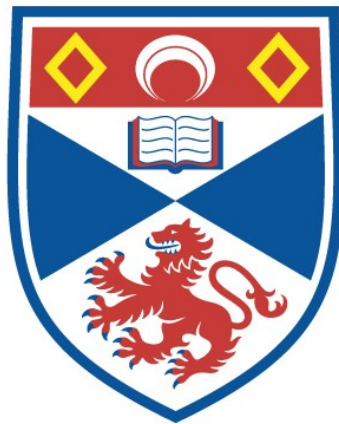


**"WESTERN NON-INTERPOLATIONS" AND RELATED  
PHENOMENA IN THE GOSPELS**

**Volume II**

**John Philipose**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



**1975**

**Full metadata for this item is available in  
St Andrews Research Repository  
at:**

**<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>**

**Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:**

**<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/11063>**

**This item is protected by original copyright**

'WESTERN NON-INTERPOLATIONS'

AND RELATED PHENOMENA

IN THE GOSPELS

by

JOHN PHILIPOSE

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Ph.D

in the Department of Divinity, St. Mary's College,

University of St. Andrews, Scotland, March 1975





## **IMAGING SERVICES NORTH**

Boston Spa, Wetherby  
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ  
[www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)

**PAGE NUMBERING AS  
ORIGINAL**

Category III: THE 'GREATER INTERPOLATIONS'

a. Mt 16:2b-3: The Face of the Sky

Disputed words: [ὄψις γενομένης λέγετε, Εὐδία,  
πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός· καὶ πρῶτ', Σήμερον χειμῶν,  
πυρράζει γὰρ στουγνάζων ὁ οὐρανός· τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον  
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γινώσκετε διακρίνειν, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα  
τῶν καιρῶν οὐ δύνασθε]

External Evidence:

ὄψις γενομένης...οὐ δύνασθε. C D K L W Δ Θ Π ρ 33  
565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646  
2148 2174 Byz Lect 1<sup>50m</sup> (1<sup>85</sup>, 211, 333, 950 δύνασθε γινῶναι) it<sup>a</sup>, aur, b, c, d, e, f, g<sup>1, 2</sup>, h<sup>1, 1, 1, 1</sup>  
vg syr<sup>p, h</sup> cop<sup>bo<sup>m</sup>, ss</sup> eth geo Diatessaron Theophilus Apostolic Canons Juven-  
cus Eusebius Hilary Chrysostom Euthalius // include ὄψις...οὐρανός with  
obeli 1<sup>84</sup> // omit N B X f<sup>13</sup> 1216 syr<sup>c, s</sup> cop<sup>sa, bo<sup>m</sup>, ss</sup> arm Origen mss<sup>acc.</sup> to Jerome

Observations

(i) The witnesses supporting the deletion of these sentences, though fewer in number, are impressive indeed because of their 'authority' and the range of their representation.

(ii) On the other hand, the majority of 'Western' witnesses and some of the best minuscules (33, 700, 1241, 1242 etc.) support the long reading. It is not then surprising that scholarly opinion is divided in evaluating these mutually opposing attestations. Scrivener comments thus: "The united testimony of N B and Syr<sup>c</sup> suffices to show that the omission was current as early as the



second century; the accordance of C D G L, of all the Latins and the Peshitta, with the mass of later codices assures us that the words were extant at the same early date"<sup>1</sup>. V. Taylor, however, observes: "This passage is clearly an addition to the text of Mt. as its omission by the texts of Alexandria and Antioch, by some of the authorities of the Caesarean text, and by Origen indicates"<sup>2</sup>.

(iii) Jerome's treatment of the verses is interesting: although he was aware of their absence in some MSS of his day, he found it justifiable to include them in the Vulgate on the authority of other evidence<sup>3</sup>.

Thus the External Evidence does not help arrive at a confident decision either for or against the reading.

### Internal Evidence

#### Transcriptional Probability

##### (i) Possibilities of Insertion

(a) Scholars such as J. Weiss<sup>4</sup>, McNeile<sup>5</sup>, Allen<sup>6</sup> and Bonnard<sup>7</sup> regard the passage either as a direct imitation of Lk 12:54-56 or a gloss modelled on that Lukan parallel.

This theory is in opposition to that

held by Blass<sup>8</sup>, Streeter<sup>9</sup> et al who rightly point to the dissimilarity of the two passages.

(b) Some hold the view that although the words in question reflect a genuine utterance of our Lord, they were not part of the First Gospel and that they must have got into an ancestor of the 'Western' family at a very early date from an external source. Hort writes: "They can hardly have been an altered repetition of the parallel Lc. xii 54,55 but were apparently derived from an extraneous source, written or oral, and inserted in the Western text at a very early time"<sup>10</sup>. Streeter treats these words on a par with the 'Western' addition at Mt 20:28 (cf. Lk 14:8f) (on taking the best seats at banquets) on the basis of MS evidence and asserts: "Probably they are excerpts from the primitive discourse document of the local Church in which the interpolator worked"<sup>11</sup>.

It is true that even the undisputed text of Mt bears some evidence of such possible accretions which have become sacrosanct due to their very early entry into the book: E.g. the  $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho$  in the fish's mouth (17:27); the seemingly apocryphal events associated with the death of Jesus (27:52f). Although the early Church was

vigilant enough not to canonize the apocryphal Gospels and Epistles, these two passages are certainly in antithesis to the spirit of the simple and unexaggerated narratives of the Gospels as a whole. Since the existence of a floating tradition parallel to the Gospel accounts in the earliest centuries has become axiomatic in Textual Criticism, instances such as Mt 16:2ff could possibly be viewed from that perspective. However, we shall discover from the Intrinsic Probability that this passage has a claim to originality.

(c) Scrivener suggests the possibility of two recensions of the text of Mt as a contributory factor for the present reading:<sup>12</sup> "If one shall deem this a case best explained by the existence of separate recensions of the same work...he may find much encouragement for his conjecture by considering certain passages in the latter part of St. Luke's Gospel, where the same sort of omissions, supported by a class of authorities quite different from those we have to deal with here, occur too often to be merely accidental".

This hypothesis is based on the two-recension theory of Blass for Lk which has found very little acceptance among scholars, and which

stands rejected in this thesis: nor has any one made a convincing case for such a possibility in Mt. Further, since the authorities supporting the omission are different at the close of Lk and here, the two sets of readings cannot have arisen due to the same cause.

### Possibilities of Omission

The usual factors that contribute to many an omission such as homoeoteleuton/homoeoarcton or the offensive nature of the passage are out of the question here. Hort concludes that "Both documentary evidence and the impossibility of accounting for the omission, prove these words to be no part of the text of Matthew"<sup>13</sup>. However, other scholars have proposed different explanations for their absence:

(a) B. Weiss says: "V.2 und 3 fehlen zwar  $\delta$ B  $\gamma$ Mjsc., sind aber wahrscheinlich nur in Reminiscenz an Matth. xii, 39 oder Mark. viii, 11 weggelassen"<sup>14</sup>.

His explanation, however, is not tenable because, as we shall see below, the two passages have as many differences as there are similarities even in respect of the non-disputed section, 16:1,4.

(b) Scrivener is of the opinion that the omission was effected by copyists in countries such as Egypt where a red sky in the morning does not announce rain<sup>15</sup>.

This seems to be the only plausible explanation for the short reading. If this is acceptable, it is a rare case where genuine scribal discretion has operated behind the suppression of a passage. The main difficulty with this solution, however, is that it does not satisfactorily explain the wide diffusion of the text without these verses.

(c) Torrey has an apparently ingenious explanation: He cites this passage as an illustration of "both conflation of the gospel text and a typical copyist's oversight...". According to him, the expanded reading came about in two stages:

Stage 1 : interpolation of 4a from Mt 12:39 took place;

Stage 2 : a later copyist felt that Jesus' rebuke beginning at 'An evil...generation' should never be omitted in contexts like this, and so inserted it in the text immediately after 'He answered and said to them'; but in the meanwhile he overlooked the rest of v.2 and the whole of v.3.

Torrey supposes that the accident happened at so early a date as to account for the absence of these passages from the earliest MSS<sup>16</sup>.

No doubt, this is a very neat solution despite the fact that it brings in a new type of accidental omission involving a fairly long passage. However, it is based on the questionable assumption that Matthew's Gospel does not allow of doublets and that if a doublet occurs there must be a scribal manipulation behind it. We discussed the problem of the doublets in Mt with special reference to 9:34 and established a strong case for such re-duplication in Mt. Our rejection of 9:34 was based not on the fact that it is repeated at 12:24, but on the realization that it is out of tune with the theme of that section. But here, a strong case for ascribing the creation of a doublet to the author exists already in the undisputed part, 1-2a.

#### Intrinsic Probability

It is important for our purpose to make a comparative study of all the Synoptic references to the demand for a sign from heaven made by the opponents of Jesus.

Mk 8:11ff

Venue: territory of Dalmanutha (v.10). Pharisees begin to argue with Jesus and ask of Him a sign from heaven in order to test Him. Jesus' rebuke of 'this generation' for their expression of unbelief is accompanied by anguish: no sign shall be given. Finally He sets sail to the other side of Lake Galilee.

Mt 12:38ff

Venue: unspecified, but obviously somewhere in the district of Galilee. Teachers of the Law and Pharisees ask of Him a sign. No mention of their evil design. Jesus' rebuke of 'An evil and adulterous generation' (anguish not mentioned): no sign shall be given except the sign of prophet Jonah. Jesus contrasts His contemporaries with Ninevites and Queen of South. His departure not mentioned.

Mt 16:1-4

Venue: territory of Magadan (15:39). Pharisees and Sadducees ask of Him a sign from heaven in order to test Him; Jesus' reply combines part of Lk 11:29 + the whole of 12:54-56 in the reverse order: (a) their inability to read the signs of

the times in contrast to their skill in reading the face of the sky (the appellation 'hypocrites' left out); (b) rebuke of 'An evil and adulterous generation': no sign shall be given except the sign of Jonah. Departure mentioned without destination (cf. v.5).

Lk 11:16

Venue: unspecified; probably Galilee (cf. 10:38ff - Bethany! But 13:31 shows Herod's territory; cf. 13:10 - synagogue). Some of the crowd ask of Him a sign from heaven in order to test Him.

Context: Beelzebul controversy with the crowd (contrast Mk 3:22; Mt 12:24). Jesus' reply is directed against the accusation, not the demand.

Lk 11:29f

Reply to the demand for a sign (11:6) is placed in a general context: rebuke of 'this generation' which is 'an evil generation': no sign shall be given except the sign of Jonah. Jesus contrasts His contemporaries with Queen of South and Ninevites in that order. Departure not mentioned either here or in either of the other two Lukan contexts.



Lk 12:54-56

Rebuke of the people ('Hypocrites! ') about their inability to read the signs of the times in contrast to their skill in reading the face of the sky is placed in a general context.

The following points emerge from this tabulation; If the beginning and end of the various pericopes is any guide, it is clear that the incident in Mk 8:11ff is the same as that in Mt 16:1ff (assuming that Dalmanutha = Magadan). Matthew's addition of 'the Sadducees' as well as the other deviations in the rest of the pericope shows that he had access to a source other than Mk. Luke had also availed himself of the same two sources; but his treatment of his material is quite in keeping with the kind of editorial freedom which he has exhibited elsewhere (cf. the Sermon on the Plain).

Luke's independence is clear with regard to the following:

(a) There is no specific reference to the venue of the incident,

(b) The placing of the demand for a sign in the context of the Beelzebul controversy and ascribing to the crowd both the charge of Jesus' collusion with the chief of demons and this demand show a radical departure from Mark's policy of highlighting the confrontation with the leaders from the very beginning (cf. on Mk 10:2).

(c) The way in which Luke spreads apart the material in three different places and assigns Jesus' reply to the demand for a sign in a very general setting is intriguing. The vocative 'hypocrites!' no doubt was applied to the Pharisees and other Jewish leaders in the original context (cf. 11:39ff - Fools!; Mt 23:13ff; Lk 12:13; 20:45ff).

(d) Jesus' contrast of His contemporaries with the Ninevites should naturally have followed the mention of Jonah (cf. Mt 12:41f), but Luke chooses to reverse this order.

All the Synoptics have only one thing in common here, namely the demand for a sign of Jesus from heaven, based on ulterior motives, and His refusal to be trapped by such moves. Jesus' refusal of a sign is couched in virtually identical language in Lk as well as in the two Matthaean contexts despite

the differences in the wording of His reply as a whole. The one deviation in Mt in respect of the refusal is that it contains the extra word 'adulterous' to describe 'this evil generation'. This may be conceded as falling well within the limits of editorial freedom. (The appositional addition in Mt 12:39 of 'the prophet' after Jonah is left out in 16:4 (=Lk 11:29). This may be explained by saying that since it had occurred in the earlier context there was no need to repeat it. Since v.4 does not exhibit any textual variant, this verse must be due to the author himself. However, the possibility exists that it might go back to a common source along with its Lukan parallel). But such a concession cannot be made in respect of the other major differences concerning Jesus' reply between the two Matthaean pericopes on the one hand and the Lukan pericope on the other. Thus the main textual critical problem in the present context boils down to that of reconciling these three pericopes.

How serious are the differences between these passages?

(a) Those who make the demand for a sign are different in the three contexts.

(b) In Mt 16, the demand for a sign, v.1, finds its answer only in v.4 (cf. 12:39 = Lk 11:29; par. Mk 8:12).

(c) In Lk the introduction to Jesus' reply is:  
"When the crowds were increasing, he began to say",  
which is quite different from the Matthaean setting  
of the answer.

(d) The order of the two components of Jesus' reply  
in Mt is the reverse of that in Lk where they are  
addressed to the crowd on two separate occasions  
(11:29; 12:54-56).

(e) Part of Jesus' words recurring at Lk 11:30ff  
finds its counterpart not in Mt ch.16, but at Mt 12:40ff,  
the order of the constituent parts again differing in  
Lk and Mt (the allusions to the Queen of the South  
and the Ninevites).

(f) The verbal differences in the corresponding  
passages, Mt 16:1-4 and Lk 12:54-56, also cannot be  
overlooked: Here Mt has some uncommon words such as  
*εὐδία, πυρράλει* (hapax legomena); *στρυγάλει*  
occurs elsewhere only at Mk 10:22. Above all,  
there is practically no verbal similarity between  
Mt 16:2-3a and Lk 12:54-56 while the phrases  
*τὸ πρόσωπον* and *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* are common  
to 3b and 56. In view of the fact that in sections  
where both the Evangelists are copying Mk they do

not manifest such radical cleavage, we are led to the inevitable conclusion that Matthew and Luke are here following not the same source, but parallel traditions, written or oral. Therefore, all suggestions about the reading in Mt being a gloss from or assimilation to the Lukan passage are demanding too much of our imagination.

Now the next question in connection with this problem is whether the passages in Mt chs. 12 and 16 constitute a doublet of the same event or not. Alford's remarks on Mt 16:2-4 are worth considering: "There is no ground for supposing that this narrative refers to the same event as that of ch. xii.38. What can be more natural than that the adversaries of Jesus should have met His miracles again and again with this demand for a sign from heaven. For in Jewish superstition it was held that demons and false gods could give signs on earth, but only the true God signs from heaven. Cf. Ep. Jeremiah, v.67; Jn vi.31; Josh. x.12; 1 Sam 12.17 (cf. Jer xiv.22), Jas v.17,18. Thus we find that after the first miraculous feeding the same demand was made, Jn vi.30 and answered by the declaration of our Lord that He was the true bread from heaven. And what more natural likewise

that He should have uniformly met the demand by the same answer, - the sign of Jonas, one so calculated to baffle His enemies and hereafter to fix the attention of His disciples? Here, however, that an answer is accompanied by other rebukes, makes it sufficiently distinctive. See 1 Cor. 1.22<sup>17</sup>.

As long as we have unmistakable proof of the existence of doublets in Mt not only in the form of dominical sayings, but also in the form of events associated with the life of Jesus, I do not find any reason why we should deny such a possibility in respect of chs. 12 and 16 (cf. on 9.34). It must be borne in mind that doublets in the form of events need not necessarily mean identity of reading in every respect. It is the repetition of the same type of event, as in the case of the Healing of the Two Blind Men etc. which another Evangelist would have considered not worthwhile to reduplicate, that constitutes one of the distinctive features of the First Gospel. We have already seen that the two events concerning the demand for a sign in Mt, while referring to the same type of event, have distinctive features of their own to make them conform to the pattern of doublets.

The pericope in Mt 12 has only three features in common with the event mentioned in Lk 11:16:

- (a) The venue of the meeting with Jesus is not specified in either case.
- (b) The setting in Mt ch.12 could possibly be regarded as the Beelzebul controversy, although the sayings about the Tree and its Fruit (33ff cf. 7:15ff; Lk 6:43f) intervenes in between.
- (c) There is no mention of Jesus' departure after the event in either passage.

But the differences between the pericopes in Mt ch.12 and Lk chs. 11-12 are more glaring than the similarities:

- (a) Those who make the demand are different;
- (b) their evil design is not mentioned in Mt 12;
- (c) Jesus' reply in Mt does not mention an 'adulterous' generation;

(d) Jonah is introduced as 'the prophet' in Mt.

(e) In Jesus' contrast of his contemporaries with those who had responded to the divine message in the past, the Ninevites are mentioned first in Mt and then the Queen of the South; Lk reverses this order;

(f) In Mt 12 there is no reference to the criticism about the inability to read the signs of the times while Lk shares this with Mt 16. All this shows that the event in Mt 12 has a distinct identity in comparison with either the corresponding Lukan passages or the passage in Mt 16.

### Conclusion

In the light of the similarities and differences that exist among the two Matthaean passages and the Lukan pericopes (taken as a unit), the conclusion that we had already arrived at, namely that the two Evangelists were following separate sources, becomes all the more convincing. It is also clear that only by conceiving of the two pericopes in Mt as doublets belonging to the original design of the author can we explain all the data that confront us in these places.



Kilpatrick's statement that there is "reason for thinking that at a number of places the text of the Gospels has been affected by traditional elements which formed no part of the original text"<sup>18</sup> cannot be made applicable to the passage under discussion as he has done.

In order to prove that this passage is a 'Western interpolation' Burkitt has shown that Ephrem's Gospel text contained a mixed paraphrase of Mt 16:2,3 and Lk 12:54-56 and that while his quotation has the language and style of Old Syriac, he was following the Diatessaron. He has also shown that Ephrem's text had not been influenced here by the Peshitta. His inference is that the 'Western' text in this context was derived from the Diatessaron: "...the Diatessaron, like every other text known to be connected with the West, recognised the interpolation *ὀψίας γενομένης κ.τ.λ.* in Matt xvi 2,3, which is absent from the best Greek texts ( *Σ* B and Origen) as well as from the Old Syriac Codices C and S"<sup>19</sup>. But Burkitt does not explain the occurrence of these verses in texts which could not have been influenced by the Diatessaron. So the inference from the Diatessaron cannot be sustained against the authenticity of the passage.

The UBS Committee's approach to the problem is more cautious. As the MS evidence is not absolutely decisive, Metzger has rightly emphasized that the major issue here is "how one ought to interpret this evidence". The Committee's final decision is as follows: "In view of the balance of these considerations (sc. internal and external) it was thought best to retain the passage enclosed within square brackets"<sup>20</sup>. As Metzger does not state all the Internal Evidence, it is difficult to know how the Committee has balanced the evidence on either side. In view of the Intrinsic Probabilities we have discussed above, I would prefer to retain this passage in the text with greater confidence than that expressed by Metzger.

<sup>1</sup>Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, p.327.

<sup>2</sup>Text of the NT, p.79.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.41.

<sup>4</sup>Schriften des NT, p.311.

<sup>5</sup>St. Matthew, ad.loc.

<sup>6</sup>St. Matthew, ICC, ad.loc.

<sup>7</sup>St. Matthieu, p.238.

<sup>8</sup>Philology, p.85.

<sup>9</sup>Four Gospels, pp.241ff; cf. Gore's Commentary, ad.loc.

<sup>10</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.13; cf. Tasker, The Greek NT, ad.loc.

<sup>11</sup>Loc.cit. Streeter evaluates the MS evidence in respect of Mt 16:2b-3 and 20:28 as follows: The first reading, though found in most later MSS and included in the Textus Receptus, stands, so far as the early authorities for the text are concerned, on practically the same footing. Both passages are found in D, Old Latin, while the support for "signs of the times" by C, L and the Eusebian Canons is of no more weight than that of  $\phi$  Syr. (C and Hcl<sup>mg</sup>) for the addition to Mt. XX.28. Both seem to have been lacking in the oldest Alexandrian, Caesarean and Antiochene text, being absent from fam.<sup>9</sup> Syr. S, and Origen's Commentary on Matthew, as well as from Bx<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>12</sup>Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, p.327.

<sup>13</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.13.

<sup>14</sup>Meyer's Kommentar<sup>8</sup>, pp.284-5.

<sup>15</sup>Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, p.326.

<sup>16</sup>Our Translated Gospels, pp.128-29.

<sup>17</sup>The Greek NT<sup>5</sup>, ad.loc.

<sup>18</sup>JTS 50 (1949), p.149.

<sup>19</sup>Texts and Studies, VII (1905), pp.44f; cf. Evangelion, II, p.311.

<sup>20</sup>Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.41. C.R. Gregory, Canon and Text, pp.518-19, however, while admitting the passage to be dominical, suggests quite strongly that it is not original in the present context.

III.b. Mk 16:9-20: The Conclusion of Mark

Disputed words: [Α γ α σ τ α ς δ ε π ρ ω τ ῶ . . . . . διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων

External Evidence:

σημείω.]

omil vv 9-20 N B 2386 (Lect? lection ends with verse 8) syr<sup>a</sup> arm<sup>ms</sup> eth<sup>ms</sup> geo<sup>1.A</sup> Clement Origen Eusebius mss<sup>acc.</sup> to Eusebius Jerome mss<sup>acc.</sup> to Jerome Ammonius // add vv 9-20 with asterisks, obeli or critical note in ms f<sup>1</sup> 137 138 1110 1210 1215 1216 1217 1221 1241<sup>vid</sup> 1582 // add vv 9-20 A C D K X Δ Θ Π f<sup>13</sup> 23 33 274<sup>xt</sup> 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1230 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect l<sup>90,69,70,185,547,893</sup> it<sup>aur.c.d<sup>supp</sup>,ff<sup>2</sup>,l,n,o,q</sup> vg syr<sup>c,p,h,pal</sup> cop<sup>sa,bo,lay</sup> (goth ms lacks vv 12-20) arm<sup>ms</sup> geo<sup>B</sup> Diatessaron<sup>a,i,n</sup> Justin? Irenaeus<sup>sr,lat</sup> Tertullian Aphraates Apostolic Constitutions Didymus // add short ending (see page 198) only it<sup>k</sup> // add short ending and vv 9-20 L Ψ 099 0112 579 syr<sup>b,ms</sup> cop<sup>sa,ms,bo,ms</sup> eth<sup>ms</sup> // add vv 9-20 and short ending 274<sup>ms</sup> l<sup>901,1602</sup> // add vv 9-14, long addition, 15-20 (see footnote 4) W

14 ἐγγεγερμένον C<sup>3</sup> D K L W Θ Π Ψ 099 700 1009 1010 1079 1242 1344 1365 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect l<sup>155m</sup> it<sup>aur.c.d<sup>supp</sup>,ff<sup>2</sup>,l,n,o,q</sup> vg syr<sup>p,pal</sup> cop<sup>sa,bo,ms</sup> eth geo<sup>B</sup> Diatessaron // ἐκ νεκρῶν X // ἐγγεγερμένον ἐκ νεκρῶν A C\* Δ f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 23 33 565 892 (1071 ἐκ τῶν) 1195 1216 1230 1241 1253 1546 l<sup>517</sup> syr<sup>b</sup> cop<sup>bo,ms</sup> arm

14-15 ἐπίστευαν. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς A C (D εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοῦς) K L X Δ Θ Π Ψ 099 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 23 33 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect l<sup>155m,(353)</sup> it<sup>aur.c.d<sup>supp</sup>,ff<sup>2</sup>,l,n,o,q</sup> vg syr<sup>p,h,pal</sup> cop<sup>sa,bo</sup> arm geo<sup>B</sup> // ἐπίστευαν. κάκεινοι ἀπελογούντο λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος τῆς ἀνομίας καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας ὑπὸ τὸν σατανᾶν ἐστίν, ὁ μὴ ἔων τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀκάθαρτα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαβέσθαι δύναμιν· διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκάλυψον σοῦ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἥδη. ἐκείνοι ἐλεγον τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκείνοις προσέλεγεν ὅτι πεπλήρωται ὁ ὅρος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ, ἀλλὰ ἐγγίξει ἄλλα δεινὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἁμαρτησάντων παρεδόθην εἰς θάνατον ἵνα ὑποστρέψωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ μὴκέτι ἁμαρτήσωσιν ἵνα τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πνευματικὴν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξαν κληρονομήσωσιν. ἀλλὰ W Greek mss<sup>acc.</sup> to Jerome

17 λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς A C<sup>2</sup> (D<sup>supp</sup> λαλήσωσιν) K W X Θ Π f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 23 33 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect l<sup>155m</sup> it<sup>aur.c.d<sup>supp</sup>,ff<sup>2</sup>,l,n,o,q</sup> vg geo<sup>B?</sup> Ambrose Augustine // καιναῖς λαλήσουσιν it<sup>a</sup> syr<sup>c,p,h,pal</sup> geo<sup>B?</sup> Hippolytus Jacob-Nisibis Apostolic Constitutions // λαλήσουσιν C\* L Δ Ψ cop<sup>sa,bo</sup> arm

18 καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὄφεις C L X Δ<sup>xt</sup> Ψ 099 f<sup>1</sup> 33 565 892 1230 1253 l<sup>8,253</sup> syr<sup>b</sup> with \* geo<sup>B</sup> Acts of Pilate<sup>ms</sup> // καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν ὄφεις (syr<sup>c</sup>) cop<sup>sa,bo</sup> arm // ὄφεις A D<sup>supp</sup> K W Θ Π f<sup>13</sup> 23 700 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1241 1242 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect l<sup>155m</sup> it<sup>aur.c.d<sup>supp</sup>,l,n,o,q</sup> vg syr<sup>p,pal</sup> Diatessaron Acts of Pilate<sup>xt</sup> Hippolytus

19 κύριος Ἰησοῦς C\* K L Δ f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 33 565 892<sup>ms</sup> 1071 1079 1230 1241 1546 l<sup>174,230,347,933</sup> it<sup>aur.c,ff<sup>2</sup>,q</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup> syr<sup>c,p,h,pal</sup> cop<sup>sa,bo</sup> arm eth Irenaeus<sup>sr,lat</sup> // κύριος A C<sup>3</sup> D<sup>supp</sup> X Θ Π<sup>supp</sup> Ψ 28 700 892\* 1009 1010 1195 1216 1242 1253 1344 1365 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect l<sup>155m</sup> it<sup>d<sup>supp</sup>,l</sup> vg<sup>ww</sup> geo<sup>B</sup> Irenaeus<sup>lat,ms</sup> // Ἰησοῦς H 474 // κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς W it<sup>a</sup>

20 σημείων. A C<sup>2</sup> f<sup>1</sup> 33 1079 it<sup>aur,ff<sup>2</sup>,q</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup> syr<sup>c,p,h,pal</sup> cop<sup>sa</sup> arm geo<sup>B</sup> // σημείων. ἀμήν. C\*<sup>vid</sup> D<sup>supp</sup> K L W X Δ Θ Π<sup>supp</sup> Ψ f<sup>13</sup> 23 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect it<sup>c,d<sup>supp</sup>,o</sup> vg<sup>ww</sup> cop<sup>bo</sup> eth

Short ending {A} Ἰησοῦς L 0112 579 syr<sup>b,ms</sup> eth<sup>ms</sup> // Ἰησοῦς ἐφάνη Ψ 274<sup>ms</sup> it<sup>k</sup> // Ἰησοῦς ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς 099 cop<sup>sa,ms,bo,ms</sup>

Short ending σωτηρίας. ἀμήν. Ψ 099 0112 274<sup>ms</sup> 579 it<sup>k</sup> syr<sup>b,ms</sup> cop<sup>sa,ms,bo,ms</sup> // σωτηρίας. L cop<sup>bo,ms</sup>

Short ending: see page 196 footnote 2.

Note :- . The ancient witnesses give evidence of 7 different types of textual phenomena in respect of the closing section of Mark's Gospel:-

1. Retain vv.9-20 ("Long Conclusion"): ACD etc...  
Diat.<sup>a,i,n</sup>, Justin<sup>1a</sup> et al.
2. Retain "Long Conclusion" with an insertion between vv.14 and 15 (vide infra): W Greek MSS according to Jerome.
3. Retain "Long Conclusion" with asterisks or obeli or critical note: f<sup>1</sup> 137 etc.
4. Retain another ending ("Shorter Conclusion"): it<sup>k</sup>.
5. Retain Shorter Conclusion followed by Long Conclusion: L Ψ etc.
6. Retain Long Conclusion followed by Shorter Conclusion: 274<sup>mg</sup> 1<sup>961,1602</sup>.
7. Conclude ch.16 at v.8 ("Short Conclusion"): X<sup>B</sup> etc.

These may be summarised as follows:

- |       |             |
|-------|-------------|
| 1,2,3 | = "A"       |
| 4     | = "B"       |
| 5     | = "B" + "A" |
| 6     | = "A" + "B" |
| 7     | = "C"       |

## Introduction

Except for the blind and passionate attachment of certain persons to the Textus Receptus tradition, scholarly opinion is now firmly established that the section vv.9-20 of the concluding chapter of St. Mark's Gospel that is traditionally printed as part of the book, is not original. Since the generation of Burgon<sup>1</sup>, Salmon<sup>2</sup>, Scrivener<sup>3</sup> and A.C. Clark<sup>4</sup>, one does not meet with any serious advocate of the authenticity of this pericope. Even the latest arrival on the scene of scholarly contribution to the debate, W.R. Farmer's "The Last Twelve Verses of Mark", only "supports the view that we should consider the question of the last twelve verses of Mark 'still open' "<sup>5</sup>. But this is not to claim that there is unanimity of opinion as to whether 16:8 was the originally intended termination of the Second Gospel. I do not think that Kümmel was being realistic when he wrote in 1966 that "scholarship in increasing measure is inclining towards the view that Mark reached his intended end with 16:8"<sup>6</sup>. Metzger's Textual Commentary (1971) suggests in a foot-note

that three possibilities are open: "(a) the evangelist intended to close his Gospel at this place; or (b) the Gospel was never finished; or, as seems most probable, (c) the Gospel accidentally lost its leaf before it was multiplied by transcription"<sup>7</sup>.

Apart from a consideration of certain related issues, the main burden of this section of my thesis will be that the first view is quite untenable and that the door should be left open for either of the remaining possibilities.

#### Observations

(i) The seven types listed above may in fact be reduced to four or even three. Metzger calls them 'the long ending' (ACD etc.), 'the long reading ending expanded' (W), and 'the short ending' (X<sup>8</sup>B etc.)<sup>8</sup>. We may, with Zahn<sup>9</sup> and Aland<sup>10</sup>, merge the first two into one for practical purposes and designate the basic endings as "A", "B" and "C" (i.e. Long Conclusion, Shorter Conclusion and Short Conclusion respectively).

(ii) The MS evidence points to the fact that whereas "B" was in circulation at least from the 5th century on, "A" was already known as early as



the time of Justin and Irenaeus (latter half of the 2nd century). In other words, "it is clear that in the regions where B originated and was circulated A did not become known until later; nor is it hardly conceivable that B should have been invented where A had been handed down by the tradition"<sup>11</sup>.

Swete is very much in agreement with this observation when he argues that "those who maintain the genuineness of the last twelve verses have to account for the early circulation of an alternative ending, and for the ominous silence of the Ante-Nicene fathers between Irenaeus and Eusebius in reference to a passage which was of so much importance both on historical and theological grounds"<sup>12</sup>. It is amazing that Farmer could discuss the problem of the last twelve verses of Mark without any serious consideration of the MS evidence relating to the Shorter Conclusion. His summing up of the External Evidence for vv.9-20 is as follows: "While a study of the external evidence is rewarding in itself and can be very illuminating in many ways, and while it enables us to understand how the practice of omission might have arisen, it does not produce the evidential grounds for a definitive solution to the problem. A study of the history of the text, by itself, has not proven sufficient, since the evidence is divided and the

decisive period, namely the second century, remains at present largely shrouded in obscurity. We can only say with certainty...that manuscripts including these verses were circulating in the second century. Whether there were also manuscripts ending with  $\epsilon\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\omicron \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$  circulating in this archaic period, we do not know. It may be conjectured with some reason that such manuscripts were circulating in Egypt by the end of the second century. There is nothing to support a conjecture that such manuscripts were circulating outside Egypt this early"<sup>13</sup>. Clearly this over-confidence is the result of ignoring the witnesses for the existence of the shorter ending; the shorter ending would not have arisen had it not been for the existence of some MSS concluding the chapter at v.8. As Metzger so aptly remarks, "...the external evidence for the shorter ending...resolves itself into additional testimony supporting the omission of verses 9-20"<sup>14</sup>. In fact Aland's article cited above is a strong plea for further investigation into "B" because of its very early appearance.

(iii) The Evidence of B, N : Unlike in the rest of Codex Vaticanus, there is a little ornamentation and the subscription *κατα Μαρκοῦ* immediately after Mk 16:8. But the remainder of the column and the whole of the next are left blank. The length of the blank space is such as to exceed the length of the shorter ending, but less than that of the long ending<sup>15</sup>. Scholars have interpreted this phenomenon differently: Salmon observes: "All critics agree that the scribe was cognizant of something following *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* which he did not choose to copy"<sup>16</sup>. C.R. Williams attributes this hesitancy on the part of the scribe to his knowledge that the form of the Gospel which ended at v.8 was the authentic one. Farmer<sup>17</sup>: "A more correct inference would seem to be that the scribe knew that the Gospel did not end at 16:8 in some manuscripts, but was not certain how it should end, or was producing a copy which could be ended according to the wishes of others... By not copying anything beyond 16:8 he met the essential requirement of those who felt the Gospel ended there; by leaving a blank space...he met the essential requirement of those who felt that the Gospel needed either an ending or some word of explanation following 16:8... But any purchaser or user easily could

have had the ornament and subscription erased and, in the space allowed, he could have ended the Gospel according to his own decision". Hort says that "one or other of the two subsequent endings was known to the scribe while he found neither of them in the exemplar which he was copying"<sup>18</sup>.

With regard to the evidence of Codex Sinaiticus, Hort, following Tischendorf, has confirmed that in this MS, six leaves, of which one contains the last chapter of Mk, were written by the same scribe who wrote the NT section of Codex Vaticanus<sup>19</sup>. Salmon has noted the following peculiarities relating to the Conclusion of Mk in  $\mathfrak{S}$  :

(a) This section is written far more widely than the beginning of Lk which appears in the next column, apparently with a view not to leave a blank space in between the two Gospels.

(b) Yet Mark's Gospel ends in the middle of a line and the column has some space left, which the scribe has carefully filled up with ornamentation - a feature which is unique to this place in the whole MS. "We see 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  $\epsilon\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ , and took pains that no one should add more"<sup>20</sup>.

(iv) Evidence of Codex Regius (L)<sup>21</sup>

One is not certain as to whether one can be so dogmatic as Salmon is about the phenomenon of the ornamentation found after v.8 in *N* because the same phenomenon is found in the MSS B and L which exhibit some additional features providing an alternative clue. Probably the ornamentation in *N* is nothing more than an indication of the scribe's surprise at the apparently abrupt ending which he could not account for. Since a blank space is provided by the same scribe in B, Salmon's assertion about the motive behind the ornamentation in *N* is baseless. Nor is Farmer's inference from the blank space and ornamentation tenable because it is clear from C.R. Williams' observation that the space was meant neither for the shorter ending nor for the long ending. It is surprising that the scribe has failed to indicate his real intentions for the peculiar treatment of the concluding part of the Gospel by means of a rubric.

The scribe of Codex Regius in fact adopts the same principle as that of the scribe of the *BN* MSS with regard to the ornamentation: this Codex ends the Gospel at v.8 leaving a gap of a line and a half in the same column, which has been filled up by means of ornamentation. But the main peculiarity

of this MS is the presence of the Shorter Conclusion in the next column introduced by the decorated words: *ΦΕΡΕΤΑΙ ΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ* ["These also are in a manner (or 'somewhere') current"], followed by the Long Conclusion introduced by the same type of decorated words: *ΕΣΤΙΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΑ* ["And there are these also current"]. "It seems tolerably certain that the exemplar contained only the Shorter Conclusion, and that the Longer Conclusion, which probably was alone current when L was written, was added at the end from another copy"<sup>22</sup>.

(v) Evidence of Codex 22

In this Codex we find the word *ΤΕΛΟΣ* after both v.8 and v.20, which is a unique feature for the entire MS. There is also a space demarcating vv.9-20 from the rest of the Gospel with an accompanying note: *ΕΙΣ ΩΣΕ ΠΛΗΡΟΥΤΑΙ Ο ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΦΕΡΕΤΑΙ* ["In some of the copies the Gospel is completed here, but in many these also are current"]<sup>23</sup>. It may be argued that the word *τέλος* has to do with liturgical usage, denoting the end of a lection. But the fact that this scholion is unique to this part of the MS speaks against it. Moreover, as Hort has pointed out, this feature has a striking

parallel in some of the more ancient Armenian MSS, namely the note *ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ* after both v.8 and v.20<sup>24</sup>. This clearly shows awareness on the part of the scribe that vv.9-20 did not originally belong to the text of Mk. The asterisks or obeli on f<sup>1</sup> 137 138 etc. confirm the same.

(vi) Evidence of Syr<sup>S</sup>

Burkitt has drawn attention to a peculiarity of Syr<sup>S</sup> which strikes at the root of any theory supporting either the Long or the Shorter Conclusion: here there is hardly any space between Mk 16:8 and Lk ch.1 except for the concluding colophon for Mk and the title of Lk. This is all the more impressive because the Diatessaron certainly reads the Long Conclusion. Burkitt explains this by pointing out that "the Syriac Diatessaron is not altogether free from readings which belong properly to the West" and goes on to assert: "It is the witness of the Sinaitic Syriac and the Latin Codex Bobiensis which irretrievably condemns the disputed words..."<sup>25</sup>. If one can accept this verdict as authoritative, the view of Salmon on the originality of vv.9-20 cannot be sustained: "Certainly in the Sinaitic (sc. *Σ*) and probably in the Vatican MS. also, the verses would seem to have been originally copied and struck out on editorial revision"<sup>26</sup>.

Strangely enough, as was mentioned earlier, Farmer does not take into account the valuable transcriptional data provided by the above documents. He simply dismisses them by stating that the MS evidence, with the exception of Syr<sup>S</sup>, indicates a twofold general rule: (1) "the majority of manuscripts that can be dated before the tenth century favour the inclusion of Mk 16:9-20"; (2) "manuscripts which witness for omission of Mk 16:9-20 are related to an Egyptian or Alexandrian text tradition, one respected in the scriptorium tradition governing the formation of B and  $\mathcal{N}$ ". He underrates the evidence of Syr<sup>S</sup> on the ground that it is contradicted by all other Syriac authorities<sup>27</sup>. He treats the evidence of k and L because of their affinity with the B  $\mathcal{N}$  tradition which came to omit vv.9-20 in the latter half of the second century under the influence of an official scriptorium<sup>28</sup>. But this is certainly overlooking the possible circumstances that led to the rise of the shorter conclusion "B".



## The Shorter Conclusion "B"

### External Evidence

We have already considered the External Evidence relating to the Shorter Conclusion in the context of its bearing on the Short Conclusion "C" and showed that it is of secondary origin.

### Internal Evidence

#### Transcriptional Probability

Its telescopic character is sufficient proof that "it was designed to fill a gap"<sup>29</sup>. Streeter describes it more graphically as an "attempt by some early editor to heal the gaping wound"<sup>30</sup>.

#### Intrinsic Probability

Metzger calls attention to the fact that "Besides containing a high percentage of non-Markan words (sc. συντόμως, ἐξαγγέλλω, παραγγέλλω, ἐξαποστέλλω etc.), its rhetorical tone differs totally from the simple style of Mark's Gospel. The mouth-filling phrase at the close ('the sacred and imperishable message of eternal salvation') betrays the hand of a later Greek theologian"<sup>31</sup>. One can therefore confidently assert with Zahn that "no modern scholar is bold enough to claim B as original...". Zahn but-

tresses this statement by applying one of the canons of Textual Criticism, viz. "where two mutually exclusive longer texts are opposed to a shorter text from which their origin can be explained, the shorter reading is to be preferred, especially if it has good witnesses"<sup>32</sup>. In the present case, "A" and "B" are opposed to "C" from which their origin can be explained. So "C" has the best claim to originality especially in view of its attestation by B, Syr<sup>S</sup> and other Versions, Clement, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome and Ammonius<sup>33</sup>.

#### The Long Conclusion "A"

Having dismissed the Shorter Conclusion "B", we are now free to deal with the Long Conclusion "A". The External Evidence pertaining to this ending has already been considered. We have found that there is very good reason for rejecting "A" on the basis of MS data.

#### Internal Evidence

##### Transcriptional Probability

The special features manifested by B L 22 Syr<sup>S</sup> are all indications of the Transcriptional Probability. Now we have to approach the problem from two different angles: (1) If "A" is really an

interpolation, how can we account for its introduction into the Gospel? (2) If "A" did originally belong to the work of Mark, how can we explain its absence from many MSS?

(i) Possibilities of Insertion

(a) Moffatt, citing Réville, says that if the original ending of Mk was brief, it would not have satisfied the needs of later generations, and so attempts would have been made to expand it<sup>34</sup>.

(b) Hort: "The abruptness of termination (sc. at v.8) could escape no one, and would inevitably sooner or later find a transcriber or editor bold enough to apply a remedy"<sup>35</sup>.

With regard to Moffatt's suggestion, it could be pointed out that it is precisely this motive for expansion produced by the meagre Markan material on the Resurrection that prompted Matthew and Luke to write the last chapter of their respective Gospels in their present forms. Hort's statement is again a pointer to the possibility of the early circulation of a text containing the short ending, for the remedial measure that he speaks of has to be identified with the creation of "B". As Metzger remarks, "No one who had available as the conclusion of the

Second Gospel the twelve verses 9-20, so rich in interesting material, would have deliberately replaced them with four lines of a colourless and generalized summary"<sup>36</sup>. In other words, the "B" recension indirectly confirms that the Gospel originally ended at v.8.

However, it is difficult to believe that vv.9-20 were added to make up for the shortness of the original conclusion of Mk in view of the lack of continuity between v.8 and v.9. As Hort says, "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 v.9. If he noticed the abruptness of v.8 as a sentence and as the end of a paragraph, he must have at least added some such words as the first sentence of the Shorter Conclusion. If he noticed only the abruptness of v.8 as the end of the Gospel, and was provided with fresh materials from traditional or other sources, still he must have expressed some kind of sequence between the old part of the narrative and the new..."<sup>37</sup>.

(c) A third possibility that "A" may have been added as a supplement by the Evangelist himself is also rejected by Hort in view of the abruptness of

v.8 and the strangeness of the language of v.9.

