It is not improbable that the branch of the family which traced
descent through Zerubbabel and the long line of kings of Judah was
more exposed to the jealousy of the Hasmonaeans than the family of
Nathan; and it may well be that they deemed it politic to settle
outside Judaea. We have no certain data to go upon, and can only
consider what would be likely to happen, the political circumstances
being as they were. If, however, we may suppose—and there is no
great improbability in the supposition—that in the first century after
Christ there were living in Palestine two families claiming descent from
David through Solomon and Nathan respectively, we have ready to
hand a simple explanation of the discrepancy between the first and
third Gospels in the lineage of Joseph. The first evangelist, or the
source which he followed, assumed that Joseph was the heir of David
through the Solomonic line; the third evangelist, who may be sup­
posed to have had access to a genealogy of the descendants of David
through Nathan, assumed, or was informed, that it was to this branch
that Joseph belonged. This indeed is mere conjecture, but conjecture
which takes account of whatever data are available need not be lightly
set aside. Certainly in the Apostolic age more was known about the
descendants of David than a casual reading of the Old Testament
would lead us to expect. If ‘the family of Nathan’ remained in
Judaea, it may perhaps have perished in the troubles of the siege of
Jerusalem; and after A.D. 70 ‘the family of David’ who traced descent
through Solomon may well have been the sole surviving hope of those
who still looked for the restoration of David’s rule.

R. H. KENNEDY.

MARCAN USAGE: NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL, ON THE SECOND GOSPEL

VII. Particles (continued)

(2) "Ori recitative (after λέγων or similar verbs).

Much more common in St Mark than the odd use of ὁρι as interrogative,
discussed in the number of this Journal for October 1925 (xxvii 58-62),
is the idiom of a superfluous ὁρι after the verb ‘to say’ or the like,
introducing not the oratio obliqua, as we should expect, but the oratio
recta. In the large majority of cases, as will be seen, Matthew and
(where a parallel is extant) Luke, drop the particle.

I proceed to catalogue some forty instances.

1. i 14, 15 κηρύσσον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ [καὶ] λέγων ὁρι Πεπλήρωται
1. i 37 καὶ ἔφην αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντιν αὐτῷ ὅτι Πάντες ἔξτησαν σε. No parallel in Matthew or Luke.

3. i 40 λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἐὰν θέλης, δύνασαι με καθαρίσαι. Ὅτι is dropped by both the other Synoptists. Their influence has caused it to disappear from many authorities in Mark, including C D L W Θ 28 and most Latins: but it has rightly survived in Ν A B Δ a.

4. ii 12 ὅστε ἐξετάσατο πάντας καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν θεὸν λέγοντας ὅτι Οὐτὸς οὐδέποτε ἐκδαιμ. Matthew alters the last half of the clause and omits Ὅτι: Luke retains. In Mark λέγοντας is omitted by B W b.: but the combined evidence of Luke and of Marcan usage is too strong to be overthrown even by B.

5. ii 17 λέγει αὐτῶι ὅτι Οὐ χρείαν ἔξοσαν οἱ ἱσχύοντες ἱατροῦ ... οὐκ ἡλθον καλέσαι δικαίον. Both Matthew and Luke omit Ὅτι: and in this familiar saying of our Lord their texts have exercised even more than their usual disintegrating influence on the authorities for Mark: but Ὅτι is rightly retained by Β Δ Θ 565.

6. iii 17 τὰ πνείματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα ... ἐκράζουν λέγοντες ὅτι Σὺ εἶ ὁ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ. No parallel in Matthew: Luke, as in 4, retains λέγοντα Ὅτι (iv 41), though λέγοντες, not λέγοντα, must I think be right in Mark. There is the same mixture of masculine and neuter in the story of the demoniac in Mark v 10–13: and the change by scribes of λέγοντες to λέγοντα is far more probable than the converse one. λέγοντες is read only by Ν D W 69 and a very few others, followed by Tischendorf and W-H margin.

7. iii 21 ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι Ἐξέστη. There is no parallel in the other Synoptists. But for Marcan usage, we could of course treat Ἐξέστη as oratio obliqua. [I mark with an asterisk this single instance of past tense after λέγων Ὅτι].

8. iii 22 ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελξεβοῦλ ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι Ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμο­νίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. Both Matthew and Luke have εἶπον without Ὅτι: in Mark only D omits.

9. iii 28 ἀµὴν λέγω ἤµῶν ὅτι Πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς νεκρῶν τῶν άνθρώπων ... Matthew omits Ὅτι: Luke has no parallel. No authorities omit in Mark. I place within square brackets those instances where Ὅτι follows ἀµὴν λέγω ἤµῶν, since Matthew towards the end of his Gospel not infrequently retains Ὅτι in this connexion, see on 34: so too Luke in 32, 34.

10. iv 21 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῶι ὅτι Μὴν ἔρχεται ὁ λόχος ἵνα ὑπὸ τῶν μόδιων
NOTES AND STUDIES

τεθη: No parallel in Matthew: and the introductory words as far as ὅτι are dropped in Luke. Most authorities in Mark omit ὅτι: the Ferrar group substitutes ἓστε: for ὅτι we have B L 892 sah and Marcan usage.

11. v 23 καὶ παρακαλεὶ αὐτὸν πολλά, λέγων ὅτι Τὸ θυγατρίων μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει. Matthew omits ὅτι: Luke changes the construction. In Mark some Westerns—D and the Ferrar group: so too the best Old Latins, but in such cases versions must be cited with caution, or perhaps not at all, because the earliest translators rendered with some regard to the genius of their own language—wrongly omit ὅτι.


13. v 35 ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγωγοῦ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡ θυγάτηρ σου ἀπέθανεν. Matthew has no parallel: Luke retains the ὅτι, as do all our authorities in Mark.

14. vi 4 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ὁὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ. Matthew again omits: no Lucan parallel. In Mark only Δ and the Ferrar group, with a few others, omit.

15. vi 14, 15 ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἰωάνης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν... ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἡλείας ἔστιν... ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι Προφήτης... Matthew has no parallel to verses 14 and 15: Luke, as in 13, retains ὅτι, but in each case he has aorist tenses after ὅτι, so that ὀρατία ὀβλικα is more easily suggested than by the present tenses of Mark. There is no variation in Mark.

16. vi 18 ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὅτι Ἰωάνης τῷ Ἡρώδη ὅτι Οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναίκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. Once more Matthew drops, and there is no Lucan parallel. Omission in Mark is supported only by D 28 and a very few others.

17. vi 23 καὶ ὁμοσεν αὐτῷ ὅτι Ὁ ἐὰν με αἰτήσῃς δώσω σοι. No Lucan parallel, and in Matthew a change of construction. In Mark we have dissident witnesses in B Δ ὅτι εἶ, and D εἰ τι ἐν.

18. vi 35 προσελθόντες [αὐτῷ] οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἐρημός ἔστιν ὁ τόπως... ἀπόλυσον αὐτοὺς. Both Matthew and Luke omit the ὅτι: but the authorities in Mark are unanimous for it.

19. vii 6 α ἐπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Καλὼς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ἵμων... The construction is changed, and ὅτι omitted, in Matt. In Mark the authorities are divided: those who retain ὅτι here omit it later in the sentence (see no. 20), and εἰς τέσσαρα, save that Δ Θ 33 omit in both places. No witness gives it in both places: yet Marcan usage suggests that it is right in both. AD W etc. give it here.

