

The Last Twelve Verses Of Mark

**Vindicated Against Recent
Critical Objectors & Established**



**The Fatal Blow to the
Vatican and Sinai Manuscripts**

Dean John William Burgon

THE LAST TWELVE VERSES
OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO
S. MARK

SAMPLE PAGES

ON the next page is exhibited an exact Fac-Bimile, obtained by Photography, of fol. 28 b of the CoDEX SINAtTicus at S. Petersburg, (Tischendorf's 41) : shewing the abrupt termination of S. Mark's Gospel at the words E+OBUNTIO rAP (chap. xvi. 8), as explained at p. 70, and pp. 86-8. The original Photograph, which is here reproduced on a diminished scale, measures in height full fourteen inches and one-eighth; in breadth, full thirteen inches. It was procured for me through the friendly and zealous offices of the English Chaplain at S. Petersburg, the Rev. A. S. Thompson, B.D.; by favour of the Keeper of the Imperial Library, who has my hearty thanks for his liberality and consideration.

It will be perceived that the text begins at S. Mark xvi. 2, and ends with the first words of S. Luke i. 18.

Up to this hour, every endeavour to obtain a Photograph of the corresponding page of the CoDEX VATICANUS, D, (N°. 1209, in the Vatican,) has proved unavailing. If the present Vindication of the genuineness of Twelve Verses of the everlasting Gospel should have the good fortune to approve itself to his Holiness, PoPE Prns IX., let me be permitted in this unadorned and unusual manner, -(to which I would fain add some circumstance of respectful ceremony if I knew how,)-very humbly to entreat his Holiness to allow me to poaess a Photograph, corresponding in size with the original, of the page of CODEX B (it is numbered fol. 1303,) which exhibits the abrupt termination of the Gospel according to S. Mark.

J. W. B.

ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΘΕΤΗ
 ΜΑΤΕΡΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΕΡ-
 ΕΥΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΓΗΤΟ
 ΜΗ ΜΗ ΑΝΑΤΙΛΑ-
 ΤΕ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ

ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΓΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ
 ΕΧΥΤΑΙ ΤΙΣ ΔΕ ΔΟΚΥ-
 ΛΙΣ ΕΙ Η ΜΗΝ ΤΟΝ
 ΛΙΘΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΟΥ-
 ΡΑΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΜΕ-
 ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑ ΔΕ ΜΑ-
 ΣΑΘΕΩΡΟΥΣ ΗΝ
 ΜΗΚΕΚΥΛΙΣ ΜΕΚΑ-
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 ΜΕΓΑΛΟΦΘΑΡΑ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΕΚΘΟΥΣ ΕΛΙΕΝ
 ΤΟ ΜΗ ΗΜΘΙΟΝ ΕΙ-
 ΔΟΜΝΕΑΝ ΕΚΚΟΝ-
 ΚΑΘΗΜΕΘΟΝ ΕΝ
 ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΣΙΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ-
 ΔΕΚΛΗΜΕΝΟΝ ΟΙ
 ΑΝΗΛΑΕΥΚΗΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΕΙΣ ΕΟΛΑΒΗΘΗΝ ΕΝ

ΕΑΝ
 Ο ΔΕ ΕΛΕΓΕΝ ΑΥΤΑΙΣ
 ΜΗ ΕΚΘΑΜΒΕΙΣΘΕ
 ΤΗΝ ΟΥΝ ΖΗΤΟΥ-
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 ΡΩΜΕΙΣ ΘΗΤΕΡ
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 ΠΑΤΕ ΤΡΙΣ ΜΑ-
 ΘΗΤΑΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΕΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΕΤΡΩ-
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 ΜΑΘΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΑ-
 ΛΙΛΑΙΑΝ ΕΚ ΓΙΕ-
 ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΥ ΕΣΘΕ
 ΙΣΘΩΤΕ Η ΕΝ

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 ΚΑΙ ΕΣΘΟΥΤΕ ΣΑ-
 ΕΡΟΥΤΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩ-
 ΤΟΥ ΜΗΤΕΡΕΟΥ
 ΕΙΣΘΕ ΜΕΛΑΥΤΟ-
 ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΣΘΕ

ΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΥ-
 ΔΕΝΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΙ-
 ΠΟΝ ΕΣΘΕ ΒΟΥΝ
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[ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ]

[ΛΙ·Ν]

[ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ]

Ἄ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΟΛΛΗ
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 ΤΑΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΔΗΨΗΣΙΝ
 ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΠΛΗ-
 ΡΟΦΟΡΗΜΕΝΩΝ
 ΕΝΗΜΗΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤ-
 ΚΛΩΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΔΟΣΑΝ
 ΗΜΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΧΗΡΑΙ
 ΤΟ ΠΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΗΡ
 ΤΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΚΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΥ
 ΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΔΟΣΕΙΟΜΟΙ
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 ΑΝΘΩΣ ΕΝΤΑΣΙΝΑ
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 ΟΙ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΡ
 ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΙΝΑΣ ΠΙΣΤΕ-
 ΠΕΡΙ ΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΧΗΡΗ
 ΛΟΓΩΝ ΤΗΝΑΣΦΑ-
 ΛΙΑΝ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΝ
 ΤΑΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ
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 ΟΝ ΟΜΑΤΙΣΑΧΩΡΗ
 ΕΞΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΑΣ ΒΙΑ
 ΣΗΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΗΛΥΤΩΝ
 ΤΩΝ ΕΥΧΑΙΡΕΣΗ
 ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ Ο-
 ΝΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕ-
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 ΕΝ ΤΟΛΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑ-
 ΩΜΑΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΑ-
 ΝΗΝΑΙ ΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ
 ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΚΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΟΤΙ ΗΝ Η ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕΤ
 ΟΤΕΙΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΦΟ-
 ΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΚΕΒΗΚΟ-
 ΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑ-
 ΑΥΤΩΝ ΗΣΑΝ
 ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΩ Ε-
 ΡΑΤΕΥΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ Ε-
 Ν ΤΑΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΦΗ-
 ΜΕΡΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΝΑ-
 ΤΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΚΑΤΑ-
 ΤΩ ΘΕΟΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΑΤΗ-
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. ΣΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΕΛΘΩΝ ΕΙΣ
 ΤΩΝ ΝΑΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΑ-
 ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΓΙΑΝΘΟ-
 ΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΤ-
 ΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΣΤΩ ΤΗΝ
 ΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΜΙΑΜΑΤ-
 ΩΦΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΤ-
 ΛΟΚΥ ΕΣΤΩΣΕΚΑ-
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 ΕΥΘΟΣ ΕΤΕΠΕΣΕΝ
 ΕΠΛΥΤΟΝ
 ΕΙΠΕΝ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΗΝ
 Ο ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΗΦΕ-
 ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ ΔΙΟΤΙ ΕΙ-
 ΚΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΗΛΕΝ ΕΙΣ
 ΟΥΚ ΑΙΝΟΥΝ ΗΣΟΥ
 ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕΤ ΕΝ ΗΜΕ-
 ΡΑΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΚΑ
 ΛΕΣΕΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΜΙΑ-
 ΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ
 ΣΤΑΙ ΧΑΡΑΣΟΙ ΚΑΙ
 ΓΑΛΛΑΣΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛ-
 ΛΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝΕΣΕΙ
 ΑΥΤΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΕΣΟΝΤΑΙ
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 ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΕΠΙ
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 ΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ
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 ΜΗ ΕΣΙΑΚΑΙ ΕΝΕ-
 ΤΕΡΑ ΕΣΙΑΚΑ ΕΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΤΑ ΕΣΜΕΝ
 ΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΚΑ

SAMPLE PAGES

THE
LAST TWELVE VERSES

OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO

S. MARK

VINDICATED AGAINST RECENT CRITICAL OBJECTORS
AND ESTABLISHED

BY

JOHN W. BURGON B.D.

VICAR. OF S. MARY•THE-VIRGIN'S, FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE,
AND GRESHAM LECTURER. IN DIVINITY.

WITH FACSIMILES OF CODEX M AND CODEX L

"• Advice to you,' sir, •in studying Divinity?' Did you say
that you •wished I would give you a few words of advice,' sir 1
. . . Then let me recommend to you the practice of always
vtrijj,ing your rtfemæ, sir 1"
Co11wrsntfion ofllu Int, Paasn>aNT RouTn.

Second Printing May 2002

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JAMES PARKER AND CO.

1871.

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SAMPLE PAGES

Foreword

The Publishers. This book, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, is published by the Dean Burgon Society, Incorporated (DBS). The Society takes its name from Dean John William Burgon (1813–1888), a conservative Anglican clergyman. The DBS is recognized by the I.R.S. as an non-profit, tax exempt organization. All contributions are tax deductible. The Society's main purpose is stated in its slogan. "IN DEFENSE OF TRADITIONAL BIBLE TEXTS." The DBS was founded in 1978, and, since then, has held its annual two-day conference in the United States and Canada. During this time, many excellent messages on textual issues are presented. The messages are available in three forms: (1) video cassettes, (2) audio cassettes, and (3) the printed message book. For information on receiving any of the above, plus a copy of the "*ARTICLES OF FAITH, AND ORGANIZATION*" of the Dean Burgon Society, please write or phone its offices at 856-854-4452.

The Dean Burgon News. The Society has a paper called the *Dean Burgon News*. Within its pages the Society proclaims:

'The DEAN BURGON SOCIETY, INCORPORATED proudly takes its name in honor of John William Burgon (1813--1888), the Dean of Chichester in England, whose tireless and accurate scholarship and contribution in the area of New Testament Textual Criticism; whose defense of the Traditional Greek New Testament Text against its many enemies; and whose firm belief in the verbal inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible, we believe, have all been unsurpassed either before or since his time!'

The Present Reprint. The DEAN BURGON SOCIETY, INCORPORATED is pleased to present, in this form, one of Dean John William Burgon's most convincing books, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark*. The verses in question are Mark 16:9-20. The arguments of this book, as put forth by Dean Burgon, have seldom been dealt with and never answered successfully. A brief book SUMMARY by DAW is given at the end.

The Importance of Mark 16:9-20. Dean Burgon held that the manner in which these twelve verses are handled by the various textual critics is crucial to their entire methodology. If the critics' textual methods fail to hold up in these twelve verses of the New Testament, their entire system must be rejected. This book shows Dean Burgon's test of strength between the two major opposing forces in the area of textual criticism in his day and in our own, namely: (1) the forces of Bishop B. F. Westcott, Professor F. J. A. Hort, and their followers and (2) the forces of Dean John William Burgon and his followers.

The Fatal Blow to Manuscripts "B" and "Aleph." Because the only manuscripts that omit Mark 16:9-20 are "B" (Vaticanus) and "Aleph" (Sinaiticus), we have sub-titled Dean Burgon's book, ***The Fatal Blow to Manuscripts "B" and "Aleph."*** At least eight hundred uncials, six hundred cursives, every known Lectionary of the East, ten Ancient Versions, and quotations from nineteen Church Fathers bear united witness to the genuineness of Mark 16:9-20! Since "B" and "Aleph" have failed here, they should be distrusted elsewhere in the New Testament. Despite this failure here, these two manuscripts form the bedrock text of the rash of English versions today, including the New American Standard Version (NASV), New International Version (NIV), Revised Standard Version (RSV), New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) and all the others.

Other Books by Dean Burgon. For those wanting to read four other excellent reprints (presently in Xeroxed format), the following can be ordered from THE DEAN BURGON SOCIETY:

1. ***The Revision Revised***, 591 pages for a gift of \$25.00.
2. ***The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels***, 350 pp. (\$15.00).
3. ***Causes of Corruption of the Holy Gospels***, 316 pp. (\$14.00).
4. ***Inspiration and Interpretation***, 561 pages (\$25.00).

Please add \$3.00 for postage and handling when you order.

Future Reprints. As funds permit, the DEAN BURGON SOCIETY hopes to bring into reprint-form in the same way as this present book many, if not all, of the above titles. Can you help us?

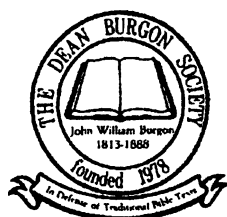
Sincerely for God's Written Words,

.a-:il.

DAW/w

Rev. D. A. Waite, Th.D., Ph.D.

President, THE DEAN BURGON SOCIETY



The
Dean Burgon
Society

In Defense of Traditional Bible Texts

Box 354

Collingswood, New Jersey 08108, U.S.A.



John William Burgon , 1813-1888 1

ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν, ,
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TO

SIR ROUNDELL PALMER, Q.C., M.P.,

&c., &c., &c.

DEAR SIR ROUNDELL,

I do myself the honour of inscribing this volume to you. Permit me to explain the reason why.

It is not merely that I may give expression to a sentiment of private friendship which dates back from the pleasant time when I was Curate to your Father, - but those memory I never recall without love and veneration ; - nor even in order to afford myself the opportunity of testifying my mind to your noble example of conscientious uprightness and integrity which you set us on a recent public occasion. It is with such a recollection that I dedicate to you this vindication of the last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark.

