A Textual Commentary

on the

Greek Gospels

Vol. 2b
The various endings of Mk

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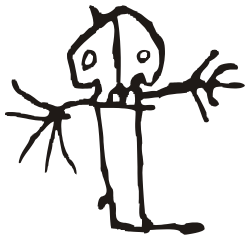

Bremen, online published
6th edition 2009

Contents:

The manuscript evidence

NA[27] Mark 16:8
καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι ἔφυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις· καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν· ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ ⊤.

a)	No ending:	01, B, Sy-S, sa[ms], arm[mss45%], geo[2], Eus[mss], Hier[mss]
b)	long ending with obeli/intro:	f1, 22, pc[12], arm[mss15%]
c)	some other comment:	al[59+]
d)	only the short ending:	k
e)	only long ending:	A, C, D, G, Δ, Θ, Σ, 0211, f13, 33, Maj, Lat, Sy-C?, Sy-P, Sy-H, bo, arm[mss40%], goth, Eus[mss], Bois
f)	expanded long ending:	W, Hier[mss]
g)	first short then long ending:	L, Ψ, 083, 099, 274[mg], 579, L1602, Sy-H[mg], sa, bo[mss], aeth[mss]
h)	first long then short ending:	none !

Sy-C: begins only with verse 17. Thus it is not clear if the short ending was originally present.
B: no umlaut

Discussion of the external evidence

No ending:
2386 does not contain any ending. It ends on the last line of the last page with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, but an analysis of the actual MS reveals that the last page is missing, probably torn out to get a painting from the beginning of Lk (Aland).
The same thing with 1420. Here two pages are missing as can be seen from the chapter numbering.

Regarding 304:
304 is noted in NA as witness for having no ending.
Maurice Robinson has examined a microfilm of the end of the manuscript, however, and offers these observations:
"The primary matter [in 304] is the commentary. The gospel text is merely interspersed between the blocks of commentary material, and should not be considered the same as a 'normal' continuous-text MS. Also, it is often very difficult to discern the text in contrast to the comments....
Following γάρ at the close of 16:8, the MS has a mark like a filled-in 'o,' followed by many pages of commentary, all of which summarize the endings of the other gospels and even quote portions of them.
Following this, the commentary then begins to summarize the ἕτερον δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Μάρκου, presumably to cover the non-duplicated portions germane to that gospel in contrast to the others. There remain quotes and references to the other gospels in regard to Mary Magdalene, Peter, Galilee, the fear of the women, etc. But at this point the commentary abruptly ends, without completing the remainder of the narrative or the parallels. I suspect that the commentary (which contains only Mt and Mk) originally continued the discussion and that a final page or pages at the end of this volume likely were lost.... I would suggest that MS 304 should not be claimed as a witness to the shortest ending...."

Codex a:
CH Turner (JTS 29, 1927-28, 16-18) analyzed Codex a (Vercellensis, 4th CE) and found the following evidence: The text of the MS ends on f632b with Mk 15:5 (Pilatus autem), then four pages are torn away, after that one page has been added (f633) with the Vulgate text of Mk 16:7-20 added by a later hand. Turner now concluded that on the torn away pages the text of Mk 15:5 - 16:7 was originally present. Then the last page got lost and had been replaced by the Vulgate text. If only one more page was originally present after the four torn away pages then one must conclude that either no ending or the short ending was present originally. The one last page is not sufficient to take the long ending.

Codex Sinaiticus 01

The text now in Sinaiticus is on a cancel sheet (= one bifolium, 4 pages) in the center of quire 76. It covers Mk 14:54 - 16:8 and then the beginning of Lk 1:1-56, written by scribe D.

The two other replacement sheets are: Mt 16:9-18:12+Mt 24:36-25:21 and 1.Th 2:14-5:28+Heb 4:16-8:1. The rest of the NT is written by scribe A.

From the space it appears probable that scribe A committed some extensive blunder, perhaps a dittography in the ending of Mk or an omission in the beginning of Lk. Scribe D tries to space out the end of Mark so as to run over into the next column.

An obvious question would be if not originally Mk 16:9-20 were present? But even if one is compressing the text, the space is not sufficient to include the longer ending. This means that it is practically certain that the reason for the cancel sheet was NOT to remove the longer ending from the text.

Additionally it has been proposed by Tischendorf that scribe B of Vaticanus (who wrote the NT in Vaticanus) is identical with scribe D in Sinaiticus. Subsequent analysis by Skeat and others have ruled out this possibility. If at all, more agreement is with scribe A of Vaticanus.

See Milne/Skeat "Scribes and Correctors …" pages 9-11 and 89-90.

Compare also: D. Jongkind "Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus", 2007, p. 45-6.

Codex Vaticanus 03

A the end of Mk a full column is left blank. This is unique in the codex. Only between the OT and the NT two columns are left blank, too. Elsewhere a new book always starts on the next column.

It has been suggested that this means the scribe knew of the longer endings perhaps, and left room for some text. Maybe, we just don't know.

The space is not sufficient to cover the long ending.

Introductory comments in the manuscripts

1. to the short ending:

L, Sy-H^{mg}: φερεται που και ταυτα (που here "somewhere", enclitic adverb)

099, sa-ms: Εν τισιν αντιγραφων ταυτα φερεται

L1602: Εν αλλοις αντιγραφοις ουκ εγραφε ταυτα

2. to the long ending:

199 (in the margin): εν τισι των αντιγραφων ου κειται τουτο αλλ ενταυθα καταπαυει

20, 215: εντευθεν εως του τελος εν τισι των αντιγραφων ου κειται· εν δε τοις αρχαιοις παντα απαραλειπτα κειται

f1 (1, 205, 209, 1582): εν τισι μεν των αντιγραφων εως ωδε πληρουται ο ευαγγελιστης· εως ου και ευσεβιος ο παμφιλου εκανονισεν· εν πολλοις δε και ταυτα φερεται

15, 22, 1110, 1192, 1210: εν τισι των αντιγραφων εως ωδε πληρουται ο ευαγγελιστης· εν πολλοις δε και ταυτα φερεται

L, Ψ, 083, 099, L1602, sa^{mss}, bo^{mss}: Εστιν δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ

138, 264, 1221, 2346, 2812: inserted obeli to separate the passage

A comment by Victor of Antioch (5th CE) have at least 59 commentary manuscripts:

παρα πλειστοις αντιγραφοις ου κεινται ταυτα επιφερομενα εν τω κατα μαρκον ευαγγελιω, ως νοθα νομισαντες αυτα τινες ειναι· ημεις δε εξ ακριβων αντιγραφων ως εν πλειστοις ευροντες αυτα κατα το παλαιστιναιον ευαγγελιον μαρκου, ως εχει η αληθεια συντεθεικαμεν, και την εν αυτω επιφερομενην δεσποτικην αναστασιν μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ.

in: 36, 37, 40, 63, 108, 129, 137, 138, 146, 186, 195, 210, 222, 233, 237, 238, 259, 299, 329, 353, 374, 377, 391, 549, 746, 747, 754, 800, 861, 978, 989, 1230, 1253, 1392, 1570, 2381, 2482, 2539, 2579 (from Aland "Schluss")

The short ending after the long:

This arrangement does not exist in the MSS tradition. The universal order short-long is one of Aland's main arguments for the priority of the short ending over the long.

274 is sometimes noted as having the short ending after the long. The evidence is presented in Metzger's "Text of the NT", plate XI. The short ending is added

in the bottom margin. An insertion sign can be seen on the left side of the line where the long ending begins. Thus it is clear that also here the short ending is intended to stand before the long one.
The two lectionaries noted in the UBS GNT 2nd edition also do not have this order. L961 does note contain the ending of the Gospel of Mk and L1602 has the normal order short-long (according to Aland).

The Armenian version:
Compare: EC Colwell "Mk 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version",
JBL 56 (1937) 369-386
Two MSS have the long ending after John! One has it by a later hand after Lk! One has the longer ending after Mk, but the shorter ending after Lk!
He notes that those MSS without the ending belong to the early period.

Church fathers evidence

Irenaeus (later 2nd CE), the earliest clear reference, wrote (Adversus Haeresies, Book 3, 10:5-6):

> "In fine autem euangelii ait Marcus: Et quidem Dominus Jesus, posteaquam locutus est eis, receptus est in caelos, et sedit ad dexteram Dei."
> "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."
> This is a direct quotation of Mk 16:19.

Diatessaron, Tatian (late 2nd CE)

Most scholars accept the incorporation of the longer ending into the Diatessaron in some way. But our knowledge of the contents of the original Diatessaron is limited. The evidence regarding the incorporation of Mk 16:9-20 in the Diatessaron is contradictory and may indicate that perhaps the passage was woven in only later in different ways.

Clement (ca. 200 CE) and Origen (early 3rd CE) nowhere cite anything from the Markan endings (argument from silence). Also silent are: Cyprian (early 3rd CE), Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa (all 4th CE) and Cyril of Alexandria (5th CE).

Eusebius (early 4th CE, Ad Marinum qu. 1):

A very important note is that of Eusebius in a writing called "Ad Marinum". It is possible that this writing represents a part of Eusebius' lost work "On the inconsistencies of the Gospels" (De Evangeliorum Diaphonia). The first question here addressed is, why did Jesus appear in Matthew's account "late on the Sabbath", but in Mark (16:9) "early on the first day of the week"? In his answer Eusebius writes:

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ (τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ) τὴν τοῦτο φάσκουσαν περικοπὴν ἀθετῶν, εἴποι ἂν μὴ ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκου εὐαγγελίου· τὰ γοῦν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὸ τέλος περιγράφει τῆς κατὰ τὸν Μάρκον ἱστορίας ἐν τοῖς λόγοις …

Ἐν τούτῳ [i.e. 16:8] γὰρ σχεδὸν ("almost") ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον Εὐαγγελίου περιγέγραπται τὸ τέλος. τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς σπανίως ἐν τισιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι φερόμενα περιττὰ ἂν εἴη, καὶ μάλιστα εἴπερ ἔχοιεν ἀντιλογίαν τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν μαρτυρίᾳ· ταῦτα μέν οὖν εἴποι ἂν τις παραιτούμενος καὶ πάντῃ ἀναιρῶν περιττὸν ἐρώτημα.

"For, on the one hand, the one who rejects the passage itself, [namely] the pericope which says this, might say that **it does not appear in all the copies** of the Gospel according to Mark. At any rate, **the accurate ones of the copies** define the end of the history according to Mark with the words … [Mk 16:8]."

"For in this way the ending of the Gospel according to Mark is defined **in nearly all the copies.** The things that follow, seldom [and] **in some** but not in all [of the copies], **may be spurious**, and especially since it implies a contradiction to the testimony of the rest of the evangelists. These things therefore someone might say in avoiding and completely do away with a superfluous question."

One has conjectured that the above twofold solution goes back to Origen. W. Farrer writes (The Last 12 Verses): "The twofold solution is Origenic in any case, and that it originates with Origen is not unlikely."

Eusebius' Canon system:

Eusebius is witnessing in another way to the ending of Mk at 16:8. The last section in Mk to be included in his Canons is no. 233, which refers to Mk 16:8. This section has parallels to Mt and Lk and therefore is found in Canon II.

Aphraates (4th CE):

In a homily called "Demonstration One: Of Faith" he wrote:

"And again when our Lord gave the sacrament of baptism to his apostles, he said thus to them: 'Whosoever believes and is baptized shall live, and whosoever believes not shall be condemned', and at the end of the same paragraph, again he said thus: 'This shall be the sign for those that believe; they shall speak with new tongues and shall cast out demons, and they shall lay their hands on the sick and they shall be made whole.' "

Aphraates is a known user of the Diatessaron, but whatever his source here is, it is clearly taken from Mk 16:16-18:

Mark 16:16 The one who believes and is baptized will be saved; but the one who does not believe will be condemned. 17 And these signs will accompany those who believe: by using my name they will cast out demons; they will speak in new tongues; 18 they will pick up snakes in their hands,[1] and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will recover."

Ambrose (4th CE)

Ambrose quotes from the Longer Ending several times, e.g.

"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.' " - The Prayer of Job and David 4:1:4

"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.' " - Concerning Repentance, I:8 (section 35)

Mark 16:15-18 - Of the Holy Spirit II:13 (sect. 151), without "And in their hands."

