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On the Alternative Ending of St. Mark's Gospel.

PROF. J. RENDEL HARRIS.

CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

THE interest which has been recently revived in the question of the genuineness of the closing verses of St. Mark by Mr. Conybeare's discovery of an Armenian text which ascribes them to Ariston the presbyter, leads me to think that a fresh scrap of evidence with regard to the alternative ending of the Gospel may not be unacceptable to the readers of the *JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE*. Slight as the evidence is, and inadequate of itself to decide the question of the origins, geographical and historical, of this strange and awkward supplement, it is yet possible that it may be capable of combination with other results of investigation from which unitedly the problem may one day be solved.

When I first visited the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai in the year 1889, I had the pleasure of finding amongst a mass of loose leaves and fragments of early MSS. part of an ancient text of the latter part of St. Mark's Gospel. The hand was a looped uncial, with strong Coptic characteristics, not unlike that of the famous Codex Marchalianus of the Prophets. On account of its resemblance to this MS., as well as for other signs of antiquity, I assigned the copy to the seventh century.

The text, so far as I was able to transcribe it (for the fragments were in part folded and compacted together, as if they had been used in the binding of some other book), was published by me in *Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai*, as No. 12 of that collection. The portions printed comprised, roughly speaking, Mark xiv. 29-45, on the recto and verso of one leaf; Mark xv. 27-43, on the recto and verso of a second leaf; and Mark xv. 45-xvi. 5, on the recto of a third leaf. It will be noticed that the portions copied are only three verses removed from the place of the disputed ending of the Gospel. I was not, however, able to find any further traces of the text at that time.

What was recovered, however, was valuable, for it was clear that the text was closely allied to that of certain of the great uncials. I showed my transcript to Dr. Hort, with the remark that the text was comparable with that of the Codex Sinaiticus. His examination of the fragments, however, led him to remark that he thought it would be more accurate to compare them with Codex L (the Paris uncial which contains the double ending of St. Mark). We shall see presently how accurately he had divined the true character of the MS.

The matter rested at this point, for lack of further access to the MS., until the spring of the present year, 1893, when I made my second visit to Mount Sinai, in order to assist Mrs. Lewis in the decipherment of her discovered old Syriac Gospels. This furnished me with the opportunity of examining the compacted leaves more closely. The vellum was of remarkable delicacy and tenuity, but so fragile that an attempt to disintegrate the leaves threatened to do harm to the fragments. Accordingly I abandoned the idea of separating the parts which had been glued together ; but found that the effort at separation was unnecessary, inasmuch as the thinness of the vellum was such that the greater part of the concealed writing could be read by holding the leaves up to the sunlight. When this was done the closing verses of St. Mark came to light, not in the common form, nor in the curtate form of Codd. \aleph B, but in the form of *the short text with double appendix*, such as is found in Codex L.












Under these circumstances it may be as well to reprint the text of the fragment, as edited in the *Sinai Fragments*, together with the additional decipherment. For the convenience of students, therefore, I transcribe the whole afresh.

FOL. I, RECTO.

