

JAMES A. KELHOFFER

Miracle and Mission

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

112

Mohr Siebeck

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zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

112



James A. Kelhoffer

Miracle and Mission

The Authentication of Missionaries and Their
Message in the Longer Ending of Mark

Mohr Siebeck

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To my grandparents:

Elsie Krath Alberich

Anthony Henry Alberich

Lillian Jay Kelhoffer

† Herbert Frank Kelhoffer, Sr.

Magnum opus et adruum, sed Deus adiutor noster est.

(Augustine, *de civ. D.* Preface)

Acknowledgments

This book is a revision of my doctoral dissertation, “The Authentication of Missionaries and their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark (Mark 16:9–20),” written under the supervision of Adela Yarbro Collins at the University of Chicago and defended on December 9, 1998. The idea for this work began with a simple question from a student to his advisor. In the fall of 1995, I was preparing for an exam on the Gospel of Mark with Adela Collins. One afternoon I was reading rapidly through the final chapters of Mark in Greek and proceeded without hesitation beyond Mark 16:8 into Mark’s Longer Ending (16:9–20). About half of the way through these twelve verses, I was struck by certain expressions, which do not resemble those typically used by the author of the Second Gospel. Perplexed at what I was reading and unable to find much in the way of secondary studies in the library, I asked Professor Collins what I might read in order to understand better this appendix to Mark. She responded that I may have found a promising dissertation topic, since so little has been done with this passage. Having been interested for some time in second-century gospel traditions and in the early Christian mission, I was intrigued by the suggestion concerning the study of the Longer Ending, which would allow for research in these two, as well as other, areas. The rest, you might say concerning my work over these last few years, is history. Having completed the last of my pre-dissertation exams in January, 1996, I have since devoted myself to this work, which seeks to offer a comprehensive explanation for the origin and distinctive features of Mark 16:9–20.

Without the help and encouragement of many people, the timely completion of this study would not have been possible. I would first like to thank my advisor, Adela Yarbro Collins, whose insights and prompt feedback from the beginning to the end have aided this project substantially. The readers on my dissertation committee, Hans Dieter Betz and John J. Collins, have also given helpful advice on many of the points discussed here. I am also grateful to Prof. Dr. Martin Hengel for his comments, especially on the discussions of literary dependence and of ordinary Christians as miracle-workers (chaps. 2, 3 and 5) and for his recommendation that the dissertation be included in WUNT, Second Series. Portions of this work were presented at meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature, the North American Patris-

tics Society, the American Academy of Religion and the högre seminariet i Nya testamentets exegetik at Uppsala University, Sweden; my thanks to those in attendance, whose responses helped sharpen the arguments offered here.

A number of other friends and colleagues, including Robert D. Carlson, Matthew J. Goff, Gerald F. Hawthorne, Kevin G. Hawthorne, Scott G. Huelin, Stephen L. Palo, Clare K. Rothschild and Jesper Svartvik, have also offered constructive feedback on and assistance with various parts of this work. To many at J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), in particular Ilse König, who oversaw the production of this work, I am indebted and thankful for their prompt, professional and expert assistance. Any remaining errors or infelicities in this work, however, are my own.

The University of Chicago Inter-Library Loan department has been very helpful in borrowing many resources – in particular, a number of the secondary studies discussed in chapter 1 – not available in the Chicago area. The Jesuit-Krauss-McCormick Library, which serves the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago and McCormick Theological Seminary, also provided a great deal of assistance and graciously allowed me to use a private study carrel, where much of this dissertation was written. I wish also to acknowledge colleagues and students at Saint Xavier University, North Park University and the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, from whom I learned much during the writing of this dissertation. To my family – especially my parents, Janet and Daniel Kelhoffer – I am greatly indebted for their love and support over the years. I also wish to express deep gratitude and to dedicate this book to my grandparents, whose hard work and devotion to family have been an inspiration to me over the years. To an author, a book, as is the case with so many things in life, is not simply the final product but the sum of the experiences that contributed to it. I have gained much from the processes of researching, writing and revising this book and hope that its findings will benefit others and encourage further study of the things discussed here.