He, however, thinks that "v.9 presents no difficulty if it is the beginning of a narrative taken from another source"<sup>30</sup>.

(d) Streeter suggests that "A" was added in the interest of harmonization of the various Gospel accounts of the Resurrection<sup>39</sup>. This is not convincing because it is difficult to conceive a Gospel without an account of this cardinal tenet of the Church<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, the controversial passage vv.17,18 is not found in the other Gospels!

It must be mentioned in this connexion that Farmer, despite his advocacy of openness in regard to the problem of the Long Conclusion of Mk, has expressed his preference for Markan authorship. "Mk. 16:9-20 represents redactional use of older material by the evangelist and belonged to the autograph". This 'solution' has been defended by him in preference to four other possibilities:

(i) "A" "was written de novo by the evangelist and belonged to the autograph of Mark".

(ii) "A" "existed virtually as we have it before the evangelist wrote his Gospel and has been used by him with little or no modification".

(iii) "A" "was written by a later writer who consciously

sought to imitate certain features of Mark's vocabulary and syntax, as well as develop his conceptual use of certain terms".

(iv) "A" "is a later composition without linguistic or conceptual kinship to the rest of Mark".

At the same time Farmer admits that his favourite solution "affords a ready explanation both for evidence weighing in favour of Marcan authorship of 16:9-20 and for evidence weighing against it". In fact he rules out only the first and last 'solutions' and leaves the door open to others for further investigation into the exegetical problems involved. He thinks that a case for Marcan authorship could be established along either his favourite solution or solution (ii), provided it can be shown "that Mark elsewhere uses traditional material in the same way as in the last twelve verses"<sup>41</sup>.

However, it is the contention of the present writer that the problems highlighted by Hort and others with regard to the discontinuity between Mk 16:1-8 and "A" are so serious that any idea of Marcan authorship for the latter section is to be totally rejected.

(ii) Possibilities of Omission

Several suggestions have been proposed for the possible omission of "A" from a presumably authentic text:

I Drastic remedial measures either on account of various difficulties presented by the Long Conclusion, or in the interests of harmonization with the Synoptic parallels:

(a) The apparent discrepancy between Mt 28:1 (ὅτι δὲ σαββάτω ) and Mk 16:9 (πρωὴ πρώτη σαββάτου ) in respect of the actual time of the Resurrection<sup>42</sup>. That this was a serious problem for at least some intellectuals among the Christians of the early centuries is evident from the Quaestiones ad Marinum<sup>43</sup> which Eusebius attempts to answer, and also from Book III of The Harmony of the Gospels by Augustine<sup>44</sup>. There are four questions before Eusebius. From the way he answers the first two questions, it is clear that Eusebius himself did not have a consistent view of how to interpret the Matthaean phrase. "This clearly shows that the text of Mai is not a simple straight forward consistent homogeneous attempt to deal with a particular set of critical problems"<sup>45</sup>. Therefore Farmer is

correct in warning us that the text of Mai should be cited with caution as evidence regarding the authenticity of "A"<sup>46</sup>. Moreover, Hort has drawn attention to the explicit statements by Eusebius in two places which reveal an awareness on his part of the absence of the disputed verses from the vast majority of copies of the Gospel of his day<sup>47</sup>.

Since Eusebius' response to the second question of Marinus and Augustine's understanding of Mt 28:1 disclose an identical interpretation of *ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων* ('after Sabbath' = 'Saturday night' = 'early on the first day of the week')<sup>48</sup>, it is difficult to imagine that some one would have been rash enough to delete an important account of the Resurrection appearances because of an apparent difficulty in understanding a phrase in a parallel passage.

(b) The conflict between Mk 16:9 (first appearance: to Mary Magdalene) and 1 Cor 15:5 (first appearance: to Peter)<sup>49</sup>.

(c) Again, there is a contradiction between the Matthaean account (appearance to Mary Magdalene and the other women) and Mk 16:9ff (no mention of other women in the company of Mary Magdalene at



the time of the appearance to her)<sup>50</sup>.

If an omission due to either of these causes could be reasonably conceded, it is legitimate to ask why the other discrepancies regarding the Resurrection appearances in the Gospel accounts have not been dealt with by the scribes! Exposing the absurdity of such theories, Farmer writes: "But because such discrepancies and difficulties are not peculiar to verse 9, though they seem unusually concentrated there, they could never by themselves account for the omission of the whole of Mk 16:9-20. Such a radical action, so uncongenial to the 'faithful' and 'circumspect'...requires an objectionable exegetical surd that reaches beneath the level of questions like 'what happened?' or 'when did it happen?', and, striking at the vital centre of the church's life, threatens its very existence"<sup>51</sup>.

(d) The conflict between Mt 28:8 (or Lk 24:8) and Mk 16:8 (attitude of the women on hearing the angelic message of the Resurrection)<sup>52</sup>.

In response to this suggestion, in addition to the foregoing comment, it is pertinent to point out that any omission on this score would naturally have included 16:8 as well!<sup>53</sup>

(e) The apparent misunderstanding of the Markan phrase *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας* (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:34 cf. Mt 16:21 par. Lk 9:22, Mt 17:23; Mt 20:19 par. Lk 18:33, Ac 10:40) in regard to the Resurrection as against the current usage of the early Church, *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* 54.

The fallacy of this argument can be easily exposed by referring to Mt 12:40, 27:63, Jn 2:19 which also use 'after three days' or corresponding expressions. So the Markan expression was well within the idiomatic usage of the early Church.

Other possible reasons for the omission of "A" that have been suggested include:

(f) the strangeness of the transition from v.8 to v.9 already alluded to, and

(g) the conflict between Mk 14:28 and 16:7 on the one hand (Jesus' alleged prophecy about His Resurrection appearance in Galilee and the angelic announcement of the event), and Lk 24 and Jn 20 on the other (which present an appearance in Jerusalem)<sup>55</sup>. These as well as all the foregoing possibilities are very unrealistic in that in order to prove these

cases one has to provide other examples where this type of remedial measures have been resorted to. One has especially to bear in mind that one is dealing here with a large chunk of "scriptural material" which no scribe would ever have thought of dropping if it were part of his exemplar.

I fully endorse Hort's view that "remedial omissions on this scale, and having such results, are unknown"<sup>56</sup>.

Warfield stresses the same point when he says: "To suppose that they (sc. vv.9-20) were omitted in a harmonistic interest is to presuppose a freedom and boldness in dealing with the Gospel narratives never elsewhere experienced, and that to serve a purpose far more easily attained"<sup>57</sup>.

(h) A far more serious reason for suppression of the entire passage in question is proposed by Farmer, viz. the offence caused by the implications of v.17f: "Even the most faithful of Christians are not immune from the ill effects of drinking deadly poisons. This is so patently true that many if not all reasonable men must have had serious doubts about these promises. But to doubt these promises in the early Church was not to doubt the trustworthy character of Jesus Christ or to doubt the power of God, but to question the apostolic origin of the

text in which these promises were found . . . . .

" 'Faithful' and 'circumspect' teachers like Origen generally speaking would not have argued for the omission of a textual reading that had been received in the church. But insofar as they were trained in the ways of Alexandrian textual criticism and had a concern for what was edifying for the Church they would have tended to respect received exemplars which omitted this kind of reading and in some situations could have tolerated and perhaps approved the production and use of copies of Mark ending with *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*. This would help explain the fact that the Cappadocian Fathers, all of whom were of the Alexandrian school, make no reference to Mk 16:9-20. And further, because of the influence of the Cappadocians on the Armenian church, it would help explain why the Armenian version omitted these verses"<sup>58</sup>.

I have quoted Farmer at length in order to expose the weakness of his theory. In the first place, he himself admits the recognition by Origen and his school of the existence of some exemplars which did not contain these verses. If a 'faithful' teacher like Origen, trained in the tradition of textual critical expertise, could feel himself justified

in omitting a large section from a Gospel, it is clear that he had sufficient MS evidence to back him up. Otherwise his 'circumspection' would have been limited to the most offensive part of this section, viz. vv.17f, alone. Further, as has already been referred to, Farmer makes it clear that even as late as the time of Eusebius a century later, the canonicity of these verses was still being debated<sup>59</sup>.

It must be realised that Farmer proposes the above theory as a "conjectural solution" after describing two other ways in which the difficulty caused by the objectionable verses were handled in the early Church. The first was "the way of containment": "The authenticity of the promises is accepted. However, by citing precedents from the Old Testament scriptures and by introducing the teaching of the apostle Paul on spiritual gifts, the normative character of the teaching of these verses is nullified, and the peace and order of the church is maintained under the authority of properly ordained bishops who are formal custodians of the apostolic gifts of casting out demons and laying on of hands, with no provision being made for speaking in tongues and picking up serpents - these gifts by default being left to those who have them, with the

admonition that they do not elevate the possessor above the rest of the faithful.

"Still another way to nullify the disruptive character of the literal teaching of these verses was by allegorizing and spiritualizing their meaning"<sup>60</sup>.

Farmer arrives at these conclusions by quoting from the Apostolic Constitutions (A.D.380)<sup>61</sup> which is more than a century posterior to Origen's time. If Origen and his school had been influential in suppressing the disputed passage, it is difficult to see how it could flourish so well in the 4th century so as to necessitate these other methods aimed at nullifying its disruptive character. Again, one wonders how a staunch proponent of harmonization of scriptural passages like Origen<sup>62</sup> could fail to take notice of the conflict between Acts 2 and 1 Cor 14 (the gift of speaking in tongues as a visible manifestation of the presence of the Holy Spirit) or how passages like Mk 1:2 ('Isaiah' instead of Malachi) 2:26 ('Abiathar' instead of Ahimelech), Mt 27:9 ('Jeremiah' instead of Zechariah) etc. could escape the scrutiny of this expert textual critic (cf. also Mt 17:24ff, 27:51ff)! The fact of the matter is that whatever Scripture portions had come to be widely accepted on the

basis of tradition were never questioned by the critics to the extent of eliminating them and that when they did eliminate something from the Scripture it was again well founded on the rock of tradition.

It is true that Farmer himself admits that his arguments quoted above are not meant to validate the authenticity of our passage. He goes on to say that "the question of the validity of the Alexandrian efforts to 'expurgate' texts is not settled by the fact that even if Mk 16:9-20 were expurgated in some Alexandrian copies of Mark it is an open question whether there might not have been valid literary grounds recognised at that time which argued against the authenticity of these verses, and which led to a critical judgment that they should not be copied"<sup>63</sup>. His main argument in favour of the retention of the Long Conclusion "is the fact that while a fairly credible account can be given for the origin of the textual tradition for the omission, no very satisfactory explanation has ever been given for the undeniably early and widespread witness for inclusion of these verses..."<sup>64</sup>. While accepting the truth behind the second part of this statement, it has to be pointed out that the weakness of all the arguments that Farmer has

brought forward to explain the omission stand exposed under close scrutiny. Moreover, as stated elsewhere, Farmer ignores the absence of these verses in many traditions from an early date.

II Was the omission due to a misunderstanding of the liturgical note *τέλος* following v.8, a feature manifested by Codices like 22?

Hort points to the remoteness of this possibility on two counts: First, the liturgical use of *τέλος* as denoting the end of a lection did not come into vogue before the 8th century. Secondly, even if one can trace back its use before that date, one should be able to point out at least another undisputed instance where such an omission has taken place. As Hort observes, "it is incredible that any scribe should be beguiled by it into omitting the subsequent verses, which according to the very hypothesis he must have been accustomed to read and hear"<sup>65</sup>.

### III Accidental Omission

To me this is the only plausible way of explaining the omission of "A" if it did belong to the original, although it is not again free from



difficulties. In order to defend this, one has to explain how this 'defect' got propagated so widely in spite of the supposed existence of 'unmutilated' copies<sup>66</sup>. There is still nothing unnatural in supposing that a leaf containing the disputed passage in an exemplar got irretrievably lost on account of the precarious conditions of the 2nd century, were it not for the strong evidence to the contrary provided by the ancient authorities as well as by the Intrinsic Probability<sup>67</sup>.

#### Intrinsic Probability

It is well known that not only the vocabulary, but the style of "A" is different from that of the rest of Mark's Gospel. With regard to the vocabulary, the following peculiarities have been observed:

ἀπιστέω (11); βεβαιόω (20);  
 βλάπτω<sup>68</sup> (18); ἐπακολουθέω (20): (unique in  
 the Gospels); ἕτερος (12); θαλάσσιμος (18)  
 (unique in the Bible); θεάομαι (11); μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα (12) (found nowhere else in Mk);  
 παρακολουθέω (17) (only here in Mk);  
 πορεύομαι (10,12,15); πρώτη σαββάτου (9)  
 (refined Greek) instead of ( ἡ ) μία ( τῶν )

σὺ ββδῆτων, again a hapax legomenon in the NT<sup>69</sup>;  
συνεργέω (20); τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις (10) (as a  
designation of the disciples, is unique in the NT);  
ὕστερον (14), (found nowhere else in Mk).

Farmer concludes his study of the diction of this passage as follows: "Evidence for non-Markan authorship seems to be preponderant in verse 10. Verses 12, 14, 16, 17, 18 and 19 seem to be either basically, or in balance neutral. Evidence for Marcan authorship seems to be preponderant in verses 9, 11, 13, 15 and 20"<sup>70</sup>. But an examination of his word by word study does not tilt one's impression in favour of Markan authorship for this section as a whole<sup>71</sup>. It is not clear why Markan authorship is preponderant in the last mentioned verses: the use of the words may have been dictated by their contexts<sup>72</sup>. But even if Markan authorship is granted, the large number of non-Markan words and expressions listed above (including several which are unique to this pericope in relation to either the rest of the Gospel or the entire NT) is a phenomenon which Farmer does not adequately account for. Some of his inferences appear to be far-fetched: e.g., when he detects Pauline (and hence Markan) usage in words like *συνεργέω* and *βεβαίω* he overlooks the basic conflict between v.9 and 1 Cor 15:5 already referred to; his suggestion that *πρωί* is a favourite Markan

word ignores its use by Matthew at 20:1, 21:18 and 27:1 and by John at 20:1 and 21:4; at any rate its use at v.9 does not in any way confirm a Markan authorship.

Following Burgon<sup>73</sup>, Salmon<sup>74</sup> lightly dismisses these verbal peculiarities of the Long Conclusion while Swete finds in them sufficient justification to claim that "the last twelve verses are the work of another mind trained in another school"<sup>75</sup>. The stylistic peculiarities of this passage will further confirm this judgement:

(i) The lack of continuity between vv.8 and 9 has already been mentioned: e.g., the subject of v.8 is the women, whereas the subject of v.9, namely Jesus, is left unspecified<sup>76</sup>.

(ii) Strangely enough, Mary Magdalene, whose name appears at 15:41,47 and 16:1 is not identified as *ἡς ἐκβεβλήκει ἐπὶ Σαίμονα* in any of those places as at v.9 (cf. Lk 8:2). Probably no stronger evidence than this is required to prove that the author of the Second Gospel could not have been the author of "A". Further, the other women who are mentioned in 16:1 (cf. 15:41,47) are now forgotten

and (as in Jn 20:1, 11ff) Mary Magdalene is presented as the first sole witness of the Resurrection.

After one has read v.8, it is natural to expect an appearance as an event relating to the flight of the women. If Mary Magdalene was among the women who, after fleeing from the grave, remained silent about their experience, there should be a follow-up reference to an incident describing how the women as a group were led to break their silence<sup>77</sup>.

The only explanation that seems plausible is that the author of "A" was following a tradition different from that of Mark, Matthew and Luke which gave prominence to Mary Magdalene in relation to the Resurrection appearances. Indeed, the author who wrote Mk 16:7 ("to his disciples and to Peter") cannot be expected to ignore the Apostles in this absolute manner.

(iii) Metzger points out that "the use of ἀναστὰς δὲ and the position of πρῶτος are appropriate at the beginning of a comprehensive narrative, but they are ill-suited in a continuation of verses 1-8"<sup>78</sup>.

It is amazing that Farmer can explain away these grave difficulties by the statement: "Abrupt transitions are not unusual in Mark, and

such awkwardness as may exist remains whether the evangelist or some later person added these verses concerned"<sup>79</sup>. At the same time he recognises that "The connection between verse 8 and verses 9-20 appears to some (my italics) to be so awkward that it is difficult to believe that the evangelist intended verses 9-20 to be a continuation of the Gospel". But his comparison of the introduction of Mary Magdalene in the strange manner of v.9 with the Markan use of ἀρχὴ in 14:54 and 14:66 followed by 15:16 is too far-fetched to be convincing. As a matter of fact, in the first two instances, it is the High Priest's courtyard which is mentioned without any qualification; but in the third instance, the explanatory parenthesis ὅ ἐστιν πραιτώριον applies to the Governor's palace!<sup>80</sup>

(iv) Zahn has drawn attention to various other stylistic divergences of the present section from the earlier part of the Gospel of Mark. E.g., he speaks of its "lack of graphic description" in comparison to 1:2-13; the two appearances listed in the Long Conclusion are "not narrated, but chronicled" and the absence of direct discourse presents a lack of "dramatic vigour"; towards the end (vv.19-20), "the ascension, exaltation to the right hand of God,

and the entire missionary work of the apostles are outlined" by means of great economy of words<sup>81</sup>.

Zahn also cites the two references to Jesus as 'Lord' (19,20), a feature absent from both Mk and Mt, though found to a certain extent in Lk and sparingly in Jn<sup>82</sup>.

(v) Just as in the case of the failure to mention an appearance to the Eleven, so the absence of a Galilean appearance, a natural corollary to Jesus' promise in 14:28, followed by the angel's recapitulation of it in 16:7, alienates this pericope from the rest of the Gospel (contrast Mt 28:16 in relation to 26:32 and 28:7)<sup>83</sup>.

On analysing the structure of the pericope 9-20, we find that it resolves itself into the following pattern:

9-11 = Jn 20:11-18 + Lk 8:2

12-13 = Lk 24:13-35

14 = Jn 20:19-23

15-16 = Mt 28:18-20

(17-18, cf. Ac 28:3ff; the apocryphal 'Acts of John')

19 = Lk 24:50-51

(20 = the author's own conclusion)<sup>84</sup>

If this correspondance is undeniable, it follows that "A" is either of later origin than the other Synoptic Gospels or is constituted of traditional material parallel to Lk and Jn. Certainly the resemblance of vv.17-18 to Ac 28:3ff and the 'Acts of John' would suggest a date posterior to that of the two Synoptics other than Mk<sup>85</sup>.

Zahn, however, points out that the fragment vv.14-18 is strikingly different from vv.9-13, 19-20 in that it is a real narrative: it contains an address to the apostles by the risen Christ, with a brief statement regarding the circumstances which form the background of this address: "...its style does not, like that of vv.19-20 differ from the classic style which characterize the Gospels"<sup>86</sup>. This fact, however, does not enable us to link this section organically with the genuinely Markan Gospel in view of the unbridgeable hiatus between the first part of ch.16 and vv.9ff. The style of this section only confirms the view that the whole pericope "A" is constituted of various strata of Christian tradition and is the work of a later compiler.

The "Freer Logion": It is now time for us to consider the peculiar addition at the end of v.14 as attested by Cod. W. This insertion which provides an excuse in the mouth of the disciples for their unbelief when

castigated by the risen Lord runs as follows (see External Evidence)<sup>87</sup>: "And they made their defence saying, 'This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan who by unclean spirits, does not allow the true power of God to be apprehended: wherefore reveal thy righteousness now'. They were speaking to Christ and Christ made the reply to them that the limit of the years of Satan's power is fulfilled but other terrible things draw near and on behalf of these sinners I was delivered up to death that they might turn to the truth and sin no more in order that they may inherit the spiritual and immortal glory of righteousness that is in heaven"<sup>88</sup>.

This passage has certainly no claim to be original for the following reasons:

- (a) The external support for it is extremely weak.
- (b) If it were original it would be impossible to explain its disappearance from all the Greek MSS and from the Syriac and Latin Versions which have the Long Conclusion (vv.9-20).
- (c) There is a relatively large percentage of non-Markan words or expressions in this Logion: e.g.: ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος, ἁμαρτανῶ, ἀπολογέω, ἀληθινός, ὑποστρέφω, besides, words such as δεινός, ὄρος, προσλέγω are found only



in this place in the NT. "The whole expansion has about it an unmistakable apocryphal flavour. It probably is the work of a second or third century scribe who wished to soften the severe condemnation of the Eleven in 16:14"<sup>89</sup>.

Zahn believes that this Logion is not a gloss, but part of a larger block of tradition (including vv.14-18) which reached Jerome, although the latter did not feel obliged to incorporate it in his Vulgate. At the same time Zahn maintains that it could not have been composed either by Mark or by the author of vv.9-20. He ascribes the origin of the corpus (9-20 + the expansion at v.14) to the recollections of a certain Aristion which Papias had incorporated in his Oracles of the Lord<sup>90</sup> (vide infra). The fact that the redactor of "A" chose to leave out the additional Logion found in his source is explained by Zahn in terms of the discretionary freedom of an editor: "The very originality of the sentence, which makes it interesting to everyone who is fond of the antique, may have made it appear to him too peculiar and too obscure to form a part of an epilogue so entirely outlinear (sic) in character"<sup>91</sup>. The possible reason for Jerome's omission of these words may be due to the fact that he had found it as a gloss in a Greek MS. Zahn substantiates the validity of his hypothesis

of the origin of this Logion by pointing out how it offers a smooth transition from the risen Lord's rebuke of His disciples for their unbelief in contrast to Ac 1:6. In the excuse that they offer they confess their lack of faith (cf. Mk 9:24), and through the request that follows, they prepare themselves receptive to the promise of the Holy Spirit in anticipation of their being strengthened to fulfil their mission in this wicked world (16:17f, cf. 6:7,13; 9:1,28f; Lk 9:1ff; 10:17-20)<sup>92</sup>.

Whether we associate the Logion with Aristion or not, it is clear that the Logion must be of very early origin<sup>93</sup>; for none of the ideas expressed in it was likely to cause an offence to any scribe: Satan's power in the world (cf. Jn 12:31; 16:11; 2 Cor 4:4; Eph 6:14; 1 Pet 5:8); the world being under wickedness (cf. 1 Jn 5:19); the disciples' longing for the coming of the Kingdom (cf. Ac 1:6; 2 Tim 4:8). The thoroughness with which the Logion got expelled from all the MSS except one is explicable only in terms of its early separation from the larger corpus (9-20)<sup>94</sup>.

Why 16:8 Cannot be Regarded as the Originally  
Intended Conclusion of the Gospel

Attention has already been drawn to the notorious problem of the abrupt termination of Mk 16:8. If neither "A" nor "B" can be considered to be part of the original Gospel, the problem arises as to whether a Gospel could have been so designed as to end in this abnormal fashion. In the words of Burkitt, "Not only the narrative, the paragraph, and the sentence are each left incomplete, but even the subordinate clause seems to hang in the air"<sup>95</sup>.

Scholarly investigation of this phenomenon has proceeded along three lines:

(a) Whether a Greek literary composition can end with a particle *γάρ* or not and whether an abrupt ending is stylistically justifiable or not;

(b) Whether a Gospel could end on a note of fear ( *ἐφοβοῦντο* ) or not;

(c) If the reply to the first two queries is in the negative, then what was the fate of the Gospel as it left its author's hands?

(a) Many scholars have maintained that Greek sentences do not, as a rule, finish off with a particle<sup>96</sup>. On the other hand, there have been attempts to cite examples from classical literature to point to sentences ending with γάρ . E.g., R.H. Lightfoot gives many instances to this effect from Homer, Aeschylus, Euripides, Plato, Aristotle, the LXX (Gen 18:15; 29:11 etc.), Justin and the Hermetic writings<sup>97</sup>. Taylor has, however, shown that none of these examples stands at the end of a book<sup>98</sup>. In his Commentary on Mk, Allen argues as follows: "If the Gospel is a translation, the fact that it ends with a conjunction is due to the translator, who has little refinements of style. In the original Aramaic the 'for' would not come last. And the dramatic and abrupt ending is quite in accordance with the vividness which characterizes the whole Gospel"<sup>99</sup>. Richardson, who repudiates both the above approaches, tries to find a solution to the problem in terms of "conceptual linguistics": "The idea behind γάρ is that of causality or explanation, which might equally well have been expressed by an anterior ἐπεὶ ἐφοβοῦντο. The position of the phoneme which signals 'explanation' is quite accidental". Then he goes on to assert that "in the mind of the writer the thought is

καὶ οὐδενὶ, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, οὐδὲν εἶπεν  
(or, καὶ διὰ φόβου οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπεν  
or, καὶ φοβηθεῖσαι οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπεν ).

The γάρ clause is very often, in fact, put in an early parenthesis in idiomatic Greek"<sup>100</sup>.

That the ingenuity of the scholarly mind will go even further to prove what one is already determined to prove is demonstrated by an article by T.C. Skeat<sup>101</sup>. He calls attention to a metrical paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos of Candia (c. A.D. 1500). The poem ends with the Assumption of Moses and the final couplet terminates on a note of fear ("reverential awe") and is very abrupt here. Skeat's inference is most interesting; "these lines indicate that a latter day Greek author, whose level of intelligence and literary abilities cannot have been so very different from those of St. Mark, saw no objection to concluding his work on such a note... There are many abrupt, and seemingly abrupt endings in literature...". He now proceeds to quote another scholar to the effect that 'the conclusion in which nothing is concluded' is 'most admirable'!

In reply to the presuppositions of Skeat's article one needs only to refer to another article by W.L. Knox<sup>102</sup> where he effectively argues

that there is no parallel in the earlier part of Mk or in Jn or in Jewish and Hellenistic literature in general to such an abrupt ending for a literary composition as at Mk 16:8. He is justified in asserting that an assumption *like* the above "suits the technique of a highly sophisticated type of modern literature" and credits Mark "with a degree of originality which would invalidate the whole method of form criticism".

The emphasis of V. Taylor et al<sup>103</sup> that the natural sequel to ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ would be a μή clause ('lest') indicating that the women were afraid of something or someone is to be taken note of. The fear may have reference to the Jews or the possible ridicule of the other followers of Jesus. Since it is missing in both the pericopes "A" and "B", it is reasonable to assume that Mk had an original conclusion which contained at least such a reference. This argument is a further confirmation of our earlier inference based on the present discontinuity between section 16:1-8 and section 16:9ff.

Taking into consideration all the ingredients that Mark was likely to incorporate in his concluding paragraph, Goodspeed has attempted to reconstruct this supposedly lost pericope from the last chapter of Mt<sup>104</sup>. He has clear justification for it because, as is well known, the entire Gospel

of Mark has been incorporated by Matthew either directly or indirectly except for 40 verses. This is a departure from the usual assumption that since Mt (and Lk) part company with Mk precisely at the point denoted by Mk 16:8, the copy of Mk that the First and Third Evangelists used had its termination at that point. At first sight I am very much attracted towards Goodspeed's hypothesis. But it is pertinent to point out that he overlooks one serious aspect of the Synoptic relationship, viz. the radical departure of Luke from Mark's outline towards the concluding chapters of his Gospel, especially in ch. 24 (vide on the problematic passages in Lk 24). This procedure of Luke is best explained by his disenchantment with the Markan work in its mutilated form when he came to the last chapter of that Gospel. There is no reason why what applies to Luke should not equally apply to Matthew in view of the widely accepted dates of these two Gospels. Therefore one has to reject Goodspeed's otherwise ingenious suggestion and to be reconciled to the unpleasant fact that Mark's Gospel "had entered into life maimed"<sup>105</sup>.

Burkitt's suggestion regarding the possibility of restoration of this lost ending of Mk is by means of the evidence of the 'Gospel of Peter'<sup>106</sup>. This is apparently justifiable on two counts: first

the account of the Resurrection in this work resembles Mk 16:1-8; secondly, although this MS is defective in what follows, it gives every indication of an attempt to describe a Galilean appearance of the risen Christ, comparable to the Johannine account in ch.21. But the fact that this is an apocryphal work which the early church had justification to reject, makes its evidence suspect, however attractive it may be. In the light of these considerations, we may well surmise with Streeter that Hippolytus' description of the Second Evangelist as *κολοβοδάκτυλος* is more appropriate to the condition of his Gospel as it made its public appearance than to a physical deformity of the author himself<sup>107</sup>.

To some scholars, the idea of an "abrupt ending" of Mk is only a reflection of one's inability to relate the first 8 verses of ch.16 to the very beginning of the Gospel. Reumann says that "if one reads the Gospel of Mark through as a single unit, preferably at a single sitting, one begins to see that the seemingly abrupt ending at 16:8 is not so strange after all and is in fact quite effective as literature and witness". He points to the identity of purpose between the title (1:1), 'The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ' and the announcement of the Resurrection in 16:1-8.



At 16:8, "the reader senses that, in a way, the real beginning comes only with the resurrection thanks to which Jesus is seen as Christ; there is a Gospel message, and the Gospel is going forward and has reached him as a real book"<sup>108</sup>.

Reumann, however, simply dismisses the real difficulty with regard to v.8 confronted by scholars all these years by describing it as "ironic" and asserting: "Perhaps Mark even intended readers to infer that the women were silent only for a time; they soon told what they had heard. The evangelist's implication would be: 'Go and do thou likewise' "<sup>109</sup>.

Starting from the same premise of the evangelistic emphasis of the Gospel, Zahn goes to the other extreme when he declares: "On the other hand, the small compass of the work in comparison with the other historical books of the N.T. leaves room for the conjecture that Mark intended to add several portions to his work". He thinks that other things besides the resurrection appearances illustrating the working out of the Gospel would have been included by Mark, thus linking up with the theme expressed in the title of the book (cf. 1 Pet 1:12 with Ac 2:1-14)<sup>110</sup>.

In my view, both the above arguments are only too subjective. In fact the same argument

has been used by Farmer in favour of the Long Conclusion. "The parallel between Mk 1:45 and 16:20 is in substance striking: Jesus 'going out began to preach many things and to spread the Word (1:45)'; the disciples who had seen the resurrected Jesus, 'going out preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the Word'. The use of τὸν λόγον absolutely in verse 20 is a strong linguistic and conceptual tie uniting Mk 16:9-20 with the rest of the text of Mark. The occurrence of this phrase in a sentence featuring the activity of preaching suggests that verse 20 has come from the same redactional hand responsible for Mk 1:45"<sup>111</sup>. Since we have already rejected any possibility of vv.9-20 being authentic, this statement only confirms the weakness of subjective solutions to an intractable problem. In rejecting the above suggestions we do not deny the truth of either Farmer's claim that "There is an intelligible development in the use of ὁ λόγος throughout Mark"<sup>112</sup>, or the evangelic emphasis attributed to the author by Reumann and Zahn. We are rejecting only the wrong inferences that they draw from these incontrovertible facts<sup>113</sup>.

(b) Can a Gospel End on a Note of Fear?

In two well-written articles<sup>114</sup>

W.C. Allen thoroughly examines the use of *φοβουμαι* in the Gospel of Mark and concludes that the 'fear' of the women lends itself to a fitting conclusion to the Gospel because it is not to be understood in its usual sense of 'fright' or 'terror': " 'They were afraid', why? Because their fear was not fright or terror but the solemn awe of human beings who felt that they stood at the gate of heaven and had just received a message from the Master they loved, who was after all not dead and buried beyond recall, but now finally transfigured and changed into the Conqueror of hell and death"<sup>115</sup>.

In spite of the hearty praise of the acting editor of the Journal of Theological Studies which prefaces these articles, I cannot help feeling that Allen's conclusion is of the very stuff that one hears so often on Easter Sundays! While it is all very comforting, we would be doing a great injustice to Mark if we fail to remember that the sense of security of our preachers and their audiences was not given to those simple women folk on the first Easter morning! It takes an extraordinary person to transform the experience of that morning all on a sudden into an experience of being

"at the gate of heaven" and to realize that what was being heard was the very "message from the Master they loved".<sup>116</sup> If the Gospel records are any guide, we know for certain that neither the Apostles nor the other followers of our Lord were such supra-human beings as we tend to imagine. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that even if the women were filled with a sense of 'solemn awe', it was not unmixed with a higher proportion of sheer 'fright' or 'terror' as is natural to ordinary human beings. Besides, as V. Taylor so aptly remarks, "no difference is made to the argument if ἐφοβοῦντο implies religious awe"<sup>117</sup>. Still we are left with the issues connected with the alleged silence of the women and the absence of any follow-up account of an appearance of the Lord which led them to break their silence. Even if we accept Creed's suggestion that οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπα really means, 'they kept their experience to themselves',<sup>118</sup> the situation does not improve appreciably<sup>119</sup>.

Creed has pointed out another problem which is closely related to the abruptness of v.8, namely the relevance of v.7. In its present position it includes a divine message to the disciples which, according to the Short Conclusion "C", was not relayed by the women. Is it likely that the angel

would give such an important message which had no chance of being delivered?<sup>120</sup> The answer to this lies in either conceding the possibility of an original Conclusion beyond v.8, penned by the author of the Gospel himself, or regarding v.7 as a secondary insertion. It is, of course, natural that scholars like Creed who regard v.8 as the original ending of Mk are also generally keen to get rid of v.7 without proper warrant<sup>121</sup>. If the conjecture of v.7 being spurious is to be avoided, the only alternative is to assume that Mark had not originally intended to conclude his Gospel at v.8. This more sensible view has in fact been taken by Hort, Burkitt, Swete, Moffatt, Turner, Rawlinson, V. Taylor, Branscomb, Schniewind et al in their respective Commentaries.

Authorship, Date & Provenance of the Long Conclusion "A"

A much discussed problem is the authorship, date and provenance of the last twelve verses of Mk on the assumption that they are not original. We have to trace back all modern discussion on this to a note appearing in the Armenian Codex (dated AD 939), discovered by F.C. Conybeare at Edschmiadzin towards the close of the last century<sup>122</sup>. In this

Codex, after 16:8, there follows a little space and then the note 'Ariston Eritzu' (= of Ariston the Presbyter), as a caption for the section vv.9-20. Conybeare and Zahn<sup>123</sup> identify this Ariston with the Aristion, one of the presbyters who were the informants of Papias for the compilation of his 'Oracles of the Lord'. However, while Conybeare attributes the authorship of the last twelve verses to this person, Zahn traces the origin of this pericope as well as the insertion at v.14 in W to the work of Papias, Streeter<sup>124</sup>, Turner<sup>125</sup> and others have rightly questioned the validity of this obviously late evidence in the absence of supporting witnesses among the more ancient Armenian MSS. As Streeter observes, it was after all fashionable in later centuries to assign conjectural authorship to the various books of the N.T. So the evidence of the Edschmiadzin Codex is of no consequence in this respect.

According to Streeter, the MS evidence points in the direction of Rome or Asia Minor as the place of origin of "A" because:

(a) positively, it was current in the text of Mk used at Rome before Tatian arrived there and was also found in the text of Irenaeus who was connected with both Rome and Ephesus (AD 150-185);

(b) negatively, it was absent in the text used in Carthage, Alexandria, Caesarea and Antioch half a century later. Since "A" has more affinity with Lk than with Jn, it is possible to assume Rome as the most likely place of its origin<sup>126</sup>.

Farmer, however, contends that "the text tradition for [its] conclusion, unlike that for omission, cannot be traced to any particular ecclesiastical centre or geographical locale, nor to any singular type or textual group". His objection against Rome or any other provenance is based on Streeter's own acknowledgment that the Church of that time had no centralized organization to enforce the acceptance of a (controversial) text (cf. vv.17,18) over such a wide circle<sup>127</sup>. We will be able to resolve this problem satisfactorily only when we can decide whether the insertion of "A" was a deliberate act in response to a felt need or whether it found casual entry into the text. Suffice for the present to favour Farmer's opinion rather than that of Streeter.

There is no consensus among scholars as to whether vv.9-20 form an independent composition or not. Zahn's hypothesis that it originally belonged to a larger whole has already been mentioned<sup>128</sup>. We have also discussed the stylistic and structural features vis-à-vis the main body of the Gospel. We may now in principle conclude with Warfield: "The combined force of external and internal evidence excludes this section from a place in Mark's Gospel quite independently of the critic's ability to account for the unfinished look of Mark's Gospel as it is left, or for the origin of this section itself. The nature of the matter included in them, and the way they are fitted to the Gospel, seem, however, to forbid the supposition that these verses were composed for this place by any scribe... They seem to be a fragment rather, adopted from some other writing and roughly fitted on to the end of Mark"<sup>129</sup>. Streeter labels this pericope as "a catechetical summary" which was not "originally intended to heal a wound in the text of Mark". He explains the expanded form in W in terms of this abridged nature of the document which lends itself to expansion<sup>130</sup>.



However, none of those who hold "A" to be spurious has provided a satisfactory explanation as to how this pericope got appended to the Gospel of Mark in such an infelicitous manner. When we consider the next problem that remains to be discussed we will realise that this Gospel was first exposed to the public in a mutilated form. It was then natural that the absence of a Resurrection account when compared to the other Gospels would be seriously felt by the Christians. The first scribe who attempted to make good this loss would have collected as much information as he could from other sources and entered the present pericope as a summary of such tradition at the end of the Gospel. As in the case of many other ancient glosses, this gloss too got copied by subsequent scribes. The fact that some of the ancient authorities exhibit an awareness of the secondary nature of this passage while others treat it as part of the text, suggests that some scribes had overlooked or ignored the scholium or demarcating space accompanying this gloss in their exemplar<sup>131</sup>. This hypothesis alone will reconcile the different MS traditions pertaining to the Long Conclusion and the Intrinsic Probability we have considered. The Shorter Conclusion came to be composed only in regions where the tradition of the Long Conclusion was absolutely unknown.

The supporters of the nonauthenticity of "A" are broadly agreed about the date of its first entry into the text: e.g. Warfield (AD 100-130)<sup>132</sup>, C.S.C. Williams (AD 100-125)<sup>133</sup>. The copying of "A" after "B" or "B" after "A" must be considered as a secondary stage in the transmission of the interpolated texts. Hort says: "Its authorship and its precise date must remain unknown: it is however apparently older than the time when the Canonical Gospels were generally received"<sup>134</sup>. This seems to be the most realistic approach to the problem of the date of the Long Conclusion<sup>135</sup>.

(c) There is only one more problem to be discussed in our exploration of the Conclusion of Mk: What was the fate of the Second Gospel as it left its author's hands? At the very beginning we mentioned two possibilities: (i) The author was prevented from completing the Gospel, and so the Gospel had to be released as it was; or (ii) the Gospel accidentally lost a leaf at so early a date that the loss could not be made good from any source. Both these possibilities are equally tenable, and until some new evidence is forthcoming, we will have to keep an open mind about them.

(i) Even in modern times there is an element of uncertainty about the span of human existence. One can never be dogmatic about what happened to an individual in the distant past so long as firm evidence is lacking. It may be that sudden illness or even death would have prevented the Evangelist from completing the job he had undertaken. When we remember the long-standing tradition about the fate of St. Paul and St. Peter (with both of whom Mark was so intimately associated) during the Neronian persecution, due weight has to be given to the possibility of an abrupt termination in the composition of the Gospel caused by the sudden death of the Evangelist<sup>136</sup>.

(ii) In times of persecution not only Christian persons, but their property also is in real danger. It is possible that the last portion of the papyrus roll which contained the original autograph suffered mutilation either through religious persecution, or through some accident before it could be duplicated<sup>137</sup>. Of course, it could be argued that if that was the case, the loss could have been rectified by the author. But who knows what happened to the author himself? Since this problem involves a phenomenon that is unique to this book in the whole Bible,

without visualizing some extra-ordinary circumstance, it is difficult to explain the total disappearance of the disputed passage from such a wide range of textual traditions<sup>138</sup>. This is particularly striking because of the wide popularity that this Gospel enjoyed during the first century and a half. It is true that its popular appeal did wane for a while, but that was a much later development<sup>139</sup>. The fact that Mk got copied by Matthew and Luke is sufficient proof for its early popularity. It is also amazing that it has survived at all despite the arrival of Mt and Lk<sup>140</sup>.

### Conclusion

What are the results of this long investigation? They may now be summarised:

(i) Neither the Long Conclusion "A" nor the Shorter Conclusion "B" has any claim to originality. Nor does the Short Conclusion "C" ending at 16:8 conform to the original design of Mark.

(ii) The apparently mutilated form of the original Gospel was accidental.

(iii) Both "A" and "B" are of very early origin and both go back to apostolic traditions. Both originated without reference to each other: the very existence of the latter confirms the spuriousness of the former. Both were designed to fill a lacuna, having been originally written as glosses. Their basic difference lies in their lengths and in the way in which they serve their purpose as Resurrection narratives. "B" fits the context well despite its extreme brevity; the intrinsic evidence betrays its alien origin, while it does not provide a smooth connexion with v.8. But "A" betrays its alien nature all too soon: it does not tally with 16:1-8 at all and contains material belonging to various strata of early Christian traditions, part of which can be identified as apocryphal (vv.17,18).

(iv) Critical editors and translators of the N.T. have a great responsibility to educate the readers on the unavoidable facts about Mk. These two concluding sections should be clearly demarcated from the rest of the Gospel with appropriate footnotes. Their relative sequence is immaterial. The way in which the NEB treats these pericopes leaves much to be desired<sup>141</sup>.

(v) A critical study of the last chapter of Mk enables us to have a proper perspective about the Canon of the Scriptures. To quote Metzger, "Since Mark was not responsible for the composition of the last twelve verses of the generally current form of his Gospel, and since they undoubtedly had been attached to the Gospel before the Church recognized the fourfold Gospels as canonical, it follows that the New Testament contains not four but five evangelic accounts of events subsequent to the Resurrection of Christ"<sup>142</sup>. The age-old controversy in the Church between tradition and Scripture in relation to the faith of the Church should be viewed in the light of the insight about the Canon that the conclusion of Mk provides. If the Church is to treat 16:17,18 as inspired Scripture it would only help create intellectual confusion. If however, Christians are made to understand the deuterocanonical nature of the present pericopes it could perhaps be the first step towards appreciating the so-called 'deutero-canonical' Scriptures and would thus pave the way for greater ecumenical understanding.

<sup>1a</sup> Although Justin has no specific reference to Mk, he appears to reflect Markan influence, Apol 1.45: ἐξελεθόντες πλάταχου ἐκήρυξεν, cf. Mk 16:20, ἐξελεθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πλάταχου (cf. Farmer, SNTS Monograph Series 25, p.31). But Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.124, is doubtful about this because of the dissimilarity in the sequence.

<sup>1</sup> Ezra Abbot's comment on Burgon's famous monograph is interesting: "It is written... with great warmth of feeling, in the spirit of a passionate advocate rather than that of a calm inquirer. The author appears to have been especially stimulated to the defense of the last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark by his zeal for the damnatory part of the Athanasian Creed, which he not only regards as justified by Mark XVI:16, but actually identifies with that verse". (Journal of the American Oriental Society, X (1880), p.199; cf. Moffatt, Historical NT, p.550, n.2: "All that can, together with a good deal that cannot be said in favour of the passage and its authenticity, may be seen by the curious in Burgon's well-known treatise".)

<sup>2</sup> Some Thoughts, pp.154f.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, pp.337-44.

<sup>4</sup> Primitive Text, p.195.

<sup>5</sup> SNTS Monograph Series, 25 (1974), p.109.

<sup>6</sup> Introduction, pp.71f.