20. vii 6 ὁ Καλὼς ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἡσαίας περὶ ἵμων τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς γέγραπται ὅτι Οἶδος ὁ λαὸς τοὺς χειλεσθὼς με τυμα... Matthew drops ὅτι:
Luke ceases to offer any parallels till no. 23. In Mark only three witnesses support ὅτι, Β Λ L (syr-sin): but Marcan usage puts aside any doubt of their being right.

21. vii 20 ἔλεγεν δὲ ὅτι Τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐκεῖνο κοινῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Matthew drops the introductory words ἔλεγεν δὲ ὅτι altogether, so offers no real parallel. No variant in Mark.

22. viii 4 καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι Πόθεν τούτοις δινήσατε τις οὐδεὶς χρησάμεν ἐπὶ ἐρημίας; Matthew, as we should guess he would, omits the ὅτι: even in Mark it is found in only three authorities Β Λ Δ, but Marcan usage of course proves it right, and both Tischendorf and W-H accept it.

23. viii 28 οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἰωάννης τῶν βαπτιστῶν ἀλλοι δὲ ὅτι εἰς τῶν προφητῶν. Small wonder that this strange phrase with its tautology εἶπαν λέγοντες is not reproduced by either Matthew or Luke—both drop ὅτι, Matthew drops λέγοντες, and Luke changes it to ἀποκριθέντες. In Mark Β* B (syr-sin) are the only witnesses to give ὅτι, of course rightly.¹

24. ix 31 καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ὁ νῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοτα εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων. Matthew omits ὅτι: Luke changes the construction, and so gets rid of it. All authorities retain it in Mark.

25. ix 41 ἀμὴν λέγω ὡμιὲν ὅτι Ὑμῖν μη ἀπολέγαρ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. There are no parallels in the other Synoptists: in the text of Mark ὅτι is supported by Β Β C* D L W Δ θ syr-sin and, exceptionally, by several Latins including k.]

26. x 32, 33 ἧπατο αὐτῶν λέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῶν συμβαίνειν, ὅτι Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα . . . Both Matthew and Luke omit ὅτι: but there is no variant in Mark.

27. xi 17 Οὐ γέγραπται ὅτι Ὁ οἶκος μοι οἶκος προσευχῆς κλήθηται πᾶσι τῶν ἔθνεσιν; Both Matthew and Luke turn the question into a statement of fact, and both omit the ὅτι. Omission of ὅτι in Mark is confined to a small group including CD 69.

28. xii 7 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ γεωργοὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εἶπαν ὅτι Οὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κληρονόμος: δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτῶν. Again both the other Synoptists drop the ὅτι: and again the omitting group in Mark is small, D Θ 1 28 565 being the only Greek authorities on that side.

29. xii 19 Διδάσκαλε, Μωσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Ἐάν τινος ἐδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ . . . Once more ὅτι disappears in Matthew and Luke: but in Mark it is only absent from D 69 108 of Greek MSS.

30. xii 28, 29 Ποιὰ ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων; ἀπεκρίθη δ Ἡρῴδει ὅτι Πρώτῃ ἐστὶν Ἀκοε Ἰσραήλ . . . Matthew and Luke both abbreviate here, and both drop not only ὅτι but the words that immediately follow.

¹ It may be noted here that k faithfully reproduces εἶπαν λέγοντες by dixerunt dicentes: for dicentes and not omnes is the true reading of the MS.
The omitting group in Mark tends to be stereotyped: here it is
D W 1 28 565 with three other cursives.

31. xii 32 Καλώς, διδάσκαλε ἐπ' ἀληθείας εἶπες ὅτι Εἶς ἐστίν καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν ἄλλος πλῆρην αὐτοῦ. There are no parallels in Matthew or Luke: and no dissentient voices in Mark.

[32. xii 43 Ἁμὴν λέγω υμῖν ὅτι Ἡ χῆρα αὐτὴ ἢ πτωχὴ πλεῖον πάντων ἔβαλεν. Ὅτι is retained by Luke (there is no Matthaean parallel) and is found without variant in Mark. As often, the phrase λέγω υμῖν ὅτι passes unchallenged.]

33. xiii 6 πολλοὶ ἀλείφονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες ὅτι Ἔγώ εἰμι. A striking instance, where the agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark in the omission of Ὅτι well reflects the 'usage' of the three writers. In Mark D 33 omit.

[34. xiii 30 Ἁμὴν λέγω υμῖν ὅτι Οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἢ γενεὰ αὐτὴ... Ὅτι is read by all authorities in Mark and almost all in Luke: in Matt. xxiv 34 the reading is doubtful, but B D L 1 fam. 13 give Ὅτι, and they outweigh Ν. The phrase λέγω υμῖν ὅτι is not so unusual or so repellent to the sense of style as the ordinary Marcan Ἄλλα ὅτι in narrative: and towards the end of the Gospel, as will be seen, Matthew who consistently rejects the latter, not infrequently accepts the former, see nos. 36, 37, 39.]

35. xiv 14 εἴπατε τῷ οἰκοδαιμότητι ὅτι Ὅ διδάσκαλος λέγει: τοῦ ἐστιν τὸ κατάλυμα μου; In Mark some twenty MSS (but none of importance) omit, influenced no doubt by omission in both Matthew and Luke.

[36. xiv 18 Ἁμὴν λέγω υμῖν ὅτι Εἶς εἷς υἱῶν παραδώσει με. Ὅτι is without variant in Mark and Matthew, cf. no. 34: in Luke there is no parallel.]

[37. xiv 25 Ἁμὴν λέγω υμῖν ὅτι Οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῶς ἰκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἄμφελου... Again no parallel in Luke: again no variant in Mark, but as in 34 authorities are divided over Ὅτι in Matt. xxvi 29. For omission are Ν D Z 1 33 and half a dozen others: for insertion A B C L Δ W and the rest. It is rather surprising that W-H omit without even a marginal variant.]

38. xiv 27 καὶ λέγει αὕτοῖς ὅ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε. Ὅτι is without variant in Mark, and omission is without variant in Matthew: no parallel in Luke.

[39. xiv 30 Ἁμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι Σὺ σήμερον ταύτη τῇ νυκτί... τρίς με ἀπαρήγαγη. Ὅτι is without variant in Mark and Matthew: but omission is without variant in Luke.]

40. xiv 57, 58 ἐπενεδομαρτύρων κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡμεῖς ἥκουσαμεν αὐτοῦ... Ὅτι without variant in Mark: omission without variant in Matthew: no Lucan parallel.

41. xiv 58 ἥκουσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἔγώ καταλύσω τῶν ναὸν τούτον
The details are the same exactly as in the last case, Matthew omitting ὅτι.

42. xiv 69 ἵδονσα αὐτὸν ἠρέστη πάλιν λέγειν τοὺς παρεστώσιν ὅτι Ὀδος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑστίν. Ὅτι is omitted by both Matthew and Luke, but is without variant in Mark.

43. xiv 71 ὅ ḇ ἠρέστη... ὅμωναὶ ὅτι Κύκ ὑδα τὸν ἀνθρωπον. Transferred without change by Matthew to his own Gospel. Luke, not liking to say that Peter ' cursed and swore', abbreviates the sentence, and in the process drops ὅτι.