Chicago, August 1999

James Kelhoffer

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Abbreviations and References

The Greek New Testament is cited from *Novum Testamentum Graece*, the Nestle-Aland 27th Edition. Abbreviations used in this work correspond to those listed in the *Journal of Biblical Literature's* "Instructions for Contributors" (117/3 [1998] 555–579); the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth; Third Edition; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Liddell, Scott and Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*; and G.W. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, and include the following:

<i>ABD</i>	D.N. Freedman (ed.), <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
<i>ANF</i>	Ante-Nicene Fathers
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>AsSeign</i>	<i>Assemblées de Seigneur</i>
<i>ASTI</i>	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
<i>AusBR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>BAGD</i>	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
<i>BETL</i>	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
<i>BHT</i>	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
<i>CentHermStudProt</i>	Center for Hermeneutical Studies Protocol Series
<i>CESL</i>	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>CurTM</i>	<i>Currents in Theology and Mission</i>
<i>Diss.</i>	Dissertation
<i>DUJ</i>	<i>Durham University Journal</i>
<i>EpRev</i>	<i>Epworth Review</i>
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
<i>ET</i>	English translation
<i>ETR</i>	<i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i>
<i>EVie</i>	<i>Esprit et Vie</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>

FC	The Fathers of the Church
GGR	M.P. Nilsson, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion</i>
Gk.	Greek
Greg	<i>Gregorianum</i>
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
Heb.	Hebrew
HeyJ	<i>Heythrop Journal: A Quarterly Review of Philosophy and Theology</i>
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	G. A. Buttrick (ed.), <i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JECs	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Lat.	Latin
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LE	The "Longer Ending" of the Gospel of Mark (Mark 16:9–20)
LSJ	Liddell, Scott and Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
MAGW	<i>Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien</i>
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
NHL	J. M. Robinson (ed.), <i>The Nag Hammadi Library</i> , Revised Edition
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTApo	W. Schneemelcher (ed.), <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> , Revised Edition
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OCD	Hornblower and Spawforth (eds.), <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , Third Edition
OTP	J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>
PG	J. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia graeca</i>
PGM	K. Preisendanz (ed.), <i>Papyri graecae magicae</i>
PL	J. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia latina</i>
PO	Patrologia orientalis
Psyche	<i>Psyche: Ein Jahrbuch für Tiefenpsychologie und Menschenkunde in Forschung und Praxis</i>
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RAC	T. Klauser (ed.), <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RestQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
RuBi	<i>Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny</i>
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	SBL Seminar Papers
SC	Sources chrétiennes
ScottJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>

SE	The “Shorter Ending” of Mark (Codex Bobbiensis [it ^k])
SEÅ	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>
SecCent	<i>Second Century</i>
SL	The Scribner Library
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTU	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
StudBT	Studia Biblica et Theologica
TBl	<i>Theologische Blätter</i>
TCGNT	B.M. Metzger, <i>A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament</i>
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TRev	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TToday	<i>Theology Today</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCSup	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VD	<i>Verbum domini</i>
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
ZNW.	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Chapter 1

Introduction and History of Scholarship

The greatest literary problem in the New Testament is:
What is the matter with the Gospel of Mark? Something happened
to the end of it in the first or second century. . . .¹

A. Introduction

New Testament manuscripts support four possibilities for the original ending of the Gospel of Mark: ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ in 16:8,² the “Shorter Ending” of Codex Bobbiensis (it^k),³ the “Longer Ending” (Mark 16:9—20)⁴ and the

¹ Albert J. Edmunds, “The Text of the Resurrection in Mark, and Its Testimony to the Apparitional Theory: With a Preface on Luke’s Mutilation of Mark,” *The Monist* 27 (April, 1917) 161.

² The Gospel of Mark ends suddenly as follows: “But [the young man] said to them, ‘Do not be alarmed; you are looking for Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He has been raised; he is not here. Look, there is the place they laid him. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going ahead of you to Galilee; there you will see him, just as he told you.’ So they went out and fled from the tomb, for terror and amazement had seized them; and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid” (Mark 16:6—8). Some scholars emphasize the sudden stop occurring with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, and so they prefer to translate the end of Mark 16:8 as “for they were afraid *of* . . .” (e.g., A. J. Edmunds, “The Text of the Resurrection in Mark, pp. 161—162).

³ The Shorter Ending of Mark may be translated as follows: “And all that had been commanded them they told briefly (or: promptly; Gk.: συντόμως) to those around Peter. And afterward Jesus himself sent out through them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation.”

