like the Gothic Codex Argenteus, Codex Vercellensis has the Gospels in the order Matthew-John-Luke-Mark, and is written in silver ink. Its text is formatted in two narrow columns on each 24-lined page. Codex Vercellensis presently contains Mark 16:9-20. However, the passage appears on a replacement-page, in a form which, unlike the main text of the manuscript, is derived from the Vulgate. Metzger describes the state of the manuscript: “The last four leaves of the codex (after Mark 15:15) have been cut out, and then follows a single leaf containing Mark 16:7 (from the word *galileam*) to 20 in a later hand and in the Vulgate text. According to calculations of space made by C. H. Turner, the four excised leaves probably did not contain Mark 16:9-20, “unless both very drastic methods of compression were employed in the text itself, and also there was a complete absence of colophon or subscription. . . . [The manuscript] must have had either the shorter ending or none at all.”⁰⁹⁹ⁿ

In reaching this conclusion, Turner had reasoned that the last leaf (that is, the last two-sided page) began at the word *galilaeum* because the missing last leaf had originally begun at the same point in the text. He then observed, “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.”¹⁰⁰ⁿ

However, this conclusion depends on a few assumptions: (1) that it^a has lost only four original pages at the end of Mark, (2) that the replacement-leaf had been specially made for it^a, rather than simply taken from a less cherished or differently damaged manuscript, (3) that the producer of it^a did not miscalculate the number of pages necessary to contain the text, (4) that the producer of it^a did not accidentally skip over a sizeable portion of text somewhere in the text from Mark 15:15 onward, causing the resultant shorter text to occupy less space than the theoretically reconstructed text would occupy, and (5) that the person who made the replacement-page had access to the missing pages which were replaced.

If every one of those premises is accepted, then no insurmountable obstacles stand in the way of Turner’s conclusion that Codex Vercellensis had either the Shorter Ending, or that its text of Mark stopped at the end of 16:8. If the missing text of it^a were found, it would not be astonishing to find that it concluded Mark at the end of 16:8. Eusebius of Vercelli was enough of an admirer of Eusebius of Caesarea that he (Eusebius of Vercelli) took the trouble to translate Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Commentary on the Psalms* from Greek into Latin.¹⁰¹ⁿ

It is possible that Eusebius of Vercelli obtained knowledge of Eusebius of Caesarea’s opinion about Mark 16:9-20 (implied from the Eusebian Canons), and adopted it as his own.

However, Turner’s theory is not verifiable. Four pages are cut out of the end of Codex Vercellensis, but if there had been even one additional sheet after those four (without which the closing text would have been on an outer-facing page), ample room would have been supplied for the inclusion of 16:9-20. It is impossible to know whether the four cut pages were, or were not, the final pages in the manuscript when it was in pristine condition.

Also, it is questionable to suppose that the person who supplied the page containing 16:7 to 20 had access to the original page: why would anyone be careful enough to begin at the same word as the replaced page, but make no effort to duplicate its contents? And why would anyone attempting to replace the missing pages start at 16:7, instead of continuing the text from the end of the last-extant page, that is, from 15:15? A simple explanation is that *an unknown number of pages* from the end of Codex Vercellensis (four of which were halves of sheets extant in the manuscript), were damaged beyond repair. and when an attempt was made to repair the damage, rather than producing new pages, pages were taken from a copy of Mark in a Vulgate manuscript and placed at the end of Codex Vercellensis, which not only kept the manuscript useful for reading an important lection in the Latin lectionary (16:1 4 to 20, about which more shall be said later) but also protected the preceding sheet.

In addition, some indirect evidence indicates that it^a descends from a Latin transmission-line in which Mark 16:9-20 was included. As Turner acknowledged in his 1928 article, the text of it^a is closely related to the text of itⁿ (Old Latin Codex Sangallensis, which was copied *circa* 400). Because the Old Latin Codex Sangallensis, despite having undergone some damage, includes Mark 16:9 to 13, it attests that all 12 verses were present when it was produced, and if Sangallensis and Vercellensis both represent essentially the same form of the Old Latin text then the probability is that Vercellensis, in its pristine state, likewise contained Mark 16:9-20.¹⁰²ⁿ

The Old Latin Codex Corbeiensis, known as *ff* 2 (not to be confused with *ff*, which contains a Latin text of the Epistle of James), is a copy from the 400s which supports the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20.¹⁰³ⁿ

This manuscript shares an interesting feature with Codex Vercellensis: in it^a, according to Fredericus Pustet, “At the end of Matth. 27, 66, after the word << *Custodibus* >> and before the first verse of the following chapter stand the figures LXXIII.”¹⁰⁴ⁿ This is a chapter-number, indicating that the Old Latin text was divided

into small chapters, the 74th of which began at the beginning of Matthew 27. Pustet proceeded to observe that *ff*² “has this same number in the same place, whilst other Old Latin versions have it very near the same position in the sacred text.”¹⁰⁵ⁿ It is not easy to explain this shared feature except by deducing that the chapter-numbering extends deep into the history of the Old Latin copies that share it, and for that reason it seems reasonable to posit that in their Old Latin sections they shared the same textual parameters – thus implying that each one, when it was in pristine condition, contained Mark 16:9-20.

Yet, Codex Vercellensis also shares some distinct textual features with the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript (described elsewhere in this book), and since the Sinaitic Syriac does not contain Mark 16:9-20, there is indirect evidence in both directions. When we reach the end of the original contents of Codex Vercellensis in Mark 15:15, we reach the end of what can be confidently stated about its original contents. Codex Vercellensis is essentially a non-witness regarding the ending of Mark.

(5) The Freer Logion (Date: 300s). In Codex W (produced *circa* 400), between 16:14 and 16:15, an interpolation appears: Κακεινοι απελογουντε λεγοντες οτι ο (And they excused themselves, saying, ‘This) αιων ουτος της ανομίας και της απιστίας (age of lawlessness and unbelief) υπο τον σαταναν εστιν ο μη εων τα υπο (is under Satan, who does not allow, through) των πνάτων ακάθαρτα την αλήθειαν (the unclean spirits, the truth) του θυ καταλαβέσθαι δύναμιν · δια (and the power of God to be understood. So) τουτο αποκάλυπον σου την δικαιοσύ- (then, reveal your righteous-) νην ήδη εκεινοι έλεγον τω Χω και ο (ness now.’ Thus they spoke to Christ. And) Χς εκείνοις προσέλεγεν οτι πεπλήρω- (Christ told them, ‘Fulfilled) ται ο ορος των ετων της εξουσίας του (are the years of the reign of) Σατανα αλλα εγγίζει άλλα δεινα και (Satan, but other terrors approach. And) υπερ ων εγω αμαρτησαντων παρεδόθην (for those who have sinned I was delivered) εις θάνατον ίνα υποστρέψωσιν εις την (unto death, that they might return unto the) αλήθειαν και μηκέτι αμαρτήσωσιν ·

(truth and sin no more,) ἵνα την εν τω ουρανω πνικην και (so that in heaven the spiritual and) ἀφθαρτον της δικαιοσύνης δόξαν (incorruptible glory of righteousness) κληρονομήσιν. ἀλλά – (they may inherit. But –)¹⁰⁶ⁿ

This is known as the “Freer Logion,” named in honor of Charles Lang Freer, an art collector from Detroit, Michigan (USA) who purchased Codex W in Egypt in 1907. Contrary to the impression that is given by a footnote in the *New Living Translation*, Codex W is the only extant manuscript known to contain this extra material. Jerome, in about A.D. 417, mentioned the same interpolation in *Dialogue Against the Pelagians*, 2:15 – *In quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in graecis codicibus iuxta Marcum in fine eius evangelii scribitur: ‘postea quum accubuissent – crediderunt. [Here Jerome cites almost all of Mark 16:14.] Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes: Saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub Satana [or, in most copies of this composition, “substantia”] est, qui non sinit per immundos spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem. Idcirco jam nunc revela justitiam tuam. ’*¹⁰⁷ⁿ

In English, this means, “In certain exemplars and especially in Greek codices near the end of the Gospel of Mark the same thing is written: *After they reclined at table – believed.* [Here Jerome cites almost all of Mark 16:14.] And there, making this point, they say, This age of iniquity and unbelief is under Satan, who [or, “is of a substance which”] does not allow, by unclean spirits, the truth and power of God to be understood properly. Therefore right now reveal your righteousness.”

Jerome only mentions the first part of the Freer Logion, but he is clearly referring to the same material displayed in Codex W. There is no attestation for the Freer Logion other than Codex W and Jerome’s reference. Codex W and Jerome have something in common: Codex W came from Egypt, and Jerome, in 385 or 386, visited the Nitrian Desert in Egypt in the course of visiting Didymus the Blind, whom he held in high esteem. In 1909, Edgar Goodspeed insightfully proposed that a scribal note in Codex W which appears after the end of Mark indicates that the codex was

once housed at the White Monastery, which is in the same area that Jerome visited.¹⁰⁸ⁿ

Because Codex W is ordinarily assigned a date around A.D. 400, and because Jerome wrote about the presence of the interpolation in various copies, “especially in Greek codices,” sometime in 415 through 417, its origin may be traced to a point no later than the end of the 300s, almost certainly prior to Jerome’s visit to Egypt in 386, when he probably encountered the manuscripts to which he referred. Metzger states that Freer Logion “is probably the work of a second or third century scribe who wished to soften the severe condemnation of the Eleven in 16:14.”¹⁰⁹ⁿ That would make the production of the Freer Logion earlier than the production-dates of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus.

(6) Ambrose of Milan (Date: around 385). Ambrose was born in 339 and served as bishop of Milan from 374 until his death in 397. Writing in Latin, Ambrose quoted from Mark 16:9-20 several times. One example is in *The Prayer of Job and David* 4:1:4: “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.’” Another example, from *circa* 384, is in *Concerning Repentance*, I:8 (section 35): “He gave all gifts to His disciples, of whom He said: ‘In My name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they shall drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall do well.’”

Ambrose also quoted Mark 16:15-18 (again without the words “And in their hands” in 16:18) in *Of the Holy Spirit* 2:13 (section 151). In *Of the Holy Spirit*, 2:13 (section 145) he used Mark 16:15: “Wisdom sent the apostles, saying, ‘Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel.’” And in *Of the Christian Faith*, 1:14 (section 86), Ambrose states, “We have heard the passage read where the Lord saith: ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to all creation.’” In this last citation, by stating specifically that the passage had been heard, Ambrose implies that it was

included in the series of texts selected to be read aloud in the church services. Ambrose used the verse, without any hint at all that it was in any way questionable, to draw support for the point that Jesus is the Creator, not a creature.¹¹⁰ⁿ

At other places in his writings, Ambrose shows that he had read Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ad Marinum*; yet he was apparently not persuaded at all by anything that Eusebius had said against the passage.

(7) The Vulgate Gospels (Date: 383). Produced by the prolific scholar Jerome, the Vulgate Gospels included Mark 16:9-20 in the Gospel of Mark. In a preface to this work, addressed to Pope Damasus, Jerome explained the basis of its text: *"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."*¹¹¹ⁿ

Considering that Jerome explicitly states in his *Preface to the Four Gospels* that he had tried to avoid creating readings which would startle Latin readers, while simultaneously he had used ancient Greek manuscripts to veto Latin exemplars where they disagreed with the ancient Greek manuscripts, it seems not only reasonable but unavoidable to deduce that **(A)** Mark 16:9-20 was in those early Greek manuscripts which Jerome used, and **(B)** Jerome expected his Latin readers to be accustomed to the presence of Mark 16:9-20.

Shortly after the Vulgate Gospels had been initially disseminated, Jerome received news that, as he had anticipated, some individuals objected to some of its contents. He presented a concise response to their objections in *Letter 27, To Marcella*, in 384. In this letter he emphasized even more heavily the importance

of the Greek manuscripts that he had used in the production of the Vulgate:

“I am not so dull-witted nor so coarsely ignorant (qualities which they regard as holiness, calling themselves the disciples of fishermen, as if men were made holy by knowing nothing) – I am not, I repeat, so ignorant as to suppose that a single word of the Lord is either in need of correction, or is not divinely inspired. But the Latin manuscripts of the Scriptures are demonstrated to be faulty by the variations which they all exhibit, and my objective has been to restore them to the form of the original Greek, from which my detractors do not deny that they have been translated.”¹¹²ⁿ

Thus Jerome insisted that the influence of old Greek copies – copies considered old, that is, in 383 – was a major source of differences between the Vulgate and the Latin texts championed by his detractors. Jerome expressed a clear preference for the readings in these old Greek copies, and regarded the Latin exemplars as unreliable in comparison, stating in his Preface to the Gospels, “*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.*”

Thus, viewed through the lens of Jerome’s informative comments about his translation-work and the materials he used, the Vulgate may be regarded not only as a witness in its own right, but as a witness to the existence of older copies of Mark in Greek that contained Mark 16:9-20.

(8) The Claromontanus Catalogue (Date: 300s or earlier). In an important Greek-Latin copy of the Pauline Epistles called Codex Claromontanus, situated between Philemon and Hebrews, there is a list of most of the books of the Bible, and some other books. Along with each book’s name, there is a statement of the length of each book, according to the number of senselines, or *στιχοι* (*stichoi*). Such lists were useful for copyists when calculating the number of pages which would be required for codices of varying sizes,

formats, and contents. (They were also useful for calculating how much professional copyists would be paid for their work.) Codex Claromontanus was produced in the 500s but the composition-date of this stichometric book-list, or catalogue, is thought to be earlier: Harnack considered it to be from the 200s; Zahn assigned it a date around A.D. 300; Jülicher placed it in the 300s.

This is, in part, because the Claromontanus Catalogue includes not only the books of the Bible but also some other books (the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Acts of Paul*, and the *Revelation of Peter*) which were not very popular after the 300s, and because the composer seems not to have been concerned to take steps to ensure that his listing matched the official canon which was expressed at church councils in the late 300s.¹¹³ⁿ

In the Claromontanus Catalogue, the line-totals for the Gospels are as follows: 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 stichometric lists, states that a listing of 1,600 for Mark is probably an approximation for 1,616, and that it implies the presence of 16:9-20 in Mark.¹¹⁴ⁿ In that case, the Claromontanus Catalogue indirectly attests that the form of the Gospel of Mark used by the Catalogue's author included Mark 16:9-20.

(9) Marinus (Date: around 325). Little is known about the individual named Marinus except that he appears to have been the author of a letter to Eusebius of Caesarea which spurred Eusebius to write a detailed response to a series of questions about the harmonization of the parts of the Gospels which describe Christ's resurrection and post-resurrection appearances, and some other subjects. One of the questions to which Eusebius replied was, "*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'?*"¹¹⁵ⁿ This question implies that Marinus knew a form of the Gospel of Mark which included Mark 16:9, and apparently did not know of any other form.

This testimony from Marinus, which cannot have been composed after 339 (when Eusebius of Caesarea died), should be tempered by the remote possibility that Eusebius borrowed a lot of the material in *Ad Marinum*, including even some of the questions that are posed, from earlier compositions by earlier authors, such as Origen (who had been the teacher of Eusebius' own teacher Pamphilus), which would imply that about a century should be added to the date of Marinus' question and Eusebius' reply.

Hort described the basis for this theory: Eusebius answered Marinus' question about how to harmonize Matthew 28:1 and Mark 16:9 by saying that although a person could resolve the apparent discrepancy by dismissing the passage in Mark as an accretion, on the grounds that certain manuscripts do not contain it, one should retain the passage and resolve the perceived difficulty by reading Mark 16:9 with a pause after "And rising." But in his very next answer to the next question, Eusebius interprets Matthew 28:1 differently. Hort stated, "Strangely enough, the answer given by Eusebius to the next question, relating to a supposed contradiction between Matthew 28:1 and John 20:1, is, taken by itself, inconsistent with his former answer: it explicitly excludes that interpretation of οψε σαββάτων in Mt which had been there assumed as a standard for correcting the construction of Mark 16:9. This second answer, evidently founded on the Epistle of Dionysius of Alexander to Basilides, is however in effect, though not in form, a third alternative solution to the first difficulty. It thus merely affords an additional illustration often displayed by Eusebius, especially in presence of a conflict of traditional authorities."¹¹⁶ⁿ

All this will make more sense after we have reviewed the testimony of Eusebius. Before doing so, though, it will be convenient to become acquainted with the text that in this book is called the Shorter Ending. (It is also known as the Short Ending, and as the Intermediate Ending.) The Shorter Ending consists of the following text, with some variations among its supporting witnesses:

Πάντα δε παρηγγελμένα τοις

(Everything that had been told to them,)

περι τον Πέτρον συντόμως εξήγγειλαν.

(they related unto Peter and those with him.)

Μετα δε ταυτα και αυτος ο Ιησους [εφάνη αυτοις]

(And after this Jesus himself [appeared to them])

απο ανατολης [και] άχρι δύσεως εξαέστειλεν δι' αυτων

(to send forth through them, from east [even] to west)

το ιερον και αφθαρτον κήρυγμα της αιωνίου σωτηρίας. [αμήν.]

(the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation.

[Amen.]) ¹¹⁷ⁿ

The Shorter Ending is found between 16:8 and 16:9 in the Greek manuscripts L, Ψ (Psi), 083 (the same manuscript as 0112), 099, 579, 1422 and 2937, usually accompanied by notes and other interesting features. In 274, the Shorter Ending is in the lower margin; in the text, 16:9-20 follows 16:8 (with an abbreviated lectionary note intervening between the end of 16:8 and the beginning of 16:9, all on one line). These witnesses display, to varying degrees, a descent from the Alexandrian transmission-stream. Old Latin Codex Bobbiensis is the only witness that displays the Shorter Ending without also displaying at least part of 16:9-20; it also has the most non-Alexandrian text of all these witnesses.

More shall be said in another chapter about these manuscripts and related versional evidence.

(10) Eusebius of Caesarea (Date: around 325). Among the many compositions credited to Eusebius, who served as bishop of Caesarea from about 314 until his death in 339, is one called *Ad Marinum*, a series of questions and answers about perceived difficulties in some New Testament passages. This composition begins by explaining that it was written to answer some inquiries from a person named Marinus; these included a question about how to harmonize Matthew 28:1 with Mark 16:9. Eusebius' reply to Marinus' question may be rendered as follows:

“This could be resolved in two ways. On one hand, the person who rejects the passage itself – the pericope which says this – might say

this: It does not appear in all copies of the Gospel of Mark. At least, the accurate copies round off Mark's account [or, At least the accurate copies have the subscription, 'The end of the account given by Mark'] with the words of the young man who appeared to the women and said to them, "Do not fear. You are seeking Jesus the Nazarene" and so forth, proceeding to where it says, 'And having heard, they fled, and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid.'

"For there the end of the Gospel of Mark is delineated [or, "For there the subscription 'The end of the Gospel of Mark' occurs"] in almost all the copies. The material that comes afterward seldom appears; it is in some copies but not in all, and may be spurious, especially since it implies a disagreement with the witness of the other Gospels. This, then, is what someone might say 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 [διπλην], and each of the two must be accepted, since they are advocated by the faithful and pious, not this one instead of that one, or that one rather than this one.

"And furthermore, since it is granted that this section is true, it is appropriate to seek to fathom 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.

"And we will separate the meaning of what is read next: so, on one hand, we could read 'having risen' in regard to Matthew's 'late on the Sabbath,' for that is when he was raised. On the other hand, we might join what follows, producing a different meaning, with what is read next: for 'early on the first day of the week he appeared to Mary Magdalene.'

“At any rate, John has also made this clear, and has himself testified that the appearance to the Magdalene was ‘early on the first day of the week.’ So, likewise, in Mark also he appeared ‘early’ to her. It is not [that] he ‘rose early’ but much earlier, according to Matthew, ‘late on the Sabbath.’ For having arisen at that time, he did not appear to Mary at that time, but ‘early.’ The implication is that two episodes are represented by these phrases: one is the time of the resurrection, which was late on the Sabbath; the other, of the appearance of the Savior, which was early. 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.’” 118n

By means of this reply, Eusebius offers two ways to resolve the apparent discrepancy between Matthew 28:1 and Mark 16:9. The first way is to dismiss Mark 16:9-20 entirely, on the grounds that it is missing in some copies, or at least in the most accurate copies, or in almost all the copies. The second way is to interpret Mark 16:9 so as to understand the phrase “on the first day of the week” as a description of Jesus’ appearance to Mary Magdalene, rather than as a description of Jesus’ resurrection.

Although Eusebius spent many words explaining the second solution, strong evidence indicates that Eusebius favored the first solution. At least, he did so when he produced the Eusebian Canon-tables, because in their original form, Mark 16:9-20 is not included.¹¹⁹ⁿ The basic approach of the first solution described by Eusebius probably represents the approach that Eusebius himself embraced when he composed the Eusebian Canons. However, at the time when he wrote *Ad Marinum*, despite mentioning the first option as something that should be carefully considered, Eusebius guided Marinus to the second option. There is really no way that anyone could read *Ad Marinum* and conclude that the author expected the reader to reject the passage; the momentum of Eusebius’ verbose presentation carries the reader

toward the second option, that is, toward the harmonization and retention of the passage.

Eusebius' descriptions of what one might say about the manuscript-evidence in *Ad Marinum* are not easy to reconcile to one another; he describes the quantities and proportions of manuscripts in different ways. The first speaker posited by Eusebius makes two complementary claims: first, that Mark 16:9-20 does not appear in all copies of the Gospel of Mark, and then, that the accurate copies close Mark's account at the end of 16:8. Those two statements do not oppose each other at all, but after this comes the claim that the Gospel of Mark concludes at the end of 16:8 "in almost all the copies." The nuance thus shifts considerably: the claim that not all copies of Mark contain 16:9-20 (which is true even if only one manuscript lacks the passage) is quite different from the claim that almost all copies do not contain 16:9-20.

This discrepancy may be due to Eusebius' use of verbiage he found in an earlier source. Or, Eusebius may have been speculating about what different people, in different locations with different manuscripts, might be able to say about their manuscripts. Scarcely more than 20 years after the Diocletian persecution in which many manuscripts had been sought out and destroyed by Roman persecutors, neither Eusebius nor anyone else had the means to survey the manuscripts stored throughout the Roman Empire and calculate which readings were contained in the majority of copies. For this reason, and for another reason which we shall see shortly, the descriptions of quantities of manuscripts in *Ad Marinum* should not be interpreted as if Eusebius had intended to describe proportions of the whole mass of manuscripts then in existence.

Burton thought that Eusebius was repeating a comment made by Origen: "I suspect, then, that the discussion we have just been listening to, is, essentially, *not an original production*: but that Eusebius, having met with the suggestion in some older writer, (in Origen probably,) reproduced it in language of his own."¹²⁰ⁿ

Similarly, Hort wrote, “Whether the statement is original or, as Matthaei 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 to manuscripts gains in importance by being carried back to a much earlier date and a much higher authority.”
121n

Slight support for the idea that *Ad Marinum* embodies, at least in part, an earlier composition by Origen, may be found when one considers that in Eusebius’ descriptions of manuscripts in *Ad Marinum*, he echoes a phrase which Origen used in a different context: The first speaker pictured in *Ad Marinum* states that the Gospel of Mark ends with 16:8 “σχεδον εν πασι τοις αντιγραφαις,” “in nearly all the copies.” Origen, in the course of commenting on the Bethany-or-Bethabara variant in John 1:28, stated that the reading “Bethany” “σχεδον εν πασι τοις αντιγραφαις κειται,” “is in nearly all the copies.”¹²²ⁿ However, the wording is ordinary and the phrase is fully capable of independent usage.

Because it is extremely unlikely that Eusebius would blindly repeat an earlier source and treat his own favorite manuscripts at Caesarea as if they were irrelevant, *Ad Marinum* demonstrates that copies at Caesarea which Eusebius regarded as “the accurate copies” did not contain Mark 16:9-20. The exact production-date of these copies is unknown, but it was earlier than the beginning of Eusebius’ career at Caesarea. This does not tell us that these copies were indeed accurate, but that Eusebius esteemed them as such. The basis for his opinion is unknown, but it seems reasonable to deduce that as the successor to Pamphilus (who was martyred in 309), who was the successor to Origen (with Pierius of Alexandria also involved as a mentor to Pamphilus), Eusebius probably regarded a copy as accurate if it was known to have been used approvingly by Pamphilus, Pierius, or Origen, or if it had descended from such a copy.

The next inquiry Eusebius addresses in *Ad Marinum* is a question about how it is that although Mary Magdalene is accompanied by another Mary in Matthew 28, she is apparently

alone in John 20. The gist of Eusebius' response is that it may be that a copyist inaccurately added the name "Magdalene" where it does not belong, or it may be that there were two women known as Mary Magdalene. Eusebius preferred the second option:

*"Two (i.e., two Gospels) truly say Magdalene was present, and inasmuch as we have shown that there are four Marys involved, it is not remarkable to say that two of them were from the same place, namely Magdala. And thus no objection remains. One of these women is the Magdalene who came "after the Sabbath" in Matthew, and the other one is she who came early in John – the same one who is mentioned also in Mark, according to some copies, 'from whom he cast out seven demons,' and this is likely the one who heard the words, 'Touch Me not,' rather than the one in Matthew."*¹²³ⁿ

Although Eusebius, in his answer to Marinus' first question, offered a number of different claims which could be made about the manuscripts, here we have Eusebius' own description of manuscripts which contain Mark 16:9-20: he simply describes them as "*some copies*," without much detail about their relative quantity or quality. This, and not the hypothetically framed descriptions earlier in the composition, reflects Eusebius' firsthand encounters with such manuscripts.

Eusebius used Mark 16:9 one more time in *Ad Marinum*, as he answered Marinus' third question: in the course of an attempt to harmonize the Gospels' accounts of post-resurrection events, using the premise that three individuals named Mary visited the tomb, after mentioning the Mary who takes center stage in Matthew (with the other Mary), Eusebius then states: "*Then the Mary in John would be a different person, who gets there later than the others, early in the morning; this would be the same one from whom, according to Mark, he had cast out seven devils.*" ¹²²ⁿ

Two more things should be observed about Eusebius: first, he indicates no awareness whatsoever of the existence of the Shorter Ending. This will have some significance later in the discussion. Second, as the author of a lengthy response to Hierocles' criticisms of the Gospels in which Porphyry challenged

the authors' veracity (a response which unfortunately is not extant), Eusebius would have seen the apologetic value of dispensing with Mark 16:9-20 by classifying it as an accretion. To Eusebius' way of thinking, as he indicates in his reply to Marinus, if a textual variant in one Gospel-account implied a disagreement with the other Gospels, its genuineness was questionable. To Eusebius, an accurate text was a non-problematic text.

Further along in *Ad Marinum*, Eusebius demonstrated the effects of his desire to defend the veracity of the Gospel-writers: facing the statement in Mark 15:25 that Jesus was crucified at the third hour, and the statement in John 19:14 that Jesus was handed over to be crucified at the sixth hour, Eusebius concluded that neither author had made a mistake; instead, two similar letters of the alphabet had been used as numerals to refer to the same hour, and a copyist of the Gospel of John had mistaken the numeral-letter representing "3rd" (Γ, *gamma*) as if it was the numeral letter representing "6th" (F, *digamma, stau*).¹²⁴ⁿ (Other writers mention that this explanation was not original to Eusebius, but had also been proposed by Clement of Alexandria, Ammonius, and Origen.) The defense of the accuracy of the authors of the Gospels was a paramount concern of apologists such as Eusebius; as a result, when apologists such as Eusebius faced a choice between a variant which seemed problematic, and a variant which seemed less difficult, they tended to adopt the non-problematic one.

To typical modern-day readers of Mark, the abrupt ending at 16:8 seems difficult because of its startling abruptness, but to an apologist in the early church who aspired to resolve perceived discrepancies among the Gospel-accounts – which is precisely the sort of thing Eusebius was attempting in *Ad Marinum* – the longer ending would be the more difficult variant, due to the difficulties raised when one attempts to harmonize it with the accounts of Jesus' post-resurrection appearances in Matthew, Luke, and John, and due to the doctrinal difficulty in 16:18 which was targeted by Hierocles (who was very probably echoing Porphyry), whose objections Eusebius knew very well.

(11) Codex Vaticanus (Date: around 325). 125ⁿ Codex Vaticanus, also called Codex B, is the most valuable codex in the Vatican Library's vast manuscript-collection, and is the oldest extant manuscript containing Mark 16. It is considered by many textual critics to be the most important single witness to the Greek text of the New Testament. Codex B is the flagship manuscript of the Alexandrian Text. In the New Testament, Codex B arranges the text in three columns per page, with 42 lines per column. Each book begins at the top of a column, and where books end, whatever space is left below the end of the book is left blank, except for the closing-title. After a book ends, the next book always begins in the very next column – except at the end of the Gospel of Mark. There, the text of Mark 16:8 concludes on the 31st line, followed immediately by a decorative line, which is followed by the subscription *Kata Markon* slightly farther down the page. The third column on the page is entirely blank. The text of Luke begins at the top of the first column on the following page, in the handwriting of the same scribe who wrote the text of Mark.

The scribal habit of beginning each book at the top of the column immediately following the end of the preceding book is disrupted twice in the Old Testament portion of Codex B: after the end of Second Esdras, and after the end of Tobit. (One could also count the blank space after the book of Daniel/Bel and the Dragon, but a blank space is practically inevitable there, because in Codex Vaticanus the Old Testament books are arranged in an order in which Daniel, in its expanded Greek form, is the last book before the New Testament begins.) In both cases the reason for the blank space is evident.

Two blank columns intervene between the end of Second Esdras and the beginning of Psalms. Second Esdras is formatted in three columns per page. The book of Psalms, however, is formatted in two columns per page. Unless the text of Second Esdras had happened to conclude in the last column of the page, it would be inevitable that some leftover blank space would appear between the end of the text on the last three-column page; the book of Psalms would have to begin at the beginning of a new page.

As I explained in the introductory essay, the blank column that appears between the end of Tobit and the beginning of Hosea is also simply leftover space; at this point the handwriting changes. One copyist, after completing his assigned portion of text to copy, left the remainder of the page blank. Another copyist produced the next section of text, and the two parts were sewn together later in the production of the codex. Like the blank space after Second Esdras, the blank space after Tobit is merely leftover space.¹²⁶ⁿ This cannot be said about the blank space between Mark 16:8 and Luke 1:1, where the handwriting is the same before and after the blank space, and there is no format-shift.

Hort deduced that at the end of Mark, the copyist of Codex B “has contrary to his custom left the third or remaining column blank ; evidently because one or the other endings was known to him personally, while he found neither of them in the exemplar which he was copying.”¹²⁷ⁿ The blank space in Codex B is not “abundantly sufficient to contain the twelve verses,” as Burgon claimed,¹²⁸ⁿ unless a copyist were to resort to compact lettering. Written in the copyist’s normal handwriting, the blank space is four lines too short to contain verses 9-20; 67 letters remain to be written when the end of the last line of the third column is reached. However, as we see in Codex Sinaiticus in the text of Luke 1:1-76, scribes knew how to write in compact lettering. By slightly reducing the space between letters, a copyist could fit 16:9-20 into the blank space after 16:8 without difficulty.

To a skilled copyist estimating the minimum amount of space required to contain Mark 16:9-20, with the verses in front of him, the blank space in B would be sufficient. Likewise, if the copyist did not have an exemplar that contained the passage, and wanted to reserve space for the absent passage based on his memory, the blank space in B echoes a very close estimate. It was theorized by William Lane (and before him by Zahn) that the Shorter Ending was known to the copyist of Codex B, and that the copyist did not include it but left the blank space where it could be included if someone later wished to do so.¹²⁹ⁿ However, if the copyist had wished to leave blank space sufficient to contain the

Shorter Ending, he would have had no reason to leave the third column blank, because the Shorter Ending, written in the same writing-style normally used by the copyist, can fit snugly into the second column if placed immediately after the end of 16:8.

An objection might be raised that it is unlikely that the copyist would thus end a book on the last line of a column (leaving no room for a subscription), but this objection dissolves when we consult the end of Luke in Codex B, where the text ends in the next-to-last line of a middle column (“*Kata Loukan*” enters the lower margin). The end of Philippians in Codex B also deflects this objection, because the text of Philippians concludes exactly on the last line of a middle column: the subscription is deep in the lower margin.

The only way in which the evidence from Codex B could attest for the Shorter Ending is if the copyist possessed one exemplar with the Shorter Ending, and one exemplar with 16:9-20. A copyist who was reluctant to decide which to retain, and which to reject, could cleverly arranged the text so that 16:9-20 could be included with its lettering slightly compressed, or the Shorter Ending could be included with its lettering slightly stretched. However, as I shall explain, it is unlikely that the copyist of Codex B was aware of the existence of the Shorter Ending.

So, while Codex Vaticanus supports the non-inclusion of 16:9-20 in its exemplar, its distinct blank space between Mark 16:8 and Luke 1:1 (a feature which Metzger neglected to mention in *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, and which the creators of the apparatus of the UBS *Greek New Testament* apparently have still not detected) bears witness that the copyist of this portion of Codex B was aware of the existence of 16:9-20. It is therefore an inadequate oversimplification to cite Codex B as a witness against Mark 16:9-20 without any mention that its copyist has provided evidence of his own awareness of the existence of Mark 16:9-20. More will be said about Codex B in the course of describing the next witness, Codex Sinaiticus.

(12) Codex Sinaiticus (Date: around 350). One of the most important witnesses to the Greek text of the New Testament, Codex Sinaiticus (designated by Aleph, the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet), was taken from Saint Catherine's Monastery near Mount Sinai by the adventurer-scholar Constantine Tischendorf, who visited the monastery in the 1840's and 1850's. According to Tischendorf, he virtually rescued part of the manuscript from the monks; however, according to the monks, the codex was not in danger, and Tischendorf took its main section with the understanding that it would be returned upon request. For a variety of reasons,¹³⁰ⁿ the monks' account is much more credible than Tischendorf's.

Tischendorf discerned the importance of the manuscript, and published its text in 1862. It is an impressive-looking codex, with four columns on each page, except for in the books of poetry, where it has two columns on each page. In July 2009, four institutions with stewardship of different parts of the codex achieved a commendable goal, placing all extant parts of the codex online at a website for public viewing.¹³¹ⁿ

Sinaiticus ends the book of Mark at the end of 16:8. Unlike B, Aleph does not display a blank column after 16:8. There is blank space underneath the final words of 16:8, but this is an ordinary and unsuggestive feature which occurs routinely at the ends of books in Sinaiticus. The codex has a blank page between the Gospels and Acts. This may have been added merely as a filler-page; however, it may have occurred to the producers of the codex that such a blank page could not only serve an aesthetic purpose but could also equip the eventual owner of the codex with space on which he could add corrective notes, or include a passage (or passages) which the copyists had omitted, if he so desired. (It may have been due to the presence of such a filler-page at the end of the Gospels that the ancestor of the family-1 group of manuscripts had room to include the Story of the Adulteress (John 7:53-8:11) after the Gospel of John.)

In Codex Sinaiticus, the pages containing Mark 14:54 to Luke 1:56 are written on a cancel-sheet; they are replacement-

pages consisting of a four-page bifolium sheet (which may be pictured as something resembling a four-page church-bulletin, folded in the middle). Someone – very probably the *diorthotes*, or supervisor, who oversaw the production of the manuscript and proofread its text – wrote this bifolium to replace one in which some severe error or unwanted feature was present. He wrote it in such a way as to assure that the final line on the fourth page merged smoothly with the first line of the next page. This is one of several replacement-portions in the New Testament in Aleph. The others contain Matthew 16:9 to 18:12 (folio 10), Matthew 24:36 to 26:6 (folio 15), First Thessalonians 2:14 to 5:28 (folio 88), and Hebrews 4:16 to 8:1 (folio 91).¹³²ⁿ

In 1911, a facsimile of Codex Sinaiticus was published, featuring an introduction by Kirsopp Lake. Correcting Tischendorf's previous analysis on some points, Lake described how three copyists had worked together to produce the New Testament portion of Codex Sinaiticus, including the extra books of *Shepherd of Hermas* and *Epistle of Barnabas*. He also established a solid foundation for his analysis that "It is tolerably clear that [scribe] A originally wrote all the text of the New Testament except Hermas, which was the work of [scribe] B, and that [scribe] D wrote the text on the conjugate leaves, ff. 10 and 15, 29 and 30, 99 and 91, and possibly on part of f. 126."¹³³ⁿ

Four of the pages (on a single sheet of parchment) to which Lake refers constitute the cancel-sheet that contains the text of Mark 14:54 to Luke 1:56. That this bifolium is indeed a cancel-sheet is shown by (1) the writer's habit of using the ">" (*diple*) mark as a space-filler, and (2) the writer's orthography, and (3) the writer's treatment of some of the *nomina sacra*, because in each respect, these pages are different from what is displayed on the pages which precede and follow them. Although this is indisputable, the compilers of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* and the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* have been content to withhold this information from their readers; they provide no indication that the text of Mark 14:54 to Luke 1:56

in Sinaiticus is written by someone other than the copyist who produced the surrounding pages.

As we examine this intriguing cancel-sheet, we shall investigate three questions: **(A)** Did the non-extant pages conclude the text of Mark at 16:8? **(B)** Did the non-extant pages contain the Shorter Ending? **(C)** Did the non-extant pages contain 16:9-20? And, **(D)** was the last part of Mark in the replaced pages similar to its counterpart in Codex B, with a suggestive blank column?

The main copyist typically produced columns which contained, on average, 630 letters. Nine such columns would contain about 5,670 letters. Ten such columns would contain about 6,300 letters. The text of Mark 14:54 to 16:8 in Sinaiticus' cancel-sheet contains 5,614 letters.

Therefore, this exact text, if written in the main copyist's normal lettering, would conclude before the ninth column was filled. Thus if we were to assume that the cancel-sheet displays exactly the text which the main copyist had intended to write, it would appear that in the original pages, the text of Mark stopped in the ninth column, and the text of Luke either began at the top of column 10, or else column 10 was blank and the text of Luke began at the top of column 11.

However, in the text of Sinaiticus, 76 letters in 15:57 to 16:1 (from the second "Μαρια" (*Maria*) in 15:47 to the second "Μαρια" in 16:1) are not included. The copyist also omitted 12 letters in 16:6 (when he skipped from one "τον" to another one which followed nearby). He wrote out the entire name "Ιησου" in 16:6, instead of following the normal custom of contracting it as a *nomen sacrum*. (This was because he was consciously attempting to fill space.) Thus, if we reckon that these features were not shared by the exemplar used by the producer of the cancel-sheet, then it can be calculated that the exemplar contained 84 (i.e., 76 plus 12 minus 4) more letters than what we see in the text in the cancel-sheet itself.

This indicates that Mark 15:54 to 16:8 in the non-extant pages likely contained (barring mistakes of accidental omission or repetition) 5,698 (i.e., 5,614 plus 84) letters. When such a text

is written in the main copyist's normal lettering, nine 630-letter columns are entirely filled (with 5,670 letters) and 28 letters occupy the tenth column. This would allow ample room for the Shorter Ending in the rest of column 10, but the remaining space (in which 602 letters, written in the copyist's normal lettering, could fit) would be insufficient for the 971 letters in 16:9-20.

Yet it should be remembered that the rate of 630 letters per column is an estimate, and if the copyist happened to increase his rate of letters per column by merely five letters on the replaced pages, then nine columns, each holding 635 letters, would be capable of containing 5,715 letters – in which case, the text of Mark 14:54 to 16:8 on the replaced pages would not reach the tenth column; it would stop short of the end of column 9.

So it is by no means unlikely that on the replaced pages, the Gospel of Mark was brought to a close at the end of 16:8 in column 9, followed by an entirely blank column – a blank column capable of being understood as “memorial space,” signifying the copyist's awareness of a lacuna in his exemplar – followed by the beginning of Luke in column 11.

Thus the answers to our questions are: **(A)** The non-extant pages probably concluded the text of Mark at 16:8. **(B)** It cannot be demonstrated – from this evidence alone – that the non-extant pages did not contain the Shorter Ending. **(C)** The non-extant pages did not contain Mark 16:9-20, for this would have required the main copyist to compress his lettering, in which he normally wrote about 630 letters per column, so much that each of the ten columns of Marcan text on these pages would contain, on average, 667 letters; there is nothing to suggest that the copyist had any reason to consider doing this. **(D)** It is possible that the replaced pages of Codex Sinaiticus displayed, like Codex Vaticanus, a blank column between Mark 16:8 and Luke 1:1.

The secondary question remains: what elicited the production of a cancel-sheet here? The problem probably was somewhere in Luke 1:1 to 56. Columns 11 through 16, where Luke 1:1 to 56 is displayed, contain the following amounts of letters:

Column 11: 681 letters

Column 12: 672 letters

Column 13: 702 letters

Column 14: 687 letters

Column 15: 725 letters

Column 16: 679 letters

Total number of letters: 4,146.

The producer of the cancel-sheet maintained a rate of letters-per-column in the text of Luke that is much greater than the main copyist's average rate of 630. This would imply one of the following theories about the contents of the non-extant pages made by the main copyist:

(1) In the original pages, the text of Luke 1:1 to 56 (containing 4,146 letters in the cancel-sheet) began at the top of column 10, and the original copyist accidentally repeated a section consisting of about 264 letters, causing these seven columns to contain about 4,410 letters (maintaining his usual rate of 630 letters-per-column).

(2) In the replaced pages, the text of Luke began at the top of column 11, and the main copyist accidentally skipped a section consisting of about 336 letters, causing these six columns to contain about 3,810 letters.

Both scenarios are possible. In the first scenario, the producer of the cancel-sheet, observing that the text of Mark concluded close to the base of column 9, reckoned that he could easily stretch the lettering in Mark so as to extend the Marcan text into column 10, and then proceed to write Luke 1:1-56 in compact lettering, rather than stretch the text in Luke throughout seven columns. In the second scenario, the producer of the cancel-sheet saw that he would conclude the text of Mark in column 10, and that he would begin the text of Luke at the top of column 11.

Which possibility is more probable? What happened here?

To answer those questions, even in a provisional way, we should first notice that Luke 1:1 to 56 contains two passages which are particularly vulnerable to careless repetition or omission: Luke 1:5 and Luke 1:8 both begin with "Ἐγενετο" (*Egeneto*) after the preceding sentence concludes with the letter *v* (*nu*). In between,

when one accounts for the contraction of *nomina sacra*, 1:5-7 consists of 319 letters. Similarly, Luke 1:34 and 1:38 begin identically with “εἶπεν δε Μαρταμ” (*eipen de Mariam*) and the text in between consists of 311 letters.

The repetition of such a large portion of text seems less likely than its omission. If this is the case, then in the replaced bifolium, the text of Luke must have started at the top of column 11. The detection of this parableptic error elicited the cancel-sheet’s production. A bit more can be deduced about how the cancel-sheet was made, when the shifting rate of letters-per-column in the cancel-sheet is carefully analyzed.

The 10 columns containing Mark 14:54 to 16:8 appear in columns in which the rate of letters-per-column varies drastically:

Column 1: 635 letters.

Column 2: 650 letters.

Column 3: 639 letters.

Column 4: 707 letters.

Column 5: 592 letters.

Column 6: 593 letters.

Column 7: 604 letters.

Column 8: 605 letters.

Column 9: 552 letters.

Column 10: 37 letters.

The first three columns are written at a rate of letters-per-column only slightly greater than the main copyist’s rate. In column four, the rate of letters-per-column skyrockets, and in column five (specifically, at the beginning of 15:19, on the 11th line of column five) the rate of letters-per line abruptly drops well below the main copyist’s normal rate. In column nine it plummets.

That is highly unusual, but it does not defy explanation.

What has happened is that the proof-reader, after detecting the main copyist’s error and removing the flawed pages, realized that when he made the cancel-sheet, its text in Luke 1:56 would have to end at precisely the same

place where it ended on the removed page; if this was not achieved, he would have to start all over. He also reckoned that he did not have to worry about where to end the text of Mark (since it could end anywhere in column 10, and Luke would still begin at the top of column 11). So the first thing he did, when making the cancel-sheet, was to write the text of Luke, beginning at the top of column 11, including the portion which had been omitted by the main copyist.

Satisfied with his work in Luke 1:1-56, the corrector went back to the beginning of the first column on his cancel-sheet and began writing Mark 14:54 to 16:8. He wrote columns 1, 2, and 3 in his normal lettering, with 635, 650, and 639 letters per column, but in column 4, he started compressing his lettering again – probably because he took a break, and when he returned to his work he instinctively began writing in the same way he had done for the text of Luke 1:1 to 56.

When he reached 15:19, though, he realized his mistake, and he began copying out the text in slightly stretched lettering to compensate for the compressed lettering in column 4 and in column 5 up to 15:19. This would have worked out fine, and the evenly lettered text would have reached column 10 – but he accidentally skipped over most of 16:1, thus losing 76 letters. When he reached column nine, he realized that the text was going to end in that column unless he *drastically* stretched his lettering.

So, rather than leave a blank column between the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke, he drastically stretched his lettering in column nine. In the process, he uncontracted the name “Jesus” in 16:6 so as to take up more space. To emphasize: the supervisor-copyist made a special effort to avoid leaving an entire blank column between the end of Mark (at the end of 16:8) and the beginning of Luke. This is a very strong indication that he was aware of the existence of verses 9-20, that he rejected the passage, and that he wished to avoid running the risk that future readers of the codex would interpret a blank column as “memorial space.” This explains almost all of the unusual features in Codex Sinaiticus’ cancel-sheet. It implies

that Mark 16:9-20 was not in the replaced pages.

There is another feature in this cancel-sheet of Codex Sinaiticus which should be taken into consideration: the decorative lines in Aleph which appear immediately after 16:8. H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, in their book *Scribes and Correctors of Codex Sinaiticus*, perceived the following about these decorations at the end of a book (they called it the “tail-piece” or “coronis”): “The coronis, sometimes termed arabesque by editors, was also executed by the scribe. The coronis, in fact, amounts to his signature, so distinctive is the design (or designs) adopted by each and so restricted the range of individual variation.”¹³⁴ⁿ

Milne and Skeat considered these decorations and the subscriptions that accompanied them so significant that in the first nine Plates of their book. Rather than showing some examples of textual variants in the Biblical text, they displayed the decorations and subscriptions at every book-ending in Codex Sinaiticus. The decorative lines at the ends of Tobit, Judith, Mark, and First Thessalonians share some overlapping features – because these are the only book-endings which were written by Scribe D, the proof-reader and cancel-sheet maker.

The decoration at the end of Mark, though, is unique. Like the decoration at the end of Tobit and First Thessalonians, it has a vertical line of dots to the left of the column, and a running spiral, or series of waves, is employed. Like the decoration at the end of Judith, it has a series of “>” (diple) marks beginning at the left side of the column and extending below the text. The decoration at the end of Mark, though, uniquely combines these features; it has two half-lines of wavy lines, instead of just one, and a decorative horizontal line, consisting in its first half of “>” (*diple*) marks and in its second half of a wavy line, extends all the way across the column. Also, red ink was used as well as the usual ink.

Whatever the initial reasons for the insertion of the cancel-sheet were, the unique two-line, red-and-black decoration after Mark 16:8 may indicate that the copyist – Scribe D, the proofreader (who also produced the pages containing Tobit, Judith, and the other cancel-sheets in the New Testament) intended to

convey with special emphasis that the text of Mark ended at the end of 16:8. This would imply that he had a reason to do so, and the obvious reason is that he was aware of at least one continuation after 16:8. John Gwynn assessed the evidence in the following way:

“As regards the omission of the verses of St. Mark 16:9-20, it is not correct to assert that Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae is conscious of their existence. For the last line of verse 8, containing only the letters TO ΓΑΡ (*to gar*), has the rest of the space (more than half the width of the column) filled up with a minute and elaborate ‘arabesque’ executed with the pen in ink and vermilion, nothing like which occurs anywhere else in the whole Manuscript (O.T. or N.T.), such spaces being elsewhere invariably left blank. By this careful filling up of the blank, the scribe (who here is the diorthota ‘D’), distinctly shows that the omission is not a case of ‘noninterpolation,’ but of deliberate excision.”¹³⁵ⁿ

Gwynn may have overstated his case, but he raised a fair question: why is this decoration so different from, and so much more emphatic than, the others made by the same copyist? If we could associate Codex Sinaiticus with a geographical location where Mark 16:9-20 was known, and where its genuineness was debated, no real obstacle would stand in the way of the conclusion that this feature in Codex Sinaiticus was indeed made to emphatically convey that the ending at 16:8 was not merely *read* in an exemplar, but was *selected* from disagreeing exemplars.

Our description of Eusebius of Caesarea, Vaticanus, and Sinaiticus will not be sufficient without a consideration of the theory that these three witnesses share a very close historical relationship. Tischendorf claimed that one of the copyists who contributed to the production of Codex B also wrote part of Codex Aleph. Kirsopp Lake, when he analyzed the codex, disagreed with Tischendorf about which copyist of Sinaiticus had handwriting which resembled the handwriting of which copyist of Vaticanus, but Lake acknowledged a “remarkable similarity

subsisting between the hands of the scribes who added the superscriptions [that is, the page-by-page book-titles] to Acts in both manuscripts.”¹³⁶ⁿ

Lake insisted on sticking to the view that the superscriptions were by two different copyists, but he conceded, “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 *πραξεις* (*praxeis*) of Codex Vaticanus was written by a scribe in his youth, and the *πραξεις* (*praxeis*) of Codex Sinaiticus by the same scribe in his old age. 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 come from the same scriptorium, in spite of the fact that Tischendorf was wrong in thinking that they were written by the same scribe.”¹³⁷ⁿ

Milne and Skeat, in Appendix 1 of their book *Scribes and Correctors of Codex Sinaiticus*, asked, “Have B and Aleph a Scribe in Common?” and they did not rule this out. Like Lake, they disagreed with Tischendorf, but proposed instead that “the affinities of D [that is, the copyist who was the proof-reader of Sinaiticus, and who made the replacement-pages] are with Hand A of the Vaticanus.”¹³⁸ⁿ

They pointed out that Scribe D of Sinaiticus and Scribe A of Vaticanus both used the same unusual abbreviation of the word *κατα* (*kata*); and “In spelling, too, D shares many of Vaticanus A’s peculiarities,” and they both used “reversed arrows with disjointed shafts” in marginal notes.

Yet they cautiously declined to insist that one of the individuals who helped produce Vaticanus was the same person who supervised the production of Sinaiticus; noting that certainty is not attainable, they concluded, “*It would be hazardous to argue identity of the two hands (for one thing D’s use of the long-pronged omega in corrections seems an obstacle), but the identity of the scribal tradition stands beyond dispute.*”

However, after co-authoring *Scribes and Correctors of Codex Sinaiticus*, T. C. Skeat delved more deeply into this subject. In 1999, Skeat published the results of a prolonged investigation of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, proposing that certain features in these two manuscripts strongly indicate, if not demonstrate, that both manuscripts were both produced at Caesarea in about A.D. 331 under the supervision of Eusebius of Caesarea, when Eusebius had been instructed by Emperor Constantine to prepare 50 Bibles for use in Constantinople.

According to a statement by Eusebius that is found in his composition *The Life of Constantine*,¹³⁹ⁿ Emperor Constantine wrote the following letter to him: “I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the Church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practiced in their art. The catholicus of the diocese has also received instructions by letter from our Clemency to be careful to furnish all things necessary for the preparation of such copies; and it will be for you to take special care that they be completed with as little delay as possible. You have authority also, in virtue of this letter, to use two of the public carriages for their conveyance, by which arrangement the copies when fairly written will most easily be forwarded for my personal inspection; and one of the deacons of your church may be intrusted with this service, who, on his arrival here, shall experience my liberality. God preserve you, beloved brother!” Eusebius also described his response: “Such were the emperor’s commands, which were followed by the immediate execution of the work itself, which we sent him in magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of a threefold and fourfold form.”¹⁴⁰ⁿ

The phrase “*of a threefold and fourfold form*” (τρισσα και τετρασσα,) is rather puzzling and has been interpreted in widely varying ways. Some interpreters have thought that it means that the 50 Bibles made under Eusebius’ supervision were formatted with

three or four columns per page – the same formats displayed in most of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. Skeat believed that Eusebius meant that he sent the Bibles to Constantine in small batches, three or four at a time.

In my view, a more likely possibility is that Eusebius meant that the 50 Bibles were not single volumes; they each constituted three or four codices, prepared without covers; this would facilitate much easier handling in church-services where weekly readings were selected from the Old Testament, from the Gospels and Acts, and from the Epistles. This would not rule out the possibility that Sinaiticus and Vaticanus were among the 50 Bibles prepared by Eusebius; although each one is a single codex now, their current bindings and covers are not original.

Skeat's theory that Sinaiticus and Vaticanus were both made by Eusebius for Constantine shall be examined here only briefly. He proposed that Sinaiticus was made before Vaticanus, and that Sinaiticus was initially regarded as a reject-copy, and was kept at Caesarea for centuries until it was taken to Egypt, while Vaticanus was more efficiently and economically made, and was sent to Constantinople. The evidence that Sinaiticus was initially considered defective by its own producers is considerable. Skeat's case that Sinaiticus was produced at or near Caesarea appears very strong.

However, the treatment of *nomina sacra* in Vaticanus is different from that in Sinaiticus. While some parts of Sinaiticus appear to have been copied down from dictation, B offers no similar indications. Also, Sinaiticus and Vaticanus do not contain the same books – and Eusebius almost certainly would not invest the resources required to produce even a single Bible without verifying which books it was expected to contain; certainly he would not use two different book-lists in the course of fulfilling Constantine's order; uniformity would have been expected. In addition, the text of Tobit is displayed in one edition in Sinaiticus; a different form is in Vaticanus.

Also, the Eusebian Canon-numbers are displayed (incompletely) in the margin in the Gospels in Sinaiticus; the

Canon-numbers were added while the codex was still in production. Codex Vaticanus, however, does not have the Eusebian Canons or the Section-numbers; its chapter-divisions in the Gospels are different. Skeat offered explanations for these differences, but while his explanations are not impossible, they appear as preservatives rather than as natural implications of the evidence.

It is unlikely that Eusebius himself would have used, as an exemplar for the Bibles to send to Constantinople, a copy of the Gospels which did not contain Matthew 16:2 to 3, or Mark 15:28, because these verses are included in the Eusebian Canons: Matthew 16:1 to 2 is Section 162 in Canon Five, and Mark 15:28 is Section 216 in Canon Eight. Yet both of these passages are absent from Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

A question may be raised: how can it be known that the Eusebian Section-numbers and Canon-numbers in the margin of the Gospels in Sinaiticus are not a later addition? The answer is that in the replacement-pages in Matthew, the Section-numbers and Canon-numbers are absent, even though they are on the surrounding pages. This is easily accounted for by a scenario in which the Section-numbers and Canon-numbers were added before, instead of after, the proofreader made this replacement-page, but it is not explicable otherwise.

Dirk Jongkind, in *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, made a detailed study of the Eusebian Canons in Codex Sinaiticus and pointed out numerous quirks in the Eusebian Section-numbers and Canon-numbers, observing, among other things, that 77 Section-numbers in Sinaiticus are out of place, and that the Section-numbers in Luke were never finished; in Sinaiticus, the person who initially added the Section-numbers only provided the first 106 of Luke's 342 Section-numbers.¹⁴¹ⁿ

Whatever else is implied by this, it is clear that the text of the exemplar of Sinaiticus was different from the text that Eusebius used when constructing his Canons and Sections. It is also clear that the copyist who added the Section-numbers and Canon-numbers in Codex Sinaiticus was not very familiar with the

Eusebian Canons. All this makes it very unlikely that Eusebius was in charge of the production of Codex Sinaiticus.

However, this does not mean that Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Eusebius are not closely related in some other way. All three of these witnesses may be linked to the manuscript-making center (the *scriptorium*) at Caesarea. Practically all textual critics who have compared the lettering and formatting in Vaticanus and Sinaiticus have agreed with Lake that they were produced at the same scriptorium. Vaticanus' text is relatively bare and does not offer many clues about the provenance of the codex. Sinaiticus, though, has notes, layers of corrections, and some textual features which firmly connect it to Caesarea:

(1) In Codex Sinaiticus, notations appear after the end of the book of Second Esdras and after the end of Esther, stating that a comparison had been made to an exemplar produced by Pamphilus and Antoninus. The annotator cited a colophon from the manuscript he was using: "Based on, and corrected from, the Hexapla of Origen, as corrected by his own hand. Antoninus, the confessor, made the comparison, and I, Pamphilus, proof-read the volume in the prison, by the abundant favor of God." An extra sentence adds, "And I daresay it would not be easy to find a copy equal to this one."¹⁴²ⁿ

Eusebius of Caesarea, in his book *The History of the Martyrs in Palestine*, mentioned the two individuals who are named in the annotation. He records that both of these individuals were martyred – Antoninus in 309, and Pamphilus (who was a close friend of Eusebius) in 310.¹⁴³ⁿ

Thus the note in the copy used by the annotator of Sinaiticus must have been made before 310. Because Pamphilus was martyred at Caesarea, that is the most likely place where his copy of the Old Testament, with its text conformed to the text of Origen's Hexapla, was stored, to be found in the 500s by someone who used it as the basis for corrections which were then made to parts of the text of Codex Sinaiticus.

(2) As J. Rendel Harris pointed out in his essay “*The Common Origin of Aleph and B,*” Codex Sinaiticus has a very unusual reading in Matthew 13:54; where the text should be εις την πατριδα (*eis ten patrida, to his home-country*) it has, instead, εις την Ἀντιπατριδα (*eis ten Antipatrida*), as if Jesus was going to the city of Antipatris, which is not far from Caesarea. Harris regarded this as “the aberration of a scribe’s brain, as he sat writing in the neighboring city of Caesarea.”

He expressed his theory as follows: “It is to my mind much the same as if a printed text of Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* should put into Mark Antony’s speech the line ‘I come to Banbury Caesar, not to praise him.’ Such a text would probably be the work of Oxford printers.”¹⁴⁴ⁿ

(3) A quirk-reading similar to the one in Matthew 13:54 occurs in Acts 8:5, where the copyist wrote Καισαριας (*Caesarea*) instead of the correct reading, Σαμαριας (*Samaria*).

(4) In Luke 24:13, where the text ordinarily states that Emmaus was about seven miles from Jerusalem – σταδίους εξήκοντα (*stadiouς exekonta, sixty stadia*) – Codex Sinaiticus says instead that the distance was 160 stadia (σταδίους εκατον εξήκοντα). (A stadia is about one-eighth of a mile.) This alternative is only found in a smattering of Greek manuscripts. In Eusebius’ composition *Onomasticon*, an alphabetized list of places mentioned in the Bible, with short descriptions of each entry, Emmaus is defined as the city of Nicopolis.¹⁴⁵ⁿ

The identity of the city of Emmaus has, in a roundabout way, an impact on the question at hand. Nicopolis is just one of several sites which various researchers have thought to be the village of Emmaus to which Luke 23:13 refers. In the early 200s, Julius Africanus organized the reconstruction of Nicopolis, which had been devastated by an earthquake in A.D. 131. With government assistance, the city was rebuilt, and by 325 it was so prominent that a bishop from the city was among those present at the Council of Nicea. When Eusebius wrote his *Onomasticon*, all the other sites had been forgotten; Nicopolis had become a

pilgrimage-center. (This may have been Julius Africanus' reason for aspiring to rebuild the site.)

Far away from Nicopolis, few copyists would notice that the distance of 60 stadia given in Luke 24:13 was not the actual distance from Jerusalem to what was considered to be the site of Emmaus. Copyists working relatively nearby in Caesarea, though, would hardly be able to avoid seeing the difficulty, and instead of perceiving that Luke had referred to a different Emmaus than the one they were thinking of, they could easily conclude (as Eusebius concluded when confronting the difficulty in John 19:14) that a copyist had miscopied a number, and so a pseudocorrection was made, adding 100 and thus reaching the approximate distance from Jerusalem to Nicopolis.

Perhaps it did not occur to whoever adjusted the text in this way that the two travelers in

Luke 24 would thus be required to walk 20 miles from Jerusalem to Emmaus, and then, beginning (as one of the travelers says in Luke 24:29) when the day was far spent, travel 20 miles from Emmaus to Jerusalem. Or possibly the adjustment was made with the assumption that the two travelers could manage such a journey. Or perhaps the adjustment was made with the understanding that Luke 24:13 refers to the travelers' destination, and Luke 24:28 refers to a village where they had planned to stop along the way to Emmaus. Whatever may be the case, the thing to see is that the adjustment from 60 to 160 in Luke 24:13 is more likely to have been made by copyists working geographically closer to Nicopolis (and Caesarea is relatively close) than by copyists farther away.