44. xiv 72 καὶ ἀνεμνησθῇ ὅ Πέτρος τὸ ἡμα ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρίν. ... τρίς με ἀπαρνήσθη. Ὅτι is given by all three Synoptists on the practically unanimous testimony of all Greek MSS other than D.

45. xvi 7 εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι Προέρχεται ἤμας εἰς τὴν Γαλαλαίαν. Ὅτι is retained by Matthew, but the whole sentence undergoes drastic rearrangement in Luke and ὅτι disappears in the process. Did Matthew, towards the end of the Gospel, tire of making as many changes as in the earlier part in the process of making the Marcan material his own? He retains ἄμφω λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι first in 34 (Matt. xxiv 34), and ὅτι in other connexions only in 43, 44, 45 (Matt. xxvi 74, 75, xxviii 7).

What are the results to be gathered from this long enumeration?

In the first place, that in all these forty-five instances not more than four verbs are employed in introducing the ὅτι clause. Three times γράφειν γράφεσθαι (of Scripture), 20, 27, 29: twice ὅμωναι, 17, 43: twice ἀποκρίνεσθαι, 22, 30: but thirty-eight times λέγειν (εἶπεν). The mere statement of 'Marcan usage' is enough to prove that in the one case where our authorities differ, 1, λέγων must be right. Nothing emerges, I think, more decisively from the whole series of notes on 'Marcan usage' than the immense superiority in Mark of the text of B to the text of N.

The edition of Tischendorf (and to a less extent that of W-H) is vitiated by the too great deference shewn to the latter MS.

In the second place, if we classify our forty-five instances according to the type of the ὅτι clause, we find

(a) that seven times it occurs not in narrative but in direct statements of our Lord, 9, 25, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, ἄμφων λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι... , and that the other two Synoptists retain ὅτι in these cases much oftener than in the rest: Matthew accepts it in 34 (probably), 36, 37 (probably), 39—he has no parallel to 25 and 32; Luke has no parallel to 9, 25, 36, 37, but retains ὅτι in 32 and 34. That is to say, Matthew only drops ὅτι once, in 9, Luke only once, in 39. Clearly, then, in dealing with ὅτι recitativum, we must isolate these cases from the rest: and indeed they are not strictly 'recitative' at all.
(b) that, of the remaining thirty-eight cases, (i) three introduce quotations from Scripture, 20, 27, 29; (ii) two introduce questions, 10 and 22; (iii) ten\(^1\) introduce statements in the third person which, if they stood alone, might be treated as oratio obliqua, 7, 8, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24, 30, 31, 42; (iv) in the other twenty-three cases ὅτι is followed by a first or second person, so that these are necessarily in oratio recta. Now of all these cases, Luke omits ὅτι in all but five (4, 6, 13, 15, 44), Matthew in all but three (43, 44, 45), sometimes of course by changing the construction, more often by simply dropping the particle. As there are many more parallels in Matthew (thirty-one) than in Luke (twenty-two), the proportion varies as between the two, Luke retaining ὅτι five times out of twenty-two, or nearly one in four, Matthew only three times out of thirty-one, or one in ten.

On twelve occasions Matthew and Luke agree in simply dropping the ὅτι of Mark, 3, 5, 8, 18, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 42. Twelve agreements, then, of the two later Synoptists against Mark are cleared off the ground on examination of ‘Marcan usage’.

(3) Asyndeta or absence of particles in Mark.

The following rough list is probably not at all exhaustive,\(^2\) but it is sufficient to illustrate my point, and it is reinforced (see § 4 below) by the special cases of ναὶ, οὖν, and ὅτι.

2. i 22 ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, οὖν ὥς οἱ γραμματεῖς. So D b c d e: the rest read καὶ οὖν with Matthew: Luke omits the last half of the phrase.
5. ii 17 οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἱσχύοντες ἑαυτοῦ . . . οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίως. . . . As in the last case Luke follows Mark, and Matthew inserts γάρ, οὐ γάρ ἦλθον καλέσαι . . .
7. ii 25, 26 οὖν ἔδειτος ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαυίδ . . .; εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ. . . So B D (and a ‘et’): the remainder τῶς εἰσήλθεν with Matt.: οὐς εἰσήλθεν Luke, though B D omit as in Mark, perhaps rightly.

\(^1\) But in only one of these, 7, is the statement in the past tense.

\(^2\) I have omitted all instances where there is no parallel in Matthew or Luke.
8. iii 27 οὖ δύναται οὖδεις εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἱσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν . . . So A D W and most Greek MSS, e and most Latins, and syr-sin: B and a few other good authorities prefix ἀλλὰ, but ἀλλὰ at the beginning of a sentence is extraordinarily rare in Mark, xiii 24 being the only other example. Luke is not strictly parallel: Matthew has ἦ πῶς . . .


10. iv 24 βλέπετε τί ἀκούστε: ἐν ὧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, μετρηθῇσταὶ ὑμῖν. In what are practically the parallels, Matt. vii 2, Luke vi 38, γὰρ is added by both the other Synoptists.

11. viii 15 ὡράτε βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων . . . Matthew ὡράτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ, Luke προσέχετε ἑαυτός ἀπὸ: βλέπετε ἀπὸ in the sense 'to beware of' is a Marcan vulgarism (cf. xii 38), which the other Synoptists instinctively avoid. In Mark the reading is not doubtful: but three separate attempts are made in different authorities to emend the text and get rid of the asyndeton or of the double verb: D Θ fam. r 565 omit ὡράτε, Δ omits βλέπετε, C fam. 13 insert καί between the verbs.

12. ix 38 ἐφι αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰωάννης. No parallel in Matthew: Luke ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης εἶπεν. In Mark all authorities but B D Δ Θ sah and a few of the best Old Latins including k, with syr-sin, avoid the asyndeton, either by adding δὲ or by prefixing καί.

13. x 9 ὁ θεὸς συνεζεύξεν, ἀνθρωπὸς μὴ χωρίzetο. No parallel in Luke: Matthew ὁ θεὸς . . ., and from Matthew most MSS of Mark. The true reading without ὁ θεὸς is preserved only in D and k.

14. x 14 ἀφετε τὰ παιδία ἐρχεσθαι πρὸς με, μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά. Both Matthew and Luke alter to καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά, and they have drawn after them a large majority of the MSS of Mark. But the shorter reading has for it B W Δ, a dozen more uncials and some eighty cursives.

15. x 24, 25 πῶς δύσκολον ἔστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθέν· εὐκοπώτεροι ἔστιν κάμηλον. . . Matthew ὅτι εὐκοπώτερον, Luke εὐκοπώτερον γὰρ. Evidence for the asyndeton in Mark is only qualified by δὲ in A, and γὰρ in a few others.


17. x 28 ἤρξατο λέγειν ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ. τότε ἤρξατο Matthew, εἶπεν δὲ Luke. In Mark we find καὶ ἤρξατο, ἤρξατο δὲ, τότε ἤρξατο, ἤρξατο οὖν: but ἤρξατο without connecting particle in Δ A B C W Δ Θ syr-sin, and a good many others.

