The Ending of Mark’s Gospel

Jeff Smelser

# Text: Mark 16:9-20

# Introduction:

# There are four endings for Mark found in the Manuscripts, of which we will primarily be concerned with only two…

## The text includes Mark 16:9-20, which I will call the **Long Ending (LE).**

## The text ends at Mark 16:8, which I will call the **Abrupt Ending (AE)**.

## A Shorter Ending (SE) of 34 words following Mark 16:8.

### Text: Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι’ αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας. ἀμήν.

### Translation: And they briefly reported to those around Peter all the things that had been commanded. And after these things, Jesus himself sent through them the holy and incorruptible proclamation of the eternal salvation from east to west. Amen.

### In Greek, it is only found along with the LE.

### “There is only one known manuscript that contains Mark 16:1-8 plus this shorter (additional) ending alone, namely, Codex Bobiensis.” (Collins, *Additional Endings,* 802)

#### It is an Old Latin manuscript written in the fourth or fifth century.

#### “It continues from v. 8 to this additional ending without a break or any text critical indication of separation or difference in origin.” (Collins, *Additional Endings*, 802)

#### “In order to prepare for the additional ending, this manuscript omits the Latin equivalent of the words “and they said nothing to anyone” (καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν) in v. 8.” (Collins, *Additional Endings*, 802)

#### “Another Old Latin manuscript, Codex Vercellensis (a), is now defective but probably once contained the shorter ending. This manuscript was probably written in Europe in the fourth century CE.” (Collins, *Additional Endings,* 802)

#### In all other manuscripts where this ending is found, the LE ending is also present.

#### This reading can be dismissed as having no legitimate claim to authenticity.

## Mark 16:9-20 with an addition found only in Codex W.

### See the Appendix for the unique interpolation found in this ending.

### It is extant only in Codex Washingtonianus, though it must have been present in other manuscripts inasmuch as it was known to Jerome.

### This reading can be dismissed as having no legitimate claim to authenticity.

# **The Significance and Insignificance of the issue**

## The issue does not cast doubt on the integrity of the NT as a whole.

### Mark 16 is uniquely problematic, in contrast to other NT textual issues.

### There is no other NT textual issue for which all three of the following are true:

#### Major in scope.

##### Most textual issues involve a letter, a word, or at most, a phrase, occasionally a verse or two.

##### John 7:53-8:11 is the only textual issue in the NT of similar length to Mark 16:9-20, both having about 170 words.

#### Significant in relevance to the meaning of the text.

##### Mark 16:9-20 appears to present challenges to our understanding of certain points.

###### Was Jesus in a “different form” after the resurrection?

###### Did Jesus rebuke the apostles for unbelief after his resurrection?

#### The true reading is in doubt.

##### For other textual issues that are both significant in scope and meaning, the authentic reading of the text is evident.

###### John 7:53-8:11 is generally acknowledged to be spurious.

###### John 5:3b-4 is generally acknowledged to be spurious.

##### While Mark 16:9-20 is widely regarded as inauthentic, there are a number of reputable scholars who continue to defend it as authentic.

## If Mk. 16:9-20 is not original, this does not cast doubt on the events after the resurrection.

### If the traditional ending is inauthentic, we still have Matthew 28, Luke 24, John 20-21, Acts 1, and 1 Corinthians 15.

### It is the possibility of the authenticity of Mk. 16:9-20 that might cast doubt on the events after the resurrection. This point will be discussed below under internal evidences.

# **There are two practical issues.**

## Should we preach and teach from Mark 16:9-20?

## Is it necessary to reconcile the differences between Mark 16:9-20 and the other accounts, especially that of Luke?

# Body:

# **External Evidence Part 1: Greek Manuscripts**

## Greek Manuscript Evidence for the LE

### As of June 1, of 2022 James Snapp reported that, “At last count, 1,653 Greek manuscripts include [Mark 16:9-20](https://biblia.com/bible/esv/Mark%2016.9%E2%80%9320).” (Snapp, Jr., [*A Case for the Longer Ending*)](https://textandcanon.org/a-case-for-the-longer-ending-of-mark/)

### “Over 1,000 Greek lectionaries—manuscripts in which the text is arranged in segments assigned to days of the ecclesiastical calendar—also include [Mark 16:9-20](https://biblia.com/bible/esv/Mark%2016.9%E2%80%9320).” (Snapp, *A Case for the Longer Ending*)

### The earliest manuscript evidence for the LE is from three 5th century codices, Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Ephraemi, and Codex Bezae.

#### Codex Alexandrinus is given a date range of A.D. 400 to A.D. 499 in the Liste maintained by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, (here after, referred to simply as “the Liste”).

#### Codex Ephraemi is a palimpsest.

##### It was over-written in the 12th century with sermons by Ephraem of Syria, whose commentary on the Diatessaron will be discussed below.

##### The underlying NT text is given a date range of A.D. 400 to A.D. 499 in the Liste.

#### Codex Bezae, aka, Codex Cantabrigiensis, aka “D” (05), is the chief representative of the so-called “Western Text.”

##### It is a Greek/Latin Diglot.

##### It is reckoned to be a 5th century manuscript. (The Liste gives a range from A.D. 400 to A.D. 499.)

##### It “contains most of the four gospels and Acts, with a small fragment of 3 John.” (Metzger, *Text*, 49)

##### It is famous for its many additions to the usual text. “No known manuscript has so many and such remarkable variations from what is usually taken to be the normal New Testament text.” (Metzger, *Text*, 50)

##### See Appendix 2 for more info regarding Codex D.

## Greek Manuscript Evidence for the **AE**.

### In Three Greek manuscripts (Uncials Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, and minuscule 304), the text of Mark 16 ends at verse 8.

#### Codex Sinaiticus

##### 4th century majuscule, given a date range of A.D. 300 to A.D. 399 in the Liste.

##### There are four columns per page, 48 lines per column on the page in question.

##### Mark ends at verse 8 with the last four lines being at the top of the 2nd column. The remainder of the column is left blank except for ornamentation and the subscription. The blank space is typical and unremarkable.

###### The ending is indicated by the subscription, “Gospel according to Mark.”

###### While the ending of Mark and beginning of Luke are replacement folios, “no matter how one reconstructs the original lost bifolio, there was not enough space to accommodate the Longer Ending.” (Andrist, *Physical Discontinuities*, 340)

Replacement leaves are Q77.4 recto (Mk 14:54-15:16), Q77.4 verso (Mk 15:16-16:1), Q77.5 recto (Mk 16:2-Lk. 1:18), Q77.5 verso (Lk 1:18-1:56).

#### Codex Vaticanus

##### Vaticanus (B) is a 4th century majuscule, given a date range of A.D. 300 to A.D. 399 in the Liste.

##### A column is left blank before the beginning of Luke, leading to speculation that the copyist was allowing room for the LE.

###### It is generally acknowledged that the LE would not fit in the vacant space.

###### In any event, Codex Vaticanus exhibits this phenomenon elsewhere.

More than a column and a half are left blank at the end of Tobias, before Hosea begins.

More than two and a half columns are left blank at the end of Daniel before Matthew begins.