(5) The coronis of Scribe D of Codex Vaticanus – his artistic “signature,” as Milne and Skeat described it – is very similar to the coronis used by one of the copyists who made Codex Vaticanus. This is demonstrated by a side-by-side comparison of the coronis at the end Mark in Sinaiticus (on the cancel-sheet made by Scribe D) to the coronis at the end of Deuteronomy (and other books) in B.¹⁴⁶ⁿ

The design in Aleph is slightly more elaborate, having two wavy lines instead of one, and utilizing red ink, but the basic

resemblance is very strong. This shared similarity, along with other pieces of evidence, led British text-critical scholar J. K. Elliott to recently state, “Scribe D of Sinaiticus was also very likely to have been one of two scribes of Codex Vaticanus.”¹⁴⁷ⁿ

(6) In the book of Acts, Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus both display very strong evidence that they were together at the same place sometime in the 400s or 500s (adding to the probability that they were both produced there): they display a series of chapter-numbers which are part of what is known as the Euthalian Apparatus, a standized set of chapter-divisions and study-helps. In Sinaiticus, the chapter-numbers stop at chapter 42 (MB') at Acts 15:40; in Vaticanus they stop at chapter 69 (ΞΘ') at Acts 26:24. Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus share unique divergences from the usual Euthalian Apparatus:

- Chapter 14 (IΔ') appears at 5:12, instead of at 5:17.
- Chapter 15 (IE') appears at 5:21b, instead of at 5:27.
- Chapter 18 (IH') appears at 6:9 instead of 6:8.
- Chapter 20 (K') appears at 7:35 instead of 7:38.
- Chapter 26 (Kζ') appears at 9:10 instead of 9:17.
- Chapter 28 (KH') appears at 10:19 instead of 10:23.
- Chapter 36 (Λζ') appears at 13:13 instead of 13:16.
- Chapter 37 (ΛZ') appears at 13:26 instead of 13:33.¹⁴⁸ⁿ

Thus it seems clear that at some point, Sinaiticus and Vaticanus were both set alongside the same exemplar of Acts which contained this unique form of chapter-divisions in the Euthalian Apparatus.

In addition, it should be noted that the chapter-divisions which are part of the Euthalian Apparatus did not necessarily originate with Euthalius. In Codex 015, also known as Codex Coislinianus (H_p), a damaged uncial copy of the Pauline Epistles produced in the 500s, there is an interesting note at the end of Titus: “I, Euthalius, wrote this volume of the Apostle Paul as carefully as possible, line-by-line (in sense-lines), so that it might be read intelligently. Its contents were checked with the copy in the library at Caesarea, written by the holy Pamphilus in his own handwriting.”¹⁴⁹ⁿ

This note in Codex 015 probably did not originate with the copyist of Codex 015. Its presence is accounted for as having been mechanically reproduced from an exemplar of 015. Nevertheless it affirms, albeit indirectly, that a copy personally made by Pamphilus was used as the basis for proof-reading, and adds that this copy was located at Caesarea.

In another manuscript in the Coislin collection – Coislin 25, a copy of Acts and Epistles produced in the 1000s – according to J. Rendel Harris, who was relying on the description of the manuscript given by another scholar in the early 1700s – the chapters in Acts, instead of being attributed to Euthalius, are attributed to Pamphilus.¹⁵⁰ⁿ

Taken together, this evidence establishes a link between Pamphilus (the producer of a copy which was used to check the text of part of the Old Testament portion of Sinaiticus), and the library at Caesarea (where, according to the note in Codex Hp, there was a codex containing New Testament books, made by Pamphilus), and the chapter-divisions that were inserted in Sinaiticus and Vaticanus in Acts.

Thus it becomes clear that although Vaticanus and Sinaiticus were not among the 50 Bibles prepared by Eusebius, they are both connected to the scriptorium at Caesarea, and were probably both produced there. Sinaiticus almost certainly was produced there, and the similarities between Sinaiticus and Vaticanus induce the conclusion that Vaticanus either produced there, or was produced by copyists who had been trained there.

When we consider that Origen, before settling in Caesarea, had previously grown up and studied in Egypt, and when we consider that Pierius, the mentor of Pamphilus, received his training in Egypt, it is no surprise to see that these two codices, though produced in Caesarea, display a New Testament text that is closely aligned with the text of the Sahidic (Egyptian) version, and with some earlier papyrus copies found in Egypt.

Can anything more specific be deduced about these two important manuscripts? Although we should always be aware of

the danger of overextrapolation, the following scenario is suggested by the evidence:

Codex Vaticanus was produced in the very early 300s, and was based on exemplars which had been produced either by, or under the supervision of, Pamphilus. Pamphilus' mentor, Pierius, had been trained in Alexandria, and for this reason Codex Vaticanus' New Testament text is overwhelmingly Alexandrian. It was not produced for Constantine, but was probably intended to be used at Caesarea itself as an extra copy of the Pamphilian text. One of the copyists involved in the production of Codex Vaticanus may have been a young man named Acacius.

Codex Sinaiticus was produced in the mid-300s. By that time, Acacius had grown up and had become the bishop of Caesarea. A brief profile of Acacius was included in the composition written by Jerome in 393, called *De Viris Illustribus* (*Lives of Illustrious Men*), written by Jerome in 393. In chapter 98 Jerome describes Acacius:

“Acacius, who, because he was blind in one eye, they nicknamed ‘the one-eyed,’ bishop of the church of Caesarea in Palestine, wrote seventeen volumes *On Ecclesiastes* and six of *Miscellaneous Questions*, and many treatises besides on various subjects. He was so influential in the reign of the emperor Constantius that he made Felix bishop of Rome in the place of Liberius.”¹⁵¹ⁿ

In chapter 113 of the same composition, Jerome profiled another individual, Euzoius, who was the next bishop of Caesarea: “Euzoius, as a young man, together with Gregory, bishop of Nazianzus, was educated by Thespesius the rhetorician at Caesarea. And afterwards when bishop of the same city, with great pains he attempted to restore the library, collected by Origen and Pamphilus, which had already suffered injury. At last, in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, he was expelled from the church. Many and various treatises of his are in circulation, and one may easily become acquainted with them.”¹⁵²ⁿ

Jerome mentioned Acacius and Euzoius together in one of his letters. In *Epistle 141*, To

Marcellus, in a reference to the library at Caesarea, Jerome wrote, “As much of it was in bad condition, Acacius and then also Euzoius, priests of the same church, undertook to preserve on parchment.”¹⁵³ⁿ Further evidence of the text-conservation efforts of Euzoius is provided in a manuscript of the works of Philo in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, in which “On the table of contents we read that Euzoius the bishop restored this text on parchment.”¹⁵⁴ⁿ

There can be no question that in the mid-300s, bishop Acacius, and after him bishop Euzoius, were engaged at Caesarea in efforts to copy texts from papyrus to parchment. Since Acacius was a theologian – having been rather notorious for his support of Arianism¹⁵⁵ⁿ – it would be virtually inevitable that if Acacius were the steward of papyrus copies of Biblical books which were somewhat damaged and in danger of rotting away, it would be a high priority of his to copy them onto parchment. (Euzoius is the second-most-likely person to have overseen the production of Codex Sinaiticus, but inasmuch as he was alive in 380, when he was a target of Theodosius the First’s edict that bishops not endorsing orthodox creeds should have their offices vacated,¹⁵⁶ⁿ it is unlikely that he could also have been involved in the production of Codex Vaticanus.)

More than one palaeographer has noticed that the unusual four-column-per-page format of Sinaiticus resembles what would be encountered upon a scroll; this format may have been chosen by Acacius because it resembled the format of his exemplars.

Another feature in Codex Sinaiticus which dovetails with the idea that it was made by Acacius is the block-mixture of its text in the Gospel of John. For the most part, Codex Sinaiticus’ Gospels-text is similar to the text displayed in Codex Vaticanus; but in John 1:1-8:38 it is very different. The character of the text of Sinaiticus in this portion is Western, instead of Alexandrian, beginning at John 1:1. Then at 8:39 it shifts back to Alexandrian. The explanation for this is that Sinaiticus’ main exemplar of the Gospels was damaged – like the copies that Acacius replaced – and was missing John 1:1-8:38, and so this portion was supplied from a

second exemplar.¹⁵⁷ⁿ

Also, the Eusebian Canon-numbers and Section-numbers in Sinaiticus were not added from the main exemplar. This dovetails with a scenario in which Acacius gathered his exemplars from the papyrus copies at Caesarea, and then he (or an assistant) transferred the Eusebian Canon-numbers and Section-numbers (in a quirky and incomplete way) from a different source.

Perhaps another piece of evidence should be considered: within the part of John in Sinaiticus that has the Western Text, John 1:18 reads μονογενης θες, “onlybegotten God,” “θες” being the contraction for the nomen sacrum θεος, “God.” Although most manuscripts support a different reading, “only-begotten Son,” support for the reading in Sinaiticus is found in the writings of Origen, Eusebius, Jerome’s teacher Didymus, and Cyril of Alexandria, and in the Egyptian papyri P66 and P75.¹⁵⁸ⁿ

As far as I know, not a single extant manuscript of John with the Western Text supports the reading “only-begotten God;” nor do any Old Latin copies do so. (Codex D, the flagship manuscript of the Western Text, is unfortunately not extant here.) F. J. A. Hort, in a dissertation published in 1876, wrote, “It comes out with perfect clearness that υιός (*huios*) is one of the numerous Ante-nicene readings of a ‘Western’ type (in the technical not the strictly geographical sense of the word) which were adopted into the eclectic fourth century text that forms the basis of later texts generally.”¹⁵⁹ⁿ

One may justifiably wonder, therefore, if Hort is correct that υιός is the Western reading, why θεός (*theos*) is in Sinaiticus instead, despite being in the ‘Western’ portion. The answer may be that Acacius saw to it that “only-begotten God” was adopted because, as an Arian, he had a soft spot in his heart for that variant.

A short text by Auxentius (*circa* 400) shows that the Arians used that term and interpreted it to support their doctrine that Christ was a created divinity. Auxentius stated that Wulfilas believed that the Father “created and begat, made and established, an only-begotten God,” and that “the inexhaustible power of the only-begotten God is reliably said to have the power to have made

all things heavenly and earthly,” and, “The Father and Son were different in their divinity, unbegotten and only-begotten God.”¹⁶⁰ⁿ

Although orthodox writers such as Cyril of Alexandria used exactly the same phrase, it is easy to picture an Arian bishop favoring this reading so strongly that he would feel justified including it in his text of John, having seen it in other exemplars, even though his immediate exemplar – resorted to as a second-string document – read otherwise.

The alternative to the theory that the copyist of Sinaiticus resorted to this slight editorial adjustment is that the copyist of Aleph happened to use the only known copy of John chapter 1 with a Western Text that read *μονογενής θεός* (*monogenes theos*) in verse 18. Possibly it was because he was distracted with this alteration that the copyist of Sinaiticus skipped the next two words in the text, ὁ ὢν (“who is”), a singular mistake.

The significance of all this to the question about Mark 16:9-20 may be expressed in four points:

- Considering how highly Eusebius esteemed Pamphilus, it is very probable that the manuscripts which Eusebius said could be described as the “accurate copies” in *Ad Marinum* were copies previously owned, or produced, by Pamphilus, using exemplars with the Alexandrian Text.

- Acacius was probably one of the copyists of Vaticanus (as a young man) and the supervisor/proof-reader of Sinaiticus (as bishop of Caesarea).

- If Acacius was Scribe D of Sinaiticus, then as the successor of Eusebius, he cannot have been unaware of the existence of Mark 16:9-20. This lends support to the idea that the decorative lines at the end of Mark in Aleph were intended to emphasize that nothing was to be added after 16:8.

- The testimony of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus is extremely narrow, and overlaps the transmission-stream to which Eusebius refers in *Ad Marinum*.

We now turn to other patristic witnesses from the 300s: Fortunatianus, Athanasius’ *Fourth Letter to Serapion*, *Apostolic*

Constitutions, Ephrem Syrus, Didymus the Blind, Augustine's copies of Mark, and Epiphanius of Salamis.

(13) Fortunatianus (Date: mid-300s). Until very recently, the commentary of Fortunatianus, bishop of Aquileia, was regarded as a lost work. However, Lukas J. Dorfbauer recently identified a commentary in a medieval manuscript as the work of Fortunatianus.

Following the announcement of this discovery at Roger Pearse's blog in January 2014, Dr. Dorfbauer initially stated (in the comments there) that it contained no reference to Mark 16:9-20. However, in subsequent correspondence with me, he reported that Fortunatianus wrote (very much like Chromatius, whose testimony will be considered shortly) the following: "*Non inmerito, ut supra exposuimus, aquilae gerit imaginem, quia eum ad caelum volasse demonstrate.*" This means something like, "Not without reason he [Mark] possesses the image of the eagle, as I explained before, because he declares that He [Jesus] flew up to heaven." It is not easy to find a verse in Mark to which Fortunatianus might thus describe other than 16:19.

(14) Athanasius (Date: 360). This famous defender of Trinitarianism, who opposed the theological schools of thought that were advanced in the 300s by Arius, by Eusebius of Nicomedia, and by Eusebius of Caesarea, wrote four letters to bishop Serapion of Thmuis in 360, focusing on the doctrine of the eternality and divinity of the Holy Spirit. Although throughout this series of letters Athanasius used hardly any text at all from the Gospel of Mark, in the fourth letter (in Migne's P.G. 26:644) he follows a quotation of Matthew 28:19 with an apparent allusion to Mark 16:20 as he states that the words the disciples heard were not "*in the name of the grandfather,*" but "*in the name of the Father.*" *They came to sound conclusions and preached this faith everywhere.*" (This reference was brought to my attention by Maurice Robinson.)

The Greek words used by Athanasius for “and preached this faith everywhere” are και ταυτην την πιστιν **εκήρυξαν πανταχου**, corresponding to the words in Mark 16:20. In such close proximity to a utilization of the parallel-passage in Mt. 28:19, this looks very much like a reference to Mark 16:20.

(15) Ephrem Syrus (Date: around 360). Ephrem, bishop of the city of Edessa in Syria, not only wrote a Syriac commentary on Tatian’s *Diatessaron* before his death in 373, but also composed many hymns. In one of these hymns, Ephrem combined Mark 16:15a and Matthew 28:19b, 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 is a combination of Mark 16:15 and Matthew 28:19 but it is not the same combination which appears in the Arabic *Diatessaron*, which (in 55:4 to 5) includes the words “and preach my gospel to every creature.” This may be a poetic paraphrase, incorporating part of Mark 16:15, rather than a strict quotation of the *Diatessaron*.¹⁶¹ⁿ

In his commentary on the *Diatessaron*, 8:1, Ephrem wrote, “After they had crucified him, he commanded his disciples, ‘Go out into the whole world and proclaim my Gospel to the whole of creation, and baptize all the Gentiles.’”¹⁶²ⁿ This is a combination of Mark 16:15 and Matthew 28, verse 19. The Syriac manuscript – Chester Beatty Syriac Manuscript 709 – containing this statement in Ephrem’s commentary was produced in about A.D. 500.

(16) Apostolic Constitutions (Date: 380). This composition, which its author presents under the pretext that it was issued by the apostles themselves, consists of eight books: the first six are based on the *Didascalia*. The seventh book is based on the early second-century text known as the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, accompanied by other material. The eighth book is on the subject of spiritual gifts, and is partly derived from an otherwise mostly-lost writing, thought to be the work of Hippolytus.¹⁶³ⁿ If it is genuinely the minimally enhanced work

of Hippolytus, then this witness has the weight of a church-leader in Rome in the early 200s using Mark 16:15 to 18 without any reservations.

(17) *De Trinitate* - possibly by Didymus the Blind (Date: 380).

Didymus the Blind (circa 313 – circa 398) was appointed to be the supervisor of the main theological training-school at Alexandria by Athanasius, and served in that capacity during the second half of the 300s. Despite having become blind in his childhood, Didymus was an accomplished scholar, and his erudition was admired by Jerome, who visited him in 386. Didymus produced several commentaries on Old Testament books, and some theological works.

One of the works often attributed to Didymus is *De Trinitate*, which he is said to have written in 379 or shortly thereafter, to defend the doctrine of the Trinity. In *De Trinitate* Part 2, 12 (39.688 in Migne’s P.G.), after a quotation of First Peter 1:23, we find Mark 16:15-16 quoted as follows:

“Ἐδεδοικει γαρ τον παρακελευσαμενον εν τω κατα Μαρκον Ευαγγελιω • Πορευθέντες εις τον κόσμον παντα, κηρύξατε το Ευαγγελιον πάση τη κτίσει • Ὁ πιστεύσας και βαπτισθεις σωθήσεται. Ὁ δε απιστήσας κατακριθήσεται.”¹⁶⁴ⁿ That is, “*For the exhortation is specifically given in the Gospel of Mark,*” followed by Mark 16:15 to 16.

The fourth edition of the UBS *Greek New Testament* lists Didymus’ testimony as dubious.¹⁶⁵ⁿ That is because the authorship of *De Trinitate* is disputed; some analysts have discerned differences between what is taught in *De Trinitate* and what is taught in Didymus’ commentary on Zechariah. The objections do not seem insurmountable, but even if *De Trinitate* was not composed by Didymus, it is nevertheless appears to be a composition from the same time-period and locale in which Didymus worked.

(18) Greek and Latin copies known to Augustine (Date: 400).

Among the many works of St. Augustine is his *Harmony of the*

Gospels. In chapters 24 and 25 of Book Three of this lengthy composition, Augustine addressed the Gospels' accounts of events which took place at about the time of the Lord's resurrection. Augustine aspired to show that the discrepancies between the accounts were superficial. Augustine quoted all of Mark 16:9-20, bit by bit, in the course of his discussion. In chapter 25, Augustine focused upon the post-resurrection appearance of Christ to the two travelers on the road to Emmaus. After stating that both Luke and Mark mention this appearance, Augustine wrote as follows:

*"The latter evangelist reports the same incident in these concise terms: 'And after that He appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked and went to a country-seat.' For it is not unreasonable for us to suppose that the place of residence referred to may also have been styled a country-seat; just as Bethlehem itself, which formerly was called a city, is even at the present time also named a village, although its honor has now been made so much the greater since the name of this Lord, who was born in it, has been proclaimed so extensively throughout the churches of all nations. In the Greek codices, indeed, the reading which we discover is rather "estate" than "country-seat." But that term was employed not only of residences, but also of free towns and colonies beyond the city, which is the head and mother of the rest, and is therefore called the metropolis."*¹⁶⁶ⁿ

From this paragraph, we may observe that Augustine used a Latin version of Mark which contained Mark 16:9-20, in which verse 12 was rendered in such a way as to convey to Augustine that the two travelers were walking toward a "country-seat." In the course of commenting on this verse, Augustine consulted Greek codices, and noticed that they did not convey quite the same meaning in 16:12, but instead referred to an "estate," which, Augustine explains, is one meaning of the Greek term *αγρον* (*agron*). Thus it is clear that in Augustine's Latin copies and in his Greek codices, he found Mark 16:9-20. Augustine provided no indication that any of his copies of Mark, in Greek or Latin, lacked Mark 16:9-20 or contained the Shorter Ending.

Inasmuch as Augustine was not averse to mentioning and discussing significant textual variants (such as the contest between manuscripts that contained John 7:53-8:11, and manuscripts without that passage), the clear implication is that Augustine never encountered copies of Mark with any other ending except 16:9-20.

(19) Epiphanius of Salamis (Date: 375 to 403). Epiphanius was born in Judea in about 315, began his career as bishop of Salamis (on Cyprus) in 376, and died in 403, after a career that included visits to Egypt, Antioch, Rome, and Constantinople. Hort asserted that Epiphanius used Mark 16:9-20, and cited “*Haer.* 386, 517” to demonstrate Epiphanius’ use of the passage.¹⁶⁷ⁿ

Epiphanius’ book, frequently referred to as the *Panarion*, or “Medicine-chest,” was translated into English by Frank Williams in the 1990’s. He provided the following translation from Section Three, 6:3, which corresponds to part 386 in Volume 41 of Migne’s *Patrologica Graece*, in which Epiphanius addresses a heretic:

*“The sacred body itself is on high with the Godhead — altogether God, one Son, the Holy One of God seated at the Father’s right hand. As the Gospel of Mark and the other evangelists put it, ‘And he ascended up to heaven and sat on the right hand of the Father.’ And your trashy account, and the account of your dupes, will prove altogether worthless.”*¹⁶⁸ⁿ

We may wonder, then, why “Epiphanius^{1/2}” has been cited as a witness for the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 in textual apparatus of the fourth edition of the UBS *Greek New Testament*. In about 373, in his book *Ancoratus (The Well-Anchored)*, part 50, Epiphanius wrote, Τεσσαρα εισιν ευαγγελια κεφαλαιων χιλιων εκατον εξη κονταδυο, that is, “The four Gospels consist of 1,162 chapters.”¹⁶⁹ⁿ This, however, cannot be considered an endorsement by Epiphanius of the non-inclusion of 16:9-20. It should be removed from the apparatus, since it constitutes merely a report about the Eusebian Canons.

(20) Codex Washingtonensis (Date: circa 400). Codex W, which was discovered in Egypt in 1906, contains Mark 16:9-20. Codex W is a very interesting manuscript of the Gospels, not only because it contains the “Freer Logion” between Mark 16:14 and 16:15, but also because its text seems to have been pieced together from the remains of assorted exemplars, each of which descended, so to speak, from a different group of textual ancestors. Bruce Metzger summarized the situation: “In Matthew and Luke 8:13 – 24:53 the text is of the common Byzantine variety, but in Mark 1:1 – 5:30 it is Western, resembling the Old Latin; Mark 5:31–16:20 is Caesarean, akin to P45; and Luke 1:1 – 7:12 and John 5:12 – 21:25 are Alexandrian.”¹⁷⁰ⁿ

Codex W’s Gospels-text is such a block-mixed patchwork that some researchers have wondered if it descends from codices that were partially destroyed by persecutors in the Diocletian persecution; the text of W would thus represent an earlier copyist’s attempt to salvage the incomplete remains of partially destroyed copies.

(21) Copies, Especially Greek Ones, Known to Jerome (Date: 386 to 417). Jerome mentioned these copies in 417, in the course of a comment about the interpolation known as the “Freer Logion” in the composition *Dialogue Against the Pelagians*, Part Two, 14. Jerome stated that it was found “in certain exemplars and especially in Greek codices near the end of the Gospel of Mark.” The manuscripts to which he referred must have been produced before that year.

Jerome probably viewed the copies with the Freer Logion during his visit, in 386, to monasteries in Egypt which are thought to be in the same vicinity from which Codex W was taken.¹⁷¹ⁿ The presence of the Freer Logion in these copies implies that they contained the surrounding text of Mark 16:9-20 as well.

(22) The Old Latin *Capitula* and *Argumenta* (Date: 300s or earlier). Old Latin Codex

Corbeiensis (*ff* 2), from the 400s, contains Mark 16:9-20 and is profiled in the chapter about witnesses from the 400s. It is one of several Old Latin copies which feature chapter-numbers and chapter-titles. In *ff* 2, the Gospel of Mark is divided into 47 chapters. The 47th chapter's title is: *XLVII Post resurrectionem apparuit Ihs apostolis et dixit qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluabitur qui non crediderit damnabitur et receptus est in celis Dms.*¹⁷²ⁿ That is, "47: After the resurrection, Jesus appeared to the apostles and said, 'He who believes and is baptized shall be saved, the unbeliever shall be damned,' and the Lord was received into heaven."

That is a tidy summary of Mark 16:9-20, emphasizing 16:14, 16:16, and 16:19. In 1891, Wordsworth and White listed the chapter-numbers, chapter-titles, and chapter-summaries found in some major witnesses to the Vulgate. Although the **text** of the Latin manuscripts listed by Wordsworth and White is primarily from the Vulgate, the chapter-numbers and chapter-titles are **not** the work of Jerome; they echo Old Latin copies which the copyists used as supplemental exemplars; the copyists were willing to adopt the Vulgate text but they retained the chapter divisions to which they had grown accustomed.

According to the data from Wordsworth and White, the chapter-summary found in Old Latin *ff* 2 is also found in five major Vulgate copies (including the ornate Book of Kells). In addition to this 47-chapter division-system, there are four other early Latin arrangements of chapters in the Gospel of Mark which include, in their chapter-titles and/or chapter-summaries references to the contents of 16:9-20.¹⁷³ⁿ

(23) The Leucian Acts (Date: 200s to 400s). The Leucian Acts is a collection of pseudepigraphical, docetism-promoting compositions about the apostles and their associates. These works are named after the individual to whom they are attributed, Leucius Charinus. The text of the Leucian Acts is stratified; some elements are early, probably from the 100s, while other parts were grafted on later. For this reason it is difficult to ascertain the date of some

of its components. The earliest stratum of the Leucian Acts may be related to a statement made by Clement of Alexandria around the year 200 (preserved by Cassiodorus in the 500s). Commenting on First John, Clement wrote, "*It is accordingly related in traditions, that John, touching the outward body itself, sent his hand deep down into it, and that the solidity of the flesh offered no obstacle, but gave way to the hand of the disciple.*"¹⁷⁴ⁿ This is remarkably similar to a statement in Paragraph 93 of *Acts of John*, one of the Leucian Acts: John is depicted saying the following about the body of Jesus: "*Sometimes when I would lay hold on him, I met with a material and solid body, and at other times, again, when I felt him, the substance was immaterial and as if it existed not at all.*"¹⁷⁵ⁿ

Acts of John has been transmitted in different languages and in varying forms. In one of its best-known forms, the apostle John is depicted stating to a pagan opponent (in part 20), "*If you 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 16), after a re-telling of Luke 16:19 to 31, saying, "*And these words our Lord and Master confirmed by examples of mighty works.*" These sentences appear to be based on Mark 16:17 and 16:20. However, this portion may have been attached to *Acts of John* some time after the composition of the main part of the text.

In 1904, Agnes Smith Lewis published a transcription and translation of an Arabic text of "*The Story of John the Son of Zebedee.*" Lewis describes the late Arabic manuscript in which this text is found: it is Codex Sin. Arab. 529, a paper manuscript consisting of 277 pages, made in 1579. However, rather than dismiss this manuscript because of its late date, Lewis argued that its text springs from a much earlier Syriac line of descent: "This legend of St. John has certainly come to us through the Syriac. It is only what we should expect, from the fact of our already possessing the Syriac version edited by Dr. Wright. But we also find in it Syriac words for which the translator has not given us an Arabic equivalent."¹⁷⁶ⁿ

Lewis proceeded to list several features of the text which, taken together, “suggest that our text is translated from a Syriac manuscript older than Additional Manuscript 17,192 of the British Museum, or even older than the sixth century St. Petersburg manuscript used by Dr Wright.”

Inasmuch as the Arabic text is shorter than Wright’s Syriac text, and lacks the additional “Hymn of Christ,” she is probably correct; however, one of the reasons why it is shorter is because it has been purged of some docetic elements.

The “St Petersburg manuscript used by Dr. Wright” from the 500s is described by Dr. Wright himself in his introduction to *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, which was published in 1871. (Wright also mentions that Additional Manuscript 17,192, the other manuscript with a Syriac text of *Acts of John*, was made in the 800s.) This manuscript includes a variety of compositions; *Acts of John* begins on folio 38b.¹⁷⁴ⁿ

The following phrase-by-phrase comparison shows two excerpts from Lewis’ translation of the Arabic text (in italics) and Wright’s translation of the Syriac text (in bold print).

- From the opening paragraph:

When the Holy Ghost rested upon the disciples / After the ascension of our Lord to heaven / On the day of Pentecost, they were filled with the Holy Ghost / when the days of Pentecost were fulfilled, / and this was after the ascension of our Lord the Christ to heaven . . . / the Paraclete had come to the upper chamber . . . / Then when Simon Cepha had begun his speech / After, then, that Simon Peter had finished his words, / they all said, / they said all of them one to another: / “The Christ commanded us before His ascension into heaven and said, / “Now that our Lord Jesus has fulfilled all things that are necessary for our feeble race, it is necessary for us too that we should do with diligence all that He commanded us. For He said to us, when He was going up unto heaven from beside us, as He was blessing us, / ‘Go ye, all of you, and preach the gospel to the people, and baptize them in the name of the Father,

and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. / ‘Go forth, teach, and baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; / And whoso believeth, shall be saved; and whoso denies, shall be damned.’ / everyone who believes and is baptized shall live.”

- From John’s instructions to Secundus:

*“And He ascended to heaven / “**And He ascended into Heaven,** / and sat on the right hand of the Father; / and is seated at the right hand of His Father, / and He gave Him authority to give good things unto those who trust Him. / and He has given us power to give life and blessings to everyone who believes in His name. / And He said unto us: / **And He said to us:** / ‘Go ye and baptize the people / **‘Go forth, and teach, and baptize them / in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. / in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; / And he who is baptized and believes shall live, / everyone who believes and is baptized, shall live.”** / and he who is not baptized and believes [not] shall be condemned.”*

- From Menelaus’ account of a vision:

*“And I saw the right hand of a man coming out / **And a right hand was stretched out / from among the angels like unto fire, [and]/ from between the cherubim, like fire, and / commanding them / it commanded them in a low and gentle voice: / to go out and baptize the people / ‘Go forth, teach, and baptize / in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, / in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; / and whoso believes shall live for ever.”** / everyone who believes and is baptized, shall live.”*

This evidence shows that Lewis’ Arabic text (which Lewis discerned to be based on a Syriac text) and Wright’s Syriac text (which he discerned to be based on a Greek text) both show that the author (or a later editor of a form of the text from which both of these texts are descended) knew and used material from Mark 16:9-20, particularly 16:15 to 16.

However, this does not settle the question of the integrity of the text of *Acts of John*. As it stands, the Syriac text in Wright's manuscript (stored at St. Petersburg) includes a short preface-title:

"The history of John, the son of Zebedee, who lay upon the breast of our Lord Jesus at the supper, and said, "Lord, who betrayeth Thee?" This history was composed by Eusebius of Cæsarea concerning St. John, who found it in a Greek book, and it was translated into Syriac, when he had learned concerning his way of life and his birth and his dwelling in the city of Ephesus, after the ascension of our Lord to Heaven."

This is probably the author's clever way of attempting to give the book an air of authenticity, in imitation of Eusebius' own comment in *Church History Book One*, chapter 13 about how he had found the correspondence between Jesus and Abgar of Edessa in the archives of Edessa and had rendered it into Greek from Syriac. Thus, while some components of the book may be as early as the 200s, in its edited form it is not earlier than the mid-300s.

(24) Chromatius of Aquileia (Date: 380s-407). This colleague of Jerome, Ambrose, and Rufinus, in the Preface to his Commentary on Matthew, assigned the eagle-symbol to Mark rather than to John. Chromatius was echoing Irenaeus' statements somewhat. Referring to Mark, Chromatius wrote, "Because the eagle is often described as in the form of the Holy Spirit, who has been spoken in the prophets, he is thus depicted in the appearance of an eagle. For also only he reported that our Lord and Savior flew away to heaven, that is, went back to the Father." This implies not only that Chromatius used a text of Mark that included 16:19, but also that his text of Luke did not include the phrase in Luke 24:51 that mentions Christ's ascension. (See Stephen Carlson's English translation of Chromatius' *Preface to the Commentary on Matthew*.)

(25) Palladius of Ratiaria (381/early 400s). This little-known author was the Arian bishop of a region in Bulgaria until the Council of Aquileia in 381. In the margin of 347r of Latin MS

8907 (which resides at Paris in the National Library of France), which comes from the early 400s, one of Palladius' comments can be found in which he explicitly quotes Mark 16:19:

“And the evangelist Mark relates that only Jesus Christ ascended into heaven and sits at the right hand of God: “And the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken, was received into heaven and was seated at the right hand of God.””

As far as I know this reference has never been mentioned in the textual apparatus of Nestle-Aland, nor in the any edition of the UBS GNT. It was brought to light by the research of Friedrich Kauffmann in 1899 and again by Roger Gryson in 1980.



Chapter 4: External Evidence from the 400s

(1) The Sinaitic Syriac (Date: around 400). This important Syriac copy, Syr^S, is assigned a production-date of about 400. It is an incomplete copy of the four Gospels in the Syriac language, written in two columns per page, in a version which appears to be earlier than, or at least distinct from, the standard Syriac version known as the Peshitta. It was found at Saint Catherine's Monastery by Agnes Smith Lewis in 1892. Syr^S is a palimpsest; its pages were unbound, washed, and reassembled to be used (along with similarly recycled parts of another old book) as the material on which to write something else. A colophon in the manuscript provided the means to deduce that it was an individual named John the Recluse of Beth-Mari (a monastery near Antioch) who, in 778, re-used an already-damaged Syriac Gospels-book (and pages from other books, including a Greek copy of the Gospel of John) to provide writing-material on which he wrote down a collection of stories about female saints and martyrs.¹⁷⁸ⁿ

When the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript was first studied and transcribed at St. Catherine's monastery in 1893, it appeared as if there was a blank space between the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke.¹⁷⁹ⁿ On the last page of Mark, Mark 16:1 is at the top of the page beginning the first column, and the text of Mark continues to the end of 16:8. Luke 1:1 then resumes further down. When a chemical reagent was applied to the page, however, text came to the surface in the space, apparently written in different ink than what had been used for the text of the Gospels: the subscription to the Gospel of Mark, a line of red dots, and the title for the Gospel of Luke.

The Sinaitic Syriac's text of 16:8 concludes, "And when they had heard, they went out; and went, and said nothing to any man, for they were afraid." (The phrase, "*And fled from the tomb, for trembling and astonishment had come upon them,*" is omitted.) It is thus a strong ally of B and Aleph in this regard, and at some other points. In a series of articles in *The Expository Times* in

1901, Agnes Smith Lewis pointed out that Syr^s has some readings which are otherwise practically unique to representatives of the the Alexandrian Text; yet it also has some readings which are practically unique to representatives of the Western Text, and it even has some readings which are practically unique to representatives of the Caesarean Text.

The text of the Sinaitic Syriac is, to describe it in a single word, eclectic. Its text appears to be a harmonistically adjusted edition of the same Old Syriac text that is represented by the Curetonian Syriac manuscript. It is related somehow to the Old Latin Codex Bobbiensis: both omit “did not know her until” in Matthew 1:25; both omit “Repent, for” in Matthew 4:17, both omit Matthew 5:47, and both omit (as do Codex D and it_a) Matthew 9:34. And in Matthew 27 verse 16, Syr^s shares the reading “Jesus Barabbas” with Caesarean witnesses.

More remarkably, Syr^s and it^k share an unusual variant at Mark 8:31 to 32: as in other witnesses, Jesus predicts His death and resurrection, but instead of the usual statement, “And He spoke this word openly,” Syr^s and it^k share the reading, “and He will openly speak the word” (it^k’s Latin text is “. . . *et a scribes et occidit, post tertium diem resurgere, et cum fiducia sermonem loqui*”).¹⁸⁰ⁿ

The earliest Syriac ancestor of Syr^s may have been produced in Antioch by someone with access to manuscripts from different locales; this would explain why it agrees with the Alexandrian Text at one point, with the Western Text at a different point, and with the Caesarean Text at a different point. But it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the history of the Old Syriac text confidently because its only substantial representatives from ancient times are the Sinaitic Syriac and the Curetonian Syriac. The ancestral text of Syr^s and Syr^c was apparently never a very popular version. Tatian’s Diatessaron was dominant in Syria until the mid-400s, when Theodoret, a leader of the Syriac churches, provided copies of the four distinct Gospels to replace the Diatessaron in over 200 congregations where the Diatessaron was still in use. Theodoret stated in a composition composed in A.D.

453 that he had done this; his motive was to ensure that whatever heretical tendencies Tatian had promoted would not be perpetuated in the churches. ¹⁸¹ⁿ

(2) The Peshitta (Date: 375-420). The Peshitta is the standard Syriac text of the New Testament. The Peshitta does not include Second Peter, Second John, Third John, Jude, and Revelation. It is preserved in over 350 copies, including some from the fifth and sixth centuries. ¹⁸²ⁿ The Peshitta has been the subject of a shifting tide of opinions about its origin and importance. Until the late 1800s, scholars (including Westcott) tended to assume that the Peshitta existed at least by the late 200s, on the grounds that a translation produced much later than that would have a fuller canon. Scholars also observed that writers in the 300s used the Peshitta (or so it appeared). In addition, it was also thought that because the Peshitta was used throughout Syria by theologically competing groups – by Nestorians and Monophysites – it probably was created well before their schisms (such as the Nestorian division in 431) were accomplished, for otherwise whatever groups held views opposing those of the Peshitta’s translator would have tended to consider it tainted.

In 1904 that view was challenged by F. C. Burkitt, who made a strong case that many citations of the Peshitta which had been attributed to Ephrem Syrus were instead contained in later writings misattributed to Ephrem. Ephrem himself, Burkitt argued, had never used the Peshitta Gospels. Burkitt theorized that Rabbula (bishop of Edessa in 411 to 435) created the Peshitta. For decades, Burkitt’s research appeared persuasive (despite its implication that the Nestorians embraced a translation by their nemesis Rabbula), because, among other things, it was supported by a statement in a biography of Rabbula (composed in the 400s): *“By the wisdom of God that was in him he translated the New Testament from Greek into Syriac because of its variations, exactly as it was.”* ¹⁸³ⁿ

However in 1951 Arthur Vööbus carefully revisited the subject and showed that Rabbula repeatedly used a Syriac text

other than the Peshitta – a strange thing for Rabbula to do, if he had produced and promoted the Peshitta.¹⁸⁴ⁿ But if Rabbula did not create the Peshitta, what text was it that his biographer mentioned? Vööbus theorized that Rabbula, in the course of translating the New Testament books in the Syriac canon from Greek into Syriac, conserved effort by basing his edition of the Gospels on an earlier Syriac version which he trusted, not unlike the way in which the producers of the Authorized (King James) Version of 1611 adopted myriad renderings from William Tyndale’s version of 1525.

The testimony of the Peshitta at the end of Mark, at every discernable stage of its existence, is clear: no unmutilated Peshitta manuscript lacks Mark 16:9-20. One Peshitta manuscript (Manuscript Add. 14456) also displays the Shorter Ending, but this particular manuscript has been supplemented with readings from the later Philoxenian Syriac version; the Shorter Ending there reflects that parent’s textual genetics, so to speak, not the Peshitta.

(3) The Curetonian Syriac (Date: around 425). The Curetonian Syriac, or Syrc, is so named because its pieces, after being transported from Egypt to the British Museum, were identified in 1942 by William Cureton as the remnants of an old Syriac version of the Gospels.

After careful study he published an edition of the manuscript in 1858. The surviving text of Syr^C consists of Matthew 1:1-8:22, 10:32-23:25, Mark 16:17-16:20, John 1:-1:42, 3:6-7:37, 14:10-29 (incomplete), and Luke 2:48-3:16, 7:33-15:21, 17:24-24:44. Thus Syr^C supports the inclusion of 16:9-20 by preserving only 16:17 to 20 and no other text from the Gospel of Mark. Because the evidence is so fragmentary, we cannot discern if the Curetonian Syriac, when intact, contained the Shorter Ending.

The text of Syr^C often agrees with the text of Syr^S (although of course this cannot be shown in Mark), and this implies that the two manuscripts are related, somewhat like cousins, both being descended from an earlier Old Syriac version. Among many intriguing examples of shared readings, the one in Luke 20:46 is

particularly illustrative: both manuscripts state that the scribes love to walk around “in the porches” instead of “in long robes.” This shows that both manuscripts descend from a Greek base-text in which the Greek word for long robes, *στολαις* (*stolais*), was miswritten or misread as *στοαις* (*stoais*), which means “porches.”¹⁸⁵ⁿ (The same mistake is reflected in Syr^s in Mark 12:38.) Such a mistake cannot have occurred often, and constitutes one of several shared readings which imply that the Curetonian Syriac and the Sinaitic Syriac are descendants of a single Old Syriac version; each text was then influenced by other, unshared, ancestors.

(4) Macarius Magnes (Date: 405). A bishop of the city of Magnesia in Asia Minor, Macarius was the author of a book called *Apocriticus* (mentioned previously in the description of Porphyry and Hierocles). In this book, he responded to a pagan jibe that involved Mark 16:18. In his response, Macarius Magnes did not take the option of dismissing the passage as inauthentic; he gives no indication at all that such an option even existed. Instead, fully accepting the passage, Macarius Magnes attempted to explain the text:

*“We must not take the words about the ‘sickness’ and the ‘deadly drug’ in too literal a sense. Otherwise we shall find them contradicted by two facts. First, those who are unbelievers may likewise recover from deadly drugs Secondly, many unbelievers run away at the first sign of sickness, but we must not therefore argue that those who stay to tend the sick are believers in consequence. Such literal and manward tests will not do, or we shall have people boasting of their faith simply because they have some skill in nursing. So the ‘deadly drug’ must be taken in a less literal sense, and this ‘death’ is like that wherein St. Paul says, ‘We are buried with Him in baptism.’ Here there is a ‘deadly drug’ which actually saves men from the tyranny of sin. For to drink this in faith means the death of the savage nature within, without any harm being received. So that which harms unbelievers does not harm the faithful.”*¹⁸⁶ⁿ

Clearly, Macarius Magnes found 16:9-20 in his text of Mark. He did not question its genuineness; nor did he seem aware that anyone else did so.

(5) John Chrysostom (Date: around 400). A famous and controversial bishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom died in 407 after a vigorous career in which he produced many writings, including *Homilies on First Corinthians*. Hort asserted that the evidence that Chrysostom used Mark 16:9-20 consisted of “two doubtful examples only.”¹⁸⁷ⁿ

Hort’s statement may be tested by a presentation of some passages from Chrysostom’s *Homilies on First Corinthians*, to which I have added bold print and bracketed references:

(1) Homily 3, part 6 (First Corinthians 1:17) – “To teach the wrestlers in the games is the task of a spirited and skilled trainer, but to place the crown on the conqueror’s head may be the job of one who cannot even wrestle. So it is with **baptism. It is impossible to be saved without it** [see Mark 16:16, but also John 3:5]; yet it is no great thing which the baptizer does, finding the will already prepared.”

(2) Homily 14, part 2 (First Corinthians 4:19) – “If it were a contest and a time for orators, you might reasonably be elated thereby. But since it is a case of **apostles speaking truth, and by signs confirming the same**, why are you puffed up . . .”

(3) Homily 38, part 5 (First Corinthians 15:5) – “‘He appeared,’ says Paul, ‘to Cephas; he appeared to above five hundred brethren, he appeared to me also.’ **Yet surely the Gospel says the contrary, that He was seen of Mary first.** But among men He was seen of him first who did most of all long to see Him.”¹⁸⁸ⁿ

Hort declined to present citation #3 to his readers; he only mentioned it and called it a “supposed reference” which “may be either taken directly from Mark 16:9 or deduced from John 20:1-18.” But which of these possibilities is more probable? In the very next paragraph, where Chrysostom cites John 21:14, he specifically names John as the source he is quoting. Chrysostom

had no reason not to do likewise in the preceding paragraph.

In addition, among the many works attributed to Chrysostom is a comment in *In Psalmium 118* (Migne 55.706): Και ο Κυριος δε τους ιερους αποστολους ως προβατα εν μεσω λυκων εις πασαν αποστειλας την οικουμενην . . . αυτοι γαρ και τον ευαγγελικον νομον ελαβον, **και πανταχου εκηρυξαν . . .**” – which is something like, “And the Lord, having sent out the holy apostles as sheep in the midst of wolves, into all the inhabited world . . . for they also received the gospel-law, and preached everywhere.” (Thanks to Maurice Robinson for bringing this reference to my attention.)

(6) Jerome (Date: 380 to 410). The testimony of Jerome (347 to 420) has been misrepresented by many commentators. In 383, having received an assignement from Pope Damasus, Jerome produced the Vulgate Gospels, which included Mark 16:9-20. Jerome also wrote many books and letters. In *Dialogue Against the Pelagians*, Part 2:14, one of the characters is depicted saying that he had seen the interpolation now known as the Freer Logion “near the end of the Gospel of Mark.” He used Mark 16:14 to pinpoint the location of the interpolation, thus showing that he did not regard 16:8 as the end of Mark, and that he expected that his readers’ copies would contain 16:9-20.

In *Epistle 120, To Hedibia*, one finds the statement that almost all Greek codices lack 16:9-20, and because of this, Jerome has been cited as a witness against Mark 16:9-20. However, the situation is not so simple. In modern times we tend to assume that writers who do not credit their sources are writing independently. This was not the case in Jerome’s era, and Jerome frequently borrowed earlier materials without acknowledging that he did so. On one occasion, Jerome responded to a correspondent’s questions by sharing “*The opinions of all the commentators,*” in order, he said, “*to get rid of your question, and to put you in possession of ancient authorities on the subject.*”¹⁸⁹ⁿ

Certain details in *Epistle 120, To Hedibia* show that Jerome did essentially the

same thing in this letter: facing a vague question on a broad subject, Jerome loosely adopted, modified, and re-expressed in Latin the contents of *Ad Marinum*, which had been written by Eusebius in Greek to address that subject almost a century earlier. After some opening remarks, in which Jerome mentions that he is writing at Bethlehem, and in which he conveys that he is composing the letter to Hedibia by dictation, Jerome answers two questions, and then repeats Hedibia's third question: "*What is the reason that the Evangelists spoke about the resurrection and appearance of the Lord differently?*"

To cover such a question would require a blanket of pages, considering the amount of variations in the Gospels' accounts of Christ's resurrection and subsequent appearances. So Jerome approached Hedibia's vague question by first dividing it into a series of specific questions – beginning with the same question which appears at the beginning of Eusebius' *Ad Marinum*:

"Here you first ask why Matthew says that our Lord rose "on the evening of the Sabbath, when the first day of the following week was just beginning to shine," and Saint Mark, on the contrary, said that He arose in the morning, "Jesus arising on the first day of the week in the morning appeared to Mary Magdalene, from whom He had expelled seven demons. And she, departing, told those who were His companions, as they mourned and wept. And these, hearing that He was alive, and that she had seen Him, did not believe in Him."

This problem has a twofold solution. Either we do not accept the testimony of Mark, because this final portion is not contained in most of the Gospels that bear his name – almost all the Greek codices lacking it – or else we must affirm that Matthew and Mark have both told the truth, that our Lord rose on the evening of the Sabbath, and that He was seen by Mary Magdalene in the morning of the first day of the following week.

So this is how this passage of Saint Mark should be read: "Jesus arising," place a little pause here, then add, "on the first day of the week in the morning appeared to Mary Magdalene," so that, being raised, according to Saint Matthew, in the evening of

the last day of the week, He appeared to Mary Magdalene, according to Saint Mark, "the morning of the first day of the week," which is how John also represents the events, stating that He was seen on the morning of the next day." ¹⁹⁰ⁿ

Jerome was not merely recollecting *Ad Marinum*; he was loosely **translating** *Ad Marinum*, making a few adjustments in the process. Jerome added the detail that almost all *Greek* manuscripts lack the passages because he knew that Eusebius had been referring to Greek manuscripts. Jerome also altered Eusebius' statements enough to make it clear that the second option was the one which he endorsed, and expected Hedibia to accept.

If any doubts remain about whether or not Jerome was efficiently repeating Eusebius, such doubts may be destroyed by noticing that Jerome, after answering the question about how to harmonize Matthew 28:1 and Mark 16:9, proceeds to present, and answer, questions #4 and #5:

(4) How can Matthew 28:1 be reconciled with John 20:1 to 8? (5) How can Matthew 28:9 be reconciled with John 20:17? These are the same two questions that Eusebius answers in *Ad Marinum* after answering the question about how to harmonize Matthew 28:1 and Mark 16:9.

Those who would propose that Jerome was not translating *Ad Marinum* must explain how Hedibia, who is described by Jerome as a resident of Gaul, not only asked Jerome three of the same questions which Marinus asked Eusebius, but also asked them in the same order. Clearly such a thing did not happen. What happened is that Hedibia asked a vague and generalized question about the apparent discrepancies in the Gospels' accounts of Jesus' resurrection and appearances, and Jerome, instead of composing a spontaneous reply, provided an answer by borrowing three question-and-answers from Eusebius' *Ad Marinum*, figuring that whatever Hedibia had in mind in her vague question would likely be among the subjects addressed therein.

Questions #3, 4, and 5 were not asked by Hedibia; she only asked the initial question, and Jerome, in his reply, retained these

questions – taken straight from *Ad Marinum* – because without them the component answers would have had no introductions.

Two other things may be noticed as we approach a conclusion about the weight of the testimony of Jerome: his use of secretaries and his use of his own recollection of other authors' compositions. Occasionally in his letters he mentions that he has written by dictation – for instance near the end of his fierce treatise *Against Vigilantius*, no sooner than 406, he says, “*I have devoted to the dictation of these remarks the labour of a single night, for my brother Sisinnius is hastening his departure for Egypt, where he has relief to give to the saints, and is impatient to be gone.*”¹⁹¹ⁿ Likewise in his afterword to *Epistle 117*, from 405, he says, “*The letter has been, in fact, dictated off-hand and poured forth by lamp-light so fast that my tongue has outstripped my secretaries' pens and that my volubility has baffled the expedients of shorthand.*”¹⁹²ⁿ In 400, his *Epistle 84, To Pammachius and Oceanus* was also made by dictation.

According to Hort, *Epistle 120* “was written at Bethlehem in 406 or 407, when he was about 66 or 67 years old.”¹⁹³ⁿ About two years before this, in *Letter 75* written to Augustine, Jerome explained how he had written his commentary on Galatians: after mentioning compositions by Origen, Didymus the Blind, and other writers, Jerome states, “*Let me therefore frankly say that I have read all these; and storing up in my mind very many things which they contain, I have dictated to my amanuensis sometimes what was borrowed from other writers, sometimes what was my own, without distinctly remembering the method, or the words, or the opinions which belonged to each.*”¹⁹⁴ⁿ

Thus Jerome openly admitted that he borrowed material from other writers, and that when he recollected them he did not take great care to quote them precisely, even when producing a commentary. So, after observing that Jerome composed *Epistle 120* by dictation, and after observing that Jerome borrowed material extensively from Eusebius, and after observing that it would not be realistic to treat the statement in this epistle, “Almost all the Greek codices lack the passage,” as if it is a carefully

worded report of Jerome's independent investigations into the matter. Rather, we are looking at an example of the time-saving plagiaristic and paraphrastic practice which Jerome admitted to Augustine that he used.

It is easy to picture Jerome, when dictating his reply to Hedibia, conserving much time when faced with her third inquiry by turning to his copy of Eusebius' *Ad Marinum* and spontaneously creating a loose Latin translation of its pertinent portions. Such a scenario, better than any other, explains the corresponding order of questions in the two letters, and the differences in the wording in the two compositions.

Hort acknowledged that Jerome's answer to Hedibia's third question was "certainly not an independent statement" but clarified, "yet it is not likely that a man so conversant with biblical texts as Jerome would have been content to repeat it unmodified, considering the number and importance of the verses in question, had it found no degree of support in the Greek manuscripts which had come under his own observations."¹⁹⁵ⁿ

When we consider, however, the derivative nature of the order of the questions, and Jerome's open admission that he quietly borrowed material from others and recited it imprecisely, there is little reason to suppose that Jerome felt obligated to perpetuate only statements that agreed with his own research. He had no way to test Eusebius' claim about the manuscript evidence as it existed in the 320's. (He did, however, reject Eusebius' idea that there were two women named Mary Magdalene who visited Jesus' tomb, which must have seemed too improbable to go by without correction.)

It would not be surprising if Jerome perpetuated material for which he had found no support, and with which he did not necessarily agree, when we consider how Jerome perpetuated other authors' statements and excused himself on the grounds that he was the channel, rather the source, of such statements. He explained this practice to Augustine in *Letter 75*:

*“I only confess frankly that I read the writings of the fathers, and, complying with universal usage, put down in my commentaries a variety of explanations, that each may adopt from the number given the one which pleases him.”*¹⁹⁶ⁿ

To review: in *Epistle 120, To Hedibia*, we are reading, in Latin, Jerome’s spontaneous abridged translation of part of *Ad Marinum*. In *Epistle 75, To Augustine*, we read that Jerome made a point of providing a variety of explanations to his readers – explanations drawn from the writings of earlier authors – and that Jerome did not feel obligated to verify those statements, or even to include only statements with which he agreed.

When we consider that

- Jerome dictated *Ad Hedibiam* to a secretary,
- Jerome was reluctant to expend fresh effort on old

questions,

- Jerome included Mark 16:9-20 in the Vulgate (in 383),
- Jerome used Mark 16:14 in *Dialogue Against the*

Pelagians 2:15 (417), and

- Jerome frankly admitted to Augustine, in 404 (two or

three years before he wrote to

Hedibia), that he perpetuated statements by earlier authors, drawn from his recollection of them,

without requiring that they be statements with which he agreed,

it all leads to the conclusion that Jerome perpetuated the Eusebian material without much thoughtful critique, in order to answer Hedibia’s question without giving it more of his time than he felt it deserved. Jerome’s reference to “almost all the Greek codices” is Eusebius’ statement in new clothes; it would be a highly dubious assumption to consider this an independent observation by Jerome.

(7) The Lection-Cycle Used by Augustine (Date: early 400s). In the city of Hippo, in North Africa, in the early 400s, Augustine utilized Mark 16:1-20 as a reading for Easter, alongside Isaiah 53:5 to 7, Acts 1, and Psalm 145.¹⁹⁷ⁿ Burgon and Hort agreed about this; Hort noted, “Three of Augustine’s sermons (236:1, 233

passim, 239:2) shew that in his time, early in Cent. 5, the narratives of all four evangelists were read at Easter in North Africa, and that verses 9 to 20 was included.”¹⁹⁸ⁿ

(8) Augustine (Date: early 400s). Augustine, a very influential theologian, was born in 354, and served as bishop of Hippo (on the coast between Algiers and Tunis), in North Africa, from 395 to 430. In his treatise *On the Soul*, Book Two, ch. 23 (sometimes called ch. 17 of the entire work) he used Mark 16:18 to make a point about the permissibility of reading dangerous books:

*“What else are listening, and reading, and abundantly placing things in one’s memory, than several processes of drinking? The Lord, however, foretold concerning His faithful followers that even “if they should drink any deadly thing, it should not hurt them.” And so it happens that they who read discriminately, and give their approval to whatever is commendable according to the rule of faith, and disapprove of things which ought to be rejected, even if they memorize statements which are declared to be worthy of disapproval, they receive no harm from the poisonous and depraved nature of the sentences.”*¹⁹⁹ⁿ

In his *Fourth Homily on the First Epistle of John, To the Parthians*, ch. 2, Augustine writes, in the course of commenting on First John 2:28, “Where were they sent? You heard while the Gospel was read, ‘Go, preach the gospel to the whole creation which is under heaven.’ Consequently, the disciples were sent ‘everywhere,’ with signs and wonders to attest that what they spoke, they had seen.”²⁰⁰ⁿ Augustine not only used Mark 16:9-20, but he, like Ambrose of Milan, took it for granted that his readers had heard Mark 16:9-20 being read in the church-service.

(9) Pelagius (Date: 400-410). Best known for his advocacy of the doctrine of free will, this British writer composed *Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul* in Latin around the year 410. This large work was edited by Alexander Souter in 1922-1931 in three volumes. In a comment on First Thessalonians 2:13, Pelagius stated, “Quod operator in uobis qui credi[dis]tis. Uerbo uel

signis. Siue: Uirtutes exercet: ‘credentes’ enim, ait Marcus, ‘haec signa sequentur.’”²⁰¹ⁿ Thus as he cited Mark 16:17, Pelagius echoed the contents of an Old Latin version, as shown by the reading “*credentes*” instead of the Vulgate’s “*qui crediderint*,” and by the non-Vulgate word-order.

(10) Philostorgius (Date: 425). The heretical inclinations of this author resulted in the condemnation of his composition *Church History*, in which, following the model of Eusebius’ book by the same name, Philostorgius related events up to and including his own lifetime. Nevertheless, the medieval writer Photius made extracts from Philostorgius’ *Church History*, and the resultant *Epitome* is extant. Joseph Bidez, in his critical edition of Philostorgius’ work, identified seven compositions as source-materials used by Philostorgius. One of them was a collection of stories from an “Anonymous Homoean” who wrote around 380. Among the anecdotes which Bidez attributed to the Anonymous Homoean was the following story about a man named Eugenius who was on a journey with two other Christians and a Jew:

*“Eugenius struck up a conversation with the Jew about belief in the only begotten Son of God. The Jew was ridiculing this, when they came across a dead snake lying in the road. The Jew immediately said to them, ‘If you eat this dead snake and do not die, I will become a Christian.’ Eugenius took the snake at once and divided it into three parts for himself and the two others with him, and they ate it in front of the Jew and went on living. Thus there was fulfilled with them the salvific Gospel-saying, ‘And they will pick up snakes with their hands, and if they eat anything deadly, it will not harm them.’ And the Jew went into the hospice with them, stayed there, and became a Christian of good repute.”*²⁰²ⁿ

This represents support for Mark 16:18, with the reading “And in their hands.” Although this could reasonably be assigned to the Anonymous Homoean in the late 300s, I have attributed

it to Philostorgius in the early 400s, since it is possible that the reference to Mark 16:18 is Philostorgius' own interpretive comment upon the story.

(11) Sahidic Codex P. Palau-Ribes Inv. Nr. 182 (Date: 400s?).

This is the Marcan part of an Egyptian manuscript in Sahidic, an ancient Egyptian dialect. Prior to its publication in 1972, P. E. Kahle's investigations into the text of Mark in Sahidic manuscripts led him to observe that only the youngest Sahidic manuscript of Mark "regards 16:9-20 as part of the original text and indicates no alternative." ²⁰²ⁿ

This Sahidic manuscript was initially assigned a production-date of around 425. Coptic c specialist Christian Askeland has noted that it could be younger by centuries, but to avoid speculation I grant the dating in the 400s. The other Sahidic manuscripts of Mark contain both the Shorter Ending and 16:9-20, and "indicate by short notes that these are found in some manuscripts." Kahle expressed a strong suspicion that in earlier Sahidic manuscripts, Mark ended at 16:8. In 1972, when Hans Quecke published an edition of Sahidic Codex P. Palau-Ribes Inv. Nr. 182, comparing its text to that of another Sahidic manuscript, Kahle's suspicion was confirmed.

In Sahidic Codex P. Palau-Ribes Inv. Nr. 182 (which is now housed in Barcelona, Spain), the text of Mark ends at 16:8. Thus a history of textual development within the Sahidic transmission-stream may be reconstructed in which the earliest known Sahidic text of Mark ended at 16:8, followed by a period in which some copies had the Shorter Ending and other copies had 16:9-20, followed by a period in which they were both retained, followed, finally, by a period in which only 16:9-20 was written.

Although Sahidic Codex P. Palau Rib. Inv. Nr. 182 is the earliest extant Sahidic copy of Mark, older manuscripts of other New Testament books in Sahidic exist. The Crosby-Schoyen Codex, which includes the book of First Peter in Sahidic, was made in the 200s. It would be rather amazing if Sahidic churches used First Peter without also having the Gospels in their own

language. So we may surmise that the Gospels were first translated into Sahidic no later than the 200s. Although there is disagreement about the production-date of Sahidic Codex P. Palau Inv. Nr. 182, it appears to have descended from this early stratum of the Sahidic version, which is closely aligned with the Greek Alexandrian text, particularly the form displayed in Codex Vaticanus.

(12) The Armenian Version (Date: 410 to 450). The Armenian version has perhaps the most complex history of any versional witness to the New Testament text. Certainly it has the strangest presentations of Mark 16:9-20.

To gain an adequate appreciation of all the factors that contributed to the production of the Armenian Version, A. E. Breen's description of the origins of the Armenian Version is very helpful; it is given here in a condensed and edited form:

The evangelization of Armenia was undertaken by Gregory the Illuminator, in the first years of the 300s. For more than a century the Armenians had no proper version of Scripture nor liturgy. They made use of the Syriac text. When Isaac became patriarch (390 to 440), St. Mesrop, his co-laborer, resolved to invent an alphabet. In 406 he perfected an alphabet of 36 letters. With the aid of his principal disciples, John Egueghiatz and Joseph Baghin, he undertook a translation of the Old and New Testaments. This work was finished in 411, and was based on the Syriac, because no one possessed the Greek text and because Syriac had become for many Armenians the language used in the liturgy.