18. x 29 (the fourth asyndeton in five verses) ἐφή ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Matthew ὅ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῶις: Luke ὅ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῶις. In Mark only B Δ
give ἐφή alone, and it is possible that with the rest we ought to prefix ἀποκριθέον: but even so most of them retain the asyndeton.

19. xii 9 τί ποιήσει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος; τί οὖν ποιήσει Luke, and similarly Matthew ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, τί ποιήσει . . . In Mark only B L (syr-sin sah) give the shorter reading without οὖν: but they are certainly right.

20. xii 17 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν. Τὰ Καίσαρος ἀπόδοτε (al. Ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος) Καίσαρι. Matthew ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος, Luke τοὺς ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος. This time only a few authorities in Mark insert οὖν.

21. xii 20 εἶπτα ἀδελφοί ἦσαν. Luke ἔπτα οὖν ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, Matthew ἦσαν δὲ χαῖρε χαῖρε ἀδελφοί. In Mark Ν Α Β Β Θ, the great majority of Greek MSS, syr-sin and k, read as above.

22. xii 23 εἰς τῇ ἀναστάσει . . . τίνος αὐτῶν ἔσται γεννή; Both Matthew and Luke insert οὖν: omitted in Mark by Ν Β Α Θ, many other Greek MSS, and k.

23. xii 24 ἐφῇ αὐτῶι ὁ Ἰησοῦς. So in Mark Ν Β Α Θ 33 k, much as in 21 and 22, but without support from later MSS: καὶ εἶπεν Luke, ἀποκριθέον δὲ . . . εἶπεν Matthew.


27. xiii 8 ἐγερθῆσαι γὰρ έθνος ἐπ’ ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν ἐσονται σεισμοί κατὰ τότος, ἐσονται λυμοί. The first ἐσονται with Ν Β Λ Ζ 28 124 and the Egyptian versions, the second ἐσονται with Ν Β Λ (W) 28 sah: the rest in each case prefix καὶ. Matthew and Luke combine the two ἐσονται clauses into one, Matthew connecting with the ἐγερθῆσαι clause by καὶ, Luke by τε.


30. xiii 34 ὃς ἄνθρωπος ἀπόδημος ἀφείς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦς τοῖς δοῦλοις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξοντιάν . . . So all the best authorities in Mark: but many MSS borrow γάρ from Matthew ἦσον γάρ ἄνθρωπος ἀποδημῶν . . . No parallel again in Luke.

31. xiv 3 ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυ. VOL. XXVIII.
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tełoż: συντρόφωσα τήν ἀλάβαστρον κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τής κεφαλῆς. So only
N B L: the rest prefix καὶ to συντρόφωσα. Matthew, omitting συντρόφωσα
tήν ἅ., gives καὶ κατέχεεν. Luke omits the whole incident, having related
a parallel story in vii 36-50: this covers also 32, 33..

32. xiv 6 τί αὐτὴ κόπους παρέχετε; καλὸν ἔργον ἔργαζετο ἐν ἐμοί.
So all but a few MSS of Mark: N W fam. 13 28 have καλὸν γὰρ ἔργον
with Matthew’s ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν . . .

33. xiv 8 ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν προέλαβεν μνημόνιον τοῦ σῶμα εἰς τὸν
ἔνταφιασμόν. The asyndeton is without variant in Mark: Matthew
adds γὰρ, βαλοῦσα γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ μύρον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ σῶματός μου.

34. xiv 19 ἔρημαν λυπεύεσθαι καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ ἐκατὰ ἑας· Ἕττι ἐγώ;
So N B L. Origen in Mark: nearly all the rest avoid the asyndeton by
οἱ ἔρημαν . . ., not on this occasion following Matthew’s καὶ λυπού-
μενοι σφόδρα ἔρημαν λέγειν . . . There is therefore somewhat less cer-
tainty in this case: yet Marcan usage, combined with the excellent record
of B in the whole series of passages here enumerated, is I think decisive.
Luke, as so often in the Passion narrative (cf. 35), has no parallel.

35. xiv 41 καθεδρίζετε τὸ λαύτον καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἀπέχειν ἄλθεν ἡ ὃρα,
ἰδοὺ παραδίδοται ὁ νῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . So with few exceptions (D W
and Old Latins) the texts of Mark: Matthew omits the difficult ἀπέχει,
and substitutes ἴδον ἠγείρικεν ἡ ὃρα καὶ ὁ νῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται . . .

36. xiv 63, 64 τί ἐτί χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἥκούσατε τής βλασφη-
μώς.1 No important witness differs in Mark save N, which follows

37. xvi 6 μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε· Ἡρῴδους ἥγετε τῶν Ἡλλατρῶν τῶν ἔσταυρο-
μένων. Mark leaves us in doubt whether the second clause is a state-
ment or a question: Matthew with οἶδα γὰρ οὕτι . . . ἥγετε interprets
in the former sense, Luke with τί ἥγετε in the latter.

38. xvi 6 δ ἡγέρθη, οὐκ ἐστιν ὄν. So Mark without variant:

These passages are enough to prove to demonstration, in the first
place, Mark’s fondness for asyndeta—it corresponds to his rough
unliterary style—and, in the second place, the constant tendency in
Matthew and Luke to remove the asyndeta by providing particles to
supply some sort of connexion with what precedes. Sometimes, as we
should expect, they provide the same particles, sometimes different
ones. Out of some twenty-five cases where both Matthew and Luke
have parallels to the Marcan text, Luke retains the asyndeton twice
(4 and 5),2 Matthew never: in twelve cases they give different supple-

1 I think ‘Marcan usage’ is decisive against W-H’s punctuation ἥκούσατε τής
βλασφήμως; Compare e. g. ii 7, the statement βλασφήμους between two questions.
2 Possibly also in 7.
ments, in ten cases the same, namely 1 μὲν, 10 γὰρ, 14 καὶ, 16 δὲ, 18 δὲ, 19 οὖν, 22 οὖν, 24 bis οὖν, 25 γὰρ, 26 γὰρ. Ten cases may seem a large proportion: but the supplements are always natural ones, or indeed the most natural ones, and the agreements against Mark—side by side with a rather larger number of divergent supplements—mean no more than that the two later Synoptists, editing the text of the earlier Gospel, often hit independently on the same obvious improvements.

But further we learn of course something of the relative value of our authorities for the text of St Mark. In this particular section of our enquiry, the excellence of B stands out unchallenged: in eight instances the asyndeton is practically without variant, at any rate in all the older authorities, but in the remaining thirty-one B is right—on the assumption that an 'asyndeton' reading is to be preferred—in no less than twenty-eight, the exceptions being 2, 8, and 13. N is right in twenty-one cases; the exceptions (besides the three just mentioned, which it shares with B) are 7, 9, 14, 19, 29, 32, 36. D is right in only nine cases, though it should be noted that in 2, 7, 12, 13, 28, it gives the shorter reading with only a few companions. But k, for the part of the Gospel for which it is extant (from 12 onwards), has a better record than D of asyndetan: 12, 13, 21, 22, 23, 24, 24 bis, four times against D. In 13, a quite certain case, D k stand alone with the right reading.

(4). Particles absent from Mark.

i. ναὶ.