Almost three columns, an entire page, is left blank at the end of Ezra/Nehemiah before the Psalms begin. Only the last two lines of Ezra-Nehemiah are found on the page.

#### Minuscule 304

##### This is a 12th century minuscule.

##### It includes Matthew and Mark with commentary.

### Annotations in a significant number of mss that include the LE indicate doubtfulness of its authenticity.

#### “In three minuscules, two from the twelfth cent. and one from the eleventh, vv. 9-20 are set off from vv. 1-8 with obeli or asterisks by a later hand” (Collins, *Additional Endings*, 804)

#### “In minuscule 199 (twelfth cent.), the following note appears in the margin by v. 9: ‘in some of the copies this is not found; rather, it stops here’” (Collins, *Additional Endings*, 805)

#### “In two minuscules of the eleventh cent., which contain the Gospels with commentary, a note was placed secondarily between the block of text and the commentary on it: ‘(the material) from here until the end is not found in some of the copies; but in the old ones, all (of it) is found without exception’.” (Collins, *Additional Endings*, 805)

#### “The minuscules of Family 1 contain the following note: ‘In some of the copies, the evangelist is set out fully up to this place; Eusebius also, the (pupil of) Pamphilus, only went this far in his canons; but in many (copies) this also is in circulation’. In most of the manuscripts, this note occurs between 16:8 and 16:9. Occasionally, it is highlighted with ornamental frames or asterisks.” (Collins, *Additional Endings*, 805)

##### “Family one includes minuscule manuscripts 1, 22, 118, 131, 205, 209, 872, 1192, 1210, 1278, 1582, 2193, 2542.”

#### “Many manuscripts give an indirect witness to the (original) ending of Mark with 16:8 by the evidence that they provide that the canons of Eusebius ended at that point.” (Collins, *Additional Endings*, 805)

#### “In the fifth cent., Victor of Antioch fashioned a commentary on Mark that consisted of a series of excerpts from exegetical and homiletic writings of earlier authors. Most manuscripts that contain this commentary have a note to the following effect: ‘In most copies this additional material in the Gospel according to Mark is not found, so that some have considered it to be spurious. But we, inasmuch as we have found it in most of the accurate copies in accordance with the Palestinian Gospel of Mark, have included it, as the truth requires, and (have included) the additional (account of the) resurrection of the Lord in it after the (words) ‘for they were afraid’ …This comment is found in manuscripts dating from the tenth to the sixteenth century” (Collins, *Additional Endings*, 805)

## Greek manuscript evidence favors the LE, though its absence in Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, and the annotations in others indicating doubtfulness are significant.

# **External Evidence Part 2: Patristics**

## The evidence from patristics is a confusing and mixed bag.

### In some instances, an early writer will be cited both for and against the authenticity of the LE.

### It is sometimes unclear if a writer quotes or alludes to the LE.

### Even so, Patristic evidence lends strong and early support to the authenticity of the Mark 16:9-20.

## Disputed citations.

### Justin Martyr (d. 165) may have quoted a phrase from Mark 16:20.

#### He says the apostles, “having gone out, preaching everywhere” (ἐξελθόντες πανταχοῦ ἐκήρυξαν) using the exact vocabulary of Mark 16:20, though without attribution and with the 2nd and 3rd words transposed. (Rendel, *Diatessaron*, 57)

#### It is a matter of debate whether Justin Martyr was quoting Mark 16:20, or, on the other hand, the similarity is mere coincidence.

### Tatian’s Diatessaron, as preserved, includes the LE, but its testimony is open to question.

#### Tatian wrote his “harmony” of the gospels in the late 2nd century, probably in Syriac.

##### It is known today only through later translations, namely, Arabic and Latin.

##### These later translations include material not originally part of Tatian’s work. For example, the *pericope adulterae* is thought not to have been included by Tatian, but is included in the extant translations.

#### Taitian’s Diatessaron is preserved in the following sources:

##### Ephraem’s Commentary, which is preserved only in a Latin translation of an Armenian version.

##### Quotations of some of the Syrian Fathers, especially in those of Aphraates, which preserves some of the original Syriac Diatessaron.’

##### Codex Fuldensis, a 6th century Latin manuscript.

###### This is “a Latin adaptation of the Diatessaron made by arranging the Vulgate text in the order indicated by Tatian’s gospel, but with considerable modification of that order.” (Hobson, *The Diatessaron,* 9)

##### An eleventh-century Arabic translation of Tatian’s work made from a ninth-century Syriac manuscript.

### Eusebius (d. 339) is quoted both for and against the authenticity of the LE.

#### Against the LE, it is noted that “in the construction of his influential Canon Tables, Eusebius did not include the Longer Ending of Mark” (Head, *A Case Against*)

#### In addressing some apparent inconsistencies in the Gospels, in *Ad Marinum* (dated prior to 312), Eusebius appears to clearly and repeatedly affirm that in the “accurate copies” the text of Mark ends at Mark 16:8.

##### The context is a perceived contradiction between Matthew’s language in Mt. 28:1 (“late on the Sabbath”) and the words of Mark 16:9 (“early on the first day of the of the week”).

##### Eusebius offers a two-pronged response.

###### His first response is that some would reject Mark 16:9-20 as spurious, making the question moot.

It is in this context that Eusebius says, “it is not found in all copies of the gospel according to Mark: accurate copies end their text of the Marcan account with the words of the young man whom the women saw, and who said to them: “‘Do not be afraid; it is Jesus the Nazarene that you are looking for, etc. … ‘ “, after which it adds: “And when they heard this, they ran away, and said nothing to anyone, because they were frightened.” That is where the text does end, in almost all copies of the gospel according to Mark.” (Pearse, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, 97)

###### His second response assumes one is unwilling to reject Mark 16:9-20 and, in that case, Eusebius proceeds to offer a reconciliation of the seemingly contradictory statements.

##### Burgon argued that Eusebius’ words have been misconstrued.

###### Burgon acknowledged that “there must have existed in the time of Eusebius many copies of S. Mark’s Gospel which were without the twelve concluding verses.” (Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses*, 70)

###### But Burgon supposed Eusebius’ assertion that “almost all of copies” ended at Mark 16:8 cannot have been true, in part, because if it were, one could not explain why the ancient versions, according to Burgon, included Mark 16:9-20. (Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses*, 68)

Here, Burgon’s argument suffers from its time.

Since Burgon’s time, the evidence from ancient versions has come into clearer focus and weighs against the authenticity of the LE. See below, under “Evidence from Ancient Versions.”

###### Burgon described Eusebius’ assertion as a “monstrous exaggeration” and therefore doubted that it represented Eusebius’ own view.

Rather, according to Burgon, the comments are Eusebius’ representation of “what a person will say.”

Burgon wants to cite Eusebius in his corner, at one point saying, “we seem to be presented with the actual opinion of Eusebius” when Eusebius says that both Mt. 28:1 and Mark 16:9 “are to be received” as genuine. (Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses*, 69)

However, Burgon immediately equivocates and says he doubts that Eusebius offered “any personal opinion on the subject at all.” (Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses*, 69)

###### Similarly, James Snapp, Jr. writes, “On the question of whether or not Mark 16:9-20 should be retained in the text, Eusebius seems to have been of two minds.” (Snapp, *Authentic,* 33)

###### Similarly, Miller thinks Eusebius expresses his “own approval” of the LE in the way he presents two different approaches to handling the question in *Ad Marinus*. (Miller, *Is Mark 16:9-20 Inspired?* 91)

###### It seems to me that Burgon might possibly have been correct in arguing that Eusebius did not necessarily himself reject the LE, but it also seems to me to be inescapable that Eusebius acknowledged the absence of the LE in most copies of Mark, including what he called the most accurate copies.