Some years later, Isaac and Mesrop sent John Baghin and Eznik, another of their disciples, to Edessa, that they might translate the Holy Scriptures from Syriac into Armenian. From Edessa they went to Byzantium, where they were joined by other disciples of Mesrop, including Gorioum, Mesrop's biographer. They were still there at the time of the Council of Ephesus (431). Their labors ended, they returned to Armenia, carrying among their literary effects the Acts of the Council, and authentic copies of the Holy Scriptures in Greek.

Isaac and Mesrop immediately sought to turn these latter to good account, and retouch the old version made from the Syriac, by exactly comparing it with the authentic copies that had been brought to them. But the translators who worked under their orders did not have a sufficient knowledge of the Greek language, and their labor was judged very imperfect. They, therefore, sent other young men to study Greek at Alexandria. Moses of Chorene was among this number.

They doubtless brought back from Egypt other Greek exemplars of the Bible, which they used to perfect the work of their predecessors in faithfully translating the text of the Septuagint, from the Hexapla of Origen; the same signs and asterisks used in the Hexapla are found in the old Armenian manuscripts of the Bible.²⁰³ⁿ

Other authors have described events along the following lines.

In the 400s a new Armenian alphabet was made so that an Armenian Bible could be written. (A different Armenian alphabet had existed, but it was regarded as an instrument of paganism, and was the target of a sort of scripticide in the 300s.) In 389, a man name Mesrop Mashtots was concerned about the dominant use of non-Armenian languages, such as Syriac, in the liturgy and literature in Armenia. By the end of 406 he had developed the Armenian alphabet.

As soon as the Armenian alphabet was completed, popular demand arose for an Armenian version of the Scriptures. Vreg Nersessian has provided Ghazar P'arpetsi's description of the scene: "Every soul was ardent for instruction in [written] Armenian, glad that they had been released from the darkness – as it were – of the disability of the Syriac into the light. But they were thrown into uncertainty and were hindered by the lack of Bibles; for the holy testaments of the church did not yet exist in Armenian."²⁰⁴ⁿ

With the approval of Vramshapuh, king of Armenia, Mesrop – along with a churchman named Sahak (also called Isaac) – began to translate the Scriptures into Armenian, beginning with

the book of Proverbs. According to Vreg Nersessian, the Armenian historian Koriwn (also known as Moses of Chorene) stated that as a result of the efforts of Mesrop and Sahak, “Suddenly, in an instant, Moses, the law-giver, along with the order of the prophets, energetic Paul, with the entire phalanx of the apostles, along with Christ’s world-sustaining gospel, became Armenian-speaking.”²⁰⁵ⁿ

This initial work was followed by a second production-stage. At some point, four of Mesrop’s assistants – Eznik Koghbatsi (i.e., Eznik of Golb), Hovsep’ Pagnatsi, Kiriwn, and Ghewond – were sent to Edessa and to Constantinople. At least two of them attended the Council of Ephesus in 431. When, before the end of 431, they had returned to Armenia, they presented “authentic copies of the God-given book and many subsequent traditions of the worthy church fathers, along with the canons of Nicea and Ephesus, and placed before the fathers the testaments of the Holy Church which they had brought with them.”²⁰⁶ⁿ

These “authentic copies” were compared to the already-existing Armenian version. Sahak consequently undertook a thorough revision of the Armenian Bible, taking the contents of these newly-available copies into account. C. R. Gregory reports that Eznik Koghbatsi and Hovsep’ Pagnatsi (Gregory called them John Ekelensis and Joseph Palnensis, using nomenclature from Tischendorf) “were sent to Alexandria to learn Greek thoroughly, and then they translated the whole New Testament from the Greek.”²⁰⁷ⁿ

Taking these accounts into consideration, we may discern no fewer than three influences on the Armenian version: **(1)** the Syriac sources on which the first edition (405 to 412) was based, **(2)** the Greek sources taken to Armenia in 431, and **(3)** second thoughts of the Armenian scribes regarding their initial work, after visiting Egypt.

In addition to those influences, the Armenian text has also been affected by later adjustments to its format: According to researcher Vreg Nersessian, Nerses Lambronatsi (1153 to 1198) selected the exemplars for the basis of a new edition, and Gevorg Skevratsi (1246 to 1301) added prefaces and chapter-lists.

Revision-work has also been attributed to King Het'um, who reigned in the 1200s, but a note in a Bible which he personally wrote indicates that the extent of his editorial work consisted only of introducing the same chapter-divisions which were found in the Latin Vulgate.²⁰⁸ⁿ

Among over 1,500 Armenian copies of New Testament text,²⁰⁹ⁿ the oldest known copy of Mark is in the Gospels of St. Lazaro (Matenadaran 6200), which was made in 887. It does not contain Mark 16:9-20. However, other Armenian copies which are only slightly younger include the passage. This confirms the Armenian historians' reports of at least two transmission-streams flowing within the Armenian version.

In 1937, E. C. Colwell published an essay, *Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version*, in which he presented a table arranging 220 Armenian Gospels-manuscripts into three groups: in 88 of these 220 copies, Mark 16:9-20 was fully included as part of Mark. In 99 of these 220 copies, the Gospel of Mark ends at 16:8. The remaining thirty-three manuscripts were categorized as "Manuscripts Whose Inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 Shows Earlier Omission."²¹⁰ⁿ

When evaluating Colwell's data, at least two things should be considered: first, a more meaningful analysis could result if the chapter-format of each manuscript had been indicated.

Second, Colwell's description of the manuscripts in the third group is not always sufficient. For example, For example, Armenian manuscript 2620 (made in 1217) ends the text of 16:8 near the end of the second of two columns of the page; verse 8 is formatted in a "V" shape. Underneath the end of verse 8 are six blank lines. On the next page – which is written on the reverse side of the preceding page – Mark 16:9 begins, and 16:9-20 fills the next three columns of text (consisting of 13 lines each), plus 13 more lines in yet another column. The text of 16:20, like the text of 16:8, is formatted in a "V" shape, after which there is a one-line note. The next page is blank.²¹¹ⁿ

This means that if 2620 had originally lacked 16:9-20, it would have had three blank pages between the end of Mark and the

beginning of Luke. Clearly Mark 16:9-20 was not added to this manuscript at some post-production stage; it contained Mark 16:9-20 when it was made. A fourth category, "*Manuscripts Which Include Mark 16:9-20 Separated From the Rest of the Gospel of Mark,*" should be made, as well as a fifth category, "*Manuscripts Whose Omission of Mark 16:9-20 Shows Scribal Awareness of the Passage.*" In this fifth category must be included the British Library's Additional Manuscript 21932, in which Mark 16 ends at the end of 16:8, but the text in verses 7 and 8 has been extensively spread out and double-spaced so as to occupy much more space than it normally would.²¹²ⁿ

Even though Colwell's research has room for improvement, it clearly shows that the Armenian evidence is diverse, and that the testimony for the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 emanates from a very early period in the existence of the Armenian version. The early history of Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian version may be reconstructed along the following lines: Mark 16:9-20 was probably initially included in the Armenian version by Mesrop and Sahak (in 407 to 412), but when the cherished Greek codices from Constantinople – possibly one or two of the volumes that had been prepared by Eusebius a century earlier, with whatever corrections and notes had been added to it during its sojourn in Constantinople – arrived in Armenia, the absence of the passage (or perhaps its inclusion, accompanied by an excerpt from *Ad Marinum*) planted doubts about it, and the Armenian revisors consequently removed the passage. Possibly at some point the translators disagreed among themselves about how to treat the passage, and settled, at least temporarily, on the course of writing the subscription to the Gospel of Mark after 16:8, writing 16:9-20, and then writing the subscription to the Gospel of Mark again.

Some slight Egyptian influence upon the Armenian version may be deduced when we examine Armenian Manuscript Etchmiadsin-303, which was produced around 1200. As described by Colwell, Mark 16:9-20 appears in this manuscript at the end of the Gospel of Mark, and the Shorter Ending appears, in an unusual but easily recognizable form, at the end of Luke.

One of the earliest non-fragmentary Armenian manuscripts, Matenadaran 2374 (known in earlier times as Etchmiadsin 229), which was made in 989, includes Mark 16:9-20. A short note has been written in its margin between 16:8 and 16:9 in small red letters: “*Ariston eritzou*” (that is, “Ariston the priest” or “Ariston the elder”). This will be examined in more detail in the next chapter.

(13) Codex Alexandrinus (Date: around 450). Codex Alexandrinus (Codex A), is a very significant Greek manuscript of the Bible. Produced in the early or mid-400s, it is the earliest manuscript known to preserve an essentially Byzantine text of all four Gospels. Codex A contains Mark 16:9-20 as part of the Gospel of Mark in the same format as the rest of the book. Εφοβουντο γαρ ends the 24th line of a column (each column consisting of 50 lines) and Αναστας δε begins the 25th line; the initial A of Αναστας is enlarged, and is accompanied by a paragraphus-mark (resembling a tilted “r”); the same mark appears at the end of 16:8 in B. Codex A contains the Eusebian Canons in an early form; the last Eusebian Canon-entry in the margin is ΣΛΒ/Β (Section 232 of Canon 2) at 16:6. A short space appears between 16:14 and 16:15, and the “T” in the αυτοις in 16:15 is enlarged in the margin. In the same column, a short space appears between 16:4 and 16:5, and the “ε” (*epsilon*) of εις in 16:5 is enlarged in the margin.

Codex Alexandrinus is generally thought to have been made in Egypt, although Constantinople is another possibility. When made, it contained not only the Old Testament and New Testament but also the books of First Clement and Second Clement. In its present condition it is missing Matthew 1:1 to 25:5 and Second Corinthians 4:13 to 12:7, having been damaged at some time. In its text of Mark 16:9-20, Codex A has the variant εκ νεκρων (*ek nekron*), “from the dead,” in 16:14, and does not have the phrase και εν ταις χερσιν (*kai en tais chersin*), “and in their hands,” in 16:18.

(14) Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (Date: around 450). This manuscript, Codex C, is another important Greek manuscript, assigned to about 450. Like the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript, Codex C is a palimpsest. It is called Ephraemi Rescriptus because sometime in the 1100s, someone washed off its Biblical text, and the parchment-pages were re-used to contain a collection of sermons by Ephrem Syrus. Because of this, the Biblical text is difficult to read without taking special measures (such as applying chemicals to the page). In addition, the manuscript is incomplete; only 145 leaves of the New Testament portion, originally consisting of 238 leaves, remain.

Nevertheless enough of this codex has survived to clearly attest to its inclusion of Mark 16:9-20. In addition, the text of Mark 16:9-20 in Codex C is accompanied by Eusebian section-numbers which appear alongside the text, showing that the person who added the section-numbers used a form of the Eusebian Canons which had been adjusted to include the component-parts of Mark 16:9-20.

(15) Old Latin Codex Bobbiensis (Date: 400s). This damaged Old Latin Gospels-codex, known as it^k, contains text from Mark and Matthew, in that order. Codex Bobbiensis is the only known extant copy of Mark that ends with the Shorter Ending. Its production-date is generally assigned to the 400s, and to the first half of that century rather than the second half. Its Latin text of Mark (which is extant for 8:8 to 11 and 8:14 to 16 (with damage) and 8:19 to 16:9 with the Shorter Ending) is rather quirky. Some researchers have stated that it appears to be descended from the same African Latin text-stream used by Cyprian in the middle of the third century; however this is not easily verified because Cyprian cited Mark only sporadically. It^k displays some unique and surprising features which must be appreciated if the weight of this witness is to be correctly gauged. Philip Burton, in a study of the Old Latin texts, stated that “*k*’s text is independent and owes nothing to any other known tradition.”²¹³ⁿ

In Mark 16, between verse 3 and verse 4, it^k contains a remarkable interpolation: “*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.*”²¹⁴ⁿ 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.”²¹⁵ⁿ

This interpolation almost certainly springs from its Creator’s familiarity with the pseudepigrapha-text called *Gospel of Peter*, in which the following account of Christ’s resurrection is contained:

“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.

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.’”²¹⁶ⁿ

The composition-date of *Gospel of Peter* may be confidently assigned to the second century. It is referred to in Eusebius’ *Church History*, Book Six, chapter 12, where Eusebius describes the activities of Serapion, who served as bishop in

Antioch in about A.D. 200. Eusebius stated that Serapion composed a treatise about *Gospel of Peter* to expose its subtle promotion of false doctrines.²¹⁷ⁿ

This is not the only effect of editorial creativity in this manuscript. Another such sign is found in it^k in Mark 16:1, where the names of the women who visited the tomb are absent (perhaps in order to facilitate an easier harmonization with the accounts in the other Gospels).

Another is found in Mark 8:32, where it^k agrees with the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript. And another is found in 16:8, where the entire phrase, “and they said nothing to anyone” has been excised (so as to not contradict the Shorter Ending’s statement that the women told about their encounter with the angel).

The text of it^k also displays quirks of a different sort: in the Shorter Ending, instead of “cum Petro” the copyist initially wrote “cum puero,” and instead of writing, “from the east even unto the west,” the copyist wrote the Latin equivalent of, “from the east unto the east.” Metzger has pointed out that elsewhere in the text, the copyist “twice brings in pagan deities: ‘he calls Elias’ appears as *Helion vocat* (Mark 15:34), and ‘How much does a man differ from a sheep’ is made into *Quanto ergo differt homo Ioui* (Matthew 12:12!)”²¹⁸ⁿ “Helion” refers to Phoebus, a sun-deity, and “Ioui” refers to Jove, that is, Jupiter.

Philip Burton mentioned another quirky reading in it^k in Matthew 13:23, where instead of “*seminatur hoc est*” the copyist wrote “*femina turba est*,”²¹⁹ⁿ which makes one wonder about the legibility of the copyist’s exemplar. Cumulatively, such features indicate not only that the copyist of it^k was acquainted with neither Christ’s sayings nor the story of his crucifixion, but that he was barely acquainted with Latin.

This view of the copyist of Codex Bobbiensis was maintained by Wordsworth, who made a very thorough analysis of the manuscript. According to Wordsworth, Codex Bobbiensis was “written by a man who was very ignorant of the Latin language, but was better acquainted with the Greek characters,” and, “The blunders that meet us on nearly every page prove to us that F,

R, and S were unfamiliar letters to our scribe, and his occasional substitution of P for R is probably a Graecism,” and he noted Tischendorf’s conclusion that “it was written in Africa by an Alexandrian calligrapher, who was wholly ignorant of Latin.”²²⁰ⁿ

Thus Codex Bobbiensis has some positive and negative traits: on the positive side, it preserves a Latin text from Egypt that is free from Vulgate influence and must have originated well before the Vulgate was made. If one were to extrapolate from the general agreement between the text of Matthew in Codex Bobbiensis and the text of Matthew used by Cyprian in the mid-200s that the entire Gospels-text of Codex Bobbiensis, when intact, generally agreed with Cyprian’s Gospels-text, then it would follow that Codex Bobbiensis echoes a text handed down from the mid-200s. On the negative side, that text underwent significant editing, and contains interpolations based on a docetic source, and its earlier stratum has been obscured at some points by the filtering influence of a copyist who was new to Latin and who chronically strayed from his exemplar.

This last point is especially significant regarding the ending of Mark, because it is possible that if the exemplar of it^k, like all known manuscripts in any language which contain the Shorter Ending as part of Mark, contained the Double-Ending (that is, if after 16:8 it presented the Shorter Ending followed by 16:9-20) with scribal notes (of the sort that shall be reviewed in the next chapter of this book), the copyist may have consciously decided, in light of the interpolation in 16:3 and 4 in which Jesus ascends to heaven at the same time he is resurrected, to include only the Shorter Ending. With the interpolation that occurs between 16:3 and 16:4 in place, Jesus’ appearance to the disciples in the Shorter Ending could be explained as a vision, similar to Paul’s vision on the road to Damascus, but the inclusion of the series of appearances in the longer ending, and the record of the ascension in 16:19, would have yielded two ascensions in one narrative.

(16) Eznik of Golb (Date: 440). Eznik of Golb (or Kolb) took part in the translation of the Armenian version in the 400s. He quoted

from Mark 16:17 and 18 in part 112 of his composition “*Against the Sects*,” also known as “*De Deo*,” 1:25: “*And again, ‘Here are signs of believers: they will dislodge demons, and they will take serpents into their hand, and they will drink a deadly poison and it will not cause harm.’*”²²¹ⁿ This evidence from one of the translators of the Armenian version is over 400 years earlier than the earliest Armenian manuscript of Mark which does not contain Mark 16:9-20. It is possible that Eznik was recollecting a Syriac form of the *Diatessaron* when he wrote this.

(17) Victor of Antioch (Date: mid-400s). Victor of Antioch, a relatively obscure writer, is known as the person responsible for creating the *Catena Marcum*, a series of commentary-notes on the Gospel of Mark which appears (in wildly different forms) in the margins of over 50 manuscripts of the Gospel of Mark. Much of the material presented by Victor originated with earlier writers. As Burgon stated, “He comes before us rather in the light of a Compiler than of an Author.”²²²ⁿ

Near the end of the catena, there is a large excerpt from Eusebius’ comments about Mark 16:9-20 in *Ad Marinum*. Following that, in various copies, the *Catena Marcum* continues with the following note (drawn from a translation made by Burgon):

“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.’”²²³ⁿ

Hort contended that this note is a later addition to the commentary, added perhaps by a little-known individual named Peter of Laodicea, to whom some copies of the *Commentary on Mark* credit its production. Hort's proposal that a bishop in Laodicea would consult a Palestinian exemplar seems dubious. Hort's case against the originality of the note consists mainly of five points:

(1) Some copies of the *Commentary on Mark* do not contain this note.

(2) In copies of the commentary which name Victor as the author, this note is only rarely found.

(3) Victor makes no comments on the contents of 16:9-20; Hort stated that this "can have but one interpretation: verses 9 to 20 must have been absent from his copy of the Gospel."²²⁴ⁿ

(4) The additional comment "does not qualify Victor's own words but contradicts them," and

(5) Victor's *Commentary on Mark* has undergone "bold rehandling" at the hands of copyists.

Hort's points may be deflected, in part, as follows:

(1) The lack of attribution of the commentary to Victor is an effect of copyists' awareness that Victor was more of a compiler than an author. Some of the scribes who preserved the contents of Victor's collection of earlier comments regarded his sources as the more valuable material, and when they were challenged to keep the commentary-material in the page-margins in sync with the text of Mark on each page, Victor's own comments were the first ones to be condensed or removed. (The copyists of the catena would all know that Victor was a collector of older material because he explains this at the beginning of the *Catena Marcum*.) The more cherish material came from earlier writers, and Victor's statements were considered superfluous new links in a chain made of otherwise more ancient and authoritative material.

(2) In Appendix D of *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, Burgon listed 52 manuscripts containing a commentary on Mark of one sort or another. Of these 52 copies (which

include minuscule 304), 19 name Victor as the author. Three of the copies which name Victor as the author – 12, 37, and 41– also have this extensive note. No cause-and-effect relationship seems to exist between the presence of Victor’s name as author, and the presence of the extensive note at the end of Mark.

(3) Victor added no further comments on 16:9-20 because his earlier patristic sources offered very little to add. Irenaeus, for example, quoted Mark 16:19 but offered no insightful interpretation of it. Furthermore, it is evident that the author of this note possessed a copy of Mark which included 16:9-20, and yet the note-writer failed to add comments on those verses; thus Hort’s assumption that a writer’s failure to comment on the passage must imply its absence from the writer’s copy of Mark is invalid.

(4) The note does not counter Victor’s own words, but the words of Eusebius which he has repeated in a loose extract from *Ad Marinum*.

(5) The “bold rehandling” by copyists accounts for the frequent condensation of the text of Victor’s commentary much better than it accounts for the recurrence of such a precise note. The former could originate independently; the latter could not.

Despite the flimsiness of some of Hort’s objections, it remains a possibility that Victor of Antioch did not originally include the final comment on 16:9-20. However, the preceding note which parallels *Ad Marinum*, while it contains enough *verbatim* repetition to identify its source, adjusts Eusebius’ comments so as to give the reader the definite impression that verses 9-20 should be retained in the text.

With the questionable note, Victor emphatically affirms that although copies known to him lacked 16:9-20, he had discovered the passage in very many copies and in accurate copies, including a Palestinian manuscript held in high esteem. *Without* the note, the *Catena Marcum* concludes with a summary of Eusebius’ recommendation that 16:9-20 should be retained. Either way, if we hear Victor’s voice at all, it is a call to retain 16:9-20.

(18) Prosper of Aquitaine (Date: 450). This author, in the composition *The Call of All Nations*, Book Two, chapter 2, after explicitly citing Matthew 28:18 through 20, proceeds to write, “According to Mark, he speaks thus to the same Apostles: Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, and he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned.”²²⁵ⁿ In the same book, in chapter three, Prosper again quotes the first part of Mark 16:15.

(19) Codex Bezae (400s or 500s). Codex Bezae, a damaged Greek-Latin manuscript of the Gospels and Acts (and the Latin text of the last five verses of Third John), is the flagship manuscript of the Western text of the Gospels and Acts. There is considerable scholarly debate about when and where it was made. Some scholars have regarded Codex Bezae as a copy made in Western Europe in the 500s, but recently David Parker proposed that it was produced around the year 400, in the eastern city of Berytus. Its text is generally recognized as a form of the Western type which was widely used in the second and third centuries, albeit with an excess of textual freckles which arose in its ancestors subsequent to the 200s, plus anomalies which may be traced to the manuscript’s own copyist.

In Codex Bezae, Greek and Latin pages of approximately the same portions of text face each other on opposite pages. (In a textual apparatus the Greek portion is signified by “D” and the Latin portion is signified by “d” or “it^d.”) The Gospels are arranged in the order Matthew-John-Luke-Mark. At the end of Mark, the codex has suffered damage. The last Greek page of Mark contains the text of Mark 16:6 to 15, but its original Latin brother-page is not extant. The manuscript was damaged, and someone long after the initial production of the manuscript has attempted to repair the codex by providing the text of Mark 16:6 to 15 in Latin, but in what is essentially the Vulgate text.

The lettering on this inserted page is smaller and neater than the lettering of the primary copyist. On the following page, the text of Mark 16:16 to 20 is supplied in Greek and Latin, in

two columns, both on the same page; the Greek text is written in vivid blue ink in small, neat, uncials. David Parker has proposed that since this sort of ink was used in manuscripts copied in Lyons, and since these other manuscripts were produced around the 800s, “Codex Bezae was certainly in Lyons in the ninth century.”²²⁶ⁿ

Following 16:20 in the Greek column are the words, “εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον ἐτελῆθη” (*euangelion kata Markon etelsthe*) – here ends Mark’s Gospel. And then, “ἀρχεται πράξις ἀποστόλων” – *here begins Acts of the Apostles*. Likewise after 16:20 in the Latin column, the subscription is “*euangelium sc̄ d̄ marcū explicit*” and then “*incipiunt Actus Apostolorum.*”²²⁷ⁿ

At least three things are clear:

(1) Initially, the Greek text of D had Mark 16:9-20.

(2) The pages after the page that contains the Greek text of Mark 16:6 to 15, after the word “εὐαγγέλιον,” (*euangelion*, gospel) have been lost. An unknown quantity of text that included most of Third John, and quite a bit more, between the end of Mark and the beginning of Acts, has also been lost.

(3) The original text of it^d at the end of Mark, from the middle of 16:6 onward, is currently unrecoverable.

Although one could very reasonably deduce that it^d originally contained Mark 16:9-20, on the grounds that the passage was present in D, it^d is a silenced witness – silenced by the damage which has claimed not only the last Latin page of Mark but another 127 leaves of the manuscript.

The text of Mark 16:9 to 15 in Codex D is not Byzantine; it is as Western as the rest of the text of Mark. In verse 9, D has εφανερωσεν πρωτοις (*efanerosen prōtois*) instead of εφανερωσεν πρωτον (*efane proton*); in verse 10, D has αυτοις (*autois*) after απηγγειλεν (*apengeilen*); in verse 11, D has και ουκ επιστευσαν αυτω (*kai ouk episteusan auto*) instead of ηπιστησαν (*epistesan*); D adds και (*kai*) at the beginning of verse 12; near the beginning of verse 15 D has προς αυτους (*pros autous*) instead of αυτοις (*autois*); in the same verse D omits παντα (*apanta*) and inserts και (*kai*) before κηρυξατε (*keruxate*).

(20) John Cassian (Date: 425). The exceptionally well-traveled John Cassian, who died in 435, appears to have used a phrase from Mark 16:17 in *On the Incarnation*, Book Seven, chapter 20, between citations of two other passages with a similar theme: “Let us hear God Himself speaking to His disciples: ‘Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils.’ **And again: ‘In My name,’ He says, ‘you shall cast out devils.’** Had He any need of another’s name for the exercise of His power, who made His own name to be a power? But what is still added? ‘Behold,’ He says, ‘I have given you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions and upon all the power of the enemy.’”²²⁸ⁿ

(21) Hesychius of Jerusalem (Date: early 400s). According to Aland & Aland, Hesychius was “a monk, from ca. 412 a presbyter in Jerusalem.”²²⁹ⁿ Some commentators have credited Hesychius with a text called *Homily on the Resurrection*, in which the author wrote, “ομοιος δε και το παρα τω Μαρκω γεγραμμενον. ‘ο μεν ουν Κυριος – εκ δεξιων του Θεου.”²³⁰ⁿ However, this is actually a composition by Severus of Antioch.

In a composition called “*Collection of Difficulties and Their Solutions*,” in a section focused on the appearances of angels to the women at the tomb, Hesychius writes as follows: “The Lord appeared in various ways; [he appeared] to one of these who happened to be rather weak, and to another more mature. The Lord apportioned the manifestation of himself in a way appropriate [to their capacities]. For which reason Mark, having narrated briefly the [events] up to the one angel, ended his account.”²³¹ⁿ

But lest we conclude that Hesychius’ copy of Mark ended without 16:9-20 (and without 16:8, which comes after the part about the angel), we should consider Hort’s description of this piece of evidence: “Another work attributed to Hesychius (*Quaest.* 52 in Cotel. *M.E.G.* 3:45) has been supposed to imply the absence of verses 9-20, by saying that Mark “ended his narrative when he

had told in a summary manner the particulars down to the mention of the one angel.”

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 Luke 24:24: moreover in *Quaest.* 1, p. 40, he uses a phrase founded on 16:19.”²³²ⁿ Thus Hesychius of Jerusalem’s comment is nothing more than an overfocused statement qualified by its context, and Hesychius should be listed as a witness for the inclusion of 16:9-20.

(22) Marius Mercator (Date: around 430). Marius Mercator was born in about 390 and died in about 451. He ministered in northern Africa, Rome, and Constantinople. His writings include a series of sermons against the Nestorians. In *Sermo X*, Marius Mercator wrote “*Exeuentes praedicabant verbum ubique, Domino cooperante, et verbum confirmante, consequentibus eos signis,*” using an Old Latin text of Mark 16:16 and Mark 16:20.²³³ⁿ

(23) Marcus Eremita (Date: 435). Marcus Eremita was a monastery-leader in Ancyra in the early 400s who left his monastery and became a hermit, probably in the desert near the Saint Sabas monastery. In 1895, Johannes Kunze published the Greek text of Marcus Eremita’s treatise *Against Nestorius*. At the end of chapter six of this composition, Marcus Eremita wrote, “Και ούτως δε ουδεν βλάψουσι τους βεβαιοπίστους · καν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν, ουδεν αυτους βλαψει”²³⁴ⁿ - something like, “And so these do not harm those who believe; even if they die, the deadly thing does not harm them.” A clear use of Mark 16:18.

(24) Nestorius, as cited by Cyril of Alexandria (Date: around 440). After becoming a prominent preacher at Antioch, Nestorius became the bishop of Constantinople in 428, but on account of heretical teachings he was deposed at the Council of Ephesus in 431. One of his opponents, Cyril of Alexandria, quoted Nestorius and made a brief reply. Burgon presents this material (from

Adversus Nestorium Book Two, chapter 6); first comes the statement by Nestorius, using Mark 16:20: “ἐξεληθόντες γὰρ, φησι, διεκήρυσσον τον λόγον πανταχοῦ, του Κυρίου συνεργουντος, και τον λόγον βεβαιουντος, δια των επακολουθησάν των σημείων.”²³⁵ⁿ That is, “For they went forth, it says, preaching the word everywhere, the Lord working with them and the word confirming through the signs which followed.” There are some interesting variants in this quotation; nevertheless it is a clear use of Mark 16:20.

Then Cyril, replying to Nestorius’ statement, does not challenge the contents of what Nestorius has just quoted. Instead, Cyril proceeds to affirm that “the all-wise disciples, everywhere naming Jesus of Nazareth,” relied on Jesus’ power, and develops objections to Nestorius’ doctrines along other lines.

(25) Leo the Great (Date: 453). Leo, an influential bishop of Rome, quoted Mark 16:16 in *Epistle 120*, a letter to Theodoret of Cyrus dated June 11, 453. In this Latin letter, Leo wrote,

*“So great salvation is of no avail to unbelievers, as the Very Truth said to His disciples: ‘He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned.’”*²³⁶ⁿ

(26) Saint Patrick (Date: mid-400s), the famous missionary to Ireland, composed two works which use material from Mark 16:9-20: *The Letter to Coroticus*, and *Confession*. Patrick was born in or around 390, began his work in Ireland in about 430, and died in about 460.²³⁷ⁿ

In *Letter to Coroticus* 20, in the course of denouncing Coroticus for attacking a group of new Christian converts, Patrick wrote, “I bear witness before God and his angels that it shall be just as he signified to me, unskilled though I am. That which I have set out in Latin is not my words but the words of God and of apostles and prophets, who of course have never lied. He who believes shall be saved, but he who does not believe shall be damned. God has spoken.”²³⁸ⁿ

In *Confession* 40, Patrick strings together a series of Biblical passages: “We are strictly bound to spread out our nets, so that an abundant multitude and a crowd should be caught for God and that there should be clergy everywhere who should baptize and preach to the needy and expectant masses, just as the Lord says in the gospel, he warns and teaches in the text, *Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things, whatever I have taught you.* And in another place he says, *Go therefore into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature; whoever believes and is baptized will be saved but whoever does not believe will be damned.* And in another place: *This gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole world as a testimony for all nations and then the end will come.*”²³⁹ⁿ

Patrick’s quotations here are from Matthew 28:19-20a, Mark 16:15-16, and Matthew 24:14. Here his citation of Mark 16:16 is more precisely worded than the one in *Letter to Coroticus*. R. P. C. Hanson provides some insight about the Latin text of the Gospels which Patrick used: “The main source of Patrick’s thought and teachings on matters religious was however the Latin Bible.” And, “There is no clear evidence that Patrick knew or used Jerome’s Vulgate. But he certainly knew the Latin Bible used by the British church supremely well.”²⁴²⁰ⁿ Patrick’s citations should be regarded as echoes of an Old Latin text which was in use in Ireland in the mid-400s.

(27) Old Latin Codex Corbeiensis (ff 2) (Date: 400s). This Latin manuscript of the Gospels was made in the 400s. It contains, instead of the text of the Vulgate made by Jerome in 383, a significantly earlier Latin version. It is a good representative of the “European” Old Latin. Its text of Mark includes 16:9-20, although part of verses 15 through 18 have been accidentally damaged.²⁴¹ⁿ

(28) Peter Chrysologus (Date: around 440). Peter Chrysologus was bishop of Ravenna from 433 to 450. His works were influential; Thomas Aquinas used his writings in the mid-1200s. In his 83rd Sermon, Peter Chrysologus commented extensively on Mark 16:14 to 20, quoting several complete verses from this passage. He began by stating, *“Thus the holy Evangelist has told us today that within the very time of the Crucifixion the Apostles were concerned about banquets, and forgetful of the Lord’s Passion. He states: ‘He appeared to the eleven as they were reclining at table.’”*²⁴²ⁿ Peter Chrysologus clearly conveyed that he was commenting on a text that was read in the church-services, thus justifying the theory that Mark 16:9-20 had an established place in the lectionary of Ravenna in the mid-400s.

Although Chrysologus did not hesitate to draw spiritual lessons from the text, he also interpreted it literally, stating, *“Through Christ, cups of poison have no power to harm those who drink them. Bodily diseases are cured at the touch of one who preaches Christ.”* He followed this by a full quotation of 16:17 and 18.

(29) Old Latin Fragmenta Sangallensia (n) (Date: 400s). This damaged witness consists of the remains of a Latin manuscript from the 400s, attesting to a version that predates the production of the Vulgate. Its extant pages include Mark 16:9 through 13. According to Philip Burton its text in Mark is “very closely related to *a*,”²⁴³ⁿ that is, the damaged Codex Vercellensis.

(30) The Georgian Version (Date: Late 400s). This version was, according to Kirsopp Lake, “unquestionably translated from the Armenian.”²⁴⁴ⁿ Arthur Vööbus concurred in the assessment that the Georgian was translated from an Armenian base²⁴⁵ⁿ – but what kind of base: a Gospels-text, or an Armenian Gospels-harmony? And was this the sole influence, or one of several?

Like the Armenian Version, the Georgian Version’s history is somewhat complicated. The Old Georgian version is frequently cited as if it is independent of the Armenian Version, probably

because Metzger's undetailed statement about "the two oldest Georgian manuscripts" in his *Textual Commentary* tends to give readers that impression.²⁴⁶ⁿ However, Arthur Vööbus showed that some distinctive features in the Old Georgian version prove that its Gospels-text was based on an Armenian text.

For example, in the Old Georgian version, instead of a reference to money-changers, the text refers to seed-sellers (*t'eslis mop'ardult'ay*). This is because in the Armenian text of Matthew 21:12 and John 2:15, the word for "money-changer" is *hatavachar*, and the Georgian translator misinterpreted the Armenian word "hat" which can mean "part" and "seed." And in Matthew 14:1, where the Greek text refers to "Herod the tetrarch," the Old Georgian text reads, "*Herodes C'ororodsa*," which is a nonsense-reading which arose when the translator erroneously interpreted the Armenian word "*c'orrord*" (which was meant to mean "quarter-ruler") as if it were part of Herod's proper name.

In light of Vööbus' analysis, it is clear that the Old Georgian version was made from Armenian. However, it may have undergone two stages in rapid succession: after the creation of a Georgian Gospels-text based on the initial Armenian translation from Syriac, a second Georgian translation followed, which adhered to an Armenian Text which was the result of the Armenian revision that had been undertaken in the 430's. From at least the 500s, the Georgian version of the Gospels survived in two forms, attested by medieval manuscripts and to a much more limited extent by earlier palimpsests. The Old Georgian version was also influenced by a revision of the text that occurred after the Georgian church became independent of the Armenian church in the 600s. Yet another stage of the Georgian text commenced in the late 900s and early 1000s when translation-revision was undertaken by Euthymius of Athos.²⁴⁷ⁿ

Some Georgian manuscripts do not contain Mark 16:9-20, and some do. The oldest known substantial Georgian manuscript of the Gospels, the Adysh Codex (made in 897), does not contain the passage. B. H. Streeter, relying on a statement by Robert P. Blake, stated, "In the oldest manuscript of the Georgian version, which is

dated 897, the Gospel ends at 16:8. 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.”²⁴⁸ⁿ

However, Jost Gippert of the University of Frankfurt, after examining a facsimile of the Adysh Codex, has assured me that Blake’s statement is not correct: the Adysh Codex contains Mark 14:33 to 37 after the end of John, not 16:9-20. This short pericope apparently was derived from a Georgian lectionary; it is accompanied by a note about when it is to be read.

The Opiza Codex (produced in 913) does not contain Mark 16:9-20 either, and this is a strong piece of evidence that an early Georgian version lacked the passage, because the Opiza Codex includes a note by its copyist, stating that the manuscript’s exemplar “was faultless with regard to the text.”²⁴⁹ⁿ However, the Tbet’ manuscript (from 995) contains Mark 16:9-20. Other copies of comparable age, – such as the Jrutchi Gospels, made in 936, and the Parhal Gospels, made in 973, either have not received the attention of text-critics, or else were simply not mentioned despite being comparable in age to the Adysh and Opiza copies.

Thus it is clear that an early stratum of the Georgian Version of the Gospels did not include Mark 16:9-20. On the other hand, this does not mean that the stratum of the Georgian Version that includes the passage is therefore more recent. An interesting feature in the Adysh Codex illustrates this point. According to Metzger,²⁵⁰ⁿ researcher Akaki Shanidze discerned that in the Adysh Codex, the text of Luke 3:9 to 15:7 and Luke 17:25 to 23:2 is different, in terminology and grammar, from the rest of the Gospels. In addition, the text of Luke 3:9 to 15:7 and 17:25 to 23:2 in the Adysh Codex resembles the text found in the Dzuruci Codex (produced in 936) and the Parhal Codex (made in 973). This indicates that the person who made the Adysh manuscript followed one exemplar except at these points in Luke, where probably his exemplar was missing pages. At these places in Luke, he abandoned his main exemplar, and used a different exemplar,

which had textual affinities to the Dzurci Codex and the Parhal Codex.

The thing to see is that although the Dzurci Codex and the Parhal Codex were produced later than the Adysh Codex, the text-form to which they attest must be as early as the Adysh Codex, inasmuch as the producer of the Adysh Codex had access to a manuscript which contained it.

In addition, the two earliest substantial Georgian Gospels-codices are both more than four centuries younger than the time when the translation of the Old Georgian version took place. The author of an early Georgian text called the *Martyrdom of St. Eustathius of Mzketha* (see the entry for this witness for details) composed in the 500s,²⁵¹ⁿ incorporated enough statements about, or from, the contents of the Gospels to show that he was acquainted with either a Gospels-text or a Gospels-harmony that contained Mark 16:9-20.

James Neville Birdsall acknowledged that “The form of the account is linked both with Matthew and with the longer ending of Mark into which Johannine sayings have also been woven.”²⁵²ⁿ Thus the Georgian evidence parallels the Armenian evidence: although the two oldest substantial Georgian manuscripts of the Gospels (made in 897 and 913) do not include Mark 16:9-20, the oldest Georgian copy (the Adysh Codex) displays evidence of not one but two earlier Georgian text-forms, and other copies which are slightly later, and which represent one of those other text-forms, include the passage. Also, the passage was used by a Georgian author in the 500s, over 250 years before the Adysh Codex was produced.



Chapter 5: Some External Evidence from the 500s and Later

All extant Greek manuscripts of the Gospel of Mark made in or after the 400s contain Mark 16:9-20, unless they have undergone damage at the end of Mark – except for minuscule 304, the eleventh witness we shall examine in this chapter.

(1) The Source of Annotations in family-1 and Related Manuscripts. This group of manuscripts is cited in the textual apparatus of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* as witnesses which “*add vv. 9-20 with asterisks, obeli or critical note in ms.*”²⁵³ⁿ Initially it may appear that these manuscripts' annotations should be regarded as testimony against the inclusion of 16:9-20. It is not unusual for commentators to refer to these manuscripts as if they all have “scribal notes stating that older Greek copies lack them,” as Metzger wrote in his *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*.

The first set of annotated manuscripts to examine consists of manuscripts 20, 215, and 300. They share a very similar text, and manuscripts 20 and 300 appear to be among the few manuscripts which can confidently be considered sisters; that is, they shared the same exemplar.

Burgon noticed that in both of these manuscripts the text of the Gospel of Mark is accompanied by Victor of Antioch's commentary (though in each it is attributed to Cyril of Alexandria), although the number of lines per page is different, “every page begins with the same syllable, both of Text and Commentary.”²⁵⁴ⁿ

In addition, manuscripts 20, 215, and 300 all feature, in one form or another, the Jerusalem Colophon. This is an annotation, found in 37 Greek manuscripts, which states that the manuscript has been checked using the ancient and approved copies at Jerusalem.²⁵⁵ⁿ In 20 and 300, the colophon states after the end of Mark, εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἐσπουδασμένων στίχοις ἀφ' ἑκκεφαλαίους σλξ', that is, “The

Gospel according to Mark, similarly written and checked from the best copies – 1,700 lines, 237 chapters (or, sections).” In 300, the colophon at the end of the Gospel of Matthew says, εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαίον εγγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων, ἐν στίχοις βφιδ’ – “The Gospel according to Matthew, written and checked from the old copies at Jerusalem, in 2,514 lines.”²⁵⁶ⁿ

Manuscripts 20, 215, and 300 have the following note at, or near, Mark 16:9 (with some words abbreviated): ἐντευθεν εὼς τοῦ τέλους ἐν τισὶ τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ κεῖται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πάντα ἀπαράλειπτα κεῖται” – “From here to the end forms no part of the text in some of the copies. But in the ancient ones, it all appears intact.”²⁵⁷ⁿ In 20 and 300, this note is not located at the beginning of 16:9; it is located, as Burgon stated, “*in the wrong place* in both of them, viz. *at the close of ver. 15*, where it interrupts the text.” However, this does not indicate that the copyist was confused; only that he was forgetful: the copyist placed the note in a convenient place on the page, and forgot to add asterisks to direct the reader to the beginning of verse nine.²⁵⁸ⁿ

Rather than express doubt about Mark 16:9-20, this annotation supports the ancient copies in which the entire passage is intact. There is simply no way that anyone could draw from this annotation the conclusion that the annotator intended to guide the reader to reject the passage in question.

The next group of annotated manuscripts are in the family-1 group – specifically, 1, 205, 2886 (regarded as a very close relative of 205 – possibly even a direct copy), 209, and 1582 (1582 is dated to 989). This family of manuscripts is notable because, among other things, its leading witnesses (1 and 1582) have the *pericope adulterae* (John 7:53-8:11) at the end of the Gospel of John. (Manuscript 20, just examined, shares this trait.) Either between Mark 16:8 and 16:9, or in the margin nearby, they contain the following note, with inconsequential variations: Ἐν τισὶ μὲν τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὼς ὧδε πληροῦται ὁ εὐαγγελιστῆς, εὼς οὐ καὶ εὐσεβίος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐκανόνισεν· ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ ταῦτα φεéρεται·” – “Now in some of the copies, the evangelist’s work is

finished here, as do also Eusebius Pamphili's canons. But in many, this also appears."²⁵⁹ⁿ

In Codices 1 and 1582, this note is situated directly above Mark 16:9. (Even though this note explicitly says that the Eusebian Canons do not include Mark 16:9-20, section-numbers in 1 and 1582 include the passage: Section 234 begins at 16:9, 235 begins at 16:10, and 236 begins at 16:12.)

Inasmuch as these manuscripts are members of the same textual family, it is not surprising that they share this note, which has descended into each of these witnesses from an earlier ancestor-manuscript – probably a copy produced in the late 400s.

Now we turn to the next group, which consists of five secondary members of family-1: 15, 22, 1110, 1192, and 1210. In these manuscripts, a note prefaces 16:9: “Ἐν τισι των αντιγράφων εως ωδε πληρουται ο ευαγγελιστής · Ἐν πολλοις δε και ταυτα φέρεται.” – “In some of the copies, the Gospel is completed here, but in many, this also appears.”²⁶⁰ⁿ

This is essentially the same note that is displayed in 1 and 1582, minus the phrase about the Eusebian Canons. Considering that textually 1 and 1582 are closer to the archetype of family-1, it seems reasonable to deduce that the note was originally framed as in 1 and 1582, and then the part about the Eusebian Canons was removed at a time and place where the Eusebian Canons had been expanded so as to include the passage. Like the previous note, this note defends rather than accuses Mark 16:9-20, presenting the reader with a choice between following “some” copies without the passage or “many” copies that include it.

The format of 22 is particularly interesting: the words εφοβουντο γαρ (*efobounto gar*) finish Mark 16:8, and to the right, next to those words, is the word “τελος,” (*telos*) written in red, indicating the end of a lection-unit. Then, accompanied by an asterisk, the note is presented. After the note, the text of 16:9 begins.²⁶¹ⁿ Although Hort interpreted this occurrence of the word “τελος” (*telos*) as if it had been intended to signify the end of the book, nothing about it differentiates it from a normal lectionary-related note, which is exactly what Burgon identified it

as.²⁶²ⁿ This is the point at which the second of a special series of eleven reading-sections in the lectionary (about which more will be said soon) ends.

The remaining witness to consider here is 199, a minuscule from the 1100s. The text of this manuscript in Luke is aligned with the text of the uncial/minuscule Λ (*Lambda*)/566 (a codex from the 800s in which Matthew and Mark are written in minuscule lettering and Luke and John are written in uncial lettering), which has the Jerusalem Colophon at the end of each Gospel. Manuscript 199 has a margin-note stating, “Ἐν τισι των αντιγραφων ου κειται τουτο αλλ’ ενταυθα καταπαυει,” – “In some of the copies this does not occur, but it stops here” (that is, at the end of 16:8).²⁶³ⁿ

Metzger’s statement that “Not a few manuscripts which contain the passage have scribal notes stating that older Greek copies lack it”²⁶⁴ⁿ is badly out of focus, inducing the false impression that these notes say, “The older Greek copies lack it.” While it is obvious that a copy mentioned in a note in an annotated copy is older than that annotated copy, the true nuance of these notes has been unfortunately obscured by Metzger’s description. Not a single note says that “the older copies” omit 16:9-20. The notes’ contents can be organize along these lines:

- One manuscript (199) says only that some copies do not contain 16:9-20.
- Ten manuscripts (1, 15, 22, 205, 2886, 209, 1110, 1192, 1582, and 1210) say that some copies do not contain 16:9-20 but many copies do contain it.
- Three manuscripts (20, 215, and 300) say that some copies do not contain 16:9-20 but the ancient copies do contain it.
- None of these manuscripts say that the more ancient copies do not contain 16:9-20.

Some points may be drawn from this evidence:

- (A) The notes do not state that 16:9-20 is spurious.
- (B) The notes do not state that 16:9-20 may be spurious.
- (C) The notes tend to affirm the reliability and legitimacy of 16:9-20, rather than draw it into question, by stating that either the ancient copies contain the passage, or that more copies

contain it than omit it.

(D) All of these annotations appear to descend from one or two common ancestors that were connected in some way with the Jerusalem Colophon.

(E) These related manuscripts are 14 in number, while there are over 1,600 Greek copies of Mark extant. It would be imprecise and misleading to perpetuate Metzger's vague description of these manuscripts.

(2) Severus of Antioch (Date: around 530). This writer worked in the early 500s. He was involved in theological controversies, with the result that he was excommunicated at the Council of Constantinople in 536. His opponents decreed that the writings of Severus should be destroyed. However, quite a few of his letters and sermons have survived, either because they were preserved in areas where his opponents had no jurisdiction, or because they were re-labeled as if they had been written by some other writer. The 77th Homily by Severus has survived in Syriac, and – re-titled so as to appear to have been written by Gregory of Nyssa – in Greek. The same homily has also been attributed to Hesychius of Jerusalem.

Severus' 77th Homily contains a comment on Mark 16:9-20. It begins: "*So then, the most accurate copies of the Gospel of Mark conclude at "for they were afraid." In some there also appears "Rising early on the first of the week, he appeared to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons."*"²⁶⁵ⁿ

Equipped only with this snippet, a reader could conclude that Severus was writing independently of any other writer. However, his homily continues: "*This passage appears to contradict what was said previously: if the Savior was resurrected at some unknown time in the night, how is it that it is written that he was resurrected in the morning? But the passage does not present any contradiction if we read it properly.*"

Already we see a resemblance between Severus' comments and the material in Eusebius' *Ad Marinum*. Severus continues to write: "*For we must punctuate intelligently, 'And rising,' and then add, 'He appeared in the morning on the first day of the week, first to Mary Magdalene,' so that the words 'And rising' are in harmony with the time in Matthew, and are associated with the appearance to Mary, who first saw the Lord with the other Mary, then alone again.*"

We see here a condensation of the contents of Eusebius' *Ad Marinum* – an abridgement either used by Severus, or spontaneously made by him – the effect of which is to emphasize that the passage should be retained and harmonized exactly as Eusebius showed that it could be harmonized. In addition, near the end of his 77th Homily, Severus casually cited Mark 16:19, in the course of resolving another superficial difficulty.

In that part of this composition, Severus proposed that in Acts 1:4 and 5, Jesus' instructions not to leave Jerusalem must have been intended to mean that the disciples were not to go away for long, or to go far, because if the command had been absolute, it would have precluded obedience to His command to go to Galilee. Then he wrote: "*We must also understand that what is said at the end of the Gospel of Luke – "And it came to pass that as He was blessing them, He parted from them and was taken up into heaven," which is the same occasion that is written about in Mark, 'The Lord, after speaking to them, was taken into heaven and sat at the right hand of God.' – took place on the fortieth day, following what has been said in the Acts. For what they abridged in their Gospels is, further along in the account, developed and explained.*"²⁶⁶ⁿ

In case any doubt remains that Eusebius' composition *Ad Marinum* was the source of Severus' comments about "the most accurate copies," etc., we turn to Severus' *Letter 108*, written to Thomas of Germanicea. In *Letter 108*, in a comment about a textual variant in Matthew 27:49, Severus stated, "Eusebius of Caesarea, who is called 'Pamphili,' whom we mentioned a little above, when writing to a man called Marinus about questions

concerning the passions of our Saviour and about his Resurrection, showed us nothing whatsoever about the said addition.” Severus moves on to a question about the harmonization of Mark 15:25 and John 19:14, and after summarizing what Eusebius said in *Ad Marinum* about that, he explicitly quotes from another part of *Ad Marinum*.²⁶⁷ⁿ

Together, these pieces of evidence show that Severus’ statement about the accurate manuscripts is not his own independent observation, but was taken out of Eusebius’ *Ad Marinum*, and that Severus retained Mark 16:9-20 and used it as part of the Gospel of Mark. Further proof of this was supplied by Burgon, who thoroughly arranged Greek phrases from Eusebius’ *Ad Marinum* alongside matching Greek phrases from Severus’ 77th Homily (which Burgon assigned to Hesychius).²⁶⁸ⁿ

(3) Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae (Date: 500s). This composition was once attributed to the fourth-century theologian Athanasius, but it should be attributed instead to an anonymous author in the 500s. It includes a list of canonical books of the Bible, and it describes their contents. The author of *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* concludes his summary of the Gospel of Mark in this way: Αναστας ο Χριστος ωφθη Μαρια, αφ’ ης τα επτα δαιμονια εξεβαλεν. Εκεινη ειπε τοις μαθηταις. Οι δε ηπιστησαν. Επειτα ωφθη τοις δυσιν εν τη οδω, ειτα τοις ια’. Και ωνειδισε την απιστιαν αυτων. Και απιστειλεν αυτους κηρυσσειν, και βαπτιζειν, και σημεια ποιεν. Ειτα ανεληφθη²⁶⁹ⁿ – “*Arising, Christ appeared to Mary, from whom he had cast out seven demons. She told the disciples, but they did not believe. Next he appeared to two on the road, who told the eleven. And he rebuked those who had not believed. And he sent them out to preach, and baptize, and to do signs. Then he ascended.*”

Clearly, the text used by this Greek author contained Mark 16:9-20. He offers no special explanation about this passage but treats it as a normal, expected part of the text. In addition, his text of Mark should not be regarded as altogether Byzantine; elsewhere in *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* he quotes Mark 1:2 with

the reading “*in Isaiah the prophet*” rather than with the Byzantine variant, “*in the prophets.*”

(4) Leontius of Jerusalem (Date: circa 530). This little-known writer utilized Mark 16:20 in his composition “*Against the Monophysite - Testimonies of the Saints.*” In 2008, Patrick Gray presented Leontius’ Greek text with an English translation. An excerpt: “ὡς του Κυρίου τον λόγον αυτων βεβαιουντος μόνων δια των επακολουθούντωνσημείωνκατατογεγραμμένον” – “since then the Lord has confirmed only their message by the signs that followed, as it is written.”²⁷⁰ⁿ

(5) The Rossano Gospels (Σ, Sigma, 042) (Date: early 500s). This illustrated uncial codex is a member of a group of Gospels-codices which were produced on purple-tinted parchment, written mainly in silver, with gold being used for the contraction of sacred names (God, Lord, Jesus, Christ, and more). The Rossano Gospels, which in its present condition consists only of pages from Matthew and Mark, is a *deluxe* manuscript. It is a member of a very special group of Gospel codices for which purple-dyed parchment was used; the other members are Codices N (022), O (023), and Φ (Phi, 043). Codex Σ (Sigma) is the only member of the group in which the pages containing Mark 16 have survived to any extent at all. Codex Σ has the text of Mark all the way to the first two letters of αυτων (*autōn*) after απιστίαν (*apistian*) in 16:14,²⁷¹ⁿ but that is the last of the text on the last extant page, allowing us to see that the manuscript originally contained the entire passage, but without allowing us to see exactly what textual variants it may have contained in verses 15 through 20.

The claim is sometimes made that Codex Σ does not contain text from the Gospel of Mark beyond 14:14. Such a statement was made by Bruce Metzger in his book *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography*.²⁷²ⁿ However, that mistake is the direct descendant of a typographical error in the third (1883) edition of F. H. A. Scrivener’s *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, in which, on page 158, the

Roman numerals for “xvi” (16) were mixed up and “xiv” (14) was printed instead, thus misinforming readers that the last extant portion of the text was xiv. 14, instead of xvi. 14.²⁷³ⁿ

Codices made of purple-dyed parchment were very expensive to make, due to the rarity of purple dye. Jerome, as he wrote the introduction to his translation of the book of Job around 384, mentioned the existence of such manuscripts and considered them ostentatious. In his *Epistle 22, Ad Eustochium*, (written around 384), Jerome protested, “Parchments are colored purple, gold is liquefied into lettering, and codices are adorned with gems, while, naked and dying, Christ lies at their door.”²⁷⁴ⁿ He did, however, mention that the purple codices were “old books,” (*veteres libros*) and although he explicitly stated that he preferred his “corrected codices” (*codices quam emendatos*), this may have been a reaction against ostentatiousness, not against the contents of those deluxe copies.²⁷⁵ⁿ

Jerome also offered advice to a wealthy fellow-saint, in 403, in *Epistle 107, Ad Laetam*, to value proper punctuation in a codex more highly than ornamentation and scarlet-tinted Babylonian parchment. One very expensive kind of animal-skin, from which parchment was called “Babylonian,” and this is probably what Jerome was referring to. Since this material was sold in various places, it does not really help us zoom in on the provenance of purple-dyed codices.

A decree which was issued by Emperor Leo I in A.D. 470 may be more helpful: Emperor Leo prohibited anyone to own purple dye; it was to be used only for government documents.²⁷⁶ⁿ Codex Σ (Sigma) and Codex N and Codex O and Codex Φ (Phi) were all probably made specifically for members of the royal court in Constantinople in the early 500s. On this premise, it becomes clear that the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 in Constantinople at that time was normal, rather than anomalous.

(6) Eugippius (Date: early 500s). Eugippius was a Latin writer who is known as the author of a eulogy/biography of his mentor, St. Severinus of Noricum, and as the creator of a compilation

of the works of Augustine. In the 174th chapter of this latter work, his *Thesaurus*, Eugippius refers to Mark 16:15 and 16:19, as he lists Christ's post-resurrection appearances:

“Sixth, the appearance with Thomas; the seventh, at the Sea of Tiberias; eighth, in the mountain in Galilee, according to Matthew; ninth, in Mark, when they were seated at table; though he was already in the land they were not with him but were banqueting; tenth, in one instance, the day when he was no longer on earth and he was lifted up to a cloud, and went up to heaven; Luke mentions this, and indeed Mark, too, after the appearance when they were at the table, continued by saying, ‘And the Lord, after he had spoken to them, was taken up to heaven.’”²⁷⁷ⁿ

Although this echoes a source (Augustine) from about 100 years before Eugippius, I have included it here, simply because it is part of Eugippius' writings and because it indicates that the presence of Mark 16:9-20 was normal in Latin copies in the early 500s.

(7) Fulgentius of Ruspe (Date: early 500s). An influential bishop in North Africa who visited Sardinia and Rome, Fulgentius clearly used Mark 16:15 and 16 in his *Epistle 12*: “After his bodily resurrection, he was to ascend into heaven, but his countrymen were to remain in the holy land; he is found to have said to his disciples, Go into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believes and is baptized shall be saved; he that does not believe shall be condemned.” Further along in the same composition, Fulgentius again quoted the first part of Mark 16:16.²⁷⁸ⁿ

Evidence from additional Latin writers could be presented, but inasmuch as the Latin Vulgate had become the default Latin text by the time of Eugippius and Fulgentius (although Old Latin copies continued to circulate in some places), it would be superfluous to add much more to the already-clear evidence about the Vulgate.

(8) *Martyrium Arethae* (Date: mid-500s). This ancient text includes an account about a Christian leader named Theophilus who visited the city of Nedshran (Najran) in the 520s. The author reports that the Jews of the city had convinced the city's chief to decline to admit some Byzantine diplomats unless Theophilus himself came and worked some sign. At that point, the text features the following utilization of Mark 16:17: "Encouraged by the divine promises that signs would accompany those who believe, he agreed unhesitatingly and showed great power in working the wonders requested."

(9) Gregory the Great (Date: around 595). Gregory served at Rome as Pope from 590 until his death. In the course of his exceptionally influential career, Gregory composed a collection of homilies on the Gospels. In *Homily 29*, which Gregory appears to have preached on Ascension-Day, Gregory cited, interpreted, and applied the Vulgate text of Mark 16:14 to 20, treating it as Scripture in every way.²⁷⁹ⁿ

(10) The Life of Saint Samson of Dol (600s). Samson of Dol became a bishop in Britain in 521. Stories of his life, attributed to his contemporaries, appear to perpetuate material from the late 500s or early 600s. In Book One, ch. 16, Samson survives an assassination attempt in the following way, after the would-be assassin has secretly arranged for poison to be set before him: "*Trusting in the promise of the Lord, mindful of the word of the Gospel where Christ says concerning His faithful who trust in Him, 'If they shall drink,' He says, 'any deadly thing it shall not hurt them,' and so on, he entered the refectory very glad . . . and making the sign of the cross over his own vessel, without any wavering of mind he drank it dry and never felt the slightest heartache from it.*"²⁸⁰ⁿ This is a further demonstration that the Old Latin text used in Britain contained Mark 16:9-20.

(11) Manuscript 304 (Date: 1100s). In this medieval minuscule manuscript of Matthew and Mark, the Byzantine text of Mark is

interspersed with a commentary, which mainly consists of a catena – but not the usual *Catena Marcum*. Its claim to fame is the feature mentioned by Kurt and Barbard Aland: “As late as the twelfth century in the minuscule 304 the gospel ends at 16:8.”²⁸¹ⁿ

Microfilm-images of page-views of 304 have recently been made available online²⁸²ⁿ and while they confirm that 304’s text of Mark does indeed end at the end of 16:8, they also reveal intriguing aspects of this manuscript:

- 304 is the manuscript of which a transcription was printed in 1673 by Petrus Possinus, under the title of Codex Tolosanus. In 1885, C. R. Gregory placed a note near the beginning of the manuscript for the benefit of future investigators, stating that 304 and Codex Tolosanus are one and the same, and that this can be shown by comparing the gap in the text of Codex Tolosanus to the lacuna in 304. The same portion of text – from ουδεις των ειρημενον, in a discussion of Mark 14:12-15, to οτι τυπος εστι, in a discussion of Mark 14:22ff. – is missing. Presently a blank leaf serves as a place-holder to fill the gap.

- 304’s text of Matthew 28:8 agrees with the Byzantine Text by reading εξελθουσαι. 304 also agrees with the Byzantine Text by including a phrase at the beginning of Matthew 28:9 which is not in the Alexandrian Text.

- In Mark 1:1 (on digital page-view 178), the text of Mark has the reading “in the prophets,” not the Alexandrian reading “in Isaiah the prophet.” In Mark 1:34, however, 304 agrees with B, L, W, and family-1, finishing the verse with “to be Christ.” In Mark 1:45, the verse concludes in 304 with πανταχοθεν. Other spot-checks confirm that the text in Mark 1 is essentially Byzantine.

- The outer margin of the page on which Mark 15 begins has been cut away.

- The copyist habitually uses a darkened circle (“●”) both before and after the commentary which is interspersed with the Scripture-text.