⁴ In addition to numerous patristic citations (e.g., Irenaeus, Tatian) and the Longer Ending’s inclusion in the Byzantine lectionary readings, 99% of the surviving manuscripts agree with the Textus Receptus and preserve the reading of the LE. For this figure see Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction of the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (Revised and Enlarged edition; trans. E. F. Rhodes; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987) 287; K. Aland, “Der Schluß des Markusevangeliums,” in *L’Evangile selon Marc* (ed. M. Sabbe; BETL 34; Gembloux, Leuven University Press, 1974; Nouvelle édition augmentée, 1988) 446. The quantity of witnesses, of course, is not a sure indication of quality. This study does not offer yet another summary of all the external evidence since Kurt Aland, among others, has already thoroughly investigated this problem. See K. Aland, “Bemerkungen zum Schluß des Markusevangeliums,” in *Neotestamentica et Semitica*:

interpolated “Longer Ending” of Codex Freerianus (W, 032).⁵ In addition, a number of MSS like Y include *both* the Shorter and Longer Endings after Mark 16:8.⁶

The “Longer Ending” of the Gospel of Mark (often abbreviated here as the “LE”) designates a passage that was not written by the author of Mark, but was added to this Gospel in the first half of the second century. In what follows I assume that the earliest *recoverable* ending of Mark is 16:8 and leave open the question whether Mark did, or intended to, continue beyond 16:8, since this is a problem not directly related to an examination of the LE.⁷ Accordingly, this study will concentrate only on the non-interpolated Longer Ending (Mark 16:9–20):

9 Ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρώτων Μαρίας τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, παρ’ ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια. 10 ἐκείνη πορευθεῖσα ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένοις πενθοῦσι καὶ κλαίουσιν· 11 κἀκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῆ

Studies in honour of Matthew Black (ed. E. E. Ellis and Max Wilcox; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969) 157–180; idem, “Der Schluß des Markusevangeliums,” in *L’Évangile selon Marc*, pp. 435–470, 573–575; cf. Joseph Hug, “Textual criticism of the end of the Second Gospel,” in idem, *La finale de l’évangile de Marc: Mc 16,9-20* (Études Bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1978) 187–216.

⁵ After the Longer Ending was written, and apparently before the time of Jerome in the early fifth century (Jerome, *Contra Pelagianos* 2.15), the author of the interpolation known as the Freer-Logion placed into the mouths of Jesus and the disciples the following exchange, which occurs between Mark 16:14 and 16:15: “And they replied, saying, ‘This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, who by means of evil spirits does not permit the true power of God to be apprehended; therefore reveal your righteousness now.’ They were speaking to Christ, and Christ said to them in reply, ‘The limit of the years of the authority of Satan has been fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near, even for the sinners on whose behalf I was delivered up to death, that they might turn to the truth and sin no more, in order that they might inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven’” (ET by Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* [London: Macmillan, 1957] 614–615). For a discussion of this passage, see J. Jeremias in *NTApo*, 1.248–249 and Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Paleography* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) 82–83, as well as other items listed in the Bibliography.

⁶ On this point, see James K. Elliott, “The Text and Language of the Endings to Mark’s Gospel,” *TZ* 27 (1971) 255–256; B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, pp. 98–99; David C. Parker, “The Endings of Mark’s Gospel,” in idem, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 126–127.

⁷ Although some (e.g., E. Linnemann, “Der [wiedergefundene] Markusschluss,” *ZTK* 66 [1969] 255–287) have tried to reconstruct Mark’s original ending from traditions contained within the LE, I regard this approach as misguided. Regardless of the state in which Mark originally left his Gospel, it will be argued here that the author of the LE knew only of Mark 1:1–16:8 and tried to improve upon what he read as Mark’s ending. On Linnemann’s arguments, see the discussion later in this chapter. On the topic of Mark’s original conclusion, see the Bibliography, which lists works concerning the original ending to the Gospel of Mark.

καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν. 12 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν περιπατοῦσιν ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἑτέρα μορφῇ πορευομένοις εἰς ἀγρόν· 13 κἀκεῖνοι ἀπελθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς λοιποῖς· οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοις ἐπίστευσαν. 14 Ὑστερον⁸ ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἕνδεκα ἐφανερώθη καὶ ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγγεγερμένον οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν. 15 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει. 16 ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. 17 σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ταῦτα παρακολουθήσει· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς, 18 ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν⁹ κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψῃ, ἐπὶ ἄρρωστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν. 19 Ὁ μὲν οὖν¹⁰ κύριος¹¹ μετὰ τὸ λαλήσαι αὐτοῖς ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. 20 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐξεληθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου συνεργοῦντος καὶ τὸν λόγον βεβαιοῦντος διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων.

9 Having risen early on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons. 10 That woman¹² went and told those who had been with him who were mourning and weeping. 11 And they, hearing that he was alive and had been seen by her, disbelieved.