###### The full text of Eusebius’ remarks is included in Appendix 4 so that the reader may judge whether Eusebius meant to say that the LE was not found in the accurate copies nor in most of the copies of Mark.

##### Finally, let it be noted that Burgon affirmed that Eusebius’ words, if true, would prove fatal to the authenticity of Mark 16:9-20.

###### In regard to Eusebius’ comments concerning the absence of the LE in most copies of Mark and indeed, in the most accurate copies, Burgon himself said, “The writer begins by advancing statements which, if he believed them to be true, he must have known are absolutely fatal to the verses in question.” (Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses*, 67)

### Jerome is cited both for and against the Long Ending.

#### In “Against the Pelagians” (2.15) Jerome explicitly cites Mark 16:14 (““Even the Apostles showed unbelief and hardness of heart.”)” in a long list of scripture citations designed to “show the universality of sin.”

#### On the other hand, in a letter purportedly written as a response to a question from a woman named Hedibia, Jerome says the long ending is found in “scarcely any copies of the Gospel—almost all the Greek codices being without this passage.”

##### Burgon makes a strong case arguing that Jerome was merely quoting Eusebius’ response to Marinus (discussed above and in Appendix 4).

###### Burgon questions “Whether Hedibia was an actual personage or not.” (Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses*, 74)

###### In any event, Burgon characterizes Jerome’s letter to Hedibia as a fictitious literary device whereby he aimed to present Eusebius’ earlier writings on certain subjects to his own audience: “It is evident that this learned Father amused himself with translating for the benefit of his Latin readers a part of the (lost) work of Eusebius and he seems to have regarded it as allowable to attribute to ‘Hedibia’ the problems which he there met with.” (Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses*, 75)

###### Burgon, therefore, dismisses Jerome’s comments regarding the absence of the LE in Greek mss as a mere translation of Eusebius’ words and not independent testimony.

##### For a counter to Burgon’s view and a defense of Hedibia as a historical person and of Jerome’s response as his own, see Andrew Cain’s 2003 article, “Defending Hedibia and Detecting Eusebius: Jerome’s Correspondence…” (Cain, *Defending Hedibia* 17)

#### Perhaps the take-away is that while Jerome himself regarding the LE as legitimate, he also acknowledged that it was generally absent in Greek mss.

### Some writings are claimed in support of the LE though they do not explicitly quote Mark 16:9-20. Rather phrases are identified which, though debated, might possibly be allusions to Mark 16:9-20. Such phrases are cited from the Epistula Apostolorum, from Tertullian, and from the Gospel of Peter.

## Undisputed Patristic Testimoney for the LE

### Irenaeus (d. circa 202 A.D.)

#### He clearly quoted Mark 16:19, saying, “Also towards the conclusion of his Gospel, Mark says: ‘So then, after the Lord Jesus had spoken to them, He was received up into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God.’” (Irenaeus *Adv Her*. 3.10.5, 426)

#### Irenaeus was a bishop in Lugdunum in Gaul, which is Lyon, France today.

#### This establishes that in Gaul, as of the late second century, the LE was included in some copies of Mark.

## Numerous other ancient writers are cited in support of the LE:

### “…support for Mark 16:9–20 comes from Hippolytus (235); Vincentius of Thibaris (256); De Rebaptismate (258); the pagan author Hierocles (305) who used 16:18 in a jibe issued at believers; the Syriac writer [Aphrahat](https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/370101.htm) (337); Acts of Pilate (4th c.); the Latin commentator [Fortunatianus](https://www.thetextofthegospels.com/2017/08/fortunatianus-speaks.html) (350); Epiphanius (375); Ambrose (385); Apostolic Constitutions (380); [Palladius](https://www.thetextofthegospels.com/2021/06/palladius-and-mark-1619.html) (late 300s); Augustine (430)” (Snapp, *A Case for the Longer Ending*)

#### I have not checked all of these.

#### It is clear that patristic support for the LE is strong.

#### At some point in history, the number of those who quote the passage becomes irrelevant. We could all write something today quoting from Mark 16:9-20 and it would add to the count, but would add nothing to the debate.

# **External Evidence Part 3: Ancient Versions**

## Peter Head offers a nice summary of the evidence from ancient versions indicating that the oldest manuscripts in various ancient languages do not include the LE.

### “The oldest **Old Latin** manuscript (VL 1 = Codex Bobiensis, from the fourth or fifth century) concludes at Mark 16:8 with a version of the Shorter Ending and lacks 16:9-20.” (Head, *A Case Against*)

### “The oldest **Syriac** manuscript (the Sinaitic Syriac, from the fourth century) ends at 16:8.” (*Ibid*.)

### “The oldest **Sahidic** manuscript (sa 1 = P. Palau-Ribes Inv. Nr. 182, from the fifth century) ends at 16:8.” (*Ibid*.)

### “The earliest evidence we have for the **Christian Palestinian Aramaic** version of Mark (Codex Sinaiticus Rescriptus in St Petersburg, Syr. No. 16) ends at 16:8.” (*Ibid*.)

### “The oldest **Armenian** manuscripts (going back to the ninth century) end at 16:8.” (*Ibid*.)

### “The oldest **Georgian** manuscripts (translated from the Armenian) end at 16:8.” (*Ibid*.)

## Burgon’s belief that the evidence from ancient versions supported the LE must be discounted.

### The title of the fourth chapter of Burgon’s book asserted that the early versions “Yield Unfaltering Testimony to the Genuineness” of Mark 16:9-20. (Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses* 49)

### Burgon’s assessment of the evidence from ancient versions must be re-evaluated in light of discoveries and investigations made since his time.

#### For example, Burgon counts the Syriac version in support of the LE. (Burgon, *Last Twelve*, 50f)

##### He was unaware of Syriacs which has the text of Mark ending at 16:8.

###### The Sinaitic Syriac ms did not come to light until 21 years after publication of the “The Last Twelve Verses of Mark.”

###### Syriacs was discovered in 1892 at St. Catherine’s monastery by twin sisters and copied in 1893.

###### Syriacs dates from no later than the 5th century, and is possibly late 4th (A&A, 190)

Metzger dates it as fourth century. (Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 69)

###### Syriacs “represents a text from the late second or early third century” (Wallace, *Perspectives*, 19)

###### It is believed to preserve a form of text that “dates from the close of the second or beginning of the third century.” (*Ibid*.)