ναὶ is found eight times in Matthew, v 37, ix 28, xi 9, xi 26, xiii 51, xv 27, xvii 25, xxi 16: four times in Luke, vii 26, x 21, xi 51, xii 5. On two occasions the passages in Matthew and Luke are parallel, Matt. xi 9 = Luke vii 26 ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν περισσότερον προφήτων, Matt. xi 26 = Luke x 21 ναὶ ὁ πατὴρ, ὅτι ὦτος εὐδοκία ἐξπροσθέν σον: both passages presumably come from Q. But further the two other occasions where ναὶ is found in Luke belong also it would seem to Q sections: Luke xi 51 ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν (Matthew ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν), xii 5 ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν (omitted by Matthew). It is possible therefore that Luke never uses ναὶ except where he is following Q.

Of the other six instances in Matthew, five occur in matter not found in Mark: the sixth, Matt. xv 27, is parallel to Mark vii 28. The printed texts give ναὶ in both Gospels as introducing the answer of the Syrophoenician woman to our Lord's objection about throwing the children's bread to dogs. There is no other case of the use of ναὶ in St Mark: and 'Marcan usage' is reinforced by the testimony of witnesses who omit it even here.

These witnesses are DWΘ fam.13 565 b c ff i syr-sin: all 'Western'
indeed, but Western of very varied types. It is noteworthy that W-H gave the omission of *va* a place in the margin of their edition before the evidence of either W or Θ or the Sinai Syriac was available: and obviously, whatever was to be said on internal grounds before the new witnesses were known, the external evidence is now very strongly reinforced. The ΝΒ group, in fact, have suffered assimilation to Matthew: and the solitary instance of *va* in St Mark disappears.¹

ii. *οὗν.*

*οὗν* is found in Matthew nearly sixty times, in Luke some thirty times—i.e. in proportion to the length of his Gospel about half as often as in Matthew—in Mark at the outside seven times: but on three of these seven W-H omit *οὗν* entirely, and on a fourth they bracket it. The weight of ‘Marcan usage’ is so strong that omission is presumably right where there is even a small body of good witnesses in support of it; and possibly right, where a parallel in Matthew will account for its insertion, without any external evidence at all.

1. x 9 δ *οὗν* ὁ θεὸς συνέζευξεν ἀνθρωπὸς μὴ χωρέτη. So word for word Matthew, and so the critical editions of Mark with the vast majority of MSS. But D k omit *οὗν*: and omission is so like Mark’s style, while the correction from Matthew would be so easily and so obviously made, in a terse familiar saying, that I accept the shorter reading without hesitation. See Asyndeta 13.

2. xi 31 ἐὰν εἰπομεν *Ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐρεῖ* Διὰ τί *οὗν* οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ; Here Matthew has *οὗν*, but it is important to note that it is absent from Luke: and omission in Mark has for it AC*L*Wa bc defgk syr-sin. W-H give omission a place in the margin; but where Marcan usage, Lucan parallel, and good Greek and Latin evidence, all coincide, omission is, I think, incontestably right.

3. xii 8, 9 καὶ λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔξεβαλον αὐτῶν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος. τί οὗν ποιήσει δύ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος; So all MSS of Mark, except B L (syr-sin) sah. But both Luke and Matthew have *οὗν*, Luke following Mark closely τί οὗν ποιήσει... Matthew inserting it into an introductory clause ὅταν οὗν ἔλθῃ δύ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, τί ποιήσει... We shall have therefore no hesitation in accepting, with Tischendorf and W-H, the evidence of B, and in ejecting once more the particle *οὗν* from the text of Mark.

4. xii 23 ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οὗν... So (or ἐν τῇ οὗν ἀναστάσει) many MSS of Mark, including AD*W*Θ r 28 565 and most Latins, with Matthew ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οὗν... and Luke ἡ γυνὴ οὗν ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει... ¹

¹ I have dealt with this reading, more briefly, in my Study of the New Testament (ed. 2, 1924) p. 70.
Omit ὁν in Mark with Ὀ B C* L Δ, very many Greek MSS, and k: so also Tischendorf and W-H. See under Asyndeta 22.

5. xii 37 ἀὐτὸς ὁν Δανεῖδ λέγει ἀὐτὸν κύριον. So in Mark A and the great majority of Greek MSS, compare Luke Δανεῖδ ὁν κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ, and Matthew εἰ ὁν Δανεῖδ καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον . . . Again omit ὁν in Mark with Ὀ B D L W ΔΘ 28 565 a i k, the Egyptian versions (synsin), and the critical editions. See Asyndeta 24 bis.

6. xiii 35 γυνηγορεῖτε ὁν ὁν ὀδηστε γὰρ τούτε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἐρχεται. No variant in Mark: and though ὁν may conceivably have been borrowed by the scribes of Mark from Matt. xxiv 42 (there is no parallel in Luke), it would be hazardous to question it without any MS support, the more so that there is another instance to follow where our authorities are unanimous for the word.

7. xv 12 ὁ δὲ Πειλάτου πάλιν ἀποκρυβεῖ ἐλεγεν αὐτοῖς· Τί ὁν θέλετε τοὺς ἐν λέγετε τῶν βασιλεία τῶν Τιουδαίων; Again no variant in Mark, τί ὁν in Matthew, and no parallel in Luke. The same considerations apply as in the last case: I am not sure that ὁν in Mark is right, but I should not venture to remove it from the text.

Thus out of seven instances ὁν should be banished from Mark in five. In three of these both Matthew and Luke have the particle: that is to say, three instances of agreement between the two other Synoptists against Mark are seen to be meaningless, because we have once more the key to the solution in 'Marcan usage'.

iii. ἰδοὺ in narrative.

Neither Mark nor John ever uses ἰδοὺ in narrative: Luke employs it fairly often (sixteen times), Matthew twice as often (thirty-two times) as Luke. In Luke it is regularly in the form καὶ ἰδοὺ: that is also the predominant form in Matthew, but ἰδοὺ is also found in this Gospel with a genitive absolute preceding it as often as nine times. In both Matthew and Luke the usage is found alike in portions that are parallel to Mark and portions that are not—about three-quarters of the instances in Matthew and something over half of the instances in Luke belonging to the 'triple tradition'.

There are in fact some twenty-five passages where one or other of the later Synoptists grafts ἰδοὺ on to the Marcan stock, three of these being peculiar to Luke, sixteen peculiar to Matthew, and six common to both. Again it may be asked, Is not this a high percentage of agreement?

1 W-H omit θέλετε with Ὀ B C Δ fam. 1 fam. 13 33 and the Egyptian versions; but the omission I believe to be due either to assimilation to Matt. xxvii 22 or to a desire to get rid of the construction θέλετε ποίησω. Tischendorf retains θέλετε.
In two out of every three cases where Luke uses it Matthew has it too, and can this be due to chance? The answer is twofold.

In the first place Matthew uses the phrase so commonly, when a new character or new element in the story is introduced, that it is not wonderful that Luke, using it much more sparingly, should be found to coincide with Matthew in a high proportion of his relatively few cases. If ἰδοὺ were to be introduced at all, certain occasions would stand out as specially calling for it. The six occasions common to Matthew and Luke are in fact (a) the commencement of three stories of miracles, Mark i 40, ii 3, v 22: (b) the appearance of Moses and Elias at the Transfiguration, Mark ix 4: (c) the appearance of Judas in the Garden, Mark xiv 43: (d) the appearance of the angel or angels who announced the Resurrection, Mark xvi 5.