- The text of Mark 16:1-8 in 304 is practically identical to the *Textus Receptus*, except 304 reads ο Ι̅ς (“Jesus”) at the end of 16:1, where most manuscripts say “Him.” Among the

manuscripts with this reading are K, M, and some members of family-13. 304 reads *αποκεκλισται* in 16:4, agreeing with the Byzantine Text and disagreeing with the Alexandrian Text.

- Mark 16:8 is followed by commentary-material which ends on the next page. The text stops on the next page, which is damaged; the lower margin has been cut (or torn) away. The commentary-text stops before the cut, and is followed by a brief note: *ὡσπερ ξένοι χαρουσι ιδειν πατρίδα ουτω και η γράφοντες βιβλιον τελος* – that is, “*As travelers rejoice on their homeland to look, thus also the scribe at the end of a book.*”

The following page contains some faint additional text, but it appears to have been erased, and secondary notes (one of which is repeated) have been written over it.

Parts of 304’s catena are related to a commentary written by Theophylact of Ochirida (around 1075). Here are some samples of their similarities toward the end of Mark:

- After 15:37 –

304 – *The darkness was not in one place only, but over all the earth.* And at the end of the comment, there is a statement that Luke tells us the words of Jesus’ cry: into your hands I commit my spirit.

Theophylact – *The darkness was not only in that place, but over the whole earth.* And near the end of the comment, there is a statement that Luke tells us the words of Jesus’ cry: into your hands I commit my spirit.

- After 15:41 –

304 – *By the tearing of the curtain, it was shown by God that the spirit of grace had departed from the temple, and the Holy of Holies . . .*

Theophylact – *By tearing the curtain, it was demonstrated by God that the grace of the Spirit had departed from the temple, and the Holy of Holies . . .*

- After 15:47 –

304 – *Joseph of Arimathea, though being a servant under the decrees of the law, understood Christ to be God . . .*

Theophylact – *O Blessed Joseph! Though a servant of the Law, he perceived the divinity of Christ . . .*

304 did not escape the notice of Burgon and Hort in the 1800s. Burgon wrote, “The text of St. Mark is here [i.e., at the end of Mark in 304] interwoven with a Commentary which I do not recognize. But from the correspondence of a note at the end with what is found in Possinus, pp. 361-3, I am led to suspect that the contents of this manuscript will be found to correspond with what Possinus published and designated as “Tolosanus.””²⁸³ⁿ And indeed it does.

Hort also commented: “The third commentary printed by Poussin comes likewise to an end at verse 8 in the Toulouse manuscript employed by him. But it is not yet known whether other manuscripts attest a similar text; and at all events the Toulouse scholia are here almost identical with those that are attributed to Theophylact, which certainly cover verses 9 to 20.”²⁸⁴ⁿ Hort does not appear to have thought that 304 should be assigned much weight.

Jean Pierre Paul Martin, in the second volume of his 1884 *Introduction a la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament*, confirmed that 304 is Codex Tolosanus. Martin also noted that Photius is one of the writers from whose writings extracts have been taken in the catena. Photius lived in the 800s, so the composition-date of the commentary cannot be earlier than that.²⁸⁵ⁿ

According to Robert Waltz, von Soden grouped 304 with minuscules 366 and 2482, as if they all shared the same commentary-material on Mark. I have not gained access to study 366. In 2482, in which the Gospels-text is framed by commentary-material. The note that accompanies Mark 16:9-20 in 2482 is the extensive note by Victor of Antioch (beginning with *Επειδη δε εν τισι των αντιγραφων*) which Burgon presented on pages 62-63 of his 1871 book, including with the mention of a cherished Palestinian copy. While 304’s text of Mark ends at 16:8, this appears to be the effect of an unknown factor distinct to this manuscript.

When one compares the commentary-material in 304 to Theophylact's commentary, it becomes obvious that they are mostly the same commentary – the difference being that 304's commentary-text is supplemented by comments from other authors as well. The text of Mark in 304 is divided into the same portions as Theophylact's commentary, and if one compares the comments in 304 about Mark 16:1-8 to the comments about Mark 16:1-8 in Theophylact's commentary, there can be no room for doubt that this is Theophylact's work. While we may not know the exact reason why the copyist of 304 did not write the remaining portion of Theophylact's comments, we can discern that most of 304's commentary-text is based on an earlier work in which 16:9-20 was included.

(12) Manuscript 2386 (Date: 1100s). This medieval Gospels-manuscript was cited in the second edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* as a witness for the noninclusion of Mark 16:9-20.²⁸⁶ⁿ However, Metzger explained in his *Textual Commentary* that this manuscript "is only an apparent witness for the omission, for although the last page of Mark closes with *εφοβουντο γαρ (efobounto gar)*, the next leaf of the manuscript is missing, and following 16.8 is the sign indicating the close of an ecclesiastical lesson (*τλ = τελος, telos*, end), a clear implication that the manuscript originally continued with additional material from Mark."²⁸⁷ⁿ

Kurt Aland, in the essay *Bemerkungen zum Schluss des Markusevangeliums*, described how the omission in 2386 occurred: Mark 16:9-20 originally filled the back of an illustrated page; when a collector removed this page to abscond with the valuable illustration, he took the other side of the page with him. In 2386, the illustration which precedes the Gospel of John has, on its front-side, the conclusion of Luke 24.²⁸⁸ⁿ

(13) Manuscript 1420 (Date: 1200s). This damaged copy of the Gospels (lacking the text from John) has been cited by some commentators as a witness for the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20.

James Kelhoffer wrote, “Sinaiticus (Aleph) and Vaticanus (B) end promptly with εφοβουντο γαρ (*efobounto gar*) (Mark 16,8). The same is true for 304, 1420 and 2386.” But in a footnote he explained what must be realized to gain an accurate appreciation of 2386 and 1420: “A page is missing after Mark 16,8 in 1420 and in 2386.”²⁸⁹ⁿ 1420 lacks Mark 16:9-20 due to mutilation; it is missing *two* pages after 16:8.

(14) Manuscript 1241 (Date: 1100s). This interesting minuscule was erroneously listed in the textual apparatus of the second edition of the United Bible Societies’ *Greek New Testament* as an apparent witness for the addition of verses 9 through 20 “with asterisks, obeli, or critical notes.”²⁹⁰ⁿ 1241 (which is at St. Catherine’s Monastery) does not have any trace of asterisks, obeli, or critical notes pertaining to Mark 16:9-20. The basis of the *GNT*’s treatment of 1241 was described by Kirsopp Lake and Silva New: in *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts* – “The end of f. [folio] 55 is εφοβουντο γαρ (*efobounto gar*) written in the centre of the line. The scribe has not done this elsewhere.”²⁹¹ⁿ

Lake’s claim is simply false. The last line of the Gospel of Luke in 1241 is also centered. In addition, besides eleven pages on which a final word or phrase forms a short off-center final line, there are four other pages in the Gospels upon which the last line is short and centered.²⁹²ⁿ This feature is merely a side-effect of the copyist’s way of arranging the text in a convenient format for lesson-reading, rather than an expression of doubt about the legitimacy of the subsequent passage.

(15) MS 2427 (Date: 1800s or early 1900s). This manuscript was described by Kurt and Barbara Aland as a manuscript produced in the “fourteenth century.”²⁹³ⁿ For a while, it was known as “Archaic Mark.” It was used as a “consistently cited witness of the first order” in the 27th edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*.²⁹⁴ⁿ However, in light of research by Stephen Carlson, it is clear that 2427 is a forgery, and that it was based to a considerable extent on the Greek text which was published by Philipp Buttmann

in 1860.²⁹⁵ⁿ Several features in 2427 which are unique among Greek manuscripts are accounted for by the use of Buttman's text as an exemplar:

- In 2427, the first part of Mark 6:2 is missing, as if the copyist accidentally skipped from *και (kai)* to *και (kai)*. In Buttman's printed text, these two *και*'s appear at the ends of two consecutive lines.
- In 2427, Mark 7:2 is followed immediately by 7:5: "τους αρτους, και επερωτωσιν" – *tous artous. Kai eperotosin*. The missing words are in parentheses in Buttman's text.
- In 2427, Mark 7:9 lacks "και ελεγεν αυτοις" (*kai elegen autois*). So does Buttman's text.
- In 2427, Mark 13:14 lacks "ο αναγνωσκων νοειτω" (*ho anaginoskon noieito*), which is in parentheses in Buttman's text.
- In 2427, Mark 14:14 is missing "ειπατε τω οικοδεσποτη οτι ο διδασκαλος λεγει
που εστιν," a phrase which is exactly one line of Buttman's text.
- In 2427, Mark 16:18 lacks a distinctive Alexandrian variant, "Και εν ταις χερσιν."²⁹⁶ⁿ

In addition, research published in 1988 by Mary V. Orna and Tom Mathews detected Prussian Blue, a pigment which is not known to have existed until its creation in the early 1700s – in one of the paintings in 2427.²⁹⁷ⁿ All subsequent research on 2427 has confirmed that it is a forgery.

(16) Arabic Lectionary 13 (Date: around 800.) This Arabic lectionary-text stored at the Vatican Library was cited in the 1800s by Scrivener, Hammond and others as a witness for the non-inclusion of 16:9-20. However, Metzger explains: "Since, however, through an accidental loss of leaves the original hand of the manuscript breaks off just before the end of Mark 16.8, its testimony is without significance in discussing the textual problem."²⁹⁸ⁿ C. R. Williams likewise concluded, after reviewing the details about this witness that were brought to light by J. P. P.

Martin, that is it merely a damaged manuscript, and that before the manuscript was damaged, the text of Mark continued after 16:8 on a page that is now lost.²⁹⁹ⁿ

(17) The Garima Gospels (Date: 400s to 600s). Until the 1900s, research on the Ethiopic version had to rely mainly on late medieval copies. When scholars became aware of the Garima Gospels in the 1950's, it was assigned a production-date of around A.D. 1000.³⁰⁰ⁿ That estimate was shown to be very inaccurate when Jacques Mercier obtained parchment-samples from Garima Gospels 2, and arranged for it to be subjected to radiocarbon tests at the Oxford University Research Laboratory for Archaeology.³⁰¹ⁿ

The test-results gave one parchment-sample a date of 330 to 540, and another parchment sample a date of 430 to 650, implying that the most likely date for the production of the parchment of the Garima Gospels is between 430 and 540. This corresponds with the Ethiopic church's tradition that the codex was made by Abbe Garima, one of a group of nine clerics who evangelized Ethiopia in the 490's, and who is credited with the founding of the monastery near Adwa in northern Ethiopia which is the home of the Garima Gospels. The Garima Gospels contain Mark 16:9-20 immediately following 16:8.

(18) The Ethiopic Version (Date: 300s to 600s, mainly late medieval attestation). Most extant Ethiopic manuscripts were produced in medieval times, but their testimony is significant because they descend from a translation made in Ethiopia sometime between the 300s and 600s.

Contrary to the claims of many commentators, all undamaged Ethiopic manuscripts of the Gospel of Mark contain Mark 16:9-20. Bruce Metzger made this clear: "It has often been stated that three Ethiopic manuscripts, now in the British Museum, lack the last twelve verses of Mark. This statement, made originally by D. S. Margoliouth and reported by William Sanday in his *Appendices ad Novum Testamentum Stephanicum* (Oxford, 1889), p. 195, is erroneous."³⁰²ⁿ

Metzger made this point in different words in *The Early Versions of the New Testament*:

“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 16:8, but that most (forty-seven manuscripts) present the so-called shorter ending directly after verse 8, followed immediately by the longer ending (verses 9 to 20).”³⁰³ⁿ

Those statements reflect the thorough research which he conducted as he prepared a major essay, “*The Gospel of St. Mark in Ethiopic Manuscripts*,” which appeared in *New Testament Tools and Studies*, Vol. Ten, in 1980. In this essay he demonstrated that in 1889 William Sanday had perpetuated errors made by two other researchers (D. S. Margoliouth and A. C. Headlam) in a collation of twelve Ethiopic manuscripts made by D. S. Margoliouth and edited by A. C. Headlam, and as a result, a claim was spread to the effect that “three Ethiopic manuscripts in the British Museum (namely codices Add. 16,190, Or. 509, 513) omit the longer ending (Mark 16:9-20), and that seven other manuscripts (namely Or. 510, 511, 512, 514, 516, 517, 518)” conclude the Gospel of Mark with only the Shorter Ending.” When Metzger personally checked the listed manuscripts, though, he made a surprising discovery: “The three manuscripts which are said to omit verses 9 to 20 in reality contain the passage. Furthermore, an examination of the seven manuscripts disclosed that, instead of replacing the longer ending with the shorter ending, these witnesses actually contain both the shorter ending and the longer ending.”³⁰⁴ⁿ

The many interesting observations made by Metzger in his 1980 essay include the following:

- The oldest dated Ethiopic manuscript that contains the Shorter Ending was made in 1343.
- The oldest undated Ethiopic manuscript that contains the Shorter Ending was made in the 1200s.
- One Ethiopic manuscript at the Chester Beatty Library (Ethiopic Manuscript 912), made in the 1700s, ends the Gospel of Mark near the end of 16:8, but Metzger explains that “it is certain

that the manuscript in its present state is fragmentary and that originally it continued with additional textual material.”³⁰⁵ⁿ

Metzger concluded, after combining his own results with the research of William F. Macomber, S. J., that “Of the total of 194 (65 + 129) manuscripts, all but two (which are lectionaries) have Mark 16:9-20, while 131 manuscripts contain both the Shorter Ending and the Longer Ending.”³⁰⁶ⁿ The effects of the mistake in a collation published in 1889 are still detectable in commentaries, from Tischendorf and Warfield to, in more recent times, Robert G. Bratcher and Eugene A. Nida. Nida wrote that Mark 16:9-20 is omitted “by important codices of the Armenian, Ethiopic, and Georgian versions.”³⁰⁷ⁿ Unfortunately, although Metzger published these results in 1980, his influential book *The Text of the New Testament* continues to state that “a number of manuscripts of the Ethiopic version” lack Mark 16:9-20, even in the editions that were published in 1992 and 2005.³⁰⁸ⁿ

The evidence described by Metzger shows that all un mutilated Ethiopic manuscripts of Mark known to exist contain 16:9-20. It also suggests that some time after the Gospel of Mark was translated into Ethiopic (with Mark 16:9-20 immediately following 16:8), the Shorter Ending intruded into the Ethiopic text-stream from somewhere else, and was adapted as a liturgical flourish to conclude a lection-unit which would otherwise conclude at the end of 16:8; at first the Shorter Ending (in its later form, with the variant “appeared to them”) was in the margin, but it was inserted between 16:8 and 16:9 in the later Ethiopic manuscripts.

(19) The Palestinian Aramaic (Date: 400s). This version, although still called the “Palestinian Syriac” by some writers, is Aramaic, and is independent of the Syriac witnesses.³⁰⁹ⁿ The earliest substantial witnesses for this version are much later than its initial production-date; Metzger describes its main surviving representatives: “Known chiefly from a lectionary of the Gospels, preserved in three manuscripts dating from the eleventh and [early] twelfth centuries. In addition fragments of the Gospels, in a

continuous text, are extant, as well as scraps of Acts and of several of the Pauline epistles.”³¹⁰ⁿ

The three lectionary-copies to which Metzger referred were produced in 1030, 1104, and 1118; a colophon in the copy from 1030 states that the manuscript was produced in Antioch. The arrangement of the lections tends to agree with the standard Byzantine-lectionary arrangement, and transliterated Greek words in its text imply that it was rendered into Aramaic directly from Greek.³¹¹ⁿ The text itself, however, is not Byzantine; it is somewhat eclectic-looking, and probably descends primarily from manuscripts with a text with Caesarean features. The initial production-date of the Palestinian Syriac version is probably sometime in the 400s or early 500s. It may have been independently produced by Melkite scholars. It includes Mark 16:9-20.³¹²ⁿ

(20) The Harklean Syriac (Date: 616). This Syriac text was translated by Thomas of Harkel, who used an extremely literal translation-method. In the Gospels, the Harklean Syriac has a Byzantine character, and includes Mark 16:9-20, while the Shorter Ending is in the margin.³¹³ⁿ It is attested by numerous copies, including Syriac manuscripts 267 (from the 700s) and 268 (from 859), which are both kept at the Vatican Library. According to Kirsopp Lake, “From the colophons it is found that Thomas worked at the library of the Enaton, near Alexandria, with the aid of ‘accurate and approved’ Greek manuscripts, which he found there.”³¹⁴ⁿ Mark 16:9-20 is in the text, and the Shorter Ending is in the margin; the Harklean Syriac thus helpfully reveals the locale in which the Shorter Ending was extant.

The significance of the Harklean Syriac is greater than what one might expect from a witness produced in the early 600s. The Harklean Syriac’s text of the General Epistles has strong allies among the medieval Greek manuscripts 1611, 1505, 2138, and 2495. In the third verse of Jude, these minuscules read the Greek equivalent of “*life*” where normally “*salvation*” appears. In the same passage, in Codex Sinaiticus, the text reads “*salvation and*

life,” which shows that the text in Codex Sinaiticus descends partly from an exemplar that had the usual reading, and partly from an exemplar that had the reading in the Greek manuscripts that agree with the Harklean Syriac. This implies that although these four Greek manuscripts are medieval, they echo a transmission-line which, in the General Epistles at least, is older than Codex Sinaiticus.

(21) Old Latin Manuscripts (Date: 600s-1200s). A few Old Latin manuscripts which have not yet been described individually are important, despite being produced in medieval times, because their text descends, at least in part, from ancestor-manuscripts which displayed Latin translations made before the Vulgate (i.e., before 383). The Old Latin manuscripts which have not already been mentioned, and which have not been damaged so as to have lost pages at the end of Mark, include the following:

- *Codex Aureus* (“*aur*”, from the late 600s or early 700s), contains Mark 16:9-20.³¹⁵ⁿ Its Gospels-text has been influenced by the Vulgate, especially in John.

- *Codex Colbertinus* (“*c*”) contains Mark 16:9-20. Though relatively young (from about 1200), this manuscript contains a Gospels-text derived mainly from an Old Latin copy, although chapters 1 through 6 are from the Vulgate. It contains Mark 16:9-20.

- *Codex Rhedigerianus* (“*l*”), copied in the 600s or 700s, contains Mark 16:9-20.

- *Fragmentum Sangallense* (“*o*”) is a supplement of *Fragmenta Sangallensia* (*n*). It was made in the 600s or 700s, probably to replace a damaged page of *n*. It has Mark 16:14 to 20.³¹⁶ⁿ

- *Codex Monacensis* (“*q*”) was made in the 500s or 600s. Mark 16:9-20 is fully included in the text, and a scrawled margin-note even identifies Mark 16:9 as the beginning of a reading for a feast-day. The non-Vulgate character of its text may be clearly demonstrated by considering some differences in 16:19 and 20 –

Vulgate / Monacensis

assumptus / receptus
dextris / dexteram
cooperante / diuuante
sermonem / uerbum
*sequentibus / prosequentibus*³¹⁷ⁿ

(22) The Commentary of Pseudo-Jerome on Mark (Date: 600s). This Latin commentary includes extensive commentary on Mark 16:9-20, treating it in the same manner as the rest of the book.³¹⁸ⁿ

(23) The Canons in a Syriac Manuscript from Edessa, the Beth Zagba Syriac Manuscript, and Dawkins 3 (Date: mid/late 500s). In 1890, G. H. Gwilliam published an essay in which he showed that the Eusebian Canons, as presented in several early copies of the Peshitta, differ from the Canons in their earliest Greek forms. These Syriac manuscripts were obtained from a variety of locales. The evidence that Gwilliam presented shows that someone, before these copies from the 500s were made, reconstructed the Eusebian Canons, and in the process, included Mark 16:9-20 and divided the passage into nine sections, which were then entered at the appropriate places in the Canon-tables. These Syriac Canons must predate all of the witnesses which attest to them.³¹⁹ⁿ

The Syriac manuscript known as Dawkins 3 is particularly impressive, because it contains unusual readings which indicate that its exemplar was made at a time when the Peshitta was not yet standardized. This manuscript was apparently assigned to the 800s by researcher Payne Smith in the 1800s, but in 1902, G. H. Gwilliam concisely corrected such an assessment, pointing out that its lettering indicates a production-date in the 500s. Gwilliam also mentioned that fellow-researcher F. C. Burkitt agreed, and suggested that a misreading of Payne Smith's notes about the manuscript was the cause of the previous assignment of it to the 800s.³²⁰ⁿ

(24) Codex Delta (Δ, 037) (Date: 800s). Codex Sangallensis (not to be confused with the identically-named Old Latin codex) is an important uncial, written in Greek with an interlinear Latin translation. Although its text in Matthew, Luke, and John is Byzantine, its text of Mark is mainly Alexandrian. It includes Mark 16:9-20. Codex Delta was copied from an uncial exemplar which was written in sense-lines; the copyist wrote his exemplar's line-opening letters in larger print than the other letters, whether they began lines in Codex Delta or not. The copyist often misdivided Greek words (indicating that his exemplar was written without word-division) and substituted some Latin letters where Greek letters belong (showing that he was much more acquainted with Latin than with Greek).³²¹ⁿ

(25) Over 1,600 Greek Manuscripts (Dates: 500s to 1450). This enormous group of Greek manuscripts, found in a variety of locales, includes not only many late minuscules but also a substantial number of middle-aged uncials, and minuscules so ancient that they are almost sure to represent uncial exemplars, as well as minuscules which, though classified as Byzantine, contain variants which indicate that they were produced outside the mainstream of Byzantine transmission. All unmutated copies in this group of manuscripts, except minuscule 304, support the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20.

The numerical superiority of the Byzantine manuscripts is spectacular. As Kurt Aland wrote, "The longer ending of Mark 16:9-20 is found in 99 percent of the Greek manuscripts."³²²ⁿ If it could be demonstrated that these 1,600 manuscripts all descend from a single parent manuscript, then the real weight of these witnesses would be reduced to that of their earlier ancestor. Some textual critics, instead of empirically showing that such genealogical relationships exist, have interpreted these manuscripts' shared variants as if they themselves are evidence that the manuscripts containing them are all descendants of a single ancestor that was made centuries after the autographs. That unproven assumption has been expressed by treating all of these

manuscripts collectively, thus greatly reducing the weight they would otherwise be accorded if each one was considered independent of the others. This is not very different from the treatment that copies of the Vulgate receive: just as 5,000 Vulgate manuscripts tend to echo a single text that was assembled by Jerome in 383, the textual critics who posit a Byzantine Recension would say that 1,600 Byzantine manuscripts echo a single text that was assembled by an obscure text-compiler in the late 200s or 300s or later.

Such a theory was advocated by Westcott and Hort in 1881. Hort named Lucian of Antioch as the prime suspect, so to speak, responsible for a revision of the Greek New Testament text that commenced sometime between 250 and 312.³²³ⁿ A key point in Hort's theory was that the absence of unique Byzantine readings (which Hort called "Syrian" readings) prior to the posited revision implies that distinctly Byzantine readings (particularly conflate readings, which seemed to combine the contents of Alexandrian and Western exemplars) had been invented in the course of the revision. On this premise, Hort wrote, "All distinctively Syrian readings must be at once rejected."³²⁴ⁿ As Hort's text gained popularity, so did this theory.

However, in 1984 Harry A. Sturz published *The Byzantine Text-Type & New Testament Textual Criticism*, in which he presented evidence that over 100 distinctly Byzantine variants were supported by at least one early papyrus manuscript.³²⁵ⁿ In a world where Hort's theory was true, such variants should not exist. Sturz did not thus prove that the entire Byzantine Text of a single book of the New Testament existed before the late third century, but his data strongly indicates that the Byzantine Text is a stratified text, containing ancient readings that are neither Alexandrian nor Western. If the Byzantine Text is the result of a revision, the revision must have involved not only Alexandrian and Western exemplars but at least one other ancient source of variants, which may be called "Proto-Byzantine."

This raises an important issue: Hort proposed that when Vaticanus (produced in the early 300s) and Sinaiticus (produced

circa 350) agree, their text must echo a very ancient shared ancestor-manuscript, and for that reason he believed “(1) that readings of \aleph -B should be accepted as the true readings until strong internal evidence is found to the contrary, and (2) that no readings of \aleph -B can be safely rejected absolutely.”³²⁶ⁿ This principle was crucial for the advancement of the idea that the Alexandrian Text preserves the original text much better than the Byzantine Text does. But if Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, at generally any point of agreement, thus represent their ancient ancestor so well, then in general, any Byzantine manuscript, where it agrees with the Peshitta or another similarly ancient ally, may likewise represent *their* shared ancestor at generally any point of agreement, and thus accurately echo the a very early Text.

This principle does not mean that two virtually identical Byzantine manuscripts necessarily echo an ancient text, because they could instead echo a closer, younger ancestor. For that reason, a large group of Byzantine manuscripts may justifiably be considered secondary to the rest: according to Maurice Robinson, “The K^r subtype in particular is known to be late and secondary, having been produced out of the K^x type with lectionary and liturgical interests in mind.”³²⁷ⁿ

This greatly boils down the weight of many Byzantine manuscripts which are members of the K^r group. Among the remaining medieval manuscripts, however, some contain readings which suggest mixed descent. Although strong Byzantine traits are unmistakable in these manuscripts, they possess other readings which set them apart from the rest, and render their testimony especially noteworthy. At any given point, when two such manuscripts agree on a non-Byzantine reading, they may echo an ancient shared ancestor, and even when they agree on a Byzantine reading, one or both of them may echo a very early reading.

As a sample of the non-monolithic nature of the collection of manuscripts which are often bundled together under the term “Byzantine manuscripts,” here is a list of some manuscripts

which support the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 and which, to different degrees, show signs of non-Byzantine ancestry. Some non-Byzantine manuscripts are also mentioned in this list:

E (Date: 700s). Mainly Byzantine, but has a slight non-Byzantine ancestry which also seems to be echoed by a small group of minuscules (44, 65, 98, 219, 422, 271).

G (011) (Date: 900s). Contains some Caesarean readings.

H^e (013) (Date: 800s). Shares some of the divergent readings in Codex E.

K (017) (Date: 800s). Probably copied from an exemplar that was written in sense-lines.

M (021) (Date: 800s). Contains some of the divergent readings shared by Codex Π (Pi).

S (028) (Date: 949). Features a paraphrased quotation from Origen alongside Matthew 27:16. Its text of Luke 22:43-44 and the Story of the Adulteress are accompanied by asterisks.

U (030) (Date: early 900s). Has a smattering of non-Byzantine readings.

V (031) (Date: 800s). Written in sense-lines; does not include Matthew 16:2-3.

X (033) (Date: 900s). The Gospels are arranged Matthew-John-Luke-Mark.

Y (034) (Date: 800s). Does not contain Matthew 16:2-3.

Γ (036) (Date: 900s). Does not contain Matthew 16:2-3.

Θ (038) (Date: late 800s?). Contains many Caesarean readings.

Λ/566 (039) (Date: 800s). Has the Jerusalem Colophon after Matthew: *ευαγγελιον κατα Ματθαιον. εγραφη και αντεβληθη εκ των ιεροσολυμοις παλαιων αντιγραφων των εν τω αγιω ορει αποκειμεον εν στιχοις βφιδ' κεφφ. τνε'.* – “Gospel according to Matthew: written and checked from the ancient copies in Jerusalem, those kept in the holy mountain. In 2,514 lines, 355 chapters.” And at the end of Mark: “Gospel according to Mark: written and corrected likewise from the carefully prepared ones in 1506 lines, 237 chapters.”³²⁸ⁿ

- Π** (Pi, 041) (Date: 800s). Related to Codex A. Although Π is significantly younger than A, it may have been copied from an exemplar older than A.
- Ω** (045) (Date: 800s). Almost exclusively Byzantine, but Matthew 16:2-16:3, Luke 22:43-22:44, John 5:3-5:4, and the Story of the Adulteress are obelized.
- 72** (Date: 1000s). Does not contain the Story of the Adulteress.
- 14** (Date: 964). The Story of the Adulteress is accompanied by asterisks.
- 33** (Date: 800s). Has a mainly Alexandrian text of the Gospels.
- 28** (Date: 1000s). Has a significant Caesarean influence in Mark.
- 157** (Date: early 1100s). Has significant agreements with the Alexandrian Text. 157 may be related somehow to the base-text of the Palestinian Aramaic version. It does not include the *pericope adulterae*.
- 213** (Date: 1000s). Has some non-Byzantine readings.
- 226** (Date: 1000s). According to Scrivener, its text “is valuable, and the readings sometimes unique.”³²⁹ⁿ
- 229** (Date: 1140). According to Scrivener, this codex contains “very many important readings of the first hand.”³³⁰ⁿ
- 238** (Date: around 1100). Has some non-Byzantine readings.
- 262** (900s). Has some unusual non-Byzantine readings, and the Jerusalem Colophon.
- 435** (around 1200). According to Scrivener, this codex “has a somewhat unusual text.”³³¹ⁿ
- 461** (Date: 835). The earliest known minuscule manuscript of the Gospels; a colophon states that it was made in 835.³³²ⁿ
- 496** (Date: 1300s). Has significant non-Byzantine variants.
- 513** (Date: 1100s). Includes some non-Byzantine readings.
- 545** (Date: 1430). A surprisingly good representative of the early Byzantine text.
- 581** (Date: 1300s). Has a text related somehow to the text in the uncial Π.
- 652** (Date: 900s). Has interesting readings and some Caesarean mixture.

680 (Date: 1300s). Probably copied from a much older exemplar.

700 (Date: 1000s). The text of 700 is practically unique. It has a strong Caesarean character, with rare and old readings.

713 (Date: 1100s). Has some unusual mixture.

892 (Date: 800s). The most Alexandrian of all minuscules, copied from an uncial exemplar.

1241 (Date: 1100s). Has a significant amount of Alexandrian readings.

1143 (Date: 800s). Written on purple parchment in gold ink.

1424 (Date: 800s or 900s). The flagship-manuscript of a small group of manuscripts, including 7, 115, and 168, which share some Alexandrian readings.

1505 (Date: 1100s). Has some Western readings mixed with the Byzantine Text.³³³ⁿ



Shown to the left: a page from Codex C at the National Library of France,

with Mark 16:14-20 as the lower writing.

Shown to the right: the same page, with the upper writing digitally removed.

(26) The Note “*Ariston Eritzou*” in Matenadaran 2374 (formerly known as Etchmiadsin 229) (Date: 989?). This feature in this Armenian manuscript was publicized by F.C. Conybeare in 1891. The manuscript contains Mark 16:9-20 immediately following 16:8. Verse 9 starts a new paragraph but this is nothing unusual. What is unusual is that between 16:8 and 16:9 (the manuscript’s text is somewhat double-spaced) is a short note, in red lettering: *Aristou eristou*, which means, “Of Ariston the elder.” It is impossible to tell if this note was added at the time the manuscript was produced, or at some later time. Nevertheless this is an intriguing feature. Who was this person?

According to Eusebius of Caesarea in *Church History* Book Three, chapter 39, Ariston (or Aristion) was a contemporary of John mentioned by Papias. Eusebius stated 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,*” and, “*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.*”³³⁴ⁿ

The note in Matenadaran 2374 may descend from an older manuscript in which the same note was placed in the margin alongside 16:18. In that location, it would simply reflect an understanding that the phrase about drinking deadly poison without harm referred to the incident in which Justus Barsabbas survived poison-drinking, and that Papias had received this story from Ariston. Alternatively, a copyist who was aware that 16:9-20 was disputed, finding this unexplained note in his exemplar, may have misinterpreted it to mean that the whole disputed section had been written by Ariston the elder, and for this reason when he perpetuated the note, he placed it at the beginning of 16:9.

Theodor Zahn, writing in 1909, noted that there is “a marginal gloss to Rufinus’ translation of Eusebius, H.E. Three, 39.9, though inserted by a later hand, which connects Ariston’s name with the story taken by Eusebius from Papias, that Justus, called Barsabbas (Acts 1:23), once drank a deadly poison, but was preserved by the grace of the Lord from all harmful effects.”³³⁵ⁿ In 1915, Clarence R. Williams presented a statement by J. Vernon Bartlet, who personally examined this manuscript (a Bodleian manuscript of Rufinus, “MSS 2. and Miscell. 294”). Bartlet deduced that Conybeare had noticed the words “Quod Justus qui et Barsabas venenum biberit nihilque ex hoc triste pertulerit” in the margin “over against the name of Aristion,” and that it was for this reason that Conybeare had inferred a link between this statement and Ariston.

Bartlet continued: “The position ‘over against’ Aristion is a mere accident, due to the fact that there is *no room* on the inner margin of the manuscript (which is written in 2 columns), where it should come, for the marginal note to be inserted. Hence it comes opposite the name of Aristion, which though a good deal earlier in the text, is in fact parallel (to the matter in question) in the other column. There are similar cases which I have observed elsewhere. Thus the inference was a mistake of Conybeare’s, and the observation is of no historical value.”³³⁶ⁿ

Eusebius’ presentation of Papias’ stories raises a question about the source of Papias’ information: the daughters of Philip were the source of a story about a person who was raised from the dead, but they are not identified as the source of the story about Justus. A few paragraphs before Eusebius mentioned Papias’ story about Justus, Eusebius provided a quotation from Papias in which Ariston was mentioned:

“If anyone chanced to come who had actually been a follower of the elders, I would inquire as to the discourses of the elders, what Andrew or what Peter said, or what Philip, or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew or any other of the Lord’s disciples; and the things which Aristion and John the elder, disciples of the Lord, say. For I supposed that things out of books

did not profit me so much as the utterances of a voice which liveth and abideth."³³⁷ⁿ

In paragraph seven of *Church History Book Three*, chapter 39, Eusebius writes, "Papias, of whom we are now speaking, acknowledges that he received the discourses of the apostles from those who had been their followers, but says that he was himself an actual hearer of Aristion and of John the elder. Certainly he mentions them by name and sets forth their traditions."³³⁸ⁿ

Almost immediately after this, Eusebius mentions Papias' stories. The first one, about "the resurrection of a dead body," is stated to have been received from the daughters of Philip; the source of the second one, about Justus, is not identified. A later reader of Eusebius could easily assume, once the question was raised, that the story about Justus originated with Ariston. It would thus seem that the words "*Aristou eritzou*" in Matenadaran 2374 are a misplaced scribal note of very little significance. Regardless of however the annotation appeared alongside the name Aristion in the Rufinus-manuscript, there can be little doubt that the annotation is based on Eusebius' statement, and that it was added by someone who believed that this statement about Barsabbas had come from Ariston.

That does not mean, though, that it is not worth looking into the possibility that Ariston, as a colleague of Mark, was responsible for the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 in the autograph of the Gospel of Mark. Papias indicates that Ariston was living in Asia Minor during Papias' lifetime; another tradition indicates that at an earlier period, Ariston lived at, or near, Rome, and that this period included the production-date of the Gospel of Mark.

In the spurious text called *Acts of Peter*, which was composed in Greek, probably during the late 100s, Ariston is introduced in an account of Peter's trip from Jerusalem to Rome. The gist of the pertinent part of the account states that as Peter was traveling from Jerusalem to Rome to confront the heretic Simon Magus, in the city of Puteoli he stayed at an inn overseen by a

Christian named Ariston, who warned him about Simon Magus' false teachings. Ariston then accompanied Peter to Rome, "*unto the abode of Narcissus the presbyter.*"³³⁹ⁿ

Although the tradition that is reflected in *Acts of Peter* places Ariston at the right time and the right place to have been a colleague of Peter and Mark, an alternative identification of Ariston the Elder was proposed in the early 1900s: as Bruce Metzger has noted, "The identification 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."³⁴⁰ⁿ

The Armenian historian Moses of Chorene, one of the assistant of Mesrop in the 400s, mentioned a writer named Aristo of Pella (a city in the Decapolis), stating that he served as the secretary for the Armenian king Ardasches when Ardasches was sent into Persia by Roman Emperor Hadrian (117 to 138). Moses of Chorene stated that Hadrian "established in Jerusalem a community of pagans and Christians whose bishop was Mark."³⁴¹ⁿ

This claim is based on Eusebius of Caesarea's *Church History*, Book Four, in which Eusebius named Aristo of Pella as the source of a report about the Bar-Kochba Revolt, and mentioned that after Hadrian's decree to expel all Jews from Jerusalem, "As the church there was now composed of Gentiles, the first one to assume the government of it after the bishops of the circumcision was Marcus."³⁴²ⁿ

Bacon claimed that someone could have confused Aristo of Pella, in Hadrian's reign, with Ariston, since both were associates of men named Mark. However, it would not be easy for anyone to confuse Aristo of Pella, and Mark the bishop of Jerusalem, with Ariston the Elder and Mark the Gospel-writer. Granting that the names Aristo and Ariston are spelled identically in Armenian, anyone aware of the texts in which the two individuals are mentioned would naturally conclude that two distinct individuals are being described. Three strong reasons not to confuse these

individuals are built into the statements by Eusebius and Moses of Chorene's statement about Mark, bishop of Jerusalem:

(1) the explicit statement that Aristo of Pella's colleague Mark was a Gentile,

(2) the statement that Aristo of Pella's Mark served as bishop of Jerusalem, and

(3) the statement that Aristo of Pella's Mark worked during the reign of Hadrian.

Thus the chance that the annotator of Matenadaran 2374 had Aristo of Pella in mind is extremely remote. Such a theory would require a copyist who was both remarkably well-read and remarkably dense – someone who had read the writings of Eusebius, and the writings of Moses of Chorene, and who misunderstood them both. It seems reasonable to conclude that if the annotator of Matenadaran 2374 thought that Aristion the Elder was the source of Mark 16:9-20, he inferred it from the presence of an opaque margin-note in his exemplar which may have been intended to merely identify Ariston as the source of a tradition about Justus' poison-drinking.³⁴³ⁿ

Nothing in Papias' statements about Aristion provides an impetus to do this. However, the tradition reflected in *Acts of Peter* clearly connects Ariston to Peter in Rome – and thus to the setting in which the Gospel of Mark was produced. Ariston also is mentioned in a list found in *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book Seven, chapter 4, titled, “*Who Were They That the Holy Apostles Sent and Ordained?*” After lists of successive bishops of Jerusalem (James, Simeon son of Cleopas, and Judas son of James), and of Caesarea (Zacchaeus, Cornelius, and Theophilus), and of Antioch (Euodius and Ignatius), and of Alexandria (Annianus and Avilius), and of Rome (Linus and Clement), and of Ephesus (Timothy, and John), this entry appears: “*Of Smyrna: Aristo the first, after whom Strataeas the son of Lois, and the third Aristo.*”³⁴⁴ⁿ

This list is quite spurious; nevertheless it seems safe to say that its author had done his homework, and that it has a substantial historical core. The “Lois” referred to is the grandmother of the New Testament character Timothy, so it would appear that

Strataeas was an uncle or, if the term “son” is loosely used, a brother of Timothy. This does not seem like the sort of detail that an author would casually invent. In the opening sentences of Pionius’ *Life of Polycarp* (from the late 300s) we find a statement that Paul visited Smyrna and visited Strataeas there, having met him previously in Pamphylia.³⁴⁵ⁿ

Cumulatively, the evidence about Ariston allows a speculation in which Ariston’s career took three stages. First, as a young man, he was a leader of the church in Smyrna. Second, he moved to Puteoli, and from there to Rome, and was active in the Christian church at Rome while Paul and Peter were there. Third, he returned to Asia Minor, where in his old age he encountered Papias, and shared memories of the apostles. If the person who wrote *Ariston eritzou* in Matenadaran 2374 was aware of this timeline, it is possible that he regarded Ariston as the source of Mark 16:9-20.

It should be noticed that B. H. Streeter has made some inaccurate claims about Matenadaran 2374. He stated that Mark 16:9-20 begins “after a break, indicating that the scribe regarded what follows as a sort of Appendix,” and that the words “of the Presbyter Ariston” are written “in the margin of the first line.”³⁴⁶ⁿ The only “break” between 16:8 and 16:9 is the same sort of indentation which typically occurs in the manuscript between paragraphs, and “*Aristou eritzou*” does not appear in the margin; it is between the last two lines of 16:8 (to the right of the last bit of 16:8), beginning and ending well within the column in which the text itself is situated.

More should be said about the special quality of Matenadaran 2374. This codex carries considerably more weight than the typical Armenian Gospels-codex. According to Clarence R. Williams, a note in the manuscript by a monk named Stephanus, who commissioned the scribe Johannes to produce the codex, states, “This book is to be read in this church, for it is copied from authentic and old originals,” and Stephanus also “declares that the covers and the pictures bound with this codex belong to the first half of the sixth century.” Based on that statement, Williams

affirms that it is reasonable to conclude that “at least one exemplar of this codex is to be dated before 550 AD,”³⁴⁷ⁿ That would place the production of at least one immediate exemplar of Matenadaran 2374 within 150 years of the initial production of the Armenian version.

C. R. Williams also noticed that “In more than one Armenian codex, where these verses occupied a folio by themselves, that folio has simply been cut out,” and that “In the Bodleian Armenian codex of the four Gospels, dated A.D. 1355, a notice is prefixed as follows: “This is an addition.” He also noted that Conybeare had observed that Mark 16:9-20 is cited in the Armenian form of *Acts of Pilate*, a text “almost as early as the sixth century” – in the same wording in which it appears in those Armenian manuscripts which contain the passage. Williams drew the conclusion, “These twelve verses probably belonged to the original Armenian version of the Gospels, prior to the revision of Mesrop early in the fifth century, but were afterwards excised.”³⁴⁸ⁿ

This is not a sure thing. Armenian copyists in the 400s were capable of deciding to include Mark 16:9-20, and they were also capable of deciding to omit Mark 16:9-20. It is impossible, on the basis of the available evidence, to deduce from a simple majority of Armenian manuscripts that the Armenian version included Mark 16:9-20 in the 400s. It is equally impossible to deduce that Mark 16:9-20 was not in the Armenian version in the 400s.

(27) Bohairic Manuscript Huntington 17 (Date: 1174). This is the oldest known Bohairic text of Mark, and it stands apart from almost all the rest of the Bohairic evidence. F. G. Kenyon wrote, “The last twelve verses of Mark are contained in all Bohairic manuscripts; but two copies (Huntington 17 and British Museum Oriental Manuscript 1315) give in their margins a short alternative ending which is practically identical with that found in L.”³⁴⁹ⁿ This evidence with the Double Ending will be revisited in the next chapter of this book. Here, attention is given to an additional feature: H. B. Swete, using Horner’s findings, informed his readers

that in Bohairic Manuscript A (“Manuscript A” here refers to Huntington 17), “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.’”³⁵⁰ⁿ

We may deduce from this that in the year 1174, in the region of Egypt where Bohairic was used, the Shorter Ending accompanied the end of 16:8 but was not incorporated into the text of Mark; it accompanied the margin after 16:8 and was probably intended to be used as a liturgical flourish. We may also deduce that an Egyptian writer of Arabic, sometime after 1174, believed that Mark 16:9-20 had been excised from a Greek copy or copies.

(28) Codex 565 (Date: 800s). This codex is a major witness to the “Caesarean” text of Mark. 565 is a minuscule manuscript of the Gospels, made with purple parchment. It is sometimes called “Empress Theodora’s Codex,” which cannot actually mean that it was made or owned by the famous wife of Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (who lived in the mid-500s), but which may refer instead to a woman named Theodora who died in 867.³⁵¹ⁿ

Kirsopp Lake commented about this manuscript: “Cod. 565 comes from Houmisch Khan in Pontus and has an important colophon at the end of Mark, *εγραφη και αντεβληθη ομοιως εκ των ιεροσολυμων αντιγραφων.*”³⁵²ⁿ This is the Jerusalem Colophon. Lake theorized that the mountain that is mentioned in the colophon is not in Jerusalem; instead, he proposed that the colophon implies that cherished copies from Jerusalem had been taken to Mount Sinai, because Jerusalem is not otherwise referred to as the “holy mountain” and because the colophon occurs too early to refer to Mount Athos, another contender.

Metzger mentioned that the Jerusalem Colophon is found in 157 and in “Λ (*Lambda*), 20, 164, 215, 262, 300, 376, 428, 565, 686, 718 and 1071.”³⁵³ⁿ 157 is an ornamented minuscule Gospels manuscript, with a text that is frequently non-Byzantine, apparently made for Byzantine Emperor John II. It has the “Jerusalem colophon” at the end of each Gospel – “copied and

corrected from ancient exemplars from Jerusalem preserved on the holy mountain.” If Lake’s interpretation is correct, then a deduction can be made that some ancestor of 565, 20, 215, 300, and 1071 (and perhaps an ancestor of most of the manuscripts which share the Jerusalem colophon) was compared to ancient copies on Mount Sinai – that is, at St. Catherine’s monastery – which were identified there as ancient copies from Jerusalem; these copies contained Mark 16:9-20. An alternative explanation is that the “holy mountain” refers to Jerusalem, and this group of manuscripts, or part of it, is related to the “Palestinian exemplar” mentioned in Victor of Antioch’s commentary.

(29) An Ancient Christian Amulet. According to James Kelhoffer, Alphons A. Barb described an interesting amulet in the extraordinarily obscure article *Der Heilige und die Schlangen* in the journal *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gessellschaft in Wein*, Vol. 80 (1950), pages 1-21. The amulet, “of uncertain date and origin,” depicts Paul with a book and sword on one side, framed by an inscription to the effect that the amulet will protect its wearer against poison and migraine headaches (“*contra tos[s]icum et micaneum*”). On the other side, written in Latin, is Mark 16:17b to 18 (without the Latin equivalent of the phrase “and in their hands”).³⁵⁴ⁿ

(30) The Martyrdom of St. Eustathius of Mzketha (Date: 500s). The author of this account of the sufferings of a Georgian martyr, already described in the entry for the Old Georgian Version, displays an awareness of the contents of Mark 16:9-20. Eustathius is depicted giving a testimony which includes a summary of Jesus’ ministry, death, and resurrection. Included in Jesus’ final instructions to the apostles is the statement, “*Go out among the towns and villages and country places from end to end of the world and perform miracles and marvels and feats of healing, and convert the heathen and baptize them in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and teach them all that I have told you,*” and this is followed by the statement that the apostles “*spread abroad and*

preached the gospel of Christ, who had risen from the dead. They carried out miracles and marvels and feats of healing, and the people were converted and baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."³⁵⁵ⁿ

(31) Theophylact of Ochirida (Date: c. 1077). Writing in Bulgaria, Theophylact described a note in a manuscript that he possessed: "Codex 26 continues: Some of the interpreters say that the Gospel according to Mark is finished here [i.e., at 16:8], and that the [words] that follow are a subsequent addition. It is necessary to interpret this [passage; i.e., 16:9-20] without doing any harm to the truth."³⁵⁶ⁿ This is most likely a vague reference to Eusebius' statements in *Ad Marinum* and other authors who borrowed from it. Theophylact retained and interpreted the passage. In his commentary on the Gospel of Mark, he offers thorough interpretations of Mark 16:9-14, and of 16:15-20, closing with a prayerful reminder that Christians should spread the word and rely on God to vindicate their efforts.³⁵⁷ⁿ It should be noted, again, because minuscule 304 is sometimes used with confidence as if it is a meaningful witness for the abrupt ending, that Theophylact's commentary (in which Theophylact most definitely attests to Mark 16:9-20, exegeting the entire passage) is incorporated into the commentary in 304. A comparison of even the smallest segment of both commentaries, such as their comments on Mark 1:6, will demonstrate this with certainty.

(32) The Coptic Text of *The Life of the Virgin* (Date: mid-600s?). This blatantly embellished biography of Mary has received relatively little scholarly study other than the presentation by Forbes Robinson in *Texts and Studies* in 1896. It includes (in 4:42 to 44) the following statement, framed as if Mary was speaking to the disciples: "*At the end then of the forty days, when ye were all gathered together to one place, and I also was with you, on the mount of Olives, the Lord came unto us again, and said to us, Peace be unto you. And when he had said these things, He said, All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and on earth; go ye*

forth in all the world, and baptize all the nations into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.”³⁵⁸ⁿ The second part of this passage is derived from Matthew 28:19, with an inserted phrase from Mark 16:15.

The earliest fragment of *The Life of the Virgin* known to Forbes Robinson was from the tenth or eleventh century. Authorship of *The Life of the Virgin*, originally in Greek, has been assigned to Maximus the Confessor (580-662), but this is not altogether certain.

(33) The Book of Cerne (Date: early 800s). The Book of Cerne is a Latin liturgy-book, produced in 813 to 830. It includes a series of prayers from various sources, as well as selections from the Gospels about Christ’s death and resurrection: Matthew 26:1-28:20, Mark 14:1-16:20, Luke 22:1-24:53, and John 18:1-21:25. The form of its Latin text is primarily the Vulgate, adjusted for liturgical reading: the name “Jesus” is added to Mark 16:9 and 16:15. But some other influence, possibly an early Old Latin influence, is at work in 16:14, where after “*resurrexisse*” the Book of Cerne has the phrase “*et nuntiantibus illis,*” and in 16:20, where after “*praedicaerunt*” the Book of Cerne has “*et docuerunt.*”³⁵⁹ⁿ

(34) Isho’dad of Merv (Date: 850 to 875). This Syriac bishop composed a commentary on the Gospels. Some of his quotations from the Gospels indicate that he used a Syriac text other than the ordinary Peshitta. Despite being a ninth-century writer, he accessed Scripture-texts and patristic works which are much earlier, making his commentary a valuable depository of the remains of older compositions.

Even though he was aware of Eusebius’ comments in *Ad Marinum* (which he cited in a comment on Mark 15:25), Isho’dad did not treat Mark 16:9-20 differently than any other part of the Gospel of Mark. He commented specifically on phrases in 16:9, 16:18, and 16:19.³⁶⁰ⁿ

(35) Gildas (Date: 500s). Gildas is known as a saint and a historian. Born in Scotland, he was educated in Wales, knew Samson of Dol, traveled to Ireland, and, sometime before 547, wrote a sermonic account of Britain's history, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*. The preface to this work features a selection of snippets from the Old and New Testaments. Following a quotation from Matthew 25, verse 12, Gildas quotes Mark 16:16: "I heard, forsooth, 'Whoever shall believe and be baptized shall be saved, but whoever shall not believe shall be damned.'"³⁶¹ⁿ

(36) Gregentius of Taphar (Date: early 500s?). Gregentius was a bishop in Ethiopia in the early 500s; his area of ministry extended into Arabia. In his *Disputation with the Jew Herban*, which was written in Greek, Gregentius casually used Mark 16:16, word-for-word.³⁶²ⁿ However, the genuineness of this text is debated.

(37) The Story of Barlaam and Josaphath (Date: 700s?). This medieval story is interesting for several reasons: it is essentially a Christianized version of the story of Buddha, it contains a scene adapted by Shakespeare in *Merchant of Venice*, and it contains a very ancient document: the *Apology of Aristides*, a Christian writer from the 100s. *The Story of Barlaam and Josaphath* is crammed with Scripture-quotations. Its author used material from Mark 16:9-20 three times. The first chapter, immediately after mentioning that Thomas was sent to preach in India, quotes 16:20. The character Barlaam uses Mark 16:16 in conversation in chapter 8, and again in chapter 10.³⁶³ⁿ

Some researchers have attributed this text to Euthymius of Athos, who worked at Mount Athos in the 1000s, but copies exist that are virtually contemporary to Euthymius. Although *The Story of Barlaam and Josaphath* has component-parts of varying age, the person responsible for putting them together in one composition, and for standardizing its contents, is probably John of Damascus (676 to 786), or another person named John contemporary with him.

(38) The Coptic Book of the Enthronement of the Archangel Michael (Date: pre-600). This little-known text was criticized in a sermon by John of Paralos in the very early 600s. Its Coptic text, with a German translation, was published in 1962 by C. D. G. Müller. It includes a full utilization of Mark 16:17-18:

“Pray regarding all things that you will eat, for everything is purified through prayer. And in each endeavor that you undertake, pray first, and proclaim the gospel to every creature. The one who believes and receives baptism will not be condemned. These signs will accompany those who believe: they will cast out demons in my name; they will speak in other languages; they will take snakes in their hands, and if they drink a lethal poison, it will not harm them. They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they will be healed.”³⁶⁴ⁿ

(39) A Coptic Encomium Attributed to John Chrysostom (Date: 600s?). This

composition was published in 1913 by E. A. Wallis Budge in a collection of Coptic texts. It was in British Museum MS Oriental No. 7024, which was produced in 985.³⁶⁵ⁿ Its composition-date is assigned to the 600s. It includes the following excerpt:

“Now it happened to me to be in Jerusalem, and while I was staying in the church, there was an old man there, a God-loving presbyter, and he had authority therein; and I remained in that place in order that I might assist at the celebration of the festival of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus the Christ, and at the festival of the Holy Cross. Now I went through the books, and I had great enjoyment in this, and I found a little old volume [among them] which concerned the Apostles wherein it was written thus: ‘And it came to pass that we the Apostles were gathered together to our Savior upon the Mount of Olives, after he had made Himself to rise again from the dead. And He spake unto us and commanded us, saying, ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach unto the people thereof the Gospel of the kingdom.’ And He spoke unto us concerning John the Baptist, and the honors which he had bestowed upon him in the heavens.”

Among the several interesting features of this text is a clear use of Mark 16:15.

(40) The Revelation of the Magi (Date: 500s?). This composition is extant in the overwriting of one palimpsest at the Vatican Library, written in Syriac; it is part of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* in Vatican Syriac MS 162, produced in 775. Brent Landau, in his 2008 dissertation on this text, proposed that most of *Revelation of the Magi* was composed in the second or third century, that the final section was composed in the third or fourth century, and that the two portions were combined in the 400s. A few other scholars familiar with this material (which is not well-known) have assigned it to some later period; a composition-date in the 400s or 500s seems reasonable. In Section 15:8, *Revelation of the Magi* refers to Christ as “the one in whose name signs and portents take place through his believers,” which might conceivably allude to Mark 16:17. The contents of 31:10 – in the later stratum of the text – are more decisive; the apostle Thomas is depicted stating, “Let us fulfill the commandment of our Lord, who said to us, ‘Go out into the entire world and preach my gospel’” – a clear utilization of Mark 16:15.³⁶⁶ⁿ

(41) Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem (Date: pre-550). Among Coptic witnesses, a homily attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem about the dormition of Mary is one of the earliest utilizations of material from Mark 16:9-20. Embedded in its presentation of a discussion between Cyril and a monk named Annarikhus is a question-and-answer in which Cyril asks, “Who sent thee about to teach these things,” and the monk replies, “The Christ said, ‘Go ye forth into all the world, and teach ye all the nations in My name in every place.’” The author has borrowed verbiage from Matthew 28:19 and from Mark 16:15. (E.A.W. Budge’s English translation of the pertinent material is online – [https://sites.google.com/site/christianitystudies/home/cyril-of-jerusalem-homily-on-the-dormition.](https://sites.google.com/site/christianitystudies/home/cyril-of-jerusalem-homily-on-the-dormition))

(42) A Nubian Prologue to a Hymn to the Cross (Date: unknown). In a story presented in F. L. Griffith's 1913 *Nubian Texts of the Christian Period* (page 49), Christ is depicted telling His disciples, in a scene before His ascension, "*Go forth into the whole world and preach.*" This looks like a clear utilization of Mark 16:15.



Chapter 6: External Evidence with the Double-Ending

We now turn to witnesses, mainly Egyptian, which attest to the inclusion of both the Shorter Ending and 16:9-20. Although some commentators, and the authors of the footnotes in some Bibles translations, have presented the evidence for the Shorter Ending as if the range of its support is comparable to that of 16:9-20, the total number of Greek manuscripts that contain the Shorter Ending (all of which also contain at least part of the usual 12 verses) amounts to just eight Greek manuscripts.

(1) Codex Regius (L, 019) (Date: 700s). This codex is considered the work of an Egyptian copyist. After the end of 16:8 (*το γαρ (to gar)* being the sole contents of the last line of text in the first column on a two-column page), there is a line of fancy dots, and the next column begins with a note, framed by dashes:

Φερετε που (*ferete pou*)

και ταυτα (*kai tauta*)

(“In some, there is also this”), followed by the Shorter Ending (without word-divisions):

Πάντα δε τα παρηγγελμενα τοις περι τον πετρον συντομωσ
εξηγγιλαν Μετα δε ταυτα και αυτος

ο ΙΣ, απο ανατολης και αχρι δυσεως εξαπεστιλεν δι αυτων το ιερον
και αφθαρτον κηρυγμα

· της αιωνιου σωτηριας·

Immediately following this, similarly framed, are the words,

Εστην δε και

ταυτα φερο

μενα μετα το

εφοβουντο

γαρ

.

(“There is also this, appearing after *efobounto gar*.”) Below this on the same page, 16:9 begins; its first two lines are

Αναστας δε πρωϊ
πρωτη σαββατου (*Anastas de proi prote sabbatou*).

Codex L contains all of 16:9-20, omitting *καιναις* (new) in 16:17 and including “Και εν ταις χειρσιν” (And in their hands) in 16:18. It closes 16:20 with “ων – αμην” in the first line of the second column of a page. After this, between thick double-spiral horizontal lines, is the subscription, “Gospel of Mark” – Ευαγγελιον Κα[τα] Μαρκον. The rest of the page is filled by the first ten chapter-headings for the Gospel of Luke.³⁶⁷ⁿ

(2) Codex Athos Laurae (Ψ (Psi), 044) was made around the 800s. After concluding 16:8 normally with *εφοβουντο γαρ*, there is a *τελος*-symbol – referring to the end of a service-reading; the contents of 16:9-20 are identified as a lectionary-reading in the left margin of the page – and the next six lines contain the Shorter Ending:

Πάντα δε τα παρηγγελμενα τοις περι τον
Πετρον συντομως εξηγγιλαν : Μετα
δε ταυτα και αυτος ο ΙΣ εφανη απο ανατολης
και μεξρι δυσεως εξαπεστειλεν δι αυτων
το ιερον και αφθαρτον κηρυγμα της αιω
νιου σωτηριας αμην :

This is followed by a note:

Εστιν και ταυτα φερομενα
μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ

And the note is followed by Mark 16:9-20 – without *καιναις* (*kainais*, new) in 16:17 and with “Και εν ταις χειρσιν” (*Kai en tais chersin*, And in their hands) in 16:18 – followed by the subscription “Ευαγγελιον κατα Μαρκον.” The appearance of essentially the same note in L and Ψ (the only real difference is the *δε* in L) preceding Mark 16:9-20 shows that these two witnesses echo a shared ancestor. As Swete deduced from this evidence, “We must suppose that these manuscripts, notwithstanding other features which attest independence, drew at this point from the same relatively early archetype.”³⁶⁸ⁿ

(3) Codex 083 (Date: 600s). This fragment presents the Shorter Ending as follows after the end of Mark 16:8. It is helpful to see the arrangement of the full text, column by column. The text was formatted in 25 lines per column, but much has been lost due to damage. The first column appears as follows (with lost text in brackets):

[ιδε ο τοπος] οπου
[εθηκαν αυ] τον
[αλλα υπαγε] τε ειπα
[τε τοις μαθ] ηταις αυ
[του και τ] ω Πετρω
[οτιπρογ] ει υμας
[εις την Γα] λιλαιαν
[εκει αυτο] ν οψεσθε
[καθως ει] πεν υμι(ν)
[και εξελθο] υσαι εφυ
[γον απο τ] ου μνη
151
[μειου ειχε] ν γαρ αυ
[τας τρομο] ς και εκ
[στασις και] ουδεν
[ι ουδεν ει] πον εφο
[βουντο γ] αρ.....
.....
.....
[ευαγγε] λιον
[κατα Μα] ρκον

The second column, to the right of the first column, appears as follows:

ταυτα και αυτος
ΙΣ απο ανατολης
αχρι δυσεως εξε
πεστειλεν δια αυ
των το ιερον και
αφθαρτον κηρυ
γμα της αιωνιου

σωτηριας αμην
Εστιν δε και ταυτα
φερομενα μετα
το εφοβουντο γαρ
Αναστας δε πρωι
πρωτη σαββατου
εφανη πρωτον
Μαρια τη Μαγδα
ληνη παρ ης
εκβεβληκει επτα
δαιμονια εκεινη
πορευθ. . . . απηγ
γειλεν με

The words in bold print are written in smaller letters than the rest. C. R. Williams, following the lead of some earlier scholars (especially Burkitt), proposed that between the end of the extant first column and the beginning of the extant second column, 099 originally contained the note “Φερεται που και ταυτα” (*Feretai pou kai tauta*) after the subscription, followed by the missing part of the Shorter Ending.³⁶⁹ⁿ

Despite its fragmentary nature, the testimony of 083 is important because it testifies to three forms of the text that existed in Egypt: one form ended at 16:8, as indicated by the presence of the subscription after 16:8. Another form contained the Shorter Ending. And another form contained Mark 16:9-20. Also, we see from 083 that the note “Εστιν δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ” (*Estin de kai tauta feromena meta to efobounto gar*) was used in manuscripts made in Egypt.