<sup>7</sup> P.126 and note.

<sup>8</sup> Text of the NT, p.226.

<sup>9</sup> Introduction (E.T.), II, p.469.

<sup>10</sup> Neotestamentica et Semitica, pp.157-80.

<sup>11</sup> Zahn, op.cit., p.469.

<sup>12</sup> St. Mark, p.cxii.

<sup>13</sup> Op.cit., pp.74f; Contrast Streeter, Four Gospels, p.336.

<sup>14</sup>Textual Commentary, p.126.

<sup>15</sup>C.R. Williams, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 18 (1915), p.358.

<sup>16</sup>Historical Introduction, p.162.

<sup>17</sup>Op.cit., pp.58f.

<sup>18</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.29.

<sup>19</sup>NT in Greek, Introduction<sup>2</sup>, p.213.

<sup>20</sup>Salmon, loc.cit.

<sup>21</sup>According to Abbé Martin, Cod. 743 repeats the arrangement as in L in this section of Mk (cited by Warfield, Textual Criticism, p.200).

<sup>22</sup>Hort, Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.30.

<sup>23</sup>Strangely enough, Burgon who was the first to point out this feature of the MS, was not so convinced as to change his views with regard to the Long Conclusion of Mk. (Cf. Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark, p.230)

<sup>24</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.30.

<sup>25</sup>Two Lectures, p.26.

<sup>26</sup>Some Thoughts, p.154, n.2.

<sup>27</sup>Farmer, op.cit., p.49. He evidently ignores the support given by Hcl<sup>mg</sup> to Syr<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., pp.47ff.

<sup>29</sup>So Swete, St. Mark, p.cx.

<sup>30</sup>Op.cit., p.336; cf. Warfield, loc.cit.

<sup>31</sup>Text of the NT, pp.227f; cf. J.W.E. Dunn, ExpT 83 (1971-72), p.312.



<sup>32</sup>Op.cit., p.476; cf. Hort, Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.44.

<sup>33</sup>Farmer, op.cit., pp.3-49, questions the authority of each of these witnesses. But Hort, op.cit., pp.32ff, and Metzger, Textual Commentary, pp.122f, (cf. Text of the NT, p.226), treats this evidence as of great value. Even if we reject all the patristic evidence, the data provided by NB 22 k Syr<sup>S</sup> L cannot be ignored.

<sup>34</sup>Historical NT, p.553; cf. Réville, Jésus de Nazareth, II, pp.428-52.

<sup>35</sup>Op.cit., p.50.

<sup>36</sup>Textual Commentary, p.126.

<sup>37</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.50.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Four Gospels, p.359.

<sup>40</sup>Salmon's observation deserves serious attention in this connexion: "Long before any Gospel was written, the belief in the Resurrection of our Lord had become universal among Christians and this doctrine had become the main topic of every Christian preacher. A history of our Lord, in which this cardinal point was left unmentioned, may be pronounced inconceivable". (Historical Introduction, p.163).

<sup>41</sup>Op.cit. pp.107f.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Hort, op.cit., p.31; Farmer, op.cit., pp.4ff.

<sup>43</sup>This is the third book in a series attributed to Eusebius. Only a condensed form of his original work "On the Discrepancy of the Gospels" is extant in the text published by Mai, 1874 (Nova patrum Bibliotheca, IV, pp.219-309): "An Abridged Selection from the 'Inquiries and Resolutions in the Gospels' by Eusebius"; [cf. Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne, XXII, pp.937-58, 1016; Burgon, op.cit., pp.44-6]

<sup>44</sup>Farmer, op.cit., pp.6f.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p.6.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p.7.

<sup>47</sup>Op.cit., p.32.

<sup>48</sup>Cf. Farmer, op.cit., pp.6f.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. ibid., p.64.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p.65.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p.64.; Moffatt, op.cit., p.553.

<sup>53</sup>So Farmer, loc.cit.

<sup>54</sup>Cf. C.S.C. Williams, Alterations, p.44.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid. Opposing Streeter's arguments against such possibilities (cf. Four Gospels, p.341), Williams says: "but they do not apply here if we suppose that the autograph copy of Mark was mutilated not of course by a Council but by an individual who believed with St. Luke that the Apostles waited in Jerusalem for the Lord's Alter Ego or Spirit and who rashly assumed that if the Risen Lord appeared in Jerusalem, then He could not have appeared also to some disciples in Galilee and, who perhaps was offended by the phrase 'after three days' ".

<sup>56</sup>Op.cit., p.49.

<sup>57</sup>Op.cit., p.202; cf. Streeter, op.cit., p342.

<sup>58</sup>Op.cit., pp.70f.

<sup>59</sup>Cf. especially, p.12.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp.67f.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p.66.

<sup>62</sup>Cf. ibid., pp.27ff,60.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p.72.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p.73.

<sup>65</sup>Op.cit., p.49; cf. Warfield, op.cit., p.202.

<sup>66</sup>Farmer (op.cit., p.74) seems to be concerned only about the "widespread acceptance" of "A" attested by early patristic and versional witnesses. But one has to bear in mind that not only the witnesses to "C", but also the witness to "B" alike, are pointing to the non-existence of "A" in many circles of ancient Christendom; cf. Streeter, op.cit., p.336.

<sup>67</sup>Cf. Hort, op.cit., pp.49f.

<sup>68</sup>γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν *καινῶν* (17) ('to speak in tongues' is found in Paul and Ac frequently; but 'to speak in new tongues' is unique here in the N.T.). Cf. Mk 16:2; Mt 28:1; Lk 24:1; Jn 20:1,19; Ac 20:7; 1 Cor 16:2.

<sup>69</sup>Cf. Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.125, Zahn, op.cit., p.475.

<sup>70</sup>Op.cit., p.103.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., pp.83-103.

<sup>72</sup>Hort, op.cit., p.48: "The vocabulary and style of vv.9-20 not being generically different from that of the first three Gospels, it is naturally easy to discover many coincidences with Mc as with others".

<sup>73</sup>Op.cit., pp.136-90.

<sup>74</sup>Op.cit., p.151; cf. Scrivener, Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, p.342, n.2.

<sup>75</sup>Op.cit., p.cxii.

<sup>76</sup>Hort, op.cit., p.49, calls attention to the attempt of some MSS to redress this, which shows that this defect had been felt in some circles early enough.

<sup>77</sup>Cf. Hort, op.cit., pp.47f, Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.125.

<sup>78</sup>Textual Commentary, loc.cit.; cf. Hort, op.cit., pp.48f.

<sup>79</sup>Op.cit., p.103.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Op.cit., pp.470f.

<sup>82</sup>Op.cit., p.475.

<sup>83</sup>Op.cit., pp.475f.

<sup>84</sup>Cf. Reumann, Jesus in the Church's Gospels, pp.353-4, n.2; Moffatt, op.cit., p.551 and n.2; Zahn, op.cit., p.471: He says: "The language of ver.19 is that of the Apostolic Creed, not of the Gospels, while that of ver.20 resembles the apostolic teaching (Heb ii:3f; Rom x:14f; xv:18f; Col i:6; 1Tim iii:16; Acts xv:12)".

<sup>85</sup>Cf. Moffatt, op.cit., p.553; contrast Salmon, Introduction, pp.143-51.

<sup>86</sup>Loc.cit. While agreeing with this observation, it must be pointed out that his statement: "there is nothing in this passage betraying its dependence on a canonical Gospel" is to rash a judgement in view of the foregoing correspondence.

<sup>87</sup>Vide Allen, St. Mark, p.193.

<sup>88</sup>Cf. V. Taylor, Text of the NT, pp.89f

<sup>89</sup>Metzger, Textual Commentary, pp.124f; cf. C.S.C. Williams, op.cit., p.43.

<sup>90</sup>Cf. Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica, iii, 39.7,14.

<sup>91</sup>Op.cit. p.474. By the word 'outlinear' the translator apparently meant to convey the idea of 'sketchy'!

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., pp.472f.

<sup>93</sup>C.S.C. Williams, op.cit., p.43, underscores the resemblance of the tenor of the disciples' reply to 2Pet and Jude in regard to the weakening of

the faith due to the power of evil; so there is justification in his surmise that the author may have lived at a time of real persecution of the Church.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., pp.472f.

<sup>95</sup>Two Lectures, p.27; cf. Hort, op.cit., p.46.

<sup>96</sup>Burkitt, loc.cit.; Taylor, St. Mark, p.608.

<sup>97</sup>Locality and Doctrine, pp.1-23; cf. Cadbury, JBL 46 (1927), p.344.

<sup>98</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>99</sup>St. Mark, p.191.

<sup>100</sup>JTS 49 (1948), p.144; cf. Allen, JTS 47 (1946), p.48.

<sup>101</sup>JTS 50 (1949), pp.57f.

<sup>102</sup>HTR 35 (1942), pp.13-23.

<sup>103</sup>Op.cit., p.610; cf. Streeter, op.cit., p.337; Rawlinson, St. Mark, p.268; Burkitt, op.cit., p.28.

<sup>104</sup>New Solutions, pp.116-22.

<sup>105</sup>So Burkitt, op.cit., p.34.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., pp.30ff.

<sup>107</sup>Op.cit., p.336; cf. C.S.C. Williams, op.cit., p.43; Goodspeed, op.cit., p.116, is right in refuting any attempt to reconstruct the 'lost ending' of the original Gospel of Mk from the present Long Conclusion. We have stressed its remoteness from this Gospel on considerations of Intrinsic Probability.

<sup>108</sup>Jesus in the Church's Gospels, p.112; cf. Wikgren, JBL 6 (1942), pp.11-20; Wellhausen, Evangelium Marci, p.137.

<sup>109</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>110</sup>Op.cit., p.479; cf. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, p.83.

<sup>111</sup>Op.cit., p.102.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid.

<sup>113</sup>J.M. Creed, *JTS* 31 (1930), p.179, finds no abruptness at 16:8 on the ground that Mark is rather a faithful transmitter of traditional material than an author in his own right. "Mark ends his Gospel with the story of the burial of Jesus and the empty tomb. And it is in every way a proper ending". But one wonders whether the absence of an account of the Resurrection appearances would have satisfied the curiosity of the audience in Rome to whom this Gospel was addressed!

<sup>14</sup>*JTS* 47 (1946), pp.46-9; *ibid.*, 48 (1947), pp.201-3; cf. Allen, *St. Mark*, p.191; Wellhausen, *Evangelium Marci*, p.137.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, 47, p.49; cf. Kümmel, *op.cit.*, p.72.

<sup>116</sup>Cf. Swete, *op.cit.*, p.398.

<sup>117</sup>*Op.cit.*, p.609.

<sup>118</sup>*JTS* 31 (1930), pp.177f.

<sup>119</sup>Contrast C.H. Turner, *Gore's Commentary, St. Mark*, p.124. He suggests that Mark may have gone on to relate an appearance to the women which would have quieted their fears and enabled them to carry the angel's message to the disciples; therefore the reference to the silence of the women is to be understood as, 'they did not deliver the message at once'. Even if there is no linguistic justification for this rendering, the facts of the case would no doubt warrant such an implied meaning.

<sup>120</sup>*Op.cit.*, pp.176ff.

<sup>121</sup>Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge, I*, pp.13-20; Ottley, *JTS* 27 (1926), pp.407-9; R.H. Lightfoot, *op.cit.*, pp.1-48; Allen, *JTS* 47 (1946), pp.46-9; Richardson, *JTS* 49 (1948), pp.144f; Lohmeyer, *Meyer's Kommentar*,

pp.356-60; Wellhausen, *Evangelium Marci*, pp.136f; Klostermann, *Markusevangelium*, pp.191f. Strangely enough, Kummel, *op.cit.*, p.72, claims that the contradiction in question was deliberately created by Mark which permits no continuation at all beyond v.7; i.e. v.7 is the real culmination of the Gospel which the author proceeded to narrate beginning from 1:1; cf. Creed, *op.cit.*, p.177.

<sup>122</sup>Cf. Exp IV, no.8 (1893), pp.241ff; *ibid.*, no. 10 (1894), pp.219ff; *ibid.*, no.2 (1895), pp.410ff.

<sup>123</sup>*Op.cit.*, p.473; cf. Gregory, *Canon and Text*, p.511; A.C. Clark, *Primitive Text*, p.74.

<sup>124</sup>*Op.cit.*, pp.345f.

<sup>125</sup>*Op.cit.*, p.84.

<sup>126</sup>*Op.cit.*, pp.348-50.

<sup>127</sup>*Op.cit.*, pp.73f; cf. Streeter, *op.cit.*, p.342.

<sup>128</sup>Cf. Moffatt, *op.cit.*, p.550.

<sup>129</sup>*Op.cit.*, p.203.

<sup>130</sup>*Loc.cit.*

<sup>131</sup>Cf. Streeter, *op.cit.*, pp.350f.

<sup>132</sup>*Op.cit.*, p.204.

<sup>133</sup>*Op.cit.*, p.42; cf. Moffatt, *op.cit.*, pp.550f; Zahn, *op.cit.*, p.475; Chase, *Syriac Element*, pp.150ff.

<sup>134</sup>*Op.cit.*, p.51.

<sup>135</sup>Cf. Streeter, *op.cit.*, p.350.

<sup>136</sup>Cf. Zahn, *op.cit.*, p.479.

137 C.S.C. Williams, op.cit., p.44; Streeter, op.cit., p.338.

138 Cf. Hort, Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.49.

139 Streeter, op.cit., p.339.

140 Cf. ibid.

141 J.W.E. Dunn, Expt 83(1971-72), pp.311f.

142 Text of the NT, p.229; cf. Hort, Notes, p.51.



III.

c. Lk 9:54-56: The Refusal of a Samaritan  
Village to Receive Jesus

Disputed words:

A v. 54: [ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν]

B v. 55: [καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκ οἴδατε οἴου πνεύματός ἐστε]

C v. 56: [Ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν  
ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι ἀλλὰ σῶσαι]

External Evidence:

54 αὐτοῦς p<sup>45,75</sup> N B L Ξ 700\* 1241 it<sup>aur.e.1</sup> vg syr<sup>a.3</sup> cop<sup>sa.bo</sup> arm geo  
Jerome Cyril // αὐτοῦς ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν A C D K W X Δ Θ Π Ψ  
f<sup>13</sup> 28 33 565 700<sup>mk</sup> (892 omit καὶ) 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1242  
1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2143 2174 Byz Lect l<sup>695.m, 1855.m, 11275.m</sup> it<sup>a,b,c,d,t,q,r</sup>  
syr<sup>p,h,pal</sup> cop<sup>bo,m,ss</sup> goth eth Marcion Diatessaron<sup>a.3</sup> Ambrosiaster Basil  
Gaudentius Chrysostom Augustine Antiochus  
55-56 αὐτοῖς. p<sup>45,75</sup> N A B C L W X Δ Ξ 28 33 565 892 1009 1010  
1071 (1241 αὐτοῦς) it<sup>1</sup> Lect syr<sup>a</sup> cop<sup>sa.bo</sup> eth Basil Cyril-Jerusalem Jerome //  
αὐτοῖς. καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκ οἴδατε οἴου πνεύματός ἐστε. D (l<sup>11275.m</sup> ἐστε ὑμεῖς) it<sup>d</sup>  
geo // αὐτοῖς. καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκ οἴδατε οἴου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς; 56 ὁ γὰρ  
υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι ἀλλὰ σῶσαι.  
K Π Ψ 1079 1242 1546 (1365 οἴου) (2143 οἴου and ἔλθων) (f<sup>1</sup> l<sup>1079</sup> οἴου  
and omit γάρ) (Θ) f<sup>13</sup> 1195 omit ὑμεῖς and γάρ) (1230 1253 1344 1646 omit  
ὑμεῖς and γάρ and read ἀποκτεῖναι for ἀπολέσαι) (2174 οἴου...omit ὑμεῖς  
and γάρ) (700 1216 οἴου...omit ὑμεῖς and γάρ and read ἀποκτεῖναι for  
ἀπολέσαι) Byz l<sup>76, 1855.m, 331, 851, 853, 950, 1579, 1642</sup> (l<sup>1201</sup> οἴου) it<sup>f,q</sup> (it<sup>a,b,r,1</sup> omit γάρ, it<sup>c</sup>  
omit ἀνθρώπων, it<sup>aur,e</sup> vg omit γάρ and ἀνθρώπων) syr<sup>a,p,h</sup> cop<sup>bo,m,ss</sup> (goth  
omit ὑμεῖς and ἀνθρώπων) arm Marcion Diatessaron Ambrose Epiphanius  
Antiochus

Observations

(i) The absence of the entire group of readings from P<sup>45,75</sup> B X L Ξ 1 28 71 157 Syr<sup>s</sup> Vg<sup>mss</sup> cop<sup>sa bo</sup>

Cyr is a factor not to be lightly ignored.

(ii) At the same time they are found as a whole in  $\Theta$  1242  $f^1 f^{13}$  and most other Greek MSS, most Latin Versions including Vg<sup>mss</sup> and the best of the Old Latins, in Syr<sup>c,p,h</sup>, Marcion and possibly the Diatessaron.

(iii) The reading [B] as such, attested by the two sides of Codex Bezae and the Georgian Version alone, does not seem to represent the actual state of affairs of this portion of the text in the original.

(iv) But for this deviation and a few stylistic variations of a minor nature, "the distribution of documents is virtually the same" in respect of [B] and [C]<sup>1</sup>, thus betraying a solidarity of origin.

(v) Patristic evidence, though rather meagre on either side, is more in favour of the retention of the missing words<sup>2</sup>.

(vi) No doubt the omissions go back to the second century; but as early as that date we also find evidence for the existence of the readings in some MSS.

Thus the External Evidence is not decisive except that it offers a hint that the last two readings are most likely to stand or fall together<sup>3</sup>. From the last-mentioned point it would appear that our choice has to be between a theory of parallel tradition and that of deliberate suppression. In the following discussions we will treat [A] as a special case as distinct from [B] and [C].

### Internal Evidence

#### Transcriptional Probability

##### (i) Possibilities of Insertion

In comparison with Lk. 22:43f and 23:31a, this passage (i.e. [B] and [C]) has less to do with religious sentimentality, although it adumbrates a dominical teaching of great value. Yet it is amazing that when compared to many of the better known teachings of our Lord this passage should have been subjected to so much scribal manipulation.

(a) On the assumption that the short text was the original, von Soden regarded Tatian as responsible for the additions<sup>4</sup>. But his evidence for Tatian is the Arabic Version of the Diatessaron, which is known to have been influenced by the Peshitta<sup>5</sup>. And one cannot be sure as to whether Tatian's

Diatessaron read all the three pieces of additional text. Even if it did, we have no means of testing how far it was influential outside Syria so as to give rise to such a wide range of witnesses for the long reading<sup>6</sup>.

(b) Harris suspects Marcionite influence ~~behind~~ the three additional readings. In his view, the first addition was "just the gloss for a Marcionite exegete to have made since it kept before the reader's mind one of the main points of the system of Marcion. As for the addition of the remaining portion, since "the disciples were acting as though they belonged to the Just God rather than to the good God", it was also an effective tool for Marcionite propaganda against the O.T.<sup>7</sup>. Lagrange, however, thinks that such influence, if at all plausible, would be confined to the first two parts, and not to the third and adds: "mais Tertullien ne le dit pas expressément; encore moins lui reproche-t-il d'avoir ajouté ces mots. De sorte qu'on hésite à les reconnaître comme une addition de son cru"<sup>8</sup>.

Further, as Ross points out, the short passage which speaks of the request of James and John would have sufficed Marcion's purpose<sup>9</sup>. Both the above hypotheses reveal a tendency to

ascribe any passage involving a controversial topic to either Tatian or Marcion. Our study of the various passages where such suspicion has been expressed shows that the influence of these two 'heretics' in the matter of Scriptural emendation has been marginal. These theories need be considered seriously only in the absence of other satisfactory explanations.

(c) Easton, on the other hand, holds that the 'additions' are likely to be "an early (Marcionite?) gloss to relieve the brevity of the narrative"<sup>10</sup>.

It is pertinent to ask here why the narrative is so brief and abrupt particularly towards the end of the pericope. That this is not in keeping with Luke's style will be shown below. Further, Easton's view is based on too subjective a premise because he suspects the second clause particularly on account of its "humanistic" use of the term "Son of Man". This can at once be refuted by pointing to the numerous instances in the Gospels where the term is used as a substitute for the first person singular as in Mk 2:28.

(d) Leaney and Caird<sup>11</sup> maintain that the 'interpolation' is an attempt to improve the story by rounding it off with a telling saying of the Lord. The same view is expressed in a more convincing manner by J. Knox<sup>12</sup>: "Such stories as this usually reach their climax in a saying of Jesus". Therefore, he argues, various MSS undertook to supply what was felt to be a deficiency.

These views have been questioned by Ross on the following ground: "It was not usual for second century copyists to take such pains to improve the literary effects of the Gospels"<sup>13</sup>. In Ross's opinion such scribal activity was a later development. But his argument is defective due to three reasons: First, our study of the "Greater Interpolations" as a whole will reveal that some of them give clear evidence of scribal insertion from floating tradition as early as the second century. Secondly, this is not really a case of mere literary improvement as Ross thinks. It was not uncommon for scribes to note in the margin of their Gospel texts a memorable saying of Jesus or some other relevant matter taken from a parallel context. This was indeed a crude and primitive counterpart of the modern system of cross-references. Many of our textual difficulties have arisen on account of the

confusing of such well-meaning glosses as part of the genuine text by later scribes. Thirdly, as a matter of fact, ch.9 itself yields no less than three examples in support of Knox's contention: vv.48,50,62, cf. on 12:21.

Having said this, I should think that the theory of Knox et al could be turned into an argument for retaining the saying in 55,56 on account of its conformity to Luke's method of organizing his material (vide infra).

(e) Loisy regards the passage in question as a gloss. In particular v.56 is thought to be derived from 19:10: "Cette dernière partie de la glose est imitée d'ailleurs (xix:10), et le tout est conforme à la pensée du narrateur, qui oppose implicitement l'esprit de l'Evangile, charité et miséricorde, à l'esprit d'Elie, justice et terreur; mais l'antithèse exprimée donne à l'incident une importance que l'évangéliste ne semble pas y avoir voulu mettre"<sup>14</sup>.

This is only a modified form of the hypothesis of 'harmonization' suggested by Kilpatrick. He also adds: "The phrasing of v.54 may have encouraged the interpolation"<sup>15</sup>.

Ross argues against these theories based on the resemblance between v.56 and 19:10 (cf. Jn 3:17)

because they do not satisfactorily explain the other 'additions' at 54 and 55. In fact the similarity noted is only in substance and not in words.

Harmonization has, of course, to do with parallel pericopes which, while not being identical in every respect, become suspect if perfect or near-perfect identity is detected in two corresponding passages.

But here the pericopes cited are not parallel.

And if the interest of a copyist was in assimilation, he would naturally have copied it in the text from the parallel passage. The theory of a gloss in imitation of another passage has apparently more validity; but even that is not adequate because of the defect just mentioned. Ross further argues against the possibility of interpolation at v.56 on the ground that the title 'Son of Man' would be out of fashion to a second century copyist<sup>16</sup>. This is really to misjudge the psychology of an interpolating scribe: when he inserts something in imitation of another passage he does so on the assumption that he is copying Scripture; so if he is tolerant of all other passages where the term 'Son of Man' occurs, he could be expected to be tolerant of it even with regard to an interpolation.



(ii) Possibilities of Omission

(a) Accidental omission: Since the constituent parts of the passage under discussion do not exhibit the same type of textual history, this consideration cannot be applied uniformly to all the three parts. However, Godet's suggestion of homoeoarcton in respect of *καὶ εἶπεν* (55) and *καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν* as a possible cause of omission is to be viewed with great favour, especially because none of the other explanations for the shorter readings seems to be satisfactory<sup>17</sup>. If this suggestion is acceptable, the variation concerning the reference to Elijah in v.54 could be easily dismissed as a gloss which strayed into the text.

(b) Fear of misuse by the Marcionites: cf. Zahn: "From fear that they might be utilised by the Marcionites, the disputed words in vv.54,55 were struck out, the former by some...the latter by AC etc., both by still others..."<sup>18</sup>. Blass shows a readiness here to depart from his two-recension theory with regard to Luke's Gospel and to subscribe to this view<sup>19</sup>.

Ross, however, points out that this theory which is based on Tertullian's 'Adversus Marcionem' iv.23 cannot be sustained because,

although Tertullian refers to Marcion's use of this portion of Lk to contrast the O.T. God of Elijah with the gentleness of Christ, "It is not... clear from Tertullian that Marcion used the longer version. The shorter form would have been adequate for Marcion's purposes". Blass's statement is also apt here: "It is a probable and almost necessary inference that Tertullian was not aware of any authoritative textual reasons for rejecting the phrases on which Marcion laid stress"<sup>20</sup>.

(c) Abbott suggests that omission could have been effected on account of the contradiction of the passage with Jn 7:39 ('as yet the Spirit had not been given')<sup>21</sup>.

As long as mutually irreconcilable references which do not betray any scribal interference exist in the N.T., this type of explanation is very inadequate. How would one reconcile the bequeathing of the Spirit in Jn 20:22 (before the Ascension) with the great event of the descent of the Spirit in Ac 2? (Also Jn 3:16 cf. 1 Jn 2:15; 5:19; cf. Mk 14:21). Further, there are several references in Lk-Ac where the word *πνεῦμα* does not stand for the Holy Spirit. If a scribe was unable to distinguish between the Holy Spirit and the sense in which the

word is used in the present context, how could he be expected to recognize the use of the word in all the other contexts? (vide infra).

(d) Van Oosterzee's theory with regard to the possible omissions of [A] on the one hand, and [B] [C] on the other, is as follows: First, he thinks that [A] might have been omitted on account of its derogatory reference to Elijah.

This suggestion reveals a naïve assumption that in the eyes of a scribe a derogatory reference to Elijah was more offensive than such a reference to the Apostles!<sup>22</sup> Ross's alternative suggestion, making the theory applicable to the disciples<sup>23</sup>, is equally to be rejected for the simple reason that there are apparently more offensive references in the Gospels which are derogatory either to our Lord (Jn 8:4) or to the disciples (cf. the behaviour of the disciples at the time of the Agony in Gethsemane and at the arrest of Jesus; cf. also Peter's Denial).

Van Oosterzee's suggestion with regard to the latter portion of the passage is that it might have been deleted in the interest of **sustaining zeal in the Church's fight against heresy**<sup>24</sup>. In my opinion this seems to imply that the very spirit

of O.T. times which the author wanted to discourage was still lurking in the midst of the early Church!

(e) Graefe, despite his favourable disposition towards Blass's view cited above, comments as follows:

"Da jedoch die verkürzte Lesart zahlreiche uralte Zeugen hat, so kann man zugeben, dass Lukas selbst aus Rücksichten auf überflüssigen Anstoss bei seinen Lesern in der zweiten Auflage die Kürzungen vornahm, welche nun Tischendorf acceptiert hat"<sup>25</sup>. Abbott's position is also favourable to the two-recension theory regarding Lk. He thinks that the variants have arisen here due to scribal attitudes with regard to the three constituent parts of the disputed passage: 'On the hypothesis of two editions we can well understand that the most conservative scribes would exclude all the three additional clauses of the later edition. Less conservative scribes would say as to the first clause, "At all events, the words 'as also Elijah did' represents a fact which none can dispute. That may pass"<sup>26</sup>.

The textual evidence strongly suggests that the three readings concerned should not be treated with the same measuring rod. Graefe and Abbott have overlooked this aspect of the case. Since the scholarly world has not reacted favourably

to the hypothesis of two recensions as regards the third Gospel, it is more advisable to seek other solutions which would satisfy not only the present case, but also the whole phenomenon of the 'Greater Interpolations'.

Prima facie one would tend to assume that there is no apparent reason for the omission if the verse was part of the original text. Such helplessness need, however, be expressed only if we reject the possibility of accidental omission. But if we do that, then the only alternative we are left with to explain the variant readings is the hypothesis of an extra-canonical parallel tradition that existed in the second century when the canonicity of the Gospels had not become solidified. Abbott's view regarding the variant readings mentioned earlier becomes relevant here. We could make it applicable to the scribal attitude towards this parallel tradition without subscribing to Abbott's theory of two recensions. We would certainly be right in assuming with Abbott that in the case of this Scripture passage, scribes did exercise some discretion in inserting or rejecting portions according to their instincts. Hence the variety of readings found in the MSS.

The judgments of two eminent scholars support the position we have arrived at. Resch

writes: "Denn diese Worte sind sicherlich echt und den synoptischen Jesusreden durchaus congenial. Ihre Überlieferung geht bis auf den Archetypus des Cod. D zurück. Denn das Zusammentreffen des altsyrischen und des altlateinischen Textes weist mit Bestimmtheit auf diese Quelle hin. Und wenn der uns vorliegende griechische Text des Cod. D nur die Worte bietet: *Καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐκ οἴδατε ποίου πνεύματος ἐστε,* so ist die Weglassung der folgenden Worte, welche durch die syrischen und lateinischen Trabanten des Cod. D beglaubigt sind, auf das Konto der Abschreiber zu setzen durch deren Hände der Codex im Laufe von mehreren hundert Jahren hindurchgegangen ist". Resch is here referring to the "Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente" which lay behind the archetype of Codex Bezae, the Old Latins and the Old Syriac and which have given rise to the variant readings in our N.T. <sup>27</sup>.

C.H. Dodd makes the following observation on the dominical nature of this passage: "In all probability it entered the text (at whatever stage) from floating tradition, and is authentic evidence for the text and the contents of the latter". He justifies this statement by comparing this passage to Jn 12:47: "There is a striking agreement between the passages in form, and, broadly in purport, in

spite of verbal differences. The alternation between 'Son of Man' and the first person singular is too common in the Gospels to need illustration. The form of pronouncement, ἡλθὼν with the infinitive of purpose or an equivalent " ἵνα - clause is one of the most widely established forms in which the sayings of Jesus were transmitted"<sup>28</sup>.

The opinions of these scholars were cited in order to show that if the readings [B] and [C] did not originally belong to the Third Gospel, then we can still rest assured that they go back to the earliest Christian traditions. Our decision as to their Lukan authorship will depend upon our evaluation of the Intrinsic Probability over against the other pieces of evidence we have considered. Ross's analysis of these three readings has shown that whereas the balance of probabilities is decidedly in favour of [B] and [C], the case of [A] presents a different picture: "There seems no compelling reason either for accepting or rejecting the words of [A]. Either their omission or their insertion can be readily explained"<sup>29</sup>. At the same time, he seems to favour the explanation of its existence in the Gospel in terms of an early gloss which was confused for the text by later scribes. In my judgment this would be the most

satisfying solution to the divergent MS traditions exhibited by this tiny piece of text.

### Intrinsic Probability

Our discussion so far has highlighted the dilemma in which scholars find themselves in handling Lk 9:54-56. On the one hand, there is compelling textual evidence to suggest an extraneous origin for part or whole of this text. On the other, there are serious intrinsic considerations which might lead to the opposite conclusion. It is to the latter that we must now turn.

Reference has already been made to J. Knox's suggestion with regard to the absence of a proper climax for the present episode. It is significant to note the purpose of Luke's presentation of the story in this particular context. Neither the refusal of the Samaritans to welcome Jesus, nor the rashness of the sons of Zebedee can claim to be the central theme of the narrative. Luke's sympathy for the Samaritans (cf. 10:30ff; 17:11ff) is only too well known. He is also more favourably inclined towards the disciples of Jesus than Mark or Matthew (cf. His omission of the nickname Boanerges, Mk 3:17; his deliberate omission



of Jesus' rebuke of Peter, Mk 8:33. Also, Mk 9:6; Mt 17:6 cf. Lk 9:33; Mk 14:37f, 40; Mt 26:40f, 43 cf. Lk 22:45f; see Lk 22:28ff). At the same time, when there is a saying of Jesus to be highlighted, Luke does not spare the disciples, as in the case of their dispute about greatness (22:24ff); but he so treats the story as to make the minimal reference to their dispute, then proceeds to mention Jesus' statement about their share in his *ἡμεῖς ἂν ᾖμεν* and closes the episode with a reference to their future greatness. The moral of the anecdote relating to the Samaritan village lies in the contrast between the spirit of Elijah (the spirit of revenge) and the spirit that should permeate the personality of Jesus' followers. Luke is not in the habit of leaving a moral unexpressed, although it is now only too obvious to those who are deep-rooted in Christianity. A comparison of this narrative with the other pericopes in the rest of the chapter beginning with the argument about greatness (vv.46ff) shows that in every case the theme is some aspect of discipleship, and the moral is expressly stated at the end (vv.48c, 50b, 62). (This section on discipleship is an adjunct to Jesus' sublime conception of His mission in terms of service and self-sacrifice). On the analogy of the above pattern, it is difficult to imagine how

Luke could end the present anecdote on such an abrupt note of rebuke followed by a reference to the departure of Jesus and His disciples to another village. R.A. Knox aptly says: "The suggestion that verses 55 and 56 ought to run simply 'But he turned and rebuked them; and so they passed to another village' is grotesque. Literary considerations here are decisive; the anecdote so read, is not an anecdote; if there had been no record of what our Lord said, the story would not have been told at all!"

30

It is true that the use of ἐπιτιμᾶν without a qualifying reference to the content of the rebuke is idiomatic Greek: (cf. Mt 17:18; 19:13; Lk 9:42; 18:15; Mk 10:13. This is not the only occasion according to Luke where Jesus rebukes the disciples (cf. 9:41). Although the word ἐπιτιμᾶν is not used there, the language is that of stern rebuke. So unlike the former contexts where the content of the rebuke was not required, at 9:41 the words of rebuke are expressly stated. Similarly in the present situation it would be surprising if Jesus' words of stern rebuke remain unexpressed. So [B] can be identified as the actual words of rebuke and [C] as the climax of the narrative embodying the moral of the story in Jesus' own words.

Thus it is not simply a question of stylistic consideration; it is the whole point of telling the story that is decisive here.

Montefiore's comment on this passage is pertinent here: After observing that these words are in accordance with the essence of the Gospel of Jesus, he goes on to add that in Lk, "Jesus is constantly brought into comparison with Elijah. He outdoes Elijah's miracles... Nor can we deny that the spirit of Luke ix.55, with its exemplification of vi.29 (sc. turning the other cheek), is higher and nobler than the spirit of 2 Kings 1.10-12"<sup>31</sup>. There is indeed no reason to doubt the dominical nature of the saying here. Scholars such as Zahn<sup>32</sup>, Salmon<sup>33</sup>, Dummelow, Gore, Lagrange et al are of opinion that even if it has to be rejected on textual grounds, it was very well invented. Jeremias considers [C] as non-genuine, but as constructed by Luke out of the concluding saying in Lk 6:9 with the 'Son of Man' added to give it greater solemnity<sup>34</sup>. But it is difficult to see why this would have been necessary since we have several examples of dominical sayings which carry the same title to represent the first person singular. Ross aptly asserts that if Jeremias is right "it is a characteristic piece of

Lukan artistry". In any case, so long as Lukan authorship is not questioned our line of argument would remain secure.

With regard to [B], Ross has expressed some doubt because it is not clear whether it is a statement or a question. But this is not at all so serious as he makes out. The meaning is clear - the words are meant to condemn the spirit of vengeance. Ross's remark that "Such a deliberate interpolator would have made his point, whatever it was, rather more clearly", seems to be beside the point. This saying has mainly to do with Luke's use of the word *πνεῦμα*. Of course, his references to the Holy Spirit in Lk-Ac are too numerous to deserve mention. But he also uses the word to refer to an evil spirit (Lk 11:24; Ac 19:11ff). Other uses occur at 1:17, 'Spirit of Elijah', Ac 18:25, 'fervent in spirit', 23:9 'a spirit or an angel' cf. Lk 24:37, 39 (apparition). Therefore there is no reason why the author should not have used it in the sense of 'disposition'<sup>35</sup> in the present context. The disposition to seek revenge is contrasted here with the 'inner life' of the disciple of Jesus.

## Conclusion

Thus the Intrinsic Probability confirms what the MS evidence had already pointed to, viz. that [B] and [C] are inextricably linked together in the original work of Luke. Lagrange is ignoring the textual evidence when he says: "Les trois incises sont solidaires, car la première exigeait une explication de Jėsus, d'abord opposant son esprit à celui des disciples, puis expliquant quel il était"<sup>36</sup>.

Hort's surmise that "the two latter clauses were inserted first, and then the addition to v.54"<sup>37</sup>, while not conforming to my contention, does throw light on the separate case histories of the first and second parts of this passage. Godet, on the contrary, thinks that the addition to v.56 was the first to enter the stage in the form of a gloss and then the previous two<sup>38</sup>. Metzger considers all the three clauses as "glosses derived from some extraneous source, written or oral"<sup>39</sup>. In my judgment, elimination of [A] as a gloss, and retention of the other two as essential ingredients justifying the raison d'être of the entire pericope would be a fair balancing of the External Evidence against the Internal Evidence. It may well be that the scribes who rejected [A] were exercising their sense of discretion in view of the several favourable references

to Elijah at 9:8, when confronted with the extra-canonical source which contained such a reference.

<sup>1</sup>Hort, Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.60.

<sup>2</sup>According to Zahn (GK III, p.51), Clement of Alexandria is a witness to the D text. But Tischendorf, (Novum Testamentum Graece, I, pp.543f) and Lagrange (S. Luc, p.286) doubt if the entire passage could be found in Clement.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. B. Weiss, Meyer's Kommentar<sup>8</sup>, p.423; Harnack, Marcion, Beilage IV, p.185,n.

<sup>4</sup>Schriften des NT, I, p.798.

<sup>5</sup>Lagrange, Luc, ad.loc.

<sup>6</sup>Hort, Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.22.

<sup>7</sup>Texts and Studies, II, Pt.1 (1891), pp.232-3; cf. Harnack, Marcion, TU XV (1921), Beilage IV, pp.185,n and 229.

<sup>8</sup>Critique Textuelle, II, p.264; cf. RB 30 (1921), p.611: "Les deux cas sont connexes, et il faut avouer que la difficulté est grande, à cause de la diffusion des deux additions. ... La première addition est assez clairement Marcionite, et c'est la plus soutenue; la seconde doit avoir été écrite de la même main".

<sup>9</sup>ExpT 84 (1972), pp.85-88.

<sup>10</sup>St. Luke, p.153,n.; cf. B. Weiss, Markus u. Lukas, Meyer's Kommentar<sup>7</sup>, ad.loc.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. their respective Commentaries on Lk, ad.loc.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Ross, loc.cit.

<sup>13</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>14</sup>S. Luc, pp.286-87.

<sup>15</sup>JTS 50 (1949), p.150.

<sup>16</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>17</sup>St. Luke (E.T.), pp.11-12.

<sup>18</sup>Introduction (E.T.), III, pp.24,39 and n.19;  
cf. GK, II, p.468.

<sup>19</sup>Philology, pp.90-94; cf. Graefe, TSK, 1898, pp.139-40.

<sup>20</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>21</sup>Diatessarica, VIII, pp.71ff. §356.

<sup>22</sup>Cf, Ross, loc.cit.

<sup>23</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Ross, loc.cit.

<sup>25</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>26</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>27</sup>Tu XV (1895), pp.170-71.

<sup>28</sup>Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel, pp.355-6.

<sup>29</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Ross, loc.cit. B. Reicke [StEv 1 (=TU 73 1959), pp.206-16] is justified in linking this episode and that of Martha and Mary with the Sitz im Leben of the early Church, possibly at Antioch, where "it was valuable to recollect what the Lord had done and said in situations that corresponded to those in which Christian ministers and missionaries found themselves". (p.215). "The story appears to have been told for their sake, the point being that such as do not receive the messengers of Christ should not be cursed" (p.211); cf. B.W. Bacon, JBL 37 (1918), p.24. On the contrary, B. Weiss categorically charges the author with caprice: "It is pure caprice to transfer to this journey (of Jesus) the events related in John iv". [The Life of Christ (E.T.), iii, p.160, n.1]

<sup>31</sup>The Synoptic Gospels, II, ad.loc.

<sup>32</sup>GK, II, p.468.



33 Some Thoughts, pp.150-51. The authors mentioned in this connexion are after their Commentaries.

34 NT Theology, I, p.263.

35 So Selwyn, First Epistle of St. Peter, p.184.

36 Critique Textuelle, II, p.66.

37 Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.60.

38 Loc.cit.

39 Textual Commentary, p.148; cf. Hort, loc.cit.:  
"There can be little doubt that the second and third clauses, if not also the first, were derived from some extraneous source, written or oral".

III

d. Lk 22:43,44: The Ministering Angel & the  
Bloody Sweat

Disputed words: ὡφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος . . . .  
. . . . .
ὡσει θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντος  
ἐπὶ τῆν γῆν

External Evidence:

Nestle <sup>26</sup>	Greek NT <sup>1</sup> (UBS)
im Apparat (vorher in Doppel- im Apparat klammern im Text)	
— 773 κ <sup>a</sup> A B T W 1071 <sup>26</sup> 169 <sup>pt</sup> . 70 <sup>pt</sup> . 211 <sup>pt</sup> . 1127 <sup>pt</sup> f syr <sup>s</sup> sa bo georg Mcion Cl Or mss <sup>apud</sup> Hil Ath Amb mss <sup>apud</sup> Epiph mss <sup>apud</sup> Hier Cyr JohDamasc    Lk. 22, 43—44 nach Mt. 26, 39 f <sup>13</sup>    Lk. 22, 43—45 a (καὶ . . . προσευχῆς) nach Mt. 26, 39 160. 69 <sup>pt</sup> . 70 <sup>pt</sup> . 1127 <sup>pt</sup>    43—44 ὡφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτε- νέστερον προσήχετο· καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (mit kleineren Differenzen) κ <sup>a</sup> . <sup>b</sup> D K L X Δ <sup>26</sup> Θ Π <sup>26</sup> Ψ f <sup>1</sup> 565 700 892 <sup>26</sup> 1009 1010 1071 <sup>m3</sup> 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 307 1 <sup>26</sup> . 211 <sup>pt</sup> : a aur bc de ff <sup>2</sup> il qr <sup>1</sup> vg syr <sup>c</sup> . p. h. p <sup>1</sup> arm aeth Ju Ir Hipp Dionys Arius <sup>apud</sup> Epiph Eus Hil CaesNaz GregNaz Did Ps-Dionys Epiph Chr Hier Aug Theod Leon    43—44 c. ast. vl. ob. Δ <sup>c</sup> Π <sup>c</sup> 892 <sup>c</sup> in mg 1079 1195 1216 bo <sup>m3</sup>	

Observations

(i) It is readily observable that a certain degree of suspicion was attached to the passage from very early times. The evidence of *N* is particularly striking. In this MS we find the passage enclosed within brackets and marked with dots which have been subsequently deleted. Tischendorf regards this as an indication of the authenticity of the passage because of his position that the critical marks had

been introduced by the first corrector and were later expunged by another corrector. But Hort contradicts this by saying that "it is in the highest degree improbable that it would be marked for deletion by a corrector of late times"<sup>1</sup>. The evidence provided by  $\mathfrak{S}$ , if taken in conjunction with similar data found in other MSS, indeed becomes all the more strong.