Jerome (around 400 CE):

He writes in the epistle 120,3 ad Hedybiam:

"Cuius quaestionis duplex solutio est. aut enim non recipimus Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur euangeliis omnibus Graeciae libris paene hoc capitulum [16:9-20] in fine non habentibus, praesertim cum diuersa atque contraria euangelistis certis narrare uideatur …"

"Of which question the solution is twofold. For either we do not receive the testimony of Mark, which is extant in rare gospels, almost all of the Greek books not having this chapter at the end, especially since it seems to narrate things different and contrary to certain evangelists …"

Jerome seems to be dependent on the above Ad Marinum here.

But Jerome knew the Longer Ending since he incorporated it into his Vulgate. He even knew the Freer Logion (see below)! As Kelhoffer points out, this says nothing about Jerome's own view of the Longer Ending, for Jerome translated also books like Judith and Tobit under protest.

Augustinus (around 400 CE):

In his "The Harmony of the Gospels", book 3, ch. 24-25, Augustinus quotes all of Mk 16:9-20 and is discussing it. After that he is discussing the Emmaus story. He writes:

"The latter evangelist [Mark] 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."

It thus appears that the Longer Ending was known to Augustine not only from the Latin, but also from Greek codices.

Hesychius (early 5th CE):

Hesychius is another important witness to the short ending, independent of Eusebius (see Kelhoffer). He writes in "Collectio Difficultatum et Solutionum", question 52:

Διαφορως γαρ προς το μνημα δραμουσαις, ου ταις αυταις γυναιξιν, αλλα ποτε μεν δυσιν εξ αυτων, ποτε δε μια ετερα παρ αυτας τυγχανουση, ποτε δε αλλαις, διαφορως και ο κυριος εφανη, ων τη

μεν ως ασθενεστερα, τη δε ως τελειοτερα τυγχανουση· καταλληλως εμετρει τον εαυτου εμφανισμον ο κυριος. οθεν Μαρκος μεν εν επιτομω τα μεχρι του ενος αγγελου διελθων, τον λογον κατεπαυσεν.

"For [he appeared] to different women who had run to the tomb, not to the same women, but now to two from among them, and then to the other one who happened to be with them, and then to others, and differently did the Lord appear, to one of which who was weaker, and to another who happened to be more perfect. The Lord measured out his own appearance appropriately. Whence Mark having gone through in brief the things until the one angel, the word ceased."

Victor of Antioch (5th CE):

Victor wrote a commentary on the Gospel of Mark. The comment below deals with the Longer Ending. Unfortunately this comment suffers from many textual variations and it isn't even extant in all copies. First Victor is citing from Eusebius Ad Marinum. Then he writes:

Ει δε και το· Αναστας δε πρωι πρωτη σαββατου εφανη πρωτον Μαρια τη Μαγδαληνη, και τα εξης επιφερομενα εν τω κατα Μαρκον ευαγγελιω, παρα πλειστοις αντιγραφοις ου κεινται, ως νοθα νομισαντες αυτα τινες ειναι· ημεις δε, εξ ακριβων αντιγραφων ως εν πλειστοις ευροντες αυτα κατα το Παλαιστιναιον ευαγγελιου Μαρκου, ως εχει η αληθεια, συντεθεικαμεν.

But even if the [words]: And having arisen early on the first day of the week he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, as well as the things that are extant in the following in the gospel according to Mark, **do not stand alongside most copies**, so that certain ones reckon them to be illegitimate, but we, finding them as **in most of those from the accurate copies** in accordance with the Palestinian gospel of Mark, have placed them together [with the rest of the gospel] as the truth holds.

This comment, which also appears in many minuscules, shows that the author has added the longer ending to copies that previously had not contained it.

Severus of Antioch († ca. 520 CE):

He writes in his homily 77:

Εν μεν ουν τοις ακριβεστεροις αντιγραφοις το κατα Μαρκον ευαγγελιον μεχρι του· Εφοβουντο γαρ, εχει το τελος. εν δε τισι προσκειται και ταυτα· Αναστας δε πρωι πρωτη σαββατου εφανη πρωτον Μαρια τη Μαγδαληνη αφ ης εκβεβληκει επτα δαιμονια.

"In the more accurate copies, therefore, the gospel according to Mark has the end until the [statement]: For they were afraid. But **in some** (copies) these things, too, stand in addition: And having arisen early on the first day of the week he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons."

Theophylactus of Ochrida (11th CE):

He writes in Enarratio in Evangelium Marci, Note 90:

φασι τινες των εξηγητων ενταυθα συμπληρουσθαι το κατα Μαρκον ευαγγελιον, τα δε εφεξης προσθηκην ειναι μεταγενεστεραν. Χρη δε και ταυτην ερμηνευσαι, μεδεν τη αληθεια λυμαινομενους.

> "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."

Arguable evidence from the fathers

Papias (early 2nd CE) records an event about Justus Barsabbas (preserved by Eusebius (Eccl. Hist. 3.39.9):

> καὶ πάλιν ετερον παραδοξον περι Ιουστον τον επικληθεντα Βαρσαββαν γεγονος, ως δηλητηριον φαρμακον εμπιοντος καὶ μηδεν αηδες δια την του κυριου χαριν υπομειναντος.
>
> "For he recounts a resurrection from the dead in his time, and yet another paradox about Justus who was surnamed Barsabbas, as having drunk a deadly poison and yet, through the grace of the Lord, suffered no harm."

Compare Mark 16:18 "they will pick up snakes in their hands, and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will recover."

Philip of Side, in about 435, echoed Eusebius, but he included details which Eusebius did not mention:

> Πάπιας ὁ εἰρημένος ἱστόρησεν ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατερῶν Φιλιππου ὅτι Βαρσαββας ὁ καὶ Ιουστος δοκιμαζομενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἰόν ἐχίδνης πίων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπάτης διεφυλάχθη.
>
> "The aforesaid Papias recorded, on the authority of the daughters of Philip, that Barsabbas, who was also called Justus, drank the poison of a snake in the name of Christ when put to the test by the unbelievers and was protected from all harm. He also records other amazing things, in particular one about Manaim's mother, who was raised from the dead."