#### Burgon argues that “Fragments of the Thebaic, or dialect of Upper Egypt, (a distinct version and of considerably earlier date, less properly called the “Sahidic,”) [036] survive in MSS. of very nearly the same antiquity: and one of these fragments happily contains the last verse of the Gospel according to S. Mark. The Thebaic version is referred to the iii century.” (Burgon, *Last Twelve*, 53)

##### In fact, one Coptic Sahidic ms omits the passage.

##### According to Keith Elliot, “The Sahidic Coptic usually ends at 16:8.” (Perspectives, 86)

##### The Coptic Sahidic mss that include the longer ending also include the shorter ending, mitigating their weight as reliable witnesses of the true ending of Mark.

#### Burgon paid little attention to the ancient Armenian and Georgian versions, but the evidence suggests that originally, these versions did not include the LE.

##### Subsequent to Burgon’s work, evidence from Armenian and Georgian manuscripts point to the absence of the longer ending in the underlying Greek text from which these versions were directly (Old Armenian) or indirectly (Georgian) made.

##### Detailed information pertaining to the Armenian and Georgian versions can be found in Appendix V.

## In sum, the evidence from ancient versions points to the LE being absent originally and added only later.

# **Internal Evidences: Style**

## Some Defenders of the LE as scripture acknowledge a change in style.

### Alford

#### Alford regarded the LE as “coming to us with very weighty sanction, and having strong claims on our reception and reverence.”

#### However, he described the LE as “An addition to the narrative of a compendious and supplementary character, bearing traces of *another hand* from that which has shaped the diction and construction of the rest of the Gospel.”

#### Alford also acknowledged that, “internal evidence is, I think, very weighty *against Mark’s being the author*.”

### James Snapp, Jr.

#### Snapp is one of the most ardent and prolific defenders of the authenticity of Mark 16:9-20 today.

#### Snapp acknowledges the style problem and offers this explanation: “Here is the scenario which I think accounts most simply for both the internal evidence and the external evidence: Mark unintentionally stopped writing his gospel account in 16:8 due to a permanent interruption (likely persecution). His colleagues, entrusted with his manifestly unfinished narrative, completed it, not by composing fresh material, but by attaching material that we now know as 16:9-20. This was material that Mark had written on a previous occasion (perhaps for Roman churches to use at Easter). Only after this auxiliary material was added did the Gospel’s ‘production stage’ end, and its “transmission stage” begin. On this view, the earliest edition of Mark included 16:9-20.” (Snapp, *A Case for the Longer Ending*)

## There is an absence of “Historic Present” verbs.

### Historic presents are characteristic of Mark.

### The absence may not be as significant as some think.

#### There are 151 historic present verbs and about 11,075 words in 1:1-16:8.

#### At that rate, we would expect only about 2 (2.33) historic presents among the approximately 171 words in 16:9-20.

## The use of δέ rather than καί.

### Peter Head noted “the general shift in connectives away from a simple “and” *kai* (καί) to the post-positive “but” *de* (δέ; vv. 9, 12, 14, 17, 20 [in a μέν … δέ construction])—Mark generally uses *de* to signal a change of subject, but in 16:9-20 it becomes the default connective.” (Head, *A Case Against The Longer Ending*)

## The Vocabulary is Alleged to be Different.

### The word εὐθύς (“immediately”) is characteristic of Mark.

#### It only occurs 6 times in Matthew, and only three times in Luke, but occurs 42 times in Mark 1:1-16:8.

#### It is not found in the LE.

#### It may be countered that it also does not occur in the 54 verses from Mark 15:2 to 16:8.

### “Within the longer ending, there are 16 words that appear nowhere else in Mark’s Gospel. One of the terms is an (sic) NT hapax legomenon.” (Williams, *Bringing Method to Madness*, 405)

#### πορεύομαι (3x) πενθέω, θεάομαι (2x), ἀπιστέω (2x), ἕτερος, μορφή, ὕστερος, ἕνδεκα, παρακολουθέω, ὄφις, θανάσιμος, βλάπτω, ἀναλαμβάνω, συνεργέω, βεβαιόω, and ἐπακολουθέω all occur in Mark 16:9-20 but not in 1:1-16:8.

#### Some of these demonstrate what Williams calls “situational specificity” (Williams, *Bringing Method to Madness*, 405), that is, they are words that one would only expect to find in specific contexts, and therefore it is not surprising that we do not see them elsewhere in Mark.

##### ὄφις and θανάσιμος are examples of situational specificity.

##### Where else in Mark would one expect to see either of these words?

#### Regarding πορεύομαι which cannot be explained in terms of situational specificity, Mark never uses the simple form of the verb in 1:1-16:8, but instead uses ἐκπορεύομαι (11x), εἰσπορεύομαι (8x), παραπορεύομαι (4), προσπορεύομαι (1x), or συμπορεύομαι (1x).

##### Robinson offers a counterpoint:

###### “…the LE uses only the *compounded* forms of ἀκολουθέω (prefixed by παρ- and ἐπ-). Elsewhere in Mark the *uncompounded* form occurs 20 times.”

###### So based on the logic that makes πορεύομαι non-Markan, it would seem that compounded forms of ἀκολουθέω are non-Markan.

###### However, Robinson notes that Mark does use a compounded form once, in Mark 5:37.

“Had this usage *not* existed, the LE opponents would have added this to their vocabulary and style differences as part of their LE ‘non-Markan’ vocabulary.” (Robinson, *Perspectives*, 62)

###### The response might be, “but Mark DOES use a compounded form in 1:1-16:8.

###### Still, Robinson’s example illustrates the precarious nature of an argument based on the use or non-use of a word—one occurrence can change everything.

### Burgon’s counter to this point was, “παρουσία, a word used only by S. Matthew among the Evangelists, is by him used four times; yet are all those four instances found in one and the same chapter. S. Luke alone has χαρίζεσθαι, and he has it three times: but all three cases are met with in one and the same chapter. S. John alone has λύπη, and he has it four times: but all the four instances occur in one and the same chapter.”(Burgon, *The Last Twelve*, 187)

#### Burgon’s point is obviously valid; one cannot prove a passage is spurious just because words are used therein that aren’t used elsewhere by the same writer. Otherwise, every hapax legomenon would prove a passage spurious.

#### However, in the case of -πορεύομαι, Mark shows a clear predilection for prefixed forms, using them without exception in 1:1-16:8.

# **Internal Evidences: Style—Wallace’s cumulative effect argument is significant.**

## For each point contrasting the style of the LE with the rest of Mark, a counterpoint can be offered, often from elsewhere in Mark, mitigating the significance of that individual point.

## But Wallace argues that the cumulative effect of the anomalies in one context is significant.

### “…it is hardly adequate to point out that Mark, in *other* passages, uses seventeen words not found elsewhere in his Gospel, or that *elsewhere* he does not write εὐθέως [sic] for an extended number of verses, or that *elsewhere* he has other abrupt stylistic changes. The cumulative argument is that these ‘elsewheres’ are all over the map; there is not a single passage in Mark 1:1-16:8 comparable to the stylistic, grammatical, and lexical anomalies in 16:9-20. (Wallace, *Perspectives*, 30)

# **Internal Evidences: Incongruity with preceding text.**

## In the preceding context, Mary Magdalene is mentioned three times (Mark 15:40, 15:47, and 16:1).

## Then according to the longer ending, at Mark 16:9 Mary Magdalene is mentioned as if for the first time.

## The language used to introduce Mary at Mark 16:9 is very similar to that of Luke 8:2, where she is in fact being introduced for the first time in Luke’s gospel.