(4) Codex 099 (Date: around 600). This severely damaged and fragmentary witness contains a textual quirk which is shared by a Greek-Sahidic lectionary (Lectionary 1602), demonstrating the Egyptian provenance of the Shorter Ending. Its incomplete text is in two columns. The first one gives the text of Mark 16:6b-16:8, followed by a gap, followed by the Shorter Ending: at the bottom of the first column, the text is:

[π] αντα δε τα π [α]

ρηγγελμεν [α]

τοις περι τον

and the Shorter Ending continues in the second column:

[Πε] τρον συν

τομωσ εξηγ

γειλαν

.

Μετα δε ταυτα

και αυτος ο ΙΣ

εφανε αυτοις

απ ανατολης

ηλιου και αχρι

δυσεωσ εξεπε

στειλεν δι αυ

των το ιερον

και αφθαρτον

κηρυγμα της

αιωνιου σωτη

ριασ αμην

.

This is followed by a six-line gap. Then the text of most of 16:8 is rewritten, followed by 16:9 and the beginning of 16:10, before the end of the fragment:

ειχεν γαρ αυτασ

τρομοσ και εκ

στασισ και ου

δενι ουδεν ει

πον εφοβου(ν)

το γαρ

.

Αναστας δε πρωι

πρωτη σαββα

του εφανε πρω

τον Μαρια τη

Μαγδαληνη α— 370n

(5) Greek-Sahidic Lectionary 1602 (Date: 700s). The format of 099 must be compared to the format used in this witness, the remains of a Greek-Sahidic lectionary. It displays both the Shorter Ending and 16:9-20. After 16:8, and before the Shorter Ending (in which Lectionary 1602 supports the reading *εφανη* (*efane*)), Lectionary 1602 has the note, “Ἐν ἀλλοῖς ἀντιγραφοῖς οὐκ ἐγράφη ταῦτα” (“In other copies this is not written”).

After the Shorter Ending, Lectionary 1602 has basically the same note that is present in L, Ψ (Psi), and 083: “Ἐστὶν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φερομένα μετὰ τοῦ εφοβούντο γὰρ.” Then it begins, like 099, a little more than halfway through 16:8, at the words “εἶχεν γὰρ” (*eichen gar*), and its text proceeds from there, presenting the rest of verse 8 followed by verses 9-20.³⁷¹ⁿ

Thus, 099 and the Egyptian Lectionary 1602 share a remarkable feature (the repetition of part of 16:8 prior to the presentation of verse 9), and the Egyptian Lectionary 1602 shares an annotation with L, Ψ (Psi), and 083. Therefore it should be clear that the texts of these five witnesses at the end of Mark are very closely related, and that their shared ancestor was in Egypt.

(6) 579 (Date: 1200s). This minuscule of the Gospels has a primarily Byzantine Text in Matthew, while in the other three Gospels, according to Metzger, “it preserves an extremely good Alexandrian text which often agrees with B, Aleph, and L.”³⁷²ⁿ However, 579 supports “in the prophets” in Mark 1:2, Gergesenes” in Mark 5:1, “prayer and fasting” in 9:29, and includes Mark 9:44 and 9:46 and 15:28, so it should be considered a mixed text.³⁷³ⁿ Another indication that 579 descends, in part, from an Egyptian text-form is that it displays approximately the same rare chapter-divisions in the Gospels that are displayed in Codex Vaticanus.

The testimony of 579 is somewhat unique because it presents the end of 16:8 and the beginning of the Shorter Ending with nothing between them except the word “*telos*,” written in red, which is used repeatedly in 579 to signify the end of lections. After the Shorter Ending, in which the final “Amen” is the only

occupant of the last line on the page, there is a plus-sign in the right margin. (This is an unusual symbol in 579, although a smaller plus-sign appears on the same page alongside 16:7.) The next page begins at the beginning of 16:9, and the text of 16:9-20 (with εκ νεκρων in 16:14 and “Και εν ταις χειρσιν” in 16:18, without any Section-numbers) occupies the page.³⁷⁴ⁿ

(7) 274 (Date: 900s). In this Gospels-codex, which was prepared for public reading, the final two syllables of 16:8 (-το γαρ, -to gar) and the beginning of 16:9 (Αναστας δε, *Anastas de*) are on the same line, with an abbreviated lectionary-note (indicating the end of the second Heothina lection) in between. In the right-hand margin is an abbreviated note (in uncial lettering) which signifies “the beginning of the third Heothina, which is also the reading for the morning prayertime on Ascension-Day.”³⁷⁵ⁿ

In the left-hand margin, between a Eusebian Section-number (the Eusebian Section-numbers in 274 include sections within 16:9-20) and the left margin of the line of text where the end of 16:8 and the beginning of 16:9 appear, there is an asterisk, resembling an “x” with four dots arranged around it, north-south-east-west.

At the left-hand side of the bottom of the page, a stack of five more asterisks appear. Just to the right of the five asterisks, filling much of the lower margin of the page, is the Shorter Ending, written in five lines in uncial-lettering as follows (elided letters are provided within brackets):

Πάντα δε τα παρηγγέλμενα τοις πε[ρι] τον :

Πέτρον συντόμως εξήγγειλαν

· μετα δε ταυτα κ[αι]

αυτος ο Ι[ησου]ς αποανατολων. κ[αι] αχρι δύσεως εξαπεσ-

τειλ[εν]. δι’ αυτων το ιερον κ[αι] άφθαρτον κήρυγμα

τής αιωνίου σ[ωτη]ρίας

· Αμήν : –

It is unclear if the Shorter Ending was added when 274 was produced, or by someone after its production who simply considered it an interesting variant. Possibly the Shorter Ending

was added from a supplemental exemplar. The person who added it may have simply wished to preserve an interesting variant, or he may have intended for the Shorter Ending to be utilized as a liturgical flourish after the reading of 16:8, or as an extended introduction to 16:9-20.

(8) Etchmiadzin 303 (Date: 1200s). According to E. C. Colwell, at the end of the Gospel of Luke in Armenian MS Etchmiadzin 303 (in which Mark 16:9-20 follows 16:8), there is an addition: *“And it all in summary they related to those who were with Peter. After that Jesus himself, from the Orient to the setting of the sun, sent [them] forth. And he placed in their hands the divine, imperishable preaching for the eternal salvation of all creatures eternally. Amen.”*³⁷⁶ⁿ

It is as if an Armenian copyist possessed an exemplar with the Shorter Ending, but did not know where it belonged. The text from which Etchmiadzin 303’s form of the Shorter Ending descended did not have the word εφανε (“appeared”). Codex L and 274 also do not include εφανε or εφανε αυτοις.³⁷⁷ⁿ Also, Etchmiadzin 303 agrees with 099, echoing ηλιου. The presence of the Shorter Ending, by itself, is clear evidence of interaction between the Armenian version and the Alexandrian Text. When it is observed that in the edition of the Armenian version compiled by Zohrab in 1805, Mark 16:17 does not have the equivalent of καιναις (“new”) and 16:18 does not have the equivalent of Και εν ταις χειρσιν (“And in their hands”),³⁷⁸ⁿ thus agreeing with the Alexandrian Text, this is even more apparent; it seems evident that an Alexandrian influence has diluted the Caesarean character of some Armenian witnesses.

(9) Ethiopic Manuscripts with the Double-Ending (Late 400s, attested by late MSS). The Ethiopic version probably originated sometime after the mid-300s, when Frumentius evangelized the area, assisted by some clerics from Alexandria.³⁷⁹ⁿ In the late 400s and early 500s, nine monks, probably Monophysites with Syrian backgrounds (including Abbe Garima (the namesake of the Garima

Gospels), made progress in the Christianization of Ethiopia's border-regions, and it was probably at that time that the Ethiopic Version of the Gospels was produced. Thus, practically from its inception, the Ethiopic Version was exposed to mixture, inasmuch as the text familiar to the nine monks from Syria would have been different from the previously-used text from Egypt.

It is therefore no surprise that the Ethiopic Version, even in very late witnesses, attests to different forms of the ending of Mark. The form with the oldest support presents Mark 16:9-20 immediately following 16:8, with no unusual features. But in 131 of the 194 Ethiopic Gospels manuscripts examined by Metzger and Macomber (who provided some research for Metzger), Mark 16:8 is followed by the Shorter Ending and the Shorter Ending is followed by 16:9-20, all as part of the text.³⁸⁰ⁿ

In the Ethiopic manuscripts that contain the Shorter Ending between 16:8 and 16:9, the phrase “εφανε αυτοις” is supported, as in 099. This is consistent with a reconstructed history of the Ethiopic Version in which the Byzantine Text was mixed with late Alexandrian readings, in the forms in which each existed in Ethiopia at the beginning of the 500s.

(10) The Sahidic Versions (Date: late 100s (?) - 300s, attested in 400s and later). The earliest copy of Mark in a Sahidic Version, Codex P. Palau-Ribes Inv. Nr. 182, ends the text at the end of 16:8. This particular Sahidic manuscript also lacks the phrase “*Son of God*” in Mark 1:1, which suggests a relationship between its text and the text of Codex Aleph, which also does not include the phrase.³⁸¹ⁿ Similarly, the Sahidic Version – or, one stratum of it – can be shown to have a special affinity with the early Alexandrian Text: in Luke 16:19, in Jesus' story of The Rich Man and Lazarus, Papyrus 75 (a close ally of Codex B) has the reading ονοματι Νενης, which is a flawed attempt to give a name to the rich man, specifically the name *Nineveh*, and he is so named in the Sahidic Version.³⁸²ⁿ

The Sahidic testimony is not uniform. In Codex P. Palau-Ribes Inv. Nr. 182 (which was described earlier) and in another

Coptic manuscript of Mark, the entire text of Mark 15:14 is absent – an echo of a parableptic error that was in an ancestor of both manuscripts. But this verse is present in other Sahidic copies. Similarly, at the end of Mark, the Sahidic evidence echoes different ancestors. Overall, the evidence indicates that different books of the New Testament were translated into Sahidic at different times, that some books were retranslated, and that significantly different base-texts were used, ranging from exemplars with a strong Alexandrian Text to others with a distinctly Western Text.

In 1951, two decades before the publication of Codex P. Palau-Ribes Inv. Nr. 182, the researcher Paul Kahle gathered information about some other Sahidic manuscripts:

- Pierpont Morgan Manuscript 11 (XI) (M 615) (ca. 700) - has the Shorter Ending between 16:8 and 16:9.
- Pierpont Morgan Manuscript 4 (IV) (M 569) (ca. 800) - has the Shorter Ending between 16:8 and 16:9.
- Vienna 9075, 9076 (700s) - has the Shorter Ending between 16:8 and 16:9.
- British Museum Oriental Manuscript 7029 (late 900s) - has 16:9 after 16:8, without the Shorter Ending.³⁸³ⁿ

Kahle observed that out of the six Sahidic witnesses in which chapter 16 was preserved, five of them contain the Shorter Ending and 16:9-20, accompanied by short notes. In this respect, their format resembles a format found in a copy of the Bohairic Version (to be described shortly).

Two other pieces of Sahidic evidence should be mentioned. In the list of Sahidic manuscripts compiled by Schmitz & Mink, the 333rd list-entry is a small Sahidic fragment, probably part of a lectionary, which preserves text from Mark 16:16 to 20.

Unfortunately it is hard to assign a date to such a small sample of text, and it is impossible to see if the intact manuscript contained the Shorter Ending. At least this witness has value by confirming that Mark 16:16 to 20 was included in a Sahidic lectionary at some point.³⁸⁴ⁿ

A Sahidic fragment in the collection of Duke University (P. Duke Inv. 814), from the 700s, attests to the presence of the Shorter Ending in a Sahidic lectionary; on one side of the fragment, text from Mark 16:7 and the Shorter Ending can be identified; on the other side is text from Luke 22:6 and 22:25.³⁸⁵ⁿ

(11) Two Bohairic Manuscripts (translation-date: 200s?, production-dates: 1174 and 1208). The Bohairic Version tends to have an Alexandrian character, but all preserved Bohairic copies of Mark 16 support the inclusion of verses 9 to 20 after 16:8. Two medieval Bohairic copies present the Shorter Ending in the margin near 16:8. First, in the Huntington 17 manuscript, after 16:8, there is a note written in Arabic, which says, “This is the chapter expelled in the Greek.”³⁸⁶ⁿ The Shorter Ending is at this point in the margin, added, according to Horner, by the ordinary early corrector. The text of the Shorter Ending in Huntington 17 includes the variant “appeared to them” (supporting *εφρανη αυτοις*) and refers to the rising of the sun (supporting the inclusion of *ηλιου*). There is more to the note after the Shorter Ending: it continues to the effect of, “These (words) themselves belong to the part that says, ‘And after these (things) troubles and perplexities seized them: and they said not a word to anybody, for they were fearing.’”

This is a more carefully executed presentation of the format that was attempted in 099 and in Greek-Sahidic Lectionary 1602. In those two witnesses, after the Shorter Ending, the text was rewound to midway through verse eight, followed by verse nine. Here in the margin of Bohairic manuscript Huntington 17, similarly, after the Shorter Ending is presented, the second half of 16:8 (beginning at the same point where the repeated portion begins in 099 and Greek-Sahidic Lectionary 1602) is repeated in order to convey that the Shorter Ending followed verse 8 in a supplemental exemplar.

In the other Bohairic manuscript that has the Shorter Ending in the margin, symbols after 16:8 refer the reader to a note in the lower margin of the page, which presents the Shorter Ending

(again supporting εφανη αυτοις (*efane autois*) and again referring to the rising of the sun), prefaced by the statement that it was found “In another writing,” that is, in a secondary exemplar, and an extra note, in Arabic, says, “In the copy of the Sa’id.”

By comparing these witnesses for the Shorter Ending to each other, a pattern and order emerge. First, it is clear that the Shorter Ending is a citizen of Egypt; five of the six Greek manuscripts which contain it have virtually the same notations regarding it, and/or the same unusual format in which 16:8 is repeated, which are found in Egyptian versional evidence. Second, a textual variant in the Shorter Ending facilitates the construction of lines of descent. It is unlikely that anyone, having a text of the Shorter Ending in which it was said that Jesus appeared to His disciples, would remove the reference to His appearance.

Such a removal could happen accidentally: in a text that read, και αυτος ο ις εφανη αυτοις απο ανατολης (ις being the contraction for Ιησους), an inattentive copyist could skip from the end of the reference to Jesus (ο Ις) to the same letters at the end of αυτοις, and thus accidentally omit the letters (that is, the words εφανη αυτοις) in between. Those two words would be particularly vulnerable in a text formatted in narrow columns, such as what is seen in 099, in which εφανη αυτοις (*efane autois*) forms exactly one line of text. However, there is another alternative reading at this point besides the simple presence or absence of εφανη αυτοις; in Ψ, and in Greek-Sahidic Lectionary 1602, there is just the word εφανη, and this is supported in Old Latin *k* by the reading *adparuit* (which is followed by the word *et*). This indicates that the text of the Shorter Ending at this point grew rather than shrank, taking three forms:

- In the first form, there was no explicit mention of Jesus’ appearance.
- In the second form, a word was added to mention that Jesus appeared.
- In the third form, another word was added to specify that Jesus had appeared to them.

Thus, Codex L (from the 700s) and 579 (from the 1200s), though not the earliest witnesses to the Shorter Ending, emerge as the witnesses which have preserved the Shorter Ending in its earliest form. Old Latin Codex Bobbiensis, despite being the earliest witness to the Shorter Ending, and the only one that displays the Shorter Ending exclusively after (most of) Mark 16:8, has the second form of the Shorter Ending. Since Codex Bobbiensis is from the 400s, the ancestor of the Shorter Ending as preserved in Codex L must be earlier than that. In addition, inasmuch as the earliest form of the Shorter Ending is embedded in Codex L's presentation of the Double-Ending, the Double-Ending appears to be older than its oldest witnesses, possibly existing before the early 300s – but only in Egypt, as the result of a situation in which copyists possessed at least one exemplar of Mark with the Shorter Ending, and at least one exemplar of Mark with 16:9-20.

This raises the possibility that the absence of 16:9-20 in Codex Bobbiensis might not have been an effect of conformity to a text-form earlier than the text-form displayed in Codex L, but may instead have been due to a copyist's failure to understand his exemplar's presentation of the Double-Ending.

(12) The Postscript in the Askew Codex of *Pistis Sophia* (Date: 400s?). This unusual Sahidic text, which is included in a codex that includes the Gnostic composition known collectively as *Pistis Sophia*, is an indirect witness to the Double-Ending. Hort briefly mentioned this witness, somewhat dismissively and without any direct quotation of it,³⁸⁷ⁿ and very few subsequent commentators seem to have noticed it. The namesake of the Askew Codex (now housed at the British Library as Additional Manuscript 5114) was Anthony Askew, from whom the British Museum purchased it in 1785.

George Mead translated its text of *Pistis Sophia* and described the pertinent section of the document: “On the last page is an appendix, somewhat in the style of the Mark-conclusion,

beginning quite abruptly in the middle of a sentence and presumably part of a larger whole. The contents, measurements and writing make it almost certain that it formed no part of the original copy. At the very end two lines surrounded by ornamentation are erased. These may have contained the names of the owner or scribes, or possibly a general subscript title.”³⁸⁸ⁿ

Mead provided a translation of this remnant-text, calling it “A Later Postscript” at the end of the manuscript:

“. . . the righteous [man]. They went forth three by three to the four zones of heaven and they proclaimed the goodness of the kingdom in the whole world, the Christ inworking with them through the words of confirmation and the signs and the wonders which followed them. And thus was known the kingdom of God on the whole earth and in the whole world of Israel as a witness for all the nations which are from the rising unto the setting [of the sun].”³⁸⁹ⁿ

The production-date of the Askew Codex is usually assigned somewhere between the 300s and the 500s. Although the composition-date of *Pistis Sophia* itself is earlier, the production-date of the codex itself is more pertinent regarding the “Postscript,” because it does not seem to have ever been a part of *Pistis Sophia* itself.

The wording in the phrase, “*the Christ inworking with them through the words of confirmation and the signs and the wonders which followed them*” appears to be reflect knowledge of Mark 16:20. And the opening phrase, “*They went forth three by three to the four zones of heaven and they proclaimed the goodness of the kingdom in the whole world*” not only some verbiage with Mark 16:16 but also aligns so closely with the Shorter Ending (especially when one considers the presence of the phrase “from the rising unto the setting [of the sun],” a paraphrase of “from the east to the west”) that the similarities to the Shorter Ending are probably not coincidental.

Before proceeding to examine evidence from lectionaries, a question about the witnesses for the Double-Ending should be addressed: in the witnesses in which the Shorter Ending is in the

text, *why does the Shorter Ending always come first?* Kurt Aland believed that this implied that the copyists regarded the Shorter Ending more highly than 16:9-20.³⁹⁰ⁿ However, the notes in the copies that contain the Double-Ending do not suggest scribal confidence one way or the other.

The five copies in which the Shorter Ending precedes 16:9 (L, Ψ (Psi), 099, 083, and 579, all of which preserve Alexandrian readings) probably all descend from an ancestor manuscript made in Egypt sometime in the late 200s-300s by a copyist who encountered the Shorter Ending in at least one copy before he encountered 16:9-20 in at least one copy. The Double-Ending does not express a preference for the Shorter Ending just because it is first; a *strong* scribal preference would have been expressed by the adoption of one ending and the non-inclusion of the other one.

The Shorter Ending would be rather useless after 16:20 (and not likely to be perpetuated if copyists ever placed it there), but when it is placed after 16:8, it is capable of serving a liturgical purpose, either as a flourish at the conclusion of the preceding lection, or as an introduction to the one which follows. This explains why, in the witnesses for the Double-Ending, the Shorter Ending comes first.



Chapter 7: Lectionary Evidence

Besides the many MSS of the Gospel of Mark which include 16:9-20 as an integral part of the text, hundreds of Greek lectionaries also support the inclusion of the passage. A lectionary is a collection of Scriptural excerpts, arranged in distinct portions, slightly adjusted for public reading in church-services, and assigned to be read on certain dates and occasions in the church-calendar. For the subject at hand, the focus is upon Gospel-lectionaries.

In 1881, Hort wrote, “All or nearly all the various extant [lectionary] systems, Eastern and Western, so far as they are known, contain verses 9 through 20: many or all of them probably, the Constantinopolitan certainly, represent with more or less of modification the systems of Century 5 or even in part Century 4; and these in their turn were probably in most cases founded on earlier local systems.”³⁹¹ⁿ Research conducted after 1881 has revealed that at least one lectionary-system was used in Jerusalem which cannot be shown to have incorporated Mark 16:9-20; this lectionary-system was adopted in Armenia and may have lowered the pressure on early Armenian scribes to conform their liturgical works to the Byzantine Text. Nevertheless the prominent use of Mark 16:9-20 in lectionaries in diverse locales attests to a basic acceptance of the passage in those locales in the late 300s and in the 400s. This is an important factor to consider when gauging the accuracy of the statements by Eusebius (ca. 325) and Jerome (ca. 417), which have been interpreted as if those two writers thought that hardly any Greek manuscripts anywhere contained the passage.³⁹²ⁿ

Hort specifically mentioned three different kinds of early lectionaries which use Mark 16:9-20: “In the extant Constantinopolitan Lectionaries and other records, and therefore probably in the Antiochan system, Mark 16:9-20 is read on Ascension Day,” and, “The Jacobite Copts read verses 9 through

20 on Ascension Day,” and “The Jacobite Syrians on Tuesday in Easterweek.”³⁹³ⁿ

In addition, we have already seen quotations by Ambrose and Augustine which show that Mark 16:9-20 was read in the church-services in Milan around 370, and in North Africa around 400, and a review of various citations from Chrysostom and Epiphanius, collected by Burgon, would add further evidence that Mark 16:9-20’s prominence in lectionary-systems in the late 300s was widespread.³⁹⁴ⁿ

This does not mean that lectionaries, as such, existed in the 300s and 400s. Initially, ordinary continuous-text manuscripts of the Gospels were supplemented by symbols intended to inform the lector, or public reader, about which passages were to be read on which days, and the pages were marked – as they are in many extant manuscripts – with titles and symbols to indicate the beginning and end of each passage. Almost certainly such copies were the prototypes of actual lectionaries. The development of the non-continuous lectionary was the effect of the convenience of having the readings arranged in the order in which they were read through the year in church-services.

Besides the evidence acknowledged by Hort, some additional pieces of evidence show the antiquity of lection-systems – whether they involved rubricated continuous-text manuscripts, or true lectionaries with the readings distinctly separated and rearranged. In a statement in the 36th chapter of the pseudepigraphical *Vision of St. Paul*, the narrator relates that 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.”³⁹⁵ⁿ This text was known to Augustine, who refers to it as a forged *Apocalypse of Paul* (not to be confused with the Coptic Gnostic composition with the same name) in the eighth chapter of his *Tractate 98 on the Gospel of John*.³⁹⁶ⁿ Also, an ordination-blessing for lectors is included in the *Testamentum Domini*, a composition from the 400s.³⁹⁷ⁿ

This poses an intimidating problem for those who consider Mark 16:9-20 a late accretion.

A lection-system that is in regular use for very long is like a bookshelf filled with books; unless the old books can be pushed together, a new book will be set on top of the old ones rather than among them. Likewise a novel lection would tend to occupy a minor place in the lectionary. Instead, Mark 16:9-20 has a very prominent place, comparable to the first books on the bookshelf. The inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 in readings for important days (at Eastertime and on Ascension-Day) implies that the passage was accepted at or very near the earliest stage of lection-cycles.

Hort proposed that after the Byzantine Text became popular, "It could rarely happen that a church would fail to read them [i.e., 16:9-20] 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."³⁹⁸ⁿ On one hand, it is correct that inasmuch as Mark 16:9-20 mentions Jesus' post-resurrection appearances, and His ascension, it would be natural for a person who regarded it as authentic to use it as a lection for Easter-time, or for Ascension-Day.

On the other hand, it is difficult to find a historical perch upon which Hort's theory about such a blatant "accepted change in the Biblical text" can rest. The fourth century (i.e., the 300s) was an era filled with theological disputes, and there was a widespread vigilance regarding the New Testament text, which extended to the related parts of church-services. This may be illustrated by three examples.

First is an incident in which a liturgical alteration was attempted 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.”³⁹⁹ⁿ

Second is an episode which Augustine mentioned in 403: a bishop who attempted to use Jerome’s translation of Jonah was compelled to stop using it, as his congregation threatened to desert him otherwise: when the bishop read Jerome’s translation, which described Jonah’s plant as a species of ivy (*hedera*), the congregation protested that the proper reading was “gourd,” (*cucurbita*), which is a closer match, in Latin, of the Greek word κολοκυνθη, (*kolokunthe*) which is the rendering in the Septuagint.⁴⁰⁰ⁿ

Third is an account about Spyridon, who served as bishop of Tremithous in southwest Cyprus in the early-mid 300s. This account was recorded by the historian Sozomen in the early 400s, in the eleventh chapter of Book One of Part Two of his *Church History*. Spyridon was attending a meeting of the church-leaders of Cyprus, and another bishop, Triphyllius, was reading to the assembly from the Gospels, about Jesus’ healing of a paralytic. (The exact passage is not named; it may have been Mark 2, or John 5.) As Triphyllius was reading, he spoke the word σκιμποδα (*skimпода*) in place of the word κραββατόν (*krabbaton*) – a slight Atticizing refinement. Spyridon interrupted, standing up and exclaiming, “Are you so much better than he who said κραββατόν (*krabbaton*) that you are ashamed to use his words?” And, as everyone watched, he promptly departed.⁴⁰¹ⁿ

These three anecdotes illustrate a certain vigilant attitude which even bishops had to respect. So the question must be raised: would any bishop readily introduce a new text – *this* text, with its statements about a rebuke delivered to the apostles, and about speaking in tongues, and about handling serpents, and about drinking poison – alongside, or in place of, the Gospels-passages which had previously been used at Eastertime and on Ascension-Day? And, if so, would a congregation happily embrace the introduction of this text if they had never heard of it before?

Rather than suggest that Mark 16:9-20 was a secondary insertion in the lectionary, the evidence indicates that Mark 16:9-20 was integral to lection-systems at a time earlier than the earliest extant lectionaries. One particular set of lections demonstrates this: the eleven *Ευαγγελια Αναστασιμα Εωθινα*, (*Evangelia Anastasima Heothina*) or Gospel-readings of the Morning Resurrection, also known as the Resurrection-Gospels for Matins, or *Orthros*. This series of readings is read on Sundays, early in the morning. They are:

- (1) Matthew 28:16 to 20
- (2) Mark 16:1 to 8
- (3) Mark 16:9-20
- (4) Luke 24:1 to 12
- (5) Luke 24:12 to 35
- (6) Luke 24:36 to 53
- (7) John 20:1 to 10
- (8) John 20:11 to 18
- (9) John 20:19 to 31
- (10) John 21:1 to 14, and
- (11) John 21:15 to 25.

The Heothina-series is featured in a beautiful lectionary known as Codex Theodosianus (Sinai Greek Manuscript 204, listed by Scrivener as Lectionary 286), produced in 975 to 1000. It is kept at St. Catherine's Monastery. This lectionary, written entirely in gold ink, contains only 71 lections, divided into five sections. The first section contains the lections for Eastertime, including the lection for the Feast of the Ascension. The fifth section is reserved for the eleven Heothina; four of them are provided and the reader is told where to find the remaining eight in the other four sections.⁴⁰²ⁿ

Codex Theodosianus is just one of hundreds of lectionaries, from the 700s into late medieval times, which display the eleven Heothina, including Mark 16:9-20. In continuous-text manuscripts, likewise, it is not unusual to find, along the margins at the beginning of Mark 16:9, abbreviated notes which state that the second Heothina-reading (or second Orthros-reading) ends, and the

third one begins, at that point, thus displaying the lection-system that was operational at whatever time those notes and symbols were added – which in some cases was the production date of the manuscript itself. The evidence from lectionaries is consistent with the idea that Mark 16:9-20 was accepted as Scripture from the very earliest stage of lectionary development in most areas. Lectionaries in Antioch, North Africa, Syria (Syriac lectionaries from the 600s are extant), Egypt, and Palestine offer practically the strongest support for the genuineness of Mark 16:9-20 that they could.

The presence of Mark 16:9-20 among the Heothina-readings gives the passage impressive prominence in more than one lectionary-arrangement. In a 2009 dissertation, Christopher Robert Dennis Jordan provided specific data about the placement of the Heothina-readings in lectionaries. Jordan noted, “The position of the Eleven Resurrection pericopae thoroughly divides the lectionary evidence.”⁴⁰⁰ⁿ His research shows that out of 110 lectionaries, one lectionary (*ℓ* 111, from the 900s) places the Heothina-readings between Holy Thursday and Holy Friday. Fifty-nine lectionaries place the Heothina-readings at the end of the Synaxarion. Fifty lectionaries place the Heothina-readings at the end of the Menologion.

Some of these lectionaries are relatively early and significant. Particularly important lectionaries with the Heothina-readings at or near the end of the Synaxarion include the following:

- *ℓ* 2, a Gospels-lectionary from the 900s.
- *ℓ* 4, a Gospels-lectionary from the 1000s.
- *ℓ* 17,
- *ℓ* 20,
- *ℓ* 34, a damaged Gospels-lectionary from the 800s.
- *ℓ* 48, a Gospels-lectionary made in 1055.
- *ℓ* 49, a Gospels-lectionary from ca. 1000.
- *ℓ* 60, a lectionary with lections from the Gospels and Acts, made in 1021.
- *ℓ* 63, a Gospels-lectionary from the 800s.
- *ℓ* 150, a Gospels-lectionary made in 995.

- *ℓ* 181, a Gospels-lectionary made in 980.
- *ℓ* 292, a damaged Gospels-lectionary from the 800s, possibly earlier.
- *ℓ* 374, a lectionary made in 1070.
- *ℓ* 387, a lectionary from the 1000s.
- *ℓ* 425,
- *ℓ* 844,
- *ℓ* 859, a damaged lectionary from the 1000s.
- *ℓ* 1533,
- *ℓ* 1578, *ℓ* 1616, *ℓ* 1625, *ℓ* 1683, *ℓ* 1684, *ℓ* 1965, *ℓ* 2276, *ℓ* 2414, and *ℓ* 2474.

Lectionaries with the Heothina-readings at the end of the Menologion include the following:

- *ℓ* 17, a Gospels-lectionary from the 800s.
- *ℓ* 32, a Gospels-lectionary from the 1000s with unusual (Caesarean?) readings.
- *ℓ* 42, a Gospels-lectionary from the 900s, written with one column per page.
- *ℓ* 64, a Gospels-lectionary from the 800s.
- *ℓ* 115, a Gospels-lectionary from the 900s.
- *ℓ* 152, a Gospels-lectionary from the late 800s or early 900s.
- *ℓ* 183, a Gospels-lectionary from the late 900s, with an anomalous text.
- *ℓ* 185, a lectionary from the 1000s, with some unusual readings.
- *ℓ* 250, a lectionary from the 900s.
- *ℓ* 252, a lectionary from the 1000s.

One isolated medieval lectionary has little weight, but when they combine in agreement, the result is an echo of their common, more ancient archetype.

Some other evidence from lectionaries should be mentioned:

- Papyrus Duke Inv. 814 (which was mentioned earlier), from the 700s, consists of two fragments of what appears to be a Sahidic lectionary, containing Mark 16:7 on one side of a fragment and

Luke 22:5 on the other side. The other fragment contains the Shorter Ending on one side and Luke 22:25 on the other side.⁴⁰⁴ⁿ

- The prominence of Mark 16:9-20, and the Heothina-series of readings, in the lectionary in medieval times is illustrated by the *Exapostilaria*, a series of short liturgical hymns attributed to either Byzantine Emperor Leo the Sixth (d. 912) or his son Constantine the Seventh (d. 959).

Each Exapostilarion summarizes the Gospels-excerpt.

Exapostilarion #1 summarizes Matthew

28, verses 16 to 20, Exapostilarion #2 summarizes the events in Mark 16:1 to 8. Exapostilarion #3 says, “*Let no one doubt that Christ has risen. For he appeared to Mary; then he was seen by those going out to the country; again he appeared to the eleven Initiates as they sat at table, and, when he had sent them out to baptise, he was taken up to heaven, from which he had come down, confirming the proclamation by many signs.*”⁴⁰⁵ⁿ

- A small fragment of a Sahidic lectionary (which was mentioned earlier), to which no date

was assigned by the researchers who published it, contains parts of Mark 16:16-20.⁴⁰⁶ⁿ

- Sahidic Oriental Manuscript 7029 (which was mentioned earlier) is not a continuous-text

copy of Mark. It presents Mark 16:1 through 20 as a Resurrection-lection to be read on May 4, the Commemoration-Day of Apa Aaron, who lived in the late 300s.⁴⁰⁷ⁿ The series of lections of which Mark 16:1 to 20 is a component is attached to the *Life of Aaron* (to which Budge gave the title “*Histories of the Monks in the Egyptian Desert by Paphnutius*”).

Life of Aaron is also attested in the fragmentary remains of a papyrus codex from the 500s or 600s. J. H. F. Dijkstra noted that “The papyrus fragments, probably dating to the sixth or seventh centuries, correspond to parts of fol. 28a-b and 30a-b of the tenth-century manuscript.”⁴⁰⁸ⁿ Mainly on the basis of specialized vocabulary, Dijkstra provisionally estimated that the probable composition-date of *Life of Aaron* is between 491 and 700.

- The *Liber Commicus* (sometimes spelled *Comicus*), a lectionary produced in 1067, does not consist of the usual lections; it is a distinct text which, unlike other lectionaries, includes readings from the book of Revelation. Its Latin text, in which Vulgate sections and Old Latin sections are interspersed, reflects a local text used in Spain. One of its readings for Ascension-Day is Mark 16:15 to 20.⁴⁰⁹ⁿ

Before closing this chapter, an erroneous citation that has involved a lectionary should be sorted out. The second edition of the UBS *Greek New Testament* cited Lectionary 961 (dated in Kurt Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste* to the 1100s) as a witness for “*add vv. 9-20 and Shorter Ending*,”⁴¹⁰ⁿ



Chapter 8: Phantom Evidence

In the course of reviewing the external evidence in chapters one through seven, several witnesses which commentators have treated as evidence against Mark 16:9-20 have been shown to either support the passage or to have no clear testimony to offer. They include the following:

- **Ammonius.** His Matthew-centered cross-reference system was the inspiration for Eusebius' system of Sections and Canons, but the "Ammonian Sections" are the work of Eusebius.
- **Ethiopic Copies.** The widespread claim that some Ethiopic manuscripts of Mark bring the text to a close at the end of 16:8, or contain only the Shorter Ending after 16:8, was demonstrated to be false by Bruce Metzger in 1980.
- **Clement of Alexandria.** Clement of Alexandria hardly ever quotes from the Gospel of Mark outside of chapter 10; his non-use of Mark 16:9-20 has no more text-critical significance than his non-use of thirteen of Mark's sixteen chapters. In addition, a possible reference to Mark 16:19 exists in Clement's *Adumbrationes* in a comment on Jude verse 24 as preserved by Cassiodorus.
- **Origen.** If the text of Mark were to be divided into approximately 56 equal pieces, each unit consisting of 12 verses, Origen can be shown to have used only 22 of those 12-verse pieces in his major works. Inasmuch as Origen says nothing about Mark 16:9-20 that he does not also say about 33 other twelve-verse pieces, his alleged silence has no text-critical significance. In addition, there is a possible allusion to Mark 16:20 in *Philocalia* 5:5.
- **274^{margin}.** This witness was misrepresented in the second edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* and by various commentators (including William Lane), as if it presented the Shorter Ending after 16:9-20. In 2011, Richard Carrier claimed, "Some mss. (like uncial 274, transcribed in the 10th century) have Mark end with 16:8, and then append the LE, and

then the SE is written in the margins.”⁴¹¹ⁿ However, 274 is not an uncial, and does not end Mark with 16:8, and it has the Shorter Ending in the lower margin of the page, not after 16:20.

- **2386.** Although Metzger openly acknowledged that this is simply a damaged manuscript that contained Mark 16:9-20 when it was produced, some negligent commentators still list it as a witness against the passage.

- **Codex Alexandrinus.** This codex includes the entire text of Mark 16:9-20, but commentators Ron Rhodes and Ben Witherington III have both stated that it does not include the passage. Their commentaries must be corrected.

- **Manuscripts with Scribal Notes.** Metzger’s vague claim that “Not a few manuscripts have scribal notes stating that older Greek copies lack it”⁴¹²ⁿ has been inexcusably distorted by various commentators who have failed to discern that the actual number of manuscripts with such notes is very small (as described previously), and that most of the notes are related, and that most of the notes, by appealing to older copies, or to the majority of copies as possessing the passage, encourage the inclusion of the passage.

- **Manuscripts Alleged to Have Asterisks or Obeli.** The ambiguity of Metzger’s claim that “In other witnesses the passage is marked with asterisks or obeli, the conventional signs used by copyists to indicate a spurious addition a document”⁴¹³ has invited a variety of exaggerations and distortions by subsequent commentators such as Craig Evans and N.T. Wright. Metzger himself was apparently misled by his sources, because manuscripts containing Mark 16:9-20 accompanied by multiple asterisks in the margin simply do not exist.

Copies in which the text of Mark is accompanied by the *Catena Marcum* in the margin have symbols at 16:9 to refer readers to commentary-material, but such marks are not text-critically significant because they are merely serving the same purpose that footnote-numbers and asterisks serve today, referring the reader to a supplemental note.

Daniel B. Wallace wrote, “The scribe might simply place an asterisk or obelisk in the margin, indicating doubt about these

verses. Such a symbol is found in at least five MSS,⁴¹⁴ⁿ which he listed in a footnote: 138, 264, 1221, 2346, and 2812. Wallace mentioned that David Parker also includes 137. Codices 137 and 138 are the same two copies, housed at the Vatican Library (as Library Catalogue #756 and 757), which Burgon arranged to be examined in preparation for his 1871 book. Describing the results of the examination, Burgon wrote, “To be brief – there proves to be no asterisk at all – either in Codex 756, or in Codex 757.”⁴¹⁵ⁿ He went on to concisely explain that in Codex 137 (which he refers to by its catalog-number, 756) there is a cross-shaped symbol, in the form of a plus-sign, which serves to refer the reader to a nearby annotation, which is accompanied by the same symbol. And, “As for the other Codex, it exhibits neither asterisk nor cross; but contains the same note or scholion attesting the genuineness of the last twelve verses of St. Mark.”⁴¹⁶ⁿ The note to which he refers is the one in Victor’s Commentary, which accompanies the text of Mark in both of these MSS.

Burgon’s source somewhat misled him regarding the evidence from 138; in this manuscript, the text of Mark is regularly interrupted by the *Catena Marcum*, and if one looks at the beginning of 16:9 (instead of at the end of 16:8) one observes a lozenge-dot with four lines radiating from it, which might plausibly be considered an asterisk. But this is not an *unannotated* manuscript: not only does 138 contain the comment about verses 9-20 from Victor of Antioch, but it also contains a small note in the margin – not particularly easy to read – which appears to say that in some copies the Gospel ends here (the reference-point being the end of 16:8, signified by the asterisk-like mark).

The next manuscript in Wallace’s list, GA 264, was also described by Burgon: in a footnote to his discussion of 137 and 138, Burgon mentions 264, replicates the symbol (which resembles a hollowed-out “X”) which it displays, and points out that this symbol occurs not only at 16:9 but also at 11:12 (the beginning of the 33rd chapter), 12:38 (the beginning of the lectionary-reading for the Wednesday of the third week after Pentecost), and 14:12 (the beginning of the 45th chapter). This symbol appears to have

been casually jotted down to facilitate the easy location of some lections, and has no text-critical significance.

The next manuscript in Wallace's list, 1221, does not have an asterisk between Mark 16:8 and 16:9.⁴¹⁷ⁿ It has a lozenge-dot, that is, four dots arranged in a north-south-east-west pattern. Before this lozenge-dot, above the word *γαρ* (*gar*) in 16:8, is a *τελος* symbol, which appears very frequently in 1221 to locate the end of a lection. After this lozenge-dot, above the beginning of *Αναστας* (*Anastas*) in 16:9, is an *αρχη* symbol, which appears very frequently in 1221 to locate the beginning of a lection.

Lozenge-dots also appear in 1221 after Mark 2:12 (the end of the fifth of the 48 chapters into which the text of Mark is usually divided in Greek manuscripts), halfway through 5:24 (the end of the 12th chapter, and the beginning of a lection for the Monday of the fifteenth week after Pentecost), and at 6:7 (the beginning of a lection for the Wednesday of the fifteenth week after Pentecost), and in Luke there are several more (occurring, for example, at the beginning of Luke 1:24 (the beginning of the lection for the Feast of the Annunciation), at the beginning of 1:26, at the end of 1:56 (where a note in the upper margin states that this is the end of a matins-reading), and after 2:40). Clearly, these lozenge-dots were added for the convenience of a lector and have no text-critical significance.⁴¹⁸ⁿ

In 2346, the next manuscript in Wallace's list, there is neither an asterisk nor an obelisk, but the same kind of lozenge-dots symbol that appears in 1221 also appears in 2346, above the line, between the end of 16:8 and the beginning of 16:9. In the margin, to the left of the text, is a *τελος* symbol, and below the *τελος* symbol in the margin is an *αρχη* symbol. The meaning of this is pretty clear: the lozenge-dots are located at the point where one lection ends and another lection begins; the person who added this piece of lectionary-equipment did not want to reduce the legibility of the text by placing the *τελος* symbol and *αρχη* symbol in the text itself, so he placed them in the margin, and put the smaller lozenge-dots in the text instead to signify the point to which they referred.

The person who added the lectionary-equipment to 2346 resorted to something very similar at the end of John 1:28. There, also, superscripted lozenge-dots appear, between the end of John 1:28 and the beginning of John 1:29. A $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ symbol is in the left margin, and an $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ symbol is in the right margin. Clearly these refer to lection-breaks and have no text-critical significance.⁴¹⁹ⁿ

The last remaining codex in Wallace's list is 2812, a Gospels-codex from the 900s. Its text is accompanied by a commentary. Codex 2812 is kept in the National Library of Spain, which recently released digital photographs of it online. By consulting those photographs, I confirmed that the text of Mark in 2812 is accompanied by the *Catena Marcum*, and that the symbol in 2812 is neither an asterisk nor an obelus: it is a symbol (which occurs elsewhere in the manuscript; at Mark 6:25 for example) to refer the reader to parts of the catena; in this case, the reader is referred to a note on a subsequent page, when one finds an excerpt from the comment of Victor of Antioch which advocates the inclusion of the passage, citing its presence in many accurate manuscripts and in a cherished Palestinian exemplar of Mark.

- **Arabic Lectionary 13.** This witness, already described, is damaged, and has been shown to have contained additional text after 16:8 when it was produced. Nevertheless some commentators have continued to erroneously cite it as evidence against Mark 16:9-20.

- **A Damaged Old Slavonic Manuscript.** The fourth edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* lists the Old Slavonic Version as a witness for the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20, and includes an entry for an Old Slavonic manuscript which has only 16:9 to 11.⁴²⁰ⁿ This is all support for the inclusion of the passage, the incomplete text being an echo of damage; nevertheless apologist James White inexplicably submitted this as evidence *against* Mark 16:9-20.⁴²¹ⁿ

Before moving on to an examination of internal evidence it may be fitting to briefly review the implications of the evidence – *actual* evidence, that is, unaffected by phantoms and distortions. The trail of the abrupt ending is not difficult to trace to Egypt. From Egypt, copies were taken to Alexandria in the early 200s, where they later served as exemplars for Pamphilus, Eusebius, and Acacius. Sinaiticus and Vaticanus echo this transmission-stream. Any doubts that they testify to a mainly Egyptian text of the Gospels can be succinctly and firmly answered by a comparison of the text of B with the Sahidic codex at Barcelona (P. Palau Rib. Inv. 182), Papyrus 75, and the Greek-Sahidic fragments collectively known as Codex T (029).⁴²²ⁿ

Similarly a close historical connection between the text in L and Ψ (Psi) and the text in Egypt is shown by the notes pertaining to the Shorter Ending and 16:9-20 which are shared by L, Ψ (Psi), and copies from Egypt, including Greek-Sahidic lectionary 1602.

It was in Egypt that the Shorter Ending originated, and although copies containing it did not reach Caesarea (for Eusebius, ca. 325, shows no awareness of it at all), it was in a copy from which Codex L (a witness to the Alexandrian Text) descended, and, in a slightly different form, it was in the exemplar of Old Latin *k*. It was found in some exemplars used by translators of Egyptian versions, who, possessing other exemplars with 16:9-20 immediately following 16:8, blended the Shorter Ending into the text, first with notes that were intended to convey the situation that they faced, and then with the unannotated Shorter Ending standing between 16:8 and 16:9.

Meanwhile, the intact text containing Mark 16:9-20 was being transmitted throughout the Empire.



PART TWO: INTERNAL EVIDENCE

Chapter 9: “Efobounto Gar”

Many commentators agree with Hort’s view about the implications of the abruptness with which 16:8 comes to an end: “It is incredible that the evangelist deliberately concluded either a paragraph with εφοβουντο γαρ (*efobounto gar*), or the Gospel with a petty detail of a secondary event, leaving his narrative hanging in the air.”⁴²³ⁿ Hort’s view was still very dominant in 1943, when Henry C. Thiessen wrote, though with some exaggeration, “Few, if any, scholars hold that Mark originally ended at verse 8; instead, all hold that there was another section after that verse, but that it was lost at an early date.”⁴²⁴ⁿ However, a substantial number of more recent commentators (not all of whom were well-informed about the external evidence), including Raymond Brown, Ned Stonehouse, Morna Hooker, and Paul Danove, have argued that the abrupt ending was deliberate, and that it was intended to challenge the reader. However, exactly what the reader was challenged to do is a matter of debate among these scholars.

Did Mark intend, via the reference to Galilee in 16:7, to challenge the reader to re-read the parts of the Gospel of Mark where events are situated in Galilee? The idea that readers should begin with a text in which Peter and the others are instructed to go to Galilee, and end with an understanding that the reader is instructed by that text to review the sections of the Gospel of Mark in which the setting was in Galilee, is extremely fanciful. The first-century Christians who wanted to learn Peter’s recollections about Jesus would not need the abrupt ending to persuade them to read the book again. Nor is it likely that they would interpret the angel’s instructions to the women, regarding the real geographical place called Galilee, as instructions from Mark to the reader about certain sections of his Gospel-account.

Did Mark decide not to include narratives about Jesus' post-resurrection appearances in order to invite his readers to believe the news that Jesus was risen on the basis of the evidence in Mark 1:1 to 16:8? It has been suggested that this could challenge reader to believe the news without seeing evidence that it was true. However, the entire book of Mark was written to people who had, in general, seen no direct evidence of its veracity (except, in some cases, personal experience of the trustworthiness and spiritual authority of Peter and Mark). The reader is challenged to believe the news that Jesus was risen, with or without the inclusion of narratives about His post-resurrection appearances.

Did the author intend, as Willi Marxsen proposed, to encourage his readers to expect that the *parousia*, the second coming of Christ, would be manifest first in Galilee?⁴²⁵ⁿ The implausibility of this is evident when one considers that (**A**) Jesus' appearance in Galilee was promised specifically to the apostles in 14:28, not to the church as a whole, and (**B**) readers of Mark had no reason to interpret the command to go to Galilee, framed as part of a narrative of events which occurred in the days immediately following Jesus' crucifixion, as if it was intended to be followed decades later, when the Gospel of Mark was produced, and (**C**) the concept of the *parousia* happening in one particular locale flies in the face of Mark 13:25.

Or did Mark intend, as is proposed in the notes of the NET-Bible, to challenge his readers to ask, "What will I do with Jesus? If I do not accept him in his suffering, I will not see him in his glory."⁴²⁶ⁿ Such a concept, edifying though it may be, does not flow naturally from the abrupt ending. As First Corinthians 15:3 to 5 states, the risen Christ appeared to Peter and to the other apostles. This was well-known to Mark's first readers in Rome, who had heard Peter's preaching. They knew that Peter, though he had thrice denied Jesus, had been restored by Christ; they knew that with the exception of Judas Iscariot, the same disciples who had forsaken Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane had been with Christ after His resurrection, as related in Acts 1. Thus there is really no

way that they would see, in the abrupt ending, the kind of lesson that the NET's note attempt.

In addition, any reader with average skill in logic can deduce that the text itself undermines the idea that Mark was attempting to convey that the disciples were punished for their unfaithfulness by never receiving the women's news. Upon reflection it is clear that the women must have proceeded to tell about their encounter at the tomb, and about the angel's instructions to the disciples, because if they had not done so, Mark himself (and Peter, whose accounts about Jesus are the core of the Gospel of Mark) would not have been able to write about it. Readers would thus see that the women must have told about their visit to the tomb after all – and this realization begets a natural curiosity about what happened next; it does not elicit contemplation about the importance of faithfulness.

The commentators who are united on the point that the abrupt ending is meaningful are thoroughly divided about what it means. This is what might be expected when people attempt to explain something accidental as if it had been intentional.

Another difficulty with the whole idea that the abrupt ending was intentionally designed by Mark is that when Mark presents predictive statements made by Jesus which are imminently fulfilled, he describes their fulfillment explicitly. Mark does this so often that it may be called a strong characteristic of Marcan style. Mark 10:33 to 34, for example, is fulfilled in step-by-step detail. The predictive aspect in 11:2 to 3 is fulfilled completely in 11:4 to 6. Jesus' words in 14:13 to 15 come true in 14:16. After Jesus predicts that "one of the twelve" will betray Him in 14:20, Mark adds, in 14:43, "one of the twelve" when describing Judas Iscariot, even though Judas Iscariot has already been introduced; the reason for the insertion of the phrase is to make explicit the fulfillment of Jesus' prediction. And, in Mark 14:30, Jesus predicts that Peter will deny Him three times before the rooster crows – a prediction which is fulfilled step-by-step in Mark 14:66 to 72. The reader is thus led to expect an explicit fulfillment of the angel's prediction that Jesus will be seen in

Galilee. With the abrupt ending, however, the expected fulfillment never comes. No stylistic irregularity in Mark 16:9-20 is nearly as unMarcan as the irregularity of the abrupt ending.

Another problem with the idea that the abrupt ending was intentional is the way in which Mark 16:8 stops. If Mark's intention had been to challenge his readers instead of providing a straightforward representation of what Peter had said had happened, he could easily have concluded the episode at the tomb without mentioning anything that the women had done after the angel had finished speaking. Or, he could have cleared up the initial impression that the women were permanently silent by saying that they said nothing until they reached the disciples. Instead, those who consider the abrupt ending to be deliberate must grapple with the fact that Mark 16:8 ends suddenly with the short sentence "εφοβουντο γαρ," "For they were afraid."

The idea that any author would deliberately end a book with the word γαρ seemed so incredibly unlikely that it was scarcely considered an option in the 1800s and early 1900s, but in 1926, R. R. Ottley produced a list of 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 29:11.⁴²⁷ⁿ This was a forerunner of other research which established that the idea of ending a composition with γαρ was not altogether unreasonable.

N. Clayton Croy, in the course of preparing his book *The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel*, recently conducted a search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, a collection of almost all ancient Greek texts and some medieval ones, revealing that in those works there are "1,884 sentences ending in gar-period; 786 sentences ending in gar-question mark."⁴²⁸ⁿ Croy also noted that short sentences that end in γαρ "often have the parenthetical quality of an aside."⁴²⁹ⁿ In addition, he demonstrated that sentences ending in γαρ are rare in narratives; they are much more common in dialogues. All this establishes that there is no insurmountable

grammatical difficulty involved in the ending “εφοβουντο γαρ.” It seems that finishing a Greek sentence with the word γαρ was analogous to ending a sentence in English with the word “however.” It is rare; it does sometimes occur, however. In Codices A, K, and Π, αυτου is absent after εφοβουντο γαρ in Mark 11:18, showing that some copyists had no problem with a phrase that ended in γαρ.⁴³⁰ⁿ

Although the grammatical difficulty is thus surmountable, the stylistic problem involved in the theory that Mark intentionally ended his book with γαρ is more severe. Ending a sentence in a narrative with γαρ is rare; ending a book with γαρ is rarer. Commentator James Edwards noted only three compositions – “Plotinus’ *Ennead* (32.5), Musonius Rufus’ *Tractatus 12*, and Plato, *Protagoras* 328c”⁴³¹ⁿ – end in γαρ.

Plotinus is not a verifiable example of an author deliberately ending a composition with γαρ. The extant form of Plotinus’ *Enneads* reflects the contribution of his assistant Porphyry, who reorganized and reformatted Plotinus’ writings.⁴³²ⁿ N. Clayton Croy describes the feathery nature of the witness of Plotinus: “As van der Horst himself acknowledges, the writings of Plotinus have been cut up and rearranged by his pupil, Porphyry. This “final *gar*” example actually did have a continuation prior to being edited. The 32nd treatise of Plotinus, therefore, is a dubious example of *gar* ending a book.”⁴³³ⁿ Similarly, *Tractatus 12*, by Musonius Rufus, an influential Roman philosopher of the first century, was part of a collection edited by one of his student-admirers.

The only example which has been proposed to be a book pre-dating the Gospel of Mark and ending in γαρ is Plato’s *Protagoras*. An examination of this text instantly reveals that the word γαρ does not end the book; the word γαρ ends a speech in which the speaker, Protagoras of Abdera, presents a case for the idea that virtue can be taught. Protagoras employs a phrase that ends with γαρ at the very end of his speech; the phrase serves to soften the immediately preceding point: “I have also attempted to show that you are not to wonder at good fathers having bad sons,

or at good sons having bad fathers, of which the sons of Polycleitus afford an example, who are the companions of our friends here, Paralus and Xanthippus, but are nothing in comparison with their father; and this is true of the sons of many other artists. As yet I ought not to say the same of Paralus and Xanthippus themselves, for they are young and there is still hope of them.”⁴³⁴ⁿ

The scene does not end there; Socrates reflects on Protagoras’ speech, briefly shares a comment on it with Hippocrates, and proceeds to question Protagoras, and a Socratic dialogue ensues. The speech of Protagoras presents no puzzling cliffhanger or unresolved question. This is all quite unlike the way in which the scene stops with $\gamma\alpha\rho$ (*gar*) in Mark 16:8. Protagoras used a phrase that ended in $\gamma\alpha\rho$ to add a clarification; in Mark 16:8, though, the final phrase emphasizes an already-stated detail, namely that the women were afraid. **To sum up: there is no example of the use of $\gamma\alpha\rho$ at the end of a narrative anywhere in ancient literature.**

Some commentators, without specifically accounting for the final $\gamma\alpha\rho$, have proposed that Mark ended his account abruptly because he felt that his readers were already familiar with the events that followed, and that ending at the scene at the tomb maximized the narrative’s dramatic effect. One might answer that if Mark had truly felt that his readers’ recollections were adequate then he would not have written down anything at all. Can the abrupt ending be plausibly explained as a literary device intended to inspire a sense of awe?

Gilbert Bilezikian, in his dissertation (published as *The Liberated Gospel*), 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.”⁴³⁵ⁿ He compared Mark’s ending to the conclusions of *Prometheus Bound*, *Oedipus the King*, and *Phoenissae*, which end with the fates of some characters unresolved. However, the authors of those tragedies could get away with leaving loose ends, either because the loose ends were resolved in a sequel, or because the play

was based on a framework of events that was well-known to the audience. Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* has a sequel; it was not written as a stand-alone composition. Likewise *Prometheus Bound* is part of a series; the prophecies that Prometheus declares in *Prometheus Bound* were fulfilled in the sequel, *Prometheus Unbound*. As for Euripides' *Phoenissae*, the plot wraps up neatly with the death of Jocasta; the remaining materials serve to set the stage for a sequel.

(Seneca the Younger also wrote a play called *Phoenissae*, but its unresolved ending cannot be considered deliberate because a strong case can be made that Seneca the Younger died before finishing it. It lacks choral introductions, and is shorter than the author's other plays.⁴³⁶ⁿ)

The Gospel of Mark, meanwhile, besides being neither a tragedy nor a play, is a standalone composition written to inform its readers about relatively recent events. It was written by a close fellow-worker of Peter, for a readership that valued Peter's testimony about Jesus. It is extremely unlikely that Mark would preserve Peter's testimony about incidents such as the widow's mite but deliberately decline to preserve the part about Jesus' post-resurrection appearances. Such a theory requires that Mark intentionally framed his account so that the last time Peter is seen, he is weeping about his triple-denials of Jesus, and the last time he is mentioned, it is in a message for him, but the message-deliverers are last seen silent. This is almost as improbable as the idea that Mark would deliberately frame his account in such a way that Jesus' last recorded words, in 15:34, are, "My God, My God, why have You forsaken Me?"

The view that the abrupt ending at 16:8 is a "stroke of genius" is the result of an interpreter's very optimistic imagination. The alleged dramatically satisfying effect of the abrupt ending which has been perceived by some commentators is the result of determined effort to find a dramatically satisfying effect there. However, the simple verdict of C. H. Turner remains valid: "It is incredible that any Gospel should have come to an intentional close on the words 'for they were afraid.'"⁴³⁷ⁿ

The theories which have been proposed to promote the idea that Mark deliberately stopped writing at the end of 16:8 do not have solid foundations. They all require complex and/or very subtle motivations, whereas, as Robert Stein has explained about Mark's general approach, "The meaning of Mark is probably one that a first-time hearer of the text would have been able to understand."⁴³⁸ⁿ

Most of the theories in favor of the abrupt ending as intentional could be reformulated and reapplied without much change if one were to pick a sentence in Mark 15:37 to 16:8 at random, and stop the text at that point. If one were to cut off the text at the end of 15:39, 15:45, 15:47, 16:4, 16:5, 16:6, or 16:7), reasoning similar to the reasoning that has been used to justify the abrupt ending at 16:8 can be employed to justify an abrupt ending at those places.

The verdict of commentators such as Robert H. Stein, Robert Gundry, Craig Evans, Richard France, N. T. Wright, and J. K. Elliott is in favor of the same view that is stated in the fourth edition of Bruce Metzger's *Text of the New Testament* (edited and co-authored by Bart Ehrman): "It appears, therefore, that εφοβουντο γαρ does not represent what Mark intended to stand at the end of his Gospel."⁴³⁹ⁿ Those six commentators have forcefully and effectively answered the interpretations which propose that the abrupt ending, for one reason or another, was deliberate, and so has N. Clayton Croy, whose analysis is particularly cogent.⁴⁴⁰ⁿ

It is extremely likely that Mark considered Peter's account of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus an integral part of Peter's recollections about Jesus. It is also extremely likely that Mark would view an account of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus, as recollected by Peter, as something that would be much more helpful to his readers than an uninformative cliffhanger-ending.

It is extremely unlikely that Mark would deliberately set aside a Petrine remembrance of Jesus' post-resurrection appearances in order to puzzle his readers with a cliffhanger-ending. It is also unlikely that Mark would foreshadow a meeting

in Galilee (in 14:28 and 16:7) but fail to describe that meeting. I conclude that all the rationales for the abrupt ending which have been attributed to Mark have been superimposed upon him, and that Mark did not intend for εφοβουντο γαρ in 16:8 to be the end of his Gospel-account.



Chapter 10: The Vocabulary and Style of Mark 16:9-20

Bruce Metzger's description of the internal evidence has been disseminated (often in a slightly modified form that barely avoids plagiarism) in many commentaries: "The vocabulary and style of verses 9-20 are non-Markan (e.g., *απιστέω*, *βλάπτω*, *βεβαιόω*, *επακολουθέω*, *θεάομαι*, *μετα ταυτα*, *πορεύομαι*, *συνεργέω*, *ύστερον* are found nowhere else in Mark; and *θανάσιμον* and *τοις μετ' αυτου γενομένοις*, as designations of the disciples, occur only here in the New Testament."⁴⁴¹ⁿ Readers may perceive two unusual features in that sentence: first, it has something amiss: *θανάσιμον* is not a designation of the disciples; it is the Greek word used to refer to a "deadly thing" in 16:18.) Second, it is tinted by the use of the term "non-Markan" to refer to once-used words.