In the second place, as Mark is never found to use the phrase in narrative, we can hardly explain any coincidences of Matthew and Luke against Mark as pointing back to a more original text of Mark. It was not Mark, but much more probably the Old Testament, that taught Matthew, and to a less degree Luke, the value of the employment of ἰδοὺ to give vigour and movement to the narrative.¹

VIII. 'The disciples' and 'the Twelve'.²

Eduard Meyer, in his important work Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums (3 vols., Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921–3), attempts to analyse the sources of St Mark and assumes a distinction between a 'disciples' source and a 'Twelve' source according as οἱ μαθηταί or οἱ δώδεκα is the phrase employed (i 133–147).

These 'Notes on Marcan usage' are being put together primarily as a contribution to the examination of the history of the text and of the Synoptic problem. But it is also part of their purpose to test, and if the evidence tends that way to establish the truth of, my own working hypothesis that the authority of St Peter stands, as tradition has always indicated, very closely behind the authority of the Evangelist.

Of course it goes without saying that that hypothesis applies especially

¹ It is worth noting that in several of the cases where Matthew and Luke have ἰδοὺ, it replaces an ἐπιθυμεῖ of St Mark: Mark i 40, ii 3, v 22.

² The following pages were originally written as an appendix to 'Marcan usage: V. 'The movements of Jesus and his disciples and the crowd' (J. T. S. April 1925, xxvi 225–240), where I tried to emphasize the indications in Mark, as contrasted with Matthew and Luke, of the evidence of an eye-witness, indications which appear to be spread over practically the whole story of the Ministry. It seems simpler now to print this examination of a rival theory as an independent section of my Notes.
to the period between St Peter's call (i 16) and the flight of the disciples (xiv 50). For the story of the Baptism and Temptation the ultimate authority must be that of Jesus himself, though it must have reached the Evangelist through the medium of some personal disciple to whom Jesus had confided it—naturally, in this case, St Peter. For the story of the Crucifixion and (so far as the extant part of the Gospel extends) the Resurrection one primary authority is presumably that of the holy women or one of them—if one must select, that one whose name is otherwise unknown to us, Mary the mother of James and Joses.

But it does not follow that, even if the authority of St Peter stands in the main behind the narrative i 16–xiv 50, it stands in equal degree behind every part of it. Distinction must be made in the first place between that part of the story where we may presume that he was spectator or auditor, and those exceptional passages where the contrary was certainly or probably the case. There is the story of Herod and John the Baptist, vi 14–29: there is perhaps the journey of our Lord to Tyre and back, vii 24–37, where from the absence of any allusion to disciples it may not improbably be deduced that the journey was undertaken without companions.

Even in these passages the information may still have reached the Evangelist by way of St Peter. But I should not want to exclude the possibility that there may be episodes which the Evangelist derived from other sources and has interwoven into the Petrine tradition. Such in particular might be the second account of miraculous feeding, viii 1–9, of which the most probable explanation seems to me to be that it is a variant, derived by Mark from another source, of the first (Petrine) account in vi 34–44.2

But returning, with the reserves indicated, to the working hypothesis that the account of the Ministry is a homogeneous whole depending on the Petrine tradition, let us see whether the actual use or interchange of the phrases 'the disciples' and 'the Twelve' suggests an actual inter-

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1 Note that in St Mark's Gospel, and in his Gospel only, the Baptism is related throughout as our Lord's experience: i 10 ἄναβαλλων . . . εἶδεν, i 11 καὶ ὁ θεός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός. Matthew changes the latter part, and, as in the Transfiguration where the Voice from heaven is addressed to the three apostles (Mk. ix 7 = Matt. xvii 5 = Lk. ix 35), writes οὗτος λατιν ὁ θεός μου . . ., while Luke changes the former part into a historical statement, ἕγετο . . . ἀναφέρθησα τῶν αὐτῶν . . . καὶ φωνή . . . γενέσθαι: Matt. iii 17, Lk. iii 21, 22.

2 See Dr Headlam's Jesus the Christ (1923), p. 14. As Dr Headlam points out, the second distinguishes itself from the first by the absence of those vivid details which we are accustomed to call 'Marcan touches'. But if these details are found in the Petrine, and are absent from the non-Petrine account, the important conclusion results that the vivid touches of the Evangelist go back in the main to the apostle. It does not follow, of course, that the disciple and 'interpreter' has not caught something of the style and spirit of his master.
change of sources or whether it grows naturally out of the situation in the process of development described in St Mark's Gospel. That is the first test of all theories of partition of sources, whether in this or any other document.

Maθηταί are first mentioned in ii 15, when we are told that they were now 'many' and were beginning to collect round him and 'follow' him: before that we have only (1) the call of four disciples who came 'after him' (διπίστω, i 17, 20)—these form at once a group of four (i 29): it may be only these four, it may already be others, who are included in the 'Simon and his companions' of i 36—and (2) the call of a fifth personally named disciple,1 with the summons 'Follow me', in ii 14. Then we hear (in the next verse) of the 'many disciples' who were 'following' Jesus. From this point onwards begins the regular usage of the word, perhaps 'thy disciples'2 ii 18, at any rate 'his disciples' in ii 23, iii 7, 9.

Obviously the term 'the Twelve' cannot be used till the formal separation of an inner group among the disciples, iii 13 ff, and obviously at that point the use of some such phrase was imperative to express what was happening, and all three Synoptists agree so far. Luke (vi 13-17), unlike Matthew, keeps close to the order of Mark, but inverts the call of the twelve apostles and the notice of the wide districts from which hearers were now being attracted. In Mark it may be supposed that it was just the extension of the work which caused our Lord to create the first rudiments of organization in selecting the Twelve to be his

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1 Levi, son of Alpheus, who is not identified either by Mark, or by Luke who follows Mark (Luke v 27-29), with Matthew. On the other hand we should naturally suppose that one whose call is thus given in detail was in fact one of the Twelve, as his brother 'James son of Alpheus' (Mark iii 18) certainly was. The Western text solves the difficulty by reading 'James [not Levi] son of Alpheus' in Mark ii 14; but St Luke's support of 'Levi' seems to disprove this otherwise attractive solution. We may perhaps either suppose that Δεββαίος of the Western text is right in the list of the Apostles iii 18—Θαδδαίον would then have come in from Matt. x 3—and that Δεββαίος is a variant form of Δευτίν (Origen has ὁ Δεβῆς τελέων); or alternatively that we should read in iii 18 Ἰάκωβον [καὶ Δευτίν] τῶν 'Αλφαίων. If the mention of Levi had accidently dropped out from a very early copy, we could understand both the presence of the variants Θαδδαίος and Δεββαίος in Mark and Matthew and the appearance in Luke of a new name Ιωάννας 'Ιακώβου. The number of the Twelve had somehow to be filled up. [I think I owe this suggestion to the Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson].

2 Probably B is right in omitting μαθηταί, and reading οἱ δὲ σοι οὐ πρεσβεύοντες: for (1) Luke has not got the word, which a little suggests that he did not find it in Mark, (2) the MSS which give it differ among themselves as to the place where they put it. I think it has come in from Matt. ix 14; and, if so, the reason of Mark's phrase may be that Jews hardly recognized the new Teacher's followers yet as organized 'disciples' in the same sense as those of the Baptist and of the Pharisees—it is something like 'Your people'.
companions and his delegates. Of the actual call Luke's account is limpid in its clearness, 'He called his disciples, and chose out of them twelve, whom he named "apostles", Simon, whom he named Peter, and...' Doubtless Luke understands himself to be giving the sum of Mark's rather involved account, 'He called whom he would and they came to him and he appointed twelve to be' his companions and apostolic delegates; 'and he appointed the Twelve and gave Simon the name Peter, and James...': and it is just this involved character of Mark's account which prompts Meyer to see in it, quite unnecessarily as I think, a conflation of two separate strata of tradition.