| COL. 1. | COL. 2. |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| ΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΣΘΗCΩ | ΚΑΙΪΑΚΩΒΟΝ |
| ΤΑΙ·ΑΛΛΟΥΚΕΓΩ | ΚΑΙΪΩΑΝΝΗΝ |
| ΚΑΙΛΕΓΕΙΑΥΤΩΟΙC | ΜΕΘΕΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙ |
| ΑΜΗΝΛΕΓΩCΟΙ | ΗΡΞΑΤΟΕΚΘΑΜΒΕΙ |
| 5 ΟΤΙCΥΧΗΜΕΡΟΝΤΑΥ | CΘΑΙΚΑΙΑΔΗΜΟΝΕΪ |
| ΤΗΝΥΚΤΙΠΡΗΝΗ | ΡΟΔ ΚΑΙΛΕΓΕΙΑΥΤΟΙC |
| ΔΙCΑΛΕΚΤΟΡΑΦΩ | Δ ΠΕΡΙΛΥΠΟCΕCΤΙΝ |
| ΝΗCΑΙ ΤΡΕΙCΜΕ | ΗΥΥΧΗΜΟΥΕΩCΘΑΝΑ |
| ΑΠΑΡΝΗCΗ | ΤΟΥΜΙΝΑΤΕΩΔΕ |
| 10 ΟΔΕΕΚΠΕΡΙCCΩC | ΚΑΙΓΡΗΓΟΡΕΙΤΕΜΕ |
| ΕΛΛΕΙΕΑΝΔΕΗΜΕ | ΤΕΜΟΥ |
| CΥΝCΟΙΑΠΘΑΝΕΪ | ΡΟΕ ΚΑΙΠΡΟΕΛΘΩΝΜΙΚΡΩ |
| ΟΥΜΗCΕΑΠΑΡΝΗ | Α ΕΠΙΤΙΠΤΕΝΕΠΙτης γης |
| CΩΜΑΙ ΩCΑΥΤΩC | ΚΑΙΠΡΟCΗΥΧΕΤο |
| 15 ΔΕΚΑΙΤΑΝΤΕC | ΙΝΑΕΙΔΥΝατον εστιν |
| <i>ελεγον</i> | ΠΑΡΕΛθη απ αυτου |
| <i>και ερχονται ειCΧΩ</i> | ΗΩΡΑ και ελεγεν |
| <i>ριον ου το ονοΜα</i> | ΑΒΒΑΟΨΗΡ παντα |
| <i>γηCΗΜΑΝΙΚΑΙΛΕ</i> | ΡΟC ΔΥΝΑΤΑCΟΙ παρε |
| 20 <i>γει</i> ΤΟΙCΜΑΘΗΤΑΙC | Ι ΝΕΓΚΕΤΟΠΟΤηριον |
| ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΙCΑΤΕ | ΤΟΥΤΟΑΠΕμου αλλ ου |
| ΩΔΕΕΩCΤΠΡΟCΕΥ | ΤΙΕΓΩΘΕΛΩΑλλα |
| ΞΩΜΑΙ | ΤΙCΥ |
| <i>και ΠΑΡΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ</i> | ΡΟZ ΚΑΙΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ και ευρι |
| 25 ΤΟΝΠΕΤΡΟΝ | Β CΚΕΙΑΥΤΟΥC |

Mark xiv. 29-37.

FOL. 1, VERSO.