# **Internal Evidences: Perceived contradictions with other accounts.**

### Jesus is said to have appeared in “another form” to the two disciples.

#### Presumably the two Emmaus disciples are in view.

#### However, Luke attributes their failure to recognize Jesus to an inability of their eyes. (οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ἐκρατοῦντο τοῦ μὴ ἐπιγνῶναι αὐτόν.)

#### When they do recognize Jesus, it is not because of a sudden reversion of the form of Jesus to his pre-crucifixion state; it is said that their eyes were opened. (αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν.)

### The eleven are described as unbelieving and hard-hearted

#### According to Mark 16:13, they didn’t believe the two disciples while according to Luke 24:34, the eleven were affirming Jesus’ appearance to Simon.

#### While Mark 16:14 has Jesus rebuking the eleven for hardheartedness, Luke says they “disbelieved for joy,” hardly the sort of “disbelief” that is associated with hardheartedness.

#### One might suppose Jesus’ rebuke was retrospective: “Why didn’t you believe even earlier, when the women told you I had been raised?” (cf. Luke 24:10-11)

### Even Burgon acknowledged the existence of discrepancies between Mark 16:9-20 and the other accounts.

#### “That some were found in very early times eagerly to acquiesce in this omission: to sanction it: even to multiply copies of the Gospel so mutilated; (critics or commentators intent on nothing so much as reconciling the apparent discrepancies in the Evangelical narratives:)—appears to me not at all unlikely.” (Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses*, 269)

# **Internal Evidences: The Portrayal of Signs.**

### Generally, the accounts of signs we see in the NT are practical though phenomenal.

#### A woman had a problem with an issue of blood for 12 years, a man was blind from birth, a man was lame from birth, sick people were healed, demons were cast out, etc.

#### Even the account of Paul being bitten by a viper was not a case of Paul “taking up” (αἴρω) a serpent in accordance with the language of Mark 16:18 (which sounds more like the snake handling of Appalachia.)

#### Are the cursing of the fig tree and Peter walking on the water examples of things more similar to taking up serpents?

### Does Luke 10:19 (“I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions”) provide precedent for Mark 16:18?

#### Luke 10:19 has a precursor in Psalm 91:13

##### The NASB has “You will tread upon the lion and cobra, The young lion and the serpent you will trample down.”

##### The LXX even more strongly indicates that the meaning is figurative:

###### ἐπ’ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα

###### “You will raise yourself upon an asp and a petty king, and you will tread under foot a lion and a serpent.”

##### Psalm 91:13 appears to be metaphorical.

#### Is Luke 10:19 to be taken metaphorically or literally?

##### Serpents and scorpions represent the spiritual forces of evil, not animals.

###### The context is power over demons (Lk 10:17).

###### The seventy rejoice that they have such power.

###### Jesus connects such power with Satan’s imminent fall. (Lk 10:18).

###### He assures the seventy of their power over “serpents and scorpions.”

###### He warns them to rejoice not in such power itself (namely, that “the spirits are subject unto you”), but that their names are written in heaven. (Lk 10:20).

##### The imagery of treading upon spiritual forces of evil is seen elsewhere.

###### Romans 16:20 (συντρίψει τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν) cf. 3:15.

###### Testament of Levi: “And Beliar shall be bound by Him, and He shall give power to His children to tread upon the [evil spirits](https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04710a.htm).” (18).

##### McGarvey takes it metaphorically: “serpents and scorpions are here to be taken as emblematic of the powers of evil.” (McGarvey, *The Fourfold Gospel*, 474)

##### Spence took it metaphorically: “It seems, however, best, in the case of this peculiar promise, to interpret the Lord’s words as referring to spiritual powers of evil, taking the serpent and scorpion as symbols of these.” (Spence, *Luke*, 273)

##### Marshall says, “the evil spirits in this passage are here described in terms of serpents and scorpions,” but then in view of Mark 16:18, Luke 21:18, and Acts 28:3-6, says the passage “foreshadows the conditions of the apostolic age” (Marshall, *NIGTC Commentary on Luke*, 429)

##### Alford sees it as connected with Mark 16:18.

#### Is Mark 16:18 what one would expect to come from a later writer who had read Acts 28, or is Mark 16:18 what one would expect Jesus to have told his apostles before ascending into heaven?

##### Asking if some passage of scripture is “what one would expect,” is dangerous.

##### But here, this is to be considered in the context of a number of external and internal evidences that call into question the authenticity of the LE.

# **Internal Evidences: Could the book end with the word “for”?**

## In Greek, the verse ends with the word “for”.

## This seems odd in English, but it is not so strange in Greek.

### In Greek, the word γάρ is post-positive.

### We have a post-positive in English, “therefore.”

#### It would be unusual to end a book with the word “therefore,” but not grammatically unthinkable.

##### “The dragon was slain. The village was at peace. Archibald and Maria were married. They lived happily, therefore.”

### Kelly Iverson counts 1,059 occurrences of final γάρ (i.e., followed by a “period”) in ancient Greek from the 8th century BC to the 8th century AD. (Iverson, *A Further Word*, 82)

### Polybius Historiae 2.60.1.1 ends with the sentence [μακρὸν](https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=makro%5Cn&la=greek&can=makro%5Cn0&prior=a)sebh/mata) [γάρ](https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=ga%2Fr&la=greek&can=ga%2Fr0&prior=makro\n) (“For it is long.”)

### In Dio’s Roman History, we read of Nero returning to Rome, and it is said that there was some hope he would perish en route in a storm; but such hope was in vain, ἐσώθη γάρ. (62.19.2)

## Ends at verse 8

### The abbreviated narrative which gives no description of Jesus’ appearances is very different than the ending of the other gospels.

### However, the beginning of Mark is also very different than the other synoptics, giving no account of Jesus birth.

#### Even John, which gives no account of Jesus’ birth, goes all the way back to “the beginning” when the word which became flesh was “with God and was God.”

### An abrupt ending to the narrative is not out of character with the style of Mark’s gospel.

#### Consider the Jesus’ dialogue with the chief priests and the elders.

##### After they have been unable to answer Jesus’ question and he therefore declines to answer theirs, Matthew’s account tells what Jesus did go on to say to them about a man who had two sons.

##### Mark’s account ends more abruptly with the words, “Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.”

#### Consider Jesus’ teaching about divorce.

##### After the disciples commented on the implications of Jesus’ teaching, Matthew goes on to tell us that Jesus explained to them the concept of celibacy for the sake of the kingdom.

##### Mark’s account ends more abruptly. While he does include a detail not found in Matthew (the case of the woman who puts away her husband, a detail not relevant to Matthew’s Jewish audience) he says nothing about the explanation of celibacy for sake of the kingdom of God.

#### Consider the transfiguration story.

##### After Jesus affirms that Elijah has come already and was victimized just as the Son of man will be victimized, Matthew goes on to tell us the disciples then understood that Jesus was talking about John the Baptist.

##### Mark’s account of the same incident ends without any explanation of the identity of the Elijah of whom Jesus spoke.