It is possible that "drank the poison of a snake in the name of Christ" might be an allusion to Mk 16:17-18:

17 … by using my name … 18 they will pick up snakes in their hands, and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them;

But it also can be completely independent. There is no connection to the Gospel of Mk.

Justin Martyr (2nd CE) wrote in his Apology 1.45:
λόγου τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ὸν ἀπο Ιερουσαλημ
οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ ἐξελθόντες πανταχοῦ ἐξήρυξαν
"...of the strong word which his apostles, having gone out away from Jerusalem, preached everywhere."

Mk 16:20 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχοῦ,

It is possible that Justin is quoting from Mk, but it is not certain. Justin had probably much catechetical material at his disposal. Also extracanonical texts (remember the fire on the Jordan in Mt 3:15 etc.). Perhaps one of these texts contained the phrase. Perhaps from this text the long ending was composed? Who knows?

Tertullian (ca. 200 CE)
There are a few possible allusions to the Longer Ending, but not clear.

Hippolytus (early 3rd CE)
In a work called "Apostolic Tradition", which is often assigned to Hippolytus, a student of Irenaeus, it is written:

> "The faithful shall be careful to partake of the Eucharist before eating anything else. For if they eat with faith, even though some deadly poison is given to them, after this it will not be able to harm them."

This is doubtful evidence. Perhaps this is connected to Mk 16:18 ("drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them"), but this is not clear.

Vincentius of Thibaris (3rd CE):
At the Seventh Council of Carthage in A.D. 256 Vincentius made the following statement:

> "Ite, in nomine meo manum imponite, daemonia expellite."
> Go, in my name lay on hands, expel demons.

The closest parallel to this is:
Mark 16:15 And he said to them, "Go into all the world … 17 … by using my name they will cast out demons; …18 …they will lay their hands on the sick …"
It is certainly possible that this is an allusion to the Long Ending, but it is not sure.

Overall it appears that the longer ending is known (and approved) in the West from early on (possibly already by Justin and Tatian, clearly by Irenaeus, …) The long ending is either unknown or treated as suspect in the East.

Can a book end with γὰρ?

It is possible, but very rare. An aggravating factor is that the book not only ends with γὰρ, but with ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ! Can the "Good News" end with "and they were afraid"? Hardly.
Compare:

- PW van der Horst "Can a book end with γὰρ? A Note on Mk 16:8." JTS 23 (1972) 121-124
- Kelly R. Iverson, "A Further Word on Final Gar" *CBQ* (2005)

General Discussion

Please note that the individual endings are discussed in detail below!

The current majority view along the Aland-Metzger lines argues like this:

1. The earliest evidence for the ending with ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ are the Gospels of Mt and Lk. Both follow Mk up to that point. After it they depart in very different ways. Attempts have been made to extract an ending (e.g. Mt 28:9-10 + possibly 16-20), but these did not gain acceptance.
2. Comments from church fathers and introductory comments in the manuscripts indicate that many manuscripts ended with ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ in earlier times.
3. The origin of the shorter ending is only understandable, if the composer did not know the longer ending.
4. That the shorter ending always comes before the long one, seems to indicate a high respect (or a strong authority) for it. It is probable therefore that it is older than the long one.
5. The evidence indicates the existence of the long ending in the second half of the 2nd CE. So, probably also the short ending is as old as this.

We can only conclude that we don't know what exactly happened. It is probably safe to say that Mark did not want his Gospel to end with ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ. Either the true ending was lost very early for whatever reason, or Mark left it unfinished, perhaps due to severe persecutions. W. Farrer writes: "It may be doubted, however, whether the present known evidence will ever justify categorical judgments on this classical problem of New Testament research."
The additions of the various endings show that the inappropriateness of the Gospel closure with ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ was felt from early on.

Since the two existing endings are independent of one another, it is probable that non has come across the other. This then means that both had a text that originally ended with ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ.

Are the endings canonical?

This is a very difficult question. The NT canon consolidated only in the 5th CE. Perhaps one should add the Longer Ending to the outer circle of the canon (like Hebrews, James, 2. Peter, Jude and Revelation). The canon of the NT is a complex thing. Ultimately textual criticism cannot answer this question.

Textual criticism can only conclude that what we have with the short and long endings are secondary additions, added at a later stage to the Gospel of Mk. But at what stage and by whom we do not know.

Bruce Metzger in his "Canon of the NT" accepts all readings under the 'canonical' category that "emerged during the course of the transmission of the NT documents while apostolic tradition was still a living entity". He concludes then that the endings of Mark fit this description and should be considered canonical.

Abbé Martin suggested 1884 (Introduction a la critique textuelle) that the next ecumenical council should decide this question accordingly.

More discussion below!

Important literature

J.W. Burgeon
"The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to St. Mark"
Oxford, London, 1871

J. Depasse-Livet
"Le probleme de la finale de Marc: Mc 16,8. Etat de la question"
Lic. theol. Leuven, 1970

W.R. Farmer
"The Last Twelve Verses of Mark", Cambridge 1974
[includes photos of the Ad Marinum manuscript]

Joseph Hug
"La finale d'evangile de Marc (Mc 16:9-20), EtB 1978

Kurt Aland
"Der Schluss des Markusevangeliums" in "Neutestamentliche Entwürfe"
Kaiser, München, 1979, p. 246-283

Kurt Aland
"Bemerkungen zum Schluss des Markusevangeliums" in "Neotestamentica et Semitica", T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1983, p. 157-180

Theo Heckel
"Vom Evangelium des Markus zum viergestaltigen Evangelium"
WUNT 120, Mohr, Tuebingen, 1999, pages 33-41, 277-287.