| | COL. 1. | | COL. 2. |
|-----|---|-----|---------------------|
| | ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΤΩ ΠΕΤΡΩ | | ΑΠΕΧΕΙ ΗΛΘΕΝ Η ΨΑ |
| | ΣΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΘΕΥΔΕΙΣ | | ΪΔΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΤΑΙ |
| | ΟΥΚ ἸΣΧΥΣΑ ΣΜΙΑΝ | | ΟΥ ἸΟΣ ΤΟΥ ἈΝΘΥΕΙΣ |
| | ΨΡΑΝ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΗ ΣΑΙ | | ΤΑΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡ |
| 5 | ΓΡΗΓΟΡΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΙ | | ΤΩ ΛΩΝΕ ΓΕΙΡΕ ΣΘΕ |
| | ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΕΣΘΕ ἸΝΑ | ΡΤΒ | ΑΓΩ ΜΕΝΙΔΟΥ ΟΤΤΑ |
| | ΜΗΙΣ ΕΛΘΗΤΕ ΕΙΣ | Α | ΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ ΣΜΕΝ ΓΙΚΕ |
| ΡΟΗ | ΠΕΙΡΑΣ ΜΟΝΤΟΜΕ | | ΚΑΙ ΕΥΘΥΣΕΤΙΑ ΤΟΥ |
| Δ | ΠΝΑ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΝ | | ΛΛΟΥΝΤΟ ΣΤΑΡΑ |
| 10 | Η ΔΕ ΣΑΡΖ' ΑΣΘΕΝΗΣ | | ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ ἸΟΥΔΑΣ ΕΙΣ |
| ΡΘ | ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΠΕΛΘΩ | | ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΚΑΙ |
| Σ | ΠΡΟΧΥΖΑΤΟ ΤΟΝ | | ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΧΛΟΣ |
| | αυτ' ΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΕΙΠΩ | | ΜΕΤΑ ΜΑΧΑΙΡΩΝ |
| | και ΠΑΛΙΝ ΕΛΘΩΝ | | ΚΑΙ ΖΥΛΩΝ ΤΑΡΑ |
| 15 |  | | ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΝ |
| |  | | ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΝ |
| |  | | ΚΑΙ πρεσβυτερων |
| |  | ΡΤΒ | ΔΕ ΔΩκει δε ο παρα |
| |  | Β | ΔΙΔΟΥ ΣΑΥΤΟΝ συσ |
| 20 |  | | σημον ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΛΕΓων |
| |  | | ον αν ΦΙΛΗΣΩ ΑΥ |
| |  | | ΤΟ ΣΕ ΤΙΝ ΚΡΑΤΗ |
| |  | | ΣΑΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ Α |
| |  | | ΠΑΓετε ΑΣΦΑΛΩΣ |
| 25 |  | | ΚΑΙ ΕΛΘων ευθυσ |

Mark xiv. 37-45.

FOL. 2, RECTO.

| | COL. 1. | | COL. 2. |
|-----|--------------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| | ΕΝΑΕΚΔΕΞΙΩΝ | | ΩΩΑΙΟΧ̄ΟΒΑCΙ |
| | ΚΑΙΕΝΑΕΞΕΥΩΝΥ | | ΛΕΥCΙΗΛ̄ · ΚΑΤΑΒΑ |
| | ΜΩΝΑΥΤΟΥ | | ΤΩΝΥΝΑΠΟΤΟΥCΤ ^{av} |
| CIS | ΚΑΙΕΠΛΗΡΩΘΗ | | ΡΟΥΪΝΑΕΙΔΩΜΕΝ |
| H | 5 ΗΓΡΑΦΗΛΕΓΟΥCΑ | | ΚΑΙΤΙCΤΕΥCΩΜΕ̄ |
| > | ΚΑΙΜΕΤΑΑΝΟΜΩ̄ | CIO | ΚΑΙΟΙCΥΝΕCΤΑΥΡΩ |
| > | ΕΛΟΓΙCΘΗ | Δ | ΜΕΝΟΙCΥΝΑΥΤΩ |
| CIZ | ΚΑΙΟΙΠΑΡΑΠΟΡΕΥΟ | | ΩΝΕΙΔΙΖΟΝΑΥΤΩ̄ |
| S | ΜΕΝΟΙΕΒΛΑCΦΗ | CK | ΚΑΙΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗCΩΡΑ ^σ |
| 10 | ΜΟΥΝΑΥΤΟΝΚΙΝΟῩ | B | ΕΚΤΗCCKΟΤΟCΕΓΕ |
| | ΤΕCΤΑCΚΕΦΑΛΑCΑΥ | | ΝΕΤΟΕΦΟΛΗΝΤΗΝ |
| | ΤΩΝΚΑΙΛΕΓΟΝΤΕC | | ΓΗΝΕΩCΩΡΑC |
| | ΟΥΑΟΚΑΤΑΛΥΩ̄ | | ΕΝΑΤΗC |
| | ΤΟΝΝΑΟΝΚΑΙΟΙΚΟ | CKA | ΚΑΙΤΗΕΝΑΤΗΩ ^{ρα} |
| 15 | ΔΟΜΩΝΕΝΤΡΙCΙΝ | S | ΕΒΟΗCΕΝΟΙC̄ΦΩ ^{νη} |
| | ΗΜΕΡΑΙCΩCΩΝ | | ΜΕΓΑΛΗΕΛΩΙΕ ^{λω} |
| | CΕΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΒΑC | | ΛΕΜΑΖΑΒΑ ^{θαν} |
| | ΑΠΟΤΟΥCΤΑΥΡΟΥ | | ΟΕCΤΙΝΜΕΘΕΡΜΗ |
| CIH | ΟΜΟΙΩCΚΑΙΟΙΑΡΧΙ | | ΝΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΝΟΘ̄C |
| B | 20 ΕΡΕΙCΕΜΠΕΖΟΝΤΕC | | ΟΘ̄CΜΟΥΕΙCΤΙΕΓΚα |
| | ΠΡΟCΑΛΛΗΛΟΥC | | ΤΕΛΕΙΠΕCΜε |
| | ΜΕΤΑΤΩΝΓΡΑΜ | | ΚΑΙΤΙΝΕCΤ ^{ων} πα |
| | ΜΑΤΕΩΝΕΛΕΓΟΝ | | ΡΕCΤΗΚΟΤ ^{ων} ακου |
| | ΑΛΛΟΥCΕCΩCΕΝ | | CΑΝΤΕCΕΛεγον ιδου |
| 25 | ΕΑΥΤΟΝΟΥΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ | | ΗΛΙΑΝΦ ^{ωνει} |