In the first place, then, when Mark says 'he called whom he would and they came to him and he appointed twelve', I do not think he means to describe two acts, as Luke thought, but one. 'He summoned whom he would' is in fact the selection of the Twelve: and so Matthew appears to understand him when writing 'He summoned his twelve disciples' Matt. x 1—odd as is the phrase τῶν δώδεκα μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, when we have so far heard nothing about the disciples being twelve. Mark's καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα is a characteristic piece of redundancy, due to his desire to emphasize the formal nature of the act, and should not be separated from the preceding verse by more than a comma.

So far any difficulty has been removed by exegesis and punctuation: for the next problems textual evidence must be called in to assist. Modern critics seem fairly unanimous in following Tischendorf, as against Westcott and Hort, and ejecting the words ὃς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὄνομασεν from verse 14 as a plain contamination from Luke vi 13. Decision is not quite so simple as to the opening words of verse 16, καὶ ἐποίησεν τῶν δώδεκα: but the omitting and inserting groups are so nearly the same as in the last case that, if there is anything in the principle noscitur~sociis, this phrase is naturally treated as a companion interpolation and should also disappear.1 The names in the accusative, verses 17-19, will then depend directly on ἐποίησεν of verse 14, an awkwardness which Matthew removes by commencing a new sentence, 'Now the names of the Twelve Apostles were these'. Meyer's mountain has by now crumbled down to the rather ungrammatical parenthesis 'and he gave Simon the name Peter'.

1 ὃς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὄνομασεν absent from A C² D L W all Latins syr-sin and Armenian: found in Β C* (ut vid) Δ Θ Ferrar group 28 sah. καὶ ἐποίησεν τῶν δώδεκα absent from A C² D L W Θ fam. 1 fam. 13 all Latins syr-sin sah and Armenian: found in Β C* Δ 565 700. The latter insertion may have been a marginal gloss to καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα of verse 14: the glossator wanted to substitute 'the Twelve' for 'twelve', and fearing that a mere τῶν would not make his meaning clear, wrote the phrase in full.

2 If with the Ferrar group and sah we could for ἐποίησεν τῶν δώδεκα read πρῶτον Σίμων, the last difficulty would go. But the evidence is far too slight, I am afraid.
Our Lord had thus formed an inner circle, for intimate companionship and for missionary work, out of the whole number of his disciples. That is exactly the situation reflected in the two next mentions of the Twelve. In iv 10 ‘those who were round him with the Twelve’ ὁι περὶ ἀντών σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα, ask of him the meaning of the parables. In vi 7 he summons the Twelve, and sends them out in pairs on a missionary tour, προσκαλεῖται τοῖς δώδεκα καὶ ἥρασε τοῖς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο: in vi 30 the ‘apostles’ or ‘missionaries’ return and report to him the results, and he retires with them privately to the wilder country across the lake.

That is to say, he is from now onwards more and more concentrating himself on the training of a select few, more and more withdrawing himself from his public ministry in Galilee. It was not done at any definite moment. There is a transition period, during which he re-appears from time to time in Capernaum and its neighbourhood. ‘His disciples’ is a general term describing those who were associated with him at any particular moment. It becomes therefore a synonym for the Twelve, just in proportion as he journeys about more and more exclusively with them. Only the Twelve were with him in the desert place to which he retired for privacy, so that ὁι μαθηταὶ ἀντών in the episode of the feeding of the multitudes who had followed him there (vi 35-41) are naturally the Twelve. On the other hand when he returned to the west of the lake and the neighbourhood of Capernaum, ‘his disciples’ (vii 2) may reassume the larger meaning, though it should be noted that ‘his disciples’ who enter the house with him (vii 17) cannot have been an indefinitely large company.

From vii 24 to vii 37 there is no mention either of the Twelve or of the disciples: Jesus was, it would seem, alone. The succeeding verses, vii 1-10 are probably a variant tradition of vi 35-45. In the continuous narrative ‘his disciples’ first therefore reappear at viii 27 on the road to Caesarea Philippi, on the occasion of the great confession of faith which forms the climax of the earlier part of the Ministry. If I read the Gospel rightly, the ‘disciples’ are from this point onwards practically identical with the Twelve, and I do not think that the Evangelist or his authority intended to make distinction between them. Perhaps the summoning of ‘the crowd with his disciples’, viii 34, may denote the older and larger body of followers. But the interval, if it was an interval, was a brief one, for less than a week (ix 2) separates the Confession from the Transfiguration, and the disciples of viii 27 are presumably also the disciples of ix 14. From Caesarea Philippi to Jerusalem the record is one of almost continuous movement. Once indeed Jesus revisited the scene of his earlier preaching, but it was, if one may use the phrase, incognito: ‘they passed along through
Galilee, and he would not that any should know,’ for the subject-matter of his teaching was appropriate to a narrower circle only, ix 30, 31. Three times the Evangelist reiterates the prophecy of the Passion, vii 31, ix 31, x 33. On the first occasion the recipients were apparently the group of disciples who accompanied Jesus on the way to Caesarea Philippi, since when Peter was shocked by what was told him and burst into vehement protest, Jesus ‘turned round and saw his disciples’, viii 32, 33. On the second occasion the teaching was again addressed to ‘his disciples’, ix 31; on the third to the Twelve, x 32–3. There is an increasing definiteness of detail in the prophecy, but there seems to be no suggestion that those to whom it is addressed are other than before.

No other interpretation of the later chapters of the Gospel, viii 27 onwards (with the possible exception of viii 34), is so simple and so satisfactory as that which treats the phrases ‘the disciples’ and ‘the Twelve’, oi μαθηταί σου and oi δώδεκα, as practically synonyms.

‘He was teaching his disciples . . . and they came to Capernaum, and after going indoors he asked them what they had been talking about . . . and he called the Twelve . . . and set a child in the middle of them,’ ix 31–35. Is it reasonable to think that one set of persons had been discussing who was greatest, and that the moral was pointed to a different set?

The next two examples of the use of ‘the disciples’ tell us just the same tale. ‘And when he was in the house the disciples again put questions to him about’ the teaching he had been giving on divorce, x 10. Again we remind ourselves that those ‘in the house’ must have been a limited number, as in vii 17 and ix 33. And when ‘the disciples’ rebuked the forwardness of the mothers who brought children for his blessing, our Lord expressed his indignation in similar words and with the same action, ἐναγκαλισάμενος, as he had employed on the last occasion of the mention of the Twelve, x 13–16, cf ix 36, 37.¹

After the episode of the rich young man, ‘Jesus looked round on his disciples’ with the saying ‘How hard it will be for those with possessions to enter into the Kingdom of God,’ x 23. But immediately after, x 24, the disciples are addressed as τέκνα—here only in the Gospels, save for

¹ If these two episodes stood alone, there would no doubt be something to be said for Meyer’s hypothesis: the ‘Twelve’ source and the ‘disciples’ source had each, it might be suggested with some reason, an episode which emphasized by an appropriate action the necessity of the childlike spirit, the two stories being really variant accounts of the same thing. But they do not stand alone. We have in fact abundant evidence for the repetition by Jesus of the same teaching on different occasions, and also for the indifferent use by Mark, in the later chapters of his Gospel (ix 31, 35; xi 11, 14; xiv 12, 17), of the two phrases ‘his disciples’ and ‘the Twelve’ in reference to the same occasions.
Jo. xiii 33, τεκνία, ἐτι μικρῶν μεθ' ἐμῶν εἰμί—a term indicative of affection and intimacy such as could not be applied outside a very narrow circle. Those to whom he spoke had given up home and everything to follow him (x 28). That need not mean the Twelve only: but it must mean a very few.