James A. Kelhoffer
"Miracle and Mission: The Authentication of Missionaries and Their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark"
WUNT 112, Mohr, Tuebingen, 2000, 530 pages.
(see also follow-up article on Ad Marinum, ref. below)

Jim Snapp
"The Origin of Mark 16:9-20", private publication, 149 pages
Great work, collecting many minutiae, unfortunately rather one-sided! Available here: http://www.textexcavation.com/snapp/PDF/snapporiginmkupdate.pdf

Other various literature:

- T. Zahn "Einleitung in das NT" 2nd volume, 3rd edition, p. 232-46
- Torkild Skat Rördam "What was the lost end of Mark's Gospel" in Hibbert Journal 3 (1905) 769-90 [argues that Mt 28:9-10 + possibly 16-20 are the ending of Mk. 11-15 is an interpolation.]
- J. Schäfers "Wie alt ist die Notiz 'Ariston ericu" hinter Mk 16:8 in der armenischen Handschrift von Etschmiadzin A.D. 986?" BZ 13 (1915) 24-5
- B.H. Streeter "The Lost end of Mark" in: "The Four Gospels" p. 335-360
- F. Herklotz "Zu Mk 16:9-20" BZ 15 (1926) 149-50
- C.F.D. Moule "St. Mk 16:8 once more" NTS 2 (1955/56) 58-59
- P.E. Kahle "The end of St. Mark's Gospel. – The witnesses of the Coptic versions" JTS 2 (1951) 49-57
- K. Aland "Der widergefundene Markusschluss?" Z. Theol. Kirche 67 (1970) 3-13
- K. Haacker "Bemerkungen zum Freer-Logion" ZNW 63 (1972) 125-29 (compare to this a comment by G. Schwarz ZNW 70 (1979) p. ?)
- H. Paulsen "Mk 16:1-8" NovT 22 (1980) 138-175
- Maurice A. Robinson "The Ending of Mark in Codex Vaticanus: A Feasible Explanation." ETS Regoional Meeting, March 1993
- J.A. Kelhoffer "The witnesses of Eusebius' *ad Marinum* and other Christian writings to text-critical debates concerning the original conclusion of Mark's Gospel." ZNW 92 (2001) 78-112
- J. Frey "Zu Text und Sinn des Freer-Logion" ZNW 93 (2002) 13-34
- N. Clayton Croy "The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel", Abingdon 2003
- M.D. McDill "A Textual and Structural Analysis of Mk 16:9-20" Filologia Neotestamentaria 17 (2004) 27 - 43
- Kelly R. Iverson, "A Further Word on Final Gar" *CBQ* (2005)

TVU 1
Minority reading:

The short ending

πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς [T] ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας. ἀμήν.

"But they reported briefly to Peter and those with him all that they had been told. And after these things Jesus himself sent out through them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation."

Support: L, Ψ, 083, 099, 274^{mg}, 579, L1602, k, Sy-H^{mg}, sa^{mss}, bo^{mss}, aeth^{mss}
Except for k, all these MSS add the longer ending after the short.

[T] ἐφάνη	Ψ, L1602, k
ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς	099, sa^{mss}, bo^{mss}, aeth^{mss}
txt	L, 083, 274^{mg}, arm^{ms}

k, after ἔκστασις, omitting verse 8b:
"Omnia autem quaecumque praecepta erant et (eis?) qui cum puero (Petro?) erant breviter exposuerunt. Post haec et ipse Iesus adparuit, et (eis?) ab orientem usque, usque in orientem (occidentem!), misit per illos sanctam et incorruptam praedicationis (praedicationem!) salutis aeternae, Amen."

Etchmiadzin #303: In "Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version" (JBL 56, 1937, p. 369-386) E.C. Colwell mentions an Armenian MS at Etchmiadzin which contains Mark 16:9-20 at the end of Mark, and the Short Ending at the end of Luke! The short ending reads:

> "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."

Jim Snapp on the TC list (1st April 2003):
"The Armenian E-303 text (which is placed at the end of Luke) agrees with 099 and some Coptic mss. in the inclusion of 'of the sun'.
E-303 disagrees with it-k and Psi and l-1602 (and agrees with 274^{mg}) by not including anything explicit about Jesus' appearance to the disciples. (Thus, it seems, E-303 has the shorter and more difficult variant.)
E-303 also features, in its rendering of the Short Ending, the phrase 'in their hands' -- which is an Alexandrian variant from within the Long Ending (in 16:18 'kai en tais chersin')."

Words unique (in Mk) to the short ending:
συντόμως "briefly"
ἐξαγγέλλω "proclaim, declare, tell"
ἀνατολή "rising, East"
δύσις "West"
ἐξαποστέλλω
ἱερός
ἄφθαρτος "imperishable; immortal"
κήρυγμα "message, proclamation"
σωτηρία "salvation"

Zahn suggested that the space in Vaticanus is enough to take the short ending and that the scribe knew the ending but did not add it for whatever reason. Aland actually agrees with this view ("Der Schluss des Markusevangeliums" in "NT Entwürfe").

It must be noted that the beginning of the shorter ending is in contradiction to the ending of verse 8:

> 16:8 "So they went out and fled from the tomb, for terror and amazement had seized them; and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid."
> "But they reported briefly to Peter and those with him all that they had been told."

In verse 8 we are told that "they said nothing to anyone", but in the shorter ending they reported to Peter and those with him.
For this reason k consequently omitted verse 8b and added the short ending directly after verse 8a. This drastic change points to a very early age, because only in the earliest times such major variations were possible. k is generally known for its peculiar text.

The words ἐφὰνη αὐτοὶς could have been omitted after καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, due to h.t.: ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟCΟΙC̄ЄΦΑΝΗΑΥΤΟΙC. But this is not really probable, because other important witnesses read only ἐφὰνη without αὐτοὶς. The meaning is different without these words:
"And after these things Jesus himself sent out through them …"
"And after these things Jesus himself appeared (to them) and he sent out through them …"
It appears more probable that the word(s) have been added to smooth out the abrupt change.
Note that ἐφὰνη also appears in verse 9 of the long ending:
NA[27] Mark 16:9 Ἀναστὰς δὲ πρωῒ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, …
and ἐφανερώθη appears in 16:12 and 14. It has been suggested that perhaps the word has been borrowed from the long ending.

The formulation τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας has not been found anywhere else in the patristic literature (and Aland/Mink checked this carefully).
Aland (Bemerkungen zum Schluss des Markusevangelium, 1983) further notes the phrase τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον, which should indicate the other apostles. A parallel can be found in Ign. Smyr. 3:2 ὅτε (Jesus) πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν· ἔφε αὐτοῖς ...
and also Lk 9:32 ὁ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ
and: Act 2:14 Πέτρος σὺν τοῖς ἕνδεκα
and Act 5:29 Πέτρος καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι
These are all occurrences in the patristic literature. It appears to be a very old expression, which is probably still possible in the 2nd CE, but not later.