Mark xv. 27-35.

FOL. 2, VERSO.

COL. 1.

ΔΡΑΜΩΝΔΕΤΙΣΚΑΙ
 ΓΕΜΙΣΑCCTΠΟΓΓΟΝ
 ΟΞΟΥCΠΕΡΙΘΕΙCΚΑΛΑ
 ΜΩΕΠΠΟΤΙΖΕΝΑΥΤῸ
 5 ΛΕΓΩΝΑΦΕΤΕΪΔΩ
 ΜΕΝΕΙΕΡΧΕΤΑΙΗΛΙ
 ΑCΚΑΘΕΛΕΙΝΑΥΤΟΝ
 ΟΔΕΤ̄CΑΦΕΙCΦΩΝῆ
 ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝΕΞΕΠΝΕΥCΕ̄
 10 ΚΑΙΤΟΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑ
 CΜΑΤΟΥΝΑΟΥΕCΧΙCΘΗ
 ΕΙCΔΥΟΑΠΑΝΩΘΕ̄
 ΕΩCΚΑΤΩ
 ΔΩΝΔΕΟΚΕΝΤΥΡΙῶ
 15 ΟΠΑΡΕCΤΗΚΩCΕΞΕ
ναντίας ΑΥΤΟΥΟΤΙ
ουτως ΕΞΕΠΝΕΥCΕΝ
 ΕΙΠΕΝΑΛΛΗΘΩC
ουτος ΥCΘΥΗ
 20 ΗCΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙ
κες ΑΠΟ ΜΑΚΡΟΘΕΝ
 ΘΕΩΡΟΥCΑΙ ΕΝΑΙC
και ΜΑΡΙΑ ΗΜΑ
γδαληνη ΚΑΙΜΑ
 25 ρΙΑ Η ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥΤΟΥ

COL. 2.