(ii) Hort and Scrivener call attention to the presence of asterisks or obeli in some uncials and cursives as well as in a few Bohairic MSS and in the margin of Syr<sup>h</sup>, but draw different conclusions from it. For Hort this is additional evidence for the spuriousness of the passage<sup>2</sup>. But Scrivener explains it away by the statement: "these, however, may very well be, and in some copies doubtless are, lesson marks for the guidance of such as read the divine service"<sup>3</sup>.

(iii) Hort's inference is further corroborated by the shifting position of the verses in some ancient authorities which Scrivener himself points out<sup>4</sup>. For example, in fam.13, they stand immediately after Mt 26:39; the margin of C<sup>C</sup> follows suit<sup>5</sup>. In Cod.547 they are found (in redder ink, with a scholion), not

only after Mt 26:39, but also in their traditional place in Lk 22. Another interesting feature in this connexion is the occurrence of this passage in Evangelistarion 253 as well as in some Greek lectionaries in the company of Jn 13:3-17 in Mt 26 in the lessons assigned for the Holy Week, the latter being found in between vv.20 and 21 and the former between vv.39 and 40. Added to this is the fact that Cod. 346, Cod.13<sup>mg</sup> and Codd.L, Q place the Ammonian sections and the number of the Eusebian Canons differently from the rest<sup>6</sup>.

(iv) We have often found the attestation of Syr<sup>S</sup> in the company of the best authorities a valuable guide. But scholarly opinion is divided on the support given by this Version to the omission here: While Streeter<sup>7</sup> finds the presence of the verses in Syr<sup>C</sup> and the Armenian Version sufficient ground for suspecting that they have been "revised out" in Syr<sup>S</sup>, Wellhausen<sup>8</sup> thinks that this is a proof of their late insertion in Lk.

(v) With regard to the patristic evidence, again, scholarly judgments vary. The margin of the Philoxenian Syriac expressly states that the passage is not found in the Gospels prevalent in

Alexandria and that it is not commented upon by Cyril in his 'Homilies on Luke'<sup>9</sup>. According to Hort<sup>10</sup>, Cyril leaves out only these two verses in the midst of a cited portion of text, vv.39-46. Burgon's assertion, "Upwards of 40 famous personages from every part of the ancient Christendom recognize these verses as part of the Gospel, 14 of them being as old, some of them being a great older than our oldest manuscripts"<sup>11</sup>, ignores the silence of such early witnesses as Marcion, Clement, Origen and Athanasius. P. Winter's summation that "The balance of patristic quotations favours the genuineness of the passage"<sup>12</sup>, is to be viewed in this light. The fact that Hilary<sup>13</sup>, followed by Jerome<sup>14</sup>, expressed their awareness of the absence of these verses from many Greek and Latin MSS of their day, coupled with the silence of both Ambrose and Cyril in respect of these verses is also a warning to us not to form hasty conclusions based on numbers alone. The omission of the reading from P<sup>75</sup> B etc. and important minuscules and Versions also lends support to this caution<sup>15</sup>.

On the whole it appears that from very early times we have witnesses both in favour of and against this passage in Lk. In fact the External

Evidence is so indecisive that there is no unanimity among scholars as to the inference to be drawn from it. Hort says: "The documentary evidence clearly designates the text as an early interpolation adopted in eclectic texts"<sup>16</sup>. V. Taylor remarks: "If we had to judge this reading by the textual evidence alone, we should probably decide in favour of the omission of 43f, for the combined witness of  $\xi^a$ , B, W, fam.13, Sy<sup>s</sup>, and the second-century Patristic writers is very strong". But he goes on to add that "we should do so with misgivings, for the evidence for the passage is also strong and early"<sup>17</sup>. Tasker echoes the same judgment when he describes the External Evidence as "too finely balanced to justify an excision of the passage from the text"<sup>18</sup>.

## Internal Evidence

### Transcriptional Probability

#### (i) Possibilities of Insertion

There is a tendency in certain circles to consider the possibilities of omission as being more realistic than those of insertion<sup>19</sup>. But this will be proved to be a baseless assumption as we proceed to examine the various arguments.

(a) Except for the disputed verses, the Lukan counterpart of Mark's account of the Agony is extremely brief. This has led M. Kiddle to suggest that this apparent "deficiency" in the original Lukan narrative might have prompted the insertion<sup>20</sup>. Moffatt subscribes to the same view when he notes: "The passage may have come from the same line of oral or written tradition, or may be simply the invention of a later editor. It is at any rate non-Lukan"<sup>21</sup>. Resch compares the verses to the Pericope Adulterae and asserts that it is probably a non-Lukan fragment of tradition which has floated into this section of Lk<sup>22</sup>.

In order to substantiate this theory we have to wait until the possibility of Lukan authorship of the passage is completely ruled out.

(b) Moffatt himself has also suggested that "Dogmatic reasons would explain alike the omission, or, as is more probable, the insertion of the passage". He quotes Keim's view that Luke was dependent upon a ' "confused Ebionite source" for the exaggerated presentation of the human conflict of Jesus' and adds that 'others strike out the passage for very similar reasons'<sup>23</sup>.

That the present text played a significant role in the early Church's conflict with those heresies centred around the person of the incarnate Christ is to be admitted. But since the MS evidence shows the existence of both the long and short readings from very early times it is difficult to claim authenticity for either reading on this basis. Dibelius' observation is worth quoting here even if it be that one cannot fully agree with him: "Indeed the textual tradition of xxii 43f is divided in such a way...that we cannot at once deny the possible correctness of the view that the verses are an interpolation. But what remains after their deletion is quite trite, for it has then neither the soteriological air of the scene as in Mark or Matthew, nor the legendary air of the full Lucan text. The Evangelist Luke could not have written in this way"<sup>24</sup>. The first part of this statement is no doubt in keeping with my own view. But his concluding remark is questionable on two counts: (a) Kiddle's article cited above, which we will have occasion to consider in further detail, brings out the inescapable fact that Luke's Gospel has a much less "soteriological air" about it, especially in regard to the Passion narrative. This is particularly evident in the way in which he



tones down the Markan passages which have to do with any allusion to a sense of tragedy or pathos. As Tasker observes, "Luke has stripped the Passion narrative of Mark of its tragic character"<sup>25</sup>.

(b) Not only Dibelius, but also all who defend the genuineness of the present verses fail to take serious note of the independence of Luke from Mark at this point (vide infra). This independence must necessarily mean that we should examine Luke's account of the scene of the Agony through his glasses, and not through Mark's or Matthew's, and try to see the relevance of its brevity in the context of Lukan theology. In other words, we cannot summarily reject the short reading on account of its brevity as such.

(ii) Possibilities of Omission

(a) Doctrinal motives: Reference has already been made to the Ebionite heresy. An oft-cited reason for the omission is the one attributed to Epiphanius<sup>26</sup>. According to him, the reading was expunged by the orthodox Christians of his day who were offended by the reference to the Son of God being ministered to by an angel. Scrivener, however, questions this evidence arguing that it has reference to the removal of ἑκ λουσε by the "orthodox" from Lk 19:41, and

not to 22:43,44<sup>27</sup>. Alford in his turn, has exposed the erroneous nature of Scrivener's contention by citing the relevant passage from Epiphanius in full<sup>28</sup>:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔκλαυσε κεῖται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίῳ·  
ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθώτοις ἀντιγράφοις καὶ κέχρηται τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ  
ὁ ἅγιος Εἰρηναῖος ἐν τῷ κατὰ αἵρέσεων πρὸς τοὺς δοκῆσαι  
τὸν Χριστὸν πεφηνέναι λέγοντας. ὀρθόδοξοι δὲ ἀφείλοντο τὸ  
ῥητὸν φοβηθέντες καὶ μὴ νοήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος. καὶ τὸ  
ἰσχυρότατον· καὶ γεγόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἴδρωσε, καὶ ἐγένετο  
ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὡς θρόμβοι αἵματος, καὶ ὤφθη ἄγγελος ἐπισχῶν αὐτόν.

It is clear from this citation that it is an allusion to Lk 22:43,44 and not to 19:41. On the other hand, Davidson<sup>29</sup> shows that there were conflicting views in ancient Christendom on the question of apportioning blame for the deletion of these verses: While Photius ascribed it to the 'Syrians'<sup>30</sup>, Nicon and Isaac the Catholic and others laid the same charge on the 'Armenians'. It would indeed be unwise to form a firm conclusion in this regard in the absence of any clear-cut evidence. It may just be that Epiphanius was expressing his own opinion in the matter.

Hort's objection to the above theory has found strong supporters as well as opponents: "Notwithstanding the random suggestions of rash or dishonest handling thrown out by controversialists there is no tangible evidence for the excision of a

substantial portion of narrative for doctrinal reasons at any period of textual history. Moreover, except to heretical sects, which exercised no influence over the transmitted texts, the language of vv.43f would be no stumbling block in the first and second centuries; and to a later time than this it would be impossible to refer the common original of the documents which attest the omission"<sup>31</sup>. This view is endorsed by Metzger: "On grounds of transcriptional probability it is less likely that the verses were deleted in several areas of the Church by those who felt that the account of Jesus overwhelmed with human weakness was incompatible with his sharing the divine omnipotence of the Father, than that they were added from an early source, oral or written, of extra-canonical traditions concerning the life and passion of Jesus"<sup>32</sup>.

J.R. Harris, however, observes: "To Hort the scribes were all angels, as far as theology was concerned"<sup>33</sup>.

Nevertheless, Lake's criticism seems to be over-exaggerated. Commenting on Mt 28:19 and Mk 16:16 he says: "It shows that in doctrinal modifications of the text, which are almost sure to be very early, it is vain to ask for much manuscript evidence.

The actual manuscripts of the gospels are all later than the period when changes of this kind were made, and the quotations of the Fathers, even when not carelessly made, are often obscured by corruptions

within their own text, especially owing to the tendency of the scribes and editors to correct patristic quotations by the norm of their own Bibles, so that quite a small amount of evidence is sufficient to establish the claim to consideration of readings which are likely to have been obnoxious to early doctrine"<sup>34</sup>. If this view is taken at its face value, then there would be no validity at all for patristic evidence for any passage. The patristic evidence that we have adduced in respect of the present text does not all conform to Lake's delineation. C.S.C. William's observation, "Today... Hort's position is in process of being abandoned"<sup>35</sup>, cannot be taken as the final word in the present case even if we do not deny the possibility of doctrinal modifications of N.T. texts in the early centuries.

Conybeare lends support to the theory that the omission was caused by the exigencies of the Arian controversy of the 4th century. He quotes an 8th century Armenian scholar to show that the verses had stood in the first translation of the N.T. into Armenian and claims that Doceticism was the real cause of their suppression: The absence of the passage from so many of the oldest codices proves a great incursion of Docetic heresy in the Armenian

church some time in the sixth and seventh centuries"<sup>36</sup>.

Hort makes some concession to this theory insofar as he states: "The suitability of these verses for quotation in the controversies against Docetic and Apollinarist doctrine gives some weight to their apparent absence from the extant writings of Orig... Cyr.hr. Greg.nys. Their controversial use led to gratuitous accusations of wilful excision"<sup>37</sup>.

Fitzmeyer, however, points to the evidence of P<sup>75</sup> which should silence all who would still attribute the suppression of the verses to the Arian heresy: "But now P<sup>75</sup>, which dates from a period well before the Arian controversy, comes forth to confirm the omission of these verses in the main uncial manuscripts. The evidence of the oldest text of Luke thus opens again the question of the authenticity of these verses"<sup>38</sup>.

(b) According to Scrivener, "We have far more just cause for tracing the removal of the paragraph from its proper place in St. Luke to the practice of the Lectionaries, whose principal lessons (such as those of the Holy Week...) were certainly settled in the Greek church as early as the fourth century"<sup>39</sup>.

That this theory is untenable could be proved from the External Evidence itself, because

in the first place, it is not the whole pericope concerning the scene of Jesus' Agony that has suffered displacement but only vv.43 and 44. Secondly, here we are dealing with data which go back earlier than the middle of the second century. Therefore it is not clear how the lection of the Greek Church could affect the MSS of a much earlier date. Next, the above hypothesis does not explain why the practice of the lectionaries has not caused displacements throughout the biblical text. Fourthly, the disputed verses are retained in Lk not only by the Antiochian text, but also by all the Syriac texts (except Syr<sup>S</sup>). This shows that the Byzantine lection was not influential in the displacement of vv.43f. Lastly, the length of the present passage (which would have filled 11 lines in a MS such as  $\aleph$ ) does not allow for the possibility of it being unconsciously dropped merely on account of the arrangement of select readings in a lectionary<sup>40</sup>.

(c) D.L. Brun<sup>41</sup> rightly refutes Schlatter's contention that the non-occurrence of the phrase *προσέχουσιν ἑκτενέστερον* in the other Gospels might have led to the omission (harmonistic tendency). Brun's verdict on this opinion as being too rash is all the more true when we remember that the Lukan

narrative is in most respects different from that of the other Synoptists in the present context. Surely harmonization would have been effected in a more thoroughgoing manner!

(d) Easton's argument in favour of the short reading as against Zahn's position seems to be defensible:

'This evidence for the omission is very strong, much too strong to be caused by Marcion or a small Group in Egypt who thought the verses to be "too anthropomorphic" ,<sup>42</sup>.

What has now emerged as a result of our study of the various possibilities is that the omission from a genuine text is less plausible than is generally supposed; on the contrary, the interpolation of the verses into a shorter text becomes a distinct possibility. This inference will receive further confirmation when we analyse the Intrinsic Probability.

#### Intrinsic Probability

(a) First of all it has to be recognized that in his narrative of the experience of Jesus in the garden, Luke resorts to a radical departure from the account of Mark. The few contacts between Lk and Mt are so unimportant that they cannot be traced to a common pre-Markan tradition<sup>43</sup>. For example, v.42,

the participle λέγων , the vocative πᾶτερ,  
the introduction of εἶ , and the use of πλῆν  
(cf. Mk: ἀλλᾶ ); v.45, the insertion of πρὸς  
τοὺς μαθητὰς ; v.46, the compound εἰσέλθῃτε.  
Of course, it is only natural that in any oral tra-  
dition certain features become fixed. So the  
textual influence of Mt on Lk need not be ascribed  
to such remote resemblances as the above. The only  
point of contact with Mk is the two-fold occurrence  
of the exhortation to prayer addressed to the disciples  
in vv.40,46. But this need not have been borrowed  
from Mk if it was already entrenched in tradition  
as an essential part of the narrative. The repeti-  
tion could then be explained in terms of Luke's  
emphasis on prayer.

The most marked deviations of the Lukan  
account from Mark's is to be found in regard to the  
following:<sup>44</sup>

1. In the introductory part, vv.39-40, the omission  
of the name Gethsemane.
2. Omission of the reference to the separation of  
the inner circle of the three trusted disciples from  
the rest.



3. Omission of Mk 14:33b, 'began to be greatly distressed and troubled'.

4. The details of Jesus' words to the disciples preparatory to his prayer are considerably curtailed and replaced by a simple exhortation to prayer, 'pray that you may not enter into temptation'. The deletion of 'My soul is very sorrowful, even to death' is particularly striking.

5. Mark's phrase, προελθὼν μικρὸν has been replaced by ἀπεστράφη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λίθου βολήν. Since no particular purpose is discernible in this alteration, it can only be attributed to a borrowing from tradition.

6. Mark's ἐπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς has been replaced by θεὸς τὰ γόνατα.

7. The thrice-repeated prayer which has a more intimate tone and which is more fully reported by Mark is substituted in Lk by a single prayer couched in a tone of self-resignation to the Father's will. It is just after this that the two disputed verses appear. Their very position<sup>45</sup> and their present order<sup>46</sup> indeed make them most suspect. First, it

is strange that after uttering such a prayer of dedication, Jesus should need the ministrations of an angel. Secondly, it is still more surprising that Jesus is reported as being in agony after receiving such strengthening. It has been debated whether the strengthening was spiritual or physical in nature<sup>47</sup>. Those who stress either of these aspects at the expense of the other are indeed ignoring the true humanity of Jesus which was in perfect integration with His true divinity<sup>48</sup>. There can be no question about the need for a strengthening on the part of Jesus because of the limitation which He had willingly accepted as part of His 'self-emptying' in the supreme event of the Incarnation. On the physical side, the need for strengthening is in keeping with the Gospel accounts of His hunger and thirst, weariness and drowsiness, indignation and sorrow. This is evident above all from the Gospel account of his inability to carry the cross to Golgotha by Himself (Mk 15:21 par.). On the spiritual side, it is of a piece with the divine voice of approval at the Baptism, the ministrations of angels after the Temptation and the appearance of Moses and Elijah, at the Transfiguration. Those who try to link the descent of the angel at Lk 22:43,44 with the voice from heaven (recorded in Jn 12:23ff), both

being the divine response to Jesus' prayer (Jn 12:27 resembles the prayer of resignation in Gethsemane) — are perfectly right<sup>49</sup>. But the most relevant question to be asked here is not whether Luke and John are recording their own versions of the same incident, but whether Luke is likely to have recorded such a reference even if he was aware of this tradition.

8. The disciples' inability to keep vigil at this critical hour of trial is attributed by Luke to their 'sorrow' (v.45).

9. The repeated reprimand, Mk 14:37,40,41a is replaced in Lk by a single question, "Why do you sleep?" (v.46).

10. The word about the arrival of the traitor, Mk 14:41b,42 is left out in Lk.

From these observations it is abundantly clear that Luke had access to an independent source in composing the present narrative. Therefore Brun's premise that the shorter Lukan version of the Agony is an abridgment of the Markan<sup>50</sup> and that in the Passion narrative Luke nowhere else abridges the Markan account without some replacement<sup>51</sup> is by no

means applicable in the present context.

(b) It is not a question of whether Luke is averse to the appearance of angels or not<sup>52</sup>. In fact the occurrence of such references in Lk-Ac is too well-known to deserve mention. But in none of those instances the angelic appearance has anything to do with physical or spiritual strengthening. So the real issue is whether Luke's theological outlook would have permitted him to mention the appearance of a strengthening angel in conjunction with a reference to the state of exhaustion of Jesus. Those who rush to conclude the authenticity of the words regarding the Ministering Angel and the Bloody Sweat fail to take note of the absence of the role of angels in connection with the Temptation Story<sup>53</sup> and the more significant omission of the Cry of Dereliction<sup>54</sup> in the Lukan Gospel. The latter omission underscores a special feature of Lukan theology, namely the absence of any reference to tragedy or pathos.

Brun is correct insofar as he observes: "Es ist klar: wenn dieser Text von Lc geschrieben, diese Darstellung derjenigen des Mc vorgezogen ist, können wir nicht umhin, seinen Bericht als absichtliche Milderung, nicht nur der Rüge an die Jünger, sondern auch des Seelenkampfes Jesu anzupassen"<sup>55</sup>. But

instead of confirming this inference, he opposes the theory of Lukan tendency to tone down or hush up the suffering of Jesus by referring to Lk 9:22,24; 9:31; 12:50; 13:31f; 18:31f, which have no parallels in the other two Synoptics<sup>56</sup>. As a matter of fact none of the references in question depicts a state of God-forsakenness as reflected in the Cry of Dereliction. The Gospel of Luke would have been no Gospel at all if it had failed to mention Jesus' awareness of the fate that awaited Him at the hands of His own nation. It would indeed have been a heightening of tragedy if He had been depicted by Luke as becoming a mere victim of a secret plot. But in all the above statements ascribed to Jesus there is an undertone of inner conviction and confidence in the Father's overbearing control of events, however disastrous they might prove to be (cf. 9:51): contrast Mk 10:32,38 with Lk 12:50; Mk 14:21, Mt 26:24 with Lk 22:22. It must also be recognized that Lk 22:30 (the disciples would become partakers of Jesus' future glory in the Kingdom of God) and 22:32 (the reference to Peter's turning back and the consequent strengthening of his brethren) have no parallels in the other Synoptics. This is quite in keeping with Luke's note of confidence and his habitual avoidance of any reference to tragedy. Kiddle rightly describes the

latter reference as "an excellent example of St. Luke's constant tendency to record past failures in the light of subsequent success"<sup>57</sup>. Luke could do so because he was writing his Gospel from the standpoint of the vindication of Jesus by His Father. "He wrote in the spirit of Easter and Whitsun rather than that of Good Friday"<sup>58</sup>. That the omission of 22:43,44 is true to the Lukan methodology is now more than evident. "Whenever sorrow and tragedy are strongly represented in St. Mark, St. Luke endeavours to divert attention from Jesus to others, making Jesus pursue His destined cause without anxiety or grief. Where this is impossible or insufficient he abbreviates the narrative. Or else he transfers the incident to another part of the Gospel where it is unassociated with Jesus' death. Or, if these methods are impracticable, in the last resort he entirely omits the whole incident"<sup>59</sup>.

(c) Vocabulary and style: Harnack's view that the style of the disputed words is decisive for Lukan authorship<sup>60</sup> has been influential with many commentators. Lagrange says: "La consideration du style...semble confirmer l'hypothèse de l'authenticité"<sup>61</sup>. Harnack himself admits that the three words *ἀγνωσία*, *ἰδρύς* and *ὄρομβος* are not found elsewhere in the N.T.

There is nothing to be disputed about the parallel to ἐνισχύειν in Ac 9:19 (but there it has definite reference to physical strengthening) or to ἐκτενέστερον in the ἐκτενώσ of Ac 12:5 and the ἐκτένεια of Ac 26:7. Harnack, however, overlooks the fact that ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ here is unique in the N.T.<sup>62</sup> (cf. Gal 1:8, ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ; Lk 2:8; Mt 1:20, 24; 2:13, 19; 28:1, ἄγγελος κυρίου ). But these instances in themselves are probably too inadequate to prove the authenticity of the verses<sup>63</sup>. In fact Easton lists the following phrases to show that the Lukan account of the Agony is based on the special source L<sup>64</sup>: v.39, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος (cf. 1:9; but 4:16; Ac 17:2, κατὰ τὸ εἶωθός ); v.40, τόπος after ἐπί (cf. 19:5; 23:35); v.41, καὶ αὐτός (cf. 2:28, 3:23; 16:24; 19:2); ὥσει (the present usage is unique in Lk). At the same time Easton points to θεῖς τὰ γόνατα, v.41 (occurs 4 times in Ac) and ἀναστῆς, vv.45, 46, as being Lukan. It must be observed that all the instances cited by Easton appear outside the disputed words, thereby suggesting a separate source for the latter. If this is true, then the few points of contact pointed out by Harnack could be treated as being accidental. In any case such a short passage is too inadequate to

form a conclusive judgment about our author's style. If stylistic considerations are any clue, they certainly point away from Lukan authorship of vv.43,44 rather than towards it;

### Conclusion

This is no doubt one of the problematic texts in respect of which religious sentimentality could easily take precedence over objective evaluation. It is understandable why scholarly opinion is so sharply divided on this problem. That a decision is difficult indeed to make may be realized from Gore's laboured statement: "...according to both AV and RV Luke gives the sweat of blood. Mark himself may have been a concealed eye-witness of the scene, and may be the source of the information, though in his Gospel he gave only the story as Peter used to relate it (!) The MSS evidence however, makes it doubtful (see RV<sup>mg</sup>) whether 43-44 occurred in the original text. If not, they would represent a tradition very early incorporated in the text"<sup>65</sup>. After having applied all the possible yard-sticks of Textual Criticism we can only echo Hort's judgment that "it would be impossible to regard these verses as a product of the inventiveness of the scribes. They can only be a fragment from the traditions



written or oral, which were, for a while at least locally current beside the canonical Gospels, and which doubtless included matter of every degree of authenticity and intrinsic value"<sup>66</sup>. In concurring with Hort we are not denying the evangelic tradition behind the reference to the Bloody Sweat and the Comforting Angel. But judging from Luke's theological orientation and methodology, we cannot but exclude the present verses from the genuine text. Plummer, supporting Hort, says that these verses, like the Pericope of the Adulteress are genuinely evangelic in origin: "It matters little whether Luke included them in his narrative, so long as their authenticity as evangelic tradition is acknowledged"<sup>67</sup>.

The fact that Heb 5:7 refers to *μετὰ κρδυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων προβενέγκας* does not necessarily imply that the author of the Epistle was aware of the existence of the present reading in the Third Gospel<sup>68</sup>. The Markan account of the Agony would have been adequate to evoke the reference from such a genius as this anonymous writer. Tasker has with justification reminded us that if we were to depend solely on Lk we would not have a true picture of what it cost God to redeem men's souls!<sup>69</sup> W. Manson's statement: "that the strug-

gle of Jesus' soul was severe is terribly apparent"<sup>70</sup>  
becomes meaningless if we leave out vv.43,44, a pro-  
cedure for which Manson himself finds ample jus-  
tification from MS data. V. Taylor's assertion  
that since the day of Westcott-Hort, "opinion has  
steadily mounted in favour of the genuineness of the  
passage"<sup>71</sup> cannot be taken as authoritative because  
of the opposing views we have already considered<sup>72</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Notes, p.65.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, p.354. It must be remembered that Scrivener draws upon the same type of evidence to prove the spuriousness of Jn 5:3-4; cf. *ibid.*, pp.361f; see Aland, NTS 12 (1955-56), p.203.

<sup>4</sup>Op.cit.

<sup>5</sup>C is defective in Lk 22 from v.19.

<sup>6</sup>On all these points, see Nestle, Introduction (E.T.), p.277; cf. Scrivener, *loc.cit.* Scrivener dismisses this anomaly by the remark that "this kind of irregularity very often occurs in the manuscripts". There is no reason to doubt this; but taken along with all the other relevant data, the genuineness of the passage becomes most suspect.

<sup>7</sup>Four Gospels, p.137.

<sup>8</sup>Evangelium Lucae, *ad.loc.*; cf. Zahn, *Forschung*, VII.1, p.151. "Ihr Fehlen in syr. vt. ist nur unter der Voraussetzung erklärlich dass sie dem Lc-Übersetzer noch unbekannt waren; dieser muss also älter als T[atien] gewesen sein". See Burkitt, *Evangelion*, II, p.195.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Scrivener, *op.cit.*, p.354.

<sup>10</sup>Op.cit., pp.66f.

<sup>11</sup>Revision Revised, p.81.

<sup>12</sup>StTh vii-viii (1955-56), p.161, n.1.

<sup>13</sup>Hilary, *De Trinitate*, X, 41 (PL 10, 375); cf. Scrivener, *op.cit.*, p.355; Fitzmeyer CBQ 24 (1962), pp.177f.

<sup>14</sup>Jerome, PL XXIII, 578.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Fitzmeyer, *loc.cit.*, Aland, *loc.cit.*

<sup>16</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.66.

<sup>17</sup>Text of the NT, pp.93f.

<sup>18</sup>The Greek NT, p.423.

<sup>19</sup>Lagrange, Luc, p.526; Stuhlmüller (Jerome Commentary), ad.loc., Harrington (New Catholic Commentary), ad.loc.

<sup>20</sup>JTS 36 (1935), p.275.

<sup>21</sup>Introduction to the Literature of the NT<sup>3</sup>, p.275; cf. T. Keim, Jesus of Nazara (E.T.), IV, p.17,n.

<sup>22</sup>TU X,2, pp.721f.

<sup>23</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>24</sup>From Tradition to Gospel (E.T.), p.201,n.1. Of course, Dibelius is using the word 'legend' in the technical sense popularised by the Form Critics.

<sup>25</sup>The Nature and Purpose of the Gospels, p.54.

<sup>26</sup>Ancoratus 31,4-5 (GCS 25.40); cf. Burgon, op.cit., p.82; Streeter, op.cit., p.137; C.S.C. Williams, Alterations, p.8; Klostermann, Lukasevangelium, p.584.

<sup>27</sup>Scrivener, Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, p.355f.

<sup>28</sup>The Greek NT<sup>5</sup>, ad.loc.

<sup>29</sup>Biblical Criticism, II, p.438; cf. Scrivener, op.cit., p.355,n.2; see Hort Notes<sup>2</sup>, pp.64f.

<sup>30</sup>According to Burkitt, Evangelion, II, p.195, this may be a reference to the asterisk in the margin of Syr<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>31</sup>Notes, p.66.

<sup>32</sup>Textual Commentary, p.177; cf. Exp VIII,7 (1914), pp.322ff.

<sup>33</sup>Sidelights on NT Research, p.35; cf. B.Weiss, Meyer's

Kommentar<sup>7</sup>; Markus u. Lukas, pp.610f; he considers the MS evidence as of sufficient weight to prove the spuriousness of vv.43,44.

<sup>34</sup>Inaugural Lecture.... Leyden (1904), p.10.

<sup>35</sup>Op.cit., p.7.

<sup>36</sup>Exp V,2 (1895), p.405.

<sup>37</sup>Op.cit., p.64.

<sup>38</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>39</sup>Harris, op.cit., p.356.

<sup>40</sup>Vide Hort, Notes, pp.66f.

<sup>41</sup>ZNW 32 (1933), p.266; cf. A. Schlatter, Lukas, p.433.

<sup>42</sup>St. Luke, p.330; cf. Zahn, Lukas<sup>4</sup>, ad.loc., Holtzmann, HandCommentar<sup>3</sup>, ad.loc., Loisy, Luc, ad.loc., Klostermann, Lukasevangelium, ad.loc.

<sup>43</sup>Vide Easton, loc.cit.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Brun, op.cit., pp.267ff.

<sup>45</sup>Lagrange, loc.cit., recognizes this difficulty, but claims that it is not decisive against the originality of the verses. He thinks that such phenomena are likely in redactional work. Brun, op.cit., p.273, follows the same line.

<sup>46</sup>With regard to the order of the verses, Creed remarks without commitment: "It might have been expected that the appearance of the strengthening angel would be recorded before the earnest prayer and the bloody sweat". But he also does not find this a valid reason for questioning their authenticity, (St. Luke, ad.loc.). Brun, loc.cit., however, finds an inner connection between the verse in that the strengthening was instrumental in intensifying the prayer. So the bloody sweat was an indication of the intensity of the struggle. But Brun does not satisfactorily explain the position of the verses after the prayer of self-surrender.

47 To indicate a dichotomy between spiritual and physical weakness is not justified in terms of human experience (cf. Brun, op.cit., pp.270f). The weakness of the body affects spiritual strength, and spiritual weakness finds itself reflected in a lack of alertness in withstanding the onslaught of Satan. The statement ascribed to Jesus, 'The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak', found in Mk (and Mt), is significantly absent in Lk which shows that Luke is not likely to have conceived such a distinction. For it is improbable that this famous 'dominical' utterance would have been unknown to our author. It might be legitimately asked how Jesus could withstand the Temptation after his forty days' fast. While stressing the fact that we mortals cannot comprehend the spiritual heights to which the perfect humanity of Jesus would rise according to the exigencies of each situation, the salient point to remember is that for Luke it was not a question of an intense struggle so as to need the ministrations of an angel after the event; hence his omission of the reference to the angels in that context.

48 Cf. Harrington, (New Catholic Commentary), ad.loc., - the strengthening was spiritual; but Alford, Greek NT I<sup>5</sup>, ad.loc., - the strengthening was physical. Klostermann, op.cit., p.584 explains it away as figurative language; Lagrange, op.cit., p.560: it was God's own secret.

49 Harnack, Probleme im Texte der Leidensgeschichte Jesu, p.90; Brun, op.cit., p.271.

50 Op.cit., p.267: "Nach dem kürzeren Text ist die lukanische Darstellung der Gethsemanegeschichte nicht nur eine starke Kürzung, sondern auch eine erhebliche Milderung der Darstellung des Mc (und des Mt)".

51 Ibid., p.273: "Wie mir scheint, verdient hier die Tatsache genau erwogen zu werden, dass Lc in der Leidensgeschichte sonst nirgends die Darstellung des Mc ohne irgendwelcher Ersatz kürzt".

52 Cf. Harnack, op.cit., p.88 "Die Ausdruckweise  $\acute{\omega}\phi\theta\gamma \delta\epsilon$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega} \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  ist wörtlich dieselbe wie Lk 1:11...; ferner findet sich dieses  $\acute{\omega}\phi\theta\gamma$  bei Mt und Mk nur je einmal, dagegen in den lukanischen Schriften, abgesehen von unserer Stelle 30 mal".

<sup>53</sup>Brun, op.cit., p.270, notes this point, but fails to draw any worthwhile conclusion from it.

<sup>54</sup>Cf. Brun, ibid., pp.268f. Again, Brun notes this omission as a mere exception to his generalisation about Luke's abridgement of Mk in the Passion narrative, already referred to, but misses the mark by overlooking the theological significance of this omission. He simply dismisses the issue by ascribing the omission to Luke's aversion for Mark's Aramaic pun on Elijah's name. This is a very flimsy argument in that Luke could have substituted the Greek equivalent as is the case of 8:54 (Talitha Koum, Mk 5:41 = 'Ἡ ἡδὴς ἔγειρε )!

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p.268.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p.269.

<sup>57</sup>Op.cit., p.274.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p.273.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.; cf. n. 1, 2. Note Luke's method of removing much of the tension and sorrow in his account of Peter's Confession by associating with the feeding of the multitude (9:18-27). The same motive accounts for his omission of Peter's protest at Jesus' rebuke as well as Jesus' reference to the Baptist as Elijah (cf. Mk 9:9-11; 17:9-13). In fact Luke never identifies John with Elijah (cf. 1:17 with Mt 11:14) despite his several references to the Baptist.

<sup>60</sup>Op.cit., p.88.

<sup>61</sup>S. Luc, p.526.

<sup>62</sup>Cf. Brun, op.cit., p.266.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.: "Auch der sprachlich stilistisch Befund dürfte nicht so eindeutig und entscheidend sein, wie es z.B. Harnack dargestellt hat".

<sup>64</sup>St. Luke, pp.330f.

<sup>65</sup>Gore's Commentary, ad.loc.

<sup>66</sup>Notes, p.67.

<sup>67</sup>St. Luke, ICC, ad.loc.

<sup>68</sup>Cf. Harnack, op.cit., p.90; contrast Brun, op.cit., p.273, where he notes an alternative possibility: "Anderseits ist es an sich gewiss auch möglich, die VV.43,44 als sehr alte Zutat zum Lukasevangelium, auf fortschreitender Traditions- entwicklung (cf. Heb V.7f), zu verstehen".

<sup>69</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>70</sup>Luke, p.249.

<sup>71</sup>Text, p.94.

<sup>72</sup>Among those who support my line of argument may further be mentioned J. Weiss (Schriften des NT, p.475) and Nestle, Introduction (E.T.), pp.277f as against Goguel (Life of Jesus, E.T., p.493) and Leaney (St. Luke, ad.loc.).



III.

e. Lk 23:34a: Jesus' Prayer for Forgiveness  
from the Cross

Disputed words: [ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν, Πατὴρ . . . ποιούσιν]

External Evidence:

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν, Πατὴρ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιούσιν. N<sup>75</sup> A C D<sup>b</sup> (K εἶπεν for ἔλεγεν) L X Δ Π Ψ 0117 0250 f<sup>1</sup> (f<sup>13</sup> omit δέ) 28 33 565 700 892 (1009 ποιῶσιν) 1010 1071 1079 (1195 ἄ for τί) 1216 (1230 1253 Ἰησοῦς ἐσταυρωμένος ἔλεγεν) 1242 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect it<sup>aur, b, c, e, f, g<sup>2</sup>, i, r<sup>1</sup></sup> vg syr<sup>(c), p, (h, h<sup>mss</sup>), pal</sup> cop<sup>bo<sup>mss</sup></sup> arm eth geo Hegesippus Marcion Diatessaron<sup>a, e<sup>arm</sup>, i, n</sup> Justin Irenaeus<sup>1st</sup> Clement Origen<sup>1st</sup> Ps-Clement Eusebius Eusebian Canons Ambrosiaster Hilary Basil Apostolic Constitutions Ambrose Chrysostom Jerome Augustine Theodoret John-Damascus // include ὁ δέ...ποιούσιν. with asterisks E // omit P<sup>75</sup> N<sup>astid</sup> B D<sup>\*</sup> W Θ 0124 1241 it<sup>a, d</sup> syr<sup>s</sup> cop<sup>sa, bo<sup>mss</sup></sup> Cyril

Observations

(i) First of all we notice with Metzger that "The absence of these words from such early and diverse witnesses as P<sup>75</sup> BD\*W<sup>Ⓞ</sup> it<sup>a, d</sup> Syr<sup>s</sup> cop<sup>sa, bo<sup>mss</sup></sup> is most impressive..."<sup>1</sup>.

(ii) At the same time the unusual agreement of almost all the Fathers including Marcion, Tatian, Justin, Irenaeus, Clement, Origen et al in favour of the text cannot be brushed aside lightly. One may not immediately agree with Burgon when he adduces the witness of "upwards of 40 Fathers and more than 150 passages"<sup>2</sup> in support of the reading; but the antiquity of the patristic evidence, combined with the attestation of Jy<sup>\*c</sup> A C D<sup>b</sup> L X 28 33 565 700

1242 etc. should certainly weigh with us in evaluating the merits of the case<sup>3</sup>.

The problem of judging the External Evidence concerning the reading is not at all easy. While Westcott-Hort assert that "We cannot doubt that it comes from an extraneous source"<sup>4</sup>, Plummer is less confident: "The omission in such witnesses would be difficult to explain, if the passage had been part of the original. But even more strongly than in the case of xxii.43,44, internal evidence warrants us in retaining the passage in its traditional place as a genuine portion of evangelistic narrative"<sup>5</sup>. Westcott-Hort claim that "The documentary distribution suggests that the text was a Western interpolation of limited range in early times (being absent from D a b though read by e syr. crt Iren Hom. Cl Eus. Can), adopted in eclectic texts, and then naturally received into general currency"<sup>6</sup>. Burgon would however, make exclusive use of the documentary evidence to support the authenticity of the text: "We introduce no considerations resulting from internal evidence. Let this verse of Scripture stand or fall as it meets with sufficient external testimony, or is clearly forsaken thereby"<sup>7</sup>. This sounds like a reflection of passion rather than textual critical reasoning.

A.B. Bruce, on the other hand, echoes the feeling of an impassioned critic when he writes: "It is with sincere regret that one is compelled, by its omission in important MSS, to regard its genuineness as subject to a certain amount of doubt"<sup>8</sup>. Burkitt, being impressed with the witness of the Old Syriac for both 22:43,44 and 23:34a asserts: "These famous interpolations have a place in the Diatessaron, but are not found in S. They are however found in C... Yet there can be little doubt that S in omitting these passages preserves the original text of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe"<sup>9</sup>. Thus the varying degrees of confidence among scholars with regard to the MS data<sup>10</sup> only highlight the need to investigate the Internal Evidence.

### Internal Evidence

#### Transcriptional Probability

##### (i) Possibility of Insertion

On considerations of Intrinsic Probability, the disputed words are in conformity with Luke's endeavour in his Gospel to depict the tenderness and graciousness of our Lord<sup>11</sup>. So if we can decisively prove that they did not originally belong to the Third Gospel, we can realize the motive behind interpolating them into the text from floating tradition

at a very early date as Hort has suggested (vide supra)<sup>12</sup>. Moffatt concedes Hort's point, and compares this problem to that of the Pericope Adulterae; but he raises the objection that "there are almost as strong arguments for its omission from the original, apart from the difficulty of seeing why neither Mt nor Mk received the honour of its addition"<sup>13</sup>. The first part of this objection will be taken up presently; the second part of the objection can be countered by the argument from Intrinsic Probability mentioned above, namely that the subject-matter of the words has more in common with Lk than with the other two Synoptics. Loisy rightly points out that it is a bit far-fetched to argue that the insertion was based on the parallelism of Stephen's death (cf. Ac 7:60)<sup>14</sup>. Dibelius calls attention to the differences in the wording of the prayer in both contexts and says that "such a far-reaching interpolation of such a content would...be unexampled in the Gospel text"<sup>15</sup>. Gore thinks that the verse "may be one of several pieces of authentic tradition admitted very early into the text of Luke, perhaps even by himself"<sup>16</sup>. However, since Luke's Gospel is not the only one which exhibits this type of phenomenon, it would appear to be reasonable to attribute the insertion to a scribe. Otherwise we would be subscribing to the theory of two recensions

of the third Gospel, which stands rejected in this thesis. However, D. Daube's claim that "Nowadays insertion is generally considered far more likely than elimination"<sup>17</sup> may not be shared by all modern scholars.

(ii) Possibilities of Omission

A point that is of crucial importance in resolving the textual problem here is whether we can find a satisfactory explanation for the omission of such a sublime passage from the Gospels if it had stood in the original. Hort boldly asserts that "Its omission, on the hypothesis of its genuineness, cannot be explained in any reasonable manner"<sup>18</sup>. Loisy stresses the same view when he says: "L'addition semble plus facile à expliquer que l'omission..."<sup>19</sup>. Let the truth or falsity of this claim unfold itself as we examine the various theories that have been proposed to explain the deletion of the reading.:

(a) It is not at all logical to explain the omission in terms of assimilation to the Synoptic parallels as Alford<sup>20</sup>, Harnack<sup>21</sup> and Meyer<sup>22</sup> have done. One has only to point to the other two sayings from the Cross that are also peculiar to Lk (23:43,46), but have not suffered such extrusion<sup>23</sup>. On the other

hand, if the prayer was genuine in Luke's Gospel, it would be more reasonable to argue that Stephen's prayer (Ac 7:60) was probably inspired by it.

(b) A.C. Clark's application of his stichometric principle to account for the absence of the verse<sup>24</sup> does not seem to be convincing. This (42 letters) as well as 23:38 (43 letters), according to him, must have formed 4 lines of the archetype and so would have contributed to an omission. It is difficult to see how 4 lines could be left out so easily.

(c) Hort, with justification, refutes the suggestion that the disappearance of the reading was due to the dislocation caused by the lectionary arrangement for the Thursday before Quinquagesima. He points out the fact that the lection in question breaks in the middle of v.33, immediately after ἐκεῖ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν and continues again from v.44. All that is said about the two robbers, v.32, is also left out in this lection. So it is incredible that v.34a alone should come in for omission if at all due to the influence of the lection-system. Moreover, according to Hort, "this lection belongs to the apparently later portions of the lection-system... whereas there is no gap in two probably earlier

lections which likewise cover the same ground..."<sup>25</sup>

(d) In the opinion of F.H. Chase, the peculiar position of the prayer from the Cross in the Diatessaron, viz. just before the final prayer of commendation with which Jesus gave up His spirit, instead of in the traditional place, may have led to its disappearance from the Western text<sup>26</sup>.

The influence of Tatian's text on the tradition of Scripture is a moot point (cf. Hort on Mt 27:49). Chase himself recognises the difficulty of his explanation because it involves the assumption that the Diatessaron has affected even a relatively purer text like B (now we may triumphantly add P<sup>75</sup> too). C.S.C. Williams solves the difficulty by claiming that the influence of Tatian was so widespread that it must be deemed to have affected B also, a text which is not, after all, entirely faultless<sup>27</sup>. To my mind all this speculation is irrelevant in the present context because the above theory does not explain why such a noble prayer on the lips of our Lord should be eliminated altogether even if it be displaced in the Diatessaron.