12 After this he appeared in a different form to two of them as they were walking into the country. 13 Those individuals also went away and told the rest, but they did not believe them either.

⁸ Text critical note on ὕστερον [δέ]: the presence of δέ in some MSS probably reflects a later assimilation to ἀναστὰς δέ (16:9) and μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (16:12) in the LE, or perhaps to other occurrences of ὕστερον δέ in the NT (Matt 21:37, 22:27, 25:11, 26:60; Heb 12:11).

⁹ Text critical note on [ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν] ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν: These three words are a later expansion of Mark 16:18a. If they were original, there would be no reason (whether dogmatic or careless) for a later scribe take them out. While assimilation to Acts 28:3—6 could perhaps explain the addition, it is more likely that the idea of picking up snakes was so strange to later copyists that they found it necessary to elucidate the text by this embellishment. On this point see the discussion of Mark 16:18a in chapter 6.

¹⁰ Text critical note on μὲν οὖν: in some MSS (C*, L, W, I, 844) οὖν may have been carelessly omitted because both of these short words end with a “ν.” In addition, the inclusion of οὖν in the μὲν . . . δέ construction of vv. 19—20 could have been regarded as awkward and thus deleted.

¹¹ Text critical note on κύριος [Ἰησοῦς]: the possibility of the accidental omission of the name Ἰησοῦς is not strong, and there was certainly no reason for a later copyist to delete Ἰησοῦς if it were originally present in the text, especially since the two instances of ὁ κύριος (cf. τοῦ κυρίου, v. 20b) are the only names Jesus receives in all twelve verses of the LE. It is more likely that the Ἰησοῦς was added to clarify the unusual occurrence of the name ὁ κύριος alone and perhaps to bring the name into conformity with verses like Luke 24:3, Acts 1:21 and 1 Cor 11:23 (cf. Acts 4:33, 7:59, 8:16, 11:20, 15:11, 16:31, 19:5, 19:13, 19:17, 20:21, 20:24, 20:35, 21:13 and 1 Cor 12:3).

¹² I translate ἐκεῖνη literally as “that woman” to draw attention to the author’s intention of stating that at least one of the fearful women of Mark 16:8 did follow the command of 16:7 (cf. κἀκεῖνοι, v. 13a). On the absolute use this demonstrative pronoun in the LE, see the discussion of Mark 16:10 in chapter 2.

14 Last of all he appeared to the eleven while they were reclining at table, and he reproached their disbelief and hardness of heart, because they had not believed those who saw him after he had been raised. 15 And he said to them,

‘Go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation. 16 The one who believes and is baptized will be saved, but the one who disbelieves will be condemned. 17 And these signs will accompany those who believe: in my name they will cast out demons; they will speak in new languages; 18 they will pick up snakes; and if they drink any deadly thing, it certainly will not hurt them; they will lay hands on the sick, who will recover.’

19 After he spoke to them, the Lord was then taken up into heaven and sat down ‘at the right hand of God.’¹³ 20 They then went out and preached everywhere, and the Lord¹⁴ continuously worked with [them] and granted confirmation to the word through the accompanying signs.

At least on the surface, the passage seems to contain both traditional and novel forms of expression. Concerning the former, following a brief mention of the resurrection (ἀναστάσις, v. 9a), Jesus’ initial appearance to Mary Magdalene, which resembles Luke 8:2b and John 20:11–18, is met with disbelief (vv. 9b–11). A subsequent appearance to two disciples (v. 12; cf. Luke 24:13–35) also finds a doubting audience (v. 13). Having finally come to “the eleven” as a group (v. 14a; cf. Matt 28:16–17, Luke 24:9, 33), Jesus upbraids their lack of faith in the message of his earlier appearances (v. 14b). The risen Lord then commissions them to “preach the gospel to all creation” (vv. 15–18; cf. Matt 28:18–20). Two distinctive elements of the passage include the association of baptism with salvation (v. 16) and the promise of miraculous signs — including the picking up of snakes and the ability to survive the drinking of poison — that will follow “those who believe” (vv. 17–18). Following his ascension to heaven (v. 19; cf. Luke 24:51, Acts 1:2, 1:11, 1:22), Jesus himself ‘works with’ the commissioned evangelists, granting confirmation through the signs that will authenticate their preaching (v. 20; cf. vv. 17b–18).

As is outlined in greater detail toward the end of this chapter, this study investigates both the unique contributions that Mark 16:9–20 has to offer for the understanding of second-century gospel traditions, and the significance of miraculous “signs” in this writing as compared with Christian literature of the first three centuries and with other ancient witnesses.