#### There are details found in Mark that are not found in Matthew, but in the examples given above, it is not merely that we see the absence of some detail in Mark’s account. It is that we see the absence of the final piece of the pericope. In each case, you could describe what is missing in Mark as the aftermath of the story that has just been told.

# Conclusion:

# Greek Manuscript evidence favors the LE.

# Evidence from Ancient Versions favors the Abrupt Ending at 16:8.

# Patristic Evidence is mixed but leans toward the authenticity of the LE.

## It is clear that most ancient commentators believed the LE was the original ending of Mark.

## It is also clear that ancient commentators were aware of numerous copies, regarded as “accurate,” that omitted the LE.

# Internal Evidences favor the Abrupt Ending at 16:8.

Jeff Smelser   
953 Churchtown Rd., Narvon, PA 17555   
jeffsmelser@ntgreek.net

# Appendices:

# **Appendix 1: The special case of Codex Washingtonianus (Codex W)**

## Codex W is the only manuscript which contains what is called the Freer Logion, an enigmatic conversation purportedly having occurred between Jesus and the twelve (as indicated in Codex W), who responded to Jesus’ rebuke with what appears to be a diversion, complaining about the influence of Satan.

## While no other extant mss contain this reading, “Jerome…wrote that he found this text form in ‘certain copies and especially in Greek codices’” (Collins, *Additional Endings,* 802)

## The Freer Logion is found immediately following verse fourteen.

### The text and translation of the Freer Logion (The shaded portion is where the text of Codex W resumes the narrative as it is found in most mass, after having omitted the words καὶ εἰπεν αὐτοῖς, “*and he said to them*”):

#### TEXT

απελογουντε is an error for απελογουντο

#### κακεινοι απελογουντε λεγοντες οτι ο

#### αιων ουτος της ανομιας και της απιστιας

#### υπο τον σαταναν εστιν ο μη εων τα υπο

#### των πνατων ακαθαρτα την αληθειαν

#### του θυ καταλαβεσθαι δυναμιν δια

#### τουτο αποκαλυψον σου την δικαιοσυ

#### νην ηδη εκεινοι ελεγον τῳ χῳ και ο

#### χς εκενοις προσελεγεν οτι πεπληρω

#### ται ο ορος των ετων της εξουσιας του

#### σατανα αλλα εγγιζει αλλα δινα και υ

#### περ ων εγω αμαρτησαντων παρεδοθη¯

#### εις θανατον ινα υποστρεψωσιν εις τη¯

#### αληθειαν και μηκετι αμαρτησωσιν

#### ινα την εν τῳ ουρανῳ πνικην και α

#### φθαρτον της δικ αιοσυνης δοξαν

#### κληρονομησωσιν αλλα πορευθεν

#### τες εις τον κοσμον απαντα κηρυξατε

### TRANSLATION:

### And they were excusing themselves, saying, “This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan who does not permit the things under the unclean spirits to understand the truth of God, that is, power. On account of this, reveal your righteousness already.” They were even speaking to Christ. And the Christ was telling them, “the time of the years of the authority of Satan have been fulfilled, but some other things draw near. And on behalf of which things of those who were sinners I was delivered unto death in order that they might turn unto truth and might no longer sin, in order that in heaven they might inherit a spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness. But going into all the world, preach.”

# **Appendix 2: Examples of Insertions in Codex D**

## The text of Acts in Codex D is almost 10% longer than in other manuscripts.

## While Codex D is notorious for its insertions in the book of Acts, it is also characterized by insertions in the gospels.

### Luke 6:5 is relocated after verse 10, and in its place after verse 4, the manuscript has a unique insertion:

### τοις ιερευσιν· τη αυτη ημερα θεασαμενος τινα εργαζομενον τω σαββατω ειπεν αυτω ανθρωπε ει μεν οιδας τι ποιεις μακαριος ει ει δε μη οιδας επικαταρατος και παραβατης ει του νομου

### “On the same day, seeing one working on the Sabbath day, he [Jesus] said to him, ‘Man, if you know what you are doing, you are blessed; but if you do not know, you are accursed and a transgressor of the Law.’” (Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 50).

### After Matthew 20:28, Codex D (along with one other Greek ms and a few mss of ancient versions) adds the following 60 words, similar to Luke 14:8-10:

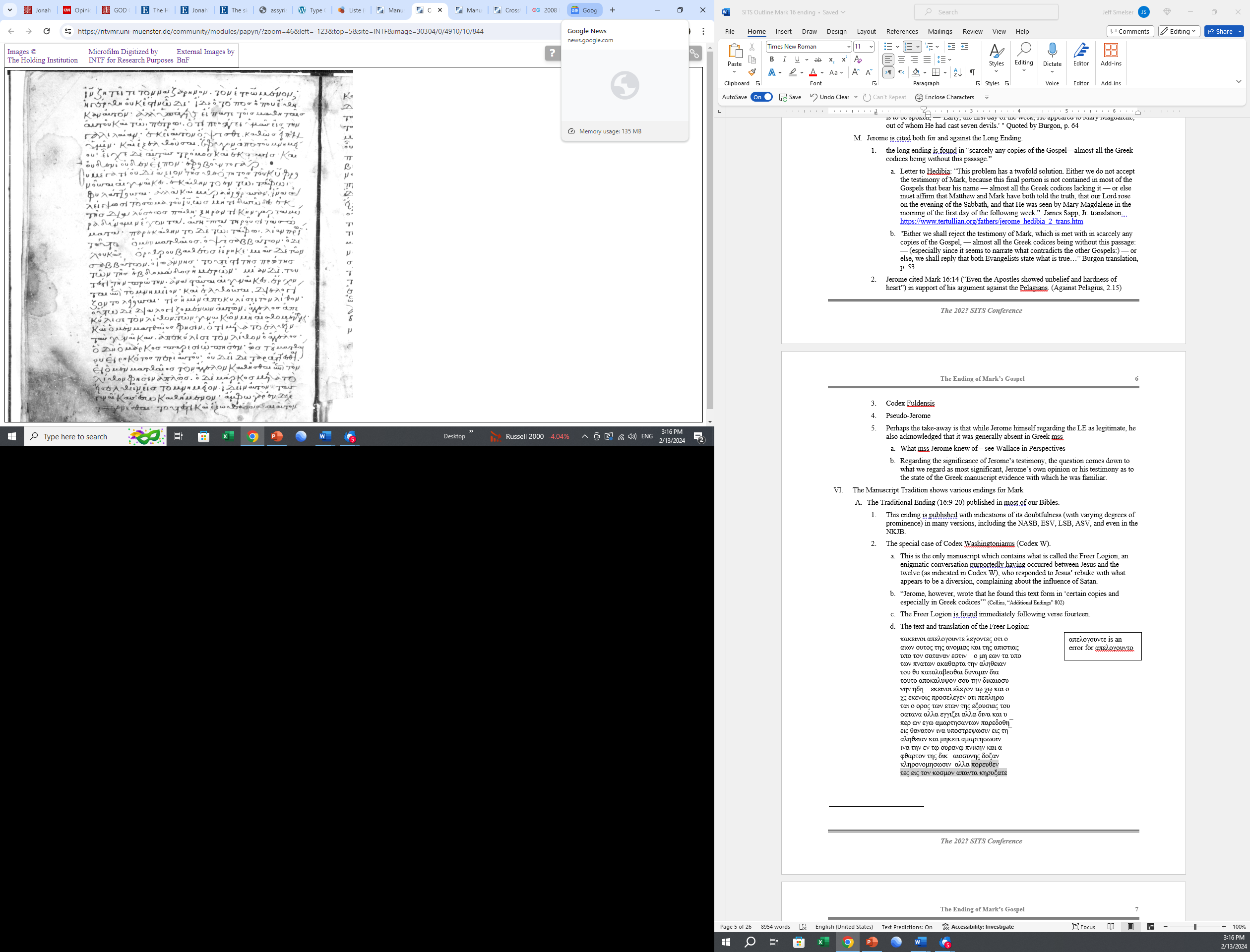
υμεις δε ζητειτε· εκ μεικρου αυξησαι  
και εκ μειζονος ελαττον ειναι  
εισερχομενοι δε και παρακληθεντες  
δειπνησαι· μη ανακλεινεσθαι  
εις τους εξεχοντας τοπους·  
μηποτε ενδοξοτερος σου επελθη  
και προσελθων ο δειπνοκλητωρ ειπη σοι  
ετι κατω χωρει· και καταισχυνθηση  
εαν δε αναπεσης· εις τον ηττονα τοπον  
και επελθη σου ηττων  
ερει σοι ο δειπνοκλητωρ συναγε ετι ανω  
και εσται σοι τουτο χρησιμον