The observation that nine words and two phrases are used only in Mark 16:9-20 is not a sufficient basis to conclude that they, or the passage in which they appear, are non-Markan. The list of once-used words can be enlarged to include words which, though not used in Mark 1:1 to 16:8, were common terms. It could be argued that such words were not used by Mark simply because no occasion arose for their use. Still, with the number of once-used words thus raised to 16, or 18, this does not imply that the passage is not Marcan. As Bruce Terry has demonstrated, in another 12-verse passage, Mark 15:40 to 16:4, "one finds not just sixteen such words, but twenty to twenty-two, depending on textual variants."⁴⁴²ⁿ

Two of those 22 words – all of which we would call "non-Markan" if we used the spin that Metzger applied to the once-used terms in 16:9-20 – are names (Salome and Arimathea), but even if one adopts the text with the lower number of once-used words, and removes "Salome" and "Arimathea" from the list, the fact remains that the vocabulary of Mark 15:40 to 16:4 is more "non-Markan" than the vocabulary of Mark 16:9-20.

If one were to divide the entire text of Mark into 12-verse segments, it would become clear that 16:9-20 is by no means special in its inclusion of 18 once-used words. Mark 2:1-12 has 17 once-used words; 2:16-27 has 18 once-used words; 4:13-24 has 16 once-used words; 4:37-5:7 has 17 once-used words; 6:49-7:4 has 17 once-used words; 7:17-28 has 21 once-used words; 11:31-12:9 has 15 once-used words; 12:34-13:1 has 19 once-used words; 13:14-13:25 has 21 once-used words; 14:1-14:12 has 20 once-used words, 14:37-14:48 has 19 once-used words; 15:13-24 has 23 once-used words, and 15:37-16:1 has 24 once-used words.

It ought to be spectacularly clear that a simple count of “non-Markan” words is not a reliable way to discern whether a passage is Marcan or not. This point becomes even more obvious when one considers how often Mark uses once-used words. In Mark 1:1 to 16:8, there are 555 once-used words.⁴⁴³ⁿ Dividing 555 among 661 to 666 verses (the exact number depending on textual variants) – which amount to roughly 55 twelve-verse units – we should *expect* an average rate of about ten once-used words in any randomly-selected 12-verse unit. The conclusion becomes irresistible: the presence of unusual vocabulary in Mark 16:9-20 is not unique, and it does not imply non-Marcanness.⁴⁴⁴ⁿ

Mainly because Metzger emphasized the “non-Markan” vocabulary in Mark 16:9-20, this has been the centerpiece of the internal evidence used by commentators who have argued against the authenticity of this passage. The demonstration that this is not sufficient evidence at all should elicit a reconsideration of the implications of the internal evidence. It would be self-deceiving to pretend that all possible explanations for the internal evidence have been given a fair hearing.

The following ten points are based mainly on John Burgon’s analysis of the internal evidence, found on pages 146 to 176 on his 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of S. Mark Vindicated*.

(Objection #1) Mark used the phrase μία σαββατον in 16:2, but in 16:9, πρώτη σαββατων is used to describe the same day. This is inconsistent.

(Answer #1) If 16:9 had employed μία σαββατον, the objector would accuse the author of 16:9 of mimicry. Casual variations of this sort are natural and occur elsewhere without arousing suspicion of inauthenticity. Mark similarly states that the demoniac in chapter five came from “the tombs,” first by the words των μνημείων in 5:2, and then by τοις μνήμασιν in 5:3 and 5:5. This is inconsistent, but it is a casual inconsistency, like the inconsistency of a reporter who refers to a statement from the President of the United States, and to a statement from the White House, referring to the same statement both times. Neither term precludes the use of the other term by the same author.

(Objection #2) Mark would have used the Greek word εκ to describe how Jesus cast out seven demons *out of* Mary Magdalene, as in 7:26, instead of using the word αφ’ to say that He cast them *from* her.

(Answer #2) This is another casual difference. One divergence does not constitute a pattern of authorial habit. (In addition, the usual Alexandrian reading is παρ’, not αφ’, which does not appear to be harmonized with Lk. 8:2).

(Objection #3) In Mark 1:1-16:8, Mark never uses the word πορεύεσθαι, but it occurs in 16:9-20 three times.

(Answer #3) This is an incidental phenomenon; Matthew likewise uses παρουσία four times, clustered in chapter 24; Matthew uses τάλαντον 14 times, and 13 of them are clustered in chapter 25. Luke uses the words μνα and μνας a total of nine times, all clustered in 19:13 through 19:25. John uses λυπη four times, all clustered in chapter 16. Mark used a variety of compounded forms of πορεύεσθαι, so it would be unremarkable if that variety included its uncompounded form.

(Objection #4) Mark would have referred to Jesus' disciples as οι μαθηται αυτου, not by the singular phrase τοις μετ' αυτου γενομένοις .

(Answer #4) A larger group than just the apostles is in view, and this phrase was resorted to in order to avoid over-narrowing the intended meaning. That this is the case is made clear in 16:12, where Jesus is encountered by two members of the larger group of disciples, and by the emphatic statement in verse 14 that Jesus there appeared to the eleven *themselves* (αυτοις τοις ένδεκα). In addition, very similar verbiage is used by Mark in 1:36 (οι μετ' αυτου), 2:25 (οι μετ' αυτου), and 5:40 (τους μετ' αυτου), and it is understandable that γενομένοις ("had been") is unique in 16:12 because at this point it suits the narrative, whereas it is not suitable while the disciples are still with Jesus (that is, until 14:50).

(Objection #5) Mark does not elsewhere use θεασθαι but it occurs in verses 11 and 14.

(Answer #5) This is an incidental phenomenon; Matthew likewise uses παραβαίνειν ("transgress") in Matthew 15:2 to 3 and nowhere else, and παρακουση in Matthew 18:17 and nowhere else; in Luke 14:12-14, Luke refers to compensation using a term (ανταποδιδόναι) three times that he uses nowhere else. In addition, it is not surprising that a special term was used to emphasize that the witnesses mentioned in 16:11 and 16:14 had visibly seen (rather than merely perceived) Jesus.

(Objection #6) References to unbelief or unbelievers recur, in 16:11 and 16:16, but the specific terms used there (ηπιστησαν and απιστήσαζ) are not used in Mark 1:1 to 16:8.

(Answer #6) Likewise in Luke such terms appear specifically only in 24:11 (ηπίστουν) and 24:41 (απιστούντων). This does not suggest inauthenticity; the term is especially appropriate at this point in the narrative. In addition, the objection is over-specific; it is not valid to avoid consideration of Mark's references to unbelief (απιστια) in 6:6 and 9:24, and to an unbelieving generation (γενεα απιστος) in 9:9.

(Objection #7) Mark does not otherwise use μετα δε ταυτα (“After these things”).

(Answer #7) If an objection based on the singularity of such an ordinary three-word phrase is among the heaviest missiles that can be hurled against the authenticity of this passage, I consider the passage secure. The singular occurrence of μετα δε ταυτα in 16:12 is no more unusual than the singular occurrence of μετα δε in Mark 1:14.

(Objection #8) The phrase πάση τη κτίσει (“all the creation”) is unique to 16:15.

(Answer #8) In Mark 10:6 and 13:19, Mark uses κτίσεως. This objection is over-specific; the objector, seeing that the *words* are Marcan, has had to resort to objecting to a *phrase*. Only rarely will any text be safe from such an approach.

(Objection #9) The phrase εν τω ονόματί μου (“in My name”) is unique to 16:17.

(Answer #9) This objection fails to consider the presence of the phrase επι τω ονόματί μου in Mark 9:37 and εν τω ονόματί σου in 9:38. The appearance of this phrase is completely consistent with, and even supportive of, Marcan authorship.

(Objection #10) The terms ευθεως (“immediately”) and πάλιν (“again”), although favorite words of Mark, are both absent from verses 9-20.

(Answer #10) The term ευθεως occurs only four times in all of Mark 14, 15, and 16, so its absence from Mark 16:9-20 is not remarkable. Likewise, πάλιν appears only three times in Mark 15-16, so its absence from Mark 16:9-20 is not remarkable either.

Bruce Terry offered a more thorough analysis: if one were to construct all possible sets of twelve-verse units of the text of Mark – the first being Mark 1:1-12, the second being Mark 1:2-

13, and so forth – one would end up with 650 units, using Mark 1:1-16:8. Of those 650 units, Terry determined that 229 of them “do not contain *euthus*, *eutheōs*, 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.”⁴⁴⁵ⁿ

Hort surrendered most of the argument based on internal evidence to Burgon. Hort wrote: “We do not think it necessary to examine in detail the intrinsic evidence supposed to be furnished by comparison of the vocabulary and style of verses 9-20 with the unquestioned parts of the Gospel. Much of what has been urged on both sides is in our judgement trivial and intangible. There remain a certain number of differences which, taken cumulatively, produce an impression unfavourable to identity of authorship. Had these verses been found in all good documents, or been open to suspicion on no other internal evidence, the differences would reasonably have been neglected.”⁴⁴⁶ⁿ

In other words, the internal evidence is not sufficient to show that these 12 verses are not an integral part of the Gospel of Mark. This is an important concession. Within two decades of Hort’s writing, other commentators remained hesitant to express such extreme reliance on the testimony of Sinaiticus and Vaticanus; instead they claimed to base their rejection of these verses on the internal evidence. Ezra Gould even wrote in 1896, “The internal evidence for the omission is much stronger than the external.”⁴⁴⁷ⁿ

Yet some modern-day commentators are not similarly impressed by the internal evidence. It did not convince William Farmer that the passage was not Marcan, after he conducted a detailed study on the subject. In 1990, Harvard professor Helmut Koester even stated that the vocabulary and style of Mark 16:9-20 are “fully compatible with the Gospel of Mark.”⁴⁴⁸ⁿ In 2000, in a short article arguing for the non-genuineness of Mark 1:1-3, J. K. Elliott acknowledged that “In many ways the non-Markan

character of Mark 1:1-3 is more pronounced than that of Mark 16:9-20.”⁴⁴⁹ⁿ

Hort’s concession should not be quickly overlooked; he agreed to a considerable extent with Burgon’s assessment that many of the objections that have been posed are “frivolous and nugatory,” and that the cumulative weight of baseless objections, whether there be 10 or 20 or 30, is like the cumulative sum of 10 or 20 or 30 times zero.

Hort also insisted that while many of the objections based on internal evidence are trivial, and that none of them would be strong enough to justify a verdict against the passage without corroboration from external evidence, some internal features within Mark 16:9-20 show that it does not flow smoothly from 16:8. This evidence of disconnection from the preceding narrative, rather than any point of personal style or vocabulary, was the sole internal evidence to which Hort appealed as confirmation that the passage is in some sense secondary.

Metzger, whose adoption of Hort’s analysis sometimes reveals itself in *verbatim* repetitions of phrases written by Hort, likewise appealed to the same evidence. I will examine this evidence for a disconnection between the end of 16:8 and the beginning of 16:9 in the next chapter – and I will grant its validity. However, evidence of a lack of narrative continuity between Mark 1:1 to 16:8 and 16:9-20 is **not** evidence that a different author wrote 16:9-20.

Now some of the internal evidence which affirms Marcan authorship of 16:9-20 should be considered.

(1) Mark is well-known for his fondness for presenting things in groups of three,⁴⁵⁰ⁿ and Mark 16:9-20 exhibits this characteristic: the post-resurrection appearances are arranged in three scenes: the appearance to Mary Magdalene (in verses 9 through 11), to the two travelers (in verses 12 and 13), and to the eleven (in verses 14 through 18). The triple use of εφανη/εφανερωθη is striking.

(2) Mark employs the terms αναστηναι (8:31, 9:10), αναστη (9:9), and αναστησεται (9:31, 10:34) to refer to Christ’s

resurrection, although other terms could have been used. The use of *Αναστας* (*Anastas*) in 16:9 is thus a Marcan feature.

(3) Mark uses the word *πρωϊ* (in 1:35, 11:20, 13:35, 15:1, and 16:2) more frequently than the other Gospel-writers. Its presence in 16:9 supports Marcan authorship.

(4) Mark uses the word *αγρον* proportionately more often than the other Gospel-writers. Its presence in 16:12 is consistent with Marcan authorship.

(5) Mark's words in 14:9 – *κηρυχθη το ευαγγέλιον εις όλον τον κόσμος* (the gospel shall be preached in all the world) – have a strong verbal parallel with the wording in 16:15: *εις τον κόσμος άπαντα κηρύξατε το ευαγγέλιον* (“in all the world, preach the gospel”).

(6) The term *εφανερώθη* (“appeared”), which occurs in 16:12 and 16:14, is a Marcan term; Mark uses *φανερώθη* in Mark 4:22.

(7) The term *σκληροκαρδίαν* (“hard-heartedness”) which occurs in 16:14 is rather uncommon, but it also appears in Mark 10:5.

(8) The use of *κατακριθήσεται* (“shall be condemned”) is Marcan; he uses *κατακρινουσιν* in 10:33 and *κατέκριναν* in 14:64.

(9) The term *αρρώστους*, which refers to sick people in 16:18, appears in Mark 6:5 and 6:13.

(10) The term *πανταχου* (“everywhere”) in 16:20 is also found, in the Alexandrian Text at least, in Mark 1:28, and a related term (either *πάντοθεν*, in the Alexandrian Text, or *πανταχόθεν* in the Byzantine Text) is used in Mark 1:45; this, too, is a characteristic Marcan term.

One tender reservation remains: although Mark uses *κακεινον* absolutely (that is, as a pronoun) twice, in Mark 12:4-5, it is notable that in Mark 16:9-20, this phenomenon, rare in Mark 1:1-16:8, is concentrated, with *εκεινη* (16:10), *κακεινοι* (16:11), *εκεινοις* (16:13), and *εκεινοι* (16:20) all appearing as pronouns. This is indeed a suggestive feature. It suggests that Mark 16:9-20 was written as a summary, unlike most of the rest of the book. The text itself does not suggest a reason why Mark would

suddenly resume using the summarizing style that he employed at the outset of chapter one.

This feature interlocks with the scenario pictured in the introductory essay: as Mark was writing 16:8, he was compelled by a sudden emergency to stop writing, and to place his unfinished book in the hands of his colleagues, entrusting them with the task of finishing the text, as he hastily departed for Alexandria. The colleagues of Mark, aware that Mark did not intend for his narrative to stop with *ephobounto gar*, adopted an already-existing short freestanding Marcan text – a summarized account of Jesus’ resurrection appearances – and, declining to add their own words to those of Mark, they were content to complete Mark’s Gospel-account by adding this summary. Nothing textually or historically precludes Mark’s ability to write 16:9-20 as a freestanding summary. Its adoption shows that it was considered authoritative, and its adoption *even with the sudden non-transition from verse 8* also indicates the reverence in which it was already held – which is immediately and simply accounted for if it was a Marcan composition.

All things considered, this evidence in favor of Marcan authorship neutralizes the rather flimsy evidence that has been used to deny Marcan authorship. This does not establish that Mark wrote 16:9-20 *as the ending to the Gospel of Mark*, but it does remove imaginary obstacles to the idea that Mark was the author of the passage, if he wrote it as a freestanding composition, independent of Mark 1:1 through 16:8.



Chapter 11: Evidence of the Independence of Mark 16:9-20

Having established that the style and vocabulary in Mark 16:9-20 are not problematic for the view that Mark wrote this text as a freestanding composition, we now turn to the adjacent question: is the internal evidence problematic for the view that Mark 16:9-20 was written as the ending of the Gospel of Mark? As Hort, Metzger, and others have pointed out, several pieces of internal evidence do pose problems for that view. They are listed and explained here.

(1) Although Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome are all on the scene throughout Mark 16:1 through 8, and there is no statement that they separated from each other, only Mary Magdalene is mentioned in 16:9. The two companions of Mary Magdalene are allowed to continue fleeing in silent fear, as if they are unknown.

(2) Mary Magdalene is freshly introduced in 16:9. Burgon proposed that Mark similarly introduced fresh information about an already-mentioned quantity in 15:16, where Mark, although he mentioned the αυλη (courtyard) twice before (in 14:54 and 14:66), adds that the courtyard was called the Praetorium.⁴⁵¹ⁿ However, in 15:16, Mark is introducing a different courtyard, not the courtyard of the high priest which was the background in 14:54 and 14:66. The clarification is entirely fitting in 15:16, but there is no such change in the frame of reference in chapter 16. On the other hand, Mark could have added the extra description of Mary Magdalene as the woman “out of whom He had cast seven demons” in order to suggest that her previous condition may have been a factor in the disciples’ reluctance to believe her report.

(3) The restatement of the time – early on the first day of the week – is superfluous in 16:9, because 16:1-2 already established the time and the day.

(4) As Hort observed, “Αναστας δε reads excellently as the beginning of a comprehensive narrative,”⁴⁵²ⁿ and as Metzger wrote (recycling Hort), “The use of αναστας δε and the position of

πρωτον are appropriate at the beginning of a comprehensive narrative,⁴⁵³ⁿ but situated in the middle of an *ongoing* narrative, they tend to interrupt the scene in 16:8. Jesus is thus introduced in a very unusual way; the angel at the tomb speaks, but Jesus is not said to say anything to alleviate Mary Magdalene's fear. This is understandable, though, if 16:9-20 was initially composed as a freestanding composition and there was no preceding scene.

(5) Although Mark 14:28 and 16:7 strongly foreshadow that Jesus and the apostles will meet in Galilee, a comparison between Mark 16:9-20 and its parallels in the other Gospels shows that it pertains to events in the vicinity of Jerusalem. Although readers who had not read the other Gospels would naturally surmise that the disciples, at some point prior to the scene that begins in 16:14, had relocated to Galilee, it is notable that this is not explicitly mentioned.

(6) Mark 14:28 and 16:7, combined with the attention given to Peter in chapter 14:66 to 72, facilitate the expectation that at the meeting in Galilee, special attention will be given to Peter. In 16:9-20, though, Peter is not even mentioned by name.

The cumulative force of these points is considerable, and to an extent it justifies Metzger's statement that "The connection between verse 8 and verses 9 through 20 is so awkward that it is difficult to believe that the evangelist intended the section to be a continuation of the Gospel."⁴⁵⁴ⁿ

The internal evidence tends to preclude the view that Mark 16:9-20 was initially composed in order to conclude the Gospel of Mark. The same awkward connection to which Metzger refers also opposes the idea that Mark 16:9-20 was written specifically to conclude the Gospel of Mark. An author who took pen in hand to compose a suitable ending for Mark 1:1 through 16:8 would not be likely to do the following:

- fail to say anything about what happened to Mary Magdalene's two companions,
- fail to present Jesus saying any words to Mary Magdalene,
- arbitrarily repeat the day and time,

- fail to give any special attention to Peter,
- fail to explicitly mention the disciples' relocation to Galilee,
- focus on appearances in Jerusalem instead of Galilee, and
- fail to make a smooth transition from the end of 16:8.

The same characteristics that make it unlikely that Mark wrote 16:9-20 as the ending to his Gospel also make it unlikely that *anyone* composed 16:9-20 as an ending to Mark's Gospel. As Hort strongly affirmed, "A scribe or editor, finding the Gospel manifestly incomplete, and proceeding to conclude it in language of his own, would never have begun with the words which now stand in verse 9," and that the lack of continuity between 16:8 and 16:9 "excludes the supposition that these verses originated in a desire of a scribe or editor to round off the imperfect end of the Gospel."⁴⁵⁵ⁿ Hort unhesitatingly declared, "On the other hand the language of verse 9 presents no difficulty if it is the beginning of a narrative taken from another source."⁴⁵⁶ⁿ

The theory that Mark 16:9-20 was a freestanding text by Mark before it was chosen by Mark's colleagues to become the conclusion of his otherwise unfinished Gospel is far more agreeable to the internal evidence than the alternative that Mark 16:9-20 was composed by some copyist in the second century as a patchwork, or pastiche, of verbiage drawn from the accounts of the resurrection in Matthew, Luke, John, and Acts. This idea of Mark 16:9-20 as a pastiche was promoted by James Kelhoffer in his dissertation *Miracle and Mission – The Authentication of Missionaries and Their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark*, and by some other commentators, but it is not sustainable.

The claim that verses 9 to 20 "are obviously a pastiche of resurrection stories cobbled together from the other Gospels,"⁴⁵⁷ⁿ which is casually asserted by several relatively recent commentators, without much further investigation of the idea, cannot survive a close examination of the unique elements in Mark 16:9-20. The internal evidence shows that Mark 16:9-20 is not dependent upon the other Gospels; it also demonstrates that Mark 16:9-20 was not written by someone who

was aware of the contents of the other Gospels. This renders implausible the theory that this passage was composed by a second-century copyist, and augments the plausibility of the theory that these verses were added in the production-stage of the Gospel of Mark.

The unique elements in Mark 16:9-20 include the following:

- The statement in 16:10 that the followers of Jesus “mourned and wept” (πενθουσι και κλαιουσιν). The closest parallel to this in Matthew, Luke, or John is rather remote and inexact, in John 16:20 (κλαυσετε και θρηνησετε).
- The statement in 16:14 that Jesus appeared to the eleven as they were sitting down for a meal. The closest parallel to this is indirect; in Luke 24:41 and 42, when Jesus asks if the apostles have any food, they gave Him a piece of broiled fish (and, in the Byzantine Text, some honeycomb). But by the very nature of the question, “Do you have any food here?” it is evident that Luke did not mean that the eleven disciples in Luke 24 were in the middle of a meal, or else such a question would not be asked. A pastiche-creator would not deduce that the disciples were eating, but rather that they happened to have a piece of broiled fish on hand. A pastiche-creator in the second century would probably shine a more favorable light on the apostles, and, on the basis of Mark 2:20, picture them fasting.
- The statement in 16:14 that Jesus rebuked the unbelief of the eleven apostles has no parallel. Jesus chides the two travelers on the road to Emmaus in Luke 24:25 and 26, but there is nothing that comes close to a rebuke of the eleven apostles except in Mark 16:14.
- The statement in 16:16a, “He who believes and is baptized shall be saved,” stresses the importance of baptism more explicitly than any other statement in the Gospels. In addition, it would be a strange pastiche-maker who would deliberately avoid mentioning the triune baptismal formula that is so prominent in Matthew 28 verse 19.

- The statement in 16:17 that the believers will “speak in new tongues” has no parallel in the Gospels.

- The statement in 16:18 that “if they drink anything deadly, it will by no means hurt them” has no close parallel; the nearest match occurs in Luke 10:19, but that is not nearly as specific.

Those six unique elements, all within a passage of 171 words, show that the claim that the component-parts of Mark 16:9-20 are derived from the other Gospels is false. Some shared elements are inevitable, because the accounts cover several of the same events, but this routinely occurs without implying that Mark was dependent upon Matthew or Luke or John.

In addition, although Kelhoffer has supplemented his theory with many useful citations, the theory itself, that a pastiche-maker created Mark 16:9-20 by gathering verbiage from the Gospels and Acts, is rendered absurdly complex when one considers how many ingredients it requires.

First, the mimic would need to possess copies of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Acts. Second, he would need to select 60 phrases from those sources, re-consulting his sources very frequently: about one consultation for every three words written. The mimic would be motivated to write a conclusion not for the Gospel of Mark only, in which case he would have imitated only Mark, but for all four Gospels, so he would not only need a collection of all four Gospels, but he would need them in a particular order, with Mark appearing last.

Yet, even though his goal was to write a conclusion for such a four-Gospel collection, he would also harvest phrases from the book of Acts. In addition, despite such thorough reliance upon his sources, he would need to employ the vocabulary which so many commentators have considered non-Markan. And, after composing this text as the ending of all four Gospels, he would need to blend it directly into the text of the Gospel of Mark. Finally, this new pericope would need to very rapidly dominate at least one transmission-stream, so as to be accepted by Justin, Tatian, and Irenaeus.

Some simple and self-answering questions will test the feasibility and necessity of the idea that Mark 16:9-20 was created by an imitative copyist in the second century:

(1) Since Mark 15:40 and 16:1 refer to “Μαρία η Μαγδαληνη,” does the phrase “Μαρία τη Μαγδαληνη” in 16:9 really suggest that it was derived from John 20:11-18? And why would the author, knowing that Mark had already introduced Mary Magdalene in chapter 15, add the descriptive note about Mary Magdalene here, instead of inserting it in chapter 15?

(2) Since Mark 5:14 uses *ανηγγελαν* (*απήγγειλαν* in the Alexandrian Text), Mark 5:19 uses *απάγγελον*, and 6:30 uses *απήγγειλαν*, does the use of *απήγγειλεν* (“told”) in Mark 16:10 really suggest dependence upon Mt. 28:8-11, Luke 24:9, and John 20:18?

(3) Since Mark 6:6 uses *απιστουν*, Mark 9:19 uses *απιστος*, and 9:24 uses *απιστια*, does the use of *ηπιστησαν* (“did not believe”) in Mark 16:11 really suggest dependence on Luke 24:11?

(4) Since Mark 4:22 uses *φανερωθη*, does the use of *εφανερωθη* (“appeared”) in Mark 16:12 really suggest dependence on John 21:14?

(5) Since 12 minus 1 equals 11, does the use of *τοις ενδεκα* (“the eleven”) in 16:14 really suggest dependence on Matthew 28:16, Luke 24:9, Acts 1:26, or Acts 2:15, or is it entirely appropriate to a setting in which only 11 disciples are present?

(6) Since the phrase *και ειπεν αυτοις* (“And he said to them”) is used six times in Mark 1:1-16:8, does its occurrence in 16:15 really suggest dependence on Luke 24:46?

(7) Since Mark 8:11-12 uses *σημειον*, (referring to the request for “a sign” from heaven), does *σημεια* (“signs”) in 16:17 really suggest dependence on John 20:30-31?

(8) Since *ου μη* is used in Mark 9:1, 9:41, 10:15, 13:2, 13:19, 13:30, 13:31, 14:25, and 14:31, does the use of *ου μη* (“by no means”) in Mark 16:18 really suggest dependence on Luke 10:19b? How likely is the imaginary scenario that the author of 16:9-20 scoured through the Gospel of Luke, found this phrase in Luke 10:19, and concluded that it would be just the right thing to

mimic what the Gospels say Jesus told His disciples before His ascension, if only it were combined with some new statement about poison-drinking?

(9) Since πανταχου is used in Mark 1:28 (in the Alexandrian Text), does the use of πανταχου (“everywhere”) in Mark 16:20 really suggest dependence on Luke 9:6?

(10) Since the phrase ανελημφθη εις τον ουρανον is in the Septuagint in Second Kings 2:11, and since Luke 24:51 has ανεφερετο, not ανελημφθη, does the use of ανελημφθη εις τον ουρανον (“was received up into heaven”) in Mark 16:19 actually suggest dependence on Luke 24:51 and Acts 1:9? Is it not obvious that these are two cases of dependence upon Second Kings 2:11?

(11) Since the Septuagint’s text of Psalm 110:1 includes the phrase καθου εκ δεξιων μου, and since Psalm 110:1 is quoted in Mark 12:36, and since Mark 14:62 includes the phrase εκ δεξιων καθημενον της δυναμεως, does Mark 16:19’s use of the phrase εκαθισεν εκ δεξιων του Θεου really suggest dependence on Acts 7:55 and 56? Is it not obvious that these are two cases of dependence upon Psalm 110:1?

(12) Mark 2:28 refers to Jesus as Lord (Κυριος) of the sabbath, and He is referred to indirectly as ‘Ο κυριος in Mark 11:13, where, although characters in the story may not grasp the full sense of the phrase, “The Lord has need of it,” the reader is meant to do so. And in Mark 12:36, where Psalm 110:1 is quoted, the Son of David is called Lord (κυριω). In addition, after the resurrection, Christ’s authority over all created things is more manifest than ever before. So does the use of Κυριος in Mark 16:19 and 16:20 suggest dependence on Luke 24:34 and John 20:18?

In each of these twelve cases, dependence on non-Marcian canonical sources is not suggested by the evidence. Kelhoffer presented other evidence, *including eighteen examples proposed to show dependence on Mark 1:1 through 16:8*, in a case designed to show that Mark 16:9-20 is not Marcian. Instead of continuing to defend against the weak remains of the case that

the author of Mark 16:9-20 used material from the other Gospels, I will now go on the offensive, so to speak: I will present evidence that the author of Mark 16:9-20 wrote without knowledge of the Gospel of Matthew, the Gospel of Luke, and the Gospel of John.

● **The Author of 16:9-20 Had Not Read Matthew.** Mark 16:9 through 11 states that Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene and she reported this to the disciples, but they did not believe her. Matthew 28 gives no indication that the women's report about the appearance of Jesus was not believed by the disciples: in Matthew 28:11, the women continue on their way to the disciples, and in Matthew 28:16, the disciples have accordingly gathered in Galilee. The author of Mark 16:9-20 has not simply repeated material in Matthew; on the contrary, he has recorded an event in verse 11 (the eleven apostles' disbelief in Mary's report that Jesus was alive and that she had seen Him) which no one would naturally derive from the Gospel of Matthew.

● **The Author of 16:9-20 Had Not Read Luke.** In Luke 24:1 through 11 and Luke 24:22-24, the women encounter angels, not Jesus. The author of Mark 16:9-11, if he relied on the Gospel of Matthew, had no basis to write that the women's report had not been believed. Yet, if he had depended on the Gospel of Luke, he had no basis to report that Mary Magdalene had seen Jesus.

Also, Mark 16:14 states that "Later He appeared to the eleven as they sat at the table, and He rebuked their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they had not believed those who had seen Him after He had risen." There is no such rebuke in Matthew. In Luke, when Jesus appears to the eleven disciples, He gives no such rebuke. The mild questions in Luke 24:38 focus on the disciples' hesitance to believe their eyes and ears, not their disbelief of the report of earlier eyewitnesses to His resurrection.

In addition, Luke 24:36 presents Jesus' appearance to the eleven right after the two Emmaus-road travelers arrive and tell about their experience. Luke does not say that the eleven disciples disbelieved their report. Luke does not even make it clear that the eleven disciples had time to do so before Jesus personally

appeared to them. No writer, having read Luke 24:33-43, would summarize it as two events – one in which the disciples rejected the report of the two travelers, and the second in which they were rebuked by Jesus for doing so. A harmonization of the two accounts is achievable by positing that the disciples' conversation lasted a long time, but it is unlikely that anyone would create a text that required such a harmonization when other options were available.

Also, Luke locates Christ's ascension at the Mount of Olives (Luke 24:51, Acts 1:9). The author of Mark 16:9-20, if he had written in order to compose an ending for the Gospel of Mark, and if he had done so with the Gospels of Matthew and Luke on hand, would have possessed a very strong impetus to mention that the disciples traveled to Galilee and saw Jesus there, and then returned to Jerusalem where He ascended to heaven. Yet there is no statement anywhere in Mark 16:9-20 that the disciples, last seen in Jerusalem, traveled back to Galilee.

● **The Author of 16:9-20 Had Not Read John.** John 21 records a post-resurrection appearance of Jesus in Galilee, and proceeds to describe Peter's restoration. He who denied Christ three times affirms his love for Christ three times, and is instructed three times to feed Christ's flock. Here, it would seem, is material which would contribute very handily to the resumption and conclusion of the narrative-thread which otherwise ends at Mark 16:8: the scene is Galilee, and Peter is prominent in the narrative. Yet we detect none of this whatsoever in Mark 16:9-20 – no fishing-trip, no catch of fishes, no conversation between Jesus and Peter.

In addition, in John 20, there is no statement to the effect that Mary Magdalene's report to the disciples that she had seen the Lord was not believed. Also, while Mark 16:14 states that the eleven were rebuked because of their hard-heartedness and unbelief, John 20:8 explicitly states that the beloved disciple, at least, believed.

● **The Author of 16:9-20 Had Not Read Acts.** It is sometimes claimed that 16:17 and 18 shows the author's

familiarity with the book of Acts, merely because the statement “They shall take up serpents” has a superficial resemblance to the events in Acts 28:3-6. The statement, “They shall take up serpents” describes a volitional act, but that is not what is described in Acts 28:3 through 6; the viper took hold of Paul, not the other way around.

Also, the term used for “serpent” in Acts 28 is *εχιδνα*; in Mark 16:18, it is *οφεις*. (A much closer parallel to the verbiage of 16:18 is in the Septuagint’s text of Exodus 4, where Moses picks up a serpent/*οφεις*.) Furthermore, when Acts 28:5 says that Paul “suffered no harm,” this is the phrase “*επαθεν ουδεν κακον*,” which would offer itself to a mimic for implementation at the end of Mark 16:18, but 16:18 expresses the idea of invulnerability in different terms: “. . . ου μη αυτους βλαψη.”

All of the terminology which has been alleged to show the author’s awareness of Acts is instead evidence of his familiarity with the Septuagint and his knowledge of events in the church’s formative years. Plus, an author familiar with the book of Acts, if he felt he had the freedom to put new prophecies in Christ’s mouth, would probably select the most impressive miracles described in Acts (such as raising the dead) as word-confirming signs, rather than a singular incident which was capable of a non-miraculous explanation, or an incident involving poison which was not mentioned in Acts at all.

In addition, because Mark 16:9-20 is a summary, when read in isolation it gives readers the initial impression that the apostles went out preaching everywhere right after Christ’s ascension, which is not what a reader of Acts would conclude they did. Again, a harmonization is not difficult, but it is unlikely that anyone who had read Acts would write Mark 16:19 and 20 without any indication that the disciples stayed in Jerusalem for some time.

The linguistic and stylistic elements in Mark 16:9-20 do not preclude Marcan authorship, and several linguistic and stylistic elements support a case for Marcan authorship. The theory that the author of 16:9-20 was engaged in “the intentional imitation of all

four of the NT Gospels,”⁴⁵⁸ⁿ as he introduced a series of events and statements which are recorded in none of them, is extremely implausible. The internal evidence supports the opposite view: the author of 16:9-20 was not familiar with, and did not base his composition upon, Matthew, Luke, and John; nor was he familiar with the text of the book of Acts. This renders unlikely the theory that a second-century copyist composed these 12 verses, because copyists would tend to have access to the contents of the other Gospels; equipped with an awareness of their contents, no copyist would compose a text like Mark 16:9-20 which concisely introduces the novel and unharmonized elements which have been described here.

As Hort perceived, 16:9-20 is “apparently older than the time when the Canonical Gospels were generally received; for, though it has points of contact with them all, it contains no attempt to harmonise their various representations of the course of events.”⁴⁵⁹ⁿ

Those “points of contact” are unsurprising effects of reporting some of the same events, and relying on the same apostolic traditions to which Mark had access via Peter. None of the internal evidence stands in the way of taking Hort’s deduction one step further: not only does this lack of harmonization (combined with entirely unique elements) imply an early composition-date of 16:9-20, but it also implies a very early attachment-date, when these elements would not appear problematic or question-raising. The internal evidence does not oppose an attachment-date prior to the initial dissemination of the Gospel of Mark itself, and is consistent with a scenario in which Mark 16:9-20 was added during the production-stage of the text, and not at some subsequent point.



PART THREE: PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Chapter 12:

Three Theories about How the Ending was Lost

In Part One, external evidence established that Mark 16:9-20 was treated as part of the Gospel of Mark in the 100s by Justin, Tatian, and Irenaeus, authors who were personally familiar with the city of Rome, where the Gospel of Mark had been composed. Other early patristic writers attest to the use of Mark 16:9-20 in the second and third centuries in diverse locales.

A detailed comparison of the variants and annotations in manuscripts with the Double-Ending established that the Shorter Ending originated in Egypt. An examination of the background of Codex Sinaiticus, and the detection of features in Sinaiticus which are shared by Vaticanus, combined with an examination of their texts to establish that these two important codices share a close historical connection, and that they both descend mainly from exemplars taken from Egypt.

Likewise, Codex Bobbiensis has special traits which indicate that it was made in Egypt.

The Gospels-text of an early transmission-line of the Armenian version, which was used as the base-text for the Old Georgian version, was based on the text of a codex or codices taken from Constantinople in about 430, and because the text of early Georgian and Armenian versions is Caesarean, it appears likely that those exemplars were, or were descended from, copies which Eusebius had produced for Constantine in about 330, for which the exemplars were manuscripts at Caesarea.

When the influence of the early Alexandrian text-stream is not in the equation, neither the abrupt ending nor the Shorter Ending arises. The provenance of the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript is not as easily discerned as that of the other witnesses to the abrupt ending, but the rare readings that it shares with Codex Bobbiensis indicate that they are related. Since *k* is Egyptian, this elicits the deduction that the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript either was produced

there also, or was influenced by an exemplar or ancestor-manuscript from there.

In Part Two of this book, internal evidence established that Mark 16:9-20 was not initially composed as a continuation of the narrative that stops at the end of 16:8. Yet internal evidence also shows that Mark 16:9-20 was not composed as a combination of patches extracted from the other Gospels. In addition, neither the vocabulary nor the style of Mark 16:9-20 precludes the identity of Mark as its author, provided that he initially composed it as a freestanding text.

Consideration of the external evidence and the internal evidence yields a hypothesis that Mark 16:9-20 was originally part of the Gospel of Mark, attached to 1:1 through 16:8 while the Gospel of Mark was still in production. Either the person who attached these verses was someone other than Mark, or Mark himself attached them in an uncharacteristic hurry to finish his account, perhaps reasoning that a sketched-out ending was better than no ending at all. They previously were a freestanding composition that was used by Peter and Mark in the church at Rome to teach about Jesus' post-resurrection appearances.

The origin of Mark 16:9-20 is thus explained. But what is the origin of the Alexandrian form of the text? It may be instructive to review four theories before presenting in full detail the theory that I consider to be correct. I emphasize that although each of the following four theories is presented mainly from the point of view of an advocate, I do not actually advocate any of them.

Theory One: Excision by a Harmonist/Apologist.

Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, and other patristic writers occasionally allow an apologetic agenda to guide their approach to the text at some points. Eusebius, as we have seen, blamed some apparent difficulties on scribal corruption, and proposed emending the text – that is, from his perspective, reconstructing the original, harmonious text – to maintain harmonization. In *Ad Marinum*, Eusebius posited scribal error to

resolve the difficulty between Mark 15:25 and John 19:14, and he noted that scribal error could be the cause of an apparent discrepancy between John 20:1 and the account in Matthew 28.

Origen, likewise, does not seem to have been reluctant to resolve text-critical issues by preferring the reading which was apologetically advantageous. Commenting on John 1:28, he acknowledged that almost all copies read “Bethany,” and that it was attested by Heracleon, an older source, but he preferred to reading “Bethabara,” and he explained why: “Bethany . . . is fifteen stadia from Jerusalem, and the Jordan river is about one hundred and eighty stadia distant from it. Nor is there any other place of the same name in the neighborhood of the Jordan, but they say that Bethabara is pointed out on the banks of the Jordan.”⁴⁶⁰ⁿ In other words, Origen rejected the reading “Bethany” because it seemed to pose a difficulty. On occasion, even when his manuscripts all said one thing – something which seemed, to Origen, problematic – Origen proposed that the original text of the Gospels said something else.

According to Metzger, Origen offered a conjectural emendation of the text of Matthew 5:45, and Origen also suggests that scribal errors might be to blame for the harmonization-difficulties in the text of Matthew 21:9 and Mark 14:61.⁴⁶¹ⁿ

If a person with an interest in maintaining the harmony of the Gospels were to approach them in the Western order (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark) then several difficulties would present themselves when he came to the ending of Mark:

(1) Mark 16:9, unpunctuated, may give the impression that Jesus arose “early on the first day of the week,” which could be misinterpreted to imply a disagreement with Matthew 28:1.

(2) Mark 16:13 says that the disciples did not believe the report of Cleopas and his fellow traveler, but Luke 24:33 and 34 seems to present the disciples already affirming that Jesus had arisen when they hear the two travelers’ report.

(3) Mark 16:14 mentions an appearance to “the eleven” when they were sitting down at a table, but John 20:19 to 24, while

it describes an appearance to the disciples, says that Thomas was absent, lowering the count to ten.

(4) Mark 16:14 to 20 seems to describe the statement of the Great Commission and the Ascension on the same occasion, whereas in Matthew 28, verses 16 to 20, the Great Commission is given in Galilee and Acts 1:6 through 12 locates the Ascension in Jerusalem, on the Mount of Olives.

All of these discrepancies can be resolved when one perceives the summarized nature of Mark 16:9-20, but if a person did not perceive that, he might be tempted to conclude that the difficulties had arisen as a result of textual corruption, and it was his duty to repair the damage.

Facing a series of difficulties in his attempt to harmonize Mark 16:9-20 with the already harmonized parallels in Matthew, John, and Luke, an early harmonist may have noticed that the first difficulty appears in 16:9, noticed the discontinuity between 16:8 (where a group of women is present) and 16:9 (where Mary Magdalene is present), and leaped to the conclusion that the entire discordant passage must be spurious.

This would require a rather sophisticated and bold approach to the text. However, such a thing was not unheard of in the early church. Dionysius of Alexandria, in the mid-200s, made incisive comments about the authorial style of Revelation as he attempted to justify his view that it was not written by the same person who wrote the Gospel of John. Other writers appealed to stylistic features in the book of Hebrews to build a case that Paul was its author.

Additionally, an apologetic difficulty may have been felt by early Christians who faced misinterpreters of Mark 16:17 and 18. This difficulty is still felt by apologists to this day; for example, James R. White mentions one theological “problem” after another involving these verses.⁴⁶²ⁿ

Within the church, misinterpreters may have used the passage to teach that miraculous signs, such as tongues-speaking and healings, were divinely sanctioned as normative Christian practices. And outside the church, anti-Christian writers derisively

challenged Christians to drink poison, citing Mark 16:18. Such considerations could provoke an apologist to conclude that the entire passage is so problematic that it cannot be authentic, and on that basis he would reject it.

Dealing with such objections from anti-Christian writers was no idle exercise for Christians in the 200s and 300s. In about 250, Origen wrote an extensive reply (consisting of eight books) to the objections and jibes of the anti-Christian writer Celsus, who had written in about 180. Later, sometime before 300, Eusebius of Caesarea wrote a response to the anti-Christian writer Porphyry – a verbose response consisting of 25 books, none of which are extant.

To apologetically driven authors in the early church, if they ever encountered a copy of Mark without 16:9-20, it would almost certainly occur to them that such a text is, from an apologetic position, rather advantageous. To them, the puzzling stop at the end of Mark 16:8 was something they could afford, in exchange for the maintenance of easier consistency of the Gospels with one another. It probably was not difficult for these apologists to convince themselves of the correctness of a deduction that a problematic passage must not be authentic, and that the fewer problems a manuscript's text presented, the more accurate it must be.

Jerome shares an interesting example of the extent to which some apologists would go to maintain the consistency and perfection of the Scriptures: in the Prologue to his *Commentary on Daniel*, he describes how an objection from Porphyry was answered. Porphyry had showed that in the story of Susanna, in the passage where Daniel cross-examines the elders, there are two expressions which form puns in Greek: “*To split from the mastic tree (απο του σκηινου σκηισαι)*” and “*to saw from the evergreen oak (και απο του πρινου πρισαι)*,” thus convicting the book of being a Greek forgery. Although, in his *Introduction to Daniel*, Jerome had acknowledged that the portions about Susanna and Bel and the Dragon were “spread throughout the world,” he responded to Porphyry's objection in the following way:

“Both Eusebius and Apollinarius have answered him in the same manner, explaining that the stories about Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon are not contained in the Hebrew text; instead they constitute part of the prophecy of Habbakkuk ben-Joshua of the tribe of Levi. Likewise we find in the title of that same story of Bel, in the Septuagint, ‘There was a certain priest named Daniel the son of Abda, a close advisor of the king of Babylon,’ but Holy Scripture testifies that Daniel and the three Hebrew children were from the tribe of Judah.

“For this very reason, when I was translating Daniel many years ago, I marked these phenomena with an obelus, showing that they were not in the Hebrew text. And in this connection I am surprised to be told that certain fault-finders complain that I have taken the liberty of shortening the book. After all, Origen, Eusebius and Apollinarius, and other outstanding churchmen and teachers who were conversant in Greek acknowledge that, as I have said, because these phenomena are not found amongst the Hebrews, they are not obliged to explain to Porphyry difficulties which he found in these portions which exhibit no authority as Holy Scripture.”⁴⁶³ⁿ

These comments instructively display two things. First, they show that some readers could exaggerate the meaning of an obelus. Although, in Jerome’s translation, the story of Susanna was part of the book of Daniel, he reports that “certain fault-finders” had complained that he had shortened the book, simply because he had obelized the story of Susanna. Second, they show that apologists such as Eusebius were willing to reject well-known passages in order to answer an objection against the veracity of the authors of Scripture. In Origen’s *Hexapla*, as Origen conveniently explains in a letter to Africanus,⁴⁶⁴ⁿ Origen attached an obelus to passages in the Hebrew text to which there was no corresponding text in the Greek translations, and in the Greek texts that were included in the *Hexapla*, he attached an asterisk to passages which had no corresponding text in his Hebrew copies.

Initially these obeli and asterisks were intended strictly as reports; Origen made it perfectly clear to Africanus that he

preferred to use the Septuagint, and that to rely on the Hebrew text exclusively would cause all sorts of problems; he had marked the differences, he explained, so that he would know what passages were recognized by the Jews, so that in his discussions with them he would not be mocked for citing a text they did not acknowledge as Scripture. Origen treated the story of Susanna as Scripture in Book Ten of his *Stromata* and elsewhere in his writings. Jerome attests, though – with sympathetic approval – that Eusebius and another writer had gone farther, and had removed Porphyry’s objection by declaring that it was an objection against an inauthentic passage. Considering how well-known the story of Susanna was, this was a remarkable and drastic step, and it shows that these apologists were willing to use a sort of theologically driven textual criticism as an apologetic weapon.

F. H. A. Scrivener, a prominent textual critic of the 1800s, proposed that this sort of step had been taken to deal with objections about Mark 16:9-20: “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.”⁴⁶⁵ⁿ

William Farmer, in his detailed book about this passage, similarly proposed that an early Alexandrian editor had excised the passage because this was the simplest way to answer objections to its several difficulties, real or imagined. This apologetically driven editor, thinking that several small adjustments were needed in this passage, also realized that such adjustments would be easily noticed and exposed as such when compared to unadjusted copies. He reasoned that a more efficient solution would be a simple excision of the entire problematic passage, leaving no fingerprints, so to speak.

Theory Two: Accidental Loss Involving a Liturgical

Note. In many copies of the Gospels, the words *αρχη* (*arche*, “beginning”) and *τελος* (*telos*, “end”) appear at the beginnings and endings of lections, the segments of text assigned to be read on certain days of the church calendar. Usually the *arche* and *telos* symbols consistently appear throughout the Gospels, but in some copies, they only appear at a few selected lections. Sometimes one mark or the other will appear more frequently than its expected counterpart.

If an early copy of Mark contained only a few *τελος* (*telos*) symbols, and if, in this copy, a lection ended at the end of 16:8, and if, in this copy, 16:8 concluded at the end of a page (as it does in Codices 1, 15, and some other copies), then when used as an exemplar by a copyist who was equally unfamiliar with the text of Mark and the meaning of the *telos*-marks, such a copy could be misinterpreted to say that the Gospel of Mark ended there at the end of 16:8, and that the remaining text represented some other composition.

Or, if an early copy had incurred damage, and accidentally lost its final page – a page containing 16:9-20 – then such a copyist, unfamiliar with the text and with the use of lections, would naturally understand the *telos* after 16:8 to mean that he had reached the end of the Gospel of Mark. This theory was proposed by Burgon in 1871:

“Of course it will have sometimes happened that St. Mark 16: 8 came to be written at the bottom of the left hand page of a manuscript. 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 St. Mark’s Gospel to an end there, of course. What else could he possibly do?”⁴⁶⁶ⁿ

The lectionary-related notes in manuscript 274 illustrate another aspect to this theory. In 274, between the end of 16:8 (on the left part of a line) and the beginning of 16:9 (on the right part of the same line), an abbreviated lectionary note says, “τελ. Β' εωθ.” – “End of the second Heothina,” that is, the second lection in the eleven-part cycle for matins.⁴⁶⁷ⁿ This was intended to notify the reader that Mark 16:1 through 8, the second Heothina-reading, ended there. Another abbreviated note, in the right margin, states, “Third Gospel of the Resurrection; this is also the Gospel-reading at Matins on Ascension Day.”

A copyist familiar with the Gospel of Mark would not interpret a note signifying the end of the second Heothina-lection, “τελος ευαγγελιον Β'” (“Β'” being the Greek representation of the numeral 2) as if it signified the end of the second Gospel itself. However, if the Heothina readings were established in the second century (becoming only much later a component of the Byzantine lectionary) a copyist in Egypt whose usual duty was the production of copies of the Septuagint, and who was not familiar with the text of Mark, could understandably misinterpret such a note. In the Septuagint, numerals typically accompany the names of the Minor Prophets in the titles and subscriptions of each book. A copyist of the Septuagint in the second century would thus be accustomed to writing “Ωσηε Α', Αμωσ Β',” (Hosea – 1, Amos – 2) and so forth, up to Μαλαχιας ΙΒ' (Malachi – 12), at the beginning and end of each book of the Minor Prophets.

If some early Christians were to hire such a copyist, and if they instructed him to prepare the first volume of a two-volume set of the Gospels in which Matthew and Mark were contained in the first volume, and Luke and John were in the second volume (fitting the format that seems to have been used for Papyrus 75), then what might happen if, as his sole exemplar, he used a lector's copy in which the ends of the Heothina-readings were noted?

Upon reaching the end of Matthew 28, verse 20, the copyist would encounter the note “end of Gospel #1” (τελος ευαγγελιον Α'.” He would understandably conclude that the note meant that the first Gospel ended there. After all, the text of Matthew does

indeed end at that point. With that assumption in place, the copyist would proceed to copy the text of Mark, and when he reached the end of 16:8, he would find the note, “end of Gospel #2” (τέλος ευαγγελιον Β”).

Because he was used to enumerating the Minor Prophets, and because he had understood the similar note at the end of Matthew to signify the end of Gospel #1, he would assume that this note signified the end of Gospel #2 – not the end of a Heothina-reading, but *the end of the second Gospel-account*. He therefore would regard Mark 16:8 as the end of the Gospel of Mark, and place the subscription after εφοβουντο γαρ (*efobounto gar*), and include the remaining 12 verses after that. This, then, would raise questions about the legitimacy of the separated verses, resulting in their eventual excision.

Hort rejected Burgon’s theory, arguing as follows: “The last leaf of a Manuscript of Century 2 might easily be filled with verses 9 through 20, and might easily be lost; and thus the manuscript would naturally become the parent of transcripts having a mutilated text. It is not so easy to understand how a defect of this magnitude in so conspicuous a part of the Gospels could be widely propagated and adopted, notwithstanding the supposed existence of a fuller text in the copies current all around. Nevertheless the loss of a leaf in Century 2 does afford a tenable mode of explaining omission, and would deserve attention were the Documentary and the Intrinsic evidence ambiguous.”⁴⁶⁸ⁿ

In other words, Hort granted that there is nothing impossible about the ideas that the last page of a codex of Mark produced in the 100s could have contained 16:9-20, and the idea that the last page of such a codex could be lost, and the idea that this codex, thus damaged, could become the parent of subsequent copies which displayed a text ending at the end of 16:8. The difficulty, Hort insisted, is that undamaged copies would become available, and copyists would quickly repair the damaged text.

But were multiple copies of the untruncated available in Egypt? If a damaged codex of Mark were used for several years in an isolated locale, without competition, its text would soon be

regarded as the standard text in that area. The evidence from Egypt shows that 16:9-20 was eventually accepted, but only in a gradual and incomplete way.

Theory Three: Simple Accidental Loss. This theory resembles Burgon's theory, and is simple: the first copy of the Gospel of Mark to reach an isolated locale in Egypt was a copy of Mark which, en route, was damaged, losing its final portion, on which 16:9-20 had been written.

The history of the text in Egypt thus interlocks with what we see in the Egyptian manuscripts: first the abrupt ending appeared in a damaged exemplar, and its text was transferred to numerous copies. For a while the abrupt ending was the only known ending of Mark in that locale. Then someone, dissatisfied with the abruptness of the final scene, wrote the Shorter Ending and put it after 16:8 in his copy, which was then used as an exemplar, resulting in a growing family of copies with the Shorter Ending. Then, when an undamaged copy of Mark was introduced from a nearby Egyptian locale, copyists resorted to making a non-decision by formatting the Double-Ending with notes about their puzzling situation, in which some copies ended at 16:8, some copies ended with the Shorter Ending, and some copies had 16:9-20 after 16:8. Next, when the abrupt ending had ceased to be perpetuated, and copyists faced one group of exemplars with the Shorter Ending and another group of exemplars with 16:9-20, they again resorted to making a non-decision by formatting the Double-Ending with notes about their puzzling situation, this time with no mention of the abrupt ending.

The external evidence fits neatly into such a reconstructed history: the exemplars of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus and Codex P. Palau-Ribes Inv. Nr. 182 (and the abruptly-ending copies to which Eusebius referred in *Ad Marinum*) thus descend from the earliest stage of the Egyptian text of Mark. Codex 083 descends from a stage when all three endings were extant. Codices L and Ψ (Psi) descend from a stage when copies with the Shorter Ending, and

copies with 16:9-20, were known. Later still, the Shorter Ending was blended directly into the text between 16:8 and 16:9, in copies of the Ethiopic version. The only special mechanism that is required to trigger that series of events is that the accidental loss would need to occur at precisely the point where the stark transition between 16:8 and 16:9 occurs.

Although each of these four theories has a measure of persuasive force, I do not consider any of them as persuasive as the theory that I describe in the following chapter.



Chapter 13: Why Mark 16:9-20 Was Excised in Egypt

At this point, some readers may already be satisfied that five considerations render the case against the authenticity of Mark fatally weak:

(1) Internally, the style of the abrupt ending is radically unMarcan, and externally, it is attested in a narrow transmission-stream.

(2) The longer ending is attested by very early and very widespread witnesses.

(3) Several plausible mechanisms have been identified which could cause 16:9-20 to be lost after its initial inclusion in the production-stage of the Gospel of Mark. Even though it is impossible to empirically demonstrate that one of these mechanisms is the cause of the loss, it may seem reasonable to diagnose that the early Alexandrian Text is not healthy at this point, even if the exact germ that caused this cannot be identified.

(4) Attempts to dismiss Mark 16:9-20 as a Byzantine reading which invaded the other text-types are futile: if the text of this passage in leading members of each text-type is Byzantine, that would show that the passage has been grafted on, while if its text in those witnesses contains unique variants, this would show that those variants and the text in which they are embedded were not acquired by invasion, but are indigenous. Consider the test-results:

● Five readings appear in Caesarean witnesses but tend to be absent in the definitive Byzantine, Western, and Alexandrian witnesses:

(a) family-13 omits $\delta\epsilon$ and inserts the contracted name “Jesus” after Αναστας in 16:9.

(b) Codex Θ (038) has $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in 16:10 instead of $\mu\epsilon\tau'$.

(c) Codex Θ (038) has $\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\eta$ instead of $\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta$ in 16:12.

(d) Codex Θ (038) has $\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ instead of $\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ in 16:13.

(e) family-1, family-13, 28, and 565 (and A, Δ, and C) add εκ νεκρων after εγγερευμενον in 16:14.

● As was mentioned in chapter four, Codex D, representing the Western text-type, has seven non-Byzantine readings in Mark 16:9 to 15:

(a) Codex D has εφανερωσεν πρωτοις instead of εφανερωσεν πρωτον in 16:9,

(b) Codex D has αυτοις after απηγγειλεν in 16:10,

(c) Codex D has και ουκ επιστευσαν αυτω instead of ηπιστησαν in 16:11,

(d) Codex D has και at the beginning of 16:12,

(e) Codex D has προς αυτους instead of αυτοις in 16:15,

(f) Codex D omits απαντα in 16:15, and

(g) Codex D inserts και before κηρυξατε in 16:15.

● Three readings – the second and third of which are particularly distinctive – occur almost exclusively in representatives of the Alexandrian Text:

(a) C*, L, 33, 579, and 892 (and D and W) have παρ' instead of αφ' after Μαρια τη Μαγδαληνη in 16:9.

(b) C*, L, Δ (Delta), and Ψ (Psi) omit καιναις at the end of 16:17. 099 also omits γλωσσαις λαλησουσιν, which is probably the result of accidental lineskipping.

This implies that 099's exemplar read:

δαιμονια εκβαλουσιν

γλωσσαις λαλησουσιν

και εν ταις χερσιν etc.

(c) C, L, Δ (Delta), Ψ (Psi), 099, 579, and 892 have και εν ταις χερσιν ("And in their hands") at the beginning of 16:18.

The non-Byzantine features in Caesarean, Western, and Alexandrian copies cannot reasonably be supposed to have been derived from an invading Byzantine Text. This shows that Mark 16:9-20 was not grafted onto the text of Mark in these text-types. The passage is indigenous to them all.

(5) Most patristic evidence does not support the abrupt ending or the Shorter Ending. Not only is the patristic evidence in favor of Mark 16:9-20 ancient and widespread, but no patristic authors prior to Eusebius say anything about the abrupt ending of Mark. After Eusebius, as we have seen, none of the patristic writers who mention the abrupt ending write independently of Eusebius' comments. They used his comments and altered them in the course of advocating the inclusion of 16:9-20.

Perhaps to many readers, these five points alone constitute a sufficient case for the authenticity of Mark 16:9-20. Nevertheless I shall explore the evidence some more, as a means of augmenting the case for the theory that I have already described: that verses 9-20 were in the *autograph* of the Gospel of Mark, having been attached by Mark's colleagues, who finished the otherwise unfinished narrative by attaching a freestanding composition about Jesus' resurrection appearances which Mark had written previously.

Before presenting this solution in detail, it may be helpful to briefly review some traditions about the circumstances under which the Gospel of Mark was written, and about the ministry and martyrdom of Mark himself.

Eusebius of Caesarea, in *Church History* Book Three, chapter 39, preserves Papias' statement that "The Elder" reported the following: "*Mark, who had been Peter's interpreter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, whatever 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 those who listened to him, but with no intent to give a sequential 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.*"⁴⁶⁹ⁿ

In *Church History* Book Five, chapter 8:1 through 3, Eusebius quotes from the beginning of the third book of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* (where Irenaeus seems to rely on Papias'

writings): *“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 (ἐξοδον, exodon), Mark the disciple and interpreter of Peter also transmitted to us in writing those things which Peter had preached.”*⁴⁷⁰ⁿ

In addition, in *Church History Book Six, 14:5* through 7, Eusebius presents a statement that he attributes to Clement of Alexandria:

*“Clement gives the tradition of the earliest presbyters, as to the order of the Gospels, in the following manner: the Gospels containing the genealogies, 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.”*⁴⁷¹ⁿ

The accounts of Irenaeus and Clement conflict: Irenaeus states that Mark wrote after the departure of Peter and Paul, but Clement states that Mark was distributing the Gospel while Peter was still alive. This should be compared to what Jerome, relying on his recollection of earlier compositions, wrote in the eighth chapter of *De Viris Illustribus*:

“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.”⁴⁷²ⁿ

Jerome was clearly relying on earlier accounts, including Eusebius' *Church History*; the statement about the year of Mark's death seems to be drawn directly from Eusebius' *Church History*, Book Two, chapter 24: *“When Nero was in the eighth year of his reign, Annianus succeeded Mark the evangelist in the administration of the parish of Alexandria.”* Eusebius provides a second affirmation of the year of the beginning of the bishopric of Annianus in *Church History*, Book Three, chapter 14: *“In the fourth year of Domitian, Annianus, the first bishop of the parish of Alexandria, died after holding office twenty-two years, and was succeeded by Abilius, the second bishop.”⁴⁷³ⁿ* Figuring that Domitian's reign began in September of 81, adding four years brings us to September of 85. By subtracting 22 from 85, we arrive at the year 63. If Annianus served as bishop for a bit more than 22 years but less than 23 full years, Eusebius' two statements agree.