¹³ The quotation marks highlight the citation of the traditional formula derived, probably indirectly, from Ps 110:1. On this point see the discussion in chapter 4.

¹⁴ I.e., “the Lord [Jesus],” as the expansion of Mark 16:19a in, e.g., C*, K and L suggests.

B. History of Scholarship on Mark 16:9—20

This survey of the history of the investigation of the LE is offered with some caution, for no less than six such reviews of scholarship have been undertaken since 1973.¹⁵ These offerings by Joseph Hug, Veronika Krauss, Paul Mirecki, Steven L. Cox and others all focus upon certain aspects of the LE and, for the most part, review different contributions to the study of Mark 16:9—20. The following does not seek to repeat unnecessarily what these and other scholars have noted in their respective reviews of the scholarly literature, but rather to build upon past insights, to explore certain hypotheses not discussed elsewhere and to offer a more complete picture of scholarly views, in particular over the past two centuries. For the most part, this literature review will proceed chronologically, discussing in turn studies from A. Birch to J. W. Burgon (1801—1871); from F. C. Conybeare to C. R. Williams (1891—1915); from G. Hartmann to E. Helzle (1936—1959); and from E. Linnemann to S. L. Cox (1969—1993).

The vast majority who have written on Mark's Longer Ending have been primarily concerned with the question of authenticity, that is, whether "Mark" the evangelist wrote this passage.¹⁶ As a result, two methods of inquiry dominate the secondary literature: examinations of external and internal evidence. External evidence concerns the discipline of textual criticism, that is, the evaluation of which MSS, patristic citations and lectionary texts do and do not reflect knowledge of the LE. Previous examinations of the internal evidence have usually relied upon statistical analyses of vocabulary, although a few have also considered aspects of style, syntax and philology in the LE as compared with those of the Second Gospel.¹⁷

¹⁵ J. Hug, *La finale de l'évangile de Marc*, pp. 11—32; Veronika Krauss, "'Verkündet das Evangelium der ganzen Schöpfung!' Eine exegetisch-bibeltheologische Untersuchung von Mk 16,9-20," (Diss., Wien, 1980) 1—13a; P. Mirecki, "Mark 16:9-20: Composition, Tradition and Redaction," pp. 1—23; and S. L. Cox, *History and Critique of Scholarship*, pp. 13—95; cf. Gary W. Trompf, "The Markusschluss in Recent Research," *AusBR* 21 (1973) 15—26; Virtus E. Gideon, "The Longer Ending of Mark in Recent Study," in *New Testament Studies: Essays in Honor of Ray Summers in his Sixty-Fifth Year* (ed. H. L. Drumwright and C. Vaughn; Waco, TX: Markham Press Fund, 1975) 3—12.

¹⁶ With J. Hug, *La finale de l'évangile de Marc*, p. 9; P. Mirecki, "Mark 16:9-20: Composition, Tradition and Redaction," pp. 23—24.

¹⁷ More nuanced studies of these topics include J. K. Elliott, "Text and Language of the Endings to Mark's Gospel," pp. 256—262; and David C. Parker, "The Endings of Mark's Gospel," pp. 141—142.

1. From Birch to Burgon (1801–1871)

As Bruce Metzger notes, “[p]rior to the seventeenth century paleography as a systematic study had not yet come into existence.”¹⁸ The comparatively newer discipline of textual criticism, which was fueled by gains in paleography and the discovery of important NT MSS in the nineteenth century, brought to light new evidence for questioning whether Mark 16:9–20 was, in fact, written by the author of the Second Gospel. In the early centuries of Christendom, an awareness of the textual critical problem, expressed in the *Quaestiones ad Marinum*, attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea, and later in a letter of Jerome to a certain Hedibia, was the exception rather than the rule.¹⁹ It thus comes as no surprise that Mark’s Longer Ending was met with almost universal acceptance before the nineteenth century. As was typically the case with the rest of the NT, most discussions of the LE in the early, medieval and post-Reformation church focused, as a result, on issues of dogma like, for example, the necessity of baptism for salvation (Mark 16:16) rather than on understanding the passage in its original, post-Markan context.²⁰

¹⁸ B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, p. 3.