“But seek to increase from that which is small, and to become less from that which is greater. When you enter into a house and are summoned to dine, do not sit down at the prominent places, lest perchance a man more honourable than you come in afterwards, and he who invited you come and say to you, ‘Go down lower’; and you shall be ashamed. But if you sit down in the inferior place, and one inferior to you come in , then he that invited you will say to you ‘Go up higher’; and this will be advantageous for you.” (Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 50)

## Mark 16:6-15 in Codex D. Notice that the text decreases in size beginning at line 20, and then decreases again at line 28. I mention this because some defenders of the authenticity of the LE make much ado about the change in size of the text in Codex Vaticanus, supposing they find evidence that a scribe was trying to fill in space that was originally intended for the LE.

#### A screenshot of a computer Description automatically generated

# **Appendix 3: Minuscule 304**



16:8 end

**COMMENTARY**

# **Appendix 4: Eusebius’ *Ad Marinus I.***

## The translation below uses the word Athetise to mean ““marks the passage as spurious.”

## *Ad Marinus,* translated by David J. D. Miller

My most honoured and most industrious son, Marinus! Now that I have worked through my earlier two books of Problems and Solutions on the points that present difficulties at the opening of the divinely-inspired gospels, I shall proceed, omitting the central parts, to the things everyone always wants to find out about their ending. I think it is perhaps the will of God, working through your injunctions, that has prompted us to this task.

Your first question was:

How is it that the Saviour’s resurrection evidently took place, in Matthew, “late on the Sabbath”, but in Mark “early in the morning on the first day of the week”?

### The answer to this would be twofold.

The actual nub of the matter is the pericope which says this. One who athetises that pericope would say that it is not found in all copies of the gospel according to Mark: accurate copies end their text of the Marcan account with the words of the young man whom the women saw, and who said to them: “‘Do not be afraid; it is Jesus the Nazarene that you are looking for, etc. … ‘ “, after which it adds: “And when they heard this, they ran away, and said nothing to anyone, because they were frightened.” That is where the text does end, in almost all copies of the gospel according to Mark. What occasionally follows in some copies, not all, would be extraneous, most particularly if it contained something contradictory to the evidence of the other evangelists.

That, then, would be one person’s answer: to reject it, entirely obviating the question as superfluous.

Another view, from someone diffident about athetising anything at all in the text of the gospels, however transmitted, is that there is a twofold reading, as in many other places, and that both are to be accepted; it is not for the faithful and devout to judge either as acceptable in preference to the other.

Supposing the latter point of view to be granted as true, the proper thing to do with the reading is to interpret its meaning. If we were to divide up the sense of the wording, we would not find it in conflict with the words in Matthew to the effect that the Saviour’s resurrection was “late on the Sabbath”, because we shall read the words in Mark: “Having risen again early in the morning” with a pause, punctuating after “Having risen again,” and making a break in the sense before the following words. Let us then refer “having risen again” back to Matthew’s “late on the Sabbath”, because that was when the resurrection had taken place; but the next part forms part of a separate idea, so let us connect it with the words that follow: “early in the morning on the first day of the week he appeared to Mary of Magdala”. As confirmation, that is what John has told us, as well: he too testifies that Jesus had been seen by the Magdalene early in the morning on the first day of the week. In this way, therefore, he appeared to her “early in the morning” in Mark also. It was not that the resurrection took place early in the morning; it was well before that, “late on the Sabbath”, as Matthew has it. That was when he appeared to Mary, after his resurrection; the appearance was not at the time of the resurrection, but “early in the morning”.

Thus two points of time are presented here: that of the resurrection, “late on the Sabbath”, and that of the Saviour’s appearance, “early in the morning”, as written by Mark in words to be read as including a pause: “Having risen again”. Then the next words are to be pronounced after our punctuation-mark: “early in the morning on the first day of the week he appeared to Mary of Magdala, from whom he had driven out seven devils”. (Pearse, *Eusebius of Caearea*, 97-99)

# **Appendix V: The Armenian and Georgian versions.**

## Armenian

### Original Armenian version did not include 16:9-20

#### According to Wallace, even William Farmer (author of “perhaps the most scholarly defense of the” the Long Ending, admitted this on page 39 of “Last Twelve Verses.” (Wallace, *Perspectives*, 3, 19)

### “The Bible was translated into Armenian in the early fifth century” (Alexanian, 157)

#### “The Arm 1 NT was translated from an Old Syriac base text during A.D. 406-414.” (Alexanian, *The Armenian Version of the New Testament,* 157)

#### “Following the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, Greek copies of the Bible were brought from Constantinople and the Arm 2 revision was based on the Greek text.” (Alexanian, *The Armenian Version of the New Testament,*157)

### The Old Armenian version provides insight into the early Syriac text. (Lang, *Recent Work on the Georgian New Testament*, 83)

#### “Essabalian’s 1938 study of the fifth-century sources Lyonnet that the base was Syriac, not Greek. Every textual study published since 1938 has supported a Syriac base for Arm 1.” (Alexanian, *The Armenian Version of the New Testament,*165)

### The Old Armenian version provides insight into the early Byzantine text. “Almost all Byzantine MSS extant today have the LE, but the Armenian version demonstrates…that this was not always the case.” (Wallace, *Perspectives*, 20)

### Based on a study of 220 extant Armenian mss, Colwell concluded that the original translation into Armenian did not include 16:9-20. (Colwell, *Mark 169-20 in the Armenian Version*, 369f)

#### 99 omitted the passage, the text ending at 16:8

#### 33 include the passage but give some indication that it was not originally part of the gospel. (Colwell, *Mark 169-20 in the Armenian Version*, 376f)

##### 20 of the 33 have the typical ending notation, “Gospel according to Mark” or simply “According to Mark,” after 16:8, before appending 16:9-20. (Four of these have an additional note pertaining to reading the text on Ascension Day.)