The date of the shorter ending:
Our earliest witness to the shorter ending is the Latin Codex Bobiensis (k), dated to the 4th or 5th CE. Its form of text agrees very closely with the quotations made by St. Cyprian of Carthage (about A.D. 250). According to E.A. Lowe, k shows paleographical marks of having been copied from a second-century papyrus. Thus, the text of k is probably considerably older than k. Unfortunately we do not know at what point of the transmission the ending was created. The scribe of k appears to be very ignorant of Latin, probably a Copt, so it is certain that the ending is *at least* one copy older than k. Zahn assigns the terminus ante quem as the beginning 4th CE and the place to Egypt.

It is normally argued that the short ending must be earlier than the long, since why would anyone use the short ending when the long is known?
Jim Snapp notes though that the short ending could have been created to "round off a lection-unit on a positive note". Its creation could have happened independently of the long ending. Possibly the short ending was a closing remark for a reading of the last part of Mk, which makes sense only if the words are positioned directly after ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. This is in principle possible but it should be noted that in the period of origin of the shorter ending (before the 4th CE) a lectionary system wasn't established.

TVU 2

The long ending

Added by: A, C, D, G, L, W, Δ, Θ, Σ, Ψ, 083, 099, 0211, f13, 33, 579, Maj, L1602, Lat, Sy-C, Sy-P, Sy-H, bo, sa^{mss}, aeth^{mss}, goth, Eus^{mss} (f1 with obeli/text !)

only long ending:	A, C, D, Θ, f13, 33, Maj, Lat, Sy-C, Sy-P, Sy-H, bo, goth, Eus^{mss}
expanded long ending:	W, Hier^{mss}
first short then long ending:	L, Ψ, 083(=0112), 099, 274^{mg}, 579, L1602, Sy-H^{mg}, sa^{mss}, bo^{mss}, aeth^{mss}

099 and L1602 begin the longer ending with verse 8b: εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις· καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν· ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.
It thus appears that the scribe probably copied the longer ending from another exemplar and started at the wrong position. Possibly the words have been repeated for lectionary usage?

9 Ἀναστὰς δὲ πρωῒ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, παρ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια. 10 ἐκείνη πορευθεῖσα ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις πενθοῦσι καὶ κλαίουσιν· 11 κἀκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν. 12 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν περιπατοῦσιν ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ πορευομένοις εἰς ἀγρόν· 13 κἀκεῖνοι ἀπελθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς λοιποῖς· οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπίστευσαν. 14 Ὕστερον [δὲ] ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἕνδεκα ἐφανερώθη καὶ ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγηγερμένον T οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν T W.
15 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει. 16 ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. 17 σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύσασιν ταῦτα παρακολουθήσει· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν **καιναῖς,** 18 **[καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν]** ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψῃ, ἐπὶ ἀρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἕξουσιν. 19 Ὁ μὲν οὖν κύριος Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. 20 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου συνεργοῦντος καὶ τὸν λόγον βεβαιοῦντος διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων.

Wording:

Several typical Markan words (e.g. εὐθὺς or πάλιν) are not present, but to the contrary several non-Markan words appear. The following words in the long ending appear nowhere else in Mk:

Mark 16:10,12,15	πορεύομαι (Mk never uses a participial form, Mt:15, Lk: 16)
Mark 16:10	πενθέω
Mark 16:11,14	θεάομαι
Mark 16:11,16	ἀπιστέω (compare Lk 24:11!)
Mark 16:12	ἕτερος (31 times in Lk!)
Mark 16:12	μορφή (only in Phi 2:6-7)
Mark 16:14	ὕστερος (7 times in Mt!)
Mark 16:14	ἕνδεκα
Mark 16:17	παρακολουθέω (Lk 1:3)
Mark 16:18	ὄφις
Mark 16:18	θανάσιμον ("deadly poison", rare word)
Mark 16:18	βλάπτω ("harm, injure", Lk 4:35, rare)
Mark 16:19	κύριος Ἰησοῦς (compare Lk 24:3)
Mark 16:19	ἀναλαμβάνω
Mark 16:20	συνεργέω (in Paul)
Mark 16:20	βεβαιόω (in Paul)
Mark 16:20	ἐπακολουθέω

Note further that the typical John word πιστεύω (98 times in John!) appears 4 times in the long ending (verses 13, 14, 16, 17), but only 10 times in the rest of Mark's Gospel.

Phrases:

Besides those single words, there are certain phrases, that are unusual:

Mark 16:9 πρώτῃ σαββάτου: in verse 2 Mark is using τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων for that day, which appears to be standard NT usage, compare Mt 28:1, Lk 24:1, Jo 20:1,19.

Mark 16:9 παρ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει

Mark 16:11 ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς

Mark 16:12 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (in the short ending!, twice in Lk, once in Jo)

Mark 16:15 πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει.

Mark 16:18 καὶ καλῶς ἕξουσιν.

Mark 16:19 Ὁ μὲν οὖν

Additionally the use of conjunctions is quite different compared to the rest of the Gospel. E.g. Mark's fondness for καὶ is gone.

Also the absolute use of ἐκεῖνος is unparalleled in Mark's Gospel:
16:10 ἐκείνη
16:11 κἀκεῖνοι
16:13 κἀκεῖνοι
16:20 ἐκεῖνοι
The only other occurrence of this rare usage is in Jo 11:29.

Typical Markan words and phrases

It should be noted that also some distinctly Markan words appear. E.g.
πρωΐ (6 times in Mk, 3 times in Mt, 2 times in Jo)
σκληροκαρδίαν (appears once more in Mk 10:5, taken over by Mt 19:8)
κηρύσσω (14 times in Mk, 9 times in Mt, 9 times in Lk)
τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (8 times in Mk, 4 times in Mt)
κτίσις (only in Mk, 10:6, 13:19)
καινός (5 times in Mk, 4 times in Mt, 3 times in Lk, 2 times in Jo)
ἄρρωστος (two more times in Mk 6:5, 13, once in Mt 14:14)
ἐπιτίθημι (8 times in Mk, 7 times in Mt, 5 times in Lk, 2 times in Jo)
καλῶς (6 times in Mk, 2 times in Mt, 4 times in Lk, 4 times in Jo)
πανταχοῦ (once more in Mk 1:28, else only once in Lk 9:6)

Mk 16:12 and Lk 24:13

NA[27] Mark 16:12 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα **δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν** περιπατοῦσιν ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ πορευομένοις εἰς ἀγρόν·

NA[27] Luke 24:13 Καὶ ἰδοὺ **δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν** ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦσαν πορευόμενοι εἰς κώμην ἀπέχουσαν σταδίους ἑξήκοντα ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ, ᾗ ὄνομα Ἐμμαοῦς,

δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν: This phrase appears only in these two instances in the Bible. A relationship is very probable. It appears possible that 16:12 is a citation from memory of the Lukan story.