¹⁹ The Greek and Latin texts of the *ad Marinum* were published by Cardinal Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio e Vaticani Codicibus* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1825) 1.61–82. Mai published a revised edition of the *ad Marinum* in idem, *Novae patrum bibliothecae* (Rome: Typis sacri Concilii propagando christiano nomini, 1844–1905 [Vol. 4, 1847]) 4.255–268 = J.-P. Migne, *PG* 22.937–953. The validity of the ascription to Eusebius has yet to be either questioned or confirmed by scholars who have discussed this important text. Jerome (*Epistula* 120.3 [*ad Hedybiam de Quaestionibus Duodecim*]; ca. 406–407 CE) seems to know this tradition, and thus offers a likely *terminus ante quem* for the *ad Marinum* that could support the Eusebian authorship of the *ad Marinum*. For a discussion of the interpretation of the LE in the second and later centuries, see S. L. Cox, *History and Critique of Scholarship*, pp. 13–51; David C. Parker, “The Endings of Mark’s Gospel,” pp. 132–137; William R. Farmer, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark* (SNTSMS 25; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974) 3–40.

²⁰ For example, Martin Luther, *Der kleine Catechismus* (1529) on Baptism, Response to Question 2; ET: *Luther’s Small Catechism* (Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, 1929) 128; cf. pp. 124–130; Georg Paul Siegvölck, *The Everlasting Gospel Commanded to be Preached by Jesus Christ, unto All Creatures, Mark XVI, 15 concerning the Eternal Redemption Found out by Him, whereby Devil, Sin, Hell and Death, Shall at Last be Abolished, and the Whole Creation Restored to its Primitive Purity: Being a Testimony against the Present Antichristian World* (Germantown, PA: Christopher Sower, 1753); Samuel Andrews, *A Discourse on St. Mark, XVI. 15, 16: “And he said unto them, Go ye”* (New Haven, CT: D. Bowen, 1787); Lawrence Greatrake, *An Anti-missionary Dissertation on the Commission in Mark 16, 15, “And he said unto them, go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature”* (Murfreeborough [sic], TN: Johnson & Mabry, 1838); [no author listed] *Observations on Matthew xxviii. 19, 20, and Mark xvi, 16, Shewing that those Passages are No Authority for Water-baptism: In a Dialogue between a High-churchman and his Friend* (London: T. Charles Gilpin, 1849).

Just prior to the turn of the nineteenth century, however, the observation of the omission of Mark 16:9—20 after 16:8 in Codex Vaticanus (B) gave rise to doubts concerning the Markan authorship of the LE. Certain readings of Vaticanus were published between 1788 and 1801 by the Danish scholar Andreas Birch, who apparently was the first person since Erasmus in the sixteenth century to be aware of the absence of the LE in this codex.²¹ Notes in other codices questioning the passage's authenticity also led Birch to doubt that the LE was originally a part of the Second Gospel. Referring to such codices and to the Eusebian Canons, which do not include material from Mark 16:9—20, he thus writes:

*Hoc scholion egregie confirmatur suffragio plurimorum optimæ notæ Codicum, qui numeros capitulorum, quibus Eusebius in harmonia usus, ultra versum octavum non habent, et reliqua Marci quæ sequuntur a commate nono, tamquam pericopam ab ipso Evangelio sejunctam, seorsim exhibent.*²²

Samuel Tregelles later noted that Birch's work did not become widely available because "[a] fire in the royal printing-house at Copenhagen . . . prevented the completion of" an edition of the NT which was intended to take into account many readings of Vaticanus, including the absence of the LE in this codex.²³

Albeit not in time for his first edition of the Greek NT (1774—75), such information apparently did reach Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745—1812) in time for his second (1803), revised edition of the NT Gospels. Griesbach, who is most famous for defending the priority of Matthew, argues in his *Commentatio* that the original ending of Mark, which must have incorporated elements of Matt 28:9—20, has been lost:

If the last twelve verses of Mark were genuine, or if Mark had ended his Gospel at verse 8, it would be difficult to offer a feasible explanation for the omission. But we know that these verses are missing in the important Codex Vaticanus (*en codice pereximio vaticano*) and were formerly lacking in many other ancient manuscripts. . . . It is therefore

²¹ See Andreas Birch, *Variae Lectiones ad Textum IV Evangeliorum* (Hauniae: C. G. Prost, 1801) 225; cf. related works by Birch listed in the Bibliography. Frederic Kenyon notes concerning Erasmus, "A few readings from [Vaticanus] were supplied to Erasmus by his correspondent Sepulveda, but too late for use in his editions of the New Testament. In 1669 a collation was made by Bartolucci, librarian of the Vatican; but this was not published, and it [i.e., the collation] was never used until Scholz in 1819 found a copy of it in the Royal Library at Paris." See F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Second Edition; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1901, ²1912; reprinted, 1953) 78. On J. M. A. Scholz see the discussion below.