(e) Blass<sup>28</sup> argues that although Jesus had prayed for the Roman soldiers, a misunderstanding that the prayer was meant for the Jews was most natural on the

part of the scribes. This, they would have felt, was in conflict with 23:28 (Jesus' words of impending doom on the Jews addressed to the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (cf. 20:16; 21:20-24), and so deleted the reading. Leaney<sup>29</sup> echoes the same idea by attributing the words to Luke, "the motive being to show that the prisoner himself did not condemn the Romans for their part in his execution". He also thinks that the omission was due to the Gentile Christian notion that God did punish the Jews by the destruction of Jerusalem<sup>30</sup>.

This explanation raises two basic issues that are crucial for the resolution of the textual problem of the verse:

(i) Assuming the prayer to be dominical, for whom was it uttered?

(ii) Can the theory of wilful suppression of N.T. passages in antiquity be sustained at least in the present context?

Surprisingly, Harnack, despite his recognition of the parallelism of the present reading to Ac 7:60, interprets the *αὐτοῖς* here in 23:34 to represent the soldiers<sup>31</sup>. But Streeter<sup>32</sup>, Loisy<sup>33</sup> et al all claim that the pronoun is to be understood as



referring to the Jews. In point of fact it should be treated as denoting all those who had aided and abetted in the conspiracy to have Jesus executed. Such an assumption alone would do full justice to Luke's universalism. As Alford aptly remarks, "The prayer is intended first and directly for the four soldiers, whose work it had been to crucify Him. The *παιδοὺς* points directly at this; and it is surely a mistake to suppose that they wanted no forgiveness; just because they were merely doing their duty.... But not only to them, but to them as representatives of that sin of the world, does this prayer apply. The nominative to *παιδοὺς* is *ἄνθρωποι* - mankind, - the Jewish nation, as the next moving agent in His death, but all of us inasmuch as for our sins He was bruised"<sup>34</sup>.

Thus in the end we are led to view with favour the stance of Hort, Loisy et al, that there is no satisfactory explanation for the omission of 23:34a from the original text (vide supra). This is the picture that emerges even if we do not whole-heartedly concede Hort's thesis regarding doctrinal alterations of the Scriptures.

### Intrinsic Probability

Unlike Lk 22:43f, there are strong intrinsic reasons which recommend the present text to be regarded as an integral part of Luke's Gospel:

(a) Goguel has correctly observed that the prayer is in keeping with Jesus' own command recorded by Luke, 6:28<sup>35</sup>.

(b) The prayer may also be viewed as a fulfilment of O.T. prophecy (Is 53:12)<sup>36</sup> a motif to which Luke liberally subscribes in his Gospel (cf, especially 24:25ff, 44ff).

(c) It was pointed out in connection with Mk 14:39 that the principle of a three-fold emphasis is characteristic of the Gospels and that Luke's Gospel is no exception to this generalization; e.g. the three-fold denial of Peter and the three-fold declaration by Pilate of Jesus' innocence; also Ac 9:1ff, 22:6ff, 26:9ff, the account of Paul's conversion, and the story of the conversion of Cornelius, ch. 10, twice, repeated in ch. 11, etc. On this analogy, it seems reasonable to believe that Luke also planned to list three sayings from the Cross which he might have gathered from some special source unknown to the other Evangelists.

That there existed such dominical utterances outside the reach of the other Gospel writers need not be doubted (vide on 5:39)<sup>37</sup>. Even Harris has conceded this possibility, as mentioned earlier. The problem for us is to decide whether the inclusion of the prayer from the Cross was the work of Luke or of a later scribe. J.B. Lightfoot ascribes it to a second edition of the Gospel by the author himself<sup>38</sup>. This is a suggestion which Blass, the better known proponent of the theory of the double recension of the Third Gospel, quotes with approval<sup>39</sup>. But we have consistently rejected this theory in respect of the Third Gospel.

On the other hand, a virtually identical prayer is ascribed by Hegesippus to James the Righteous, brother of our Lord, as having been uttered at the moment of his martyrdom<sup>40</sup>. D. Daube points to this as an argument against Lukan authorship of 23:34a: A prayer already in circulation as being uttered by Jesus is not likely to have been ascribed to a lesser figure; on the contrary, there is every possibility of the last words of a lesser person becoming associated with the name of a greater one. Daube claims: "This solution is in some ways the most satisfactory"<sup>41</sup>. But he ignores the fact that the same prayer, though

not in identical words, is already entrenched in Scripture, being associated with Stephen, who was no doubt a lesser figure in comparison to James at least as far as the early Church was concerned. Therefore it seems to me more convincing to regard the last words associated with all these personalities as historical facts. But even this admission does not conclusively prove that the prayer was put in the mouth of the dying Lord by the Third Evangelist.

(d) Loisy has stressed the ignorance on the part of the Jews as being responsible for their callousness towards Jesus appearing as a principal motif of Ac 3:17, 13:27 (cf. 14:16, 17:23, 30, 26:9)<sup>42</sup>. It could be inferred from the Epistles that Luke is recording a theme of early Christian preaching which came to him most probably through St. Paul (cf. Rom 2:4; 10:3; 1 Cor 2:8; Eph 4:18; 1 Tim 1:13ff; 1 Pet 1:14). In that case the author who wrote Ac 7:60 is most likely to have known of Jesus' own prayer for His enemies at the time when He was dying at their hands. A point that has been often noted by commentators in this connection is that Stephen's prayer of commendation of his spirit (Ac 7:59) is substantially, if not verbally, identical with Jesus' prayer in Lk 23:46 (cf. Ps 31:5). This is additional support for the inference that Luke was familiar with

the death scene of Jesus through some special source (most probably oral) and that he has recorded the death scene of Stephen in Ac 7 on the pattern of what he had recorded in Lk 23:34 and 23:46<sup>43</sup>. His acquaintance with the ignorance motif from the kerygma of the early Church (was it derived from Jesus' prayer for His enemies at the moment of His death?)<sup>44</sup> must have enabled him to record the allusions in Ac 3:17, 13:27 etc.<sup>45</sup>. One serious obstacle, however, that could stand in the way of pressing the analogy of the two death scenes is that the excuse of ignorance is lacking in Stephen's prayer<sup>46</sup>. This is, however, probably a confirmation of the historicity of both accounts.

The contrast between ignorance of God's will and deliberate disobedience is a theme which already appears in Lk 12:47f, and it is peculiar to this Gospel. But as Daube points out, the border-line between the two is not often distinct<sup>47</sup>. So the rebellion of the Jews against Jesus can be explained as due to lack of understanding; the attitude of the Romans to Him was of course, due to ignorance. Both categories of people, therefore, stood in need of God's forgiving grace. If this line of argument is pursued, the inquiry whether Jesus' prayer was on behalf of the Jewish leaders or against the Roman

soldiers is really a hair-splitting attempt. The prayer, if genuinely dominical, must have been uttered when the soldiers were nailing Jesus to the cross. Faced with such a situation, the natural reaction of an unredeemed human being would be to utter curses or words of self-pity and outward expressions of the excruciating pain. So the prayer, in its immediate context, is of a piece with Luke's delineation of Jesus' attitude under such tragic moments - absence of self-pity, concentration on the spiritual need of others and supreme trust in the Father<sup>48</sup>. But from the point of view of Luke the theologian with his emphasis on universal salvation, the prayer must certainly have a wider application (vide, supra).

A theory that many commentators have made much of is that propounded by J.R. Harris, viz. that 23:34a was excised from the text because of "an early and violent anti-Judaic polemic... involving an actual abrenunciation of all fellowship with the Jews"<sup>49</sup>. Before we examine this theory, the difficulties in conceding such an assumption have to be recognized. In the first place, it is legitimate to ask why Christ's (and Paul's) teaching on the need for love of one's enemies (cf. Mt 5:43ff par. Lk 6:27ff, 32ff; Rom 12:17ff) was not similarly

suppressed. Secondly, it is also difficult to see how some of the references in the N.T. which have a definitely pro-Judaic overtone could have been spared by those scribes who were bent on propagating anti-Jewish sentiments (Mt 10:5f; Mk 7:27 par Mt 15:24; Mk 12:34; Mt 13:52; Mt 5:18 par Lk 16:7; Rom 9:2ff; 10:1,2)<sup>50</sup>. Thirdly, one wonders if the leadership in the church of the early centuries was so devoid of the spirit of Jesus' sublime precept and example as to connive at the misuse of Scripture for anti-Jewish propaganda.

It is not therefore surprising that Hort has categorically denied this possibility: "Wilful excision, on account of the love and forgiveness shown to the Lord's murderers, is absolutely incredible<sup>51</sup>." As in the case of 22:43f, he bases this argument on his famous theory that "even among the numerous unquestionably spurious readings of the New Testament there are no signs of deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes"<sup>52</sup>. And elsewhere he asserts: "Accusation of wilful tampering with the text are...not unfrequent in Christian antiquity: but, with a single exception (sc. Marcion), wherever they can be verified they prove to be groundless, being in fact hasty and unjust inferences from mere diversities of inherited

text"<sup>53</sup>. Warfield too supports Hort by saying that "it is doubtful if any doctrinal corruptions can be pointed to with complete confidence"<sup>54</sup>. But C.R. Gregory<sup>55</sup> and A.T. Robertson<sup>56</sup> allow of at least rare cases of dogmatic alterations. On the other hand, scholars like Ropes<sup>57</sup>, Klijn<sup>58</sup> and Epp<sup>59</sup> have vigorously supported Harris in opposition to Hort. While Epp claims that "The refusal of Hort to admit any dogmatic alterations in the N.T. text cannot bear the weight of evidence against it"<sup>60</sup>, he does not adduce a single new evidence to buttress this position. And he himself admits that "the extent and type of dogmatic influence may yet be long debated"<sup>61</sup>. This statement is in fact the weakness of his case because none of the above-mentioned scholars whom he cites, except Harris specifically mentions 23:34a as a case in point.

It is true that Harris tries to point to both 22:43f (Docetic influence) and 23:34a (anti-Judaic tendency) as examples of alteration of N.T. text due to doctrinal reasons. We have already rejected the originality of the former passage. As for the latter, Harris does not seem to be so vigorously supporting the authenticity of the words as Epp makes out. In the first place, he himself admits that "any school of Christian



thought would feel itself to be spiritually and historically pauperised by their removal"<sup>62</sup>. He is also highly impressed by the MS evidence for the short reading: "The united testimony of B and D, flanked by Old Latin and Egyptian versions, is now made stronger by the accession of the Lewis Syriac and probably the Diatessaron"<sup>63</sup> (we may add P<sup>75</sup> too). He only advocates caution on the ground that "we do not yet know the meaning of these combinations, either chronologically or geographically". But in the same breath Harris makes the following concessions: "It must not, however, be assumed that the prayer on the Cross has its first form and origin in the Canonical Gospel, simply because there are suggestions of extreme antiquity about its tradition. It may, after all, have come into the text of Luke from an uncanonical source, such as the Gospel according to the Hebrews...in which case the textual evidence for its omission would have its face-value: all that I am urging at present is a plea for a suspense of judgment on the ground of extraordinary evidence...for the existence of an early and violent anti-Judaic polemic. If the new hypothesis be considered artificial or insufficiently supported, in the view of unprejudiced people, then we must fall back upon my earlier hypothesis as stated above"<sup>64</sup>.

With regard to the 'extraordinary evidence', all that he adduces is certain N.T. passages such as Gal 4:30; Phil 3:2; 1 Thess 2:14; Heb 13:10 and a few references from the apocryphal Doctrine of Addai (5th century), the Syriac Didascalia Apostolorum (3rd century) etc. These references are indeed adequate to prove the prevalence of anti-Judaic sentiments among the Christians of the early centuries. But in the light of the N.T. passages of a pro-Judaic nature (vide supra) that have been retained by the scribes, I doubt if Harris has made a strong case in favour of intentional omission of the verse.

Such being the position of Harris, those who have rallied around him in respect of the authenticity of the verse have very little to defend themselves with. Streeter, for example, following Harris, says that the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D.70 - a clear sign of divine retribution - would have appeared to the scribes of the second century to be in conflict with the sentiment expressed in the present prayer; therefore, he argues, they would have tried to suppress it<sup>65</sup>.

But neither Harris, nor Streeter, nor any of their supporters explains in a satisfactory manner why Marcion chose to retain the present reading despite his notorious anti-Semitic predilections.

C.S.C. Williams who raises this point counters it by suggesting that Marcion might have understood the prayer as a plea on behalf of the Roman soldiers rather than for the Jewish race<sup>66</sup>. I find it difficult to believe that Marcion would have understood Jesus' prayer as being not applicable to the Jewish authorities whose role in handing Him over to the Romans is nowhere covered up in the Gospels although it could be argued that Marcion was unaware of Acts<sup>67</sup>.

### Conclusion

We have discussed the problem from several angles and examined the arguments both in favour of and against the retention of the text. Any dispassionate critic will have to admit that there are equally valid as well as flimsy arguments on either side. In the light of the balancing positions of the weighty arguments, it would be unrealistic to overlook either side and come out with a categorical assertion in favour of one position. Hort notes that Lk 22:43f and 23:34a are "the most precious among the remains of .....evangelic tradition which were rescued from oblivion by the scribes of the second century"<sup>68</sup>. Even those who would support him in his verdict of the former passage may not go with him in regard to the latter. It is gratifying to

note that not all scholars have the fanatical approach to this passage as Burgon exhibits<sup>69</sup>. Apart from the names that have already been mentioned, those who defend Hort's position include Wellhausen<sup>70</sup>, Nestle<sup>71</sup>, J. Weiss<sup>72</sup>, B.H. Throckmorton<sup>73</sup>, W. Manson<sup>74</sup>, Hawkins<sup>75</sup>, and Resch<sup>76</sup>. On the other side of the scale we find Zahn<sup>77</sup>, Dummelow<sup>78</sup>, StuhlmueLLer<sup>79</sup>, and Wilkinson<sup>80</sup>, while others would prefer to be neutral<sup>81</sup> or are even undecided<sup>82</sup>. As a matter of fact strict neutrality is the only viable stance we can take in view of all that we know of the history of this text. Harris<sup>83</sup> has done well to remind us of the principle stressed by Hort that it is not enough to quote MS authority for a particular reading: knowledge of documents (Harris adds, knowledge of Church History) is also important. But since we can adduce evidence on either side from the N.T. itself we cannot be confident that Church History has provided us with conclusive proof for deliberate omission of the present text as Harris claims. As has already been pointed out, scholars like Plummer, Ellis and Harrington would rely upon Internal Evidence alone, although they themselves admit the MS evidence to be of considerable significance, pointing towards either a neutral position or a rejection of the text. In the light of such an array of arguments and counter-

arguments it would be advisable to retain the reading within brackets in future editions of the N.T. as a simple reminder of the state in which this precious utterance of our Lord has come down to us. The words of Moffatt well sums up an objective scholar's dilemma: He says that like Lk 22:43f, the present passage is "probably a non-Lucan fragment of genuine tradition which vindicates itself upon internal evidence, as does the fragment Jn 7:53 - 8:11, although for textual reasons it is to be regarded as having been added from an extraneous source to the original text of the Gospel. Still, it is quite possible that later ages may have found a stumbling-block in such gentleness shown to the enormous sin of the crucifixion, and that this feeling of reprobation may have caused its omission from some MSS and versions"<sup>84</sup>. Rightly interpreted, Hort's arguments actually boil down to this position because he concludes his treatment of this passage with the remark that "it has exceptional claims to be permanently retained, with the necessary safeguards, in its accustomed place"<sup>85</sup>. Our investigation into this text thus gives us the consolation that after about 80 years since Hort's publication of his treatise the situation remains unchanged at least in a few cases like this.

<sup>1</sup>Textual Commentary, p.180; cf. Creed, St. Luke, p.286; Easton, St. Luke, p.384.

<sup>2</sup>Revision Revised, p.83.

<sup>3</sup>With regard to  $\mathcal{S}$ , it must be noted that this MS exhibits curved marks and dots denoting deletion. Tischendorf ascribes these marks to the first corrector even less confidently than in the case of 22:43f. Hort, however, thinks that "the early extinction of the reading points to at least an early date for the marks" (cf. Hort, Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.68). The witness of D is also interesting. Scrivener, Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, p.357, suggests that the reading was introduced into the MS by the second corrector, not until the ninth century (see also Scrivener, Codex Bezae Cantab., Introduction, p.xxvii).

<sup>4</sup>Hort, loc.cit.

<sup>5</sup>St.Luke, ICC. ad.loc. See also Ellis (Century Bible), St. Luke, p.267; Harrington (New Catholic Commentary), ad.loc.

<sup>6</sup>Hort, loc.cit.

<sup>7</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>8</sup>Expositor's Greek Testament, I, p.639.; cf. V. Taylor, Text of the NT, p.95.

<sup>9</sup>Evangelion, II, p.195.

<sup>10</sup>Tasker, Greek NT, p.424, regards the MS evidence as "too finely balanced to justify the excision of the passage from the text"; cf. Harrington (New Catholic Commentary), ad.loc.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. A.B. Bruce, op.cit., pp.639f.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Lagrange, S. Luc, p.588.

<sup>13</sup>Introduction to the Literature of the NT<sup>3</sup>, p.275,n; cf. Harnack, Probleme im Texte der Leidensgeschichte Jesu, p.95.

<sup>14</sup>Luc, p.536; cf. B. Weiss, Meyer's Kommentar<sup>7</sup>,  
Markus und Lukas, p. 627, n.

<sup>15</sup>From Tradition to Gospel (E.T.), p.203, n.2.

<sup>16</sup>Gore's Commentary, ad.loc.; cf. E.A. Abbott,  
Diatessarica, III, § 1056, p.399; § 1066(3), p.405.  
Carpenter, First Three Gospels, pp.71,352, describes  
this passage as "The early utterance of the Church  
in the Master's Spirit"; cf. Keim, Jesus of Nazara  
(E.T.), vi, pp.155f.

<sup>17</sup>TU 79,4 (1961), p.58.

<sup>18</sup>Loc.cit.; cf. Lagrange, loc.cit.

<sup>19</sup>Loc.cit.; cf. Creed, St. Luke, p.286.

<sup>20</sup>The Greek NT, I<sup>5</sup>, ad.loc.

<sup>21</sup>Harnack, op.cit. p.95.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Lagrange, loc.cit.

<sup>23</sup>Meyer, Kommentar, I, (1853), p.490.

<sup>24</sup>Primitive Text, p.59.

<sup>25</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>26</sup>Syro-Latin Text, p.131.

<sup>27</sup>Alterations, p.8.

<sup>28</sup>Philology, p.93.

<sup>29</sup>St. Luke, p.284.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Origen, Contra Celsum, viii,42.

<sup>31</sup>Op.cit., p.95.

<sup>32</sup>Four Gospels, p.138.

<sup>33</sup>Loc.cit., cf. Harrington (New Catholic Commentary), ad.loc. Harrington makes the strange statement that the Jewish leaders "cannot be absolved from guilt in their calculated rejection of Jesus and in the manner in which they engineered his death. But they were motivated by fierce zeal for their religion (as Paul was to be), and they did sincerely believe Jesus guilty of blasphemy (xxii:70f) cf. 1 Cor ii:8". This is actually self-contradictory. If Paul was to be given an opportunity to repent and thus be absolved, the same divine graciousness could be expected to be extended to those responsible for Jesus' death in view of their ignorance! (vide infra).

<sup>34</sup>Loc.cit.; cf. Lagrange, loc.cit.

<sup>35</sup>HTR 26 (1933), p.37.

<sup>36</sup>H.J. Holtzmann, Hand-Commentar, p.293: "Während Lc dem Kreuzeswort Mt xxvii 46 = Mc xv 34 aus dem Weg geht, bringt er aus späterer Überlieferung 3 neue Worte, zunächst 34 nach Jes liii 12 eine Anwendung von Lc vi 28..." cf. Klostermann, Handbuch zum NT, p.594; Lagrange, loc.cit.

<sup>37</sup>Unlike the other two utterances from the Cross which are also peculiar to Lk, the attractiveness of this prayer is such that if it were known to the other Evangelists they would hardly have left it out; cf. Lagrange, loc.cit: "Toujours est-il que cette admirable parole n'aurait pas été insérée si elle n'avait fait partie de la tradition..."

<sup>38</sup>Fresh Revision (1871), p.29.

<sup>39</sup>Op.cit., pp.91f; cf. Salmon, Some Thoughts, p.135.

<sup>40</sup>So Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica, II, 23.16.

<sup>41</sup>TU 79 (1961), no.4, p.58; cf. E.A. Abbott, Diatessarica, III, § 1056a, n.2, p.399. The words of the prayer of James are as follows: 'Lord, God, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'. Abbott suggests the possibility of a confusion of James the Righteous with the Righteous One (Ac 7:52; 22:14) and a conflation of  $\kappa\epsilon$  = 'and' with  $\kappa\epsilon$  = 'Lord'.

<sup>42</sup>Loc.cit.



<sup>43</sup>Ellis, loc.cit., says that "Stephen's prayer probably presupposes the present text. Christ's first martyr emulates the attitude of his Master".

<sup>44</sup>Creed, op.cit., pp.286f, points out that "ignorance as a ground for forgiveness is not infrequent in Greek and Latin literature". He also adds: "But that the thought should be transposed into a prayer uttered by the sufferer on behalf of his persecutors is in peculiar harmony with the Spirit of Christ"; cf. Klostermann, loc.cit.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.: "an 'ignorance motif', whose roots are in the Old Testament (Num XV:24ff), forms a part of Luke's theological emphasis. This verse seems to be presupposed by and to find its sequel in Aciii:17 (cf. Ac xiii:27; xvii:23,30)".

<sup>46</sup>Cf. Daube, op.cit., p.59.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp.60ff.

<sup>48</sup>Cf. Kiddle on 22:43f, loc.cit.

<sup>49</sup>Exp VIII, no.7 (1914), p.334.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. also, the references to ignorance of the Jews (supra).

<sup>51</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>52</sup>Introduction, p.282.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p.283.

<sup>54</sup>Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the NT, p.96.

<sup>55</sup>Canon and Text, p.504 (cf. p.485).

<sup>56</sup>Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the NT, pp.158-60.

<sup>57</sup>The Text of Acts, p.ccxxxiv.

<sup>58</sup>Survey (1949), p.21.

- <sup>59</sup>Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae, pp.1f,45.
- <sup>60</sup>Ibid., p.45.
- <sup>61</sup>Ibid., p.2.
- <sup>62</sup>Op.cit., p.324.
- <sup>63</sup>Ibid., p.322.
- <sup>64</sup>Ibid., p.333.
- <sup>65</sup>Loc.cit.
- <sup>66</sup>Op.cit., p.9.
- <sup>67</sup>So J. Knox, Marcion and the NT, p.121. Contrast Harnack, Marcion<sup>2</sup>, pp.172f (cited by J. Knox, *ibid.*, n.7). Knox regards the evidence given by Harnack for Marcion's deliberate rejection of Acts as utterly inadequate.
- <sup>68</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.67.
- <sup>69</sup>Op.cit., pp.82f; cf. Scrivener, loc.cit.
- <sup>70</sup>Evangelium Lucae, p.134.
- <sup>71</sup>Introduction (E.T.), p.278.
- <sup>72</sup>Schriften des NT, p.480.
- <sup>73</sup>The New English Bible Reviewed (ed. D. Nineham), p.79 [= Journal of Bible and Religion, 39 (1961), pp.193ff].
- <sup>74</sup>Luke, p.249.
- <sup>75</sup>Oxford Studies (ed. Sanday), p.79.
- <sup>76</sup>TU x, 2, pp.721ff; *ibid.*, XV (1906). Resch calls the passage "ein wirkliches Agraphon"; cf. The Syriac Didascalia, XXV, 127,6 (ed. Achelis and Flemming). Here the prayer of Jesus has the addition: 'for they

do not know what they do nor what they say'. Resch describes this as "eine auserkanonische Variante zu Luc xxiii:34"

<sup>77</sup>Lukas, p.699.

<sup>78</sup>Dummelow's Commentary, ad.loc.

<sup>79</sup>Jerome Commentary, ad.loc.

<sup>80</sup>ScJTh 17 (1964), pp.69ff.

<sup>81</sup>E.g. Lampe (Peake's Commentary), ad.loc.

<sup>82</sup>E.g. Moffatt, Historical NT, p.654, says that like 23:43f, this prayer is "probably a non-Lucan fragment of genuine tradition which vindicates itself on internal evidence, as does the fragment Jn vii:53 - viii:11, although for textual reasons... it is to be regarded as having been added from an early and extraneous source to the original text of the Gospel". But he goes on to state that "later ages may have found a stumbling-block in such gentleness shown to the enormous sin of the crucifixion". Plummer, loc.cit., also adopts an attitude of indecision.

<sup>83</sup>Op.cit., pp.322,324. (Vide Westcott-Hort, Introduction, p.31).

<sup>84</sup>The Historical NT, p.654.

<sup>85</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.68.

III.

f. Jn 5:3b-4: The Angel & the Pool of Bethzatha

Disputed words: [παρά λυτικῶν . . . . . κατείχεται νοσήματι.]

External Evidence:

... ξηρῶν p<sup>66,75</sup> N A\* B C\* L 0125 it<sup>a</sup> syr<sup>c</sup> cop<sup>sa,bo,ms,ach</sup> Diatessaron<sup>1</sup> // ξηρῶν παραλυτικῶν ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν D it<sup>a,aur,b,d,i,l,r</sup> geo<sup>2</sup> // ξηρῶν ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν A<sup>2</sup> C<sup>3</sup> K (W<sup>supp</sup> ἐκδεχομένοι) X<sup>comm</sup> Δ Θ Π<sup>with</sup> Ψ 078 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 33 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect it<sup>a,e,f,ff</sup> vg syr<sup>p,h,pal</sup> cop<sup>bo,ms</sup> arm eth geo<sup>1</sup> Diatessaron<sup>a</sup> Tertullian Ambrose Chrysostom Cyril

... omit verse 4 p<sup>66,75</sup> N B C\* .D W<sup>supp</sup> 0125 0141 33 it<sup>d,f,l,q</sup> vg<sup>xx</sup> syr<sup>c</sup> cop<sup>sa,bo,ms,ach</sup> geo Nonnus // include verse 4 ἀγγελος γὰρ κυρίου κατὰ καιρὸν κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ<sup>7</sup> καὶ ἐταράσσετο<sup>8</sup> τὸ ὕδωρ· ὃ οὖν πρῶτος ἐμβὰς μετὰ τὴν παραχὴν τοῦ ὕδατος<sup>9</sup> ἔγχευ ἐγένετο οἴφ δῆποτ' οὖν<sup>10</sup> κατείχεται νοσήματι. (with variations in miss; see footnotes 6-10) A C<sup>3</sup> K L X<sup>comm</sup> Δ Θ Ψ 063 078 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 Byz Lect it<sup>a,aur,b,c,e,ff</sup> i,r<sup>1</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup> syr<sup>p,pal</sup> cop<sup>bo,ms</sup> arm Diatessaron<sup>a,e,arm,i,n</sup> Tertullian Ambrose Didymus Chrysostom Cyril // include verse 4 with asterisks or obeli Π 047 1079 2174 syr<sup>h</sup>

... γάρ (see footnote 5) A C<sup>3</sup> K X<sup>comm</sup> Δ Θ Π Ψ 063 078 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect it<sup>a</sup> syr<sup>p,h,pal</sup> // δέ L it<sup>a,aur,b,c,e,ff</sup> i,r<sup>1</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup> arm // omit f<sup>1</sup> cop<sup>bo,ms</sup>

... κατὰ καιρὸν κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ (see footnote 5) C<sup>3</sup> (L καιρῶ) X<sup>comm</sup> Δ Θ 063 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1195 1216 1230 1242 (1344 καταβαίνον) 1365 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect it<sup>aur,c,e,i</sup> syr<sup>p</sup> cop<sup>bo,ms</sup> arm // κατὰ καιρὸν ἐλούετο ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ A K Π Ψ 1079 1241 1546 vg<sup>ms</sup> syr<sup>h</sup> eth? // κατέβαινεν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ 239 (1253 καταβάς) vg<sup>cl</sup> syr<sup>pal</sup> // κατέβαινεν it<sup>a,b,ff</sup>

... ἐταράσσετο (see footnote 5) C<sup>2</sup> Π 078 1216 1242 2174<sup>c</sup> l<sup>2,54</sup> 69, 70, 76, 80, 191, 303, 333, 372, 374, 381, 1127, 1231, 1564, 1579, 1634 it<sup>a,r</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup> syr<sup>pal,ms</sup> eth // ἐτάρασσε A K L X<sup>comm</sup> Δ Θ Ψ 063 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1230 1241 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174<sup>a</sup> Byz Lect it<sup>a,aur,b,c,e,ff</sup> i syr<sup>p,h,pal,ms</sup> cop<sup>bo,ms</sup>

... ἐμβὰς μετὰ τὴν παραχὴν τοῦ ὕδατος (see footnote 5) A C<sup>3</sup> K L X<sup>comm</sup> Δ Θ Π Ψ 063 078 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect it<sup>aur,c,e,i</sup> syr<sup>p,h,pal</sup> cop<sup>bo,ms</sup> (arm) // descendisset in natatoria it<sup>(a,b),ff</sup> // descendisset in piscinam post motionem aquae it<sup>(a)</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup>

... οἴφ δῆποτ' οὖν (see footnote 5) A cop<sup>bo,ms</sup> // φῶ δῆποτε C<sup>3</sup> X<sup>comm</sup> Δ Θ Ψ 078 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 565 700 892 1071 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect it<sup>a,aur,b,c,e,ff</sup> i,r<sup>1</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup> // ὑδῆποτε [sic] L 1009 1010 // φῶ δ' ἄν K Π 1079 1546

### Observations

(i) We realize at a glance that v.3b is better attested than v.4<sup>1</sup>. Taken as a unit, the whole passage is omitted by P<sup>66 75</sup>  $\xi$ ; BC\* DW 1 33 157 syr<sup>c</sup> cop sa bo ms arm<sup>mss</sup> it f, l, q, Vg<sup>mss</sup>, but is contained in the vast majority of the Itala codices and Versions. Among the Church Fathers Tatian, Tertullian, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cyril, Theophylact and Euthymius support the whole text while such evidence is lacking for the short reading. Westcott observes that the passage is not referred to by any writer except Tertullian earlier than Chrysostom, Didymus and Cyril. In the words of Westcott, "the whole passage is omitted by the oldest representatives of each group of authorities. And, on the other hand, the whole passage is not contained in any authority except Latin, which gives us an ante-Nicene text"<sup>2</sup>.

(ii) The presence of asterisks or obeli in more than 20 Greek MSS speaks of the suspicion attached to the passage from very early times. This is strengthened by the fact that the position of these marks of critical awareness is not the same in all those MSS<sup>3</sup>. The suspicion that the verses arouse for us is now confirmed by their absence in P<sup>66,75</sup>.

(iii) The unusually prolific nature of the variant readings relating to both 3b and 4 is another pointer in the same direction.

(iv) In the opinion of Westcott, the fact that the expanded text is not read in *W*, and is only partially read in D, shows that the additional words were for a time confined only to North Africa<sup>4</sup>.

(v) According to Scrivener, when a rare conjunction between A on the one hand and the *Itala*, Vg and the Peshitta on the other occurs, as here, it is an indication that the passage was of early origin and was extensively diffused. However, he has reason to suspect its authenticity because it is "much more in the manner of Cod. D and C than of A and the *itala*"<sup>5</sup> (i.e. it shows marks of being an interpolation).

Thus the MS evidence produces every impression as to the spuriousness of this passage as a whole<sup>6</sup>. At the same time, in view of the better attestation for 3b and the divided nature of the Versions and the 'Western' and Caesarean authorities, (especially of Vg Codex Bezae 33 W), in respect of 3b and 4, one wonders if these two

pieces of text can be measured by the same yardstick. A final decision has to await until the Internal Evidence is explored.

### Internal Evidence

#### Transcriptional Probability

##### (i) Possibility of Insertion

Most scholars are agreed that v.3b was first introduced as a gloss to explain the mention of *ὄταν ταπεινῶν τὸ ὕδωρ*, which was subsequently supplemented by an excerpt from an early Jewish tradition<sup>7</sup>. As Milligan says, "It was believed that an angel was the cause (sc. of the troubling of the water); and some well-intentioned scribe, feeling that there was an omission in the text, noted down his impression of the fact in all probability upon the margin of his manuscript. From the margin it crept into the text"<sup>8</sup>. Westcott positively affirms the same hypothesis: "There can be no doubt that the verses were added (possibly on the basis of oral tradition) to explain v.7". According to Scrivener, since D, 1 are the oldest manuscripts in favour of this additional reading, "it bears much of the appearance of a gloss brought in from the margin"<sup>9</sup>. However, it will be shown

below that there is a different way of looking at the origin of these two pieces of text.

(ii) Possibility of Omission

Our suspicions as to the authenticity of the passage are further sustained by the fact that it is extremely difficult to find a suitable explanation for omission from a possibly genuine text. If it were due to the offence caused by the mention of an angel, one has only to refer to all the other N.T. passages where the assistance or appearance of an angel is mentioned, in order to contradict that. The influence of the Diatessaron cannot be regarded as a contributory factor because we have clear evidence of the retention of the text in that Harmony. For Ephrem says: "If they believe that the Angel by the waters of Shiloah was healing the sick, how much rather should they believe that the Lord of the Angels purifies by baptism from all stain?"<sup>10</sup> Westcott well sums up scholarly judgment in this regard: "It is obvious that there could be no motive for omitting the words, if they originally formed part of St. John's text; nor could any hypothesis of arbitrary omission explain the partial omissions in the earliest authorities which omit; while all is intelligible if the words are



regarded as two glosses. The most ancient evidence and internal probability perfectly agree"<sup>11</sup>. It must be pointed out that all these considerations are valid only in respect of v.4, and not of 3b.

### Intrinsic Probability

It is difficult to believe that the Fourth Gospel would have originally consisted of the type of information provided by the present passage which clearly smacks of apocryphal tendencies. It is not the mention of an angel as such, nor the healing potency associated with the water in the pool, that constitutes an element of incredibility. No doubt angels are mentioned elsewhere in the N.T. in association with miraculous intervention in human affairs. We have already ruled out the possibility of such references causing an offence to an ancient scribe. But the crux of the matter is whether such a reference (combining a natural phenomenon with angelic intervention) would be true of Johannine literature. As Milligan observes, "However firm our faith may be in special interpositions of the Almighty and in miracles of the New Testament, it is extremely difficult to read the words of which we speak, as they stand before us in our Bibles without feeling that our faith is subjected to a very trying

strain. There is an apocryphal air about the story that not only makes the reader suspicious of it, but even threatens to cast doubts upon miracles as a whole"<sup>12</sup>.

The healing effect associated with the pool of Bethzatha is nothing strange to anyone who is acquainted with hot springs and the like. The legend about the stirring of the water must have been a popular one, designed to explain some natural phenomenon, most probably an intermittent spring. Dodd points out how archaeological discoveries made early in this century have confirmed the existence of a pool conforming to the five colonnades of Johannine description<sup>13</sup>. Milligan notes: "We have many notices in ancient writers implying that in the early Christian era the volcanic agencies of Syria, and probably therefore of Palestine, were in a state of greater activity than has been exhibited by them in later times"<sup>14</sup>.

But neither of these pieces of information, though not disputed by anyone, provides any convincing proof of the genuineness of the passage in question. The textual problem has not to do with our difficulty in believing in the veracity of John's statement

about the existence of a pool in antiquity in Jerusalem or in the alleged healing powers of its water; but it has to do with the thoroughly un-Johannine way in which the passage combines a natural phenomenon with the popular legendary belief about the same.

It must also be noted that in none of the healing miracles of the N.T. is there a mention of an angel as contributing to the miraculous power behind it. Although Dodd admits that there is a close parallel between this incident and the other healing miracles associated with Jesus (e.g. healing of the man with the withered hand, Mk 3:1ff; healing of the crippled woman, Lk 13:10ff), he feels that "Yet something more than that is needed if the reader is to understand the dialogue between Healer and patient. He should know at least that the scene is placed at the edge of a pool of invalids seeking a cure to cause competition for places (verse 7)"<sup>15</sup>. In Dodd's judgment, since v.7 is so essentially related to the theme of the narrative (faith as the will to health), the retention of vv.3b-4 is really vital to the Johannine text. In further defence of this argument he cites Mk 2:1-2 and Lk 17:11-12 as illustrations of how

a pericope is sometimes introduced with some greater fulness than usual as demanded by the occasion for the development of the story<sup>16</sup>.

Dodd's argument, which has received scant attention from scholars in general, certainly enhances the prestige of v.3b because, read without it, the episode definitely produces the impression of a lacuna. In addition to the long dialogues and discourses in the Fourth Gospel we get a lot of material which is purely straight narrative. In none of those narratives do we come across a similar phenomenon. So it is very difficult to believe that John would have left at least a reference to the stirring of the water to the imagination of the readers. Even those who have jumped to confirm the theory of a gloss in regard to 3b have recognized the essential link between this bit and v.7 for the development of the narrative. The content of v.4 belongs to an entirely different category. Not only is it apocryphal, but its retention is not absolutely essential for the continuity of the narrative. So Alford's inference that v.4 is an "insertion to complete that implied in the narrative with reference to the popular belief" is quite valid<sup>17</sup>. But neither the MS evidence nor the intrinsic probability enables us to make such a firm assertion about v.3b.

The fact that there are two non-Johannine words in v.3b, namely ἐκδέχεσθαι and κρίσις cannot be too strongly held against its genuineness, for this is a context which is certainly unique, and so such words may be considered as indispensable. This is not, however, the case with regard to v.4. This single verse exhibits no less than 8 words or expressions which are non-Johannine: κατὰ κλίβανον, ἐμβάδινω (of going into the water), νόσημα, Τάραχή, ὡς ἴπποτε or ὁτιω δηποτ' οὐδ', κατέχεσθαι; of these, the last three are indeed hapax legomena<sup>18</sup>.

Blass is cautious in his evaluation of this stylistic phenomenon, for while he categorically denies authenticity to v.4 on this count, he does not dare to make such a statement regarding v.3b: "There can be no doubt that ver.4 does not come from John, since the style is wholly different"<sup>19</sup>.

### Conclusion

We are thus led to the inescapable conclusion that whereas one should maintain strong reservations in suspecting v.3b, the succeeding verse should not find a place in the text<sup>20</sup>. It is the legendary character of v.4 that exposes its spuriousness. C.R. Gregory compares this passage

to Lk 22:43-44 (both have the descent of an angel in common) and regards it as a gloss which strayed into the text. He does not find this surprising in view of the mood of those times in attributing anything unnatural to the mediation of angels - a sign of the influence of "Persian fantasies"<sup>21</sup>.

Barrett's statement that "we have no other evidence of such a legend"<sup>22</sup> is not true: Ephrem's statement alluding to "the Angel by the water of Shiloah has already been mentioned. Blass cites a quotation from Nonnus which refers to the pool "where a sick man, as soon as he saw the water being troubled spontaneously bathed and was made whole". Blass therefore thinks that Nonnus was probably aware of the legend of the Angel through some tradition.

Nonnus' silence on this in his Commentary is explained by Blass as due to its absence in his exemplar.

Codex A gives at least one piece of evidence to this effect, for it has the word ἐλούετο ('bathed') in place of ἐμβάσ (v.4)<sup>23</sup>. But the legendary character of v.4 is no argument for the deletion of v.3b whose retention is vital to the text of St. John.

<sup>1</sup>Schnackenburg, John (E.T.) I, p.182, explains this by pointing to the connection between 3b and 7. 3b must have been added much earlier because it provides a basis for v.7.

<sup>2</sup>St. John. p.94.

<sup>3</sup>Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, p.361; Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.209.

<sup>4</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>5</sup>Op.cit., p.362.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Hammond, Outlines of Textual Criticism, pp.102f.

<sup>7</sup>In addition to Schnackenburg, already cited, see Westcott, loc.cit.; Moffatt, Historical NT, pp.689f; Bauer, Johannevangelium, ad.loc.; Barrett, St. John, p.211; Metzger, loc.cit.; Taylor, Text of the NT, pp.97f.

<sup>8</sup>Exp VII (1878), p.195; cf. Westcott, loc.cit.; Taylor, loc.cit.

<sup>9</sup> Loc.cit.

<sup>10</sup>Moesinger, p.146; cf. Burkitt, Evangelion, II, p.195. Burkitt cites this as an illustration to discredit the view that all 'Western' omissions arise from the influence of Tatian. He conjectures from the nature of the lacuna in Syr<sup>s</sup> at this point that even that Version had this passage missing in its original. In any case it is certainly missing in Syr<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>11</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>12</sup>Loc.cit.; Cf. J.B. Lightfoot, On a Fresh Revision, p.30: "The desire to bring out the presence of a supernatural agency may have had its influence in procuring the words describing the descent of the angel in John V:3,4". Cf. Milligan, loc.cit., his words tend to be exaggerated in his attempt to characterise the story as legendary: "That the impotent man expected to be restored, could he reach the water, is clear. Yet no word of Jesus and no statement of the Evangelist forbids us to believe that even although he had reached it, he would have been little better for the immersion".

<sup>13</sup>Historical Tradition, p.180.

<sup>14</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>15</sup>Op.cit., p.179.

<sup>16</sup>Op.cit., p.179, n.2.

<sup>17</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>18</sup>Blass, Philology, p.228, n.1; Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.209.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p.228; cf. Russel, New Catholic Commentary, ad.loc.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. J.P. Lange, The Life of Christ (E.T.), iii, p.119 and n.2.

<sup>21</sup>Canon and Text, pp.519f; cf. Rev 16:5 - association of angels with the mysterious powers of water.

<sup>22</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>23</sup>Op.cit., p.229.



### III

g. Jn 7:53-8:11: The Pericope of the Adulteress

Disputed words: [Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος . . . . .  
ἀπὸ τοῦ νόου μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε.]

#### External Evidence:

omit 7.53-8.11 (see page 413) p<sup>66.75</sup> & A<sup>riid</sup> B C<sup>riid</sup>  
L N T W X Y Δ Θ Ψ 053 0141 22 33 157 209 565 1230 1241 1242 1253 2193  
Lect it<sup>a</sup>. l<sup>1</sup>. q syr<sup>c</sup>. s. p cop<sup>sa</sup>. bo<sup>mss</sup>. ach<sup>2</sup> goth arm geo Diatessaron<sup>a</sup>. f Clement<sup>riid</sup>  
Tertullian Origen Cyprian Chrysostom Nonnus Cyril Cosmos Theophylact<sup>com</sup> // include passage following 7.52 D (F) G H K M U Γ 28 700 892  
1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz it<sup>aur.</sup>. c. d. e.  
ff<sup>2</sup>. j. : m<sup>g</sup>. r<sup>1</sup> vg syr<sup>h</sup>. m<sup>s</sup>. pal cop<sup>bo</sup>. m<sup>s</sup> arm<sup>mss</sup> eth Didascalia Ambrosiaster Apostolic  
Constitutions Ambrose Greek and Latin mss<sup>acc.</sup> to Jerome Jerome Augustine // include passage with asterisks or obeli (E include 8.2-11 with asterisks) S (A Π include 8.3-11 with asterisks) 1077 1443 1445 (I<sup>155m</sup> include 8.1-11, I<sup>62m</sup>. 70<sup>m</sup>. 211<sup>m</sup>. 583<sup>m</sup>. 1579<sup>m</sup> include 8.3-11 with asterisks) // include passage after 21.24 f<sup>1</sup> arm<sup>mss</sup> // include passage following Lk 21.38 f<sup>13</sup> // include passage following Jn 7.36 225

#### Observations

- (i) The absence of the episode from the oldest representatives of all branches of ancient tradition is intriguing.
- (ii) On the other hand, it is found only in D (the sole ancient Greek MS which attests it) and a few Old Latins, notably b<sup>\*e</sup>, and the Vulgate.
- (iii) The spuriousness of the passage in the Johannine setting is evident from:
  - (a) its fugitive nature, having no fixed place among many ancient authorities: e.g., it is placed

after 7:52 in DE(F) GHKMU Γ Π 28 700 892 etc.;  
after 7:36 in Cod. 225; after 7:44 in several  
Georgian MSS; at the end of John's Gospel in Codd. f'  
565 1076 1570 arm<sup>MSS</sup>; after Lk 21:38 in  
f<sup>13</sup>;

(b) the unique nature of the pericope in having  
given rise to the maximum number of variant readings<sup>1</sup>;

(c) the asterisks or obeli attached to it in several  
MSS, which do not agree among themselves as to the  
position of these symbols<sup>2</sup>; besides, several ancient  
MSS have scholia acknowledging the absence of the  
pericope from many copies; on the other hand, MSS  
from the 9th century on present scholia to the effect  
that the story was found in earlier copies. "We  
therefore find distinct evidence not only for non-  
interpolation but also for excision"<sup>3</sup>.