On the question of whether Mark wrote his Gospel before Peter's death, or afterward, the accounts are divided. Their discord may decrease a little if Jerome's statement is understood as an incorrect deduction based on Eusebius' statement that Annianus succeeded Mark in the eighth year of Nero's reign. If Eusebius' statement means that Mark, instead of dying in that year, departed from Alexandria to go to Rome, then if Nero's eighth year is calculated to be 62 (since his reign began on October 13, in the year 54), the emerging picture is that Mark established a

Christian community in Alexandria, and then went to Rome, possibly at the urging of Timothy (see Second Timothy 4:11). According to this hypothesis, Peter and Mark were both ministering in Rome in the year 62.

In the mid-60s, severe persecution against Christians arose in the city of Rome, and Paul and Peter were martyred. What then happened to Mark? He apparently did not remain in Rome; as Peter's assistant he would have been a natural choice to lead the congregation there; yet a man named Linus is reported by Eusebius (in *Church History* Book Three, 3:2) to have been the first bishop of Rome after the martyrdoms of Paul and Peter. A detailed tradition is found in the medieval composition *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* by Severus of Al-Ushmunain (in the mid-900s), who stated that he accessed source-materials from the monastery of St. Macarius and other monasteries in Egypt, and from Alexandria. Severus of Al-Ushmunain states that Mark was martyred in Alexandria.⁴⁷⁴ⁿ

When this is compared to the report from Irenaeus that Mark composed his Gospel-account after the departure – that is, the martyrdoms – of Peter and Paul, the situation becomes more clear: after assisting Barnabas and Paul on Paul's first missionary journey (as related in Acts 12:25-13:13, and after assisting Barnabas in Cyprus (as related in Acts 15:36-39), Mark established churches in Egypt in the 50's, and traveled from there to Rome in 62, leaving behind Annianus in Egypt. Immediately after the deaths of Paul and Peter, Mark left Rome and returned to Egypt.

The martyrdoms of Paul and Peter are generally assigned to the year 67. Eusebius of Caesarean, in Book Two, chapter 25 of *Church History*, states that Paul was beheaded in Rome, and that Peter was crucified in the reign of Nero. He also reports that they were both martyred at the same time, and cites as his source for this information a man named Dionysius of Corinth.⁴⁷⁵ⁿ Dionysius of Corinth is a fairly early source; Eusebius reports that he served the church in the early 170's. Jerome, in the first and fifth chapters of *De Viris Illustribus*, echoes Eusebius' information,

stating that Peter and Paul were both martyred “in the fourteen year of the reign of Nero, which is the 37th year after the Lord’s Sufferings.”⁴⁷⁶ⁿ

The account preserved by Severus of Al-Ushmunain specifically states that Mark was seized by unbelievers in Alexandria on Easter, when one of their religious festivals, dedicated to the deity Serapis, occurred, on the 29th day of the month called Barmudah (the eighth month of the Egyptian calendar), and that he died the next day.⁴⁷⁷ⁿ Although this is a late document, its author states that he relied upon earlier sources. One such earlier text, although it does not say anything about the specific date of Mark’s martyrdom, agrees regarding the location: the author of *The Martyrdom of Peter of Alexandria* (a bishop who was martyred in 311) states, “They took him up and brought him to the place called Bucolia, where the holy St. Mark underwent martyrdom for Christ.” The same author states that Peter of Alexandria entreated his persecutors “to allow him to go to the tomb of St. Mark.”⁴⁷⁸ⁿ

Only in certain years would Easter coincide on the calendar with the festival of Serapis, and the year 68 is one of those years. Thus, it appears Mark was martyred in 68, in Alexandria, less than a year after Paul and Peter were martyred in 67 in Rome. If the gist of the tradition preserved by Irenaeus is followed, then Mark must have had only a small window of opportunity after the martyrdoms of Paul and Peter to write his Gospel-account.

This does not mean that the tradition reported by Clement of Alexandria is entirely untrue. After Mark had been in Rome long enough to be recognized as Peter’s assistant and interpreter, he would have had opportunities to respond to requests for copies of collections of Peter’s sayings. These collections, though, may have been shorter than the final form of the Gospel of Mark; a definitive collection of all of Peter’s remembrances would not be feasible until after Peter stopped recollecting.

The tradition preserved by Irenaeus is not likely to be a later invention; creative tradition inventors would tend to emphasize the apostolic authority of the text. Clement’s tradition,

by stating that Peter neither approved nor disapproved Mark's undertaking, certainly does not seem to have been designed to ensure that readers would regard the Gospel of Mark as apostolically approved, but Irenaeus' tradition, by stating that Mark wrote the Gospel of Mark after Peter had departed (that is, died), is even less positive, inasmuch as the martyred apostle Peter cannot even acquiesce to the text's contents.

If we thus accept Irenaeus' basic version of events, and assign a date in 67 for the martyrdom of Peter in Rome, and a date in 68 for the martyrdom of Mark in Alexandria, then the date for the composition of the Gospel of Mark must be somewhere in between.

All this provides the background for the following hypothesis:

In the second half of the year 67, following the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, as Mark was almost finished writing his Gospel-account, he was in imminent danger and had to suddenly stop writing his nearly-complete text, leaving it, and whatever else he had written, in the hands of his colleagues. Thus, when Mark left Rome, his definitive collection of Peter's remembrances was unfinished and unpublished.

Mark's Roman colleagues were thus entrusted with an incomplete and unfinished text. They had no desire to insert material of their own invention into Mark's text, but they also had no desire to publish a composition which they all knew was not only unfinished, but which would be recognized as unfinished by everyone who was familiar with Peter's preaching – indeed, by everyone acquainted at all with the message about Jesus. Therefore, rather than publish the Gospel of Mark without an ending (that is, with the abrupt ending), they completed it by supplementing it with a short text which Mark, at an earlier time, had composed about Jesus' post-resurrection appearances. Only after this supplement was added did the Roman church begin to make copies of the Gospel of Mark.

That hypothesis explains internal features in 16:9-20 such as the awkward transition between 16:8 and 16:9, and the concise

writing-style, but it does not explain why 16:9-20 is not found in the earliest stratum of the Alexandrian Text. To answer that question, we must consider not only the nature of Mark 16:9-20, but also the nature of Alexandrian copyists.

B. H. Streeter, in his influential book *The Four Gospels*, made an insightful surmise about Mark 16:9-20: “The hypothesis that Mark 16:9-20 was originally a separate document has the additional advantage of making it somewhat easier to account for the supplement in the text of W known as the “Freer logion.” A catechetical summary is a document which lends itself to expansion; the fact that a copy of it had been added to Mark would not at once put out of existence all other copies or prevent them suffering expansion. No doubt as soon as the addition became thoroughly established in the Roman text of Mark, it would cease to be copied as a separate document. But supposing that a hundred years later an old copy of it in the expanded version turned up. It would then be mistaken for a fragment of a very ancient manuscript of Mark, and the fortunate discoverer would hasten to add to his copy of Mark – which, of course, he would suppose to be defective – the addition preserved in this ancient witness.”⁴⁷⁹ⁿ

That is a very plausible explanation of the origin of the Freer Logion. Slightly adapted, Streeter’s theory implies that the Freer Logion did not originate as an expansion in the Gospel of Mark, but as an expansion of the freestanding Marcan summary of Jesus’ post-resurrection appearances which Mark’s colleagues incorporated into the text of the Gospel of Mark.

But what was such a text doing in Egypt? If Mark was the author of this summary, then it is possible that he composed it not in the 60s at Rome, but earlier, during the period in the 50s-62 when he was in Egypt – the only locale in which the Freer Logion is known to have existed.

If Mark’s brief summary of Jesus’ post-resurrection appearances was already known to some of the Christians in Egypt, who used it as a freestanding composition, then when the Gospel of Mark arrived from Rome in the late 60s or early 70s, sometime after Mark’s colleagues there had begun its

dissemination, it would not be difficult for them to compare it to their copies of the Marcan composition about Jesus' post-resurrection appearances, and immediately see that the final portion of the text from Rome was not, and could not be, part of the Petrine Memoirs.

At least some of the first individuals in Alexandria to read the Gospel of Mark would thus be inclined to regard 16:9-20 as a distinct Marcan composition which, though valuable as a Marcan text, simply did not belong in the memoirs of the apostle Peter. As a result, they declined to perpetuate it in their copies of the Gospel of Mark. This explains why the early Alexandrian Text is divided: the Egyptian Christians who accepted the Marcan ending perpetuated it in their copies, while those who did not accept it did not reproduce it as part of the text of Peter's remembrances (which is what the Gospel of Mark was understood to be).

The abrupt ending is thus explained as the effect of Egyptian copyists' recognition of Mark 16:9-20 as a composition unrelated to the remembrances of Peter. These verses were rejected by some Egyptian copyists, probably as early as the early 100s, because the copyists thought that the Gospel of Mark derived its authority from the apostle Peter, rather than from Mark, and because although the passage was useful, they perceived that it was not Petrine.

This rare tendency to apply a sort of higher criticism to justify the excision of verses that did not seem to have come from the primary author was apparently shared by one of the copyists of Codex Sinaiticus. At the end of John, Scribe A finished the text at the end of 21:24, and followed this with the decorative coronis and the subscription. Then he had second thoughts, erased the decorative design and subscription, and added 21:25, followed by a new decorative design and a new subscription. Tischendorf had detected this in the 1800s, but it was not until the page was exposed to ultraviolet light in research overseen by Milne and Skeat that the evidence of what the copyist had done literally came to light.⁴⁸⁰ⁿ

The initial excision of John 21:25 in Sinaiticus was probably not an altogether isolated case; Theodore of Mopsuestia (350 to 428), in a statement preserved in Ishodad of Merv's Commentary on the Gospels, claimed that the extra material in the Septuagint version of Job, and the sentence about the angel moving the waters in John 5:4, and this verse, John 21:25, are "Not the text of Scripture, but were put above in the margin, in the place of some exposition; and afterwards, he says, they were introduced into the text by some lovers of knowledge."⁴⁸¹ⁿ Theodoret may have been repeating a theory of an earlier writer whose claims were also known to Scribe A of Sinaiticus.

A textual anomaly of a different sort may indicate that outside of Egypt, Mark 16:9-20 was accepted even though it was known to be in some sense secondary to the rest of the Gospel of Mark. The evidence for this is indirect, and its connection to the ending of Mark can only be posited by a series of hypotheses. That is why I have mentioned this piece of evidence last, as a tangent, before presenting my concluding thoughts on the main subject. Nevertheless I consider this last consideration very interesting, even though no part of the case for the authenticity of Mark 16:9-20 is built upon it.

Why does the Gospel of John end twice? At the end of John 20:31, the narrative is brought to an appropriate conclusion; nevertheless an additional chapter follows: a chapter which features an appearance of Jesus to a group of disciples, including Peter, in Galilee. The concluding verses of John 20 form such an appropriate conclusion that Origen, in Book Ten of his *Commentary on John*, stated that the words, "Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed" are found "at the end of the Gospel of John."⁴⁸²ⁿ Possibly he was merely making a generalized location; elsewhere Origen seems to show that he knew the contents of John 21. That explanation, however, cannot account for a statement of Tertullian: in chapter 25 of his composition *Against Praxeas*, he stated that the phrase, "that you might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God" are written at the "very termination" of the Gospel of John. Yet Tertullian also shows (in

chapter 50 of *De Anima*) that he was aware that there had been “an ungrounded expectation that he [John] would remain alive until the coming of the Lord,” which is alluded to in John 21:23.⁴⁸³ⁿ

These statements by Origen and Tertullian suggest that in North Africa and Egypt in the early 200s, John 21 was considered to be an appendix to the main narrative. This interpretation persisted even in the days of Augustine, who stated in *Tractate 122 on John* (covering John 20:30-21:11), “This paragraph [20:30-31] signifies, as it were, the end of the book. But there is afterwards related how the Lord manifested Himself at the sea of Tiberias, and in the catch of fishes made special reference to the mystery of the church, regarding its future character in the final resurrection of the dead. I think, therefore, that in order to give special prominence to this section, that it has been arranged here, where there is a sort of conclusion to the book, and then a sort of preface [21:1] to the narrative that was to follow, to give it a position of greater eminence.”⁴⁸⁴ⁿ

Perhaps, as copies of the Gospel of Mark were being circulated and recopied in the early 70s, someone from Rome took a copy to Ephesus, to the apostle John, along with information about the background of Mark 16:9-20 and with a question about its appropriateness. And maybe John, in response, wrote a short narrative telling about how Peter and some of the other disciples, including himself, had gone to Galilee, and had encountered Jesus (as John 21:2-14 relates), and that Peter had been called at that time to shepherd the sheep (as John 21:15-19 relates), and that Jesus had prophesied at that time that Peter would be martyred (as John 21:18-19 shows).

This text, for a short time, may have circulated with the understanding that it was an apostolic continuation of Peter’s *Memoirs* – and if it had been aggressively promoted, it might have displaced Mark 16:9-20, but instead, perhaps because copies from Rome which included 16:9-20 circulated and multiplied and reached Ephesus, it was instead attached, with some editorial adjustments, to the end of the Gospel of John.

This would explain why the Gospel of John ends twice.



Chapter 14: Closing Thoughts

After a thorough examination of the evidence, I have reached the following conclusions:

- Reasonably secure evidence shows that Mark 16:9-20 was accepted as part of the Gospel of Mark in the early church in Rome (where early tradition states that the Gospel of Mark was composed), and in Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Constantinople, North Africa, Gaul, and Britain. The only locales that attest to the non-inclusion of Mark 16:9-20 in the early church are Egypt and Caesarea (where manuscripts from Egypt were in the library).⁴⁸⁵ⁿ

- Reasonably strong internal evidence shows that Mark 16:9-20 was not initially written to conclude the Gospel of Mark.

- There are good reasons to believe that Mark did not intend to publish his account in a form which stopped at the end of 16:8. The view that Mark intentionally stopped writing at the end of 16:8 is unrealistic, and has led to many theories about the motive for such an abrupt stop.

- Traditions about Mark's work in Rome during the reign of Nero, and his martyrdom in Alexandria, describe a historical setting which accounts for the sudden interruption of Mark's work as he was writing the Gospel of Mark.

- No external evidence prior to the 300s suggests that 16:9-20 was absent from the Gospel of Mark.

- The stylistic features of Mark 16:9-20 that have been considered evidence that it was not Marcan pose little if any barrier to the theory that Mark initially wrote 16:9-20 as a freestanding composition some time before writing the Gospel of Mark. They constitute evidence against the idea that it was composed to follow 16:8, not against Marcan authorship.

- More than one viable scenarios account for the loss of Mark 16:9-20 in the early Alexandrian text-stream.

- Evidence exists of a strong early tendency to regard the Gospel of Mark as the Memoirs of Peter. If Mark 16:9-20 was

recognized as an earlier composition by Mark, distinct from Peter's Memoirs, this would induce meticulous Egyptian copyists to excise Mark 16:9-20 from codices in Egypt in the early 100s.

I conclude that Mark 16:9-20 was included in the text of the Gospel of Mark before copies of the Gospel of Mark were initially made and disseminated for church-use. Therefore Mark 16:9-20 ought to be retained in the canonical text of the Gospel of Mark.



APPENDICES

Appendix One: The End of Mark and the Synoptic Problem

Although the solution presented in this book accounts for all the internal evidence, and for all the patristic evidence, and for all the external evidence in all extant copies of Mark, some commentators have appealed to a different kind of evidence: the failure of Matthew and Luke to use the contents of Mark 16:9-20. These commentators, building on the premises that Matthew and Luke both used the Gospel of Mark as a source, and had no source other than Mark for the material which is shared by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, interpret the non-use of Mark 16:9-20 by

Matthew and Luke as evidence that the passage was absent from their copies of Mark. Although the majority of modern-day New Testament scholars are of the opinion that the Gospel of Mark was used by the author of the Gospel of Matthew and by the author of the Gospel of Luke, other theories exist, and they are advocated by serious and competent scholars who have carefully investigated the issues involved. Supporters of the Griesbach-Owen Hypothesis will find nothing persuasive in the idea that Matthew and Luke did not use Mark 16:9-20, since they believe that Mark used Matthew and Luke, rather than the other way around.

Similarly, those who believe that each Synoptic author independently used a collection of apostolic traditions will find it barely interesting to notice that the closing chapters of the Synoptic Gospels were produced as independently as the rest.

No less a scholar than J. K. Elliott has affirmed, "We cannot use Matthew or Luke to make claims about what they may or may not have read in their copies of Mark in chap. 16."⁴⁸⁶ⁿ To simply conclude, from the observation of non-use, that Mark 16:9-20 was absent from Matthew's and Luke's copies of Mark, while concluding in all other cases of non-use that some other factor was responsible, is inconsistent.

In addition, this approach forces Mark 16:9-20 into a lose-lose scenario: if Matthew and/or Luke *had* continued along the same narrative lines as Mark 16:9-20, the objection would be made that Mark 16:9-20 cannot be original because it relies so much on Matthew and/or Luke.

This claim, the “pastiche” claim, has been proposed even without sustained verbal parallels between Mark 16:9-20 and the other Gospels. There can be little doubt how some commentators would interpret such parallels if they existed.

Nevertheless it seems worthwhile to explain my own reasons for believing that the non-use of Mark 16:9-20 by Matthew and Luke does not qualify as witnesses for the non-inclusion of the passage in the Gospel of Mark.

First, let’s consider the end of the Gospel of Matthew. Matthew 27:55-61 closely agrees with Mark 15:40-47, though the Matthean text is shorter. Moving along to Matthew 28:1, and comparing it to Mark 16:1-2, Matthew and Mark describe the same event (the beginning of the women’s visit to the tomb); again the Matthean text is shorter.

This is followed by three verses in Matthew which have no parallel in Mark; meanwhile in Mark, 16:2 is followed by verses 3 through 5, which have no parallel in Matthew. Substantial agreement resumes in Matthew 28:5 through 7 and Mark 16:6 through 7, where the angel speaks to the women. The first part of Mark 16:8 is matched, approximately, by Matthew 28:8a.

However, instead of a sentence that approximates Mark’s statement that the women said nothing to anyone, Matthew reports that the women “ran to tell his disciples.”

In Matthew 28:9 and 10, Matthew records that Jesus met the women en route to the disciples: “*And behold, Jesus met them and said, “Hail!” And they came up and took hold of his feet and worshiped him. Then Jesus said to them, “Do not be afraid; go and tell my brethren to go to Galilee, and there they will see me.”*” Matthew 28:9 and 10, if placed after Mark 16:8, would be a fitting continuation of the Marcan narrative. Though at first the women

said nothing to anyone because they were afraid, this appearance by Jesus gave them courage to deliver the message.

Matthew does not provide any clear evidence that he is aware of Mark 16:9-20. The parallels are slight and can be explained by dependence upon a shared tradition. Matthew 28:18-20 and Mark 16:15-16 both describe the commissioning of the disciples, and Jesus mentions baptism in both accounts, but there the resemblances cease.

However, Matthew abandons or adjusts the Marcan parallel-text in other places, too – particularly at points where the disciples are shown in an unfavorable light. Matthew’s failure to mention the silence-inducing fear of the women, and the unbelief of the disciples, is a result of his charity rather than his ignorance. Elsewhere in Matthew, where the Marcan parallel exposes the fear, unbelief, or hardness of heart of Jesus’ disciples and other characters, Matthew often shines a friendlier light, or charitably moves the narrative camera away:

- Mark 4:40 - “no faith” / Matthew 8:26 - “little faith”
- Mark 5:15 - “they became frightened” / Matthew: non-use.
- Mark 5:33 - “the woman, fearing and trembling” / Matthew: non-use.
- Mark 5:36 - “Do not be afraid, only believe.” / Matthew: non-use.
- Mark 6:52 - “they were completely astounded” (εκστασει, *ekstasei*) / Matthew: non-use.
- Mark 8:17 - “Is your heart still hardened?” / Matthew 8:21: “Do you not yet understand?”
- Mark 9:20-24 - the unbelief of the father of a possessed son. / Matthew: non-use.
- Mark 9:32 - “they were afraid to ask Him.” / Matthew 17:23: “they were deeply grieved.”
- Mark 10:32 - “those who followed were fearful.” (εφοβουντο) / Matthew 20:17: non-use.
- Mark 11:18 - “for they were afraid of Him.” (εφοβουντο) / Matthew 21:13: nonuse.

This Matthean tendency alone does not fully explain Matthew's non-use of Mark 16:9-20, but it accounts for his non-use of Mark 16:9 to 14, in which the unbelief and hardness of heart of the apostles are in the spotlight.

Before proposing another factor which motivated Matthew not to use Mark 16:9-20, I will turn to the end of the Gospel of Luke.

Luke 24 covers much of the same ground as Mark 16, but with significant differences. Luke diverges from Mark and Matthew by mentioning two men in gleaming white clothes within the tomb. Luke diverges again by presenting a different angelic statement: the angels in his account do not say, "Do not be afraid." Instead the angels ask, "Why do you seek the living among the dead?" in Luke 24:5. The end of the angels' instructions is also distinct: instead of reporting that the angels told the women to tell the disciples that Jesus is going before them to Galilee, Luke 24:6 says that the angels told the women to remember what Jesus had said to them "while he was still in Galilee." Luke thus ensures that his readers will not expect a meeting in Galilee. Luke keeps the focus on Jerusalem.

Luke proceeds to tell his readers that the women – including Mary Magdalene – "told all this to the eleven and to all the rest." Luke also records the apostles' reaction: "their words seemed to them like idle tales, and they did not believe them." The apostles, in Luke, rejected the women's report *about encountering the angels*. Luke does not ever state that the apostles rejected Mary's report *about encountering the risen Jesus*, as in Mark 16:10-11.

Luke 24:13-53 consists of the account of the two travelers on the road to Emmaus. This roughly corresponds to Mark 16:12. Mark 16:13 states that the two travelers were not believed when they told the others about their encounter. Luke is silent on the question of whether the two travelers were believed or not: in 24:34, before the two travelers relate their own experience, the main group of disciples tell them, "*The Lord has risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon.*"

Thus, the eleven already expressed a belief that the Lord had risen, but that is not the same as believing that the two travelers had walked and talked and sat down to eat with Him, especially if they believed that Jesus had been somewhere with Simon earlier that day, instead of on the road to Emmaus.

Luke proceeds, in 24:36-53, to remain focused on events in Jerusalem. These events roughly correspond to the events recorded in Mark 16:14-20. Similarly, the commissioning of the disciples in Mark 16:15-18 runs parallel to Luke 24:44-49. In both passages, the disciples are told to preach to all nations, or to all creation. Finally, the ascension-scene in Mark 16:19-20 roughly corresponds to Luke 24:50-53.

In each anecdote, Luke has obtained details from sources other than Mark 16:9-20. Yet Luke relates the same incidents described in Mark 16:12 through 20, in the same order. This may be one of many manifestations of a feature of Luke's composition-method that was noticed by B. H. Streeter. Streeter stated, "In his account of the Last Supper and Passion, Luke appears to be "conflating" – to use the convenient technical term for the mixing of two sources – the Marcan story with a parallel version derived from another source Indeed there are only some 24 verses in this part of Luke's Gospel which can be identified with practical certainty as derived from Mark, though it would be hazardous to limit Luke's debt to Mark to these 24." He continues: "While Matthew omits less than 10% of the subject matter of Mark, Luke omits more than 45%, but for much of this he substitutes similar matter from another source."⁴⁸⁷ⁿ

If we assume that Luke's non-incorporation of a passage in Mark as evidence that Luke was unaware of its existence, then we would conclude that not only Mark 16:9-20, but also Mark 14:27-28 (where Jesus mentions that He will go before the disciples into Galilee) was missing in Luke's copy of Mark. We would have to conclude that *numerous* substantial passages were absent from Luke's copy of Mark. **These passages include a 75-verse section, Mark 6:45-8:26.**

This leads to the natural conclusion that Luke did not use the Gospel of Mark as a source; instead, he used a much shorter form of Peter's memoirs, which may be called Proto-Mark. Luke may have been one of the first individuals in Rome in the early 60's who requested from Mark a written record of Peter's remembrances. In which case, the Gospel of Luke is a witness to the text of Proto-Mark, not to the text of the Gospel of Mark.

If Luke had possessed the Gospel of Mark itself, he would have followed it much more closely than he does. His failure to do so implies that agreements between the Gospel of Luke and the Gospel of Mark are effects of both texts' agreement with a Proto-Markan text. Luke's failure to use Mark 16:9-20, like his failure to use Mark 1:5-6, 1:16-20, 6:45-8:26, 9:15, 9:21-24, 9:28-29, 9:36, 10:1-10:12, 10:35-10:40, 12:32-34, 13:27, 14:27-28, 14:39-42, 14:50-52, 15:16-20, and 15:44-45, cannot validly be used to evaluate the presence or absence of the passage in the Gospel of Mark.

Did Matthew also use Proto-Mark? Matthew, despite his tendency to condense Mark's narratives, conforms much more closely to the text of Mark than Luke does. This has been interpreted as evidence that Matthew used the Gospel of Mark, and not Proto-Mark. However, features found throughout the text of Matthew may indicate a different scenario: Matthew used Proto-Mark **and** the Gospel of Mark – usually preferring the latter, but not always. Traces of Matthew's use of Proto-Mark survive as “Minor Agreements” – points in episodes covered by all three Synoptic Gospels at which Matthew and Luke both echo Proto-Mark but the Gospel of Mark does not. At these points, Mark does not follow the reading of Proto-Mark, either due to an addition, a removal, or a substitution. Here are 20 examples:

- (1) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 1:45b.
- (2) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 2:2.
- (3) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 2:19b.
- (4) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 2:27.
- (5) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 3:5a.
- (6) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 3:9.

(7) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 3:17b.

(8) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 3:19b to 21.

(9) Matthew 9:18 through 26 and Luke 8:40 through 56 do not contain several details found in Mark 5:21 through 5:43.

(10) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 7:32 to 37.

(11) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 8:22 to 26.

(12) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 7:32 to 37.

(13) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 8:22 to 26.

(14) The account of the healing of an epileptic boy in Matthew 17:14 to 21 and Luke 9:37 to 43 are both shorter than the parallel account in Mark 9:14 to 29. Matthew and Luke do not contain several of the details found in Mark.

(15) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 14:51 and 52.

(16) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 14:59.

(17) Matthew 26:67 to 68 and Luke 22:64 both contain the question, “Who is the one who struck you?” (τις εστιν ο παιας σε) – while Mark 14:64 and 65 does not contain it.

(18) Matthew 26:75 and Luke 22:62 state that Peter “went out and wept bitterly,” (και εξελθων εξω εκλαυσεν πικρωσ) while Mark 14:72 states that Peter “having thought thereon, wept” (και επιβαλων εκλαιεν).

(19) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 15:44.

(20) Matthew and Luke do not reflect Mark 16:3.

At these agreements of Matthew and Luke, where Mark’s text is different, Matthew and Luke both relied on Proto-Mark. The Gospel of Mark was Matthew’s main source of narratives, but occasionally his use of Proto-Mark shines through. Matthew thus possessed one ending in his copy of Proto-Mark, and another ending in his copy of the Gospel of Mark. The ending of Proto-Mark probably contained a smooth transition from the women’s departure from the tomb to an appearance by Jesus to the women, followed by a report of Jesus’ appearance to the disciples in Galilee, where He commanded the disciples to spread the good news everywhere. In Matthew’s copy of the Gospel of Mark, there was an abrupt scene-change, and a summarization of Jesus’

post-resurrection appearances that did not mention Galilee by name. Matthew, wishing to emphasize the Galilean reunion-scene, chose to use Proto-Mark's ending, blending it with his own account of the bribing of the guards.

Other factors may have motivated Matthew to diverge from Mark. Possibly he considered it especially important to share his own report about Jesus' resurrection, instead of perpetuating what he regarded as the record of Peter supplied by Mark. But further speculation is unnecessary to show that there is no compelling reason to interpret the non-use of Mark 16:9-20 by Matthew and Luke as witnesses to the original form of the Gospel of Mark.



Appendix Two:
A Response to Daniel B. Wallace's Chapter
in *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark: Four Views*

(All quotations in this review are from the book
Perspectives on the Ending of Mark: Four Views,
edited by David Alan Black, Copyright © 2008
Broadman & Holman Publishers.)

In the 2008 book *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark: Four Views*, published by Broadman & Holman, Daniel B. Wallace, a professor at Dallas Theological Seminary, and Executive Director of the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts, and Darrell Bock, who is also a professor at Dallas Theological Seminary, made several claims which deserve a thorough response, inasmuch as they are likely to mislead readers about various aspects of the evidence pertaining to the ending of Mark.

Wallace's chapter, titled "*Mark 16:8 as the Conclusion to Mark's Gospel*," began with a nine-page exhortation against letting one's presuppositions overrule the evidence. After this, he mainly focused on external evidence, although he repeatedly diverged into internal considerations.

He acknowledged that "at least 95% of all Greek manuscripts and versions have the LE," ("LE" = "Longer Ending," that is, verses 9 through 20) and that the Longer Ending is attested by Irenaeus.

Before getting to Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, Wallace critiqued William Farmer's theory that Mark 16:9-20 was removed by scribes who considered it difficult to harmonize and doctrinally problematic. Then he stated (page 15), "Although no papyri witness to Mark 16, one might *cautiously* enlist the support of P75 here." Cautious or not, this is an attempt to use an expectation as if it is evidence. One could similarly enlist the support of Papyrus 45, or the uncial fragment 0313, as support for the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20; at least 0313 has more text from Mark than P75 does (with a distinctly Byzantine reading in Mark 4:9).⁴⁸⁸ⁿ

Wallace's description of the blank spaces in Codex Vaticanus has some severe flaws. First he stated, "Mark's Gospel ends at the bottom of the second column." Actually 16:8 ends on the 31st line of a 42-line column. Then he said, "The gap is clearly too small to allow for the LE."

This statement is flatly false. Images of this page of Vaticanus with Mark 16:9-20 written in the blank space, in the copyists' lettering, are readily available online at YouTube. Readers may also access the illustrations at <http://www.thetextofthegospels.com/2016/04/codex-vaticanus-and-ending-of-mark.html> for proof.

Then, he mentioned the idea that the blank column indicates the scribe's awareness of the Shorter (i.e., Intermediate) Ending. But the Shorter Ending would fit neatly into the space below 16:8, thus removing the need for the blank column.

Next, Wallace attempted to downplay the significance of Vaticanus' blank column by mentioning other blank spaces in the manuscript, after Tobit, after Second Esdras, and after Daniel. He refuted part of his own case in a footnote, admitting that there is a change from a two-column format in Second Esdras to a three-column format in Psalms. Obviously, unless the text of Second Esdras had happened to end in the final column of a page, this format-change would require blank space to be left before the beginning of Psalms. Wallace also acknowledged that Daniel is the last book in the Old Testament portion of Vaticanus. It should go without saying that Matthew, as the first book of the New Testament, would not begin with any text preceding it on the page.

The production-factors that caused those two blank spaces clearly are not at work at the end of Mark. Wallace denied that this argument works for Tobit. Once again Dan Wallace is completely incorrect: there is a change of copyists at the end of Tobit; the blank space there is leftover from where one of the scribes completed his assigned portion of text. The causes of all three of these blank spaces in the Old Testament portion of Vaticanus are clear, and the factors which caused them are manifestly not at work at the end of Mark.

Wallace claimed (in a footnote on page 17), “All in all, the reasons for the gaps are anything but clear.” This statement is also incorrect, for every blank space in the Old Testament portion of Vaticanus is entirely accounted for.

Wallace also mentioned the absence of an umlaut in Vaticanus alongside Mark 16:8, but he does not seem to have considered that whoever added the umlauts might regard the huge blank space as ample signification of a variant, rendering the addition of an umlaut superfluous.

Furthermore, if there *had* been an umlaut next to 16:8, opponents of the authenticity of Mark 16:9-20 would quickly excuse it as possible evidence of the Shorter Ending, or of some other ending – *anything* but clear evidence of 16:9-20. Wallace also failed to consider the question of the date(s) when the distigmai were placed in Codex Vaticanus.

He concluded his attempt to dismiss Vaticanus’ blank column by saying that because the other three blank spaces in Codex Vaticanus did not signify knowledge of a textual variant, “To argue that this *must* be the case for the gap at the end of Mark is hardly compelling.” That simply makes no sense. The force of the evidence pushes in the opposite direction: the factors which caused the three blank spaces in the Old Testament portion of Vaticanus *are not operating* at the end of Mark. Wallace’s statement amounts to saying that since factors besides the presence of a textual variant can elicit large blank spaces, there can be no compelling case that a particular blank space indicates scribal awareness of a textual variant – even a blank space that occurs where those other factors are obviously not in play, and where a large textual variant is located.

In Wallace’s brief description of the versional evidence, his accuracy does not improve. Wallace stated that the Armenian scholar Joseph Alexanian has said that the earliest Armenian version “is either Caesarean or proto-Byzantine,” and Wallace rapidly concluded, “Almost all Byzantine MSS extant today have the LE, but the Armenian version demonstrates (i.e., if it is

truly Byzantine instead of Caesarean) that this was not always the case.” This assertion, with that important *if*, is made on page 20, and it is reused on page 28 to inflate the attestation for the abrupt ending. In real life, however, all early Byzantine manuscripts support the inclusion of Mark 16:9-20. Alexanian’s statement means that the textual character of the earliest stratum of the text of the Gospels in the Armenian version is hard to nail down. It does not mean that the Armenian version of the Gospels provides a basis for imagining that there is evidence that the early Byzantine Text of Mark concluded at 16:8.

Wallace briefly mentioned the silence of Clement of Alexandria and Origen before moving on to discuss evidence from Eusebius, Jerome, and Victor of Antioch. He completely ignored many patristic witnesses supportive of 16:9-20. Only in a footnote did Wallace concede, “It is possible that Justin knew of the LE.” Wallace ignored Eusebius’ explanation to Marinus about how to harmonize Mark 16:9 to Matthew 28:1. And when describing Jerome’s testimony, Wallace proposed that readers should approach Jerome’s comment about “almost all the Greek codices” in *Epistle 120 (To Hedibia)* as if it is an independent observation, instead regarding it as the casually abridged translation of *Ad Marinum* that it is.

Wallace then asked a good question: if Jerome personally saw that hardly any Greek codices included Mark 16:9-20, why did he include it in the Vulgate? His answer was ridiculous: “Perhaps for the same reasons that it is included in Bibles today – call it antiquity, tradition of timidity” – for, “If a riot had broken out over the description of a plant, how much more chaos could result if Jerome had omitted Jesus’ appearance to his disciples in Mark 16?”

Wallace’s answer is ridiculous, not only because it is basically a cheap shot at Bible translators and publishers who accept Mark 16:9-20 as Scripture, and because those who have noticed Jerome’s bold disposition toward his critics, and his retorts in response to complaints about his translation-work, will regard such a theory as artificial, but also because Wallace’s assumption

that the omission of Mark 16:9-20 would spark uproars among the masses would imply that by the 380s, Mark 16:9-20 was widely popular. But that cannot have been the case if we believe that the statement in Jerome's *Epistle 120* that it was found in "scarcely any copies" was applicable to his own time.

After skimming over Eusebius, Jerome, and Victor of Antioch, Wallace attempted to portray these three witnesses as signs of a "trend," a pattern of progression from a situation in which most manuscripts of Mark ended at 16:8, to a situation in which 16:9-20 was accepted. He avoided reviewing the many patristic writers who simply saw Mark 16:9-20 in their copies, took its authenticity for granted, and routinely used it as Scripture. For if these writers had been described, no real "trend" would exist other than the trend that the further one goes from Egypt, the more support for Mark 16:9-20 one finds.

The Shorter (Intermediate) Ending was considered next. Wallace's treatment was a careless echo of Metzger's analysis. Describing Codex Bobbiensis, Wallace apparently did not notice its bizarre variants, or its interpolation in 16:3-4, or its omission of part of 16:8, stating instead that the Shorter Ending is "simply added to the abrupt ending of v. 8." Describing 274, he echoed William Lane's claim that 274 "has the shorter ending after Ch. 16:20," but, again, Wallace is regurgitating a falsehood.

Wallace then claimed, "The MSS that added both the Intermediate and Long Endings imply that their ancestors *only* had the Intermediate Ending," which is true of *some* of their ancestor manuscripts, but cannot be true of all of them.

Wallace began to conclude his review of external evidence with further inaccuracies and misleading descriptions. He misinterpreted the ordinary *telos* that occurs in minuscule 22 after Mark 16:8. He also misconstrued the supportive nature of the annotations which state that some copies end at 16:8 *but many contain 16:9-20* or that some copies end at 16:8 *but 16:9-20 is intact in the old copies*.

In a footnote Wallace stated, "These MSS claim that Eusebius considered the Short Ending canonical, but apparently

not the long.” Hopefully, readers will realize that by “Short Ending,” Wallace must have meant the abrupt ending, and that the annotations refer to the Eusebian Canons, not to any formal statement about canonization by Eusebius.

And, as I explained in the chapter on phantom-evidence, Wallace misrepresented 138, 264, 1221, 2346, and 2812 as if they contained “an asterisk or obelisk in the margin, indicating doubt about these verses.”

As Wallace finished describing the external evidence, he continued to misrepresent the notes in the family-1 manuscripts and the Jerusalem Colophon manuscripts as if the notes are independent comments by copyists, and as if the notes express doubt about the passage rather than a desire to vindicate its inclusion.

Turning to the internal evidence, Wallace stated that the “vocabulary, syntax, style, and context” weigh in against the authenticity of verses 9-20. Then he said it again. But he never actually offered a detailed review of the internal evidence; instead, he invited readers to consult J. K. Elliott’s chapter for the details. Taking Wallace’s advice, one finds that Elliott, on page 93, disagrees with Wallace about the implications of the internal evidence: although Wallace proposed that the non-use of Mark 16:9-20 implies that it was not in copies of Mark used by Matthew and Luke, Elliott states, “We cannot use Matthew or Luke to make claims about what they may or may not have read in their copies of Mark in chap. 16.” And although Wallace spends the last seven pages of his essay in an attempt to convince the reader that Mark intended to end his Gospel-account in 16:8 with the phrase *εφοβουντο γαρ*, Elliott’s view is the exact opposite: “I am not inclined to think Mark intended his writing to end in this way.”

Several commentators (N. Clayton Croy in particular) have already dealt very effectively with the kind of argument that Wallace offers for the idea that the abrupt ending was deliberate, but Wallace attempted to escape Croy’s case by picturing Mark 9:32 as a suspended narrative:

there, Wallace claims, “the pericope just quits: Mark leaves us hanging.” Wallace proposed that Mark left his Gospel-account unresolved in the same manner in which he left the pericope in 9:32 unresolved.

Wallace’s reasoning only survives until readers notice Mark 10:32-34 – for Mark does **not** leave the reader hanging *indefinitely* in 9:32: he returns to *exactly the same subject* in 10:32-34, mentioning the disciples’ fear and recording Jesus’ more explicit, more detailed restatement of His prediction.

It is regrettable that the one-sided presentation of witnesses, the inaccuracies, the unsubstantiated claims, and the implausible spin in Wallace’s chapter practically guarantee that it will enhance his readers’ ability to spread misinformation about Mark 16:9-20, as quite a few graduates of Dallas Theological Seminary have already done.

Moving along in the *Perspectives* book, I pass by the chapters by David Alan Black and by Maurice Robinson (both of whom maintained that Mark 16:9-20 is genuine). I also pass by J. Keith Elliott’s chapter in which he proposes an extraordinarily complex theory about an original, non-extant ending of the Gospel of Mark that was deliberately suppressed – but was also accidentally damaged – and which was replaced by 16:9-20 – which (he continues) was not designed to be attached to Mark 16:8. And I now turn briefly to the the fifth chapter of the book: Darrell Bock’s *The Ending of Mark: A Response to the Essays*.

At the 2007 conference (which I attended) which led to the production of the *Perspectives* book, Bock was supposed to serve as moderator, but he used much of his time to advocate the same view as Wallace. The same approach was taken in this chapter. First, though, Bock shared a few observations about methodology, using some clever analogies. He pictured each contributor as a person attempting to “connect the dots” according to a given set of presuppositions.

Next, Bock cautioned against oversimplified approaches to Biblical research – approaches which risk producing a “brittle fundamentalism.” After more sage advice emphasizing the

importance of following the evidence, keeping an open mind, etc., he turned to the external evidence – especially Eusebius and Jerome. At the 2007 conference, Bock made the surprising claim that Sinaiticus and Vaticanus are not the most important pieces of external evidence. Yet, despite his focus on Eusebius and Jerome, Bock never gave his readers a direct comparison of *Ad Marinum* to *Ad Hedibiam*, and it looks like he never got one himself: he stated candidly, “It is not clear to me why Jerome is merely seen as repeating Eusebius.” Place *Ad Marinum* and *Ad Hedibiam* side-by-side, and it will become spectacularly clear. ⁴⁸⁹ⁿ

Bock contested the testimony of Justin, stating that the word πανταχου (*pantachou*) is used in Mark only in 16:20. However, πανταχου (*pantachou*) is in Mark 1:28 in the Nestle-Aland text. In any case, this is a microscopic point, inasmuch as πανταχου (*pantachou*) appears in the Gospel of Luke exactly once, in 9:6.

Bock also wrote, “The gap in B at the end of Mark cannot be said to leave space for the longer ending.” This claim, which Dr. Bock has refused to retract, is simply incorrect.

In an attempt to support the pastiche-theory, Bock presented a list of elements in Mark 16:9-20 and compared them to similar elements in the other Gospels and in Acts. The unique content in Mark 16:9-20, Bock says, boils down to a few little things: the weeping and mourning over Jesus’ death in verse 10, the point that the two travelers were walking “into a field” or “into the open country,” the report that the two travelers were not believed, and the five sign-gifts of 16:17 and 16:18. “So there is not much here that is really unique to this text.” And how is this different from most of the rest of the Gospel of Mark?

Bock closed diplomatically, stating, “We should not make more out of the debate than what it deserves.” That is true. Nor should we make *less* out of the debate than what it deserves. Mark 16:9-20, as part of the original text of the Gospel of Mark, is part of the Word of God, and it deserves to be treated as what it is. It deserves to be unbracketed, it deserves to be unitalicized,

and it deserves to be defended against the vague, inaccurate, negligent, and false claims that have been made against it.



The end of the book - Thanks be to God!



ENDNOTES

001n – See page 209 of George Frederick Maclear’s *The Gospel According to Mark, with Maps, Notes and Introduction*, © 1883, 1904 Cambridge University Press in the *Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges* series, edited by J. J. Stewart Perowne.

002n - For this and other remains from the writings of Papias, in Greek and English, see the materials at <http://www.textexcavation.com/papias.html> .

003n - For this statement in Greek and English see the materials at http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/philip_of_side_fragments.htm .

004n - For this statement from *Church History* Book Three, chapter 39, in Greek and English, see <http://www.textexcavation.com/papias.html> .

005n – See the details in Anthony Alcock’s introduction to his English translation of *Epistula Apostolorum* at <https://archive.org/details/EpistulaApostolorum> .

006n - See page 168 of Hengel’s *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*,” English translation © John Bowden 1985. Originally published in part as articles appearing in *W.U.N.T.* 28 (1983) and 33 (1984).

007n - This quotation and the others are based on the translation of *Epistula Apostolorum* by M. R. James, which is accessible online. Anthony Alcock has provided a translation of the Coptic text which can be accessed at

<http://suciualin.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/epistulaapostolorum.pdf> .

008n – See page 728 of Robert H. Stein’s *Mark in the Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament series*, © 2008 by Robert H. Stein.

009 – See the English translation of Justin’s *First Apology* online at <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0126.htm> .

010n - See page 39 in Hort’s *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek, Notes on Select Readings*, published by Harper & Row, 1882; hereafter referred to as *Introduction, Notes*.

011n - See the English translation of the Arabic Diatessaron at <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/diatessaron.html> .

012n - See pages 57 and 58 in J. Rendel Harris’ 1890 book *The Diatessaron of Tatian – A Preliminary Study*.

013n - See pages 154 and 155 in Frederic C. Chase’ 1893 book *The Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae*.

014n - For these citations see William Petersen’s article “*Textual Evidence of Tatian’s Dependence Upon Justin’s ‘APOMNHMONEUMATA’*” in *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 36, 1990, Copyright © Cambridge University Press.

015n - See Charles Taylor’s article *Some Early Evidence for the Twelve Verses St. Mark XVI. 9-*

20 on pages 71 through 80 of *The Expositor*, 1893 (fourth series, Vol. 7), W. Robertson Nicoll, editor.

016n - See page 109 of *The Works Now Extant of Saint Justin the Martyr, Translated, with Notes and Indices*, (no author’s name given), published at Oxford in 1861.

017n - See page 38 of *The Works Now Extant of Saint Justin the Martyr, Translated, with Notes and Indices*, (no author’s name given), published at Oxford in 1861. For the Greek text, see

pages 46 and 47 of *The Apologies of Justin Martyr, to Which is Appended the Epistle to Diognetus, with an Introduction and Notes*, by Basil L. Gildersleeve, 1877, Harper Brothers.

018n - See page 269 of Reuben Swanson's book *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Mark*, copyright 1995 by Reuben Joseph Swanson, published by Sheffield Academic Press.

019n - See page 145 (§ 8:1b) of Carmel McCarthy's book *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*, © 1993 Oxford University Press.

020n - See pages 169 and 170 of K. W. Kim's article in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 69, June 1950 © Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Georgia, and p. 69 of Amy Anderson's *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew*, © 2004 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

021n - See Book Two of *Against Heresies* at <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/irenaeus-book2.html> .

022n - See the textual apparatus on page 196 of *The Greek New Testament*, edited by Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, © 1966 American Bible Society, British and Foreign Bible Society, *et al.*

023n - From page 123 of Bruce M. Metzger's book *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart, Federal Republic of Germany, hereafter referred to as *Textual Commentary*.

024n - See page 144 of Harold H. Oliver's article "The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus," an introduction and translation on pages 138 through 145 of *Novum Testamentum*, Vol. 3, #1 and 2, 1959, © E. J. Brill, the Netherlands.

025n - See pages 295 to 312 (Appendix G), especially page 302, of John Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to Saint Mark Vindicated Against Recent Critical Objectors*, at

https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Last_Twelve_Verses_of_the_Gospel_Acc/vnrytgAACAAJ .

- 026n - Compare page 226 of *Text of the New Testament*, © 1964 Oxford University Press, and page 226, *Text of the New Testament*, © 1992, Oxford University Press.
- 027n - See page 37 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.
- 028n - See www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-03/anf03-43.htm#P10395_2912630 for a translation of *Against Praxeus*.
- 029n - See *Scorpiace* at http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-45.htm#P11112_3155165 and the Latin text at <http://www.tertullian.org/latin/scorpiace.htm> .
- 030n - From *Tertulliani Apologeticus Adversus Gentes pro Christianis*, T. H. Bindley, editor, 1890 Clarendon Press. See http://www.tertullian.org/articles/bindley_apol/bindley_apol.htm .
- 031n - See page 137 of Eberhard Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Latine*, 1906 Württembergische Bibelanstalt.
- 032n - See page 74 of *Portions of the Gospels According to St. Mark and St. Matthew, Fragmentum Sangallense (o)*, (Old Latin Biblical Texts, #2) by John Wordsworth, William Sanday, and H. J. White, © 1886 Oxford University Press.
- 033n - See Kurt Aland's essay *Bemerkungen zun Schluss des Markusevangeliums*, in *Neotestamentica Et Semitica - Studies in Honour of Matthew Black*, © 1969 T. & T. Clark.]
- 034n - See page 123 of Bruce M. Metzger's *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart.
- 035n - See page 332 of Stephen M. Miller's book *The Complete Guide to the Bible*, © 2007 by Stephen M. Miller.
- 036n - See page 27 of A. F. J. Klijn's book *An Introduction to the New Testament*, © 1967 by E. J. Brill, Leiden. Translated by Mrs. M. van der Vathorst-Smit.
- 037n - For example, see page 136 of the 18th edition of *Novum Testamentum Graece*, © 1948 Württembergische Bibelanstalt.
- 038n - See page 196 of *The Greek New Testament*, edited by Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, © 1966 the American Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, *et al.*

039n - See pages 38 to 39 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to Saint Mark Vindicated Against Recent Critical Objectors*.

040n - See page 37 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

041n - See the translation by William Wilson on page 574 of *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. II (1885) and the Latin text on page 86 of Zahn's *Forschungen*, Vol. 3.

042n - Thanks to Andrew Criddle for this information.

043n - For an English translation of *Homily on Noetus*, see www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/hippolytus-dogmatical.html .

044n - See page 25 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to S. Mark Vindicated Against Recent Critical Objectors*.

045n - For the quotations here see page 252 of Samuel Prideaux Tregelles' book *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, written in 1854.

046n - See page 39 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

047n - See the English translation of Book Eight of *Apostolic Constitutions* at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf07.ix.ix.i.html> . Notice that besides the quotation of Mark

16:17 through 18 in the first sentence, 16:16 is used in the last sentence.

048n - This portion, renumbered as chapter 36, along with the rest of the text in English, was found in a translation of *Apostolic Tradition* provided by Kevin Edgecomb at <http://www.bombaxo.com/hippolytus.html> .

049n - See Preface-page 3 (iii) of Gregory Dix's book *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr*, London: Alban Press, © Elmore Abby 1991. Dix first released his critical edition of *Apostolic Tradition* in 1935.

050n - For a formal rendering of Jerome's statement see pages 180-181 of *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, Copyright © 2002 Augsburg Fortress, by Paul Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips.

- 051n - See pages 180 to 181 of *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, Copyright © 2002 Augsburg Fortress, by Paul Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips.
- 052n - The quotations from the *Didascalia* are from the translation by R. Hugh Connolly, © 1929 Clarendon Press, provided online by Kevin P. Edgecomb at <http://www.bombaxo.com/didascalia.html> . See also pages 92 and 106 of Margaret Gibson's 1903 book *The Didascalia Apostolorum in English*; Gibson translates the second half of this sentence differently.
- 053n - See George Phillips' 1876 introduction and translation of *Doctrine of Addai* at www.tertullian.org/fathers/addai_1_intro.htm and www.tertullian.org/fathers/addai_2_text.htm .
- 054n - See page 10 of J. Rendel Harris' book *The Diatessaron of Tatian - A Preliminary Study*, © 1890, C. J. Clay & Sons, London. Other parts of the narrative, such as the portion about Protonice or Petronice, may be duly suspected of having been attached at some later date.
- 055n - See page 9 of J. Rendel Harris' book *The Diatessaron of Tatian - A Preliminary Study*, 1890, C. J. Clay & Sons, London.
- 056n - See page 123 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart, and page 226 of his book *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 3rd edition, © 1992 by Oxford University Press.
- 057n - Emphasis added. See http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/origen_philocalia_01_intro.htm for introductory material for *Philocalia*. For an English translation of the text see http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/origen_philocalia_02_text.htm .
- 058n - See page 12 of J. Armitage Robinson's book *The Philocalia of Origen*, © 1893 Cambridge University Press.
- 059n - This tally is based on an examination of the Scripture-indices in Robinson's *The Philocalia of Origen* (pages 260 to 261) and *Contra Celsum*, translated by Henry Chadwick, © 1953 Cambridge University Press.

060n - This is noted by Bruce Metzger on page 101 of *New Testament Textual Studies* Vol. 8, in the article "References in Origen to Variant Readings" (© 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.

061n - I have somewhat generously included Mark 13:31 in the list of verses used by Origen, although his quotation in *Against Celsus* 5:22 ("For we desire to listen to Him who said, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away'") could come from Matthew 24:35 or Luke 21:33 instead of Mark 13:31.

Without 13:31 in the equation, Origen fails to use 110 consecutive verses of the Gospel of Mark (12:29 to 14:47).

062n - See page 123 in Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart, Federal Republic of Germany.

063n - See the English presentation of the Seventh Council of Carthage, including Vincentius' statement, at <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/seventh-council-of-carthage-under-cyprian-11419> .

064n - See page 41 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

065n - *Apocriticus* can be read in English at www.tertullian.org/fathers/macarius_apocriticus.htm . See also the material at www.tertullian.org/fathers/porphyry_against_christians_01_intro.htm .

The translation is by T. W. Crafer (1919), who also wrote an insightful introduction which is also online.

066n - See page 487 of Volume 2 of F. C. Conybeare's translation of *Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, in which the text of Eusebius' treatise against Hierocles is presented in English and in Greek.

067n - See the citation at http://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/macarius_apocriticus.htm .

068n - For a slightly different rendering, as well as the Greek text, see pages 484 to 485 of Volume 2 of F. C. Conybeare's translation of *Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, in which the text of Eusebius' treatise against Hierocles is presented in English and in Greek.

069n - See this citation at

http://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/macarius_apocriticus.htm#3_21 .

070n - For this quotation from Jerome's *Epistle 130*, see

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.CXXX.html> .

071n - See the text at

www.tertullian.org/fathers/macarius_apocriticus.htm .

072n - See page 38 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes* for all of Hort's statements and citations about Cyprian.

073n - The English renderings from Cyprian's *Three Books of Testimonies* are from the translation by Ernest Wallis, at www.ewtn.com/library/PATRISTC/ANF5-20.TXT .

074n - See Preface-page 62 (lxii) of *Old Latin Biblical Texts: No. II, Portions of the Gospels According to St. Mark and St. Matthew*, by John Wordsworth, W. Sanday, and H. J. White, © 1886 Oxford, Clarendon Press.

075n - In the second edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* (Preface-page 33 (xxxiii)), *De Rebaptismate* was assigned a date of "III?" but in the fourth edition, a definite date of 258 was given. Tixeront's introduction to *De Rebaptismate* mentions that Rigaltius, Fell, Cave, Tillemont, and Galland considered it a third-century work.

076n - See the introduction to *De Rebaptismate* at

www.earlychristianwritings.com/tixeront/section1-6.html and a translation of the text at

www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05.vii.iv.ii.html .

077n - See the English translation of Gennadius at

www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf203.v.iv.xxviii.html .

078n - See Julicher's article, "Ursinus," on pages 110 to 111 of *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, Vol. 12, at www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf203.v.iv.xxviii.html .

- 079n - Cyprian's *Epistle 67*, 1-6 is included as a short chapter entitled "*The Spanish Appeal*" on pages 248-250 of *A New Eusebius*, © J. Stevenson, 1957, published by SPCK, 1960.
- 080n - See Dionysius of Alexandria's letter to Stephen (the bishop whose views Cyprian and Dionysius protested) at www.tertullian.org/fathers/dionysius_alexandria_letters.htm .
- 081n - Cyprian's *On the Unity of the Church* is online at www.newadvent.org/fathers/050701.htm .
- 082n - See C. S. Mann's book *Mark - The Anchor Bible Commentary*, vol. 27 (Mark), © 1986 Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York. Mann was probably attempting to reword Hort's claim (on page 37 of *Introduction, Notes*) that "In the whole Greek Ante-Nicene literature there are at most but two traces of verses 9-20."
- 083n - See page 189 of *The Greek New Testament*, © 1983, 1993, 2001 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, D-Stuttgart (fourth edition), edited by Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger.
- 084n - Among the American commentators who have been guilty of this, a large proportion either taught or studied at Wheaton College or Dallas Theological Seminary.
- 085n - See page 23 of Michael W. Holmes' article "*To be Continued ... The Many Endings of the Gospel of Mark*" in the magazine *Bible Review*, August 2001, © Biblical Archaeology Society, Washington, D.C.
- 086n - see page 11 (footnote), in Larry Hurtado's article-draft, *The Early New Testament Papyri: A Survey of Their Significance*, available at <http://larryhurtado.wordpress.com/essays-etc/> .
- 087n - See pages 90 to 91 in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, edited by Eldon J. Epp and Gordon Fee, © 1994 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. Eldon J. Epp's important essay, *The Twentieth-Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism*, begins on page 83. Hurtado's work was published as *Text-Critical Methodology and*

the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark, © 1981 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

088n - See page 19 of J. Rendel Harris' book *The Diatessaron of Tatian - A Preliminary Study*, J. Rendel Harris, 1890, C. J. Clay & Sons.

089n – See page 118 of Adam Letho's 2003 thesis, *Divine Law, Asceticism, and Gender in Aphrahat's Demonstrations*. An English translation of Aphrahat's Syriac work is at

www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-13/Npnf2-13-38.htm#TopOfPage .

Aphrahat's *Demonstration One* may also be read at

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/370101.htm> .

090n - See page 313 of William Petersen's book *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship*, © Copyright 1994 by E. J. Brill,

Leiden; Petersen describes research conducted by Tjidze Baarda about this Diatessaronic variant. Ephrem's statement is from *Carmina Nisibena* 35, part 16.

091n - See page 136 of Adam Letho's 2003 thesis, *Divine Law, Asceticism, and Gender in Aphrahat's Demonstrations*.

092n - See page 453 of Adam Letho's 2003 thesis, *Divine Law, Asceticism, and Gender in Aphrahat's Demonstrations*.

093n - See page 22 of Ilya Lizorkin's online 2009 dissertation, *Aphrahat's Demonstrations: A Conversation with the Jews of Mesopotamia*, © Ilya Kizorkin (2009), accessible at <http://scholar.sun.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10019.1/2998/Lizorkin,%20I.pdf?sequence=1> .

094n - See Preface-pages 9 and 10 (ix-x) of the Introduction of Charles A. Anderson Scott's book *Ulfilas: Apostle of the Goths*, published in 1885 at Cambridge, Macmillan & Sons.]

095n - Later writers depicted Wulfilas as if his theology had been orthodox for most of his career, until becoming Arian for practical political reasons later in life, but historically closer sources, such as Auxentius, portray him as consistently, but diplomatically, Arian.

096n – Information about Codex Argenteus and other Gothic evidence can be accessed at

<http://www.wulfila.be/gothic/manuscripts/> .

097n - See the description of Haffner's discovery, with a black and white photograph of one side of the page, containing Mark 16:12 to 18a, and an English translation of the photographed page, in Oswald Smerenyi's article *A New Leaf of the Gothic Bible*, in the journal *Language*, Vol. 48, #1 (March 1972), pages 1 to 10.

098n - See *Acts of Pilate* at www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-08/anf08-77.htm#P6572_1985146 and at

www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/gospelnicodemus.html . An informative commentary provides some background at www.earlychristianwritings.com/actspilate.html .

099n - See pages 312 and 313 in Bruce Metzger's book *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, © 1977 Oxford University Press.

(See also the brief description of it^a at

www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Versions.html#Latin .)

100n - See page 18 of C. H. Turner's article *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).

101n - Jerome's statement that Eusebius of Vercelli did this is in chapter 96 of *De Viris Illustribus*, which can be read at

www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm . Jerome mentions this

again in *Epistle 61* at www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001061.htm .

102n - See page 16 of C. H. Turner's article *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).

103n - A production-date in the 400s is usually assigned to ff², and this date is accepted here, although E. S. Buchanan, following a careful examination of the manuscript, assigned it a date in the 300s, and F. G. Kenyon assigned it a later date, in the 500s or 600s; see pages 201 and 202 of F. G. Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*.

104n - See Preface-page 6 (vi) of *Collectanea Biblica Latina*, Vol. 3, © 1914 Fredericus Pustet, Pontificius Bibliopola, Rome.

105n - See Preface-page 6 (vi) of *Collectanea Biblica Latina*, Vol. 3, © 1914 Fredericus Pustet, Pontificius Bibliopola, Rome. Puster

also stated that the copies that share Vercellensis' chapter division at the beginning of Matthew 27 are "MSS. *h. ff. c. ept. g1* and Paris 6."

106n - See pages 378 and 379 of Alfred Plummer's book *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, © 1914, *Cambridge Greek Testament for Colleges and Schools*; reprinted 1982 by Baker Book House Co. The line-divisions and underlined word-abbreviations approximate the format of the passage in Codex W.

107n - This Latin text is based on Albert Huck's citation on page 213 of *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels*, © 1963 Basil Blackwell, Oxford. See also page 378 in Plummer's commentary. Erasmus cited this statement from Jerome in his *Annotations on the New Testament*.

108n - See Edgar Goodspeed's article *The Freer Gospels and Shenute of Atripe* on pages 201 through 206 of *The Biblical World*, 1909, Vol. 33.

109n - See pages 124 to 125 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies.

110n - See footnote 5 on page 33 of William Farmer's book *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark* (© 1974 Cambridge University Press) for a list of Ambrose's utilizations of the contents of Mark 16:9-20. For more information about Ambrose of Milan see <https://www.ncregister.com/blog/st-ambrose-strangest-life-story-ever-8-things-to-know-and-share> .

111n - See the English text of Jerome's *Preface to the Vulgate Gospels* at

https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_preface_gospels.htm .