²² Andreas Birch, *Variae Lectiones ad Textum IV Evangeliorum*, p. 226; cf. pp. 225—227. For a discussion of scribal notes in various codices, see K. Aland, "Der Schluß des Markusevangeliums," pp. 444—446.

²³ S. P. Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1854) 86—87.

reasonable to conjecture that the real ending of the Gospel—one that undoubtedly mentioned the journey into Galilee—was accidentally lost. . . .²⁴

Thus, one reason for doubting the Markan authorship of the LE is that the surviving edition of Mark — which, according to Griesbach, follows Matt 28:1—8 closely in Mark 16:1—8 — does not record a Galilean appearance of Jesus (cf. Matt 28:16—20; Mark 14:28, 16:7). Without an explanation like the one cited above, such an “omission” at the end of Mark could call into question Griesbach’s thesis that Mark is primarily an epitome of Matthew into which elements of Luke were incorporated.²⁵ With regard to Mark 16:9—20, Griesbach elsewhere explains in his *Commentatio*:

This and the remaining verses of Mark are dubious. If you regard them as genuine, you will easily see from our table that they are taken partly from Matthew and partly from Luke, and are, as it were, reduced to a summary (which seems, looking back, to be inconsistent with Mark’s usage) and interspersed with a few things which do not occur in either.²⁶

This second argument against the passage’s authenticity rests upon the difference between the way in which Matthew and Luke were used by the author of Mark, on the one hand, and by the author of the LE, on the other.

As a result of these new discoveries and realizations, in his second edition of the NT Gospels, Griesbach places a final bracket after Mark 16:8 — ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ] — in order to separate the surviving end of Mark from verses 9—20, which are also set off with brackets — [ἀναστὰς δὲ . . . διὰ

²⁴ J. J. Griesbach, *Io. Iac. Griesbachii Theol. D. er Prof Primar in academia Jenensi Commentatio qua Marci Evangelium totum e Matthaei et Lucae commentariis decerptum esse monstratur, scripta nomine Academiae Jenensis, (1789. 1790) jam recognita multisque augmentis locupletata*; reprinted in *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text Critical Studies*, pp. 68—102; ET by B. Orchard: “A Demonstration that Mark was Written after Matthew and Luke,” in *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text Critical Studies*, pp. 103—135. The above citation appears on pp. 94—95 (Lat.) and 127 (ET). As is well known, Griesbach argued that Matthew was the earliest of the Synoptic Gospels and that this Gospel was used by the authors of Mark and Luke. He also held that the author of Mark made use of both Matthew and Luke (cf. Bo Reicke, “Griesbach’s Answer to the Synoptic Question,” in *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text Critical Studies* [ed. B. Orchard and T. R. W. Longstaff; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978] 50—67, esp. pp. 53—55).

²⁵ Thus Griesbach’s controversial conclusion that “[t]he Gospel of Mark survives entire and incorrupt, save for the last verses of the final chapter, which, as we have said, one can justly conjecture to have been lost and then supplied by another hand” (*Commentatio*, pp. 102 [Lat.] and 135 [ET]).

²⁶ J. J. Griesbach, *Commentatio*. The above citation, numbered 39 by the editors of *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text Critical Studies*, appears on pp. 205 (Lat.) and 211 (ET); on the table of Synoptic relations mentioned in the above citation of the *Commentatio*, see pp. 78—79 (Lat.) and 108—110 (ET).

τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων].²⁷ Concerning the LE's authenticity, Griesbach thus seems to have built upon Andreas Birch's painstaking work with variant readings of many MSS, including Vaticanus, and added a well thought-out argument concerning the literary relationships between the Synoptic Gospels.

As will be noted below, Griesbach's bold — and, from the standpoint of textual criticism, revolutionary — thesis concerning the non-Markan authorship of the LE found support among many other scholars who, unlike Griesbach, did not seek either to defend the priority of Matthew or to explain Mark's use of the First Gospel. Nonetheless, his approach to the LE had a profound impact on scholarship in at least two ways. First, after the author of Mark 16:9—20 is shown to be different from the author of the Second Gospel, all too many scholars have simply abandoned the study of the passage. Second, many others after Griesbach have attempted to answer the question of the passage's authenticity while, at the same time, seeking to reconstruct the original ending of Mark. That is to say, demonstrating the non-Markan authorship of the LE was regarded only as a stepping stone to other questions concerning the original content of the Second Gospel. With notably few exceptions, such disinterest in the interpretation of Mark 16:9—20 has persisted until the present, and it was not until nearly a century later that F. C. Conybeare and others made a concerted attempt to understand the origin and original purpose of this oft-overlooked passage.