Mk 16:18 and Lk 10:19

16:18 may be an allusion to Lk 10:19.
NA[27] Mark 16:18 [καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν] ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψῃ,

NA[27] Luke 10:19 ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσῃ.

Problems of content:

1. What is with the meeting in Galilee, mentioned in 16:7 and 14:28, it is not mentioned in the long ending.
2. The subject in verse 8 are the women, in verse 9 it is Jesus. Also, the women from verses 1-8 are not mentioned anymore.
3. The long ending notes things not mentioned before (e.g. verse 9: παρ᾽ ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια). Maria Magdalene has been mentioned already in verse 16:1, but is identified in verse 9 again.
4. "Now after he rose early on the first day of the week", is a very strange continuation after verses 1-8, especially after ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.

Structure:

> Now after he rose early on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons. 10 She went out and told those who had been with him, while they were mourning and weeping. 11 But when they heard that he was alive and had been seen by her, they would not believe it.
>
> 12 After this he appeared in another form to two of them, as they were walking into the country. 13 And they went back and told the rest, but they did not believe them.
>
> 14 Later he appeared to the eleven themselves as they were sitting at the table; and he upbraided them for their lack of faith and stubbornness, because they had not believed those who saw him after he had risen. 15 And he said to them, "Go into all the world and proclaim the good news to the whole creation. 16 The one who believes and is baptized will be saved; but the one who does not believe will be condemned. 17 And these signs will accompany those who believe: by using my name they will cast out demons; they will speak in new tongues; 18 they will pick up snakes in their hands, and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will recover."
>
> 19 So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven and sat down at the right hand of God. 20 And they went out and proclaimed the good news everywhere, while the Lord worked with them and confirmed the message by the signs that accompanied it.

It appears that the text consists of 4 blocks:

9-11: from Lk 8:2, Jo 20:1 ff.

12-13: from Lk 24:13 ff.

14-18: no Gospel source, Zahn speculates (NT Kanon, p. 938) that perhaps an old homily or teaching of Peter was the source.

19-20: Lk 24:51 ff., Act 1:2,11

Kelhoffer notes that 9-11 have the same triplet structure as 12-13:

- an apparition
- a report
- unbelief

Discussion:

One has to admit that the Long Ending is only awkwardly fitted to the rest of the Gospel and has certain unusual features that distinguish it from the rest.

Due to these problems it has been suggested, and this is likely, that the long ending itself is only a fragment. Probably the passage has been taken from a freestanding text, perhaps a sermon or a catechetical text. Verbal agreements with the other Gospels are so limited that it seems unlikely that other written Gospels have been utilized (as written sources) for its composition. It is more likely that the author composed from memory.

One thing is pretty clear: There was a serious break between writing the Gospel up to verse 16:8 and adding verses 9-20. It is in principle possible that Mark wrote 9-20, or the originally freestanding text. But it is quite certain that it was not he, who added the passage to the Gospel. He would certainly have smoothed out the transition from verse 8 to 9 and adapted the whole thing better.

One must ask: Why did nobody else smooth it out? Like it was done with the short ending in k? I think that it was out of respect for both texts. This points to a relatively late date for its addition. It has been suggested that it was added when the first four-Gospel collections were created. Since Irenaeus and Tatian utilized the ending, the terminus ante quem is the second half of the 2nd CE. This is also generally considered to be the time of the formation and canonization of the four-Gospel canon. Zahn, in his "Geschichte des NT Kanons" (p. 929) thinks that the longer ending was written before 130 CE.

Everything points to Rome for the origin of the ending.

Ariston

In the Armenian MS, Etchmiadzin # 229 (989 CE) the words ARISTON ERITZU "by Ariston" are added in red between the lines before verse 9 (see Metzger "Text", plate 14). It is not clear though, if the words are by the first hand, they could be a later gloss (deduced from Eusebius, HE 3, 39:7). A presbyter Aristion is mentioned by Papias as a contemporary. It could be an old tradition.

On the other hand it is also possible that this gloss refers specifically to what Eusebius writes regarding Papias (Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., 3. 39):

> "Papias, who is now mentioned by us, affirms that he received the sayings of the apostles from those who accompanied them, and he moreover asserts that he heard in person **Aristion** and the presbyter John. Accordingly he mentions them frequently by name, and in his writings gives their traditions. Our notice of these circumstances may not be without its use. It may also be worth while to add to the statements of Papias already given, other passages of his in which he relates some miraculous deeds, stating that he acquired the knowledge of them from tradition. The residence of the Apostle Philip with his daughters in Hierapolis has been mentioned above. We must now point out how 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 relating to Justus, surnamed Barsabas, how he **swallowed a deadly poison, and received no harm**, on account of the grace of the Lord."

It is possible that a scribe remembered this note about the poison, connected it with the name Aristion, and then added this name into the margin of his MS. Another, later, scribe then misinterpreted this and took it to mean that the whole passage belonged to Aristion.

Another Ariston is mentioned in the Acts of Peter as a disciple of Peter and Paul in Rome. Tradition also connects the Gospel of Mk with Rome.

It is general consensus today, though, that this note in the Armenian codex is a secondary attribution.

TVU 3

Minority reading:

NA[27] Mark 16:14 Ὕστερον [δὲ] ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἕνδεκα ἐφανερώθη καὶ ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγηγερμένον [T] οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν.