Thus the MS evidence leaves us in no  
doubt that the pericope is alien to the Johannine  
text<sup>4</sup>.

## Internal Evidence

### Transcriptional Probability

#### (i) Possibility of Insertion

"Transcriptional evidence is generally ambiguous in readings of great length; insertion or omission must have been alike a mere blunder"<sup>5</sup>.

There is absolutely no possibility of the narrative having been deliberately shifted to this place except through the use of a lection. As Hort suggests, "it would be natural enough that an extraneous narrative of a remarkable incident in the Ministry, if it were deemed worthy of being read and perpetuated, should be inserted in the body of the Gospels. The place of insertion might easily be determined by the similarity of the concluding sentence to viii 15...". He goes on to add that it is possible that Papias' alleged use of the Fourth Gospel to expound the written 'oracles of the Lord' might have induced him to insert this story as an illustration of the above reference<sup>6</sup>. Warfield<sup>7</sup> also affirms that this is a case of insertion because of its very position in f<sup>13</sup>. Another evidence that confirms the same view has been provided by J.R. Harris<sup>8</sup>. He has shown that the length of this pericope is such as to cover four pages of an

archetype of B. But he also shows that if the narrative had originally belonged to its present place in Jn it would not have covered the entire space of those two sheets. "On the other hand, its insertion may readily be accounted for as an incorporation into the text of an explanatory gloss drawn from some extraneous source"<sup>9</sup>.

(ii) Possibilities of Omission

Supposing the pericope to have been an integral part of the Fourth Gospel, it is not easy to account for its disappearance from so many ancient authorities. The usual explanations given are the following:

(a) According to F.W. Farrar, it was expunged in the interest of Church discipline in the second century when this incident would be felt to condone adultery<sup>10</sup>. He quotes Ambrose<sup>11</sup> to this effect: "For certainly, if any one received it with idle ears, he meets an incentive to error, when he reads of the adultery of a saint (David) and the pardon of an adulteress". Another quotation of Farrar from Augustine also might suggest the same view: Augustine says that the passage so revolts the feelings of the faithless, "that some of small faith, or rather, foes of the

true faith", fearing an impunity of sinning should be conceded to their wives, removed the passage from their manuscripts, "as though forsooth He granted a permission to sin who said, 'Go and sin no more' "<sup>12</sup>. Farrar goes on to say that some of the Fathers deliberately omitted to comment on the passage because they believed that faith should be so administered as not to lead astray the faithful.

However, we do not have any other evidence of such moral scruples resulting in the deletion of Scripture passages: "The utmost licence of the boldest transcribers never makes even a remote approach to the excision of a complete narrative from the Gospels, and such rash omissions as do occur are all but confined to Western texts; while here the authorities for omission include all the early non-Western texts". Further, the above theory fails "to explain why the three preliminary verses (vii 53; vii 1,2), so important as apparently descriptive of the time and place at which all the discourses of c. viii were spoken, should have been omitted with the rest"<sup>13</sup> (vide on Mk 16:9-20).

Above all, the present hypothesis does not satisfactorily explain why the story of the sinful woman in Lk 7:36-50 had never come in for deletion in the interest of Church discipline.

Becker would answer this by saying that while repentance and conversion as an essential pre-requisite for forgiveness is emphasised by Luke (cf. 5:32) in the above story, the pericope of the Adulteress is deficient in that ethical emphasis<sup>14</sup>. This is not convincing to me on two counts: First, the narrative in Lk 7:36-50 does not in point of fact lay down penitence as a pre-condition for forgiveness. It is no doubt a misrepresentation of the whole point of the narrative based on an erroneous interpretation of v.47. As Balmforth remarks<sup>15</sup>, "the evidence by which Simon can be convinced is that her many sins have already been forgiven. The woman had already been brought to repentance before she appeared at Simon's house: it was her gratitude which led her to this impulsive act of loving homage". Secondly, if the Pericope of the Adulteress is un-Lukan from the point of view of Luke's ethical emphasis as Becker argues, then one might also point out that in view of the story of the conversion of the Samaritan woman in Jn ch.4, the former story cannot be considered as Johannine either.

(b) Probably a more plausible hypothesis is that the arrangement of readings for various occasions in a lectionary might have led to the eventual omission of this narrative from the Johannine text.

But against this Hort argues that "no scribe of the Gospels was likely to omit a large portion of the text of his exemplar because the verse following it was annexed to the verses preceding it in a lection familiar to him. Moreover, the whole supposed process implicitly assigns to the Antiochian lection-system an age and extension incompatible with what is known of ancient liturgical reading"<sup>16</sup>.

(c) Farrar's alternative suggestion that the apparent offence caused by the mention of Jesus' being left alone with the woman (v.9) might have encouraged the deletion of the narrative is least convincing<sup>17</sup>. One has only to point to the story of the Samaritan woman in ch.4 to refute this!

(d) Becker's surmise<sup>18</sup> that the acceptance of this pericope by the heretics might have been a contributory factor to its suppression is also not convincing; as a matter of fact, the Fourth Gospel as a whole was the object of disfavour for a while

in orthodox circles due to its popularity among the heretics. So the eventual restoration of the Gospel should have naturally restored the pericope in question, had it been part of the original. Thus in the end we have no conclusive evidence for the omission of the story from a genuine text.

### Intrinsic Probability

(a) That the very position of this pericope in the various MSS is dubious has already been pointed out; this is corroborated by its abruptness in relation to Jesus' discourse to the crowd in the Temple. In other words, the story completely spoils the link between 7:52 and 8:12, and so is a misfit in its present position in Jn<sup>19</sup>.

(b) Further, the vocabulary and style of this section are more Lukan than Johannine<sup>20</sup>: E.g. ὄρθρος (v.2 cf. Lk 24:1; Ac 5:21) is found nowhere else in the NT (cf. Jn 18:28; 20:1, πρωί); παραγίνεσθαι + εἰς + Accusative of Place (= go into) (v.2 cf. Ac 9:26; 13:14; 15:4) is found only at Mt 2:21 elsewhere in the NT; λαός (v.2 cf. Lk 1:10, 21; Ac 4:2, 8.) Luke uses the word 36 times in all; John only twice; rest of the NT: 55 times; καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν (pleonastic participle) (v.2 cf. Lk 5:3; Mt 5:1f); οἱ γραμματεῖς.



especially in combination with οἱ φαρισαῖοι (v.3) is a feature peculiar to Lk (cf. 5:21,30. Contrast Mk 2:6; Mt 9:3; cf. Mk 2:16, οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν φαρισαίων); κατηγορεῖν (v.6 cf. Lk 23:14; Ac 24:2) is used by John (cf. 5:45) only in the sense of 'to accuse before the divine court'. But Luke as well as the other Synoptists uses the word in a general sense; κύψας occurs nowhere else in the NT except at Mk 1:7; πειράζοντες (v.6 cf. Lk 6:7): Jn has it only at 6:6, but not with the opponents of Jesus as subject (cf. Mk 3:2; 10:2); ἐπιμένειν (v.7 cf. Ac 12:16): Peculiar to Luke, it is found 7 times in Ac, but not in the Gospels. Even the use of the participle as a complement to a verb as in ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες is also Lukan<sup>21</sup> (cf. Lk 7:45; 23:12; Ac 8:16); ὡς as a temporal conjunction, though found 16 times in Jn, is more a Lukan feature in that it occurs 19 times in Lk and 29 times in Ac, but never in the other Gospels (rest of the NT: only 4 times); the expression εἶπεν δέ (v.11) is more typically Lukan (Lk: 59 times; Ac: 15 times; Jn: only twice); John nowhere else uses the terms τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἑβραίων (v.1), and κατακρίνω (v.11). Besides, several hapax legomena occur in this passage: apart from οἱ γραμματεῖς and ἐπιμένω (see above), we have: μοιχείαι (v.3), κατείλημμα (vv.3,4), ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ (v.4), κατάγραφον (v.6), ἀναμάρτητος (v.7), ἀνακύπτω (vv.7,10),

καταλείπεσθαι (v.9), εἰς καθ' εἰς (v,9), ἀπὸ τοῦ γού (v.11),  
πορεύομαι + εἰς (7:53)

Since 10 hapax legomena are found in  
Jn 11:13-44, a passage of almost identical length,  
it could be argued that such occurrences are possibly  
necessitated by the context. But the presence of  
the most striking ones such as οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ  
φαρισαῖοι, πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, ἐπιμένω, ἀνακύπτω, ἀπὸ τοῦ γού,  
παραγίνεσθαι + εἰς + Accus. cannot be easily explained  
except in terms of Lukan connection<sup>22</sup>.

Consideration of style is more decisive. The  
virtual absence of οὖν (οὖν in 5b is quite natural)  
and the frequency of δέ in this section speak of the  
extraneous origin of the narrative; in fact δέ occurs  
11 times here whereas it is completely absent in the  
next 48 verses<sup>23</sup>.

(c) In addition to the MS evidence and the vocabulary  
which link this passage with Luke, there is yet another  
telling factor to be considered. The juxtaposition  
of the Temple and the Mount of Olives at the beginning  
of this pericope corresponds to the same phenomenon  
found at Lk 19:47,48 and 21:37,38<sup>24</sup>. It is the  
attestation of the Ferrar Group that primarily suggests  
a claim for the story in favour of the latter position.  
In order to settle the question of the relative claims

of these two positions in Lk we have to go back to the Markan source in respect of the events following the cleansing of the Temple, chs.11ff. In 11:18 we are told that the chief priests and the teachers of the Law were looking for an opportunity to kill Jesus, but they were afraid of His popularity, aroused by His teaching. V.19 has reference to His leaving the city, presumably for Bethany. The next day's events include the return to the Temple and the questioning of His authority by the Jewish authorities. Luke is trying to compress the same sequence of events into a single day in 19:45-47; 20:1ff; 19:47-48 is actually Luke's version of Mk 11:18-19; v.47 should be translated as: "and He began teaching in the Temple daily". The reference to the attempt of the leaders to kill Jesus denotes the beginning of a series of plans which marked the climax of their disposition of antagonism towards Him. Now it would be quite in order if Luke began to narrate a series of events which gave momentum to their opposition to Jesus. All these events should naturally be centred around the Temple. So there is nothing illogical in supposing that the Pericope of the Adulteress was placed by the author immediately after 19:48. Then the series of questions put to Jesus according to ch.20 would fall within the

renewed attempts of the religious leaders to trap Him. Since 20:40 expressly states that 'they no longer dared to ask him any question', it would be anomalous to place the question concerning the adulteress at the end of ch.21.

Now the question arises about the claim of 21:37,38 to accommodate the Pericope of the Adulteress. It must be pointed out that the juxtaposition of the 'Mount of Olives' and the 'Temple' is the only intrinsic claim of this portion to this honour. It could be argued that the scribe behind the archetype of the Ferrar Group was just rehabilitating our fugitive pericope here on account of this very resemblance while overlooking the other irregularities<sup>25</sup>. E.F.F. Bishop has drawn attention to the fact that if we place the Pericope of the Adulteress at the end of ch.21, we will be faced with the awkward situation of a triple mention of the Temple, a double mention of the Mount of Olives in connexion with Jesus, two references to His teaching and the occurrence of two different forms of the root meaning 'early' (once of Jesus and once of the people). But although he expresses himself in favour of locating the narrative at the end of ch.19, he suggests a solution to the present difficulty by supposing 21:37f to be an editorial com-

pression' of the story<sup>26</sup>. Bacon, follows the same line:<sup>27</sup> "The context of Lk XXI:38 is nothing else than an equivalent for the introductory words descriptive of the scene which preface the pericope adulterae in the Greek form". Bacon's difficulty with these verses as they now appear is that "After them we naturally expect some example of how Jesus taught the people in the Temple; but we are disappointed, for our evangelist utilizes them merely to effect the change of scene, and proceeds immediately with another subject - the betrayal". Bacon then goes on to support Streeter's hypothesis: "... it is clear that these two verses were written for the very purpose of taking the place of the pericope, while preserving its (supposed) representation (so different from Mark's) of Jesus' (habitual) lodging at night on the Mount of Olives".

These alleged difficulties are in point of fact baseless and reflect an under-estimation of Luke's skill as a writer. They can, however, be overcome by supposing the verses to be a retrospective note of the author before launching into the greatest section of the Gospel - the Passion narrative. In the preceding two chapters he had already given sufficient number of examples as to what Jesus taught in the Temple

during the two or three hectic days after His arrival in Jerusalem. Now he is presenting a summary of Jesus' daily routine up to the day of the Last Supper<sup>28</sup>. Viewed from this point, the close of ch.21 is a fitting introduction to the account of the Passion.

It could be argued that 19:47-48 does not adequately represent Mk 11:18-19 in that the reference to Jesus' evening retreat from the city is left out<sup>29</sup>. That is precisely the rationale for introducing the Pericope Adulterae at this point. And the fact that Luke recapitulates the same reference at the end of ch.21 confirms the validity of the argument above.

The line of argument that is followed here is in antithesis to Taylor's contention that Lk 19:47f. is not dependent upon Mk 11:18f<sup>30</sup>. He is defended by Bishop on the basis of the difficulties mentioned earlier. Of course, both of them are anxious to preserve the identity of Proto-Luke. In their attempt to defend the Proto-Luke theory they recognise the gap between 19:48 and 22:14 and admit that it is difficult to explain. Bishop would, however, have us remove the Markan material of ch.20 and also the eschatological discourse of 21:1-36 as not belonging to Proto-Luke. Then 21:37-38

has to be eliminated as "an editorial reconstruction of the scene after it was taken out of Proto-Luke or an early copy of the Gospel, when the Markan material had been introduced". Thus he finds a natural link between 19:47-48 and the scene of the accusation against the adulteress<sup>31</sup>. However, even without questioning the validity of the Proto-Luke theory, it will be seen that we have already arrived at a neater solution to our present problem of reconciling the claims of the close of chs.19 and 21<sup>32</sup>. At any rate, the contention that Lk 19:47f is independent of Mk 11:18f is not tenable.

Bishop, however, points to another argument in favour of the rehabilitation of the Pericope Adulterae at the end of ch.19. According to 23:2, the charge brought against Jesus at the Trial before Pilate is that He was 'perverting our nation' and forbidding the payment of tribute to Caesar, claiming Himself to be a King. "There has been nothing really stated to justify the double charge of Lk xxiii:2, though the second charge would be a legitimate inference from xix:37-40. If, however, we insert the story of the adulteress at xix:48...it will be found to fit the context very much more aptly than in the actual position to which it was restored later on by the Ferrar group".

Bishop then proceeds to elaborate this:

"Jesus' attitude on this occasion (sc. at the scene of the accusation against the adulteress), when He had refused to associate Himself with the Mosaic legislation over the test case of the adultery in the presence of a big crowd in the Temple area to the obvious discomfiture of the authorities, afforded the desired evidence". Further, according to Marcion's Gospel and it<sup>c,e</sup>, there is an additional charge levelled by the accusers of Jesus at the position indicated by 23:2,5 they refer to His destroying the Law and the prophets and misleading the women and children ( *καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα* )<sup>33</sup>. It is apparent that this additional information was based on some extra-canonical source which may have some degree of credibility. If that is the case, there is added evidence to prove that the lenient attitude of our Lord to the errant woman was grossly misrepresented by His enemies. If this reading actually goes back to our author himself, then it is likely that he had before him a narrative concerning the incident about the woman. However, the incident involving the sinful woman, 7:36ff, would have equally served the purpose of Jesus' detractors. Therefore this piece of evidence is not so strong



as the foregoing one.

### Conclusion

Thus we have convincing arguments on our side to regard the Pericope Adulterae as belonging to the Third Gospel rather than to the Fourth. Although its possible omission from the original text was shown to be difficult to prove, there is a strong case to conjecture that it was possibly incorporated into the Fourth Gospel by later copyists. Both Westcott and Barrett cite Papias' statement referred to by Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, xxxix.17, "about a woman, accused in the Lord's presence of many sins, which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews"<sup>34</sup>. Barrett also refers to a similar story mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions* II, 24, (4th century) which was used to caution the bishops against excessive severity in dealing with penitents<sup>35</sup>. Although neither narrative is identical with the present pericope, the resemblance is close enough to give the impression that documents such as the Gospel of the Hebrews represent sayings or narratives associated with the life of Jesus which were transmitted in the early centuries alongside of the canonical Gospels (cf. on 5:39; 12:19). The fact that this story was made use of as an illustration

of clemency gives the lie to the hypothesis that it was omitted from the Scriptures on account of its possible misuse. V. Taylor points to this narrative as a good example of a 'Pronouncement Story' which has got into the wrong place as a gloss. He compares it to the addition at 6:4 in D about the man working on the Sabbath, both being pieces of oral tradition. Taylor thinks that because of its challenging character or limited currency, it was not used by the Evangelists<sup>36</sup>. Bishop observes that it would "disclose to early Christians an attitude to the Mosaic Law comparable to that of the Sermon on the Mount" although he admits that in some parts of Christendom it would have appeared to contradict the warnings against adultery in the Synoptic tradition<sup>37</sup>. Burkitt writes: "That the story was unpopular in certain circles of the Latin Church is shown by its excision from b and the definite statements of St. Augustine... This would not be enough to exclude a genuine text from the canonical Scripture, but it might very well be enough to keep alive the knowledge that the passage was an interpolation, or in some way of inferior authority"<sup>38</sup>.

Conybeare's discovery of an ancient Armenian Codex at Edschmiadzin (dated A.D. 989) towards the end of the last century lends weight to the alien nature of our pericope in its traditional position. This MS contains the story in its traditional place with the equivalent of τὰ τῆς μοιχαλίδος as the caption. The opening words of this section reads: "a certain woman was taken in sins (cf. D, 1071: ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις) and they all bore witness against her". These words closely resemble Eusebius' citation<sup>39</sup>. Conybeare identifies the story of the adulteress with Papias' reference as well as with the story in the Gospel of the Hebrews<sup>40</sup>. Bacon questions this evidence because of its late date and the suspicious nature of the rubric "Ariston Eritzu" attached to Mk 16:9-20 in the same MS<sup>41</sup>, although Hort<sup>42</sup> and Burkitt<sup>43</sup> are impressed by it. Burkitt thinks that the resemblances are such that the D text, the Edschmiadzin story and the incident in the Gospel of the Hebrews may have "some community of origin". A copy of the Greek Gospels which belonged to Mara of Amid (Mara's Codex, 6th century) contained the pericope either at the end of Jn 8:20, or more probably at the end of the Gospel. This was cited in full by the Syriac author Zacharias Rhetor in his Ecclesiastical

History whence it got into the Syriac Gospel Commentary by Dionysius Barsalibi. Although this text bears much resemblance to the narrative in Conybeare's Codex, it appears to be a "verbose paraphrase". Both share the notable omission of "Neither do I condemn thee" in our Lord's speech to the woman. While not all scholars agree with Conybeare's view that his shorter recension is the original form (e.g. Bacon, loc.cit.), Burkitt concedes that "it has a decidedly ancient air", much more so than the text of Mara's Codex<sup>44</sup>. In any case, the unmistakable existence of another recension of the same story with no fixed position in the Gospels is further proof of the extra-canonical source from which Luke or the interpolating scribes must have got their material<sup>45</sup>.

C. Taylor adduces evidence to show that the author of the Shepherd of Hermas was possibly aware of the existence of this story. This second century author has no express quotation from the Bible, but several allusive references. Thus in Mand iv.1:4 he mentions the case of a married woman whom her husband may find in some adultery. Taylor suggests that this may have reference to our pericope. Besides, the author in his dialogue on the said case

makes the Shepherd say, *Εγὼ οὐδὲ δίδωμι ἀφορμὴν*  
*..... ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ μήκετι ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα*  
(Mand. iv. 1:11, cf 3:2). "An obvious inference  
is that he perhaps knew the Pericope, though not  
necessarily as part of any canonical writing".  
Taylor also thinks that the rare word *καρδιογνώστης*  
used in Mand. iv. 3,4 in connexion with the above  
case has been carried over into the Didascalia and  
thence into the Apostolic Constitutions through the  
Syriac and the Latin. "This and other coincidences  
confirm the hypothesis that the author of Hermae-  
Pastor knew the Pericope, and seem to show that he  
was also acquainted with a primitive *διδασκαλία*  
upon it"<sup>46</sup>.

In the light of so many pieces of  
evidence pointing towards the antiquity of the  
passage, and taking into consideration the very  
strong Intrinsic Probability , one may well  
conclude with Barrett: "It may be that stories on  
this theme were current in several forms at an  
early date but did not attain canonical status  
because they seemed inconsistent with the strict  
disciplinary treatment of adultery then customary,  
and that the story as we know it came into the  
Fourth Gospel because at some time it was combined

with it (as originally non-biblical material) in a lectionary"<sup>47</sup>. There is nothing unacceptable about this view when we realize that the books of the NT did not originally receive the same kind of sacrosanctness that came to be associated with them after the fixing of the canon at a much later date<sup>48</sup>. However, the UBS Committee's decision to retain this section within double square brackets at its traditional place<sup>49</sup> (italics mine) should be modified in favour of its more natural position in Lk.

<sup>1</sup>Plummer, St. John, ad.loc., lists 80 variants involving 183 words; cf. Becker, Jesus und die Ehebrecherin, p.41.

<sup>2</sup>Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.221; cf. Scrivener, Introduction, II<sup>4</sup>, p.361.

<sup>3</sup>Burkitt, Two Lectures, pp.82f.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Becker, op.cit., pp.8-43;177.

<sup>5</sup>Warfield, Textual Criticism, p.197.

<sup>6</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.87. Blass, Philology, p.156, suggests Jn 8:20 as an equally valid reference which might have attracted the interpolator because of its association with "the treasury"; but the central theme of the story has certainly more affinity towards 8:15.

<sup>7</sup>Op.cit., p.198. Cf. Moffatt, Historical NT, p.692: "If, in the absence of any sure position for it, the passage was originally written at the close of the canonical four Gospels, as there is some evidence to suggest, then in the course of time it would naturally be supposed to belong to the last of the four, John, although its contents quite forbid such a hypothesis".

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Warfield, op.cit., p.198.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Exp IX (1879), pp.31-33; cf. Becker, op.cit., pp.177f.

<sup>11</sup>Apol David ii.1.

<sup>12</sup>Conj adult ii.6.

<sup>13</sup>Hort, Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.86.

<sup>14</sup>Op.cit., pp.70f.

<sup>15</sup>St. Luke, p.174.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. loc.cit.

<sup>18</sup>Op.cit. p.178.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. Warfield, op.cit., pp.198f; Becker, op.cit., p.76: "Dass der Abschnitt Joh 8:12-59 im Zusammenhang des Laubhüttenfestes von Joh 7 zu verstehen ist, sollte heute nicht mehr umstritten sein".

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method*, II, p.177; Westcott, *St. John*, p.142; Barrett, *St. John*, p.492; Becker, op.cit., pp.44-74; Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, pp.21,45; Alford, *Greek NT*, I<sup>5</sup>, ad.loc.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 414,1; Becker, op.cit., p.59.

<sup>22</sup>Alford, loc.cit.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.; cf. Bacon, *Exp VI*, no.11 (1905), pp.172f.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Becker, op.cit., p.69.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. E.F.F.Bishop, *JTS* 35 (1934), p.43. But see Bacon, *Exp VI*, no.11 (1905), p.173: "... the Ferrar Manuscripts do not locate the pericope after Lk XXI:38 because some scribe had detected subtle affinities of style with this verse, but because of some authority"; cf. Blass, *Philology*, p.159.

<sup>26</sup>Op.cit., p.41.

<sup>27</sup>Op.cit., p.172.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. Becker, op.cit., p.81.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. Bishop, op.cit., p.43.

<sup>30</sup>Behind the Third Gospel, p.96.

<sup>31</sup>Op.cit., pp.42-44.

<sup>32</sup>Alternative suggestions regarding locations for rehabilitating the present pericope are not at all convincing. E.g. T. Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, V, pp.165-9:



between Mk 12:17 and 18; cf. J. Jeremias, ZNW 43 (1950-51), pp.145ff; T.W. Manson, ZNW 44 (1952-53), pp.255ff. H.J. Holtzmann, ThLZ, 1898, cols.536f: between Lk 20:26 and 27. The context is the same in both cases, viz. the attempt of Jesus' opponents to trap him craftily. The Markan Gospel has obviously to be ruled out on stylistic and literary grounds. The end of Lk 21 has a better claim for recognition than 20:26-27. Other suggestions: J.R. Harris (cf. Moffatt, Historical NT, p.691): between Jn 5 and 6 (adjacent to the discussion on the Mosaic Law). This has no MS support. Bacon, op.cit., p.172, n.1: adjoining the incident Mk 12:41-44 = Lk 21:1-4 (The widow's offering) (cf. Jn 8:20) "The nature of the eschatological discourse, Lk XXI:5-36, is such that it cannot be uttered under the circumstance of v.37". But this is based on the assumption that 21:37 is a condensed version of our pericope. This we have already discredited.

<sup>33</sup>Op.cit.p.44. Against Zahn's view that this was pre-Marcionite, Harnack (Marcion, p.229 and n.2) maintains that it was due to Marcion.

34 *ἐκτεθείται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' ἑβραίου εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει:*  
cf. Conybeare, Exp V, no.2 (1895), p.407; Westcott, St. John, p.142; Becker, op.cit., p.92ff; Barrett, St. John, p.491.

<sup>35</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>36</sup>Formation of the Gospel Tradition, p.84; cf. Bacon, loc.cit.

<sup>37</sup>JTS 35 (1934), p.42.

<sup>38</sup>Two Lectures, p.86.

<sup>39</sup>The Syriac Didaskalia (3<sup>rd</sup> century), II,24:3 and the Apostolic Constitutions, II,24,6 also attest a similar reading ( *ἑτέραν δὲ τινα ἡμαρτικυΐαν* ); cf. Becker, op.cit., p.95.

<sup>40</sup>Exp V, no.2 (1895), pp.405ff.

<sup>41</sup>Op.cit., pp.161ff; cf. Conybeare, Exp. IV no.10 (1894), pp.219ff; V, 2 (1895), pp.405ff.

<sup>42</sup>Notes<sup>2</sup>, p.142.

<sup>43</sup>Op.cit., pp.87ff.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Burkitt, Two Lectures, pp.87ff.

<sup>45</sup>Von Soden, Schriften des Neuen Testaments, I, p.500, concludes that the pericope, in spite of all the variant forms it exhibits and the comparatively greater corruption to which it has been exposed than any other parts of the NT, is certainly derived from a single 'Urtypus'. Bacon, loc.cit., p.170: "To argue for its textual antiquity is needless, because no mere second century gospel tradition has anything comparable with the purity, the power, the ring of authenticity that pervades this simple and touching story, so unimpeachably true to the very life and spirit of Jesus. Even the Edschmiadzin text... exhibits a long step of degeneration toward the second century controversial and apologetico-doctrinal standpoint. It is not the story, but a midrash based upon it".

<sup>46</sup>JTS 4 (1903), pp.129f; cf. Becker, op.cit., pp.124ff.

<sup>47</sup>Loc.cit.

<sup>48</sup>Becker, op.cit., p.178: "... gehen diese Motive wahrscheinlich Hand in Hand und die Textgeschichte der Perikope von der Ehebrecherin so bunt so wechselvoll ist wie bei keinem anderen Stück neutestamentlicher Evangelienüberlieferung". The observations of Resch [TU XV 2 (1906), p.53] are also worth noting here: (a) the pericope was the creation of the same author who composed the Long Conclusion of Mk; (b) for some time the pericope had no fixed place in the Canon; (c) all the authorities which attest the pericope trace their origin to an ancestor of D. We cannot straightway accept (a) on the basis of the MS data or the other evidence we have studied (the two passages seem to have had two different case histories). The antiquity of the present pericope and its secure place among authentic evangelic tradition are, however, beyond doubt.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.221; J.B. Lightfoot, On a Fresh Revision, pp.27f.

## CONCLUSION

What is the conclusion of our Conclusions from the study of the 'Western omissions' and 'Western insertions' so far? It is now time for us to piece together the inferences we had drawn here and there throughout this investigation.

1. The first thing that comes to mind is the inadequacy of the External Evidence as a means of confirming the genuineness of a difficult passage. We saw this particularly in connection with the 8 classic 'Western non-interpolations' of Westcott-Hort in Lk. This was further confirmed by passages like Mt 9:34; 16:2f; Mk 16:9-20; Lk 22:43f; 23:34.

If further proof be needed, two examples may be cited from outside the list we have explored.

Take the well-known case of the name of the insurrectionist mentioned in Mt 27:16,18. *Ἰησοῦς τῶν Βαραββᾶν* is attested only by (Ⓞ) f<sup>1</sup> 700 Syr<sup>s, pal</sup> arm geo<sup>2</sup> Orig<sup>lat</sup> in comparison with the vast majority of ancient witnesses. But the NEB translators were convinced of the rationale for adopting this name in the text. In my judgment this was a bold step in the right direction which has since then been sup-

ported by the UBS Editorial Committee<sup>1</sup>. F.W. Danker<sup>2</sup>, reviewing the NEB, justifies the retention of the name Jesus Barabbas thus: "This reading is to be preferred, not only because its absence in many manuscripts is quite probably an intentional scribal omission designed to maintain our Lord's dignity but also because it clarifies Pilate's description as the one called Messiah". In this he is only voicing the consensus of modern scholarship<sup>3</sup>.

Similarly, in Jn 19:29, the NEB translators decided to follow in the footsteps of Moffatt, Goodspeed, Phillips, and Schonfield by substituting ἰσσηψ (= javelin) for ἰσσηψιψ despite the meagre MS support for the same - only Codd. 476\* 1242 read ἰσσηψ (cf. perticae, it<sup>b,ff<sup>2</sup>, n,v</sup>, = a pole or long shaft). It is quite possible that an original ὙCCWΠEΠIΘENTEC was wrongly written as ὙCCWΠWΠEΠIΘENTEC by an early scribe and that the mistake got perpetuated<sup>4</sup> because of the well-known OT association of the Passover with hyssop. With regard to the traditional reading, I quote Danker again<sup>5</sup>: "Not only does it fail to make sense in the passage (the plant would hardly be suitable for raising up a wet sponge) but it looks like a scribe's conformation to the events with Exodus 12:22".

The above instances clearly give the lie to the maxim difficilior lectio potior as a reliable basis in Textual Criticism. Examples of these two types can be multiplied. But these would suffice to underline the need for a judicious use of the MS evidence and thus to defend the 'eclectic method' to which I expressed my qualified assent in the Introduction to this thesis. Tasker rightly observes<sup>6</sup>: "No single MS and no one group of MSS exists, which should be mechanically followed in our effort to probe towards the original text of the New Testament in passages where differences exist. All known texts are to a greater or less extent mixed texts; and even the earliest of them are not free from errors"<sup>7</sup>.

It must be emphasized in this connection that even the discovery of P<sup>75</sup> has not altered the basic truth of the above statement especially in relation to the passages which we have investigated. Aland is too one-sided in his estimation of the papyri evidence when he writes<sup>8</sup>: 'One of the important results of this change (sc. the influence of the discovery of the papyri on Textual Criticism) has been...that Westcott-Hort's so-called "Western non-interpolations" have been, so to speak, stripped of

their original nimbus and that, although interesting, they are no longer regarded, or should be regarded, as authoritative'. That this statement is an exaggeration is readily seen when we note that despite the attestation of P<sup>75</sup> for the majority reading in Lk 22:19b-20 and in ch.24, we found that except for 24:51, we were generally in agreement with Westcott-Hort's decision. So Klijn is showing more realism when he criticizes Aland on this issue<sup>9</sup>: "We are not...able to understand that this question has received new light from the papyri".

The fact of the matter is that when we are dealing with the second century, we have to visualize a period of wild growth of texts. F.C. Grant<sup>10</sup> refers to this as a period of "widespread textual expansions, conflation, conformation and assimilation, with numberless crossings of lines". This was a time when "oral and written tradition were used side by side", leading to mutual interaction<sup>11</sup>. According to Klijn<sup>12</sup>, the readings common to Justin, Marcion, Old Latin, D, the Diatessaron and Old Syriac "are of the same antiquity as readings found in P<sup>75</sup>-B". Hence his emphasis on the importance of judging readings "on internal considerations, but without neglecting the origin of the different manuscripts"<sup>13</sup>. Especially

in evaluating passages involving doctrinal or controversial issues such as the Pericope Adulterae, the Bloody Sweat and the Comforting Angel, the Prayer for Forgiveness from the Cross, etc., a consideration of the psychological factors that were at work in altering or excluding the text was of paramount importance<sup>14</sup>. In certain cases it was the author's style (e.g. Mt 6:15,25; 13:33; 23:26; Mk 14:39; Lk 12:19,21; Jn 3:31f; 4:9; 7:53 - 8:11, or his theological propensity (e.g. Lk 5:39; 22:19b-20) that provided the clue to a solution. Aland himself, with whom we had to disagree on many occasions, does recognize the role of Internal Evidence in the evaluation of texts, although he has on the whole paid scant attention to it because of his obsession with the papyri evidence<sup>15</sup>: "Massgebend ist...die Qualität der Aussage, wobei sich ein Zeuge wie P<sup>75</sup> in den allermeisten Fällen seinen Konkurrenten überlegen erweist". However, he goes on to say: "Gewiss kann man auf ihn nicht blindlings bauen, sondern muss nach wie vor alle äussern und inneren Faktoren bei jeder textlichen Entscheidung berücksichtigen, und man muss auch jede Stelle für sich nehmen und neu erwägen, aber man sollte P<sup>75</sup> doch dieselbe Aufmerksamkeit und dasselbe Vertrauen

schenken wie fr̄ther der Kombination aus D, der Vetus Latina und der Vetus Syra". But in any case, textual evidence has proved to be a rather unreliable guide in the case of most of the exceptional readings we were investigating.

2(a) It follows from what has been stated above that the genealogical method cannot be held as a reliable guide in textual critical decisions. Westcott-Hort rightly held that the numerical strength of witnesses supporting a particular reading need not necessarily be blindly followed in accepting that reading because it is possible that the majority may have inherited it from a common ancestor which had gone corrupt at that point. Hence their emphasis that "All trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history, that is of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents"<sup>16</sup>. This study, they held, would be effective in identifying and resolving conflate readings<sup>17</sup>. But it should at once be pointed out that even the idea of a 'conflate' reading could be subjective as we have noted in the case of Lk 10:41f<sup>18</sup>.



(b) That the Internal Evidence of Groups<sup>19</sup> also cannot be pressed into service as an effective guide-line in problematic cases has been amply demonstrated by our studies. Even if a particular family or group of authorities is generally reliable, it does not automatically follow that its attestation can be relied upon in every instance. With respect to the 'classic' cases in the last three chapters of Lk, Westcott-Hort themselves were not prepared to follow the 'Internal Evidence' of their favourite Alexandrian family and their allies. And we have seen that as a matter of fact only one of these passages, Lk 24:51, had a claim to be reinstated.

To be sure, if one reads Westcott-Hort's principles carefully, they do allow for exceptional cases; and it is to this category that all our texts rightly belong. It is not therefore surprising that many modern scholars have discredited the above principles. As K. Elliott has recently pointed out<sup>20</sup>, "The genealogical method which lay behind Westcott and Hort's theories is impossible to use to any large extent. New Testament manuscripts have such a mixed textual character that it is impossible to attempt to discover a definite archetype recoverable from extant copies through unambiguous lines of descent. The

New Testament textual tradition is so confused that neither genealogical trees nor even geographically located text types can be established in any detail. The text of early papyri, many discovered this century, cannot be fitted into the neat theories of Westcott and Hort and others".

Thus what clearly emerges from our study is that the Internal Evidence of each disputed passage is as important as, and an essential complement to, the External Evidence.

3. The third point that emerges as a corollary to the first is the need for a new evaluation of the worth of the 'Western' Text vis-a-vis the Alexandrian.

(a) Westcott-Hort's chief error consisted in rating the former as a very corrupt form of Text and in holding a proportionately exalted view of the latter<sup>21</sup>. We have, however, found strong reasons to reinstate at least two readings which these scholars had rejected on the basis of their 'Western' attestation, viz. Mt 16:2f; Lk 9:55f. On the other hand, we were confident in reinstating all but two (Mt 9:34; 21:44) of the 18 readings over which Westcott-Hort had expressed considerable doubt because of their absence from the 'Western' family. It is very clear that

these scholars were guilty of a highly arbitrary attitude towards the 'Western' group of readings both in their approval of the 'Western omissions' and in their rejection of the 'Western additions'. As Salmon comments<sup>22</sup>: "(Hort) examines the documents with the result that among readings whose attestation is ancient, he attributes the very highest value to the combination  $\mathcal{N}B$ , and the very lowest to the Western readings. But when it is a question about omission, if a small handful of Western MSS omit words which are found not only in  $\mathcal{N}B$ , but in all other authorities, he decides in favour of omission". Salmon illustrates this lack of cogency on the part of the above editors from their handling of Lk 24:51,53. The words referring to the Ascension in v.51 are omitted by the same authorities which read  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  instead of  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  in v.53. Whereas Tischendorf was consistent in respecting this MS authority, Westcott-Hort rejected the  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  as well as the Ascension text<sup>23</sup>.

(b) The question-begging term 'Western non-interpolation' itself is a reflection of these scholars' higher esteem for the Alexandrian Text. Once having labelled the latter as 'pure' or

'neutral' they found no justification for describing some of the Alexandrian readings as interpolations. Hence they devised this face-saving term to designate the 'Western omissions'. In any case, the label 'Western' is not accurate because this type of text is by no means confined to the geographical West. A better title would be 'non-Alexandrian'<sup>24</sup>. Well did Hort deserve Salmon's taunt<sup>25</sup>: "...Hort, if consulted what authority should be followed, might answer, Follow B  $\aleph$  ; ...But suppose B has not the support of  $\aleph$  ? Still follow B, if it has the support of any other MS. But suppose B stands alone? Unless it is clearly a clerical error, it is not safe to reject B. But suppose B is defective? Then follow  $\aleph$  . What about adopting the Western reading? What about killing a man?"

(c) Another weakness of the theory of Westcott-Hort was the arbitrary creation of a subtle distinction between two grades of the 'Western omissions'.

Mention was made in my Introduction of their decision to treat 1 Matthaean and 8 Lukan passages as special on this basis. At the same time they relegated 18 other 'Western' omissions which are spread across the Four Gospels to a subordinate category.

Omissions are in fact not limited either to the 'Western' family<sup>26</sup> or to one particular portion of any Gospel. Even the 'Western omissions' cannot by any means be confined to a particular Gospel or to a portion of a Gospel<sup>27</sup>. Our consideration of the above 27 passages has confirmed the principle of the advocates of eclecticism that each reading deserves a special hearing on its own merits. The 'Western' omissions to which other scholars have drawn attention also bring out the fallacy of Westcott-Hort's arbitrary assumption<sup>28</sup>.

4(a) It is this arbitrary nature of the theory of 'Western non-interpolations' which has paved the way for a whole lot of other theories concerning the origin of these 'lacunae' in the Western text. We saw how Blass's theory of the double recension of Lk by the author's own hand as an explanation for the missing readings in the 'Western' group cannot be sustained for the simple reason that such omissions are found in the other Gospels as well. Similarly, the undue importance paid to 'Western omissions' in the last three chapters of Lk has led to the mutually contradictory conjectures about the editorial vicissitudes of the Third Gospel and the Acts which

we have easily exposed. (Vide Introduction; also on 24:51).

(b) Another common tendency among commentators is to resort to the facile solution of explaining the absence of many a reading from the 'Western' Text in terms of Marcionite or Tatianic influence<sup>29</sup>. In the first place, it has to be admitted that even if some of the numerous omissions were due to Marcion's Text, such influence would necessarily be confined to the Third Gospel. Besides, a close scrutiny of the textual critical apparatus in any standard edition of the N.T. is enough to convince us that if at all Marcionite or Tatianic influence was at work to give rise to the various 'Western' readings, it did not operate in any uniform or well-defined pattern.

For example, let us compare three Lukan passages, one from the list of the 18 'Western non-interpolations' of Westcott-Hort and two from the group of the 'Greater Interpolations':

Lk 5:39: This belongs to the first category.

Tatian's encratite abhorrence of the use of wine is adduced by Jeremias<sup>30</sup> as an explanation for its omission from the 'Western' Text. If Tatian had

allowed his views to influence this Harmony, how can one explain his retention of (a) the promise of our Lord to the Penitent Thief<sup>31</sup> (23:43: Tatian is reported to have believed in the non-salvability of the race of Adam) and (b) the passage dealing with Jesus' reference to the use of 'the fruit of the vine' in the coming Kingdom (22:17f)?<sup>32</sup>.

23:34a: Marcion, Tatian, Justin, Irenaeus plus  $\mathcal{S}$ \* attest the prayer for forgiveness of His enemies by our Lord. D and other 'Western' witnesses omit the verse in the company of P<sup>75</sup>B. Marcionite or Tatianic influence cannot obviously be adduced for this glaring lacuna in the Alexandrian Text. Here again, the 'Western' group is divided. Is it not reasonable to assume that the MSS which carry the omission were the inheritors of a common tradition, granting that the excision was doctrinally motivated?

22:43f: The External Evidence relating to the Bloody Sweat and the Comforting Angel is clearly in favour of the omission, being attested by P<sup>75</sup>B Marcion et al. However,  $\mathcal{S}$ \*D, along with the Diatessaron, retain the verses. Once again the 'Western' witnesses do not give a unanimous testimony, so that the influence

of the Diatessaron as a factor behind the omission cannot be sustained.

These examples, however, do not rule out the possibility of the above-mentioned 'heretics' wielding some influence on certain readings in certain exemplars of their generation<sup>33</sup>. All that I want to stress is that our study of the passages where such influence has been alleged does not encourage us to make it uniformly applicable to every case of 'Western' omission<sup>34</sup>. The textual evidence presented by Lk 24:6,12,36 on the one hand, and Mt 27:49b; Lk 24:40,51,52 on the other, is a further confirmation of this point: whereas the former group of readings are attested by Syr<sup>S</sup>, the latter are missing from this Version. Since all of them belong to Westcott-Hort's famous list of 'Western non-interpolations', it is clear that they do not bear the same relation to the Old Syriac as to the geographically Western Text. However, there appears to be some agreement between the Old Syriac and the geographically Western Text against the Diatessaron as in the omission of *ⲗⲱⲛ* at Jn 11:25<sup>35</sup>.

Again, Burkitt lists 18 'Greater Interpolations' including our Mt 16:2b-3; Lk 9:55;



22:43f; 23:34a; Jn 5:4; 7:53 - 8:11 which are absent from Syr<sup>S</sup> though present in k e Cyprian. He has another list of 'Smaller Interpolations' including our Lk 9:54 and Jn 5:3 where the African Latins omit what the European Latins preserve. "That this is not due to revision on the part of the Syriac text is shown by other interpolations only to be found in Syr<sup>S</sup>". (e.g. Mt 4:9; Mk 12:23; Lk 23:48; Jn 11:39 etc.)<sup>36</sup>. The inference is that any influence that the Tatianic Text might have had on the Old Syriac and the Old Latin is not amenable to any neat pattern of generalization.

E.C. Blackman's view<sup>37</sup> regarding Marcion's influence on the Gospel tradition could well sum up our position: "These variants (sc. those attributed to Marcion) are not all due to Marcion himself, and most of them were widespread at the time when he compiled his canon, c. A.D. 140".

If this is true of Marcion<sup>38</sup>, the same could be affirmed of his contemporary, Tatian. Klijn<sup>39</sup> cites instances from the Epistula Apostolorum and the Gospel of Peter, both of which are Pre-Tatian and are known to have made use of canonical Gospels, to show that a text existed in Syria before A.D. 150 which in many cases bore resemblances to the Diatessaron. Tatian was by no means a mere

abbreviator of Gospel texts, as is evidenced by the numerous apocryphal additions to the Gospels found in his Harmony<sup>40</sup>. From the two 'Western interpolations' we have retained (Mt 16:2f; Lk 9:55f), it is clear that not all such passages originated through Tatian's influence. But those 'Western interpolations' we had reason to reject as spurious (e.g. Mt 9:34; 21:44; Mk 16:9-20; Lk 22:43f; Jn 5:4) do remind us of a period of uncontrolled expansion of the Gospel tradition. Klijn writes<sup>41</sup>: "We consider the Jewish-Christian Gospels, the Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron as products of the way in which the Gospel tradition was handled. Because of the way this was done they were bound to bring together what we call canonical matter, viz. our canonical Gospels, and extra-canonical tradition. Therefore the place of origin of most of the readings of the Western text was a place where Gospel tradition was not limited to written Gospels, but where written and oral tradition had the same rights". The truth of this has been demonstrated especially in our examination of certain passages. For example, in our study of Lk 12:19 we saw how a similar saying found in the Letter to Publius, an early Christian document, has been quoted in Aphraates, 381.

Similarly, the evidence of the Gospel of Thomas for which we came across at least one parallel in the canonical Gospel, viz. Lk 5:39, also goes to confirm this<sup>42</sup>.

5. Our exploration of the passages in our list has also taught us to be wary of explaining every parallel reading in terms of the harmonistic tendency of scribes. We have seen how a discussion of the phenomenon of harmonization is inextricably linked up with Source Criticism<sup>43</sup>. On the one hand, similarity of reading might suggest similarity of origin. On the other, the occurrence of identical readings in parallel passages does not automatically prove that harmonization had taken place during the process of transmission in antiquity. It is the degree of similarity between two given pericopes as well as the other aspects of the Internal Evidence that will help resolve whether a particular reading in one pericope is a harmonized reproduction of its counterpart (vide on Lk 24:6,12,36,40). It is true that the tendency for harmonization was very much in operation in the early centuries. But we have noticed a constant temptation among scholars to make it appear as a one-way traffic with a view to establishing their preconceived view about the

authenticity of a particular passage. For instance, to assume that the tendency to assimilate is manifest only in one type of Text (as Hort did) is to ignore known facts about other families. As Streeter observes<sup>44</sup>, "The tendency to assimilation is seen at work everywhere - in  $\mathcal{X}B$ , in D, and in the Old Latin and Old Syriac - but in each case operates somewhat differently". Similarly the tendency among scholars to attribute assimilation in one Gospel should be weighed against the possibility that this process was equally plausible in the other direction, as we had occasion to point out more than once.

6. This highlights the repeated emphasis of this thesis on the need for the exercise of great caution in weighing all the aspects of a case against each other. It is only when the balance of probabilities is decidedly in favour of reaching a particular conclusion that one can claim authenticity for a particular theory. This is in fact one great drawback that we had to meet again and again in our investigations. Attention has already been drawn to the extreme brevity or absence of supporting evidence for the case of the 'Western non-interpolations' in the 'Notes on Select Readings' of Hort. It is only in respect of the

'Greater Interpolations' that he makes amends for this deficiency. Among the scholars who have presented a serious study of these passages since Westcott-Hort may be listed the names of F.C. Burkitt, F. Blass, F. Graefe, J.R. Harris, M.-J. Lagrange, J. Jeremias, K. Aland, R.V.G. Tasker, B.M. Metzger, and K. Snodgrass. We have had occasion to benefit from the works of all these scholars. But none of these studies covers all the passages we have looked into (although Lagrange deals with most of them); they all touch only the fringe of the textual problem they are investigating because of the limited scope of their undertakings. If this is the state of affairs of the special studies devoted to textual problems, that of the Commentaries can well be imagined. It is not therefore surprising that we have had to disagree with many outstanding scholars on important issues. There is no denying the fact that their wisdom and experience have gone into their judgments on each decision. However, as in the case of Westcott-Hort, the arguments that went into the making of such decisions are often shrouded in mystery. One often gets the feeling that because of the degree of specialization that is possible under the different branches of the same field of N.T. research, the actual

time and attention that a scholar can devote to a restricted aspect of Textual Criticism as in the present case is very limited. Therefore it is quite understandable if a person who has made significant contributions in other areas of N.T. scholarship may not have impressed us as speaking with an authentic voice in matters on which we have consulted him. It is natural that the scholarly views that have been availed of in the present research have come from diverse sources with varying degrees of authenticity. The scholars in question cannot be held responsible for the immature ways in which this writer has handled their views. He takes full responsibility for the conclusions that have been arrived at in the defence or rejection of the various texts. As we have noted at the end of the individual cases, it is a matter of immense satisfaction to realize that the decisions that were taken on the authenticity or otherwise of most passages are not out of tune with the views of a representative cross-section of modern scholarship. However, the present investigation has by no means been a question of following a majority decision or subscribing to any particular school of thought. If therefore we have had to take our stance on certain issues in the company of a minority, I am

not apologetic about it: I think I have stated my case as cogently as I can in every case. It is my firm conviction that the methodology that has been followed in this dissertation is in strict conformity with the objectivity that is the essence of true Wissenschaft. If the arguments that I have endeavoured to mobilise in the demolition of the theory of 'Western non-interpolations' would receive the recognition of the scholarly world, I hope this aspect of the otherwise epoch-making Introduction of Westcott-Hort to the critical study of the N.T. will in future be simply relegated to history.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Metzger, Textual Commentary, pp.67f; see also J.K. Elliott, Theology, 77, no.649 (1974), p.350.

<sup>2</sup>Concordia Theological Monthly, 32 (1961), pp.334-47 (= The NEB Reviewed, ed. D. Ninham (1965), pp.40-59, especially, pp.51f). He refers to this step as "an indication of the increased respect enjoyed by manuscripts other than Vaticanus and Sinaiticus and by the versions"; cf. Tasker, The Greek N.T., ad.loc.

<sup>3</sup>E.g. in the above-mentioned collection of Reviews, there is hardly any dissenting voice on this issue; cf. R.C. Nevius, Studies and Documents XXX, ed. J. Geerlings, p.51. Against R. Dunkerley, Expt 74 (1962-63), pp.126f. But see Nevius' reply, Expt 74 (1962-63), p.255. L. Vaganay, Initiation à la Critique Textuelle, pp.162-6, describes the suppression of 'Jesus' from the full name as a "variante intentionelle".

<sup>4</sup>So Metzger, op.cit., p.253.

<sup>5</sup>NEB Reviewed, p.52; cf. Tasker, The Greek N.T., ad.loc.; contrast J.K. Elliott, op.cit., pp.352f.

<sup>6</sup>HTR 41 (1948), p.81; cf. Streeter, Four Gospels, p.145: "...the eclectic principle of deciding in each separate case on grounds of "internal probability" what appears to be the best reading is, in spite of its subjectivity, theoretically sounder than the almost slavish following of a single text which Hort preferred". See also, J.K. Elliott, op.cit., p.344.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. K. Elliott, Theology 75 (1972), pp.338-43.

<sup>8</sup>The Bible in Modern Scholarship, ed. J.P. Hyatt (1965), p.334; cf. Haenchen, Acts of the Apostles (E.T.), p.59; Snodgrass, JBL 91 (1972), pp.369-79.

<sup>9</sup>Survey, II, p.49, n.2.

<sup>10</sup>JBL 56 (1937), pp.303ff.

<sup>11</sup>Klijn, op.cit., p.66.



<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p.68.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p.70.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. J.R. Harris, Exp VIII, 7 (1914), pp.316-34:  
"It is not enough to quote manuscript authority for  
the omission (sc. Lk 22:43f); as Dr. Hort would say,  
knowledge of documents and, we may add, of Church  
History, should precede final judgment as to  
readings...".

<sup>15</sup>NTS 12 (1965-66), p.210.

<sup>16</sup>Westcott-Hort, Introduction, p.40.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp.49f.

<sup>18</sup>For an excellent critique of the Genealogical  
Method, see Colwell, JBL 66 (1947), pp.109ff.

<sup>19</sup>Westcott-Hort, op.cit., pp.60ff.

<sup>20</sup>Theology 75 (1972), p.340; cf. Metzger, Text of  
the N.T., p.159.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Introduction, pp.120-6. Contrast Salmon,  
Some Thoughts on Textual Criticism, pp.47ff. He  
points out that the term 'neutral' as applied to the  
B<sup>x</sup> type of Text is question-begging, since it  
betrays the assumption that these MSS had no fixed  
habitat while the other groups are associated with  
some locality. We cannot, at any rate, endorse the  
extremely fanatical view of Burgon that "without a  
particle of hesitation, ... BD are three of the  
most scandalously corrupt copies extant" and that  
they "exhibit the most shamefully mutilated texts  
which are anywhere to be met with..." (Revision  
Revised, p.16).

<sup>22</sup>Some Thoughts on Textual Criticism, p.92.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp.92f.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp.46ff; cf. C.S.C. Williams, Commentary on Acts, p.49: "It is now a commonplace of criticism that each variant has to be considered on its own merits; a textual type cannot be accepted in toto. It is also a commonplace that 'Western' is a misnomer to describe one type; for the 'Western' or D-type of text was wide-spread in the second century and papyri of this type have been discovered in Egypt... On the whole, the probability is that the Western text is a second century recension, which sometimes preserves a good reading lost in the other main textual type and that the Alexandrian text is a careful product of Alexandrian scholarship somewhat nearer to the original, and yet not to be identified with the original...".

It is most instructive to note that Williams was anticipating C.M. Martini's conclusions in this regard (see "Il Problema della recensionalita del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV", *Analecta Biblica*, vol.26 (Rome, 1966), reviewed by J.N. Birdsall, *JTS* 18 (1967), p.464 . After a careful comparison of P<sup>75</sup> with B, Martini urges that it is possible to establish a concept of parallelism of texts during the second century rather than setting one text against another. This is a satisfactory representation of the diversity of attitude in the Church of the early centuries in textual matters.

<sup>25</sup>Op.cit., p.90.

<sup>26</sup>For the several instances of omission in B, M and D, see A.C. Clark, *Primitive Text*, pp.31ff. Streeter, *Four Gospels*, p.144, says: "The text of B alone has been placed by critics on a pedestal by itself, and because it has undoubtedly suffered less than any other MS., has been supposed to be immune. And this unfounded supposition has played havoc with the scientific study of the Synoptic Problem". The same may be said of P<sup>75</sup> today (vide infra).

<sup>27</sup>Cf. A.C. Clark, op.cit., p.56; Salmon, op.cit. p.25.

<sup>28</sup>E.g. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words* (E.T.), pp.148,149, 151, points to the 'Western' omissions at Lk 7:7a; 7:33; 19:25; 21:30; 24:21; A.C. Clark, op.cit., p.53, points to Lk 9:23; 12:26; 21:24; Haenchen, op.cit., p.56, notes Lk 24:1 as another example. Streeter,

op.cit., p.141; n.1, cites Lk 8:44; 9:26; Mt 21:23; Mk 9:35; 14:65; Jn 12:8 (cf. also pp.311,313,318,330).

<sup>29</sup>I am not oblivious of the continual debate about the degree of Tatian's influence on Gospel texts in general. Klijn (Survey, II, p.5) cites Metzger (The Evidence of the Versions, N.T. MS Studies, 1948, p.29): "A still larger problem which continues to divide scholarly opinion is the extent of the alleged Tatianic influence upon the textual history of the Gospels - a problem which perhaps will never be satisfactorily settled". Even the language and the place in which Tatian's Diatessaron was originally composed is still a matter of debate: "Il n'est pas possible, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, de déterminer avec une absolue certitude si le Diatessaron a été écrit en Orient ou en Occident, si la langue dans laquelle il est écrit a été le syriaque ou le grec. Pourtant, l'origine syriaque paraît plus probable" (Leloir, quoted by Klijn, op.cit., p.7); cf. V. Taylor, Text, p.13.

<sup>30</sup>Eucharistic Words (E.T.), p.148.

<sup>31</sup>Cf. J.R. Harris, The Diatessaron of Tatian, p.39. He strongly denies the charge of Tatian's tampering with the Scriptures.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp.24f; 25, n.1. Harris notes that the Commentary of Ephrem on the Diatessaron, while criticizing the Encratites for their use of water in the Eucharist instead of wine, spares Tatian of his attack. In fact Ephrem refers to Jesus' administering wine at the Last Supper to the disciples. He says that Judas was, however, served only with bread dipped in water (cf. Ephrem, Concord., p.221). Similarly he definitely comments on Jesus' turning water into wine at Cana (ibid., p.56). Harris rightly asserts that Ephrem would not have used the Diatessaron for didactic purposes if he had found anything heretical in it.

<sup>33</sup>E.g. definite Marcionite influence: Lk 11:49; definite Tatianic influence: Mt 5:19; 11:19; Lk 2:36 [see Leloir, Bib 40 (1959), pp.959ff; Willis, JTS 18 (1967), p.459].

<sup>34</sup>After a brief examination of the 27 cases listed by Westcott-Hort from the point of view of Tatianic influence, Lagrange draws the following conclusion: "Des vingt-sept omissions occidentales, deux seulement, Lc.xxiv, 9,12, s'expliquent mieux par une Harmonie qu'autrement et peuvent donc être attribuées à Tatien avec quelque vraisemblance". However, in his actual treatment of these passages Lagrange is not quite prepared to concede even such a possibility. As for possible insertion under Tatianic influence he would point to Lk 24:36, but would at once qualify this suggestion by saying: "mais on peut se demander si c'est bien une interpolation, et si, dans ce cas, elle ne viendrait pas d'un très ancien remaniement de Lc d'après Jo."; cf. RB (n.s.) 10 (1913), pp.503,509. There cannot be a better rejoinder to von Soden's exaggerated notions about Tatianic influence than Lagrange's review article under reference (see von Soden, Schriften des N.Ts. I.2, pp.1570ff; 720, 798).

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Klijn, Survey, I, p.32.

<sup>36</sup>Vide Burkitt, Texts and Studies, IV (1896), pp.47f.

<sup>37</sup>Marcion and His Influence, p.134; cf. Klijn, Survey, II, p.53.

<sup>38</sup>Cf. L. Vaganay, Initiation à la Critique Textuelle, p.89: "Il ne faudrait pas croire que l'Eglise soit restée indifférente devant ces altérations du texte sacré. Dans les circonstances graves, elle prit les mesures disciplinaires qui s'imposaient". Even Harnack readily admits that "Ein Einfluss seines [sc. Marcions] Textes auf die katholischen Texte hat nur in sehr geringem Masse stattgefunden, sobald man die neutralen Sonderlesarten M.s nicht als seine Lesarten, sondern als solche des W. Textes beurteilt": Marcion, TU XV (1921), Beilage IV, p.229.

<sup>39</sup>Survey, II, p.25.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. J.R. Harris, op.cit., pp.35-8.

<sup>41</sup>Survey, II, p.26.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Ibid., pp.18-26; see also K. Lake, Expt 50 (1938), pp.68-71.

<sup>43</sup>See Resch, TU X (1895); Klijn, Survey, I, pp.33f.

<sup>44</sup>Four Gospels, p.145.

APPENDIX

A summary of the conclusions of this thesis as compared to three outstanding modern translations/editions of the N.T.

Category	Reference	Conclusion	UPS Greek NT	NEB	Jerusalem Bible	
I. The Classic 'Western Non-interpolations' of Westcott-Hort	A. Lk 22:19b-20	spurious	genuine	spurious	genuine	
	B.					
	a. Lk 24:3	spurious	genuine	spurious	genuine	
	b. Lk 24:6	spurious	genuine	spurious	genuine	
	c. Lk 24:12	spurious	genuine	spurious	genuine	
	C.					
	a. Lk 24:36a	spurious	genuine	spurious	genuine	
	b. Lk 24:40	spurious	genuine	spurious	genuine	
	D.					
	a. Lk 24:51	genuine	genuine	spurious	genuine	
	b. Lk 24:52	spurious	genuine	spurious	genuine	
	E. Mt 27:49b	spurious	spurious	spurious	spurious	
	II. A. The Matthaean 'Non-interpolations'	a. Mt 6:15	spurious	spurious	spurious	spurious
		b. Mt 6:25	spurious	single square brackets	genuine	spurious
c. Mt 9:34		spurious	genuine	spurious	genuine	
d. Mt 13:33		genuine	genuine	genuine	genuine	
e. Mt 21:44		spurious	double square brackets	spurious	spurious	
f. Mt 23:26		spurious	spurious	spurious	genuine	

Category	Reference	Conclusion	UBS Greek NT	NEB	Jerusalem Bible
B. The Markan 'Non-interpolations'	a. Mk 2:22c	genuine	genuine	genuine	genuine
	b. Mk 10:2	genuine	genuine	spurious	genuine
	c. Mk 14:39	genuine	genuine	spurious	genuine
C. The Other Lukan 'Non-interpolations'	a. Lk 5:39	genuine	genuine	genuine	genuine
	b. Lk 10:41f	genuine (longest)	genuine (longer)	genuine (longer)	genuine (longest)
	c. Lk 12:19	genuine	genuine	genuine	genuine
	d. Lk 12:21	genuine	genuine	genuine	genuine
	e. Lk 12:39	genuine	spurious	spurious	spurious
	f. Lk 22:62	genuine	spurious	spurious	genuine
	g. Lk 24:9	genuine	genuine	genuine	genuine
D. The Johannine 'Non-interpolations'	a. Jn 3:31f	genuine	single square brackets	spurious	spurious
	b. Jn 4:9	genuine	genuine	genuine	genuine
III. The 'Greater Interpolations'	a. Mt 16:2b-3	genuine	single square brackets	genuine	genuine
	b. Mk 16:9-20	spurious	double square brackets	spurious (so foot- note)	spurious (so foot- note)
	c. Lk 9:54 9:55f	spurious genuine	spurious spurious	spurious spurious	spurious spurious
	d. Lk 22:43f	spurious	double square brackets	genuine	genuine

Category	Reference	Conclusion	UBS Greek NT	NEB	Jerusalem Bible
	e. Lk 23:34	double square brackets	double square brackets	genuine	genuine
	f. Jn 5:3b 5:4	genuine spurious	spurious spurious	spurious spurious	spurious spurious (so foot-note)
	g. Jn 7:53-8:11	spurious in Jn, but Lukan (end of Lk 19)	spurious (appendix to Jn in double square brackets)	spurious (appendix to Jn)	spurious in Jn, but Luke (after Lk 21:38, so foot-note)



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbot, E. "On the Comparative Antiquity of the Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts of the Greek Bible", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 10 (1880), pp.189-200.
- Abbott, E.A. *Diatessarica*, 8 Parts, London, 1898-1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Johannine Vocabulary* (=ibid., Pt. V), London, 1905.
- Abel, M. Review of H. von Soden's 'Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments', I, (Berlin, 1906), in *RB* 16 (1907), pp.282-6.
- Achilles, H.-Fleming, J. *Die Syrische Didaskalia* (=TU X, 2), Leipzig, 1904.
- Aland, K. "The Significance of the Papyri for New Testament Research", in 'The Bible in Modern Scholarship' (ed. J.P. Hyatt, Abingdon, 1965), pp.325-46.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Neue Neutestamentliche Papyri II", *NTS* 12 (1965-66), pp.193-210.
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und Seines Textes*, Band 2, Berlin, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Greek New Testament: Its Present and Future Editions", *JBL* 87 (1968), pp.179-86.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Bemerkungen zum Schluss des Markusevangeliums", in 'Neotestamentica et Semitica': Studies in Honour of M. Black, (ed. E.E. Ellis and M. Wilcox, Edinburgh, 1969), pp.157-80.
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, UBS, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Neue Neutestamentliche Papyri III", *NTS* 21 (1974), pp.357-81.
- \_\_\_\_\_ et. al. (eds.) *The Greek New Testament*, United Bible Societies<sup>2</sup>, 1968.

- Alford, H. The Greek New Testament, I<sup>5</sup>, The Four Gospels, London, 1863.
- Allen, W.C. The Gospel according to St. Mark (The Oxford Church Biblical Commentary), London, 1915.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "St. Mark XVI.8 'They Were Afraid', Why?" JTS 47 (1946), pp.46-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "'Fear' in St. Mark", JTS 48 (1947), pp.201-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew (International Critical Commentary)<sup>3</sup>, Edinburgh, 1951.
- Allegro, J.M. The Dead Sea Scrolls, Penguin Books, 1956.
- Andersen, A. "Zu Mt 26,17ff und Lc 22,15ff", ZNW 7 (1906), pp.87-90.
- Annand, R. "He Was Seen of Cephas", ScJTh 11 (1958), pp.180-7.
- Audet, J.P. La Didaché: Instructions des Apôtres, Paris, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Literary Forms and Contents of a Normal *Εὐχρηστικά* in the First Century", TU 73 (=StEv 1) (1959), pp.643-62.
- Bacon, B.W. "Papias and the Gospel according to the Hebrews", Exp VI, no.11 (1905), pp.161ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Lucan versus Johannine Chronology", Exp VII, no.3 (1907), pp.206-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Ascension in Luke and Acts", Exp VII, no.7 (1909), pp.254-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate, New York, 1910.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Lukan Tradition of the Lord's Supper", HTR 5 (1912), pp.322-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Order of the Lukan Interpolations", JBL 37 (1918), pp.20-53.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Pharisees and Herodians in Mark", JBL 39 (1920), pp.102-12.

- Bailey, J.A. The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John, *Novum Testamentum Supplement* 8, Leiden: Brill, 1963.
- Baird, W. Commentary on St. Luke in *The Interpreter's One Volume Commentary on the Bible* (ed. C.M. Leyomon), Collins, 1971.
- Baker, A. "The Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron", *JTS* (n.s.) 16 (1965), pp.449-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "One Thing Necessary", *CBQ* 27 (1965), pp.127-37.
- Balmforth, H. *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, (The Clarendon Bible), Oxford, 1933.
- Barbour, R.S. "Gethsemane in the Tradition of the Passion", *NTS* 16 (1970), pp.231ff.
- Barnard, L.W. "The Day of the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ in the Epistle of Barnabas", *RevBénéd* 78 (1968), pp.106f.
- Barrett, C.K. *The Gospel according to St. John*, SPCK, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Luke XXII 15,16: 'To Eat Passover'", *JTS* 9 (1958), pp.305-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Luke the Historian in Recent Study*, London, 1961.
- Bartlet, J.V. "The Sources of St. Luke's Gospel", in *'Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem'* (ed. W. Sanday, Oxford, 1911), pp.315-62.
- Bate, H.N. "The Shorter Text of Lk XXII 15-20", *JTS* 28 (1926-27), pp.362-8.
- Bauer, W. *Das Johannesevangelium*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Tübingen, 1925.
- Bauer, W.-Arndt, F.-Gingrich, F.W. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (E.T.)<sup>4</sup>, Chicago, 1957.
- Bauernfeind, O. *TDNT* (ed. G. Kittel, Eerdmans, 1964), I, p.350 (ἀποκαταστάσις).
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1939.

- Beare, F.W. *The Earliest Records of Jesus*, Oxford, 1962.
- Bebb, L.J.M. "Gospel of Luke: Transmission of Text",  
in *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible*, iii,  
Edinburgh, 1906, pp.164f.
- Becker, U. *Jesus und die Ehebrecherin*, Beihefte 28  
zur ZNW, Berlin, 1963.
- Behm, J. TDNT (ed. G. Kittel, Eerdmans, 1964), I,  
pp.348f (ἀγάμνησις); II (1965), pp.34f  
(ἐπιπύρι etc.); pp.689ff (ἐπιπύρι);  
III (1965), pp.726ff (κλῆσις etc.).
- Bell, H.I. Review of C.S.C. Williams' 'Alterations  
to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and  
Acts' (Oxford, 1951), in *JTS* 3 (1952), pp.260ff.
- Bell, G.K.A.-Deissmann, D.A. (ed.) *Mysterium Christi*,  
Longmans, 1930.
- Bengel, J.A. *Gnomon of the New Testament (E.T.)*, vol.I,  
Edinburgh, 1857.
- Benoit, P. "L'Ascension", *RB* 56 (1949), pp.161-203.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Review of J. Jeremias' 'Die Abendmahlsworte  
Jesu'<sup>2</sup> (Göttingen, 1949) in *RB* 58 (1951),  
pp.132-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Le Récit de la Cène dans Lc. XXII, 15-20",  
*RB* 48 (1939), pp.357-93.
- Betz, H.D. "The Origin and Nature of Christian Faith  
according to the Emmaus Legend (Luke 24,  
13-22)", *Interpretation*, Jan. 1969, pp.32-46.
- Bikerman, E. "Les Hérodians", *RB* 47 (1938), pp.184-97.
- Bird, C.H. "Some γὰρ Clauses in St. Mark's Gospel",  
*JTS* 4 (n.s.) (1953), pp.171-87.
- Birdsall, J.N. Review of C.M. Martini's 'Il Problema  
della recensionalita del codice B alla  
luce del papiro Bodmer XIV', (*Analecta  
Biblica*, 26, Rome, 1966) in *JTS* 18 (1967),  
pp.462-6.
- Bishop, E.F.F. "The Pericope Adulterae: A Suggestion",  
*JTS* 35 (1934), pp.40-5.

- Black, M. "The Problem of Old Testament Quotations in the Gospels", *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* 23 (1942), p.4.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Greek New Testament: United Bible Societies", *ScJTh* 19 (1966), pp.486-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_ An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts<sup>3</sup>, Oxford, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Syriac Versional Tradition" in 'Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung' (ed. K. Aland, Berlin, 1972), Band 5, pp.120-59.
- Blackman, E.C. *Marcion and His Influence*, London, 1948.
- Blakiston, H.E.D. "The Lucan Account of the Institution of the Lord's Supper" *JTS* 4 (1903), pp.548-55.
- Blass, F. "Zu Luk 22,15ff", *TSK*, 1896, pp.733-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Philology of the Gospels*, London, 1898.
- Blass, F.-Debrunner, A-Funk, R.W. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*<sup>9</sup>, Chicago, 1961.
- Blevnis, J.L. "The Passion Narrative: Luke 19:28-24:53", *Review and Expositor* 64 (1967), pp.513-22.
- Boismard, M.E. "Critique Textuelle et Citations Patristiques", *RB* 57 (1950), pp.388-408.
- Bonnard, P. *L'Évangile selon Saint Matthieu (Commentaire du Nouveau Testament)* Neuchâtel, Suisse, 1963.
- Borgen, P. "John and the Synoptics in the Passion Narrative", *NTS* 5 (1959), pp.246-59.
- Bornkamm, G. *Jesus of Nazareth (E.T.)*, New York, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_ *TDNT IV*, (ed. G. Kittel, Eerdmans, 1967), pp.280f (λὴκμῶ).
- Boyd, R.H.S. *India and the Latin Captivity of the Church*, Cambridge, 1974.
- Bousset, W. Review of H. von Soden's 'Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments' (Band 1,3, Berlin, 1907) in *ThLZ*, 1908, cols. 672-6.

- Box, G.H. "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist",  
JTS 3 (1902), pp.357-69.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "St. Luke XXII 15,16", JTS 10 (1909), pp.106f.
- Bowman, J.W. "The Life and Teaching of Jesus", Peake's  
Commentary on the Bible, (ed. M. Black  
and H.H. Rowley, Nelson, 1962), pp.733-47.
- Brandon, S.G.F. The Fall of Jerusalem and the  
Christian Church, London, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Jesus and the Zealots, Manchester, 1967.
- Branscomb, B.H. The Gospel of Mark (Moffatt New Testament  
Commentary). London, 1937.
- Breitenstein, J. "Les Paraboles de Jésus", RTP (n.s.) 9  
(1921), pp.97-113.
- Brown, J.P. "An early Revision of the Gospel of Mark"  
JBL 78 (1959), pp.215-27.
- Brown, R.E. The Gospel according to St. John (I-XII),  
New York, 1956.
- Bruce, A.B. The Expositor's Greek Testament, I<sup>6</sup>, The  
Synoptic Gospels, ed. M. Dods, London, 1910.
- Brun, D.L. "Engel und Blutschweiss: Lc 22 43-44",  
ZNW 32 (1933), pp.265-76.
- Bultmann, R. History of the Synoptic Tradition (E.T.)  
Blackwell, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Gospel of John (E.T.), Blackwell, 1971.
- Burgon, J.W. The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel  
according to St. Mark Vindicated.....,  
Oxford and London, 1871.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Revision Revised, London. 1883.
- Burkill, T.A. "L'Anti-semitisme dans l'Évangile selon  
Saint Marc" RevHR, 154 (1958), pp.24-6.
- Burkitt, F.C. The Old Latin and the Itala (=Cambridge  
Texts and Studies IV), Cambridge, 1896.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Two Lectures on the Gospels, London, 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Evangelion da-Mepharreshe, 2 vols.,  
Cambridge, 1904.

- Burkitt, F.C. S.Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel  
(=Cambridge Texts and Studies VII),  
Cambridge, 1905.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Gospel History and Its Transmission,  
Edinburgh, 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "W and @ : Studies in the Western Text  
of St. Mark", JTS 17 (1916), pp.1-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Last Supper and the Paschal Meal",  
ibid., pp.291ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Beginnings of Christianity, Pt.I, Vol.i  
(ed. F. Jackson and K. Lake), Macmillan, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Christian Beginnings, London, 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Dutch Harmonies",  
JTS 25 (1924), pp.113-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Review of B.H. Streeter's 'The Four Gospels'  
in JTS 26 (1924-25), pp.278-94.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "St. Luke IX 54-56 and the Western  
'Diatessaron' ", JTS 28 (1926-27), pp.48-53.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Chester Beatty Papyri", JTS 33  
(1931-32), pp.363-368.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Dura Fragment of Tatian", JTS 36  
(1935), pp.255-9.
- Burkitt, F.C.-Brooke, A.E. "St. Luke XXII 15,16: What  
Is the General Meaning?", JTS 9 (1907-8)  
pp.569-72.
- Burney, C.F. The Poetry of Our Lord, Oxford, 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Aramaic Origins of the Fourth Gospel,  
Oxford, 1922.
- Buse, I. "St. John and the Passion Narratives of  
St. Matthew and St. Luke", NTS 7 (1960),  
pp.65-76.
- Butler, B.C. Originality of St. Matthew, Cambridge, 1951.
- Buzy, D. "Les Sentences Finales des Paraboles  
Evangeliques", RB 40 (1931), pp.321-44.

- Cadbury, H.J. "A Possible Case of Lukan Authorship",  
HTR 10 (1917), pp.237ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Style and Literary Method of Luke,  
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Knowledge Claimed in Luke's Preface",  
Exp VIII, no.24 (1922), pp.401-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Making of Luke - Acts, Macmillan, 1927.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Mark 16 8", JBL 46 (1927), p.344.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Book of Acts in History, New York, 1955.
- Cadoux, A.T. The Sources of the Second Gospel, London,  
1935.
- Caird, G. Review of V. Taylor's 'The Passion Narrative  
of St. Luke' (Cambridge, 1972), in ExpT 83  
(1971-72), p.379.
- Carpenter, J.E. The First Three Gospels<sup>2</sup>, London, 1890.
- Carroll, K.L. "The Expansion of the Pauline Corpus",  
JBL 72 (1953), pp.230-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Formation of the Fourfold Gospel",  
BJRL 37 (1954), pp.68-77.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Earliest New Testament", BJRL 38  
(1955), pp.45-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Towards A Commonly Received New Testament",  
BJRL 44 (1961-62), pp.327-49.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Tatian's Influence on the Developing New  
Testament", in Studies and Documents XXIX  
(ed. J. Geerlings, Salt Lake City, 1967),  
pp.59-70.
- Casey, R.P. "Professor Goodenough and the Fourth Gospel"  
JBL 64 (1945), pp.535-42.
- Cerfaux, L. "La Multiplication des Pains dans la Liturgie  
de la Didaché", Bib 40 (1959), pp.943-58.
- Chadwick, G.A. "Christ at the Pool of Bethesda",  
Exp IV, no.7 (1893), pp.136-46.
- Chadwick, H. "The Shorter Text of Luke XXII,15-20",  
HTR 50 (1957), pp.249-58.



- Chapman, J. "The Order of the Gospels in the Parent of Codex Bezae", ZNW 6 (1905), pp.339-46.
- Charlier, J.P. L'Evangile de l'Enfance de l'Eglise, Commentaire de Act 1-2, Bruxelles, 1966.
- Cheyne, T.K. "Herodians", in Encyclopaedia Biblica, III, (Edinburgh, 1901), col.2043.
- Chase, F.H. The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae, London, 1893.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Reading of Codex Bezae in Acts 1:2" Exp IV, no.9 (1894), pp.314-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels, London, 1895.
- Clark, A.C. The Primitve Text of the Gospels and Acts, Oxford, 1914.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts: A Rejoinder", JTS 16 (1915), pp.225-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Descent of the Manuscripts, Oxford, 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Acts of the Apostles, Oxford, 1933.
- Clark, K.W. "The Textual Criticism of the New Testament", in Peake's Commentary on the Bible (ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley, Nelson, 1962) pp.663-70.
- Clark, N. Interpreting the Resurrection, SCM, 1967.
- Colwell, E.C. "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Its Limitations", JBL 66 (1947), pp.109-33.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Significance of Grouping of New Testament Manuscripts", NTS 4 (1957), pp.73-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text" in 'The Bible in Modern Scholarship' (ed. J.P. Hyatt, Abingdon, 1965), pp.370-89.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "External Evidence and New Testament Criticism", in Studies and Documents, XXIX, in Honour of K.W. Clark (ed. J. Geerlings, Salt Lake City, 1967).
- \_\_\_\_\_ Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament, Leiden: Brill, 1969.

- Colwell, E.C.-Tune, G.W. "Variant Readings: Classification and Use", JBL 83 (1964), pp.253-61.
- Conybeare, F.C. "Aristion, the Author of the Last Twelve Verses of Mark", Exp IV, no.3 (1893), pp.241-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Authorship of the Last Twelve Verses of Mark", Exp IV, no.10 (1894), pp.219ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "On the Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark's Gospel", Exp V, no.2 (1895), pp.401-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Three Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Text of the Gospels", Hibbert Journal (1902). pp.96-113.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "An Armenian Diatessaron?", JTS 25 (1924), pp.232-45.
- Conzelmann, H. The Theology of St. Luke (E.T.), London, 1960.
- Cranfield, C.E.B. The Gospel according to St. Mark (Cambridge Greek Testament), Cambridge, 1959.
- Creed, J.M. The Gospel according to St. Luke, London, 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Conclusion of the Gospel according to St Mark", JTS 31 (1930), pp.175-80.
- Cribb, F.L. "St. Luke and the Johannine Tradition", JBL 90 (1971), pp.422-50.
- Cullmann, O. "'KYRIOS' as a Designation for the Oral Tradition Concerning Jesus (Paradosis and Kyrios)", ScJT 3 (1950), pp.180-97.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Early Christian Worship, SCM, 1953.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr, SCM, 1953.
- Curtis, P.G.C. "Lk XXIV 12 and Jn XX 3-10", JTS 22 (1971), pp.512-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Linguistic Support for Three Western Readings in Lk XXIV", ExpT 83 (1971-72), pp.344f.
- Dalman, G. The Words of Jesus (E.T.), Edinburgh, 1902.

- Dalman, G. Jesus - Jeshua (B.T.), SPCK, 1929.
- Dana, H.E.-Mantey, J.R. A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament, New York, 1965.
- Danker, F.W. Multipurpose Tools for Bible Study<sup>3</sup>, Concordia, 1970.
- Daube, D. "Jesus and the Samaritan Woman: The Meaning of *συχράομαι*", JBL 69 (1950), pp.137-47.
- The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, London, 1956.
- "'For They Know Not What They Do': Luke 23,34", TU 79 (1961), pp.58-70.
- Davidson, s. A Treatise on Biblical Criticism II, London and Edinburgh, 1882.
- Delling, G. TDNT (ed. G. Friedrich, Eerdmans, 1968), VI, pp.283ff (*πλήρης, πληρώω* etc.).
- Descamps, A. "La Structure de Récits Evangéliques de la Résurrection", Bib 40 (1959), pp.726-41.
- Denney, J. "Ascension", in HDB I (Edinburgh, 1906), pp.161f.
- Dibelius, M. From Tradition to Gospel (E.T.), London, 1934.
- Dinkler, E. "Form Criticism of the New Testament", in Peake's Commentary on the Bible (ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley, Nelson, 1962), pp.683-5.
- Dodd, C.H. The Parables of the Kingdom<sup>4</sup>, London, 1948.
- "The Appearances of the Risen Christ : An Essay in Form Criticism of the Gospels", in Essays in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot (ed. D.E. Nineham, Oxford, 1955), pp.9-35.
- Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel, Cambridge, 1963.
- Doeve, J.W. "Die Gefangennahme Jesu in Gethsemane", TU 73 (=StEv I) (1959), pp.458-80.
- Drury, J. Review of V. Taylor's 'The Passion Narrative of St. Luke' (Cambridge, 1972), in JTS 24 (1973), pp.541-3.

- Dummelow, J.R. (ed.) The One Volume Commentary,  
Macmillan, 1913.
- Dunkerley, R. "The Textual Critic in the Pulpit",  
ExpT 63 (1951-52), pp.75-7; 101-4.
- "Was Barabbas Also Called Jesus?", ExpT 74  
(1962-63), pp.126f.
- Dunn, J.W.E. "The Text of Mark 16 in the English Bible",  
ExpT 83 (1971-72), pp.311f.
- Duplacy, J. Où en est la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau  
Testament? Paris, 1959.
- Dupont, J. "ΑΝΕΛΗΜΦΘΗ (ACT 1.2)", NTS 8  
(1961-62), pp.154-7.
- "Vin Vieux, Vin Nouveau (Luc 5,39)"  
CBQ 25 (1963), pp.286-304.
- Easton, B.S. The Gospel According to St. Luke,  
Edinburgh, 1926.
- Eisler, R. "Jesus und die Ungetreue Braut", ZNW 22  
(1923), pp.305-7.
- Eidersheim, A. The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,  
2 vols., Longmans, 1900.
- Elliott, J.K. "The United Bible Societies' Greek New  
Testament", NovT 15 (1973), pp.278-300.
- "Can We Recover the Original New Testament?",  
Theology 77 (1974), pp.338-53.
- Elliott, K. "Rational Criticism and the Text of the  
New Testament", Theology 75 (1972) pp.338-43.
- Ellis, E.E. The Gospel of Luke (Century Bible),  
Nelson, 1966.
- "Midrashic Features in the Speeches of  
Acts", in Mélanges Bibliques en Hommage  
au R.P. Bédard Rigaux (ed. A. Descamps et  
A. de Halleux, Duculot, 1970), pp.303-12.
- Enslin, M.S. "ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ , MARK 16 8", JBL 46  
(1927), pp.62-8.

- Enslin, M.S. "The Ascension Story", JBL 47 (1928), pp.60-73.
- "Once Again Luke and Paul", ZNW 62 (1971), pp.253-71.
- Epp, E.J. The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, Cambridge, 1966.
- Evans, C.F. Resurrection and the New Testament, SCM, 1970.
- Farmer, W.R. The Last Twelve Verses of Mark, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph 25, Cambridge, 1974.
- Farrar, F.W. "The Gospel for Penitents and Christ Writing on the Ground", Exp 9 (1879), pp.24-42.
- The Gospel according to St. Luke, Cambridge, 1895.
- Farrer, A.M. St. Matthew and St. Mark, London, 1954.
- Feine, P. Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas in Evangelium und Apostelgeschichte, Gotha, 1891.
- Fenton, J.C. "Inclusio and Chiasmus in Matthew", TU 73 (= StEv 1) (1959), pp.174-9.
- Field, F. Notes on the Translation of the New Testament, Cambridge, 1899.
- Filson, F.V. A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, (Harper's New Testament Commentaries), London, 1960.
- Fitzmeyer, J.A. "Papyrus Bodmer XIV: Some Features of Our Oldest Text of Luke", CBQ 24 (1962), pp.170-9.
- Frend, W.H.C. "Gospel of Thomas: Is Rehabilitation Possible?", JTS 18 (1967), pp.13-26.
- Gardner-Smith, P. Narratives of the Resurrection, Methuen, 1926.
- St. John and the Synoptic Gospels, Cambridge, 1938.

- Garvie, A.E. "The Agony in the Garden", Exp VII, no.3; (1907), pp.159-73.
- Gaumer, T. "An Examination of Some Western Textual Variants Adopted in the Greek Text of the New English Bible", TBT 16 (1965), pp.184-9.
- Geldenhuis, N. Commentary on St. Luke in The New International Critical Commentary on the New Testament, Eerdmans, 1954.
- Gerhardsson, B. Memory and Manuscript, (E.T.), Copenhagen, 1961.
- Gibson, M.D. "The House in which the Last Supper Was Held", JTS 17 (1916), p.398.
- Gill, D.H. "Observations on the Lukan Travel Narrative and Some Related Passages (Lk 9:51-19:44; 22:14-38; 24:13-49)", HTR 63 (1970), pp.199-221.
- Gilmour, S.M. et al. Commentary on St. Luke in the Interpreter's Bible, VIII, Nashville, 1952.
- Glover, R. "The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels", NTS 5 (1958-59), pp.12-29.
- Godet, F. A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke (E.T.), 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1875.
- Goetz, K.G. "Zur Lösung der Abendmahlsfrage", TSK 108 (1937), pp.81-123.
- Goguel, M. La Vie de Jésus, Paris, 1932.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Luke and Mark: With a Discussion of Streeter's Theory", HTR 26 (1933), pp.1-55.
- Goodenough, E.R. "John a Primitive Gospel", JBL 64 (1945), pp.145-82.
- Goodspeed, E.J. "The Original Conclusion of Mark", in 'New Solutions of New Testament Problems' (Chicago, 1927), pp.116-22.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Formation of the New Testament, Chicago, 1926.