Independently of Birch and some twenty years after Griesbach, the observation by the German scholar Johann Martin Augustin Scholz (1794—1852) in 1819 that a seventeenth-century collation of Vaticanus, like the codex itself, does not include the LE after Mark 16:8 continued to fuel questions concerning the LE's authenticity.²⁸ Although the text of Scholz's NT, unlike that of Griesbach's revised NT, largely resembles that of the Textus Receptus, Scholz notes in the critical apparatus to Mark 16:9—20 both that marginal notes contained in various MSS express doubt about the material after

²⁷ In the critical apparatus Griesbach writes the following concerning the LE: "*Quae sequuntur inde a commate nono ad finem usque Evangelii=B. Asterisco notantur in 137. 138. . .*" (*Novum Testamentum Graece* [2 Vols.; Second Edition; Vol. 1: *IV. Evangelia*; London: Macinlay, Cuthell et Martin, 1803; reprinted, 1809] 253, note e; cf. pp. 253—255).

²⁸ J. M. A. Scholz discusses his vast travels and investigation of various MSS in idem, *Biblisches - Kritische Reise in Frankreich, der Schweiz, Italien, Palästina und im Archipel, in den Jahren 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, nebst einer Geschichte des Textes des N. T.* (Leipzig; Sorau: Friedrich Fleischer, 1823) esp. pp. 1—8; cf. on Scholz, W. Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1.331—332; S. P. Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek NT*, pp. 93—97.

Mark 16:8, and that a number of codices like Vaticanus do not include the passage.²⁹

Scholz's observations, however, did not persuade a majority of scholars in his day. For example, S. T. Bloomfield notes the objections "by several Critics" to the LE's authenticity and responds "that Scholz, after all his extensive researches, has never been able to find this portion [Mark 16:9–20] omitted in more than *one* MS. (and that, one in which great liberties have been taken) and a *single* Version."³⁰ Before the eventual publication of Vaticanus and the discovery of Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲙ), such rejoinders were, perhaps, understandable at the time Bloomfield wrote.³¹

After the Vatican granted permission for the publication of Codex Vaticanus, Cardinal Angelo Mai's belated and famously flawed edition did not appear until 1857 and 1859. After an additional wait, Constantin von Tischendorf (1815—1874) was allowed to examine the codex briefly in 1866 and in 1867. Finally, in 1890 a photographic facsimile became widely available.³² As has already been noted, only a few scholars like A. Birch, J. J. Griesbach and J. M. A. Scholz — and, as is noted below, K. Lachmann and S. Tregelles — had some knowledge of Vaticanus before Tischendorf's edition was published.

Also after Griesbach's controversial second edition of the Greek NT, Karl Lachmann (1793—1851), who referred to Griesbach as "mein Führer," also

²⁹ See J. M. A. Scholz, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Vol. 1: *IV Evangelia complectens*; Lipsiae: Friderici Fleischer, 1830) esp. pp. 199—201. The second volume of Scholz's Greek NT appeared in 1836. Many of Scholz's points concerning differences between vocabulary in Mark and the LE are followed and elaborated upon by Karl Friedrich August Fritzsche (*Evangelium Marci recensuit et cum commentariis* [Lipsiae: Sumtibus F. Fleischeri, 1830] 717—758, esp. pp. 719, 726—731, 746—752). Fritzsche also devotes considerable attention to the interpretation of γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καινῶν (Mark 16:17c) in relation to analogous statements in early Christian and other ancient writings (pp. 731—743; cf. on snakes [Mark 16:18a; pp. 743—745] and poison [Mark 16:18b; pp. 745—746]). In addition, Fritzsche discusses many external witnesses in connection with the question of the LE's authenticity (pp. 752—758).

³⁰ S. T. Bloomfield, *H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ: The Greek Testament with English Notes* (Fourth Edition, Revised; London: Longman, 1841) 1.253—254, emphases and punctuation original.

³¹ In a later edition of his Greek NT, however, Bloomfield continues to defend the above cited position in greater detail (*The Greek Testament with English Notes* [Ninth Edition; London: Longman, 1855] 1.357—359).

³² On these last two points, see F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the NT*, pp. 78—79; cf. D. C. Parker, "Codex Vaticanus" in the article, "Codex," *ABD*, 1.1074—1075. Kenyon also (pp. 284—286) criticizes Scholz's approach to textual criticism, noting that "[h]is text" for the NT "is not very different from that of Griesbach, although his critical principles were the reverse of Griesbach's" (p. 285).

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