It is because I desire especially to submit the argument contained in the ensuing pages to a practised Judicial intellect of the loftiest stamp. Recent Editors of the New Testament insist that these "ImJt Twelve Verses" are not genuine. The Critics, although to a man, avow themselves of the same opinion. Popular Prejudice has been for a long time past warmly enlisted on the same side. I am as convinced as I am of my life, that the level of the truth. It is not even with me as it is with certain learned friends of mine, who, admitting the adversary's premisses, content themselves with denying the validity of the inference. However true it may be, and it is true, that from those premisses the proposed conclusion does not follow, I yet venture to deny the correctness of those premisses altogether. I insist, on the con-

trary, that the Evidence relied on is untrustworthy, untrusting; totally in every particular,

Now, in the meantime, can such all one as I am hope to persuade the World that it is as I say, while the most illustrious Biblical Critics at home and abroad are agreed, and against me? Clearly, the first thing to be done is to secure for myself a full and patient hearing. With this view, I have written a book. But next, instead of waiting for the slow verdict of Public Opinion, (which yet, I know, must come after many days,) I desiderate for the Evidence I have collected, a competent and an impartial Judge. And that is why I dedicate my book to you. If I can but get this case fairly tried, I have no doubt whatever about the result.

Whether you are able to find time to read these pages, or not, it shall content me to have shewn in this manner the confidence with which I advocate my cause; the kind of test to which I propose to bring my reasonings. If I may be allowed to say so, - S. Mark's last Twelve Verses shall no longer remain a subject of dispute among men. I am able to prove that this portion of the Gospel has been declared to be spurious on wholly mistaken ground: and this ought in fairness to close the discussion. But I claim to have done more. I claim to have shown, from considerations which have been hitherto overlooked, that its genuineness must needs be reckoned among the things that are absolutely certain.

I am, with sincere regard and respect,

Yr Sir Roundell,

Very faithfully yours,

JOHN W. BURGON.

Oriel,
July, 1871.

PUE FACE.

THIS volume is my contribution towards the better understanding of a subject which is destined, when it shall have grown into a Science, to vindicate for itself a mighty province, and to enjoy paramount attention. I allude to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament Scriptures.

That this Study is still in its infancy, all may see. The very principles on which it is based are as yet only imperfectly understood. The reason is obvious. It is because the very foundations have not yet been laid, (except to a wholly inadequate extent,) on which the future superstructure is to rise. A careful collation of every extant Codex, (executed after the manner of the Rev. F. H. Scrivener's labours in this department,) is the first indispensable preliminary to any real progress. Another, is a revised Text, not to say a more exact knowledge, of the oldest Versions. Scarcely of inferior importance would be critically correct editions of the Fathers of the Church; and these must by all means be furnished with full completer Indices of Texts than have ever yet been attempted.-There is not a single Father to be named whose Works have been hitherto furnished with even a tolerably complete Index of the places in which he

either quotes, or else clearly refers to, the Text of the New Testament: while scarcely a tithe of the known MSS. of the Gospels have as yet been satisfactorily collated. Strange to relate, we are to this hour without so much as a satisfactory Catalogue of the Copies which are known to be extant.

But when all this has been done,-(and the Science deserves, and requires, a little more public encouragement than has hitherto been bestowed on the arduous and-let me not be ashamed to add the *word-unremunerative* labour of Textual Criticism,)-it will be discovered that the popular and the prevailing theory is a mistaken one. The plausible hypothesis on which recent recensions of the Text have been for the most part conducted, will be seen to be no longer tenable. The latest decisions will in consequence be generally reversed.

I am not of course losing sight of what has been already achieved in this department of Sacred Learning. While our knowledge of the uncial MSS. has been rendered tolerably exact and complete, an excellent beginning has been made, (chiefly by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, the most judicious living Master of Textual Criticism,) in acquainting us with the contents of about seventy of the cursive MSS. of the New Testament. And though it is impossible to deny that the published texts of Doctors Tischendorf and Tregelles as *texts* are wholly inadmissible, yet is it equally certain that by the conscientious diligence with which those distinguished Scholars have respec-

tively laboured, they have erected monuments of their learning and ability which will endure for ever. Their Editions of the New Testament will not be superseded by any new discoveries, by any future advances in the Science of Textual Criticism. The MSS. which they have edited will remain among the most precious materials for future study. All honour to them ! If in the warmth of controversy I shall appear to have spoken of them sometimes without becoming deference, let me here once for all confess that I am to blame, and express my regret. When they have publicly begged S. Mark's pardon for the grievous wrong they have done him, I will very humbly beg their pardon also.

In conclusion, I desire to offer my thanks to the Rev. John Wordsworth, late Fellow of Brasenose College, for his patient perusal of these sheets as they have passed through the press, and for favouring me with several judicious suggestions. To him may be applied the saying of President Routh on receiving a visit from Bishop Wordsworth at his lodgings, - "I see the learned son of a learned Father, sir !" - Let me be permitted to add that my friend inherits the Bishop's fine taste and accurate judgment also.

And now I dismiss this Work, at which I have conscientiously laboured for many days and many nights; beginning it in joy and ending it in sorrow. The College in which I have for the most part written it is designated in the preamble of its Charter and in its Foundation Statutes, (which are already much

more than half a thousand years old,) as *Oollegium Scholarium in Sacra Theologia studentium,--perpetuis temporibus duraturum*. Indebted, under Gon, to the pious munificence of the Founder of Oriel for my opportunities of study, I venture, in what I must needs call evil days, to hope that I have to some extent "employed my advantages," - (the expression occurs in a prayer used by this Society on its three solemn anniversaries,) - as our Founder and Benefactors "would approve if they were now upon earth to witness what we do."

J. W. B.

ORIEL,
July, 1871.

CONTENTS.

DEDICATION	p. iii
PREFACE	p. v

CHAPTER I.

THE CASE OF THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF S. JEROME'S EPISTOL, STATED,

The Verses generally suspected at the present time. The popularity of this opinion accounted for p. 1

CHAPTER II.

THE HOSTILE VERDICT OF JEREBICAL CRITICS Brought TO BE QUITE OF RECENT DATE.

Griesbach the first to deny the genuineness of these Verses (p. 6).—Lachmann's fatal principle (p. 8) the clue to the unfavourable verdict of Tischendorf (p. 9), of Hefele (p. 10), of Alford (p. 12); which has been generally adopted by subsequent Scholars and Writers (p. 13).—The nature of the present inquiry explained (p. 15). p. 5

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY FATHERS APPEARED TO AND OBSERVED TO BEAR FAVOURABLE WITNESS TO THE SEVERES.

Patristic evidence sometimes the most important of all (p. 20).—The importance of such evidence explained (p. 21).—Nineteen Patristic Witnesses to these Verses, produced (p. 23).—Summary (p. 30). p. 11

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY VERDICT EXAMINED, AND FOUND TO BE A UNFAVOURABLE TESTIMONY TO THE GENUINENESS OF THESE VERSES.

The Probability of the Origin of the Verses, and the Importance of the Evidence (p. 33).—The Verdict of the Vatican Council (p. 35).—The Gothic Version (p. 35).—The Evidence of the Manuscripts (p. 36). p. 32

CHAPTER V.

THE ALLEGED HOSTILE WITNESS OF CERTAIN OF THE EARLY FATHERS
PROVED TO BE AN IMAGINATION OF THE CRITICS,

The mistake concerning Gregory of Nyssa (p. 39). - The misconception concerning Eusebius (p. 41). - The oversight concerning Jerome (p. 51); also concerning Hesychius of Jerusalem, (or else Eucherius of Antioch) (p. 57); - and the misstatement concerning Victor of Antioch, (p. 59). . p. 38

CHAPTER VI.

MANUSCRIPT TESTIMONY SHOWN TO BE OVERWHELMINGLY IN FAVOUR
OF THESE VERSES. - PART I.

8. Mark xvi. 9-20, contained in every MS. in the world except three, - Irrational claim to infallibility put up on behalf of Cod. B (p. 73) and Cod. H (p. 75). - These two Codices alien to be full of gross omission, (p. 78), - Interpolation (p. 80), - Corruption of the Text (p. 81), - and Permutation of the Text (p. 83). - The testimony of Cod. B to S. Mark xvi. 9-20, shown to be favourable, notwithstanding, (p. 86). . p. 70

CHAPTER VII.

MANUSCRIPT TESTIMONY SHOWN TO BE OVERWHELMINGLY IN FAVOUR
OF THESE VERSES. - PART II.

The other peculiarities of Codices B and H (viz. the omission of the words, 'Εκ τού' from Ephes. i. 1) considered. - Antiquity favourable to the omission of those words (p. 93). - The Modern, infelicitous in their attempt, to account for their omission (p. 100). - If correct probably the author of this corruption of the Text of Scripture (p. 106). - Other peculiarities of Codex H disposed of, and shown to be error, (p. 109). . p. 91

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PURPORT OF ANCIENT SCHOLIA AND NOTES IN MSS. ON THE
SUBJECT OF THESE VERSES, SHOWN TO BE THE REVERSE OF WHAT IS
COMMONLY SUPPOSED,

Later Editors, of the New Testament, the victims, of their predecessor's inaccuracies. - Birch's unfortunate mistake (p. 117). - Scholz's error 16/unde/8 (p. 119 and pp. 120-1). - Griesbach's weeping misstatement (pp. 121-2). - The grave misapprehension of the result (p. 122-3). - The inaccuracies of detail (pp. 122-3).

Codex L (p. 123).—*Allmonills not the autl,Ol of the so-called "Allmonia11" Section*, (p.125).—*Epipkanius* (p. 132).— "*Ctesariul*," a misnomer.— "*The Catenae*" misrepresented (p.133). . . . p.114

CHAPTER IX.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE DEMONSTRATED TO BE THE VERY REVERSE OF UNFAVOURABLE TO THESE VMSF.8.

The "Style" and "Pkraseol" of the Verses declared by Critic., to be not S. Mark'a.—*Insecurity of w:I, CriticNm* (p. 140).—*The "St_yle" of cl.ap. xvi. 9-20 skewn to be the ,a,ne_as the style of clJJ. i 9-20* (p. H,2).—*The "Pl,raseology" examined in ltoenty-seveii particulars, alld ,l,ewn lo be 1ulpicioul in none* (p. 145).—*but in twenty-seven particula"/8 ,l,ewn to be the reverse* (p.170).—*Suck remark& fallacious* (p. 173).—*Judged O/ by a truer, a more delicate and pkilo1opkical Te,t, these Ver,e, proved to be moll probably genuine* (p. 175). . . . p.136

CHAPTER X.

THE TESTHIONY OF THE LECTIONARIES SHEWN TO BE ABSOLUTELY DECISIVE AS TO THE GENUINENESS OF THESE VERSES.

1'l,eLectiona11I of the Eaot sl,ewn to be a look of e.i-traol"dillary<11tiquif.v (p.195).—*Proved to be older than ally extant MS. of the Gospe/8, by al1 appc,al to the Fatl,er,* (p, 108).—*I,, tl,is [eclio11<11I, (and a/10 in /1,e1,ec-tionary Of the Weal,) the last Twelve Verses Of S..Mark', Gospel /,ave, from the Ji,rat, occupied a most conspicuou, as well as most konouralJle place* (p. 204).—*Now, thia become, t/e testimony of ante-Nicene Ck, ia-tendom in tl,eir favour, and is tierefore deciaive* (p. 209). . . . p, 191

CHAPTER XI.

THE OIUSION OF THESE TWELVE VERSES IN CERTAIN ANCIENT COPIES OF THE GOSPELS, EXPLAINED AND ACCOUNTED }'OR.

The Text Q/ our five oldest U11ciall proved, by an inductio11 of il1sta11ces, to /,ave suffered depravation tl,roughout by the operation of the ancient Lectionary system Of the C/urcl, (p. 217).—*Th,e Q111s,Yall of S. Mark's "Iall Twelve Yeraes," co111tituting an il1/e9ral Ecce1iasical Lectiun,) lkewn by an appeal to ancie11t MSS. to be JJrobubl,r Q111l one ,nure exanple of the same depraving influence* (p. 224).

Th,is solution Of the prob/en, co"borated by /1,e language Of E1mbi111and Of He,ycM111 (p. 232); *as well a, faDoured by the "We,tern" order Of the O01pel1* (p. 239). . . . p. 212

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE QUESTION : SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE;
AND CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE SUBJECT,

This discussion narrowed to a single issue (p. 244). - 'What S. Mark', Gospel was identified from the very first, a thing altogether incredible (p. 246) : - But that at the very remote period Copies have suffered mutilation, a supposition probable in the highest degree (p. 248). - Consequences of this admission (p. 252). - Partingworth (p. 254). • p 243

APPENDIX (A).

On the Importance of attending to Patristic Citations of Scripture. - The correct Text of S. LUKE ii. 14, established (p. 257).

APPENDIX (B).

EUSEBIUS "ad Marinum" concerning the reconciliation of S. Mark xvi. 7 with S. Matthew xxviii. 1 (p. 265).

APPENDIX (C).

Proof that HESYCHIUS is a Copyist only in what he says, concerning the Text of S. Mark, Gospel (p. 267);

APPENDIX (D).

Some account of VICTOR OF ANTIOCH's Commentary on S. Mark, Gospel; together with, a descriptive Catalogue of MSS. which contain Victor's / York (p. 269).

APPENDIX (E).