112n - See Jerome's *Letter 27, To Marcella*, in English at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.XXVII.html> .

113n - See www.ntcanon.org/codex_Claromontanus.shtml and www.bible-researcher.com/claromontanus.html . 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. For an explanation of stichometry, see www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/Divisions.html#stichoi .

114n - See page 61 of Kirsopp Lake's book *The Text of the New Testament*, © Billing & Sons 1959, Guildford and London (sixth edition).

115n - See Roger Pearse's definitive edition of *Ad Marinum* at http://www.rogerpearse.com/weblog/wpcontent/uploads/2015/12/Eusebius_Gospel_problems_and_solutions_2010.pdf . The text is also available as a paper-and-ink book at <http://www.amazon.com/Eusebius-Caesarea-Problems-Solutions-Translation/dp/0956654002> . See also James Kelhoffer's essay, *The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings to Text-Critical Debates Concerning the Original Conclusion to Mark's Gospel*, in *Zeitschrift fur die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92, © Walter de Gruyter 2001. John Burgon also cited *Ad Marinum* extensively on pages 41 to 51 of his 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, though he seems to have misunderstood some points.

116n - See page 32 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

117n - For a similar text see page 147 of the 27th edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*.

118n - For a more literal rendering, see pages 84 to 86 of James Kelhoffer's article *The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings* (Z.N.W., © 2001 Walter de Gruyter). The point at which the voice of the first hypothetical speaker stops, and Eusebius' own view begins, is not entirely clear.

119n - A margin-note in family-1 about Mark 16:9-20 (about which more shall be said later) affirms that the text of Mark in Eusebius' Canon-tables concluded at the end of Mark 16:8. Burgon challenged this evidence, pointing out that in many copies Eusebius' Canon-tables include Mark 16:9-20, but Hort correctly answered (on page 33 of *Introduction, Notes*) that the original form of the Eusebian Canon-tables "is but placed in clearer relief by these changes."

120n - See page 47 of John Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*.

121n - See page 32 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes* (bold print added).

122n - See the Greek text of *Ad Marinum* on page 85 and 119 of James Kelhoffer's article "*The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings*," and see Origen's statement on page 96 of Bruce Metzger's article "*References in Origen to Variant Readings*," in *New Testament Textual Studies* Vol. Eight, © 1968 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands.

123n - Rendered into English based on the Greek text and French translation provided on pages 56 and 57 of Claudio Zamagni's dissertation *Les Questions et réponses sur les évangiles d'Eusèbe de Césaré Étude et édition du résumé grec*, submitted in 2003 at the Université de Lausanne.

124n - See pages 443 and 444 of Volume Two of Amy M. Donaldson's dissertation, *Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings Among Greek and Latin Church Fathers*, submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Notre Dame in 2009.

125n - This date of 325 should be understood as an estimate deduced from letter-forms and other features. Another way of expressing this would be to say that Codex B was produced sometime between 300 and 350.

126n - See W. Willker's description of Codex B at <http://www.willker.de/wie/Vaticanus/general.html> .

127n - See page 29 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

128n - See page 87 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, where the main text is accompanied by a short letter in which Burgon mentioned that his efforts to obtain a photograph of this page of Codex B had been unsuccessful.

129n - See page 602 of William L. Lane's book *Commentary on the Gospel of Mark*, where he claimed, "Codex Vaticanus (B) also provides evidence for the existence of the shorter ending." Lane's commentary is Copyright © 1974 by William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, in the *New International Commentary on the New Testament* series. See page 912 of Part 2 of Zahn's *History of the New Testament Canon*, 1892.

130n - See <http://www.codexsinaiticus.com/en/codex/history.aspx> for a balanced account of the history of Codex Sinaiticus from the time Tischendorf encountered it onward.

131n - This excellent website is www.codexsinaiticus.com, a cooperative project of the British Library, the National Library of Russia, the Leipzig University Library, and St. Catherine's Monastery. Its viewers should be aware that the "English translation" that was part of the website at its launch is not actually a translation of Codex Sinaiticus, as I explain at <https://www.thetextofthegospels.com/2016/08/why-codex-sinaiticus-doesnt-say-what.html>.

132n - See Preface-page 16 (xvi) of F.H.A. Scrivener's book *A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus, Introduction*. (© 1864 Deighton, Bell, and Co.)

133n - See Preface-page 19 (xix) of Kirsopp Lake's introduction, in the section *Description of the Codex*, in *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus - The New Testament*, 1911.

134n - See page 27 of H. J. Milne's and T. C. Skeat's book *Scribes and Correctors of Codex Sinaiticus*, © 1938 British Museum, Oxford University Press.

135n - See Gwynn's statement in the footnote on pages 94 and 95 of F. H. A. Scrivener's *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Vol. 1, fourth edition (1894).

136n - See Lake's comments in "*The Original Provenance and Date of the Manuscript*," in his

introduction to the 1911 photo-facsimile of Codex Sinaiticus, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus – The New Testament*, Leiden.

137n - See Lake's comments in "*The Original Provenance and Date of the Manuscript*," in his introduction to the 1911 photo-facsimile of Codex Sinaiticus, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus – The New Testament*, Leiden.

138n - For this and the next citation see pages 87-90 of H. J. M. Milne and T.C. Skeat's book *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, © 1938 British Museum, Oxford University Press.

139n - See chapters 34 to 37 of Book Four of of *The Life of Constantine*; a translation by E. C. Richardson is online at the Internet Medieval Source Book, © Paul Halsall May 1997, at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/vita-constantine.html> . The Greek text of Book Four is at

<http://khazarzar.skeptik.net/books/eusebius/vc/gr/04.htm> .

140n - For the quotations by Skeat see his article, *The Codex Sinaiticus, The Codex Vaticanus, and Constantine*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S., Vol. 50, Part 2, October 1999, © 1999 Oxford University Press.

141n - See pages 110 to 120 of Dirk Jongkind's book *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, © 2007 by Gorgias Press LLC.

142n - For a slightly different translation and the Greek text of the annotation see page 18 of T. C. Skeat's *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, introduced and edited by J. K. Elliott, © Copyright 2004 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

143n - See Eusebius' *History of the Martyrs in Palestine in English* at

http://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/eusebius_martyr_s.htm , translated by William Cureton from a Syriac manuscript produced in 411.

144n - Harris' comparison is clearer if one knows that the city of Banbury is about as far north of Oxford, as Antipatris is south of Caesarea, and that the line in *Julius Caesar* to which Harris refers is, "I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." See Harris' comment in the Appendix to his 1893 book *Stichometry*, published by Cambridge University Press.

145n - An English translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon* by C. Umhau Wolf is online at

http://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/eusebius_onomasticon_02_trans.htm .

146n - See the pictures supplementing T.C. Skeat's article on page 623 of *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. 50, Pt. 2, October 1999, © 1999 Oxford University Press.

147n - See Elliott's chapter in the book *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark: Four Views*, edited by David Alan Black, © 2008 Broadman & Holman Publishing Group.

148n - See J. Armitage Robinson's essay *Euthaliana*, published in 1895 in *Texts & Studies*, Vol. Three, by Cambridge University Press, for more information about the Euthalian Apparatus and its form in Aleph and B.

149n - For a slightly different translation, and the Greek text of the note, see page 78 of Eberhard Nestle's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 1901 (second edition), translated into English by William Edie.

150n - See page 88 of J. Rendel Harris' 1893 book *Stichometry*, in the appendix, *The Common Origin of Codices Aleph and B*.

151n - See chapter 98 of *De Viris Illustribus* at www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm .

152n - See chapter 113 of *De Viris Illustribus* at www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm .

153n - See Walter Bauer's citation of Jerome in *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, produced in 1934 © J. C. B. Mohr, Tubingen. An English translation by Howard Bream and Robert L. Wilken is online at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak//publics/new/BAUER08.htm> . A footnote provides the Latin text: "quam ex parte corruptam Acacius dehinc et Euzoius eiusdem ecclesiae sacerdotes in membranis instaurare conati sunt."

154n - See David T. Runia's comment in his essay, "*Philo of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Thought, Alexandrian and Jew*," in *Studia Philonica Annual* 7 (1995): 143 to 160 ©; online at <http://www.torreys.org/philo-art/philo&beg.html> . The manuscript at Vienna is MS. Theol. Gr. 29; the Greek text of the note is Εὐζοῖος ἐπισκοπὸς ἐν σωματίοις ἀνενεώσατο.

155n - Further details about Acacius and his support of Arianism can be found in Henry Wace's book *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D., with an Account of the Principal Sects and Heresies*, which is accessible at www.ccel.org/ccel/wace/biodict.txt .

156n - Regarding Theodosius and his decrees, see www.newadvent.org/cathen/14577d.htm .

157n - For details about this phenomenon in Aleph, see Gordon Fee's essay *Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships*, which is chapter 12 of Epp & Fee's 1993 book *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism (Studies and Documents 45)*, published by Eerdmans.

158n - See page 314 of the UBS *Greek New Testament* (fourth edition) for a fuller list of witnesses.

159n - See pages 7-8 of Hort's book *Two Dissertations*.

160n - For a slightly different rendering see the text of Auxentius, translated by Jim Marchand, at <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/texts/auxentius.trans.html> . The Latin text is at

<http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/texts/auxentius.html> .

161n - See the footnote on page 132 of Roelof van den Broek's article, "A Latin Diatessaron in the 'Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica,'" in *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 21, 1975.

162n - See page 145 (§ 8:1b) of Carmel McCarthy's book *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*, © 1993 Oxford University Press.

163n - See the earlier comments about Hippolytus, and the introductions to the *Apostolic Constitutions* at www.sacred-texts.com/chr/ecf/007/0070427.htm , revealing quite diverse opinions among scholars about the dates of different parts of this composition.

164n - See Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, Volume 39, column 688. For links to Migne's vast collection of patristic texts see <https://patristica.net/gaeca/> .

165n - See page 189 of the UBS *Greek New Testament*, fourth edition, © 2001 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart, Germany.

166n - See Augustine's *Harmony of the Gospels*, Book Three, chapter 25, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, Vol. 6; Philip Schaff, editor. Translated by F. Salmond.

167n - See page 40 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

168n - See page 345 of Frank Williams' book *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, © 1994 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands. Epiphanius' quotation is loose but nevertheless clearly a use of Mark 16:19.

169n - See page 132 of John Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*. Burgon suggested that the subject seems out of place in Epiphanius' text.

170n - See page 57 of Bruce Metzger's book *The Text of the New Testament* (3rd edition), © 1992 Oxford University Press, New York.

171n - See pages 419 to 424 of Clarence Williams' article *The Appendices to the Gospel according to Mark* in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 18, February 1915, Yale University Press.

172n - See page 78 of E. S. Buchanan's book *The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis*, ©1907 Clarendon Press.

173n - See pages 187 and 188 of Wordsworth's and White's 1891 book *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine, Evang. Sec. Marcum*. See also the page-view at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bbb/0348/74v> .

174n - See William Wilson's translation at <http://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/ecf/002/0020441.htm> .

175n - See the comments on *Acts of John* by M. R. James in *Texts & Studies*, Vol. Five, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, 1897 Cambridge University Press. For quotations from *Acts of John* see <http://www.gnosis.org/library/actjohn.htm> . Thanks to Bob Morse for alerting me to this text.

176n - For this comment and for the English translation, see *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum, Horae Semiticae* Number Three, published in 1904, Cambridge University Press.

177n - For Wright's introduction and translation see http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/apocryphal_acts_01_voll_preface.htm and http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/apocryphal_acts_02_john_history.htm .

178n - See page 160 of Janet Soskice's book *The Sisters of Sinai*, © 2009 by Janet Soskice, published by Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House, Inc., New York.

179n - See page 162 of Janet Soskice's book *The Sisters of Sinai*, © 2009 by Janet Soskice, published by Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House, Inc., New York.

180n - The Sinaitic Syriac manuscript was described and its text was published in 1894 in *The Four Gospels in Syriac Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*. The reading in Mark 8:31-32 was noted by Agnes Smith Lewis on page 67 of *Light on the Four Gospels from the Sinai Palimpsest*, (1913, Williams & Norgate).

181n - See page 13 of J. Rendel Harris' book *The Diatessaron of Tatian – A Preliminary Study*, published by C. J. Clay and Sons, 1890.

182n - On page 230 of F. G. Kenyon's book *Our Bibles and the Ancient Manuscripts* (© 1958 by Kathleen Mary Kenyon and Gwendoline Margaret Ritchie, published by Harper & Row), the author names "Additional Manuscript 14459, in the British Museum, containing the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark," as one of the Peshitta copies from the 400s, and adds, "At least a dozen more are not later than the sixth century, three of them bearing precise dates in the years 530-9, 534, and 548." See also Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, pages 69 and 70.

183n - This biography of Rabbula is cited in *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaei, Aliorumque Opera Selecta*, by J. J. Overbeck.

184n - Besides Vööbus' well-written but difficult to access works, see the essay at www.bible-researcher.com/syriac-isbe.html .

185n - See page 269 of Agnes Smith Lewis' article, "What Have We Gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest? - Part Three: The Gospel of Luke," in *The Expository Times* of 1901.

186n - For the entire quotation, see chapter 24 in T. W. Crafer's presentation of the text (published in 1919 by the SPCK, Macmillan Co., New York), at www.tertullian.org/fathers/macarius_apocriticus.htm#3_16 .

187n - See page 40 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

- 188n - For the quotations from Chrysostom see the 1889 translation by Talbot W. Chambers.
- 189n - See page 52 of John Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, © 1871 James Parker and Co., Oxford & London.
- 190n - See Jerome's *Epistle 120* at the www.tertullian.org website.
- 191n - See *Against Vigilantius* at the Internet Medieval Sourcebook, at www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/jerome-againstvigilantius.html, © Paul Halsall, September 2000.
- 192n - See Jerome's *Epistle 117*, translated by W. H. Fremantle in 1893, at www.voskrese.info/spl/jerome117.html.
- 193n - See page 34 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.
- 194n - See *Letter 75* in Augustine's *Epistles*, Philip Schaff, editor.
- 195n - See pages 33 and 34 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.
- 196n - See *Letter 75*, chapter 5, in Augustine's *Epistles*, in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* series, Philip Schaff, editor.
- 197n - see pages 22-57 of G. G. Willis' *Saint Augustine's Lectionary*, Alcuin Club Collection no. 44; London: SPCK, 1962.
- 198n - See page 206, footnote *p*, of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, and page 43 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.
- 199n - For the English text on which this paraphrase is based, see www.newadvent.org/fathers/15082.htm © 2007 by Kevin Knight.
- 200n - From Augustine's *Ten Homilies on the First Epistle of John*, translated by Rev. H. Browne, revised by Rev. Joseph H. Myers, D.D., T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1873.
- 201n - See pages 423-424 of Volume Two of Alexander Souter's *Pelagius' Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, © 1922-1931 (Volume Two = Text and Apparatus Criticus).
- 202n - For the Greek text of this account about Eugenius, see page 215 of Joseph Bidez's *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte*, 1913. See also *Philostorgius: Church History (Translated with an Introduction and Notes)* by Philip R. Amidon, Copyright © 2007 by the Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, Georgia.

202n - See Kahle's article "*The End of St. Mark's Gospel: The Witness of the Coptic Versions,*" *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 2 (1951), pages 49 to 57.

203n - The exact words of Breen's account are on pages 519 to 523 of *A General and Critical Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture* by A. E. Breen, published in 1897 at the John P. Smith Printing House.

204n - See page 13 of Vrej Nersessian's book *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition* © 2001 in text Vrej Nersessian. See also Gevork Nazaryan's summary of the life of Mesrop at www.hyeetch.nareg.com.au/armenians/prominent_p2.html.

205n - Quoted on page 13 of Vrej Nersessian's book *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition* © 2001 in text Vrej Nersessian.

206n - Quoted on page 173 of Vrej Nersessian's book *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition* © 2001 in text Vrej Nersessian.

207n - See page 406 of C. R. Gregory's book *Canon and Text of the New Testament*.

208n - See page 30 of Vrej Nersessian's book *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition* © 2001 in text Vrej Nersessian.

209n - Metzger mentions 1,244 catalogued copies containing text from the New Testament, and hundreds more in what was formerly the Soviet Union, on page 82 of *Text of the New Testament*. Some researchers place the number incredibly higher.

210n - 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, for all the references from Colwell.

211n - This information was helpfully supplied by Leslie McFall. The manuscript is at Cambridge.

212n - See the photograph on page 19 of Vrej Nersessian's book *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition* © 2001 – in text Vrej Nersessian, © 2001 in illustrations The British Library Board and other named copyright holders.

213n - See page 17 of Philip Burton's book *The Old Latin Gospels – A Study of Their Texts and Language*, © Philip Burton, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- 214n - See page 146 of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th edition).
- 215n - See pages 121 and 122 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart, Germany.
- 216n - The *Gospel of Peter* can be read at www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/gospelpeter.html and information about its background is at www.earlychristianwritings.com/info/gospelpeter.html .
- 217n - M. R. James provided this extract from Eusebius in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, published at Oxford, Clarendon Press 1924. See www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/serapion.html .
- 218n - See pages 315 and 316 of Bruce Metzger's book *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, © 1977 Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- 219n - See page 16 of Philip Burton's book *The Old Latin Gospels*, © 2000 Philip Burton, Oxford University Press.
- 220n - See Preface-page 15 (xv) of John Wordsworth's, William Sanday's, and H. J. White's *Old Latin Biblical Text: No. 2, Portions of the Gospels According to St. Mark and St. Matthew from the Bobbio MS (k)*, published in 1886 at the Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- 221n - See page 85 of Monica J. Blanchard's and Robin Darling Young's translation, *A Treatise on God written in Armenian by Eznik of Kolb (430-450)* © 1998 Monica J. Blanchard and Robin Darling Young. Eznik's comment was noted by F. C. Conybeare on page 402 of *The Expositor*, 1895, Vol. Two.
- 222n - See page 61 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*.
- 223n - See pages 64 and 65 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*. Burgon supplied the Greek text of this comment on pages 288 and 289, with a qualifying remark that wide variations exist among copies of Victor's commentary.

224n - See pages 34 and 35 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*. The few copies which attribute the *Commentary on Mark* to "Peter of Laodicea" are no more credible than those which attribute it to Cyril of Alexandria. See the comments at www.bible-researcher.com/endmark.html#dissent .

225n - See page 91 of P. De Letter's *St. Prosper of Aquitaine, The Call of All Nations*, in the *Ancient Christian Writers* series, #14, edited by J. Quasten and J. Plumpe, © 1952 by Rev. Johannes Quasten and Rev. Joseph C. Plumpe.

226n - See page 47 of D. C. Parker's book *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text*, © 1992 Cambridge University Press.

227n - See the images in F. H. A. Scrivener's *Codex Cantabrigiensis, Edited with a Critical Introduction, Annotations, and Facsimiles*, 1864 Deighton, Bell & Co.

228n - Emphasis added. See Cassian's statements in English at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/35097.htm> ; New Advent, © 2007 Kevin Wright.

229n - See page 179 of Kurt Aland's and Barbara Aland's book *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1989 William B. Eerdmans and E. J. Brill.

230n - See page 29 (footnote) in Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*. Burgon cites the location of the reference, in a collection which mainly consists of the works of Gregory of Nyssa: "Greg. Nyss. Opp. iii. 415."

231n - See James Kelhoffer's article *The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum*, in *Z.N.W.*, © 2001

Walter de Gruyter, accessing the Greek text presented by Aland, derived from Hesychius' *Collectio Difficultatum et Solutionum*, in section 1440 in the text in Migne's P.G. 93, 1391 to 1448.

232n - See page 34 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

233n - See Marius Mercator's *Impii Nestorii Sermo X*, in Migne, *Patrologia Latine*, Vol. 48, Col. 830.

234n - See page 10 of the Greek text (page-numbers reset at the beginning of each section) of Johannes Kunze's *Marcus Eremita Ein Neuer Zeuge für das Altkirchliche Taufbekenntnis*,

Leipzig, 1895.

235n - See page 29 (footnote) of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*. See Book Two of Cyril's *Against Nestorius* at

http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/cyрил_against_nestorius_02_book2.htm .

236n - See page 88 of Rev. Charles Lett Feltoe's book *The Letters and Sermons of Leo the Great*, © 1956 William. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Vol. 12, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers series, Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, editors.

237n - See pages 24 and 25 of R. P. C. Hanson's book *The Life and Writings of the Historical Saint Patrick*, © 1983 R. P. C. Hanson, published by the Seabury Press, New York. An English translation of Patrick's *Letter to Coroticus* by John Skinner is online at

<http://www.ancienttexts.org/library/celtic/ctexts/p02.html> .

238n - See page 74 of R. P. C. Hanson's book *The Life and Writings of the Historical Saint Patrick*, © 1983 R. P. C. Hanson, published by the Seabury Press, New York.

239n - See page 1008 of R. P. C. Hanson's book *The Life and Writings of the Historical Saint Patrick*, © 1983 R. P. C. Hanson, published by the Seabury Press, New York. An English rendering of Patrick's *Confession* is at

<http://www.ancienttexts.org/library/celtic/ctexts/p01.html> .

240n - See pages 44 and 45 of R. P. C. Hanson's book *The Life and Writings of the Historical Saint Patrick*, © 1983 R. P. C. Hanson, published by the Seabury Press, New York.

241n - See page 96 of E. S. Buchanan's book *The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis*, © 1907 Clarendon Press.

242n - See pages 133 through 137 of George E. Ganss, S.J.'s book, *Saint Peter Chrysologus – Selected Sermons, and Saint Valerian, Homilies*, Vol. 17 in the *Fathers of the Church* series, © 1953 by Fathers of the Church Press, Inc.

243n - See page 22 of Philip Burton's book *The Old Latin Gospels*, © 2000 Philip Burton, published by Oxford University Press.

244n - See page 44 of Kirsopp Lake's book *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1959 Billing & Sons, Ltd.

245n - For this and other data see Arthur Vööbus' 1954 book *Early Versions of the New Testament: Manuscript Studies*, published by the Estonian Theological Society in Exile.

246n - See pages 123 and 124 of Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies.

247n - See page 21 of Vrej Nersessian's book *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition*, © 2001 in text Vrej Nersessian, and pages 205 and 209 of Aland and Aland's *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1989 William B. Eerdmans and E. J. Brill.

248n - See page 335 of B. H. Streeter's book *The Four Gospels*, © 1924, 1961 Macmillan & Co. Ltd.) This claim has been perpetuated by other authors.

249n - See

http://www.tedsnet.de/sprache/manuscripts/georgian_manuscripts.html for more information about the Jrutchi Gospels and other Georgian manuscripts.

250n - See page 187 of Bruce Metzger's *The Early Versions of the New Testament – Their Origins, Transmission, and Limitations*, © Oxford University Press 1977.

251n - A summary of the life of *St. Eustathius of Mzketha* is at <https://www.oca.org/saints/lives/2014/07/29/102130-martyr-eustathius-of-mtskheta-in-georgia> .

252n - See page 254 of James Neville Birdsall's book *Collected Papers in Greek and Georgian Textual Criticism*, © Gorgias Press LLC 2006.

253n - See page 196 of the UBS *Greek New Testament*, 2nd edition, and page 189 of the fourth edition, © 2001 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, D-Stuttgart.

254n - See page 289 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, in Appendix D.

255n - For further details see Tommy Wasserman's article *The Greek New Testament Manuscripts in Sweden with an Excursus on the Jerusalem Colophon*, in *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, 2010, available at

<http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/2010/12/christmas-giftarticle-on-gnt-mss-in.html> .

256n - See pages 118 and 119 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, especially the footnotes.

257n - See pages 118-119 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, especially the footnotes.

258n - See pages 365 and 366 of C. R. Williams' article *The Appendices to the Gospel according to Mark*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 18, Feb. 1915, Yale University Press.

259n - See page 120 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, especially the footnotes. Burgon claimed that Codex 1 reads αλλοις (*allois*) instead of πολλοις (*pollois*), but I have checked images of 1 and 1582 and confirmed that they both clearly read πολλοις (*pollois*).

260n - See page 119 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*.

261n - This is described by Burgon on page 119 of *The Last Twelve Verses of S. Mark Vindicated*, and, in more detail, by Kelhoffer on page 108 of *The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum*. Jean Pierre Paul Martin's facsimile of this feature in 22 is included by Williams in his article *The Appendices to the Gospel According to Mark*.

262n - See page 30 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*, and pages 119 and 120 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*.

263n - Manuscript 199 is thus cited by Kelhoffer on page 107 of *The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum*, depending on Aland, *Schluss*, note 3, page 443. Burgon, on page 120 of *The Last 12 Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, states that Birch, an earlier researcher, cited 199 as if it "has only this: εν τισι των αντιγραφων ου κεινται [?] ταυτα, (*in some copies this does not appear*)" but Scrivener noted that Birch had only examined the manuscript, rather than thoroughly collating it.

264n - See page 123 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart.

- 265n - See pages 840ff. of *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. 16, for the Greek text of Severus' 77th Homily.
- 266n - See page 858 of *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. 16, for the Greek text. See also Migne's P.G. Volume 46, Column 652, where it is presented as if the author was Gregory of Nyssa.
- 267n - See pages 270-272 of *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. 14, for the Greek text.
- 268n - See pages 57 through 59 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, and in the same book Appendix C, on pages 267 and 268.
- 269n - See Migne's *Patrologia Graecae*, Vol. 28.
- 270n - See pages 158 and 159 of Patrick Gray's book *Leontius of Jerusalem: Against the Monophysites: "Testimonies of the Saints" and "Aporiae,"* © 2008 Oxford University Press.
- 271n - See the transcript of Mark 16 in Codex Σ (Sigma) on pages 95 and 96 of Oscar von Gebhardt's and Adolph Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* (1883), Section Four, *Die Evangelien des Matthäus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*. (Digital page #713 and 714.)
- 272n - See page 46 of Bruce Metzger's book *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography*, © 1981 Oxford University Press.
- 273n - William Sanday pointed out the typographical error in 1885, in an article in *Studia Biblica*, after which the description in Scrivener's *Plain Introduction* was corrected.
- 274n - For a different rendering and the Latin text, see pages 458 and 459 of Courtney M. Booker's essay *The Codex Purpureus and Its Role as an Imago Regis in Late Antiquity*, in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* #8, edited by Carl Deroux, © 1997 Revue D'Etudes Latines.
- 275n - For all of Jerome's comments about purple codices and Babylonian parchment see pages 458-470 of Courtney M. Booker's essay *The Codex Purpureus and Its Role as an Imago Regis in Late Antiquity*, in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman*

History #8, edited by Carl Deroux, © 1997 Revue D'Etudes Latines.

276n - See page 475 of Courtney M. Booker's essay *The Codex Purpureus and Its Role as an Imago Regis in Late Antiquity*, in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History #8*, edited by Carl Deroux, © 1997 Revue D'Etudes Latines.

277n - For the Latin text, see Migne's P.L., Vol. 62, col. 832.

278n - For the Latin text, see Migne's P.L., Vol. 65, columns 382 and 385.

279n - For an English translation of Gregory's *Homily 29*, see pages 226 through 235 of Dom

David Hurst's book *Forty Gospel Homilies*, © 1990 Cistercian Publications, Inc.

280n - See the translation at

<http://www.lamp.ac.uk/celtic/Samson.htm> .

281n - See page 292 of Kurt and Barbara Aland's book *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1989 William B. Eerdmans and E. J. Brill.

282n - See the quotation from Robinson in Wieland Willker's online *Textual Commentary on the Greek Gospels*, Vol. 2b, 5th edition, © 2007 Wieland Willker, Bremen.

283n - See page 283 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*, Appendix D. Possinus' book can be downloaded from

<https://archive.org/details/CatenaMarkPossinus> . Its contents confirm Burgon's suspicion.

284n - See page 35 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*. Burgon's "Possinus" and "Tolosanus" are Hort's "Poussin" and "Toulouse manuscript." An English translation of Theophylact's commentary on Mark was made by Christopher Stade in 1993 and is available from Chrysostom Press.

285n - See pages 290-292 of Jean Pierre Paul Martin's *Introduction a la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament, Tome Second*, 1884 (Paris).

286n - See page 196 of the *Greek New Testament*, © 1966, American Bible Society *et al.*

287n - See page 122 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart.

288n - See Kurt Aland's article *Bemerkungen zum Schluss des Markusevangeliums* on pages 157-180 of *Neotestamentica Et Semitica - Studies in Honour of Matthew Black*, © T. & T. Clark 1969 (edited by E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox).

289n - See page 98 of James Kelhoffer's article *The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings to Text-Critical Debates Concerning the Original Conclusion to Mark's Gospel*, in *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92, © Walter de Gruyter 2001.

290n - See page 196 of *The Greek New Testament*, second edition, edited by Kurt Aland *et al*, © 1966 American Bible Society *et al*.

291n - See page 111 of Kirsopp Lake's and Silva New's *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts*, *Harvard Theological Studies* #17, © 1932 Cambridge University Press.

292n – For more analysis of 1241 see

<https://www.thetextofthegospels.com/2021/01/minuscul-1241-and-ending-of-mark.html> .

293n - See page 158 (caption to Plate 51) of Aland & Aland's book *Text of the New Testament*.

294n - See page 47 of the *Introduction* to the Nestle-Aand *NTG*, 27th edition.

295n - See Stephen Carlson's article *Archaic Mark (MS 2427) and the Finding of a Manuscript Fake*, online at the SBL Forum at www.sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleId=577 . A comment from Carlson about the connection between 2427 and Buttmann's text at the *textualcriticism* online discussion-group elicited my own comparison of 2427 and Buttmann's text.

296n - The data in these comparisons was drawn from a comparison of the text of *Novvm Testamentvm Graece, Ad Fidem Potissimvm Codices Vaticani B Recensvit, Varias Lectiones Codicis B, Textvs Recepti, Editionvm Griesbachii Lachmanni Tischendorffii Integras Adiecit*, Philippvs Bvttmann, pub. 1860 (editio quinta 1886), and confirmed by a comparison to the

collation of 2427 in the article “*Chicago’s “Archaic Mark” (2427) - A Reintroduction to its Enigmas and a Fresh Collation of Its Readings,*” by Margaret M. Mitchell and P.A. Duncan, on pages 1 through 45 of *Novum Testamentum* 48. 2006.

297n - See the pertinent article in the April 23, 1988 issue of *Science News*, which mentions the use of “polarized-light microscopy and X-ray diffraction” tests conducted on samples of paint from the illustrations in 2427, which “clearly identify the compounds in the pigments.” See also the report and picture available at <https://pubs.acs.org/doi/abs/10.1021/ed074p373> .

298n - See page 123 (footnote) in Bruce Metzger’s *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart, Germany.

299n - See pages 398 and 399 of C. R. Williams’ article *The Appendices to the Gospel According to Saint Mark*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 18, Feb.

1915, Yale University Press.

300n - See, for example, pages 224 to 225 of Metzger’s book *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, © Oxford University Press 1977.

301n - See

https://www.hewit.com/skin_deep/?volume=26&article=1#article

302n - See page 123 of Bruce Metzger’s *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 United Bible Societies.

303n - See page 234 of Bruce Metzger’s book *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, © 1987 Oxford University Press.

304n - See page 128 of Bruce Metzger’s essay *The Gospel of St. Mark in Ethiopic Manuscripts*, in *New Testament Tools and Studies - Philological, Versional, and Patristic*, Vol. Ten, Bruce M. Metzger, editor, © 1980 E. J. Brill.

305n - See pages 130 and 134 of Bruce Metzger’s article *The Gospel of St. Mark in Ethiopic Manuscripts* in *NTTS*, Vol. Ten, Bruce M. Metzger, editor, © 1980 E. J. Brill.

- 306n - See pages 140-147 of Bruce Metzger's article *The Gospel of St. Mark in Ethiopic Manuscripts*, in *New Testament Tools and Studies*, Vol. 10, Bruce M. Metzger, editor, © 1980 E. J. Brill.
- 307n - See page 506 of Robert G. Bratcher's and Eugene A. Nida's *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark*, © 1961 by the United Bible Societies, published by E.J. Brill, Leiden.
- 308n - See page 275 of Bruce Metzger's *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, © 1992 Oxford University Press, and page 322 of the fourth edition, by Bruce Metzger and Bart Ehrman.
- 309n - See pages 75 to 82 of Metzger's *Early Versions of the New Testament*, © 1977 Oxford University Press.
- 310n - See page 71 of Metzger's *The Text of the New Testament* and pages 75 to 82 of Metzger's *Early Versions of the New Testament*, © 1977 Oxford University Press. See www.schoyencollection.com/aram-heb-syr.htm#036 for a photo and brief description of an early Palestinian Aramaic manuscript with text from Matthew.
- 311n - See page 118 of Bruce Metzger's article *Palestinian Syriac and Greek Gospel Lectionaries* in *New Testament Studies - Philological, Versional, and Patristic*, Volume Ten in the series *New Testament Tools and Studies*, edited by Bruce Metzger, © 1980 E. J. Brill, Leiden.
- 312n - See pages xxi, xxii, xlii, (Preface-pages 21, 22, and 42) and 218 of Agnes Smith Lewis' and Margaret Dunlop Gibson's 1899 book *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*.
- 313n - See page 196 of the UBS *Greek New Testament*.
- 314n - See pages 42 and 43 of Kirsopp Lake's *The Text of the New Testament*, 6th edition © 1959 Rivingtons, London.
- 315n - See page 714 of the Nestle-Aland *NTG* (27th edition). For a picture of the first page of Matthew in Codex Aureus see www.soton.ac.uk/~enm/codexau.htm . The first page of Mark in Codex Aureus can be accessed at www.vetuslatina.org .
- 316n - See pages 21 and 22 of Philip Burton's book *The Old Latin Gospels*, © 2000 Philip Burton, published by Oxford University

Press. Burton provides brief descriptions of all Old Latin manuscripts on pages 16-28.

317n - See the photograph of *q*'s last page of Mark in Codex Monacensis at

<http://itsee.bham.ac.uk/vetuslatina/largemss/13%20monacensis.jpg> and the text of Mark 16:19 and 20 on page 137 of Eberhard Nestle's 1906 *Novum Testamentum Latinae*.

318n - See the text at the Documenta Catholica Omnia website.

Michael Cahill translated the text in 1998 in *The First Commentary on Mark: An Annotated Translation*.

319n - See G. H. Gwilliam's article *The Ammonian Sections, Eusebian Canons, and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium* on pages 241 through 264 of *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, Vol. Two, 1890.

320n - See pages 452 and 453 of G. H. Gwilliam's article *The Age of the Bodleian Syriac Codex Dawkins 3* in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. 3, 1902.

321n - See the description of Codex Delta in Scrivener's *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 1883 (third edition). Images of Codex Delta are online.

322n - See page 292 of Kurt Aland's and Barbara Aland's book *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1989 William B. Eerdmans and E.J. Brill.

323n - See page 138 of Hort's *Introduction*.

324n - See page 119 of Hort's *Introduction*.

325n - See, for example, List 1 on pages 145 through 159 of Harry Sturz's book *The Byzantine*

Text-type & New Testament Textual Criticism, © 1984 by Harry A. Sturz, published by Biblical Viewpoints Publications, Inc.

326n - See page 225 of Hort's *Introduction*, § 303.

327n - See page 557 of Maurice Robinson's *Appendix: The Case for Byzantine Priority*, in *The New Testament in the Original Greek – Byzantine Textform*, 2005; the appendix is in the public domain.

- 328n - See page 362 of C.R. Gregory's book *Canon and Text of the New Testament*.
- 329n - See page 207 of Scrivener's *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, third edition, 1884.
- 330n - See page 208 of Scrivener's *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, third edition, 1884.
- 331n - See page 222 of Scrivener's *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, third edition, 1884.
- 332n - See page 226 of Scrivener's *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, third edition, 1884.
- 333n - For more information about the manuscripts in this list see ppages 37 through 202 of Kurt Aland's book *Kurzgefasste Liste Der Griechischen Handschriften Des Neuen Testaments*, © 1963 Walter De Gruyter & Co., Berlin, and F. H. A. Scrivener's lists of manuscripts in *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 4th edition, 1894 George Bell & Sons, and Scrivener's *Adversaria Critica Sacra*, and Robert Waltz's entries for *Manuscripts* in the online Encyclopedia of NTTC, at <http://www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/> .
- 334n - See page 315 of *Apostolic Fathers*, Lightfoot-Harmer-Holmes, © 1989 Baker Book House Co., Grand Rapids, and the *Fragments of Papias* beginning at www.ccel.org/fathers/ANF-01/papi/fragmentsofpapias.html which accesses Eusebius' *Church History* Book Three, 39.
- 335n - See page 474 of T. Zahn's *Introduction to the New Testament* Vol. 2, © 1909 Charles Scribner's Sons. Zahn also mentions (page 485) that the manuscript of Rufinus in question is at Oxford and refers readers to the Dec. 1895 issue of *The Expositor*, page 415, for more details.
- 336n - See page 384 of C. R. Williams' article *The Appendices to the Gospel According to Saint Mark*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 18, Feb. 1915, Yale University Press.
- 337n - See page 50 of J. Stevenson's book *A New Eusebius*, © 1960 S.P.C.K., presenting *Church History* Book Three, 39:4.

- 338n - See page 51 of J. Stevenson's book *A New Eusebius*, © 1960 S.P.C.K., presenting *Church History Book Three*, 39:4.
- 339n - See the introduction and translation of *Acts of Peter* at www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/actspeter.html . Notice the mention of Narcissus; see Romans 16:11.
- 340n - See page 163 of Metzger's *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, © 1987 Oxford University Press.
- 341n - See page 118 of B. W. Bacon's article in *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, by John Chisholm Lambert. Vrej Nersessian has answered some scholars' claims that the works attributed to Moses of Chorene are actually medieval.
- 342n - See the English text of *Church History* at <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2501.htm> .
- 343n - On pages 382 to 385 of *Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version (Journal of Biblical Literature vol. 56, © 1937 Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis)*, E. C. Colwell made the suggestion that alternative that "*Ariston Eritzou*" might be merely the signature of the copyist who wrote the text of Mark down to the end of 16:8. This is extremely unlikely.
- 344n - See Book Seven of *Apostolic Constitutions* at www.piney.com/DocAposConstitu2.html .
- 345n - See J. B. Lightfoot's rendering of Pionius' *Life of Polycarp* at www.tertullian.org/fathers/pionius_life_of_polycarp_01_text.htm .
- 346n - See page 345 of B. H. Streeter's book *The Four Gospels*, 10th impression, © 1961 Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London. Streeter's errors are baffling because on the same page, he refers to the photographic reproduction of the codex, published by F. Macler in 1920.
- 347n - See page 381 of Clarence R. Williams' article *The Appendices to the Gospel according to Mark*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 18, Feb. 1915, Yale University Press.
- 348n - See page 379 of Clarence R. Williams' article *The Appendices to the Gospel according to Mark*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 18, Feb. 1915,

Yale University Press.

349n - See page 184 of Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, © 1912 Macmillan and Co., Limited, London).

350n - See the footnote on page cvii (preface-page 17) of Henry Barclay Swete's commentary *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, © 1909 Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

351n - See the description of 565 by Robert Waltz at www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/Manuscripts501-1000.html#m565 .

352n - See pages liii-liv (preface-pages 53 and 54) of Kirsopp Lake's *Codex 1 of the Gospels and Its Allies*, © 1892 Cambridge University Press, Vol. 7, #3 in *Text and Studies*, J. Armitage Robinson, editor.

353n - See page 63 of Bruce Metzger's book *The Text of the New Testament*, third edition, © 1992 Oxford University Press.

354n - See pages 445 and 446 of James Kelhoffer's book *Miracle and Mission*, © 2000 by J.C.B. Mohr, Tubingen, Germany. (The article by Barb may appear in Vol. 82, 1953).

355n - See the English translation of *The Martyrdom of St. Eustathius of Mzketha* at

<http://www.georgianweb.com/religion/eustati.html> .

356n - See page 103 of James Kelhoffer's article *The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum*, where the Greek text is also provided.

357n - See page 12 of James Kelhoffer's article *The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum* (where a comment of Euthymius Zigabenus is also mentioned) and page 113 of Adela Collins' *Mark – A Commentary*, © 2007 Fortress Press.

358n - See page 31 of Forbes Robinson's essay in *Texts & Studies*, Vol. 4 (IV), #2, © 1896 Cambridge University Press.

359n - See pages 39 and 40 of Dom A. B. Kuypers' *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne*, © 1902 Cambridge University Press.

360n - See pages 143 to 145 of Margaret Dunlop Gibson's book *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, with an Introduction by J. Rendel Harris, © 1911 Cambridge University Press.

- 361n - See page 297 of J. A. Giles' book *Six Old English Chronicles*, © 1896.
- 362n - See page 179 of Nicolas Guloni's *Disputatio cum Herbario Iudaeo*, in Greek, with Latin translation, published in 1636. The text is arranged in alternating pages of Greek and Latin, both of which receive the same page-number.
- 363n - See pages 8, 98, and 142 of G. R. Woodward's and H. Mattingly's *St. John Damascene – Barlaam and Ioasaph*, Greek text with English translation, © 1953 Harvard University Press.
- 364n – See the text from which this was translated on p. 72 of C. Detlef, G. Muller, *Scriptores Coptici*, Vol. 226, Tom. 32 (1962).
- 365n – See Budge's *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*.
- 366n – See pages 106 and 135 of Brent Landau's *The Sages and the Star-Child: An Introduction to the Revelation of the Magi, An Ancient Christian Apocryphon*, © 2008 Brent Christopher Landau.
- 367n - See the text and photo-facsimile provided by Burgon on pages 123-126 of *The Last Twelve Verses of S. Mark Vindicated*. See also page 508 of F. H. A. Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* and Plate 14 (XIV), picture 21, in the same book, and Plate 7 (VII) in Frederic Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (after page 108, © 1912 Macmillan and Co., Limited, London.). See Plate 29 of Aland and Aland's *The Text of the New Testament* for a photo of the last page of Mark in Codex L. (Plate 34 in the 1982 German edition, on page 121.)
- 368n - See pages cvi-cvii (preface-pages 106-107) of Henry Barclay Swete's commentary *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, © 1909 Macmillan and Co., Ltd.
- 369n - See pages 409-410 of C. R. Williams' article *The Appendices to the Gospel according to Mark*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 18, February 1915.

370n - See page 414 of C. R. Williams' article *The Appendices to the Gospel according to Mark*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 18, February 1915.

371n - See pages 147-148 of the Nestle-Aland *NTG*, 27th edition. A photo of Lectionary 1602's text of 16:19 and 20 is featured as Plate 60 on page 203 (or page 199) of Kurt & Barbara Aland's *The Text of the New Testament*, © 1987 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

372n - See pages 63-64 of Bruce Metzger's book *The Text of the New Testament*, 3rd edition © 1992 Oxford University Press.

373n - See the text of Mark on pages 1 through 30 of Alfred Schmidtke's 1903 book *Die Evangelien Eines Alten Unzialcodex (B-Aleph-Text)*.

374n - Based on an examination of images of the manuscript at the online Virtual Manuscript Room.

375n - Thanks to Earl Kellett of the Center for New Testament Textual Studies in New Orleans for deciphering this abbreviated note. See also page 419 of Clarence Williams' *Appendices* article.

376n - 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.

377n - On page 190 of the fourth edition of the UBS *Greek New Testament* (and in previous editions) 274_{mg} is cited as a witness for the inclusion of εφανη (*efane*), but this is an error.

378n - See page 380 of E. C. Colwell's article *Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version*, by Ernest Cadman Colwell, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 56 (1937) © Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.

379n - See pages 218 through 221 of Bruce Metzger's book *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, © 1977 Oxford University Press.

380n - See pages 140 through 147 of Bruce Metzger's article *The Gospel of St. Mark in Ethiopic Manuscripts*, in *New Testament Tools and Studies*, Vol. 10, Bruce M. Metzger, editor, © 1980 E. J. Brill.

381n – See the detailed description of this manuscript in *Das Markusevangelium Sâidisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569*, by Hans Quecke. (Papyrologica Castroctaviana: Studia et textus, 4.) Barcelona – Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1972.

382n - See page 136 of Bruce Metzger's book *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, © Oxford University Press 1977.

383n - See pages 49 and 50 of Paul E. Kahle's article "The End of St. Mark's Gospel: The Witness of the Coptic Versions," *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. II (1951), pages 49 to 57.

384n - See pages 970 to 972 of Franz-Jürgen Schmitz's and Gerd Mink's *Liste der Koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, Parts 1 and 2*, © 1986 Walter de Gruyter.

385n - See

<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/814.html> .

386n - For all the quotations for this entry see pages 480 to 482 of George Horner's *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect Otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic*, Volume 1 (Matthew & Mark) 1898.

387n - See page 39 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

388n - See page xxiv (preface-page 24) of G. S. R. Mead's book *Pistis Sophia, Translated with Commentary*, © 1921 J. M. Watkins, London. Mead's introduction is online at gnosis.org/library/pistis-sophia/ps003.htm .

389n - See page 325 of G. S. R. Mead's book *Pistis Sophia, Translated with Commentary*, © 1921 J. M. Watkins, London. This portion is presented online at gnosis.org/library/pistissophia/ps154.htm . Thanks to Maurice Robinson of Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary for alerting me about this witness.

390n - See Kurt Aland's essay *Bemerkungen zum Schluss des Markusevangeliums* in *Neotestamentica Et Semitica - Studies in Honour of Matthew Black*, published by T. & T. Clark, © 1969.

391n - See page 43 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

392n – Some commentators' claims about Eusebius and Jerome regarding this are inexcusable inaccurate, such as Ben

Witherington III's statement that "Eusebius and Jerome both tell us

these verses were absent from all Greek copies known to them.” (on pp. 412-413 of *The Gospel of Mark – A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* by Ben Witherington III, © 2001 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing).

393n - See page 43 of Hort’s *Introduction, Notes on Select Readings*.

394n - See pages 195 to 206 of Burgon’s 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*.

395n - See pages 291 and 311 to 312 of Mitchell Reddish’s book *Apocalyptic Literature – A Reader*, edited by Mitchell Reddish, © 1995 Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., Peabody, Massachusetts.)

396n - See Augustine’s *Tractate 98* at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf107.iii.xcix.html> .

397n - See page 114 (chapter 45) of James Cooper’s and Arthur John Maclean’s book *The Testament of Our Lord*, 1902, T & T Clark.

398n - See pages 42-43 of Hort’s *Introduction, Notes*.

399n - See page 24 of Hans-Joachim Schulz’s book *The Byzantine Lectionary*, © 1986 Pueblo Publishing Co., New York; English translation by Matthew J. O’Connell.

400n - See <http://www.bible-researcher.com/vulgate2.html> .

401n - See Sozomen’s account in English at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/26021.htm> and see also pages 480 and 481 of Robert Owen’s 1880 book *Sanctorale Catholicum, or Book of Saints*.

402n - For more information about Codex Theodosianus, including remarkably vivid pictures, see the book *Holy Image, Holy Ground: Icons from Mount Sinai*, edited by Robert S. Nelson and Kristen M. Collins, © 2006 J. Paul Getty Trust, especially chapter three by Justin Sinaites.

403n - For this statement and the data about the placement of the Heothina-readings in lectionaries, see pages 213 and 214 of Christopher Robert Dennis Jordan’s dissertation, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th-11th Century)*, submitted to the University of Birmingham in 2009.

- 404n - See the photographs of Sahidic fragment P. Duke. inv. 814, with a brief description, at <http://www.scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/814.html> .
- 405n – More information about the *Exapostilaria* can be found at http://www.holytrinitymission.org/books/english/liturgics_averky_e.htm#_Toc104768084 .
- 406n - See pages 970 to 972 of Franz-Jürgen Schmitz's and Gerd Mink's *Liste der Koptischen Handschriften Des Neuen Testaments: Sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien*, © 1991 Walter de Gruyter.
- 407n - See pages lvi-lix (Preface-pages 56 through 59), 500-502, and 1011, and Plate 33 in E. A. Wallis Budge's 1912 book *Coptic Texts Edited with Introductions and English Translations*.
- 408n - See page 100 of J. H. F. Dijkstra's 2005 dissertation *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity*, at <http://dissertations.ub.rug.nl/FILES/faculties/theology/2005/j.h.f.dijkstra/thesis.pdf> .
- 409n - See Germanus Morin's 1893 book *Liber Comicus* (esp. p. 256) at <https://archive.org/details/libercomiccussive00moriuoft/page/n10/mode/2up?ref=ol&view=theater> .
- 410n - See page 196 of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*, © 1966 UBS, and for the explanation of this miscitation in the article at www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/Lectionary.html and Kurt Aland's admission of the error on page 164 of *Bemerkungen zum Schluss des Markusevangeliums*, in *Neotestamentica Et Semitica - Studies in Honour of Matthew Black*, E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox, editors, © 1969 T. & T. Clark.
- 411n - From Richard Carrier's analysis (which contains various other errors) at <http://www.errancywiki.com/index.php?title=Legends2> , part of a pro-atheism website. When uncial/majuscule manuscripts are identified by numbers, the first digit is always "0."

- 412n - See page 123 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart.
- 413n - See page 123 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart.
- 414n - See page 26 of *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark: Four Views*, edited by David Alan Black, © 2008 Broadman & Holman Publishing Group. Daniel Wallace is the author of chapter one. By "obelisk" he means "obelus."
- 415n - See page 117 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*.
- 416n - See page 118 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*.
- 417n - Based on an examination of pictures of the manuscript at the Virtual Manuscript Room.
- 418n - The locations of lections in this description is based on the chart at <http://www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/Lectionary.html> .
- 419n - See photographs of the relevant pages of 2346 at the website of the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts, at http://www.csntm.org/Manuscript/View/GA_2346 .
- 420n - See page 189 of the fourth edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*, © 2001 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, D-Stuttgart.
- 421n - See page 255 of James White's book *The King James Only Controversy*, © 1995 James R. White, published by Bethany House Publishers.
- 422n - See Robert Waltz's analytical comparison of the texts of P75, Aleph, B, and T at <http://www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/ManuscriptsUncials.html#uT> .
- 423n - See page 46 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes on Select Readings*.
- 424n - See page 149 of Henry C. Thiessen's *Introduction to the New Testament*, © 1973 by William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

425n - See pages 141 and 142 of Willi Marxsen's book *Introduction to the New Testament*, English translation by G. Buswell © 1968 Basil Blackwell, Oxford. Marxsen also proposed (foolishly) that the Gospel of Mark was written in Galilee.

426n - See the notes for Mark 16:9 in the NET-Bible at <http://bible.org/netbible> .

427n - Cited by Kelly Iverson in "*Irony in the End: A Textual and Literary Analysis of Mark 16:8*" which is accessible at <https://bible.org/article/irony-end-textual-and-literary-analysis-mark-168> .

428n - See page 48 of N. Clayton Croy's book *The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel*, © 2003 by Abingdon Press.

429n - See page 48 of N. Clayton Croy's book *The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel*, © 2003 by Abingdon Press.

430n - See page 58 of James Snapp, Jr.'s *Greek Uncial Archetype of Mark*, at www.textexcavation.com/marcanarchetypescans.html .

431n - See page 501 of James Edwards' commentary *The Gospel of Mark*, Pillar Commentary series, © 2002 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. Edwards cites an article by Lincoln which appeared in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* in 1989.

432n - The *Enneads* of Plotinus were written ca. A.D. 250. The text is at <http://classics.mit.edu/Plotinus/enneads.html> .

433n - See page 49 of N. Clayton Croy's book *The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel*, © 2003 by Abingdon Press.

434n - See the entire text in English at <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/protagoras.html> .

435n - See pages 134 and 135 of Gilbert Bilezikian's book *The Liberated Gospel*, © 1977 Baker Book House.

436n - See the article at http://www.ancient-literature.com/rome_seneca_phoenissae.html .

437n - See page 85 of Cuthbert Hamilton Turner's commentary *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, published by SPCK.

438n - See page 78 of Robert H. Stein's article *Is Our Reading the Bible the Same as the Original Audience's Hearing It?* in *Journal*

of the Evangelical Theological Society, March 2003, © Evangelical Theological Society.

439n - See page 326 of Bruce Metzger's and Bart Ehrman's *Text of the New Testament*, fourth edition, © 2005 Oxford University Press.

440n - See pages 27 to 108 of N. Clayton Croy's *The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel*, © 2003 by Abingdon Press for a review of eleven ways in which the abrupt ending has been interpreted as deliberate. See also pages 501 to 504 of James Edwards' *The Gospel According to Mark*, in the Pillar NT Commentary series, © 2002 William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, and pages 13-23 in Wilfred Lawrence Knox's article *The Ending of St. Mark's Gospel* in *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (January 1942), © Cambridge University Press.

441n - See page 125 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Germany.

442n - See Bruce Terry's online essay *The Style of the Longer Ending of Mark*, at <http://bterry.com/articles/mkendsty.htm> , © 1976, 1996 Bruce Terry. All rights reserved.

Originally published in an abbreviated form as *Another Look at the Ending of Mark. Firm Foundation* 93 (Sept. 14, 1976).

443n - According to Bruce Terry in his online essay *The Style of the Longer Ending of Mark*, at <http://bterry.com/articles/mkendsty.htm> , © 1976, 1996 Bruce Terry. All rights reserved.

444n - See Karim al-Hanifi's essay "The end of an argument on the ending of Mark" (available at academia.edu) and Bruce Terry's online essay *The Style of the Longer Ending of Mark*, at <http://bterry.com/articles/mkendsty.htm>, © 1976, 1996 Bruce Terry. All rights reserved.

445n - See Bruce Terry's online essay *The Style of the Longer Ending of Mark*, at <http://bterry.com/articles/mkendsty.htm> , © 1976, 1996 Bruce Terry. All rights reserved.

446n - See page 48 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

- 447n - See page 302 of Ezra Gould's commentary *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Mark*, International Critical Commentary series, © 1896 Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- 448n - See the footnote on page 295 of Helmut Koester's book *Ancient Christian Gospels*, © Helmut Koester 1990, SCM Press and Trinity Press International.
- 449n - See page 586 of an article by Elliott in *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 46, pages 584 through 588, © 2000 Cambridge University Press.
- 450n - See pages 256-258 of T. A. Burkill's *New Light on the Earliest Gospel*, © 1972 Cornell University, for numerous examples of this tendency.
- 451n - See page 152 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*.
- 452n - See page 49 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.
- 453n - See page 125 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart, Germany.
- 454n - See page 125 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart, Germany.
- 455n - See page 50 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.
- 456n - See page 50 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.
- 457n - See page 43 of William Henry Shepherd's book *If a Sermon Falls in the Forest - Preaching Resurrection Texts*, © 2002 by CCS Publishing Company, Lima, Ohio.
- 458n - See page 121 of James A. Kelhoffer's book *Miracle and Mission: The Authentication of Missionaries and Their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark*, © 2000 Mohr Siebeck.
- 459n - See page 51 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.
- 460n - See page 97 of Bruce Metzger's essay *References in Origen to Variant Readings*, in *Historical and Literary Studies – Pagan, Jewish, and Christian*, Volume 8 in the series *New Testament Tools and Studies*, © 1968 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, published by William B. Eerdmans.

461n - See the text and footnotes on page 195 of Bruce Metzger's essay *Textual Criticism Among the Church Fathers*, in *New Testament Studies: Philological, Versional, and Patristic*, Volume 10 in the series *New Testament Tools and Studies*, © 1980 E. J. Brill, Leiden.

462n - See pages 256 and 257 of James White's book *The King James Only Controversy*, © 1995 James R. White, published by Bethany House Publishers.

463n - This rendering is based mainly on Gleason Archer's translation, which is provided at www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_daniel_02_text.htm .

464n - See Origen's *Letter to Africanus* at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0414.htm> .

465n - See page xliv (Preface-page 44) of F. H. A. Scrivener's *Introduction* in his book *A Full Collation of Codex Sinaiticus*, 1863.

466n - See page 240 of Burgon's 1871 book *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark Vindicated*.

467n - See page 419 of Clarence R. Williams' article *The Appendices to the Gospel according to Mark*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 18, February 1915.

468n - See pages 49 and 50 of Hort's *Introduction, Notes*.

469n - See page 71 of Bruce Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, © 1971 by the United Bible Societies, Stuttgart, Germany.

470n - For a slightly different rendering see <http://www.textexcavation.com/papias.html#fragment3> and page 316 of Michael W. Holmes' *The Apostolic Fathers, Second Edition*, translated by J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer, © 1989 by Baker Book House Company.

471n - See *Church History* Book Five at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/250105.htm> .

472n - From *Church History* Book Six, 14:5 through 7. See the text at

<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/250106.htm> . See also Stephen Carlson's article in *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 47, pages 118 through 125. © 2001 Cambridge University Press.

473n - See the English text at

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/250103.htm> .

474n - See *Church History*, Book Two at

<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/250102.htm> .

481n - See Book Three of Eusebius' *Church History* at

www.newadvent.org/fathers/250103.htm (© 2007 Kevin Knight).

475n - See Severus of Al-Ushmunain's composition in English at <http://voskrese.info/spl/patmark.html> . The tradition about Mark's martyrdom in Alexandria eventually found a place, in an embellished form, in the medieval "Golden Legend."

476n - See *Church History* Book Two, chapter 25 at

<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/250102.htm> .

477n - See *De Viris Illustribus* at

<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm> .

478n - For a similar rendering see Severus of Al-Ushmunain's composition in English at <http://voskrese.info/spl/patmark.html> .

The text and translation are in Volume One of *Patrologia*

Orientalis. See also the account of the Martyrdom of Peter of

Alexandria at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/peteralex.html>

.

479n - See page 351 of B. H. Streeter's book *The Four Gospels*, 10th impression © 1961 Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

480n – A photograph of the last verse of the Gospel of John taken under ultraviolet light can be found in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*, edited by J. K. Elliott, © 2004, Brill.

481n - See page 271 of J. Neville Birdsall's article *The Source of Catena Comments on John 21:25* in *Novum Testamentum*, 36, 3 (1994) © E. J. Brill, Leiden.

482n - See pages 275-276 of J. Neville Birdsall's article *The Source of Catena Comments on John 21:25* in *Novum Testamentum*, 36, 3 (1994) © E. J. Brill, Leiden.

483n - See Book Ten of Origen's *Commentary on John* at

www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/origen-john10.html .

484n - See Canon Ernest Evans' translation of *Adversus Praxean* at

www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-43.htm#P10374_2906966 ,
published by SPCK in 1948 and
transcribed by Roger Pearse in 2000.

485n - See Tertullian's *De Anima*, translated by Peter Holmes, at
www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-22.htm#P2560_840932 .

486n - See a slightly different rendering of this part of Augustine's
Tractate 122 on John at

<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701122.htm> .

487n - This excerpt is based on M. R. James' translation at
www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/gospelpeter-mrjames.html .

The Greek text is at

www.earlychristianwritings.com/peter-greek.html .

488n - Jerome mentioned Origen's manuscripts in a comment
about Galatians 3:1 and he also cited the copies of Origen and
Pierius (the teacher of Pamphilus) in a comment about Matthew
24:36. See page 162 of Amy M. Donaldson's 2009 dissertation
*Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings Among
Greek and Latin Church Fathers*, Volume One.

489n – As D. C. Parker observed in *The Living Text of the Gospels*,
p. 135, “Jerome's work is simply a translation with some slight
changes of what Eusebius had written.”



Two video-lectures on this subject are available to view at YouTube:

Lecture 16 in the series *Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dsVJVD4FAXQ>

Lecture 17 in the series *Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zRs6hgKaaaI>

Additional Online Resources:

Mark 16:9-20 and Patristic Evidence (in three parts):

Part 1 – <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kzJVTDi7SGs>

Part 2 – <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2y2KQaLyARw>

Part 3 – <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CEo1tWlUta4>

Mark 16:9-20 & the Abrupt Ending (in four parts):

Part 1 (Vaticanus, Bobbiensis) –

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pKCMduynjNE>

Part 2 (Sinaiticus) –

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUz3XK2nYmY>

Part 3 (Eusebius and Jerome) –

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CeMV6N7kxvE>

Part 4 (Annotated Copies)–

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zUwW4Bd6i-0>

A Critique of John MacArthur's Misrepresentation of Manuscripts

(and numerous other errors):

<https://www.thetextofthegospels.com/2018/10/mark-169-20-is-john-macarthur-liar.html>

Also summarized on video at

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cN-L8fxzK1Q>

Additional material on this subject can be found by searching for
“Mark 16:9-20” at the author’s blog,
www.TheTextoftheGospels.com