T&T #191 (1)

[T] ἐκ νεκρῶν — A, C*, (X), Δ, 047, f1, f13, 28, 33, 565, 579, 892, 954, 1241, 1424, 2766, pm[150], Sy-H, Gre, Trg[mg]

txt — C[C], D, G, L, W, Θ, Ψ, 099, Maj[1450], Lat, Sy-P, goth

TVU 4
Minority reading:

The Freer-Logion

NA[27] Mark 16:14 Ὕστερον [δὲ] ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἕνδεκα ἐφανερώθη καὶ ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγηγερμένον οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν [T].

T&T #191 (2)

W, (Jerome):
[T] κακεινοι απελογουντε(-ο?) λεγοντες οτι ο αιων ουτος της ανομιας και της απιστιας υπο τον σαταναν εστιν, ο μη εων τα (τον μη εωντα?) υπο των πνευματων ακαθαρτα(-ων?) την αληθειαν του θεου καταλαβεσθαι (και? vl αληθινην pro αληθειαν) δυναμιν·
δια τουτο αποκαλυψον σου την δικαιοσυνην ηδη, εκεινοι ελεγον τω χριστω.
και ο χριστος εκεινοις προσελεγεν οτι πεπληρωται ο ορος των ετων της εξουσιας του σατανα, ἀλλὰ εγγιζει ἄλλα δεινα·
και υπερ ων εγω αμαρτησαντων παρεδοθην εις θανατον ινα υποστρεψωσιν εις την αληθειαν και μηκετι αμαρτησωσιν ινα την εν τω ουρανω πνευματικην και αφθαρτον της δικαιοσυνης δοξαν κληρονομησωσιν.

"And they excused themselves, saying, 'This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow the truth and power of God to prevail over the unclean things of the spirits [or: does not allow what lies under the unclean spirits to understand the truth and power of God].
Therefore reveal your righteousness now' - thus they spoke to Christ.
And Christ replied to them, 'The term of years of Satan's power has been fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near.
And for those who have sinned I was handed over to death, that they may return to the truth and sin no more, in order that they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness that is in heaven.' "

Jerome (Against Pelagius 2:15):
"In quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in Graecis codicibus iuxta Marcum in fine eius evangelii scribitur:"
"In some exemplars and especially in Greek manuscripts of Mark in the end of his Gospel is written: Afterwards when the eleven had sat down at table, Jesus appeared to them and rebuked their unbelief and hardness of heart because they had not believed those who saw him risen.
And they justified themselves saying that this age of iniquity and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow the truth and power of God to be grasped by unclean spirits. Therefore reveal your righteousness now."

Goodspeed proposes an interesting connection between Jerome and Codex W: In 1906 a large deposit of MSS has been found in a walled in closet in the White Monastery, near Akhmim. Goodspeed proposes that Codex W also comes from this deposit, it appeared on the market in 1906, too. Goodspeed then connects the Freer MSS with similar ones from the Nitrian desert, and makes it probable that this is their place of origin. Now Jerome was in Egypt in 386 CE and visited Nitrian monasteries. Since Jerome is our only other witness for the expanded reading in Mk 16:14, it could be that Jerome saw it in "either the parent MS from which the Freer Gospels were copied, or a sister MS copied from that parent. … It seems not improbable that it was one of the textual gleanings of Jerome's Nitrian pilgrimage."
Interesting speculation, but we have no proof for this, not even for the provenance of codex W. The latest treatment (Kent D. Clarke in "The Freer Biblical MSS", SBL 2006) didn't find any conclusive evidence, but suggests Dimai in the Fayoum as the most probable place.

Zahn notes how well the passage fits into the context and speculates that either this passage was originally a part of the longer ending or that someone familiar with the original source of the longer ending added this passage from there.

Compare:

- E.J. Goodspeed "The Freer Gospels and Shenute of Atripe" The Biblical World 33 (1909) 201-6
- E.J. Goodspeed "Notes on the Freer Gospels" The American Journal of Theology 13 (1909) 597-603
- K. Haacker "Bemerkungen zum Freer-Logion" ZNW 63 (1972) 125-29 (compare to this a comment by G. Schwarz ZNW 70 (1979) p. ?)
- J. Frey "Zu Text und Sinn des Freer-Logion" ZNW 93 (2002) 13-34

TVU 5

Minority reading:

NA^{27} Mark 16:17 σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύσασιν ταῦτα παρακολουθήσει· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν **καιναῖς,**

omit: C*, L, Δ, Ψ, pc, Co, WH, Trg

omit γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς 099

txt A, C^{C2}, D^{S}, W, Θ, f1, f13, 33, Maj,
Latt, Sy, goth, WH^{mg}, **NA^{25}**, Gre, Trg^{mg}, Bal

Compare:

NA^{27} Mark 16:18 [καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν] ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν
omit: A, D, W, Θ, f13, Maj, Latt, Sy-P

Almost the same witnesses that have καιναῖς in verse 17 omit καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν in verse 18. Possibly some kind of homoioarcton (KAI... - KAI...).
It is also possible that γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν is an idiom ("speaking in tongues"), compare 1.Co 12:30, 14:6+18, with καιναῖς being superfluous or distracting.

Jim Snapp suggests that the reading of 099 originates from an exemplar that had the C*, L reading (= omitting καιναῖς) and the scribe omitted γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν due to h.t. ουσιν – ουσιν.

TVU 6

NA[27] Mark 16:18 **[καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν]** ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψῃ, ἐπὶ ἀρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἕξουσιν.

T&T #194

omit: A, D, W, Θ, f13, Maj[1570], Latt, Sy-P, goth, **NA[25]**, Gre, Bal
WH, Trg[mg] have the words in brackets

txt C, L, X, Δ, Ψ, 099, f1, 22, 33, 517, 565, 579, 892, 1424, 1675, pc[18],
Sy-C, Sy-H, Trg

Compare previous variant.

If one takes both variants together we get the following:
ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν
txt C^{c2}, M^{c}, X, f1, 33, 565, 579, 892, 1424, pc

ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν _____ καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν
C*, L, Δ, Ψ, pc

ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς _____ ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν
A, D, W, Θ, f13, Maj

It is possible that the words have been omitted, because we have here a list. But then, it would only be necessary to omit the καὶ, to maintain the enumeration style.
It is also possible that the words have been added to make clear that καιναῖς belongs to γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν and not to ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν.