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COUNTING WITNESSES FOR THE ANGRY JESUS IN MARK 1:41

INTERDEPENDENCE AND INSULARITY IN THE LATIN TRADITION

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Summary

A survey of recent literature on the remarkable reading in Mark 1:41, depicting Jesus's anger at a leper who approaches him to be healed — supported by just Codex Bezae, a segment of the Old Latin version, and perhaps the Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron, attributed to Ephrem — reveals a tendency to ascribe the acceptance of the alternative reading depicting Jesus's compassion to the overwhelming preponderance of its support. It is clear though that the UBS³ and UBS⁴ committee preferred this reading on the basis of the 'diversity and character' of its evidence¹. The present article examines the implications of the predominantly Latin support for the reading that depicts Jesus's anger in light of the question of textual diversity, considering palaeographical, codicological, and textual evidence of a northern-Italian provenance for its manuscripts and text forms, while arguing that the insular character of the tradition raises serious doubts regarding the independence of its testimony when it differs distinctively in relation to the Greek tradition.

1. Introduction

If text-critical decisions were decided by numeric attestation, the remarkable reading $\sigma\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ('indignant', NIV) in Mark 1:41, depicting Jesus's indignation at a leper who approaches him to be

¹ B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

healed, would not stand long against its well-attested rival *σπλαγχνισθεις* ('moved with pity', NRSV). According to *Text und Textwert*, the latter is attested by the entire Greek tradition with the notable exception of the Greek column of the Graeco-Latin bilingual manuscript, Codex Bezae.² The mainstream Greek reading *σπλαγχνισθεις* is represented in every version but for a segment of the Old Latin (consisting of a, ff2, r1, and Bezae's Latin column, d) and a possible allusion in the Syriac *Commentary on the Diatessaron*, attributed to Ephrem.³ Recent discussion has tended to highlight the overwhelming attestation of the mainstream reading as the main factor in assessing its external support, while downplaying the role of diversity in assessing its relative stability as an element in the tradition.⁴ M. D. Hooker argues that, although 'the Greek word *ὀργισθεις* ... is found in a minority of manuscripts, ... [it] is almost certainly the correct reading, though it is relegated to the margin by almost all editors of the text, and ignored by many translators, who prefer the reading found in the majority of manuscripts'.⁵ B. D. Ehrman similarly suggests that some are persuaded by this 'vast majority' of

² K. Aland et al., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. IV. Die synoptischen Evangelien. 1. Das Markusevangelium. Band 1,2. Resultate der Kollation und Hauptliste*, ANTF 27 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), 47-48, at *Teststelle* 24. The first edition erroneously reports minuscule 1358 as support for D. See J. Cate, 'The Unemotional Jesus in Manuscript 1358', *The Folio: Bulletin of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center* 28 (2011), 1. D. C. Parker dates Codex Bezae to ca. 400 (*Codex Bezae: An early Christian manuscript and its text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 30).

³ The so-called 'mainstream' refers to the broad flow of the Greek tradition in the direction of the Byzantine text. See M. W. Holmes, 'Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the status quaestionis*, ed. B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes, NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 113-27, esp. 118-19.

⁴ E. J. Epp, 'Traditional "Canons" of New Testament Textual Criticism: Their Value, Validity, and Viability—Or Lack Thereof', in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, ed. K. Wachtel and M. W. Holmes, Text-Critical Studies 8 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 79-127, esp. 103.

⁵ M. D. Hooker, *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, BNTC 2 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), 79. See also R. H. Stein, *Mark*, BECNT 2 (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 110, noting that *σπλαγχνισθεις* 'has by far the better MS support', with 'the great majority of MSS'; J. Marcus, *Mark 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 27 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 206; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 115. See H. Greeven and E. Güting, *Textkritik des Markusevangeliums*, ThFW 11 (Münster: LIT, 2005), 120-21, for a list of commentators' positions.

witnesses, arguing that ‘even though the vast majority of MSS indicate that Jesus felt compassion for the leper, their number is not in itself persuasive’.⁶ But Ehrman also ascribes the rejection of *οργισθεις* directly to its poor numeric attestation, noting that the reading ‘is obviously not well attested, and *for this reason* it has been rejected over the years by the majority of critics and commentators’ in favour of ‘the more commonly preserved reading’.⁷ W. C. Kannaday singles out the UBS⁴ committee, whom he believes have ‘on the grounds of the preponderance of corroborating external evidence, ... determined the former reading [*σπλαγχνισθεις*] to be “original”’.⁸ J. K. Elliott likewise suggests that in the present case the committee ‘allowed itself to be overwhelmed by the sheer number of MSS’.⁹ Remarkably though, in his *Textual Commentary* on the committee’s deliberations, B. M. Metzger makes no mention of the majority support for *σπλαγχνισθεις* or for that matter, the so-called ‘minority’ support for *οργισθεις* as playing any significant role in the decision of the Committee. Contrary to the common assumption that the committee was impressed primarily by the numeric support for the mainstream reading, the commentary observes simply that ‘[t]he character of the external evidence in support of *οργισθεις* is less impressive than the diversity and character of evidence that supports *σπλαγχνισθεις*’.¹⁰

⁶ B. D. Ehrman, ‘A Leper in the Hands of an Angry Jesus’, in *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, NTTTS 33 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 120-41, esp. 122.

⁷ B. D. Ehrman, ‘The Text of the Gospels at the End of the Second Century’, in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June, 1994*, ed. D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux, NTTTS 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 95-122, esp. 118; italics mine.

⁸ W. C. Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition: Evidence of the Influence of Apologetic Interests on the Text of the Canonical Gospels*, SBLTCS 5 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 131.

⁹ J. K. Elliott, ‘An Eclectic Textual Commentary on the Greek Text of Mark’s Gospel’, in *New Testament textual criticism: its significance for exegesis: essays in honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), 53.

¹⁰ Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 65. See also P. J. Williams, ‘An Examination of Ehrman’s Case for *οργισθεις* in Mark 1:41’, *NovT* 54 (2012), 1-12, esp. 3, who notes that manuscript support for *οργισθεις* ‘comes exclusively from areas where Latin was used’; P. M. Head, ‘Christology and Textual Transmission: Reverential Alterations in the Synoptic Gospels’, *NovT* 35 (1993), 105-29, esp. 122, who points to ‘[d]iverse and strong external attestation’ for *σπλαγχνισθεις*; J.-C. Haelewyck, ‘The Healing of a Leper (Mark 1,40-45): A Textual Commentary’, *ETL* 89 (2013), 15-36, esp. 22; C. H. Turner, ‘A Textual Commentary on Mark 1’, *JTS* 28 (1927), 145-58, esp. 157; C. Masson, ‘La péricope du lépreux (Marc I, 40-45)’, *RTP* 26 (1938), 287-95, esp. 289; V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1952), 187.

In the present article, I will examine the implications of the predominantly Latin support for the reading *οργισθεις*, suggesting that its versional character imposes certain *a priori* limitations with respect to the level of independence and diversity we might expect from its testimony in relation to the Greek tradition. I will show that doubts regarding the independence of the Latin testimony are not unfounded, pointing to palaeographical and codicological evidence of a common northern Italian provenance for the Latin manuscripts that support Jesus's angry response. I will suggest that textual parallels among the witnesses themselves, as well as between the witnesses and citations of a close circle of anti-homoian bishops active in northern Italy from the middle of the fourth century, point to the development of a characteristic and somewhat insular layer of readings within this context. Turning to the larger tradition, I will suggest that the much-cited *Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron* should be ruled out as a witness to *οργισθεις* in Mark 1:41, since it refers not only to Jesus's anger as is often noted, but also to his compassion, taking over a well-established anti-Marcionite heresiological tradition that deliberately juxtaposes Jesus's anger in reproving (v. 43) with his compassion in healing (v. 41) to subvert a perceived Marcionite dichotomy between the compassionate stranger and angry lawgiver. I will conclude by suggesting that our inability to locate either direct evidence for *οργισθεις* outside of a somewhat insular Latin and Latin bilingual tradition or indirect evidence of its replacement among the diverse strains of the Greek tradition, raises serious questions regarding not only the independence of its testimony, but even the possibility that it ever existed in the Greek tradition proper outside the Latin bilingual tradition of Codex Bezae, let alone that it may at one point have represented the entire tradition.

2. The Limitations of Versional Testimony

One feature of the present discussion is a tendency to appraise individual Latin witnesses as virtually equivalent to independent Greek testimony, a tendency that is encouraged by apparatuses that cite individual Latin manuscripts beside the Greek evidence.¹¹ But as B.

¹¹ B. Fischer, 'Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache: Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte', in *Die*

Fischer has pointed out, we may regard individual Latin witnesses as independent testimony for Greek readings only when separate contact has been demonstrated with the Greek tradition.¹² Apart from these points of contact however, Latin variations have no place in assessing Greek readings.¹³ By default, the version imposes a barrier that limits new contacts with Greek texts and encourages transmission within the version. We can expect then that most Latin witnesses of a given Greek *Vorlage* will simply reproduce other Latin copies of the same *Vorlage* mediated through a common translation event, but obviously these inner-Latin copies have no independent value as witnesses of the Greek text.

Yet in the present case, it is regularly implied that individual Latin witnesses offer independent support for the Greek reading $\sigma\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. These witnesses are cited alongside the Greek testimony of Codex Bezae, summed, and added to the witness of Bezae's Greek column to produce what is represented as the grand total of the support in both languages. Ehrman cites 'the fifth-century Codex Bezae and several Old Latin MSS (a ff2 r1)' in a manner that implies that the total support for the Greek reading is effectively four independent witnesses, 'D a ff2 r1' (not counting d).¹⁴ But with no evidence of contact with the Greek tradition we cannot assume that four instances of the Latin reading *iratus* necessarily reflect four independent translations of Greek witnesses with the reading $\sigma\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. More likely is the reverse scenario in which the reading entered the Latin tradition once, after which it multiplied steadily through transmission in Latin. In this scenario, the four Latin witnesses of *iratus* provide redundant attestation of the single Greek witness from which the initial translation was made. While Ehrman concedes that $\sigma\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and its apparent rendering *iratus* are confined to the so-called 'Western' tradition, he stops short of observing what this clearly implies for the independence

Alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, Die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare, ed. K. Aland, ANTF 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), 1-92, esp. 81. But see A. Huck and H. Greeven, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien: mit Beigabe der johanneischen Parallelstellen* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981), 44.

¹² Fischer, 'Das Neue Testament', 80-81.

¹³ 'Es ist ohne weiteres einsichtig, daß hier alle innerlateinischen Verschiedenheiten keine Rolle spielen, sondern einzig und allein der jeweilige Kontakt, der mit einem griechischen Text stattgefunden hat.' (Fischer, 'Das Neue Testament', 80.)

¹⁴ Ehrman, 'Leper', 122. See also K. Lake, 'ΕΜΒΡΙΜΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ and ΟΡΓΙΣΘΕΙΣ, Mark 1,40-43', *HTR* 16 (1923), 197-98, who notes the agreement of 'several old Latin codices'.

of the individual Latin witnesses, focusing on the possibility of a second-century origin for the tradition as a whole.¹⁵ But if the Latin testimony derives from a common translation event of any date, we are essentially counting the same Greek witness over and over.¹⁶ Without evidence of multiple contacts, it is doubtful these four Latin witnesses (a d ff² r¹) offer any greater support for a Greek reading οργισθεις than would a single Latin witness.¹⁷ Yet by counting the Latin testimony as several witnesses beside a solitary Greek copy, the effect is to overstate the total support for the Greek reading.

The independence of the Latin testimony is also tacitly assumed when compared numerically to the Greek support for other readings. Arguing that '[t]he allegedly slender support for οργισθεις' is not in itself relevant in relation to the internal merits of the reading itself, J. K. Elliott nevertheless wonders why this testimony was not given the same preference by the UBS³ Committee as the testimony for other readings supported by a similar number of Greek witnesses. Elliott notes several readings that appear to have 'comparable support', including among these the reading ουδε εν in John 3:27, a reading supported by four Greek witnesses, P⁶⁶, P⁷⁵, B, and 472.¹⁸ But we have already seen that the validity of such comparisons rests on the improbable assumption that the versional witnesses derive from separate Greek copies. But with no evidence that this is the case, we can only conclude in favour of the Committee's judgment that the support for the cited readings is not as comparable as might at first appear.

The independence of the Latin testimony is more fundamentally assumed when used to infer the strength of the Greek support for a reading directly from the quantity of Latin evidence. While offering no account of the contact between the two traditions that might justify such an inference, J.-C. Haelewyck suggests that the attestation of

¹⁵ Ehrman, 'Leper', 122. But see E. C. Colwell, 'The Significance of Grouping of New Testament Manuscripts', *NTS* 4 (1958), 73-92, esp. 77-78.

¹⁶ Fischer, 'Das Neue Testament', 80-81. See also P. Burton, 'The Latin Version of the New Testament', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the status quaestionis*, ed. B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes, NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 167-200, esp. 183-84.

¹⁷ 'Ein lateinischer Texttyp ist normalerweise 1 Zeuge für die griechische Vorlage, ganz unabhängig davon, wieviel lateinische Einzelzeugen den Texttyp vertreten.' (Fischer, 'Das Neue Testament', 80.)

¹⁸ Elliott, 'Eclectic Commentary', 53.

οργισθεις ‘by the principal witness of the Western text (D) followed by the majority of the Old Latin witnesses ... indicates that it was well-known in both the Greek and Latin speaking worlds’.¹⁹ But this majority of Latin testimony on behalf of *iratus* provides us with no additional information about the Greek support for the reading οργισεις, not even that the reading must have existed in Greek. Rather as Fischer observed, the strength of the Latin evidence for *iratus* can point us no further than a robust tradition of inner-Latin copying, assuring us only that the agreement between Latin witnesses within the version is unlikely to be accidental, but offering us no glimpse behind the version into the Greek tradition.²⁰

In sum, the dynamics of transmission within the Latin version suggest that our present evidence for an initial Greek reading οργισθεις is equivalent to no more than two Greek witnesses, namely, Codex Bezae and the putative Greek witness behind our Old Latin reading *iratus*, assuming of course that the reading did not itself arise in Latin. Even if we allow the equivalent of two Greek-language witnesses, the poorly-diversified testimony is still unable to move us far from its Latin associations and confirm its existence at one point in the wider tradition. The fact that our only extant Greek witness is a bilingual manuscript, already closely coupled to the Latin tradition, complicates questions of independence further, since we still lack any connections outside of a Latin sphere of influence. In short, given the reading’s existing state of preservation and the dynamics of inner-versional transmission, we cannot free ourselves from the possibility that each of the witnesses listed singly in our apparatus might ultimately derive from a singular anomalous transcriptional event constrained under the broad domain of the Latin tradition.²¹

¹⁹ Haelewyck, ‘Healing’, 22. Haelewyck conjectures that ‘the Old Latin witnesses c and q are likely to have been corrected [from *iratus*] according to the Vulgate’.

²⁰ ‘Wenn man mehr Zeugen zur Verfügung hat, dann hat man auch größere Gewißheit über die Lesart des Texttyps.’ (Fischer, ‘Das Neue Testament’, 81.)

²¹ On issues pertaining to singularity, see D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 163-64.

3. The Character of the Latin Testimony

Preliminary considerations suggest that, in the general case, independence is unlikely among Latin witnesses of the same Greek reading. For the present reading, several lines of evidence — palaeographical, codicological, and textual — suggest that the four witnesses that attest *iratus* in Mark 1:41 can in fact be traced to a common tradition in northern Italy in the latter half of the fourth century. This possibility of course raises serious questions regarding the independence of these witnesses, particularly when they agree as a group against the remainder of the tradition.

3.1 Palaeographical Observations

It is worth noticing that three of the four Latin manuscripts that attest the reading *iratus* can be linked confidently to Italy on the basis of palaeographical features. Of the four manuscripts, only Codex Bezae cannot be linked clearly to Italy.²²

CODEX VERCELLENISIS (a):²³ It is sobering to consider that the oldest surviving manuscript support for the Greek reading *οργισθεις* derives from the Latin tradition, from the fourth-century cathedral bible at Vercelli, Codex Vercellensis, which tradition ascribes to Eusebius of Vercelli (d. ca. 371). E. A. Lowe assigned Vercellensis ‘doubtless’ to Italy and ‘probably’ to its place of preservation in Vercelli, located 80 km west of Milan in north-western Italy.²⁴ Lowe considered the fourth century date ‘paleographically acceptable’, noting that its attribution to Eusebius ‘may account for its survival’.

CODEX CORBIENSIS (ff2):²⁵ Lowe similarly assigned Codex Corbiensis (ff2) originally to Italy on the basis of its ‘script, spelling, format, parchment, ink, half-uncial corrections, [and] early marginalia’, dating it to the fifth century. Given the general movement of

²² See Parker, *Bezae*, 272, who assigns the manuscript to Berytus. See also J. N. Birdsall, ‘The geographical and cultural origin of the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis: a survey of the *status quaestionis*, mainly from the palaeographical standpoint’, in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Heinrich Greeven*, ed. W. Schrage, BZNW 47 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), 102-14, esp. 108-12.

²³ Known as Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare S.N., and by *siglum a*. *Codex Vercellensis*, ed. A. Gasquet CBL 3, 2 vols. (Rome: Pustet, 1914), 1:xvi-xix.

²⁴ *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (= *CLA*), ed. E. A. Lowe, 12 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon: 1934-71), 4:467.

²⁵ Known as Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 17225 and by *siglum ff2*. *CLA* 5:666.

manuscripts from Italy to Gaul in the fifth and sixth centuries, the manuscript's association with Corbie is in fact consistent with a provenance such as north-western Italy, in proximity to Gaul.²⁶ E. S. Buchanan, who edited the manuscript, dated it even earlier to 375–425 noting that ‘*ff* must rank with *a* in point of antiquity’.²⁷ If this date is accurate, we potentially have two Latin manuscripts that predate the earliest Greek copy.

CODEX USSERIANUS I (r¹): Dating from ca. 600, Codex Usserianus I (r¹) was once thought to derive from the Irish monastery at Bobbio in northern Italy, 100 km south of Milan. Lowe based his assignment of the manuscript ‘presumably’ to Bobbio on the basis of ‘Roman cursive influences in the script, the manner of denoting an omission, the kind of parchment used, and the similarity to two other Bobbio MSS’.²⁸ But the manuscript is now generally assigned to Ireland.²⁹ Nevertheless, L. R. Laing remarks that the manuscript should still be considered a product of traditions linked to the Irish centre at Bobbio, singling out for notice the Chi-Rho ornament between Luke and Mark.³⁰ F. Henry allowed even that the manuscript may have been imported from Bobbio.³¹ More recently, D. N. Dumville has argued that ‘[t]here seems little ... to inhibit a fifth-century date and Continental origin for TCD MS 55 [Codex Usserianus I]’.³²

3.2 Codicological Observations

Codicologically, it is sufficient to note that all four of these manuscripts are among those that attest the four gospels in the so-called

²⁶ CLA 6:xi.

²⁷ E. S. Buchanan, *The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis* (Oxford, 1907), vii–viii.

²⁸ CLA 2:271. See also P. McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A. D. 400 to A. D. 800*, Les Publications de Scriptorium 5 (Paris and Brussels: Éditions ‘Érasme’; Antwerp-Amsterdam: Standaard, 1961), 79.

²⁹ Known as Dublin, Trinity College 55 and by *siglum* r¹. On the Irish provenance, see D. H. Wright, ‘The tablets from Springmount Bog: a key to early Irish palaeography’, *AJA* 67 (1963), 219.

³⁰ L. R. Laing, *The Archaeology of Celtic Britain and Ireland: c. AD 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 188.

³¹ F. Henry, *Irish Art During the Viking Invasions: 800–1020 A.D.*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 62, 187.

³² D. N. Dumville, *A Palaeographer’s Review: The Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages*, Kansai University Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies; Sources and Materials Series 20–1 (Suita, Osaka: Kansai University Press, 1999), 1:35–40, esp. 39.

‘Western’ order, that is, Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark. While this arrangement is by no means limited to the present witnesses nor even to the Latin version, it appears earliest in Old Latin witnesses and is disproportionately represented within this tradition.³³ D. C. Parker observes that the ‘Western’ order ‘seems to be an order that emerges in the fourth century, and is most popular in the West.... The oldest Latin manuscript support apart from D is from codices copied in North Italy.... [I]t is tempting to find here some Italian influence on D.’³⁴ While neither the palaeography nor the codicology is in itself decisive, it is remarkable that both link the witnesses independently to a common provenance and time frame in northern Italy starting in the fourth century.

3.3 *Textual Parallels in the Latin Tradition*

In their textual features, all four Latin manuscripts that attest *iratus* represent the so-called European tradition of the Old Latin Gospels.³⁵ According to the *Vetus Latina* classification, they belong respectively to the ‘Early European’ and ‘Italian’ text-types.³⁶ Parallels between these witnesses have long been observed in Mark, supporting the possibility that they share a distinctive layer of readings in this gospel. In all four gospels, Fischer finds a *Kerngruppe* of European Old Latin witnesses consisting of b, ff², and i, while his closely-related Gallo-Irish group is represented by r¹.³⁷ But particularly in Mark, F. C. Burkitt observed that the witnesses of the European Old Latin tradition form a tight-knit group, more so than in the other gospels.³⁸ Burkitt detected a notable cohesiveness in certain renderings of d, ff², i, and r¹

³³ Parker, *Bezae*, 116-18. Parker does not list r¹ among Latin codices with gospels in the ‘Western’ order, but see H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 63.

³⁴ Parker, *Bezae*, 118.

³⁵ See V. Reichmann, ‘Die altlateinische Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments’, *TRE* 6 (1980), 172-76, esp. 174, and Burton, ‘Latin Version’, 180-82.

³⁶ Jean-Claude Haelewyck, *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bible. 17. Evangelium secundum Marcum* (Freiburg: Herder, 2013), 159-60. The *Vetus Latina* text-types are not analogous to the so-called Greek text types: see Fischer, ‘Das Neue Testament’, 17 and J. H. Petzer, ‘The Latin Version of the New Testament’, in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the status quaestionis*, ed. B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 113-27, esp. 118-19.

³⁷ Fischer, ‘Das Neue Testament’, 36.

³⁸ F. C. Burkitt, ‘Itala Problems’, in *Miscellanea Amelli. Scritti varii di letteratura ecclesiastica dedicati al Rev.mo Abate Ambrogio Amelli* (Rome, 1920), 35.

in Mark, leading him to suggest ‘that the “European” MSS do not represent so many independent translations, but must be regarded as to some extent a single recension’.³⁹ Burkitt was impressed by the close association of d with the core European witnesses in Mark, a phenomenon noted more recently by J.-M. Auwers, who observes that d is closer to the European tradition in Mark.⁴⁰ P. Burton draws a similar conclusion that ‘the European renderings of Mark ... derive from a common source’.⁴¹ But the most ambitious collection of comparative evidence is found in Haelewyck’s introduction to the *Vetus Latina* edition of Mark. Confirming the observations of Burkitt, Clark, Fischer, Auwers, and Burton with a significantly larger database, Haelewyck places d, ff², i, and r¹ within the same ‘Italian’ text-type.⁴² Haelewyck’s data suggest that the witness closest to ff² in Mark is in fact d, leading to his observation that the Markan text of d has a close relationship to the European tradition, representing a later stage in the evolution of the Old Latin text.⁴³ Haelewyck’s findings show that d shares a significant pool of readings with witnesses of the so-called Italian text-type in Mark.⁴⁴ Like Fischer, Haelewyck places r¹ close to the core Italian witnesses b, ff², and i, noting that it must be considered an excellent witness of the Italian text.⁴⁵ But despite its common association with the core European tradition, Burkitt noticed that b, which does not attest *iratus* in Mark 1:41, often stands aloof from the core tradition in Mark, diverging from d, ff², and r¹ on a regular basis.⁴⁶ Concurring with Burkitt’s observation, Haelewyck places b within its own J-type to accommodate its frequent digressions, rather than with d, ff², and r¹ in the Italian type.⁴⁷

³⁹ Burkitt, ‘Itala Problems’, 32.

⁴⁰ Burkitt, ‘Itala Problems’, 37; J.-M. Auwers, ‘Le texte Latin des évangiles dans le codex de Bèze’, in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June, 1994*, ed. D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux, NTTS 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 183-216, esp. 211. Cf. A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles, A Critical Edition, with Introduction and Notes on Selected Passages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), xliv.

⁴¹ P. Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: a study of their texts and language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 48, 59.

⁴² Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 66-70, 73-78; Auwers, ‘Le text Latin’, 209-11.

⁴³ ‘[L]e second [évangile] a un empreinte européenne beaucoup plus forte et représente un stade ultérieur dans l’évolution du texte vieux latin.’ (Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 73.)

⁴⁴ Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 73-76.

⁴⁵ Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 86.

⁴⁶ Burkitt, ‘Itala Problems’, 36, table 3.

⁴⁷ Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 60, as in Mark 1:41.

Of the four Latin witnesses that support *iratus* in Mark 1:41, MS a is the most independent with 248 singular readings, according to Haelewyck's list. While d is not as related to a as it is to the witnesses of the Italian type, Haelewyck observes that D and a frequently agree when the latter diverges from the African tradition *and* D diverges from all other Greek witnesses. In a sample drawn from three chapters, Haelewyck finds eleven such cases in Mark 1:20–2:28 and seven in Mark 9:1–50.⁴⁸ When d dissents from both its Greek companion and other Italian witnesses, it agrees most often with MS a, that is, ten out of seventeen times.⁴⁹ Similarly, Auwers is able to list thirty-one unique agreements between a and D in Mark.⁵⁰ MS a's distinctive parallels with d suggest that they share a common layer of readings in Mark. We might conclude then on the basis of textual evidence that the Latin witnesses that attest *iratus* in Mark 1:41, that is, a, d, ff², and r¹, appear to share a common tradition in Mark.

B. M. Metzger once observed that within the Old Latin version 'one finds a surprising unanimity, suggesting a common archetype at least for one or another book'.⁵¹ In an essay published seven years before he presented his fullest case for the priority of οργισθεις ('A Leper in the Hands of an Angry Jesus'), Ehrman argued in agreement with our view here that distinctive parallels between Bezae and so-called 'Western' witnesses (including, for example, a, d, ff², and r¹) 'can scarcely be explained apart from the existence of some kind of genealogical relation' and that as such, these readings, far from being incidental parallels, 'are actually the same readings', that is, presumably deriving from a common source.⁵² Later in the same essay, Ehrman raised the possibility that οργισθεις might be the initial reading in Mark 1:41, while still assuming an explicit connection between Bezae and its 'Latin allies'.⁵³ But in his later essay, Ehrman no longer introduces the Old Latin testimony as potentially dependent on a common tradition. If our data are correct though, we should insist on the relevance of this

⁴⁸ Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 53.

⁴⁹ Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 74–75.

⁵⁰ Auwers, 'Le text Latin', 210.

⁵¹ B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 330.

⁵² Ehrman, 'Text of the Gospels', 102. See also Burton, *Gospels*, 11, who remarks on the reading *nix* in Matt 17:2 that 'it is perverse to imagine that it could have arisen in so many places independently'.

⁵³ Ehrman, 'Text of the Gospels', 118.

possible connection as a way to assess the level of independence expected between these witnesses.

3.4 *Interdependence in the Latin Tradition*

Parallels between these witnesses and the Markan citations of a number of late fourth and early fifth-century Latin writers corroborate with our initial assignment of the manuscripts to northern Italy in the latter fourth century. Among these writers, Haelewyck identifies Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367/8);⁵⁴ Ambrosiaster (fl. ca. 366–384);⁵⁵ Ambrose (d. 397);⁵⁶ Chromatius (d. 407/8);⁵⁷ Jerome (d. 420);⁵⁸ and Augustine (d. 430).⁵⁹ On the other hand, similar parallels are *not* found in the Markan citations of Latin writers either active before the mid-fourth century or located outside of Italy and Gaul.⁶⁰ On this basis Haelewyck suggests that these witnesses attest the prevailing text form in northern Italy in the second half of the fourth century.⁶¹ Fischer likewise refers to this text form as the ‘progressive’ Italian text from 350–380, citing Ambrose, Ambrosiaster, and Lucifer (d. 370/1).⁶² Parallels with these figures supply us then with a new class of evidence that anchors our reading *iratus* even more securely to a particular context.

But the earliest of these figures were not only collocated and contemporaneous. They were also collaborators in the fourth-century christological controversies in a context that demanded close engagement with a consistent text form suitable for citation in proof texts. Among the earliest of these writers, Hilary and Lucifer, both bishops, were closely allied against the homoian party that flourished in Italy in the period 350–380 in what M. Humphries calls a ‘Gallic-

⁵⁴ Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 90. Dates are cited from R. Gryson et al., *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l’antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge* (Freiburg: Herder, 2007).

⁵⁵ J.-C. Haelewyck, ‘La vetus Latina de l’évangile de Marc: les rapports entre les témoins manuscrits et les citations patristiques’, in *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity Proceedings of the Lille Colloquium, July 2000*, ed. C.-B. Amphoux and J. K. Elliott, HTB 6 (Lausanne: Zèbre, 2003), 151–93, esp. 182–83.

⁵⁶ Haelewyck, ‘Les rapports’, 183n65.

⁵⁷ Haelewyck, ‘Les rapports’, 186–87.

⁵⁸ Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 57; Haelewyck, ‘Les rapports’, 188.

⁵⁹ Haelewyck, ‘Les rapports’, 190.

⁶⁰ Haelewyck, ‘Les rapports’, 171–79.

⁶¹ Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 111.

⁶² ‘[D]en fortschrittlichen italienischen Text um etwa 350–380.’ (Fischer, ‘Das Neue Testament,’ 36.)

north Italian axis of anti-homoian activity'.⁶³ Another member of this anti-homoian 'axis', Eusebius of Vercelli, also a bishop, is linked even more directly to the reading *iratus* if we accept the traditional attribution of Codex Vercellensis (a), one of the manuscripts that attests the reading *iratus*, to 'his own hand'.⁶⁴ While himself doubting the attribution, E. Dekkers singled out Codex Vercellensis as the only manuscript relic for which the traditional dating raises no difficulties.⁶⁵ D. C. Parker concurs, noting that '[t]radition plausibly maintains that it [Codex Vercellensis] was copied by Eusebius of Vercelli in the early 360's'.⁶⁶ Whether or not Eusebius personally copied the manuscript, we can have little doubt that his reputation and cult contributed to its preservation.⁶⁷ The manuscript's liturgical use, indicated by seventh-century liturgical notes and cantillation marks, confirms that there was no particular embarrassment concerning its contents, including obscure readings, such as *iratus*.⁶⁸ At the same time, two fifth-century

⁶³ M. Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200–400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 131–32. On Hilary's activity in Italy, see D. H. Williams, 'The Anti-Arian Campaigns of Hilary of Poitiers and the "Liber Contra Auxentium"', *CH* 61 (1992), 7–22, esp. 15–16, and Y. M. Duval, 'Vrais et faux problèmes concernant le retour d'exil d'Hilaire de Poitiers et son action en Italie en 360–363', *Athenaeum* 48 (1970), 251–75, esp. 267–74. But note Ehrman's suggestion that anti-Arian tendencies inspired the reading *σπλαγγισθεις*.⁶³

⁶⁴ '[Eusebius] transcribed the gospel of Christ in his own hand, ... a book of the four gospels.' (*Evangelium Christi propria manu scripsit ... in eodem codice 4. Evangeliorum.*) (F. Ughelli, ed., *Passio vel vita sancti Eusebii Vercellensis episcopi, in Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiae*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1719), 4:754A.) On the attribution, see N. Everett, 'Narrating the Life of Eusebius of Vercelli', in *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. R. Balzaretti and E. M. Tyler, SEM 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 133–65, esp. 141n25.

⁶⁵ 'Je ne vois qu'un seul manuscrit-relique, le Codex Vercellensis des Evangiles, pour lequel la date traditionnelle ne soulèverait pas de difficulté. Il est regardé comme un autographe de saint Eusèbe de Verceil.' (E. Dekkers, 'Les autographes des Peres latins', in *Colligere fragmenta, Festschrift Alban Dold zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. B. Fischer and V. Fiala (Beuron, 1952), 127–39, esp. 137–38.)

⁶⁶ D. C. Parker, 'The Palaeographical Debate', in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June, 1994*, ed. D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux, NTTs 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 329–36.

⁶⁷ Encomiums may be found in Ambrose (*Ep.* 14 (63).66–71), Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 96), Maximus of Turin (spurious) (*Sermo* 7.4), and Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.* 5.13). A cult of Eusebius is attested in sixth-century Gaul by Gregory of Tours, *HF* 5.44 and *GC* 3. See also L.A. Speller, 'A Note on Eusebius of Vercelli and the Council of Milan', *JTS* 36 (1985), 157–65, esp. 157; J. Lienhard, 'Patristic Sermons on Eusebius of Vercelli and their Relation to his Monasticism', *RBén* 87 (1977), 164–72, esp. 164–65; and Metzger, *Early Versions*, 312.

⁶⁸ Gasquet, *Vercellensis*, 1:vi. Gasquet lists 102 surviving liturgical notes 'written in a seventh century Lombardic hand'. There are 41 such notes in Matthew, 36 in John, 21

fragments, *Fragmenta Curiensa* (a2) and *Fragmenta Sangallensia* (n), both assigned to Italy with texts closely-related to a, indicate that the text form continued to be copied.⁶⁹

The earliest explicit attribution of a fourfold gospel manuscript to Eusebius occurs in the hagiographical *Passio vel vita sancti Eusebii Vercellensis episcopi*, dating between the seventh and ninth centuries.⁷⁰ The *Vita Eusebii* has until recently been dismissed as a source due to the embellishments so typical of its genre, though with little effort to sift through its sequence of anecdotes in search of a basis of reliable material.⁷¹ But N. Everett argues that this tendency to dismiss the *Vita* as wholesale fabrication must be re-examined, since in a number of cases it is clear the hagiographer is working with primary sources that are no less reliable than other routinely-cited period sources.⁷² Everett suggests that the hagiographer's approach is in 'its use of documents, the saint's own writings, and even consultation of other sources to construct a coherent biography ... nothing short of historical in method'.⁷³ To give one example, E. Milano has recently validated the hagiographer's claim, long considered an embellishment, that Vercelli had eclipsed Milan as a metropolitan see when Eusebius was its bishop, citing fragmentary inscriptions from the cathedral at Vercelli that suggest this was briefly the case at the time Milan was occupied by the homoian bishop Auxentius (355–74), leading her to observe that the claims of the hagiographer conform in substance to the historical reality.⁷⁴ It seems then that in certain cases we are justified in accepting the essential credibility of the *Vita* in its recitation of primary sources.

The main argument against the attribution to Eusebius is that citations of the disputed work *De Trinitate*, sometimes attributed to Eusebius, do not consistently agree with Codex Vercellensis. Dekkers

in Luke, and 4 in Mark. Gasquet notes a fourth or fifth-century hand in the lower margin of folio 66a with the note *usque hoc ego esemendau* (I have emended up to this point). (*Vercellensis*, xvi-xix.)

⁶⁹ Burton, *Gospels*, 21-22.

⁷⁰ Everett, 'Life', 136.

⁷¹ See F. Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia dalle origini all' 1300 descritti per regioni: Il Piemonte* (Formi, 1899), 412-20, esp. 412, who attributes little or no historical value ('poco o nessun valore storico') to the work.

⁷² Everett, 'Life', 163.

⁷³ Everett, 'Life', 165.

⁷⁴ '[L]e affermazioni dell' agiografo siano, nella sostanza, corrispondenti alla realtà storica.' (E. Milano, 'Eusebio vescovo metropolitano: leggenda o realtà storica?', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 30 (1987), 313-22, esp. 315.)

rejected the attribution on this basis, noting differences between the text in the codex and that of the citations in *De Trinitate*.⁷⁵ But Dekkers and those who cite him do not explain how a work that is itself of disputed authorship might reliably serve as a comparative basis upon which to rest further attributions.⁷⁶ Moreover, it is worth noting that using the same evidence, G. Morin had earlier singled out manuscripts a and q as the closest witnesses to the text of *De Trinitate*, concluding that the author had used a ‘European’ text of the kind that prevailed in the fourth century especially in northern Italy.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, even if we could show that *De Trinitate* was in fact composed by Eusebius, we would still lack any assurance that Eusebius relied on this same gospel text throughout his lifetime. So arguments from the citations of the anonymous *De Trinitate* are essentially worthless as evidence for or against the attribution of Codex Vercellensis to Eusebius.

But Eusebius was just one of a circle of northern Italian bishops whose citations share this common layer, prominent among whom were also Lucifer and Hilary. In *Collectio Avellana*, Ursinus’s faction seeks to assert his claim on the papacy by appealing to his connection with Eusebius, Lucifer, and Hilary, ‘sent into exile for defending the faith’, an appeal that could only have worked if the collaboration of these three bishops was already well-known.⁷⁸ The sources indicate that Eusebius, at least, was on personal terms with both Lucifer and Hilary. Pope Liberius (d. 366) briefly commends Lucifer to Eusebius as the two prepared to lead a delegation to Constantius II at Arles (354).⁷⁹

⁷⁵ ‘[L]e texte biblique qu’il présente diffère nettement de celui que saint Eusèbe emploie ailleurs ... [s]urtout dans son *De Trinitate*’ (Dekkers, ‘Les autographes’, 138, 138n92.)

⁷⁶ See J. Vezin, ‘Les livres utilisés comme amulettes et comme reliques’, in *Das Buch als magisches und als repräsentationsobjekt*, ed. P. Ganz, *Wofenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien* 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 101-15, esp. 108. On the attribution of *De Trinitate*, see D. H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the end of the Arian-Nicene conflicts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 96-103, 239-43. For another opinion, see M. Simonetti, ‘Qualche osservazione sui *De trinitate* attribuito a Eusebio di Vercelli’, *Rivista di cultura classica e medievale* 5 (1963), 386-93.

⁷⁷ ‘[L]’auteur a dû faire usage d’un de ces textes dits “européens” qui avaient cours au IV^e siècle, spécialement dans le nord de l’Italie. Les manuscrits dont il se rapproche le plus sont le Vercellensis (a) et le Monacensis (q).’ (G. Morin, ‘Les Douze Livres sur la Trinité attribués à Vigile de Thapse’, *RBén* 15 (1898), 1-10, esp. 9.)

⁷⁸ *Liberius Romanus episcopus et Eusebius Uercellensis et Lucifer Caralitanus et Hilarius Pictaensis dare sententiam noluerunt. hi ergo mittuntur in exilium pro fide seruanda.* (*Collectio Avellana* 1.1.8-11, ed. O. Günther, CSEL 35/1.1.)

⁷⁹ *commendo tibi fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Luciferum.* (*Epistulae quattuor ad Eusebium a Liberio papa datae* 2.1.6-7, ed. V. Bulhart, CCSL 9.122.)

A letter from Lucifer to Eusebius, entreating his presence at the Council of Milan (355), suggests that Lucifer came to rely on their collaborative relationship.⁸⁰ In *Historia Arianorum*, Athanasius depicts the stand taken by Eusebius and Lucifer among the four bishops exiled at Milan, effusing on ‘the unity of mind and soul’ (της ἀλλήλων ομοφροσύνης τε και ομοψυχίας) that existed between them, while of course taking for granted that they were on familiar terms.⁸¹ Then in Rufinus’s account, Eusebius met with Lucifer before the Synod of Alexandria (362) following his exile and again after Lucifer’s ordination of a schismatic bishop in Antioch.⁸²

We similarly hear from Rufinus and other sympathetic historians of the collaborative efforts of Eusebius and Hilary in establishing Nicene doctrine throughout Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul.⁸³ Hilary himself bemoans his separation from ‘saintly men’ such as Eusebius and Lucifer following his exile and theirs.⁸⁴ But the working relationship between these two bishops is also corroborated by hostile sources, such as the homoian bishop Auxentius (d. 374), who complains that ‘Hilary and Eusebius are trying everywhere to create schism’, a remark that D. H. Williams believes ‘clearly pertains to their joint campaign throughout the west.’⁸⁵ Meanwhile, the homoian document, *Altercatio Heracliani cum Germinio* again charges Hilary and Eusebius with promulgating Nicene teaching following their respective exiles.⁸⁶ In sum, the forces that united these bishops in common ideological objectives supply a framework for the exchange of texts needed to

⁸⁰ *rogamus noli negligere, sed ut quantocius inuadente te effugetur Arianorum dogma, iam accelerare dignare. (Epistulae tres ad Eusebium e concilio Mediolanensi 2. Domino honorificentissimo Eusebio episcopo Lucifer episcopus 1.2-4, CCSL 9.120.)*

⁸¹ Εξ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ νῦν λαμπρά χρησαμένοι τῆ ὁμολογία, ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς καὶ ἐπισκοποὶ ἀγαθοὶ, Παῦλινος ὁ ἀπὸ Τριβερῶν τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Γαλλίων ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Λουκιφερ ὁ ἀπὸ μητροπόλεως τῆς Σαρδινίας ἐπίσκοπος, Εὐσεβίος τε ὁ ἀπὸ Βερκελλῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ ἀπὸ Μεδιολανῶν. (Athanasius, *H. Ar.* 33, 40; PG, 25:732, 740.) See J. Hillner, *Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 219.

⁸² Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* 10.28; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 5.13.

⁸³ Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* 10.32. See also, Williams, ‘Campaigns’, 17; Duval, ‘Problèmes’, 268; Everett, ‘Life’, 156-57.

⁸⁴ *post sanctorum uirorum exilia Paulini, Eusebi, Luciferi, Dionisi ... communionem me.* (Hilary, *Ad Const.* 2.3-6, ed. A. Rocher, SC 334.170.)

⁸⁵ Williams, ‘Campaigns’, 21, referring to *Contra Auxentium* 15: *Hilarius et Eusebius contendunt ubique schismata facere.* (PL 10.619.)

⁸⁶ *Hoc Eusebius ille exiliaticus te docuit, et Hilarius, qui nunc ipse de exilio uenit.* (C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische anecdotia* (Christiania, 1883), 134, cf. 136.)

account for the kinds of relationships we observe in the Old Latin tradition. This framework allows us to point beyond the mere coincidence of parallels to a coherent layer of readings arising in a specific historical context in which the participants contributed in various ways to the development of this distinctive layer, whether by exchanging manuscripts, sharing lists of proof texts, or citing individual passages in their writings and sermons.

3.5 *Insularity in the Latin Tradition*

While Greek texts were apparently a recurring influence on the Latin tradition, we cannot assume that Greek *Vorlagen* lie behind every Latin witness that attests the reading *iratus*.⁸⁷ Towards the end of the fourth century, there is indication in the Latin West of a certain hesitancy to adopt Greek text forms in favour of conserving the familiar Old Latin forms, a phenomenon which is of course well-documented in the reception history of the Vulgate. A sense of the widespread popular sympathy for the Old Latin text is reflected in Augustine's account of the uproar incited by reading the Vulgate in a neighbouring diocese, with *hederam* ('ivy') replacing the familiar Old Latin *cucurbitae* ('gourd') at Jonah 4:6.⁸⁸ The Vulgate's mixed reception reminds us that social and religious factors were as capable of insulating the Old Latin tradition from Greek influence as the mere availability of Greek texts. Certainly, we cannot assume that the revision of Latin texts to a Greek model would have been well-received in every context where it may have been possible.

This textual conservatism is exemplified by the elusive Ambrosiaster, who insists that the Old Latin text had been preserved more faithfully than the recent Greek text, having been translated, as he suggests, in more innocent times from Greek codices significantly more ancient than those presently in circulation.⁸⁹ Writing at Rome in the 380s, Ambrosiaster appeals to the citations of ancient writers such

⁸⁷ See Fischer, 'Das Neue Testament', 81, who notes the constant influence of Greek texts.

⁸⁸ Augustine, *Epist.* 71.5. See H. G. Davis, 'The Scriptural Controversy between St. Jerome and St. Augustine', *ACR* 33 (1956), 103-16, esp. 110-13.

⁸⁹ Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in Rom.* 5:14 (ed. H. J. Vogels, CSEL 81/1.177), paragraph 5, *quos incorruptos simplicitas temporum servavit et probat* and *postquam autem ... multa inmutata sunt ad sensum humanum, ut hoc contineretur in litteris, quod homini videretur*, and paragraph 4e, *constat autem quosdam Latinos porro olim de veteribus Graecis translatos codicibus*.

as Tertullian, Victorinus, and Cyprian as demonstration of the legitimacy of this version.⁹⁰ In a revealing comment, Ambrosiaster implies that a text by itself lacks credibility without a trusted authority to certify its authenticity, suggesting that the Greek text is full of discrepancies (*quasi ... discrepent*) and susceptible to alteration by anyone with the means to prepare a new manuscript (*propria quis auctoritate uti non potest*).⁹¹ No doubt responding to such views, Jerome writes that he was charged with opposing the authority of the ancient writers (*aduersus auctoritatem ueterum*) and even for correcting the Lord's words (*dominicus uerbis ... corrigendum*).⁹² Jerome attributes a similar suspicion of the Greek text to Helvidius charging him that 'you argue with amazing boldness against the Greek manuscripts considering your own error'.⁹³

In both Ambrosiaster and Helvidius, we find a philosophical rationale for neglect of the Greek text that, if pursued, would render consultation of Greek witnesses superfluous and virtually rule out the need for further contact. If we may judge from Ambrosiaster's own anonymous literary interaction with Jerome, it appears this rationale at times guided the selection of Old Latin readings that were known to diverge from the Greek tradition.⁹⁴ In *Ep. 27* to Marcella, Jerome lists several Old Latin readings that he introduces as well-known errors in the Old Latin text.⁹⁵ But as H. J. Vogels showed, all are readings preserved in the final, third edition of Ambrosiaster's *Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas*.⁹⁶ It seems likely that Ambrosiaster knew of Jerome's complaint, but continued to cite these 'erroneous' readings in his final edition, deliberately passing over what he apparently knew of the Greek text.⁹⁷ If Ambrosiaster's rationale for ignoring the Greek text

⁹⁰ Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in Rom.* 5:14, paragraph 5a, *nam hodie quae in Latinis reprehenduntur codicibus, sic inveniuntur a ueteribus posita, Tertulliano et Victorino et Cypriano.*

⁹¹ Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in Rom.* 5:14.4e.

⁹² Jerome, *Epist.* 27.1.1,2, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54/1.224.

⁹³ *Tu mira impudentia haec in Graecis codicibus falsata contendas.* (Jerome, *Helv.* 8 (PL 23.191).)

⁹⁴ See A. Cain, 'In Ambrosiaster's Shadow: A Critical Re-Evaluation of the Last Surviving Letter Exchange between Pope Damasus and Jerome', *REAug* 51 (2005), 257-77, esp. 270-74.

⁹⁵ Jerome, *Epist.* 27.3.2-3.

⁹⁶ H. J. Vogels, 'Ambrosiaster und Hieronymus', *RBén* 66 (1956), 14-19, esp. 17-18.

⁹⁷ According to the sequence of revisions proposed by Vogels and defended by T. S. de Bruyn. (H. J. Vogels, ed., *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas Paulinas*, CSEL 81/1 (Vienna, 1966), xxi-xlii; T. S. de Bruyn, 'Ambrosiaster's

were at all representative, as the case of Helvidius also seems to suggest, we might expect any number of divergent Old Latin readings to be maintained in self-conscious disparity with Greek texts.⁹⁸ This of course raises serious questions concerning the objectivity of the Old Latin tradition when it dissents from the Greek, leading us to wonder what connections we are justified in drawing between the two traditions. In fact, it underscores the ultimate futility of multiplying Latin evidence to establish a Greek reading when we must remain uncertain that the implied Greek *Vorlage* even necessarily existed.⁹⁹

4. The Latin Testimony in the Larger Tradition

4.1 *The Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron*

Perhaps the most likely evidence of diversity in support of the reading $\omicron\rho\gamma\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ derives from five apparent allusions to Jesus's anger at the leper in the Syriac *Commentary on the Diatessaron*, traditionally attributed to Ephrem (d. 373).¹⁰⁰ There is evidence that in its present form the commentary contains a compilation of Ephremic material by a later editor, perhaps one of the disciples known to have gathered around Ephrem.¹⁰¹ In working with the commentary as a potential textual source, we must remain wary of the severe problems involved in extrapolating a Greek *Vorlage* through layers of interpretation, translation, harmonisation, and redaction. Even with a direct citation of the Syriac Diatessaron, we are still twice removed from the Greek *Vorlagen* of the separated gospels by Tatian's initial harmony and by

Revisions of his "Commentary on Romans" and Roman Synodal Statements about the Holy Spirit', *REAug* 56 (2010), 45-68, esp. 45-46.)

⁹⁸ Texts might also remain uncorrected due to the labour involved. [*N*]am *codicibus emendandis primitus debet inuigilare solertia eorum, qui scripturas diuinas nosse desiderant, ut emendatis non emendati cedant ex uno dumtaxat interpretationis genere uenientes*. (Augustine, *Doctr. Chr.*, 2.21, ed. I. Martin, CCSL 32/47.)

⁹⁹ '[W]e cannot claim that every feature of every Latin reading goes back to the Greek; it is not always possible to infer a variant Greek reading on the basis of the Latin'. (Burton, 'Latin Version', 191.)

¹⁰⁰ Ephrem, *CDiat.* XII.22, 23. For problems with the traditional attribution, see C. Lange, *Ephraem der Syrer. Kommentar zum Diatessaron*, *Fontes Christiani* 54, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 1:53-55, 69-80. References are to the Syriac version of the commentary unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰¹ See C. Lange, 'A View on the Integrity of the Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron', *JEastCS* 56 (2004), 129-44, esp. 143. See also Lange, *Kommentar*, 1:81.

the anonymous translation into Syriac.¹⁰² Moreover, Tatian himself may have incorporated existing harmony traditions, for example, those of Justin, or apocryphal traditions, introducing further layers of indirection.¹⁰³ Uncertainty regarding the initial language of Tatian's harmony merely underscores how little we know about its constituent layers and where even to begin to look for its sources.¹⁰⁴ Clearly the commentary is at best an indirect witness to the textual traditions that underlie Tatian's harmony itself. Simply put, there are many potential sources of variation and little means to discriminate between them. T. Baarda notes 'how difficult it often is to give a final verdict about the Greek text of Tatian's harmony, let alone about the Greek text of the Gospels that he incorporated in his harmony'.¹⁰⁵ In this regard, even the Arabic Diatessaron must be considered a more direct source for the Syriac harmony. Baarda indeed warns against a tendency to underestimate the Arabic Diatessaron, which attests the mainstream reading in the present pericope.¹⁰⁶

In evaluating the commentary's support for the reading *οργισθεις*, we are faced with two initial complications. First, while the commentary is unambiguous in its mention of Jesus's anger, unfortunately it supplies us with no citation of the relevant text of Mark 1:41 in either the lemma or commentary.¹⁰⁷ So we cannot be absolutely certain where this reading — if it is in fact a reading — would have

¹⁰² Of course if Tatian composed his harmony in Syriac, the sources still must have been translated.

¹⁰³ See T. Baarda, 'ΔΙΑΦΩΝΙΑ — ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ: Factors in the Harmonization of the Gospels, Especially in the Diatessaron of Tatian', in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission*, ed. W. L. Petersen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 133-54, esp. 149-50; J. H. Charlesworth, 'Tatian's Dependence upon Apocryphal Traditions', *HeyJ* 15 (1974), 5-17, esp. 15-16.

¹⁰⁴ See U. B. Schmid, 'The Diatessaron of Tatian', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the status quaestionis*, ed. B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes, NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 115-42, esp. 115n5, in favour of Greek, and Lange, *Kommentar*, 1:45-46, in favour of Syriac.

¹⁰⁵ T. Baarda, 'Tatian's Diatessaron and the Gospels', in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. C. E. Hill and M. J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 336-49, esp. 345.

¹⁰⁶ See T. Baarda, 'To the Roots of the Syriac Diatessaron Tradition', *NovT* 28 (1986), 1-25, esp. 20-21; T. Baarda, 'An Archaic Element in the Arabic Diatessaron? (TA 46:18 = John XV 2)', *NovT* 17 (1975), 151-55. Haelewyck regards the Arabic as having been conformed to the Peshitta. ('Healing', 23n24.)

¹⁰⁷ The Arabic Diatessaron cites Mark 1:41 at 22:2. See P. A. Ciasca, *Tatiani evangeliorum harmoniae Arabice* (Rome, 1888), 39, who translates the Arabic, *Iesus autem misertus eius, extendit manum suam, et tangens eum, dixit: Ego volo te mundari.*

been found in the commentator's text. Nor can we entirely exclude the possibility that the commentator is not citing a reading at all, but drawing rather on an interpretative tradition intended to account for other features of the pericope.¹⁰⁸

A second more serious complication arises in the commentator's apparent knowledge of the mainstream reading *σπλαγγισθεις* in addition to his allusion to Jesus's anger.¹⁰⁹ The commentator observes that Jesus 'showed him [the leper] two things' (ܡܠ ܝܘܫܥ ܥܝܢܝܗ), 'reproof in his anger' (ܡܫܝܒܐ ܠܝܗܘܐ) but also 'compassion in his healing' (ܡܫܝܒܐ ܠܡܫܝܒܐ).¹¹⁰ We are confronted then with the odd possibility that these seemingly incompatible readings once stood side-by-side in a new conflated text form.¹¹¹ But the simpler hypothesis is to understand the commentator's conflated reference to Jesus' anger and compassion not as referring to any reading at all, but rather to Jesus' puzzling reproof of the leper he has just healed in Mark 1:43-44, highlighting what is perhaps the most perplexing literary feature of the narrative, namely, the inherent tension between Jesus's gracious act of mercy and his stern injunction to obey the law.¹¹² In any case, the *Syriac Commentary* is no witness *tout simple* to the reading *οργισθεις* found in Bezae and its allies.

We might observe that the commentator's choice of strong terms and sharp contrasts is consistent with his evidently thorough engagement in the controversies that shaped the Edessene context in which he apparently worked in the final decades of the fourth century,

¹⁰⁸ See S. P. Brock, 'Notulae syriacae: Some Miscellaneous Identifications', *Le Muséon* 108 (1995), 69-78, esp. 69; Lange, *Kommentar*, 1:56-69. Both the Syriac and Armenian versions of the commentary show independent signs of revision.

¹⁰⁹ Haelewyck overlooks Ephrem's allusion to the mainstream reading and its implication in distancing the commentary from the Old Latin testimony. ('Healing', 23n23.)

¹¹⁰ Ephrem, *CDiat.* XII.22; L. Leloir, *Saint Éphrem. Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant: Texte syriaque (MS Chester Beatty 709)*, Chester Beatty Monographs 8 (Dublin, 1963), 94-101.

¹¹¹ Of course our commentator may tacitly be referring to a second witness, but it seems incongruous to rest an exegetical point on such an implicit allusion.

¹¹² '[W]ohl als Teil der Auslegung, nicht des Textes' (Greeven and Güting, *Textkritik*, 120), a classic explanation encouraged by the inherent tension within the pericope. See B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, II, Introduction and Appendix* (Cambridge, 1882), 23*; B. Weiss, *Kritisch-exegetisches Handbuch über die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas* (Göttingen, 1901), 29n†; E. Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu: Eine Erklärung des Markus-Evangeliums und der kanonischen Parallelen* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1966), 96; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 65.

In *Adversus Marcionem*, Tertullian cites Marcion's purported commiseration with the leper as a companion in misery and hatred, indicating the long heresiological tradition behind the story of the leper and offering some precedent for the strongly-worded remarks of subsequent commentators.¹¹⁶ Tertullian points to Elisha's healing of Naaman as Marcion's antithesis to Jesus's healing the leper in that the former's healing of a foreigner suggests the Creator's indifference to those under his law, while the latter's healing of a Jew suggests the Stranger's subversion of the Creator's law.¹¹⁷ It is surely significant then that at the outset of the first of four sections on the leper, the commentator immediately draws a connection with the story of Elisha and Naaman (2 Kgs 5:1-14), observing that the leper initially thought Jesus would act 'like Elisha in keeping the law' (ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܢܐܡܐܢ) and not healing Jews.¹¹⁸ But after Jesus touches the leper in apparent defiance of the law, the leper considers him 'a stranger to the law' (ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ), an obvious reference to the Marcionite Stranger, using a phrase that strongly resembles a saying Ephrem had attributed to 'the foolish Marcion' (ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܥܝܢ), 'in His [new] law our Lord was a stranger [to the Mosaic Law]' (ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ).¹¹⁹ In the same context, our commentator calls the leper 'a fool' (ܩܪܝܢܐ) using the same term Ephrem had applied to Marcion. The commentator is clearly operating then out of existing anti-Marcionite traditions that draw on the language and motifs of earlier heresiologists.

Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 24.

¹¹⁶ [Σ]υνταλαίπωρον, *commiserationem*, et συμμισούμενον, *coodibilem*, in *leprosi*, apparently citing Marcion's Greek text. (Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.9.3, ed. C. Moreschini, SC 456.116.)

¹¹⁷ *Nam et hoc opponit Marcion.* (Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.9.7, SC 456.120.) On the proposed 'antithesis' between Jesus's healing of the leper and Elisha's healing of Naaman, see E. Norelli, 'Marcion, Tertullien et le lépreux', in *Nomen Latinum. Mélanges de langue, de littérature et de civilisation latines offerts au professeur André Schneider à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite*, ed. Denis Knoepfler (Neuchâtel: Faculté de lettres, 1997), 171-80, esp. 176.

¹¹⁸ Ephrem, *CDiat.* XII.21.

¹¹⁹ Ephrem, *CDiat.* XII.21. Ephrem, *Against Marcion III* from BM Add. 14623, Folio 57a, cols. 1-2. C. W. Mitchell, ed., *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan* (London, 1921), 125, lvii (trans.). Lange observes the obvious reference to Marcion, '[d]ass Jesus dem Gesetz fremd ist, ist eine der Kernaussagen Marcions und seiner Anhänger'. (Lange, *Kommentar*, 2:388n789.)

4.2 The Mainstream Greek Tradition

The publication of collation results for the present variation unit in *Text und Textwert* has made it more plain that apart from the Latin bilingual D, the reading *οργισθεις* is attested nowhere else across the entire breadth of the surviving Greek tradition. According to *Text und Textwert*, 1623 out of 1631 possible Greek manuscripts examined at *Teststelle* 24 attest the mainstream reading *σπλαγχνισθεις*, a figure that is of course significant not as a quantity but as a consensus among largely independent witnesses.¹²⁸ Of the seven dissenting witnesses, we find an apparent confusion of letters in 90* (*σπλαγγια της*), *homoeoteleuton* between the respective occurrences of *και λεγων αυτω* in verses 40 and 41 in 1136, and what seems to be a harmonising omission in five Byzantine witnesses, 169, 505, 508, 783*, and 1358.¹²⁹ Again though, the number of witnesses is purely incidental. The real significance lies the diversity of the tradition that stands behind the mainstream reading, represented by witnesses that despite significant differences spanning many centuries and despite the high concentration of variations in the context, all attest the same form of the same verb *σπλαγχνισθεις* in Mark 1:41.¹³⁰

We may gather a sense of the diversity of the Greek tradition in Mark from the *Gruppierung nach Übereinstimmungsquoten* table, listing close relationships for each of 108 primary Markan witnesses, whose agreement with the majority text occurs at less than ninety percent of *Teststellen*.¹³¹ For a witness to qualify as closely-related, ‘the share of its agreements in relation to the total number of test passages they have in common (*Übereinstimmungen gesamt*) must be greater than the number of majority readings in the primary manuscript’ and the closely-related manuscript ‘must agree with the primary manuscript in at least 50% of its differences from the majority

¹²⁸ Aland et al., eds., *Das Markusevangelium. Band 1,2. Resultate der Kollation und Hauptliste*, 47-48, at *Teststelle* 24.

¹²⁹ MS 1358 is erroneously reported in agreement with D. See Cate, ‘Unemotional Jesus’, 1.

¹³⁰ See Haelewyck, ‘Healing’, 15.

¹³¹ K. Aland et al., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. IV. Die synoptischen Evangelien. 1. Das Markusevangelium. Band 1, 1. Handschriftenliste und Vergleichende Beschreibung*, ANTF 26 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), 44-51.

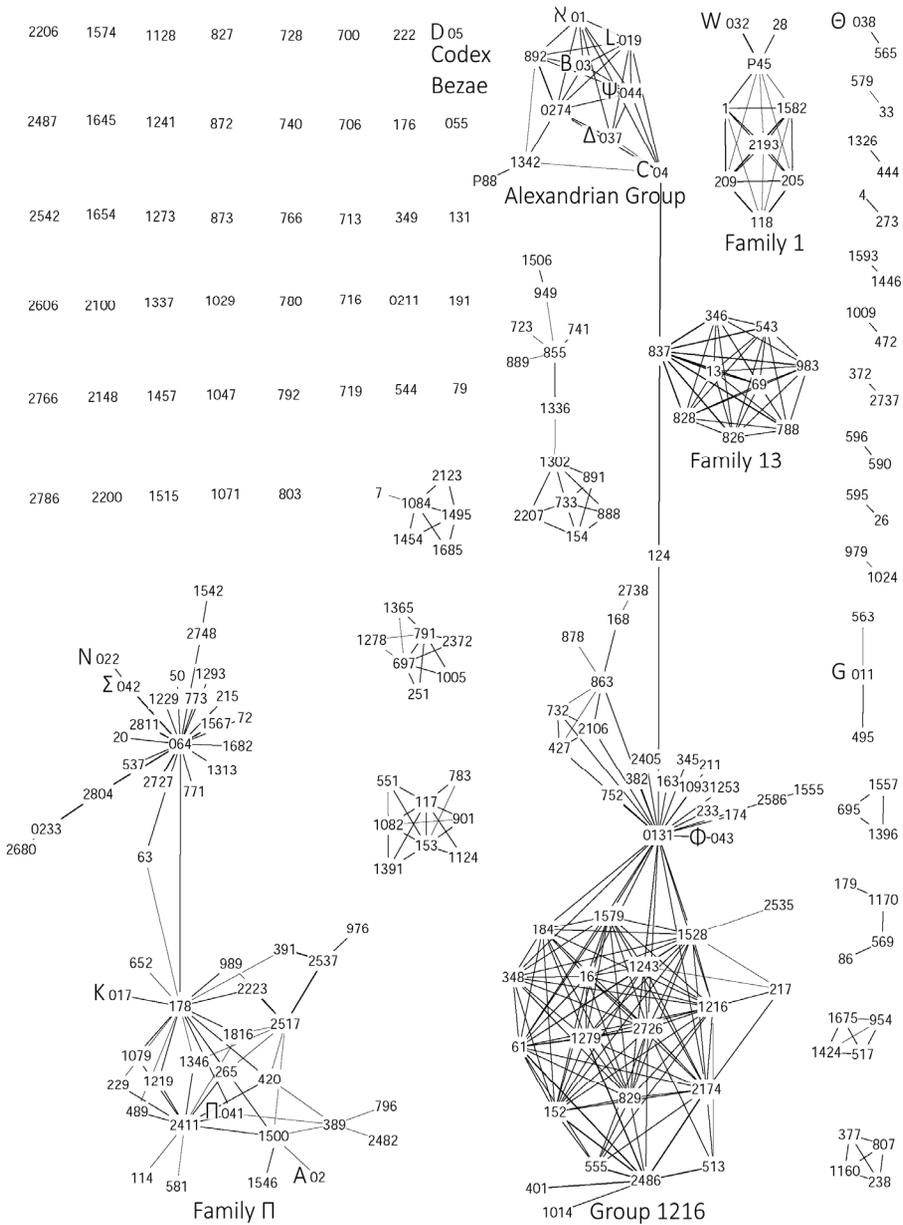


Figure 1: Graph of closely-related witnesses in Mark according to the *Gruppierung* table in *Text und Textwert* with nodes corresponding to witnesses (identified by GA number), edges to close relationships, and shading intensity to percentage of divergence from the Majority text. The graph was produced in Gephi 0:8:2.

reading (*Übereinstimmungen ohne MT*).¹³² In other words, closely-related witnesses tend to agree more with each other than with the broader stream, that is, their agreements are somewhat distinctive.

The raw data are hard to digest, but the relationships may be rendered graphically to aid visualisation, producing a graph as in figure 1. The graph contains 237 nodes representing 108 'primary' witnesses (found in the 'Hs.' column of the Gruppierung table and 84 'compared' witnesses (found in the 'Vghs.' column but not the 'Hs.' column) distributed among twenty-two distinct sub-graphs and 45 'isolate' witnesses that do not appear in a connected graph.¹³³ The high ratio of disconnected groups and isolate witnesses in relation to total witnesses suggests that the Greek tradition of Mark is exceptionally diverse in its text forms. Moreover, the larger groups are represented by manuscripts with a wide range of dates, suggesting a high degree of continuity within the text forms over time.¹³⁴ For example, the Alexandrian Group connecting P88, 01, 03, 04, 019, 037, 044, 0274, 892, and 1342 ranges between the fourth and fourteenth centuries, while Family II connects witnesses dating over a range of ten centuries, from the fifth (02), ninth (017, 041, 1500), tenth (420, 652, 1079, 1816), tenth or eleventh (1346), eleventh (114, 389, 391, 796, 1219, 2517), twelfth (178, 229, 265, 976, 989, 2411), twelfth or thirteenth (2537), thirteenth (1546, 2223), and fourteenth (489, 581, 2482) centuries.¹³⁵ The unanimous support we find for the mainstream reading across the diverse elements of the Greek tradition, particularly its more divergent witnesses, reinforces the stability of the mainstream reading as a feature of the tradition even in the periods for which it has no direct attestation.¹³⁶

¹³² Aland et al., eds., *Das Markusevangelium. Band 1,1. Handschriftenliste und Vergleichende Beschreibung*, 44.

¹³³ By definition 'primary' witnesses agree with the Majority Text at less than 90% of represented Teststellen. Primary witnesses are supported by so-called 'compared' witnesses that agree with them more than they agree with the Majority Text. The 'compared' witnesses may have any level of agreement with the majority. They may or may not be 'primary' witnesses themselves.

¹³⁴ On this feature of 'tenacity' in the Greek tradition, see K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 291-93.

¹³⁵ Note that the composition of Family II suggested by *Gruppierung* data differs from that published in S. Lake, *Family II and the Codex Alexandrinus*, *Studies and Documents* 5 (London, 1936), 15.

¹³⁶ See Epp, 'Canons', 103.