Text of IM concluding Scholion of VICTOR OF ANTIOCH'S Commentary on S. Mark, Gospel; in which Victor bears, emphatic Testimony to the Genuine Text of "the last Twelve Verses," (p. 288).

APPENDIX (F).

On the relative antiquity of the CODEX VATICANUS (B), and the CODEX SINAITICUS (M) (p. 291).

APPENDIX (G).

On the (so-called) "AHLIIONIAN" SECTIONS and on the EueEBIAN CANONS: a Dissertation. With some account of the Tables of Reference occasionally found in Greek and Syriac MSS. (p. 295).

APPENDIX (H).

On the Interpolation of the Text of Codex B and Codex Δ , at S Matthew xxvii. 48 or 49 (p. 313).

POSTSCRIPT (p. 319).

L'ENYOY,

GENERAL INDEX.

The Facsimile of Conn Δ comes immediately before the Title, and faces the page describing it.

The Facsimile of Codex L, with its page of description, comes immediately after page 125.

Subjoined, for coltweltiellce, al'e "the Lnst Twelve Verses."

'A11acrTas lli ,r_p at ,r_p m̄ / aafll{i,l,iTou
lcp&,,, ,rp&IT011 M11ph- Tf, Maylla>.'l"D,
acl,' s J,cfj,fj>.q,m fffTO lla,p.O'l'IQ,
ftcfll,, ,rop1u61iaa a,rq_n n>, Tois,,,T-
aurou y,11op,1101s, ,r1116ova, tcal tc>.al-
oua,.,cc,,c,ia,o, atcovaallTH ON Cj, ,cal
16,&6,, vrr' awijr qrrlar,,aa11.

Merà ði ταῦτα θυσιὺν ἐξ αὐτῶν
rrt_p ITUTOUOIJ Jcl,a11,p,,6,, 'l' l,-lpv-
p.opclji, ,rop1uo_p.i 101s ds ayp&11. KU_o
ICfil'OI a,r1).6011Tfff a7rq_v.f1Aa11 Tois
Aouroir• oUaE f,crlvo,, i1rlaT1vuua,.

•y:ar,poa, ,la,atcflp.<l'Otf aUTOIS Tois
,,aftcu lcl,u11,p,,6,, tcal ,,,,tlJ,a, nj11
an1aT1a11 auT&ill ,cal atc>.,po1apUla11
O& -rois 6,aaapi11oir alTo11 •v,, 'V'P"
11v1011 oV,c l1rlcrT1vcrav. Kal ,l,ru,
al,Tois, " llop,u8,11T,s ,ls TO/1 tcauo11
&,raJlTa, IC'7p11faf TO ,uanl>.,011 ,raan
Tfj 1CT1au. d ,rianvaas ,cal {Ja,rna•
6,lr aOJ6qa1rn, d /ji a,r1crTqaar ,cara-
1Cp18qa,ra,. U'J_p,ia lli -rois fflcrTfjl•
aaa, TaVTa ,rapatco>.ou6qan• 11 Tcji
dllo_paTl μου ka1p&111a bcfJaAoua,
yA,,;aaais AaAqaoua, taa111aïs• oqms
a_p oua1• A11 6a11aa1p011 Tl ,r{ca,aw, ol,
p,rj awovs fJM,t,n J,rl dpp,,crTous
{ti_iar J,r16qaoua1, ,cal ,caA&ir ifou-
im'•

•O 211 011 Kvpws, P,fTO TO Aa>.ij-
ua, awoir, a11,Acp6,, ,ls Tol1 olpa11011,
,cal ftca6,a,,, fJC Uf,&>11 Toi, e,oi1•
itc,110, U, lf,A8011TfS Itcapufa11 ,ra11-
Taxou, TOU Kuplou UUIfpj'OVIIOTOS, cal
TOl1 Ao_y, 11fj,fJa,oi1JTot lJ,a T&11 J,ra•
1Co>.ou8ov,,ca,11 a'7p,r1ca,11. 'Ap.q11.

(9) Now when JEsus was risen early the first day of the week, He appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom He had cast seven devils. (10) And he went and told them that had been with Him, æ they mourned and wept. (11) And they, when they had heard that He was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not.

(12) After that He appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked, and went into the country. (13) And they went and told it unto the residue: neither believed they them.

(14) Afterward He appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen Him after He was risen. (15) And He end unto them, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the OoRpd to every creature, {16} He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. (17) And these eigne shall follow them that believe; In My Name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; (18) they shall take up serpents; and if 'they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."

(19) So then after the LoRn had spoken unto them, He was received up into Heaven, and sat on the Hight Hant! of Gon. (20) And the_y went forth, and prenced every where, the Lonn working with them, aud confirming the word with signs follow-
ing. Amen.

THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. MARK.

CHAPTER I.

THE CASE OF THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF S. MARK'S GOSPEL, STATED.

These Verses generally suspected at the present time. The popularity of this opinion accounted for.

It has lately become the fashion to speak of the last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark, as if it were an ascertained fact that those verses constitute no integral part of the Gospel. It seems to be generally supposed, (1) That the evidence of MSS. is altogether fatal to their claims; (2) That "the early Fathers" witness plainly against their genuineness; (3) That, from considerations of "internal evidence" they must certainly be given up. It shall be my endeavour in the ensuing pages to shew, on the contrary, That manuscript evidence is so overwhelmingly in their favour that no room is left for doubt or suspicion :- That there is not so much as one of the Fathers, early or late, who gives it as his opinion that these verses are spurious: - and, That the argument derived from internal considerations proves on inquiry to be baseless and unsubstantial as a dream.

But I hope that I shall succeed in doing more. It shall be my endeavour to shew not only that there really is no reason whatever for calling in question the genuineness of this portion of Holy Writ, but also that there exist sufficient reasons for feeling confident that it must needs be genuine. This is clearly as much as it is possible for me

to achieve. But when this has been done, I venture to hope that the verses in dispute will for the future be allowed to retain their place in the second Gospel unmolested.

It will of course be asked, - And yet, if all this be so, how does it happen that both in very ancient, and also in very modern times, this proposal to suppress twelve verses of the Gospel has enjoyed a certain amount of popularity? At the two different periods, (I answer,) for widely different reasons.

(1.) In the ancient days, when it was the universal belief of Christendom that the Word of God must needs be consistent with itself in every part, and prove in every part (like its Divine Author) perfectly "faithful and true," the difficulty (which was deemed all but insuperable) of bringing certain statements in S. Mark's last Twelve Verses into harmony with certain statements of the other Evangelists, is discovered to have troubled Divines exceedingly. "In fact," (says Mr. Scrivener,) "it brought suspicion upon these verses, and caused their omission in some copies seen by Eusebius." That the maiming process is indeed attributable to this cause and came about in this particular way, I am unable to persuade myself; but, if the desire to provide an escape from a serious critical difficulty did not actually *occasion* that copies of S. Mark's Gospel were mutilated, it certainly was the reason why, in very early times, such mutilated copies were viewed without displeasure by some, and appealed to with complacency by others.