'And they were on the road going up to Jerusalem: and Jesus went on ahead ... and they followed him in fear. And he took the Twelve again into his company,' and repeated to them the prophecy of the Passion, connecting it now definitely with the very journey on which they had set out, x 32-34. It is an unnatural exegesis to distinguish between those from whom Jesus for the moment separated himself, and those whom he took 'again' into his company.

Precisely the same conclusion is suggested by the request of the brothers James and John, x 35 ff. It created grave indignation—among whom? among 'the disciples'? No, but among the remaining members of the Twelve, ὁ δέκα, x 41. There may have been some few others with him: but it is the Twelve who fill the foreground throughout the journey.

Once more 'his disciples' leave Jericho with Jesus and the crowd, x 46: 'they draw near Jerusalem', and at the Mount of Olives he sends on 'two of his disciples' to prepare for the triumphal entry, xi 1: he entered the city, went into the Temple, swept his glance round over everything, but it was late and he did no more that night, but went out to Bethany— with the Twelve, μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα, xi 11. Next day on his return he pronounced the doom of the barren fig-tree 'and his disciples heard it' xi 14. Were the Twelve, then, who went out with him to Bethany in the evening, different from the 'disciples' who came back with him in the morning?

From xi 27 to xii 34 the narrative is occupied by the public debates, if we may so put it, with the authorities at large, with the different parties separately, and with an individual scribe. The crisis is approaching: the breach is complete: for the last time Jesus teaches the crowd, and forces the situation by direct denunciation of the religious leaders of the people. If they give largely to the treasury, their income is extracted from helpless widows: and one such widow, he tells 'his disciples', had given more than any of them, xii 35-44.

As he left the Temple, 'one of his disciples' called his attention to its magnificence: he answered with a prophecy of its destruction. They ascended the Mount of Olives: and the four leading apostles—the only apostles, unless Levi was one, who are mentioned by name (apart from Judas Iscariot) in the Gospel—asked him to explain himself further. It was apparently in answer to their request, and to them only, that he imparted his teaching about the End, xiii 5-37.
So far then in these chapters there seems no valid reason for distinguishing between 'the disciples' and 'the Twelve': and now we come immediately to a very clear case for identification in xiv 12-17, where 'his disciples say to him Where do you want us to go and prepare for your passover? and he sends two of his disciples [Peter and John, according to Luke xxii 8]... and the disciples went out and... found just what he told them and prepared the passover: and in the evening he came with the Twelve'. Once more we ask, were the disciples who spoke about the passover in the morning a separate set from the Twelve who kept it with Jesus in the evening?

After this the phrase *oi δώδεκα* is not used again, save as a definition of Judas Iscariot, xiv 10, 20, 43: nor *oi μαθηταί*, save in the Garden of Gethsemane, xiv 32, where it must mean those who were at the Last Supper, and in the angelic message, xvi 7, where it is in close connexion with Peter, εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ. 'His disciples' are a group of which Peter is head. It is impossible not to be reminded of the apostolic Creed-form in 1 Cor. xv 3-5 παρέλαβον... ὅτι ὁφθη Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα.

The argument here developed does not imply an absolute identification of the phrases 'the disciples' 'the Twelve' in the latter part of St Mark's Gospel. There may have been a few in the band that accompanied Jesus on his last journey who were on the fringe of the Twelve but not actually belonging to it. What is asserted is that for practical purposes the phrases come to the same thing, and that the Evangelist neither meant a sharp distinction himself between the two nor composed his narrative out of two sources each of which used one, and one only, of them. The discrimination of sources in the case of secondary documents like Matthew and Luke is of course one of the principal tasks of the critic. That every document is constructed on the basis of different literary sources is an assumption and an unjustifiable one. That Mark in particular used a 'disciple' source and a 'Twelve' source is in my judgement pure fantasy—or rather it could only be due to fantasy if it were not in fact due rather to *Tendenz*.

Meyer has made up his mind that Jesus cannot have foreseen the continuity of the movement which he called into being so far as to have equipped it with the rudiments of authority, and in that sense of organization, in the persons of the Twelve. That conclusion can only be established by a ruthless undermining of the evidence of St Mark's

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1 The reading of D and some Latins (not k) in xiv 4 *οἱ ἐλή μαθηταί αὐτοῦ* is a mere assimilation to Matt. xxvi 8.

2 xiv 10 ὁ ἑις τῶν δώδεκα N B C* L. The reading is too strange to be an invention. I take it to mean 'the Judas who was one of the Twelve' as opposed to the Judas who was, according to St Mark's list, not of the Twelve.
Gospel as it stands: and Meyer does not shrink from this. I have tried to shew on the other hand, firstly, that this Gospel represents a natural development in the Ministry of Jesus by which he gradually restricted his teaching, as it became more advanced and faced more and more clearly the apparent failure of the movement, to a limited number of his followers; and secondly, that the 'disciples' who receive this later teaching being in effect the 'Twelve', the Evangelist uses one or other phrase indifferently to describe them, and that any analysis which attempts to separate the two uses as indicating two rival sources raises so many difficulties that it can only be called, even on literary grounds, a failure.

C. H. Turner.

THE MEMORIA APOSTOLORUM ON THE VIA APPIA.

The excavations which have taken place in recent years beneath the Church of S. Sebastiano have awakened great interest on account of the light thrown by them on the cult of the Apostles Peter and Paul on the site now occupied by that church, which in its present form is a building of the sixteenth century. They have been officially described in the Notizie degli Scavi, series v, vol. xx (1923), by G. Mancini and O. Marucchi, and have been the subject of a large literature, to which the most important of recent contributions is the posthumous article of Mgr Duchesne in the Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia, series iii, Memorie vol. i. Since the work of excavation has, at any rate for the time being, ceased, the time seems opportune for a provisional interpretation of the results obtained in the light of the traditions connected with the site.

The existence of a liturgical cult of the Apostles in this region as early as the fourth century is established by a comparison of the Depositio martyrum, a document incorporated in the Calendar of Philocalus (A.D. 354) and the fuller versions of the Martyrologium Hieronymianum, which may be presumed to go back to the fifth-century original. In the Depositio we have the entry (under June 29) Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense, Tusco et Basso Consulibus; while the fullest form of the entry in the Martyrologium reads thus:—Romae Via Aurelia, natale Sancrorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Petri in Vaticano, Pauli vero in via Ostensi, utrumque in Catacumbas, passi sub Nerone, Basso et Tusco consulibus. The consular date is A.D. 258, and its presence in the entry can only be explained by some connexion with the celebration in Catacumbas, which took place in addition to those