##### 5 of the 33 introduce 16:9-20 with the words, “another Gospel of Mark,” “Besides there is this Gospel,” or “this is an addition,” “this is an addition,” or “this other Gospel of Mark.”

##### Two add Mark 16:9-20 after a blank space.

##### One adds Mark 16:9-20 after a blank page.

##### One adds Mark 16:9-20 after red lines.

##### One adds Mark 16:9-20 in a different hand.

##### One adds Mark 16:9-20 as an independent chapter.

##### One adds Mark 16:9-20 after an ornament.

##### One sets Mark 16:9-20 apart by some other means.

#### 88 include 16:9-20.

### The chronological distribution of these mss

### The Old Georgian version, which, based on the oldest witnesses, arguably omits Mark 16:9-20, was translated from the Old Armenian version, adding further support to the view that the Armenian version did not originally include Mark 16:9-20. (Colwell, *Mark 169-20 in the Armenian Version*, 382)

### A 14th century Armenian commentary (in a codex dated 1611)17th century codex) has the text of Mark ending at 16:8. (Colwell, *Mark 169-20 in the Armenian Version*, 382)

#### “Some of the manuscripts of Barseł’s Commentary lack the last three chapters that include Mark 16:9-20. Ernest Cadman Colwell referred to one of these examples, ms Vienna, Mekhitarist Library, 73, considering this omission to be another proof of the absence of verses 9-20 in the original Armenian. About forty years earlier, the compiler of the Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in Vienna, J. Dashian, had stated that the last interpreted verse in that manuscript is Mark 16:8, concluding that the reason verses 9-20 are not interpreted is certainly that they were not included in Barseł’s exemplar. A. Sukʻrean has also considered this Commentary as evidence of the absence of the Longer Ending in the original Armenian version. Obviously, the Constantinople edition of the Commentary, where 16:9-20 is present, escaped Sukʻrean’s, Dashian’s and Colwell’s attention. Thus, the Commentary in question is important not only as a piece of Armenian biblical exegesis, but also for the discussion of textual issues related to Mark 16:9-20 in Armenian.” (Melkonyan, *Mark 16:9-20 in Armenian*, 629)

## Georgian

### “It is generally agreed today that the Old Georgian version was translated from the Armenian.” (Colwell, *Mark 169-20 in the Armenian Version*, 381)

### “In the fifth century, the Bible was translated from Armenian into Georgian.” (Alexanian, *The Armenian Version of the New Testament,* 157)

### “In the Gospels, the Adish MS shows…that its text was probably made from an Armenian base.” (Birdsall, *The Georgian Version of the New Testament,* 178)

### “The Gospels in Georgian are known already in two parallel recensions by the fifth century. Behind both lies an Armenian version.” (Birdsall, *The Armenian Version of the New Testament,* 181)

### “That the first Georgian Gospels were translated from an ancient version, based in its turn on Syriac, has been demonstrated be Indeed, one of the valuable features of the Adysh text is that it he to gain an insight into the probable nature of the earliest Armenian Gospels which are now in the main lost to us.” (Lang, *Recent Work on the Georgian New Testament*, 83)

### Of the three leading witnesses to the Old Georgian text, the two oldest omit Mark 16:9-20.

**Bibliography**

Andrist, Patrick. “Physical Discontinuities in the Transitions between the Gospels: Reassessing the Ending of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus” COMSt Bulletin 8/2/2022

Black, David Alan. “Perspectives on the Ending of Mark, 4 Views.” Nashville: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 2008.

#### Burgon, John William. The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to S. Mark Vindicated Against Recent Critical Objectors and Established. Oxford: J. Parker, 1871.

#### Cain, Andrew. “Defending Hedibia and Detecting Eusebius: Jerome’s Correspondence with Two Gallic Women (Epist. 120-21).” *Medieval Prosopography* 24 (2003): 15–33. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44946413.

Collins, Adela Yarbro. *Mark: A Commentary*. Edited by Harold W. Attridge. 1517 Media, 2007. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvb6v7zz>.

Collins, Adela Yarbro. “Additional Endings of Mark.” In *Mark: A Commentary*, edited by Harold W. Attridge, 802–18. 1517 Media, 2007. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvb6v7zz.31>.

Colwell, Ernest Cadman. “Mark 16:9-20 in the Armenian Version.” *Journal of Biblical Literature*. Vol. 56, No. 4 (Dec., 1937), pp. 369-386 Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3259648>.

Erhman, Bart and Holmes, Michael. “The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research, Essays on the *Status Quaestionis*” William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1995

­­­­­­The Syriac Versions of the New Testament, Tjitze Baarda

­­­­­­The Latin Version of the New Testament, Jacobus H. Petzer

­­­­­­The Coptic Version of the New Testament, Frederik Wisse

­­­­­­The Ethiopic Version of the New Testament, Rochus Zuurmond

­­­­­­The Georgian Version of the New Testament, J. Neville Birdsall

­­­­­­The Armenian Version of the New Testament, Joseph M. Alexanian

Head, <https://textandcanon.org/a-case-against-the-longer-ending-of-mark/>

Hobson, A. Augustus. The Diatessaron of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem, Being an Investigation of the Diatessaron for the Light which it Throws upon the Solution of the Problem of the Origin of the Synoptic Gospels. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1904.

Iverson, Kelly R. “A Further Word on Final Γάρ (Mark 16:8).” *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2006): 79–94. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43725642>.

Lang, D. M.” Recent Work on the Georgian New Testament” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 19, no. 1 (1957): 82-93. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/609633>

Melkonyan, Armine. Mark 16:9–20 in Armenian Medieval Literature: A Commentary by Barseł Maškeworc’i. COMSt Bulletin 8/2/2022

Metzger, Bruce Manning. *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Miller, Dave. “Is Mark 16:9-20 Inspired? *Reason & Revelation* 25, no. 12 (December 2005) 89-92. <https://apologeticspress.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/0512.pdf>

Pearse, Roger. Ed. Eusebius of Caesarea, Gospel Problems and Solutions, Quaestiones Ad Stephanum et Marinum. Ipswich: Chieftain Publishing, 2010.

Rendel, Harris, James. The Diatessaron of Tatian: A Preliminary Study. London: C.J. Clay, 1890.

Robinson, Maurice, “The Long Ending of Mark as Canonical Verity” *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark, 4 Views*. Nashville: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 2008.

Snapp, James, Jr. Authentic: The Case for Mark 16:9-20. James Snapp, Jr. 2024.

Snapp, James, Jr., https://textandcanon.org/a-case-for-the-longer-ending-of-mark/

Spence, H.D.M. *The Pulpit Commentary*, Volume 16. Mark and Luke Grand Rapids: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978.

Wallace, Daniel, “Mark 16:8 as the Conclusion to the Second Gospel” *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark, 4 Views*. Nashville: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 2008.

Williams, Travis B. “Bringing Method to the Madness: Examining the Style of the Longer Ending of Mark.” *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 20, no. 3 (n.d.): 397–417. doi:10.2307/26424452.