Thus in Family II, we find Codex Alexandrinus (02) dating to the fifth century and Π (041) itself dating to the ninth, with no family members dating to the intervening period. Yet the form must have continued through the intervening centuries. At the same time, the total lack of evidence for Bezae's reading in the Greek tradition proper, that is, beyond its own isolated bilingual group, can only point to its volatility in the Greek tradition, if indeed we must accept that it once *existed* in this tradition, much less that it once *represented* the tradition as a whole. On the other hand, in light of the extraordinary productivity of Bezae's tradition in accumulating unique readings, it is not difficult to imagine scenarios in which the reading might have emerged entirely within Bezae's tradition, though we may not understand the precise mechanism and context.¹³⁷

4.3 Implications for the History of the Text

Ehrman's account of the replacement of *οργισθεις* in the Greek tradition begins with the motive of copyists taking offense at Jesus's anger in a healing context, proposing that these copyists then 'changed the text to make him [Jesus] appear compassionate instead'.¹³⁸ As a historical model, it proposes an analogy whereby '[o]nce the change was made, it could easily have spread like wildfire, as scribes adopted this more comfortable reading instead of the more difficult one, until the original text came to be virtually lost except in a few surviving sources', implying both that the change affected individual copyists and that it spread rapidly and uncontrollably throughout the tradition. But unfortunately this model leaves us with no account of the uniformity we actually find in the Greek tradition. It cannot adequately explain how a reading that at one point represented the entire tradition might have been totally, independently, and uniformly replaced by precisely the same alternative. K. Aland and B. Aland observe with good evidence that the 'variety and complexity of the New Testament

¹³⁷ Bezae attests thirty-seven singular (Greek) readings (*Singulärlesarten*) in 189 *Teststellen*, including *οργισθεις* at *Teststelle* 24 (erroneously cited in agreement with MS. 1358).

¹³⁸ Ehrman, 'Leper', 120, 123, following Turner, 'Textual Commentary', 157; Taylor, *Mark*, 187; Elliott, 'Eclectic Commentary', 53; etc. For a critique of Ehrman's conceptualization of textual change, see U. B. Schmid, 'Scribes and Variants—Sociology and Typology', in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, TS 3/6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 1-23, esp. 5-8.

textual tradition serves the function of a seismograph... [a]ny interference with the regular process of transmission ... is signalled by a profusion of variants'.¹³⁹ But with no sign of disturbance in the Greek tradition, we are left wondering how this transition might have occurred so cleanly. Nor can we suppose that the substitution occurred early enough to pre-empt the establishment of the difficult reading, since we are told that sufficient copies of this reading must have existed long enough for both Matthew and Luke to have independently encountered it in their own quite distinct contexts.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, with the transmission of the reading into the Latin version no earlier than the end of the second century and possibly much later, it is clear the transition must have been gradual. Yet for every generation the reading persisted in the Greek tradition, the less likely it is to have been so systematically eradicated and a uniform alternative established.

To account for the total replacement of the initial *οργισθεις* in Ehrman's model, we are required to make three highly improbable assumptions: first, that independent copyists would have agreed virtually unanimously about the existence and severity of the difficulty; second, that they would have agreed that the difficulty demanded active intervention in editing the text (which they themselves were then willing to undertake); and third, that these copyists-turned-editors would have agreed on a uniform solution to the original 'difficulty'.¹⁴¹ But this model is certainly unrealistic in presupposing a monolithic consistency in the so-called 'scribal' response at three different stages of the transcriptional process, while obliterating distinctions between copyists, readers, editors, and interpreters in the diverse contexts within which they laboured. As U. B. Schmid aptly observes, this conceptualisation of change envisions a multitude of scribes, in fact, 'as many as there are witnesses to that reading, who willingly authored the [same] corruption several times'.¹⁴² Schmid points out that for Ehrman 'the concept of scribes as authors is entirely built on the interpretation of variants in almost complete isolation from their physical containers (the manuscripts) and their sociological

¹³⁹ Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 295-96.

¹⁴⁰ Ehrman, 'Leper', 123-126. But see also the critique in Williams, 'Examination', 3-4.

¹⁴¹ But even among critics, difficulty is perceived subjectively. See E. Tov, 'Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules', *HTR* (1982), 429-48, esp. 440.

¹⁴² Schmid, 'Scribes and Variants', 6.

environment (the professional setting of those who produced them)¹⁴³. It should come as no surprise then that this model that overlooks the possibility of individual and contextual diversity in response to a reading that as our evidence suggests was not in fact considered universally difficult, would by extension falter under the scrutiny of the criterion of textual diversity. But in just the few cases where Jesus's anger at the leper is apparently attested, we have found evidence of a more diverse response. We have found that the alleged difficulty might be preserved if embraced under the auspices of a sacred relic, as in the case of Codex Vercellensis, or directed at heretics deemed deserving of the Lord's wrath, as in the Syriac *Commentary on the Diatessaron*, or rooted in a conservative tradition mistrustful of any change at all. In fact, given the array of contexts in which Jesus's anger is found rather unexceptionable, we are justified in wondering whether the supposed difficulty of Jesus' anger at a leper he is about to heal is not somewhat overstated.¹⁴⁴

The possibility that the reading originated in the Latin-bilingual or even Latin tradition is more consistent with the evidence of both the non-bilingual Greek tradition, where we search in vain for signs of disturbance involving the alternative participle, and the Old Latin tradition, where the level of disturbance stands out even in this somewhat free tradition.¹⁴⁵ Considering the evidence, we find in addition to *iratus* in a, d, ff2, and r1*, the distinctive noun plus participial form *miseracordia acta* in e, to be distinguished from *misertus* (from *misereri*) in f and the Vulgate, but *misertus est* in aur and c and *misertus* occurring *before* the subject *autem ihesus* in q, while *miseratus est* (from *miserari*) according to Ambrose and (*mis*)*iratus* (apparently also from *miserari*) by the corrector of r1 (where *mis* is prefixed above the line).¹⁴⁶ Copyists in the tradition of b seem to have omitted the troublesome participial construction altogether.¹⁴⁷ So for just eleven witnesses we find no less than eight

¹⁴³ Schmid, 'Scribes and Variants', 8-9.

¹⁴⁴ As suggested by no shortage of explanations for Jesus's anger in the commentaries. For a sample, see Ehrman, 'Leper', 135-138.

¹⁴⁵ See Greeven and Güting, *Textkritik*, 120. Note also signs of disturbance in Mark 1:43, often seen as related to those in Mark 1:41, for example, by Ehrman, 'Leper', 128 and Haelewyck, 'Healing', 33. Concerning Bezae's tradition, see Parker, *Bezae*, 258.

¹⁴⁶ See Haelewyck, *Secundum Marcum*, 159.

¹⁴⁷ Extensive minuses in b show it could not have been assimilated to either Matthew or Luke as suggested by Haelewyck, 'Healing', 31.

different forms involving the participial construction and four different Latin verbs covering a range of emotional nuances.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, the stark silence of the Greek tradition suggests that Jesus's anger at the leper was essentially unknown outside of the Old Latin tradition. At the same time, we find little to assure us that our sole instance of the Greek reading $\sigma\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ might not reflect a one-time transcriptional anomaly or side effect of inter-versional interaction within an already eventful bilingual tradition. Perhaps this is one case where Bezae's Latin column has influenced its Greek text as has apparently occurred elsewhere.¹⁴⁹ Or perhaps it reflects a period of free development on the Greek side of Bezae's bilingual tradition which in turn influenced the Latin.¹⁵⁰ While of course neither of these suggestions is without difficulty, both have the significant advantage of avoiding speculative historical models while confining uncertainty more plausibly to smaller segments of the tradition.

5. Conclusion

I have argued that the role of diversity in evaluating the external evidence has not adequately been considered in recent discussion of the reading $\sigma\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ in Mark 1:41. As a result, the criterion of difficulty has tended to dominate the discussion, while the mainstream reading is dismissed as another 'majority' reading. But this overlooks the nature of the evidence for the mainstream reading, which in fact rests on its diversity of support, and leaves unanswered questions concerning the independence of support for $\sigma\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ with its close ties to the Latin version. These concerns are borne out by close analysis of palaeographical, codicological, textual, and historical evidence. It was noticed that parallels between these witnesses and the citations of early Latin Christian writers converge around a circle of anti-homoian bishops active in northern Italy in the latter half of the fourth century,

¹⁴⁸ The four verbs are *misereri*, *miserari*, *ago* (+ *miserecordia*), and *irascor*.

¹⁴⁹ '[I]n der griechisch-lateinischen Bilingue D der lateinische Text gelegentlich den griechischen beeinflusst, ist bekannt.' (Greeven and Güting, *Textkritik*, 120.) See also Parker, *Bezae*, 256, who observes that '[p]resent opinion rightly discards the theory that wholesale Latinization of the Greek has occurred. However, the fact remains that in a number of places Latinization remains the best explanation of the text.' For evidence in both directions, see Parker, *Bezae*, 180-86, 215-28, 248-49, 250-58, 281.

¹⁵⁰ For a tentative reconstruction of Bezae's bilingual tradition, see Parker, *Bezae*, 258, 281.

who were not only co-located and contemporaneous, but also collaborators in the effort to reassert Nicene doctrine in the West, in a context that would have demanded a closely controlled text. A plausible historical framework is then suggested for retransmission of the reading *iratus* entirely within the Latin tradition, a framework that receives some support from indications of resistance to the Greek text in the West in the latter fourth century. We cannot assume then that any Latin witness of *iratus* represents independent testimony of the Greek text. While it may be conjectured that the reading originated in the Greek tradition, all available evidence can be linked to the Latin or Latin bilingual traditions. Therefore, in the present case, concerns raised by the criterion of diversity appear to be validated. We have to wonder whether external questions might not after all turn out to be an Achilles heel for a reading that is claimed to have been the initial reading of the entire manuscript tradition in all of its diversity.