- Gould, E.P. The Gospel according to St. Mark  
(International Critical Commentary),  
Edinburgh, 1896.
- Graefe, F, "Der Schluss des Lukasevangeliums und  
der Anfang der Apostelgeschichte", TSK,  
1888, pp.522-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Textkritische Bemerkungen zu den Drei  
Schlusskapiteln des Lukasevangeliums"  
TSK, 1896, pp.245-81.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Das Codex Bezae und das Lukasevangelium",  
TSK, 1898, pp.116-40.
- Grant, F.C. "Was the Author of John Dependent upon  
the Gospel of Luke?", JBL 56 (1937),  
pp.285-307.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Where Form Criticism and Textual Criticism  
Overlap", JBL 59 (1940), pp.11-21.
- Grant, F.C.-Luccock, H.E. Commentary on St. Mark in  
the Interpreter's Bible, VII, Nashville,  
1951.
- Gregory, C.R. Canon and Text of the New Testament,  
Edinburgh, 1907.
- Grundmann, W. Das Evangelium nach Markus<sup>2</sup>, Berlin, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Das Evangelium nach Lukas<sup>2</sup>, Berlin, 1964.
- Gundry, R.H. The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's  
Gospel, Supplement to Novum Testamentum, 18,  
Leiden: Brill, 1967.
- Guy, H.A. "Did Luke use Matthew?", ExpT 83 (1971-72),  
pp.245-7.
- Haecken, E. The Acts of the Apostles (E.T.), Blackwell,  
1971.
- Hall, D.R. "The Meaning of *συνυχρόνως* in John 4:9"  
ExpT 83 (1971-72). pp.56f.
- Hammond, C.E. Outlines of Textual Criticism as Applied  
to the New Testament, Oxford, 1872.
- Harnack, A. Luke the Physician (E.T.), London, 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Sayings of Jesus, London, 1908.

- Harnack, A. Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott  
=TU 45 (1921) , Leipzig.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments  
und der Alten Kirche: Probleme im Texte  
der Leidensgeschichte Jesu, Berlin und  
Leipzig, 1931.
- Harrington, W.J. Commentary on St. Luke in A New  
Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture,  
Nelson, 1969.
- Harris, J.R. The Diatessaron of Tatian, London, 1890.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Codex Bezae: A Study of the so-called  
Western Text of the New Testament  
(=Cambridge Texts and Studies, II),  
Cambridge, 1891.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Review of J.R. Harris' 'Codex Bezae...'  
(Cambridge Texts and Studies, II, 1891),  
in The Guardian, May 18, 1892, pp.742-4;  
May 25, 1892, pp.786-8 (author unknown).
- \_\_\_\_\_ On the Origin of the Ferrar Group, London,  
1893.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Inaugural Lecture...Leyden (1904).
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Pool of Bethesda", Exp VII, no.2  
(1906), pp.508-17.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Side-Lights on New Testament Research,  
London, 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "New Points of View in Textual Criticism",  
Exp VIII, no.7 (1914), pp.316-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The First Tatian Reading in the Greek  
New Testament", Exp VIII, no.23 (1914),  
pp.120-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Encratites and the Marriage of Cana",  
Exp IX, no.1 (1915), pp.121-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "An Important Reading in the Diatessaron",  
ExpT 25 (1913-14), pp.347-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Origin of a Famous Lucan Gloss",  
ExpT 35 (1923-24), pp.7-10.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Some Diatessaron Readings from Sinai",  
ExpT 35 (1923-24), pp.296-8.



- Harris, J.R. "Some Notes on the Gospel-Harmony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus", JBL 43 (1924), pp.32ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Was the Diatessaron Anti-Judaic?", HTR 18 (1925), pp.103-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Artificial Variants in the Text of the New Testament", Exp VIII, no.24 (1922), pp.254-61.
- Hatch, W.H.P. The 'Western' Text of the Gospels, Evanston, 1937.
- Hauck, F. TDNT (ed. G. Kittel, Eerdmans, 1965), III, p.138 ( *ὁμοῦπιζω* ).
- Hawkins, J.C. Horae Synopticae<sup>2</sup>, Oxford, 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "St. Luke's use of St. Mark's Gospel", in 'Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem' (ed. W. Sanday, Oxford, 1911), pp.76-94.
- Headlam, A.C. The Fourth Gospel as History, Oxford, 1948.
- Hemphill, S. The Diatessaron of Tatian, London, 1888.
- Higgins, A.J.B. "The Arabic Version of Tatian's Diatessaron", JTS 45 (1944), pp.187-99.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Persian Gospel Harmony as a Witness to Tatian's Diatessaron", JTS (n.s.) 3 (1952), pp.83-87.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Lord's Supper in the New Testament, SCM, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Persian and Arabic Harmonies", TU 73 (=StEv 1) (1959), pp.793-810.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Non-Gnostic Sayings in the Gospel of Thomas", NovT 4 (1960), pp.292-306.
- Hill, J.H. The Earliest Life of Christ.... being the Diatessaron of Tatian...., Edinburgh, 1894.
- Hogg, H.W. The Diatessaron of Tatian, Edinburgh, 1897.
- Holtz, T. "Untersuchungen über die Alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas", TU 104 (1968), pp.162-7.

- Holtzmann, H.J. et al. Die Synoptiker: Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament, Freiburg, 1892.
- Holtzmann, H.J. Review of F. Blass's Euangelium secundum Lucam sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber prior, ThLZ, 1898, cols. 535ff.
- Holtzmann, O. "Das Abendmahl im Urchristentum", ZNW 5 (1904), pp.89-120.
- Hoskier, H.C. Codex B and Its Allies: A Study and an Indictment, 2 parts, London, 1914.
- Hoskyns, E. The Fourth Gospel (ed. F.N. Davey), 2 vols., Faber, 1939.
- Housman, A.E. ed. M. Manilii Astronomicum, liber primus, Cambridge, 1903.
- Howard, W.F.-Gossip, A.J. Commentary on St. John in The Interpreter's Bible VIII, Nashville, 1952.
- Huffman, N. "Emmaus among the Resurrection Narratives", JBL 64 (1945), pp.227-40.
- Hunkin, J.W. "The Composition of the Third Gospel", JTS 28 (1926-27), pp.250-62.
- Jeremias, J. "Das paulinische Abendmahl-eine Opferdarbringung?", TSK 108 (1937), pp.124-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Last Supper", ExpT 64 (1952-53), pp.91f.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Parables of Jesus (E.T.), SCM, 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (E.T.), SCM, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Copper Scroll from Qumran", ExpT 71 (1960), pp.227f.
- \_\_\_\_\_ New Testament Theology (E.T.), I, Scribner, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "This is My Body", ExpT 83 (1971-72), pp.196-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_ TDNT (ed. G. Friedrich, Eerdmans, 1967), V, pp.896ff (ἰδέσθαι).
- The Jerusalem Bible, London, 1966.

- Johnson, S.E.- Buttrick, G.A. Commentary on St. Matthew in The Interpreter's Bible, VII, Nashville, 1951.
- Johnson, S.E. A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark (Harper's New Testament Commentaries), London, 1960.
- Jülicher, A. Die Gleichnissreden Jesu, II, Darmstadt, 1963 (=Tübingen, 1910).
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Der Echte Tatiantext", JBL 43 (1924), pp.132-71.
- Käsemann, E. Essays on New Testament Themes (E.T.), SCM, 1964.
- Kaiser, O.-Kümmel, W.G. Exegetical Method (E.T.), New York, 1967.
- Keck, L.E.-Martyn, J.L. Studies in Luke-Acts, Abingdon, 1966.
- Kee, A. "The Old Coat and the New Wine", NovT 12 (1970), Fasc. I, pp.13-21.
- Kee, H.C. Commentary on St. Matthew in The Interpreter's One Volume Commentary on the Bible (ed. C.M. Leyomon), Collins, 1971.
- Keim, T. The History of Jesus of Nazara (E.T.), 6 vols., Williams and Norgate, 1881.
- Kenyon, F.G. "Review of Codex Bezae", JTS 1 (1899-1900), pp.239-99.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, Macmillan, 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Text of the Greek Bible, London, 1937.
- Kenyon, F.G.-Legg, S.C.E. The Ministry and the Sacraments (ed. R. Dunkerley), SCM, 1937.
- Kenyon, F.G. "The Western Text in the Gospels and Acts", Proceedings of the British Academy, 24, 1938.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "After fifty Years, II: The Text of the New Testament", ExpT 50 (1938-39), pp.68-71.

- Kenyon, F.G. "Papyrus Rolls and the Ending of St. Mark"  
JTS 40 (1939), pp.56f.
- Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts<sup>5</sup>,  
London, 1958.
- Kevin, R.O. "The Lost Ending of the Gospel according  
to Mark", JBL 45 (1926), pp.81-103.
- Kiddle, M. "The Passion Narrative in St. Luke's Gospel",  
JTS 36 (1935), pp.267-80.
- Kilmartin, E.J. "The Eucharistic Cup in the Primitive  
Liturgy", CBQ 24 (1962), pp.32-43.
- Kilpatrick, G.D. "Western Text and Original Text in  
the Gospels and Acts"; JTS 44 (1943), pp.24-36.
- "Lk 22:19b-20", JTS 47 (1946), pp.49-56.
- "Three Recent Editions of the Greek  
Testament", JTS 50 (1949), pp.10-23; 142-55.
- "Living Issues in Biblical Scholarship:  
The Last Supper", ExpT 64 (1952-53), pp.4-8.
- "An Eclectic Study of the Text of Acts",  
in 'Biblical and Patristic Studies in  
Memory of R.P. Casey' (ed. J.N. Birdsall  
and R.N. Thomson, Herder, 1963), pp.64-77.
- "The Greek New Testament of Today and the  
Textus Receptus", in 'The New Testament  
in Historical and Contemporary Perspective:  
Essays in Memory of G.H.C. MacGreggor',  
(ed. H. Anderson and W. Barclay, Blackwell,  
1965), pp.189-206.
- "John 4 9", JBL 87 (1968), pp.327f.
- "'Kurios' in the Gospels", in 'L'Evangile,  
Hier et Aujourd'hui: Mélanges Offerts au  
Professeur Franz-J. Leenhardt' (Geneva,  
1968), pp.65-70.
- "Language and Text in the Gospels and Acts",  
VC 24,3(1970), pp.161-71.
- Klijn, A.F.J. A Survey of the Researches into the Western  
Text of the Gospels and Acts, Leiden,  
I, 1949; II, 1969; NovT 3-4 (1959-60),  
pp.1-27; 161-73.

- Klijn, A.F.J. "The Value of the Versions for the Textual Criticism of the New Testament", TBT 8 (1957), pp.127-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Scribes, Pharisees, High Priests and Elders in the New Testament", NovT 3-4 (1959-60), pp.259-67.
- Klostermann, E. Das Markusevangelium, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament (ed. H. Lietzmann), Tübingen 1926.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Das Matthäusevangelium, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament (ed. H. Lietzmann), Tübingen, 1927.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Das Lukasevangelium, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament (ed. H. Lietzmann), Tübingen, 1929.
- Knox, J. "On the Vocabulary of Marcion's Gospel", JBL 58 (1939), pp.193-201.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Marcion and the New Testament, Chicago, 1942.
- Knox, R.A. A New Testament Commentary for English Readers, I, London, 1953.
- Knox, W.L. "The Ending of St. Mark's Gospel", HTR 35 (1942), pp.13-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, 2 vols., (ed. H. Chadwick), Cambridge, 1953-57.
- Köster, H. "Die Ausserkanonische Herrenworte als Produkte der Christlichen Gemeinde", ZNW 48 (1957), pp.220-37.
- Kraeling, C.H. "A Philological Note on Mark 16 8", JBL 44 (1925), pp.357f.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura. (Studies and Documents, III), London, 1935.
- Kuhn, K.G. "Die Abendmahlsworte", ThLZ, 1950, cols.404-7.
- Kümmel, W.G. Introduction to the New Testament (E.T.), Abingdon, 1966.

- Lagrange, M.-J. "Une Nouvelle Edition du Nouveau Testament", (Review of von Soden's 'Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments', ii, Göttingen, 1913), RB 22 (1913), pp.481-524.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "L'Ancienne Version Syriaque des Evangiles", RB 29 (1920), pp.321-52; RB 30 (1921), pp.11-44.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Review of A. Harnack's 'Marcion: Das Evangelium von Fremden Gott' (Leipzig, 1921) in RB 30 (1921), pp.602-11.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Critique Textuelle, II, Critique Rationnelle, Paris, 1935.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Deux Nouveaux Textes Relatif à L'Evangile", RB 44 (1935), pp.321ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_ L'Evangile selon Saint Matthieu, Paris, 1941.
- \_\_\_\_\_ L'Evangile selon Saint Luc, Paris, 1941.
- \_\_\_\_\_ L'Evangile selon Saint Marc, Paris, 1942.
- \_\_\_\_\_ L'Evangile de Jésus-Christ, Paris, 1942.
- Lake, K.-Blake, R.P.-New, S. "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark", HTR 21 (1928), pp.208-395.
- Lake, K. "On the Origin of Codex Bezae", JTS 1 (1899-1900), pp.441-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Influence of Textual Criticism on the Exegesis of the New Testament, Oxford, 1904.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, Williams and Norgate, 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "ΕΜΒΡΙΜΗ&ΑΜΕΝΟ& and ΟΡΡΙΖΘΕΙ& , Mark 1,40-43", HTR 16 (1923), pp.197f.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Additional Notes I and II in 'The Beginnings of Christianity' Pt. 1, vol. V (ed. F. Jackson and K. Lake, Macmillan, 1913), pp.1-16.
- Lake, K.-Lake, S. "De Westcott et Hort au Père Lagrange et Au-dela", RB 48 (1939), pp.497-505.
- Lambert, J.C. "The Passover and the Lord's Supper", JTS 4 (1903), pp.184-93.

- Lampe, G.W.H. Commentary on St. Luke in Peake's Commentary on the Bible (ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley, Nelson, 1962.)
- Lampe, G.W.H.-Mackinnon, D.M. The Resurrection: A Dialogue (ed. W. Purcel), Westminster, 1966.
- Lange, J.P. The Life of Christ (E.T.), 6 vols., Edinburgh, 1864.
- Leaney, A.R.C. A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke, London, 1958.
- "The Resurrection Narratives in St. Luke (XXIV.12-53)", NTS 2 (1955), pp.110-4.
- Lee, G.M. "Walk to Emmaus", ExpT 77 (1966), pp.380f.
- Legg, S.C.E. Novum Testamentum Graece secundum Textum Westcotto-Hortianum: Evangelium secundum Marcum, Oxford, 1935.
- Novum Testamentum Graece secundum Textum Westcotto-Hortianum: Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, Oxford, 1940.
- Leloir, L. "L'Original Syriaque Commentaire de Saint Ephrem sur le Diatessaron", Bib 40 (1959), pp.959-70.
- Le Témoignage d'Ephrem sur le Diatessaron, CSCO 227, Subsidia 19, Louvain, 1962.
- Lescow, T. "Jesus in Gethsemane bei Lukas und Hebräer brief (Lk 22:40-46; Heb 5:7)", ZNW 58 (1967), pp.215-39.
- Levertoff, P.P.-Goudge, H.H. Commentary on St. Matthew in A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, (ed. C. Gore et al., SPCK. 1928).
- Lewis, A.S. (ed.) The Old Syriac Gospels, London, 1910.
- Liddell, H.G.-Scott, R.-Jones, H.S. A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, 1940.
- Lietzmann, H. Review of H. von Soden's 'Schriften des Neuen Testaments' (Berlin, 1907), in ZNW 8 (1907), pp.34-37.
- Mass and the Lord's Supper (E.T.), Leiden, 1953.

- Lightfoot, J.B. On a Fresh Revision of the New Testament, Macmillan, 1871.
- Lightfoot, R.H. History and Interpretation in the Gospels, London, 1935.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels, London, 1938.
- \_\_\_\_\_ St. John's Gospel, a Commentary (ed. C.F. Evans), Oxford, 1957.
- Lock, C.H. Commentary on St. John in A New Commentary on Holy Scripture (ed. C. Gore et al.) SPCK, 1928.
- Loew, E.A. "The Codex Bezae", JTS 14 (1912-13), pp.358-88.
- Lohmeyer, E. Das Evangelium des Matthäus<sup>4</sup>, (Meyer's Kommentar), Göttingen, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Das Evangelium des Markus, (Meyer's Kommentar), Göttingen, 1967.
- Loisy, A. Les Evangiles Synoptiques, Paris, 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_ L'Evangile selon Marc, Paris, 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Les Livres du Nouveau Testament, Paris, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_ L'Evangile selon Luc, Paris, 1924.
- Lund, N.W. Chiasmus in the New Testament, The University of North Carolina Press, 1942.
- MacGregor, G.H.C. The Gospel of John (Moffatt New Testament Commentary), London, 1968.
- Mackenzie, J.L. Commentary on St. Matthew in the Jerome Bible Commentary (ed. R.E. Brown et al.), London, 1968.
- Mai, A. (ed.) Patrum nova bibliotheca, Rome, 1852.
- Manson, T.W. Review of N.W. Lund's 'Chiasmus in the New Testament' (University of North Carolina, 1942) in JTS 45 (1944), pp.81-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Argument from Prophecy", JTS 46 (1945), pp.129-36.



- Manson, T.W. The Teaching of Jesus<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge, 1948.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Sayings of Jesus, London, 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Review of J. Jeremias' 'Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu<sup>2</sup>' (Göttingen, 1949) in JTS 1 (n.s.) (1950), pp.199-204.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Studies in the Gospels and Epistles in Honour of T.W. Manson (ed. M. Black), Manchester, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A Companion to the Bible<sup>2</sup> (ed. H.H. Rowley), Edinburgh, 1963.
- Manson, W. The Gospel of Luke (Moffatt New Testament Commentary), London, 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Jesus the Messiah, London, 1944.
- Margoliouth, G. "The Institution of the Eucharist", Expt 35 (1923-34), pp.412-6.
- McArthur, H.K. Review of R. Feneberg's 'Christliche Passafeier und Abendmahl: Eine biblisch hermeneutische Untersuchung der neutestamentlichen Einsetzungsberichte', Munich, 1971, in CBQ 34 (1972), pp.494-6.
- McNeile, A.H. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, London, 1915.
- \_\_\_\_\_ An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament<sup>2</sup> (rev. C.S.C. Williams), London, 1954.
- Menoud, P.H. "Remarques sur les Textes de l'Ascension dans Luc-Actes", in Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann (Beihefte zur ZNW 21, 1957), pp.148-56.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Pendant Quarante Jours", in Novum Testamentum Supplement 6 (=Neotestamentica et Patristica: Freundsgabe Oscar Cullmann,) Leiden, 1962.
- Menzies, A. The Earliest Gospel, Macmillan, 1901.
- Metzger, B.M. The Evidence of the Versions, New Testament Manuscript Studies, 1948.

- Metzger, B.M. "Tatian's Diatessaron and a Persian Harmony of the Gospels, JBL 69 (1950), pp.261-80.
- 
- An Annotated Bibliography of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, 1914-39, Copenhagen, 1955.
- 
- "Recent Discoveries and Investigations of New Testament Manuscripts", JBL 78 (1959), pp.13-20.
- 
- "The Bodmer Papyrus of Luke and John", Expt 73 (1961-62), pp.201-3.
- 
- "The Early Versions of the New Testament", in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, Nelson, 1962, pp.671-5.
- 
- Chapters in the History of Textual Criticism, Leiden, 1963.
- 
- "Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts", in 'Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of R.P. Casey' (ed. J.N. Birdsall and R.W. Thomson, Freiburg, 1963), pp.78-95.
- 
- "Recent Contributions to the Study of Ancient Versions of the New Testament" in 'The Bible in Modern Scholarship' (ed. J.P. Hyatt, Abingdon, 1965), pp.347-69.
- 
- The Text of the New Testament<sup>2</sup>, Oxford 1968.
- 
- A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, United Bible Societies, 1971.
- Meyer, E. Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums, I. Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921.
- Meyer, H.A.W. Meyer' Kommentar, I, Göttingen, 1853.
- Michaelis, O. Die Erscheinungen des Auferstehenden, Basel, 1944.
- Middleton, R.D. "The Eucharistic Prayers of the Didache", JTS 36 (1935), pp.259-67.
- Migne, J.P. (ed.) Patrologia Graeca, Romae, 1857.

- Milligan, W. "Some Recent Critical Readings in the New Testament, II", Exp VII, (1878), pp.194-215.
- Mingana, A. "Lewisian and Curetonian Versions of the Gospels", ExpT 25 (1913-14), pp.475-7; 524f; 26 (1914-15), pp.47f; 93; 235f.
- Moesinger, G. St. Ephraim the Syrian, Evangelii concordantis expositio... ed. G. Moesinger, 1876.
- Moffatt, J. The Historical New Testament<sup>2</sup>, Edinburgh, 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Introduction to the Literary Criticism of the New Testament<sup>3</sup>, Edinburgh, 1918.
- Moir, I.A. "The Bible Societies' Greek New Testament", NTS 14 (1967), pp.136-43.
- Monks, G.G. "The Lukan Account of the Last Supper", JBL 44 (1925), pp.228-60.
- Montefiore, C.G. The Synoptic Gospels<sup>2</sup>, 2 Vols., Macmillan, 1927.
- Montefiore, H.W. "Josephus and the New Testament", NovT 4 (1960), pp.307-18.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel According to Thomas and the Synoptic Gospels", NTS 7 (1961), pp.220-48.
- Morgenthaler, P. Die Lukanische Geschichtschreibung als Zeugnis, Zürich, 1948, 2 vols.
- Morgenthaler, R. Statistik des Neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes, Frankfurt am Main, 1958.
- Morris, L. The Gospel According to John (The New London Commentary on the New Testament), London, 1972.
- Moule, C.F.D. "The Use of Parables and Sayings as Illustrative Material in Early Christian Catechesis", JTS (n.s.) 3 (1952), pp.759.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Review of A.J.B. Higgins' 'The Lord's Supper in the New Testament' (SCM 1952) in JTS 4 (1953), pp.75-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Ascension, Acts 1 9" ExpT 68 (1956-57), pp.205-9..

- Moule, C.F.D. "A Note on Didache IX,4", JTS 6 (1955), pp.240-43.
- Review of H. Schürmann's 'Der Einsetzungsbericht Lk 22,19-20, II' (Münster, 1955) in JTS 7 (1956), pp.112f.
- "The Post Resurrection Appearances in the Light of Festival Pilgrimages", NTS 4 (1957-58), pp.58-61.
- An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge, 1959.
- Worship in the New Testament, London, 1961.
- Moulton, H.K. "The Present State of New Testament Textual Criticism", TBT 16 (1965), pp.193-8.
- Moulton, J.H.-Howard, W.F. A Grammar of New Testament Greek, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1906-29.
- Moulton, J.H.-Milligan, G. The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament, London, 1914-29.
- Moulton, J.H.-Turner, N. A Grammar of New Testament Greek, III, Edinburgh, 1963.
- Moulton, W.F.-Geden, A.S. A Concordance to the Greek New Testament<sup>3</sup>, Edinburgh, 1926.
- Nestle, E. Einführung in das Griechische Neuen Testament<sup>4</sup>, Göttingen, 1923  
 (=Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament, Williams and Norgate, 1901).
- Nestle, E.-Aland, K. (eds.) Novum Testamentum Graece<sup>25</sup>, Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1963.
- Nevius, R.C. "A Reply to Dr. Dunkerley", ExpT 74 (1962-63), p.255.
- "KURIOS AND IESOUS IN ST. LUKE", ATR 48 (1966), pp.75-7.
- The Divine Names in the Gospels: Studies and Documents XXX (ed. J. Geerlings), Salt Lake City, 1967.

- The New English Bible, Oxford & Cambridge, 1970.
- Nibley, H. "Evangelium Quadraginta Dierum, Ac 1:3"  
VC 20 (1966), pp.1-24.
- Nineham, D. (ed.) The New English Bible Reviewed,  
London, 1965.
- Nineham, D.E. The Gospel of St. Mark (The Pelican  
Gospel Commentary), 1964.
- Oesterley, W.O.E. The Jewish Background of the  
Christian Liturgy, Oxford, 1925.
- Utley, R.R. "εφοβουσα γαρ MARK XVI 8", JTS 27  
(1926), pp.407-9.
- Otto, R. The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man (E.T.),  
London, 1938.
- Parker, P. "Luke and the Fourth Evangelist", NTS 9  
(1962-63), pp.317-36.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Variant Readings in Luke-Acts  
(Lk 22.19b,20, Ac 11.20,12,25)",  
JBL 83 (1964), pp.165-70.
- Peters, C. Das Diatessaron Tatians, Roma, 1939.
- Perry, A.M. The Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative,  
Chicago, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Some Outstanding New Testament Problems:  
Luke's Disputed Passion Source", ExpT 46  
(1934-35), pp.256-60.
- Pherigo, L.P. Commentary on St. Mark in The Interpreter's  
One Volume Commentary on the Bible  
(ed. C.M. Leyomon), Collins, 1971.
- Plooij, D. A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron,  
Leiden, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Review of D. Plooij's 'A Primitive Text of  
the Diatessaron' (Leiden, 1923) in ExpT 34-35  
(1922-23), pp. 347f, (reviewer unknown).
- \_\_\_\_\_ A Further Study of the Liege Diatessaron,  
Leiden, 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "A Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron in Greek",  
ExpT 46 (1934-35), pp.471-6.

- Plummer, A. "This Do in Remembrance of Me (Luke XXII,19, 1 Cor XI,24)" Exp III, no.7 (1874), pp.441-9.
- The Gospel according to St. John, London, 1893.
- A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke<sup>2</sup> (International Critical Commentary), Edinburgh, 1898.
- An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, London, 1929.
- "Lord's Supper", in HDB III, Edinburgh, 1906, pp.144-50.
- Porter, C.L. "Papyrus Bodmer XV (p<sup>75</sup>) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus", JBL 81 (1962), pp.363-76.
- de la Potterie, I. "Le Titre KYPIΩΣ Appliqué à Jésus dans l'Évangile de Luc" in 'Mélanges Bibliques en Hommage au R.P.B. Rigaux' (ed. A. Descamps et A.de Halleux, Duculot, 1970), pp.117-46.
- van Puyvelde "Versions Syriaques", in Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément VI, fasc.33 (Paris, 1960), cols. 834-81.
- Quispel, G. "Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament", VC 11 (1957), pp.189-207.
- "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas", NTS 5 (1958-59), pp.276-90.
- "L'Évangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron" VC 13 (1959), pp.87-117.
- "Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of the Hebrews", NTS 12 (1966), pp.371-82.
- "The Latin Tatian or the Gospel of Thomas in Limburg", JBL 88 (1969), pp.321-30.
- "L'Évangile selon Thomas et le 'Texte Occidentale' du Nouveau Testament", VC 14 (1960), pp.204-15.

- Ramsay, W.M. St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen, London, 1895.
- Ramsey, A.M. "What Was the Ascension?", Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas Bulletin II (1957), pp.43-50.
- Rawlinson, A.E.J. The Gospel According to St. Mark (Westminster Commentaries), Methuen, 1925.
- Reicke, B. "Instruction and Discussion in the Travel Narrative", TU 73 (=StEv 1) (1959), pp.206-16.
- Reid, J. "'Lord' and 'The Lord' in the Gospels", ExpT 13 (1900-01), pp.425-30.
- Resch, A. Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu dem Evangelien =TU X, 2 (1895) , Leipzig.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Agrapha: Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente =TU XV (1906) , Leipzig.
- Resse, M. Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas, Gütersloh, 1969.
- Reumann, J. Jesus in the Church's Gospels, Fortress, 1968.
- Réville, A. Jésus de Nazareth, Paris, 1897.
- Richardson, L.J.D. "St. Mark 16 8", JTS (n.s.) 1 (1948), pp.144f.
- Richardson, R.D. Introduction and Supplementary Essay to H. Lietzmann's 'Mass and Lord's Supper' (E.T.) (Leiden, 1953), pp.217ff.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ "The Place of Luke in the Eucharistic Tradition", TU 73 (=StEv 1) (1959), pp.663-75.
- Roberts, C.H. "The Ancient Book and the Ending of St. Mark", JTS 40 (1939), pp.253-7.
- Robertson, A.T. An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, Nashville, 1925.
- Robinson, H.M.A. "The Text of Luke 22,17-25", PTR 8 (1910), pp.613-56.
- Robinson, J.A. "Eucharist", in Encyclopaedia Biblica II, Macmillan, 1911, cols. 1418ff.

- Robinson, W.C. "Theological Context for Interpreting Luke's Travel Narrative (9.51ff)", JBL 79 (1960), pp.20-31.
- Rohde, J. Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists, SCM, 1968.
- Rohrbach, P. Die Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu Christ, Berlin, 1898.
- Ropes, J.H. The Beginnings of Christianity (ed. F. Jackson and K. Lake), vols., III, V, Macmillan, 1926.
- Ross, J.M. "The Rejected Words in Lk 9 54-56", ExpT 84 (1972), pp.85-8.
- Rowley, H.H. "The Herodians in the Gospels", JTS 41 (1940), pp.14-27.
- Rüegg, A. "Die Lukas-Schriften und die Raumzwang des Antiken Buchwesens", TSK, 1896, pp.94-101.
- Russell, D.R. Commentary on St. John in A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture, Nelson, 1969.
- Sahlin, H. Der Messias und das Gottesvolk (=Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis 12, 1945)
- Salmon, G. A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament<sup>2</sup>, London, 1886.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, London, 1897,
- Sanday, W. The Gospels in the Second Century, Macmillan, 1876.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Last Supper", in HDB II (Edinburgh, 1906), pp.636-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Resurrection", in *ibid.*, pp.638-43.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Bearing of Criticism upon the Gospel History", ExpT 20 (1908-9), pp.103-14; 152-62.
- Sanders, J.N. "The Literature and Canon of the New Testament", in Peake's Commentary on the Bible (ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley, Nelson, 1962), pp.676-82.



- Sanders, J.N.-Mastin, B.A. A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John, London, 1968.
- Schäffer, K.T. "Zur Textgeschichte von Lk 22,19b.20", Bib 33 (1952), pp.237-9.
- Schille, G. "Die Himmelfahrt", ZNW 57 (1966), pp.183-99.
- Schlatter, A. Das Evangelium des Lukas aus seinen Quellen erklärt, Stuttgart, 1931.
- Schmiedel, P.W. "Resurrection and Ascension Narratives" in Enclopaedia Biblica, IV (Macmillan, 1970), cols.4039-4087.
- Schmitt, J. "Le Récit de la Résurrection dans l'Évangile de Luc", RevSR 25 (1951), pp.119-37; 219-42.
- Schnackenburg, R. Review of U. Becker's 'Jesus und die Ehebrecherin', BibZ 11 (1967), pp.304f.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Gospel of St. John (E.T.), 1, Burns and Oates, 1968.
- Schniewind, J. Das Evangelium nach Markus<sup>4</sup>, Göttingen, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Die Paralleelperikopen bei Lukas und Johannes<sup>2</sup>, Darmstadt, 1958.
- Schubert, P. "The Structure and Significance of Lk XXIV", in 'Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann' (=Beihefte zur ZNW, 21, 1957), pp.165-86.
- Schürmann, H. "Lk 22,19b-20 als Ursprüngliche Textüberlieferung", Bib 32 (1951), pp.36-92; 522-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Der Einsetzungsbericht Lk 22,19-20, II, Münster, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Das Thomasevangelium und das lukanische Sondergut", BibZ (n.s.) 7 (1963), pp.236-60.
- Schweizer, E. "Osterbetrachtungen", ZNW 7 (1906), pp.1-33.
- Schweizer, E. "Das Abendmahl im Neuen Testament", ThLZ 1954, cols.577f.

- Scrivener, F.H.A. Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis,  
Cambridge, 1864.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A Plain Introduction to the Criticism  
of the New Testament, II<sup>4</sup> (ed. E. Miller),  
G. Bell, 1894.
- Seesemann, H. TDNT (ed. G. Friedrich, Eerdmans, 1967),  
V, pp.162ff ( *οἶκος* ); VI(1968), pp.23ff  
( *ἡεῖρα* , *ἡεῖραν* ; *ἡεῖραν* etc.)
- Selwyn, E.C. "The Carefulness of Luke the Prophet",  
Exp VII, no.7 (1909), pp.547-58.
- Selwyn, E.G. The First Epistle of St. Peter<sup>2</sup>,  
Macmillan, 1952.
- Shepherd, M.H. "Paul and the Double Resurrection Tradition",  
JBL 64 (1945), pp.227-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Last Supper", in HDB (vol. K-Q), pp.72-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Commentary on St. Matthew in The Interpreter's  
One Volume Commentary on the Bible  
(ed. C.M. Leyomon), Collins, 1971.
- Skeat, T.C. "St. Mark XVI.8: A Modern Greek Parallel",  
JTS 50 (1949), pp.57f.
- Smith, B.T.D. The Gospel according to St. Matthew  
(Cambridge Greek Testament), Cambridge, 1950.
- Smith, M.A. "The Influence of the Liturgies on the  
New Testament Text of the Last Supper  
Narratives", TU 103 (=StEv V) (1968),  
pp.207-18.
- Sneen, D.J. "An Exegesis of Luke 1:1-4 with Special  
Regard to Luke's Purpose as a Historian",  
ExpT 83 (1971-72), pp.40-3.
- Snodgrass, K. "Western Non-interpolations", JBL 91  
(1972), pp.369-79.
- von Soden, H. Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in  
ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Gestalt  
3 vols., Göttingen, 1913.
- Souter, A. Novum Testamentum Graece<sup>2</sup>, Oxonii, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Text and Canon of the New Testament<sup>2</sup>  
(ed. C.S.C. Williams), Richard Clay, 1954.

- Sparks, H.F.D. "The Semiticisms of St. Luke's Gospel",  
JTS 44-45 (1943), pp.129-38.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Review of K. Stendahl's 'The School of  
St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament'  
(Uppsala, 1954) in JTS 7 (1956), pp.103-5.
- Stanton, V.H. The Gospels as Historical Documents,  
3 vols., Cambridge, 1903-20.
- Steinbeck, J. "Das Abendmahl Jesu unter Berücksichtigung  
moderner Forschung", NovT 3-4 (1959-60),  
pp.70-9.
- Stemberger, K. Review of U. Becker's 'Jesus und die  
Ehebrecherin' (Berlin, 1963) in RecScr 55  
(1967), pp.152f.
- van Stempvoort, P.A. "Interpretation of the Ascension  
in Luke and Acts", NTS 5 (1958-59),  
pp.30-42.
- Stendahl, K. The School of St. Matthew and Its Use  
of the Old Testament, Uppsala, 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Commentary on St. Matthew in Peake's  
Commentary on the Bible (ed. M. Black  
and H.H. Rowley), Nelson, 1962.
- Strack, H.L.- Billerbeck, P. Kommentar zum Neuen  
Testament aus Talmud und Midrash, ii,  
Munich, 1924.
- Strauss, D.F. The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined (E.T.),  
Macmillan, 1898.
- Streeter, B.H. "The Primitive Text of the Acts", JTS 34  
(1933), pp.232-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Four Gospels, Macmillan, 1936.
- StuhlmueLLer, C. Commentary on St. Luke in The Jerome  
Bible Commentary (ed. R.E. Brown et al),  
London, 1968.
- Swaels, R, "L'Arrière-fond Scriptuaire de Matt XXI.43  
et son Lien avec Matt XXI.44", NTS 6 (1959-60),  
pp.310-13.
- Swete, H.B. The Gospel according to St. Mark,  
Macmillan, 1898.

Sybel, L.V. "Das Letzte Mahl Jesu", TSK, 1923, pp.116-24.

Tarelli, C.C. "Omissions, Additions and Conflations in the Chester Beatty Papyrus", JTS 40 (1939), pp.282-7.

Tasker, R.V.G. "An Introduction to the MSS of the New Testament", HTR 41 (1948), pp.71-81.

\_\_\_\_\_ The Nature and Purpose of the Gospels, SCM, 1962.

\_\_\_\_\_ The Greek New Testament, Oxford and Cambridge, 1964,

Taylor, C. "Some Early Evidence for the Twelve Verses of St. Mark XVI.9-20", Exp IV, no.8 (1893), pp.71-80.

\_\_\_\_\_ "The Pericope of the Adulteress", JTS 4 (1903), pp.129f.

Taylor, V. Behind the Third Gospel, Oxford, 1926.

\_\_\_\_\_ "Is the Proto-Luke Hypothesis Sound?", JTS 29 (1928), pp.147-55

\_\_\_\_\_ "Professor J.M. Creed and the Proto-Luke Hypothesis", ExpT 46 (1934-35), pp.236-8.

\_\_\_\_\_ "Professor Creed's Rejoinder", ExpT 46 (1935-35), p.379.

\_\_\_\_\_ The Formation of the Gospel Tradition<sup>2</sup>, London, 1935.

\_\_\_\_\_ Jesus and His Sacrifice, Macmillan, 1937.

\_\_\_\_\_ "The Proto-Luke Hypothesis: A Rejoinder", ExpT 54 (1942-43), pp.219-22.

\_\_\_\_\_ The Gospel according to St. Mark, Macmillan, 1952.

\_\_\_\_\_ The Names of Jesus, London, 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_ "Important Hypotheses Reconsidered: 1. The Proto-Luke Hypothesis", ExpT 67 (1955), pp.12-16.

\_\_\_\_\_ "Sources of the Lucan Passion Narrative", ExpT 68 (1956-57), pp.369-71.

- Taylor, V. The Person of Christ in New Testament Teaching, London, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Text of the New Testament, London, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Passion Narrative of St. Luke (ed. O.E. Evans), Cambridge, 1972.
- Tischendorf, C. Novum Testamentum Graece, Editio octava critica Maior, I, Lipsiae, 1869.
- Torrey, C.C. Our Translated Gospels: Some Evidence, London, (no date).
- Tregelles, S.P. An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, London, 1854.
- Trompf, G.W. "The Resurrection Appearance and the Ending of Mark's Gospel", NTS 18 (1967), pp.308-30.
- Turner, C.H. The Study of the New Testament (1883-1920): Inaugural Lecture..... Oxford, 1920<sup>2</sup>.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Marcan Usage: Notes, Critical and Exegetical, on the Second Gospel", JTS 25 (1924), pp.377-80; JTS 26 (1925), pp.145-66.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Commentary on St. Mark in A New Commentary on Holy Scripture (ed. C. Gore et al), SPCK, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Textual Criticism of the New Testament", in A New Commentary on Holy Scripture (ed. C. Gore et al). SPCK, 1928.
- Turner, H.E.W. "The Resurrection", ExpT 68 (1956-57), pp.369-71.
- Turner, N. "The Style of St. Mark's Eucharistic Words", JTS 8 (1957), pp.108-11.
- Vaganay, L. Initiation à la Critique Textuelle Neotestamentaire, Bloud and Gay, 1934 (=An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, London, 1937).
- \_\_\_\_\_ Le Problème Synoptique, Tournai, 1954.

- Vogels, H.J. Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis (=TU 3, Band 6, 1a), Leipzig, 1910.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Critique Textuelle du N.T.", Supplément du Dictionnaire de la Bible, II, Paris, 1932, cols.256-74.
- Vööbus, A. Early Versions of the New Testament, Stockholm, 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "A New Approach to the Problem of the Shorter and Longer Text in Luke", NTS 15 (1968-69), pp.457-63.
- Wallace-Hadrill, D.S. "Eusebius and the Gospel Text of Caesarea", HTR 49 (1956), pp.105-114.
- Wansbrough, H. Commentary on St. Matthew in A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture, Nelson, 1969.
- Warfield, B.B. An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, London, 1886.
- Weiss, B. The Life of Christ (E.T.), 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1883.
- \_\_\_\_\_ H.A.W. Meyers' Kritisch-exegetischer Handbuch über die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas, Göttingen, 1885.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Das Evangelium des Matthäus, H.A.W. Meyers' Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar<sup>8</sup>, Göttingen, 1890.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung, Leipzig, 1908 (=TU 3. Reihe, 2. Bd., Hft.3)
- Weiss, J. Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, I, Göttingen, 1906.
- Wellhausen, J. Das Evangelium Marci, Berlin, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Das Evangelium Matthaei, Berlin, 1904.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Das Evangelium Lucae, Berlin, 1904.
- Westcott, B.F. The Gospel according to St. John, London, 1882.

- Westcott, B.F.-Hort, F.J.A. The New Testament in the Original Greek, 2 vols., [I, Introduction (Appendix=Notes on Select Readings); II, Text]<sup>2</sup>, Macmillan, 1896.
- Wieand, D.J. "John 5 2 and the Pool of Bethesda", NTS 12 (1966), pp.392-404.
- Wikgren, A. "ΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ", JBL 61 (1942), pp.11-20.
- Wilder, A.N. "Variant Traditions of the Resurrection in Acts", JBL 62 (1943), pp.307-18.
- Wilkins, A.S. "The Western Text of the Greek Testament", Exp IV, no.10 (1894), pp.386ff; 409ff.
- Wilkinson, J. "The Seven Words from the Cross", ScJT 17 (1964), pp.69-82.
- Wilson, R.W. "Thomas and the Synoptic Gospels", ExpT 72 (1960), pp.36-9.
- Williams, C.R. "The Appendices to the Gospel according to Mark", Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science, Transactions 18 (1915), pp.347-447.
- Williams, C.S.C. "St. Luke and the Western Text", ExpT 60 (1948-49), pp.25ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Tatian and the Text of Mark and Matthew" JTS 43 (1942), pp.37-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Synoptic Problem", in ... Peake's Commentary on the Bible (ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley, Nelson, 1962), pp.748-55.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles (Harper's New Testament Commentaries), 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, Oxford, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Luke-Acts in Recent Study", ExpT 73 (1962), pp.133-6.
- Willis, G.G. "Some Interesting Readings of the Book of Mulling", TU 73 (=StEv 1) (1959), pp.811-3.

- Willis, G.G. Review of the United Bibles Societies' edition of the Greek New Testament (1966), in JTS 18 (1967), pp.458-62.
- Winer, G.B.-Linneman, G.-Thayer, J.H. Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament (E.T.)<sup>9</sup>, Andover, Massachusetts, 1874.
- Winter, P. "The Treatment of His Sources by the Third Evangelist", StTh 7-8 (1954-55), pp.138-72.
- \_\_\_\_\_ On the Trial of Jesus, Berlin, 1961.
- Wright, A. Some New Testament Problems, Methuen, 1898.
- Zahn, T. Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons, 2 vols., Erlangen, 1886-90. (Also, Grundriss: Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons, 10 pts., Erlangen & Leipzig, 1901-28)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Introduction to the New Testament (E.T.), 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Das Evangelium des Lukas<sup>4</sup>, Leipzig, 1920.
- Zerwick, M. Biblical Greek, Rome, 1963.
- Zuntz, G. "A Textual Criticism of Some Passages of the Acts of the Apostles", Classica and Mediaevalia 3 (1940), pp.20-46