ΜΙΚΡΟΥΚΑΙΙΩCΗ
 ΤΟCΜ̄ΗΡ̄ΚΑΙCΑΛΛΩΜΗ
 ΑΙΟΤΕΗΝΕΝΤΗΓΑΛΙ
 ΛΑΙΑΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΟΥΝ
 ΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΔΙΗΚΟ
 ΝΟΥΝΑΥΤΩΚΑΙ
 ΑΛΛΑΙΠΟΛΛΑΙΑΙ
 CΥΝΑΝΑΒΑCΑΙΑΥΤΩ
 ΕΙCΙΕΡΟCΟΛΥΜΑ
 CΚΖ ΚΑΙΗΔΗΟΥΙΑCΓΕΝΟ
^Α ΜΕΝΗCΕΠΙΗΝ
 ΠΑΡΑCΚΕΥΗΟΕCΤΙ
 ΠΡΟCΑΒΒΑΤΟΝΕΛΘῶ
 ΙΩCΗΦΑΤΠΟΑΡΙ
 ΜΑΘΑΙΑCΕΥCΧΗΜῶ
 ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗCΟCΚΑΙ
 ΑΥΤΟCΗΝΠΡΟCΔΕ
 ΧΟΜΕΝΟCΤΗΝΒΑCΙ
 ΛΕΙΑΝΤΟΥΘΥΤΟΛ
 ΜΗCΑCΕΙCΗΛθεν
 ΠΡΟCΤΠΙΛΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΗΤΗCΑΤΟ ΤΟ CΩΜΑ
 ΤΟΥΙΥ
 ὍΔΕΠΙΛΑΤΟC ΕΘΑΝ
 ΜΑCΕΝΕ̄

Mark xv. 36-44.

FOL. 3, VERSO.

COL. 1.

ιδε ο τοπος οΠΟΥ
 εθηκαν αυΤΟΝ
 αλλα υπαγεΤΕΕΙΠΑ
 τε τοις μαΗΤΑΙΣΑΥ
 5 του και τΩΠΕΤΡΩ
 οτι προαγΕΙΥΜΑΣ
 εις την γαΛΙΛΑΙΑΝ
 εκει αυτοΝΟΥΕΣΘΕ
 καθως ειΠΕΝΥΜΙ
 10 και εξελθοΥΣΑΙΕΦΥ
 γον απο τΟΥΜΝΗ
 μειου ειχεΝΓΑΡΑΥ
 τας τρομοСΚΑΙΕΚ
 στασις και ΟΥΔΕΝ
 15 ι ουδεν ειΠΟΝΕΦΟ
 βουντο γΑΡ
 εναγγεΛΙΟΝ
 20 κατα μαΡΚΟΝ

COL. 2.

ΤΑΥΤΑΚΑΙΑΥΤΟС
 ἸΣΑΠΟΑΝΑΤΟΛΗС
 ΑΧΡΙΔΥСΕΩСΕЗА
 ΠЕСΤΕΙΛΕΝΔΙΑΥ
 ΤΩΝΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΚΑΙ
 ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΝΚΗΡΥ
 ΓΜΑΤΗСΑΙΩΝΙΟΥ
 СΩΤΗΡΙΑСΑΜΗΝ
 ΕСΤΙΝΔΕΚΑΙΤΑΥΤΑ¹
 ΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΑΜΕΤΑ
 ΤΟΕΦΟΒΟΥΝΤΟΓΑΡ
 ΑΝΑΣΤΑСΔΕΤΡΩΙ
 ΠΡΩΤΗСΑΒΒΑΤΟΥ
 ΕΦΑΝΗΤΡΩΤΟΝ
 ΜΑΡΙΑΤΗΜΑΓΔΑ
 ΛΗΝΗΤΑΡΗС
 ΕΚΒΕΒΛΗΚΕΙΤΤΑ
 ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΕΚΕΙΝΗ
 ΠΟΡΕΥΘΑΤΤΗГ
 ΓΕΙΛΕΝΜΕ

Mark xvi. 6-fin.

It will be seen that the agreement of the appended matter with the text of Codex L, both as regards the contents and the order of arrangement of the supplements, is very decided. Nor is it unworthy of notice that Codex L has been suspected to have an Egyptian origin, as we have inferred for our fragment from the style of the handwriting and the place of its discovery.

No direct light is, however, thrown upon the origin of the two supplements by the Sinai fragments.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

¹ The next three lines are in a smaller character.