(2.) But times are changed. We have recently been assured on high authority that the Church has reversed her ancient convictions in this respect: that *now*, "most sound theologians have no dread whatever of acknowledging minute points of disagreement" (i.e. minute *errors*) "in the four-fold narrative even of the life of the Redeemer^s." There has arisen in these last days a singular impatience of Dogmatic Truth, (especially Dogma of an unpalatable kind,) which has even rendered popular the pretext afforded by these same mutilated copies for the grave resuscitation of doubts, never as it would seem seriously entertained by any

• Abp. Tait's *Harmony of Revelation until the Bienen*, (1864,) p. 21.

of the ancients; and which, at all events for 1300 years and upwards, have deservedly sunk into oblivion.

Whilst I write, *that* "most divine explication of the chiefest articles of our Christian belief," the Athanasian Creed *h*, is made the object of incessant assaults *c*. But then it is remembered that statements quite as "uncharitable" as any which this Creed contains are found in the 161^h verse of S. Mark's concluding chapter; are in fact the words of Him whose very Name is Love. The *J*ereticus *w*arning *clause*, I say, (miscalled "damnatory *d*,") which an impertinent officiousness is for glossing with a rubric and weakening with an apology, proceeded from Divine lips, - at least if these concluding verses be genuine. How shall this inconvenient circumstance be more effectually dealt with than by accepting the suggestion of the most recent editors, that S. Mark's concluding verses are an unauthorised addition to his Gospel? "If it be acknowledged that the passage has a harsh sound," (remarks Dean Stanley,) "unlike the usual utterances of Him who came not to condemn but to save, the discoveries of later times have shewn, almost beyond doubt, that it is *not a part of S. Mark's Gospel, but an addition by another hand*; of which the weakness in the external evidence coincides with the internal evidence in proving its later origin *e*."

Modern prejudice, then, - added to a singularly exaggerated estimate of the critical importance of the testimony

b See by all means Hooker, E. P., v. xlii. 11-13.

• Abp. Tait is of opinion that it "should not retain its place in the public Service of the Church:" and Dean Stanley gives sixteen reasons for the same opinion, - the fifteenth of which is that "many excellent laymen, including King George III., have declined to take part in the recitation." (*Final*) *Report of the Ritual Commission*, 1870, p. viii. and p. xvii.

d In the words of a thoughtful friend, (Rev. C. P. Eden), - "*Condemnatory* is just what these clauses are *not*. I understand myself, in uttering these words, not to condemn a fellow creature, but to acknowledge a truth of Scripture, Oon's judgment namely on the sin of unbelief. The further question, - In whom the sin of unbelief is found; *that* awful question I leave entirely in His hands who is the alone Judge of hearts; who made us, and knows our iniquities, and whose tender mercies are over *all* His works."

• "The Athanasian Creed," by the Dean of Westminster (*Contemporary* *I* & mew, Aug., 1870, pp. 158, 159).

of our two oldest Codices, (another of the "discoveries of later times," concerning which I shall have more to say by-and-by,)-must explain why the opinion is even popular that the last twelve verses of S. Mark are a spurious appendix to his Gospel.

Not that Biblical Critics would have us believe that the Evangelist left off at verse 8, intending that the words, "neither said they anything to any man, for they were afraid," should be the conclusion of his Gospel. "No one can imagine," (writes Griesbach,) "that Mark cut short the thread of his narrative at that place¹," It is on all hands eagerly admitted, that so abrupt a termination must be held to mark an incomplete or else an uncompleted work. How, then, in the original autograph of the Evangelist, is it supposed that the narrative proceeded? This is what no one has even ventured so much as to conjecture. It is assumed, however, that the original termination of the Gospel, whatever it may have been, has perished. We appeal, of course, to its actual termination: and, - Of what nature then, (we ask) is the supposed necessity for regarding the last twelve verses of S. Mark's Gospel as a spurious substitute for what the Evangelist originally wrote? What, in other words, has been the history of these modern doubts; and by what steps have they established themselves in books, and won the public ear?

To explain this, shall be the object of the next ensuing chapters.

¹ *Commentarii Critici*, ii. 197.

CHAPTER II.

THE HOSTILE VERDICT OF BIBLICAL CRITICS SHEWN
TO BE QUITE OF RECENT DATE.

Griesbach the first to deny the genuineness of these Verses (p. 6). - Lackmann's fatal principle (p. 8) the due to the unfavourable verdict of Tischendorf (p. 9), of Trevelyan (p. 10), of Alford (p. 12); which has been generally adopted by subsequent scholars and Jivine (p. 13). - The nature of the present inquiry explained (p. 15.)

IT is only since the appearance of Griesbach's second edition [1796-1806] that Critics of the New Testament have permitted themselves to handle the last twelve verses of S. Mark's Gospel with disrespect. Previous critical editions of the New Testament are free from this reproach. "There is no reason for doubting the genuineness of this portion of Scripture," wrote Mill in 1707, after a review of the evidence (as far as he was acquainted with it) for and against. Twenty-seven years later, appeared Bengel's edition of the New Testament (1734); and Wetstein, at the end of another seventeen years (1751-2), followed in the same field. Both editors, after rehearsing the adverse testimony *in extenso*, left the passage in undisputed possession of its place. Alford in 1786-7, and Birch in 1788 (suspicious as the latter evidently was of its genuineness,) followed their predecessors' example. But Matthæi, (who also brought his labours to a close in the year 1788,) was not content to give a silent suffrage. He had been for upwards of fourteen years a laborious collator of Greek MSS. of the New Testament, and was so convinced of the insufficiency of the arguments which had been brought against these twelve verses of S. Mark,

* *Quatuor Evangelia Graece cum variantibus a textu lectionibus Codicum MSS. Bibliothecae Vaticanae, etc. 1111 et 1112 mss. regii, edidit Andrea, Birch, Havniae, 1788.* A copy of this very rare and sumptuous folio may be seen in the King's Library (Brit. Mus.)

that with no ordinary warmth, no common acuteness, he insisted on their genuineness.

"With Griesbach,"(remarks Dr. Tregellesh,) "Texts which may be called really critical begin;" and Griesbach is the first to insist that the concluding verses of S. }lark are spurious. 'that ho did not suppose the second Gospel to have always ended at verse 8, we have seen already*. He was of opinion, however, that "at some very remote period, the original ending of the Gospel perished,-disappeared perhaps from the Evanuelist's own ccpy,-and that the present ending was by some one substituted in its place." Griesbach further invented the following elaborate and extraordinary hypothesis to account for the existence of S. Mark xvi. 9-20.

He invites his readers to believe that when, (before the end of the second century,) the four Evangelical narratives were collected into a volume and dignified with the title of "'The Gospel,"-S. Mark's narrative was furnished by some unknown individual with its actual termination in order to remedy its manifest incompleteness; and that this volume became the standard of the Alexandrina recension of the text: in other words, became the fontal source of a mighty family of MSS. by Griesbach designated as "A.lexandrine." But there will have been here and there in existence isolated copies of one or more of the Gospels ; and in all of these, S. Mark's Gospel, (by the hypothesis,) will have ended abruptly at the eighth verse. 'These copies of single Gospels, when collected together, are presumed by Griesbach to have constituted "the Western recension." If, in codices of this family also, the self-same termination is now all but universally found, the fact is to be accounted for, (Griesbach says,) by the natural desire which possessors of the Gospels will have experienced to supplement their imperfect copies as best they might. "Let this conjecture be accepted," proceeds the learned veteran,-(unconscious apparently that he has been demanding acceptance for at least half-a""dozen wholly unsupported as well as entirely gratuitous conjectures,-)" and every difficulty disappears; and

^b *AccQfnt of the Printed Teat*, p. 83.

• See above, p. 3.

it becomes perfectly intelligible how there has crept into almost every codex which has been written, from the second century downwards, a section quite different from the original and genuine ending of S. Mark, which disappeared before the four Gospels were collected into a single volume." - In other words, if men will but be so accommodating as to assume that the conclusion of S. Mark's Gospel disappeared before any one had the opportunity of transcribing the Evangelist's inspired autograph, they will have no difficulty in understanding that the present conclusion of S. Mark's Gospel was not really written by S. Mark.

It should perhaps be stated in passing, that Griesbach was driven into this curious maze of unsupported conjecture by the exigencies of his "Recension Theory;" which, inasmuch as it has been long since exploded, need not now occupy us. But it is worth observing that the argument already exhibited, (such as it is,) breaks down under the weight of the very first fact which its learned author is obliged to lay upon it. Codex B., - the solitary manuscript witness for omitting the clause in question, (for Codex 41 had not yet been discovered,) - had been already claimed by Griesbach as a chief exponent of his so-called "Alexandrian Recension." But then, on the Critic's own hypothesis, (as we have seen already,) Codex B. ought, on the contrary, to have *contained* it. How was that inconvenient fact to be got over? Griesbach quietly remarks in a foot-note that Codex B. "has affinity with the Eastern family of MSS." - 'The misfortune of being saddled with a worthless theory was surely never more apparent. By the time we have reached this point in the investigation, we are reminded of nothing so much as of the weary traveller who, having patiently pursued an *ignis fatuus* through half the night, beholds it at last vanish; but not until it has conducted him up to his chin in the mire.

Neither Hug, nor Scholz his pupil, - who in 1808 and 1830 respectively followed Griesbach with modifications of his recension-theory, - concurred in the unfavourable sentence which their illustrious predecessor had passed on the concluding portion of S. Mark's Gospel. The latter even

eagerly vindicated its genuineness d. But with Lachmann, -whose unsatisfactory text of the Gospels appeared in 1842, - originated a new principle of 'retextual Revision; the principle, namely, of paying exclusive and absolute deference to the testimony of a few arbitrarily selected ancient documents; no regard being paid to others of the same or of yet higher antiquity. This is not the right place for discussing this plausible and certainly most convenient scheme of textual revision. That it leads to conclusions little short of irrational, is certain. I notice it only because it supplies the clue to the result which, as far as S. Mark xvi. 9-20 is concerned, has been since arrived at by Dr. Tischendorf, Dr. Tregelles, and Denn Alford⁸ - the three latest critics who have formally undertaken to reconstruct the sacred Text.

They agree in assuring their readers that the genuine Gospel of S. Mark extends no further than ch. xvi. ver. 8: in other words, that all that follows the words *ἔφοϋτο* *ἔφαπ* is an unauthorized addition by some later hand; "a fragment,"-distinguishable from the rest of the Gospel not less by internal evidence than by external testimony. This verdict becomes the more important because it proceeds from men of undoubted earnestness and high ability; who cannot be suspected of being either unacquainted with the evidence on which the point in dispute rests, nor inexperienced in the art of weighing such evidence. Moreover, their verdict has been independently reached; is unanimous; is unhesitating; has been eagerly proclaimed by all three on many different occasions as well as in many different places; and

d "Ea m esae authenticam rationes internae et e:iternae prohan gravissimae."

• I find it difficult to say what distress the sudden removal of this am111le and accompl11ed Schol11r occasions me, just B I am finishing my t11lk. I comign these pngl'B to the preBB with 11sense of downright reluctance,-(constrained however by the importance of the subject,)-seeing that h11 is no longer a,mong us eii her to accept or to dispute 11 single proposition. All I can do is to emse every word which might have occasion d him the least B11• noyance; and indeed, as seldom as poBSible to introduce his respected 1111a11E. An open grove reminds one of the 1,othiugne1S of earthly controversy; as nothing else does, or indeed c1111 do.

r "Tischendorf, besit1s eight editions of his laborious critical rev1•ion of the On-ek Test, bas e,litt>tl our English "Authorizet1 Version" (Tauchnitz, 1869,)

may be said to be at present in all but undisputed possession of the field. The first-named Editor enjoys a vast reputation, and has been generously styled by Mr. Scrivener, "the first Biblical Critic in Europe." The other two have produced text-books which are deservedly held in high esteem, and are in the hands of every student. The views of such men will undoubtedly colour the convictions of the next generation of English Churchmen. It becomes absolutely necessary, therefore, to examine with the utmost care the grounds of their verdict, the direct result of which is to present us with a mutilated Gospel. If they are right, there is no help for it but that the convictions of eighteen centuries in this respect must be surrendered. But if Tischendorf and Regelles are wrong in this particular, it follows of necessity that doubt is thrown over the whole of their critical method. The case is a crucial one. Every puge of theirs incurs suspicion, if their deliberate verdict in this instance shall prove to be mistaken.

1. Tischendorf disposes of the whole question in a single sentence. "That these verses were not written by Mark,"

with an "Introduction" addressed to unlearned readers, and the various readings or Codd. D and A, set down in English at the foot of every page. Trgellee, besides his edition of the Text of the N. T., is very full on the subject of S. Mark xvi. 9-20, in his "Account of the Printed Text," and in his "Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the N. T." (vol. iv. of Horne's Introd.)-Dean Alford, besides six editions of his Greek Testament, and an abridgment "for the upper forms of Schools and for persons at the Universities," put forth two editions of a "N. T. for English Readers," and three editions of "the Authorized Version newly compared with the original Greek and revised;"-in every one of which it is stated that these twelve verses are "probably an addition, placed here in very early times."

1 The Rev. F. H. Scrivener, H. P. Ellicott, and H. P. Wordsworth, are honourable exceptions to this remark. The last-named excellent Divine reluctantly admitting that "this portion may not have been penned by S. Mark himself;" and Bishop H. P. (Historical Lectures, pp. 26-7) asking "Why may not this portion have been written by S. Mark at a later period?"-both alike resolutely insist on its genuineness and canonicity. To the honour of the best living master of Textual Criticism, the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, (of whom I desire to be understood to speak as a disciple of his master,) let it be stated that he has never at any time given the least sanction to the popular outcry against this portion of the Gospel. "Without the slightest misgiving" he has uniformly affirmed the genuineness of S. Mark vi. 9-20. (Introduction, pp. 7 and 429-32.)

(he says,) "admits of satisfactory proof." He then recites in detail the adverse external testimony which his predecessors had accumulated; remarking, that it is abundantly confirmed by internal evidence. Of this he supplies a solitary sample; but declares that the whole passage is "abhorrent" to S. Mark's manner. "The facts of the case being such," (and with this he dismisses the subject,) "a healthy piety reclaims against the endeavours of those who are for palming off as Mark's what the Evangelist is so plainly shewn to have known nothing at all about b," A mass of laborious annotation which comes surging in at the close of verse 8, and fills two of Tischendorf's pages, has the effect of entirely divorcing the twelve verses in question from the inspired text of the Evangelist. On the other hand, the evidence in favour of the place is despatched in less than twelve lines. What can be the reason that an Editor of the New Testament parades elaborately every particular of the evidence, (such as it is,) *against* the genuineness of a considerable portion of the Gospel; and yet makes summary work with the evidence in its favour? That Tischendorf has at least entirely made up his mind on the matter in hand is plain. Elsewhere, he speaks of the Author of these verses as "*Pseudo Marcus*!"

2. Dr. Tregelles has expressed himself most fully on this subject in his "Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament" (1854). The respected author undertakes to shew "that the early testimony that S. Mark did not write these verses is confirmed by existing monuments." Accordingly, he announces as the result of the propositions which he thinks he has established, "that the *book of Mark* himself extends no further than *εἰς τὸν ἑβδόμον κεφάλαιον*!" He is the

b "Hoc non a Marco scripta esse argumētis probatur idoneis," (p. 320.) "Quia, testimonia aliis corroborantur argumentis, ut quod conlatis prioribus versu 9. parum apte adduotur verba *ἄλλοις*, item quod singula multifariam a Marci ratione abhorrent." (p. 322.)—1 quote from the 7th Leipsic ed.; but in Tischendorf's 8th ed. (1866, pp. 403, 406,) the same verdict is repeated, with the following addition:—"Quum quum ita sint, sanum erga sacrum textum pietati adversari videatur qui pro apostolicis venditare pergit quum a Marco alienum esse tam luculeuter docemur," (p. 407.)

Evangelia A. P. Proleg. p. vi.

only critic I have met with to whom it does not seem incredible that S Mark did actually conclude his Gospel in this abrupt way: observing that "perhaps we do not know enough of the circumstances of S Mark when he wrote his Gospel to say whether he did or did not leave it with a complete termination." In this modest suggestion at least Dr. Tregelles is unassailable, since we know absolutely nothing whatever about "the circumstances of S Mark," (or of any other Evangelist,) "when he wrote his Gospel:" neither indeed are we quite sure *what* S Mark *was*. But when he goes on to declare, notwithstanding, "that the remaining twelve verses, by whomsoever written, have a full claim to be received as an authentic part of the second Gospel;" and complains that "there is in some minds a kind of timidity with regard to Holy Scripture, as if all our notions of its authority depended on our knowing who was the writer of each particular portion; instead of simply seeing and owning that it was given forth from God, and that it is as much His as were the Commandments of the Law written by His own finger on the tables of stone;" - the learned writer betrays a misapprehension of the question at issue, which we are least of all prepared to encounter in such a quarter. "We admire his piety but it is at the expense of his critical sagacity. For the question is not at all one of *authorship*, but only one of *genuineness*. Have the codices been *mutilated* which do *not* contain these verses? If they have, then must these verses be held to be *genuine*. But on the contrary, Have the codices been *supplemented* which contain them? Then are these verses certainly *spurious*. There is no help for it but they must either be held to be an integral part of the Gospel, and therefore, in default of any proof to the contrary, as certainly by S Mark as any other twelve verses which can be named; or else an unauthorized addition to it. If they belong to the post-apostolic age it is idle to insist on their Inspiration, and to claim that this "authentic anonymous addition to what Mark himself wrote down" is as much the work of God "as were the Ten Commandments written by His own

finger on the tables of stone." On the other hand, if they "ought as much to be received as part of our second Gospel as the 11th chapter of Deuteronomy (unknown as the writer is) is received as the right and proper conclusion of the book of Moses," -it is difficult to understand why the learned editor should think himself at liberty to sever them from their context, and introduce the subscription *KATA MARKON* after ver. 8. In short, "How persons who believe that these verses did not form a part of the original Gospel of Mark, but were added afterwards, can say that they have a good claim to be received as an authentic or genuine part of the second Gospel, that is, a portion of canonical Scripture, passes comprehension." It passes even Dr. Davidson's comprehension; (for the foregoing words are his;) and Dr. Davidson, as some of us are aware, is not a man to stick to trifles¹.

3. Dean Alford went a little further than any of his predecessors. He says that this passage "was placed as a completion of the Gospel soon after the Apostolic period, -the Gospel itself having been, for some reason unknown to us, left incomplete. The most probable supposition" (he adds) "is, that *the last leaf of the original Gospel was torn away.*" The italics in this conjecture (which was originally Griesbach's) are not mine. The internal evidence (declares the same learned writer) "preponderates vastly against the authorship of Mark;" or (as he elsewhere expresses it) against "its genuineness as a work of the Evangelist." Accordingly, in his Prolegomena, (p. 38) he describes it as "*the remarkable fragment at the end of the Gospel.*" After this, we are less astonished to find that he *closes the second Gospel at ver. 8*; introduces the Subscription there; and encloses the twelve verses which follow within heavy brackets. Thus, whereas from the days of our illustrious countryman

¹ In his first edition (1848, vol. i. p.163) Dr. Davidson pronounced it "manifestly untenable" that S. Mark's Gospel was the last written; and assigned A.D. 64 as "its most probable" date. In his second (1868, vol. ii. p.117), he says: -"When we consider that *this Gospel was, not written till the second century*, internal evidence loses much of its force against the authenticity of these verses." - *Introduction to N. T.*