

The Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus: Textual and Reception-Historical Considerations

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Introduction

1. The Greek text of the Gospel of Mark is certainly the worst attested of all the canonical gospels. It is extant in only three papyrus manuscripts, none of which are by any means complete, and of which only one (\mathcal{P}^{45}) is definitely earlier than the fourth century uncials;¹ while one other is perhaps contemporary with them (\mathcal{P}^{88}).² Thus our knowledge of the text of Mark is more dependent on the early uncial texts than is the case with the other gospels, where early papyri and more substantial comments in church fathers supplement the early uncial texts.³

¹ \mathcal{P}^{45} (P. Chester Beatty I) is a third century codex originally containing all four gospels and Acts. The extant sections of Mark are: Mark 4.36-40; 5.15-26; 5.38-6.3, 16-25, 36-50; 7.3-15; 7.25-8.1, 10-26; 8.34-9.9, 18-31; 11.27-12.1, 5-8, 13-19, 24-28. For a useful orientation to the manuscript see T.C. Skeat, 'A Codicological Analysis of the Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex of the Gospels and Acts (P45)' *Hermathena* 155(1993), 27-43; and C. Horton, ed., *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels – The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P45*, JSNTSS 258 (London & New York: T & T Clark, 2004).

² P. Med. Inv. Nr. 69.24. This is generally dated to the 4th century and consists of a single leaf containing Mark 2.1-26

³ Three brief notes may illustrate some of the issues. First, neither Irenaeus nor Origen seem to know Mark particularly well. (In *Adv. Haer.* IV.6.1 Irenaeus writes that Mark contains the saying 'all things have been handed over to me by my father' (Matt 11.27 || Luke 10.22): 'thus has Matthew set it down, and Luke similarly, and also Mark; for John omits this passage'. In *de Orat.*, xviii,³ Origen says, with reference to the Matthean and Lucan forms of the Lord's Prayer, "We have also searched Mark for some such similar prayer that might have escaped our notice, but we have found no trace of one". See further B.M. Metzger, 'Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts,' in *Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 88-103, esp. p. 101). Second, Clement of Alexandria cites as 'written in the Gospel according to Mark' a very loose and harmonised textual tradition (*Quis dives salvetur* 4-5). Third, the first commentary on Mark appeared in the seventh-century and reflects on the earlier neglect of Mark among commentators (PsJerome, *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Marcum*: [PL 30: 589-644]: 'It seems to me that the reason why Gospel commentators have completely neglected Mark is because he tells much the same story as Matthew does' (cited from M. Cahill, 'The First Markan Commentary' *RB* 101 (1994), 264).

2. The Greek text of Mark in Sinaiticus is therefore one of the two earliest complete representations of the Greek text of Mark (the other being Codex Vaticanus). My aim in this paper is to investigate the way in which the Greek text of Mark is presented in Codex Sinaiticus.⁴ Sinaiticus offers the comparatively rare opportunity of a case study in the early reception history of Mark (as well as being a primary witness to the earliest available text of Mark).⁵ In relation to Vaticanus, which is most likely somewhat earlier than Sinaiticus, and which may be worth looking at in this connection as well (indeed as the earliest complete text of Mark it certainly would deserve consideration and the new facsimile would certainly facilitate such an investigation). There are at least three reasons why I decided to offer a paper on Sinaiticus rather than Vaticanus.

3. Firstly, on a personal note, one of my earliest publications was a paper on the text of Mark 1.1 (published in 1990), in which the text of Sinaiticus, and the various corrections, are of primary importance.⁶ This is clearly illustrated of course in the original text and inter-linear correction to Mark 1.1, where the original text of Sinaiticus is an important witness for the shorter form of the text, while the corrected text is listed as an important witness for the longer form of the text.⁷ Looking closely at the mode of this text and the correction was an important stage in my appreciation for the work of the creators of this particular manuscript (and by extension, of the creators of all the particular manuscripts that witness to the text of the Greek New Testament).⁸

4. Secondly, I had observed some time ago the interesting and visually dramatic paragraphing of Mark in some portions of Codex Sinaiticus and had often thought that this was a topic that would repay fuller attention. How a text is paragraphed, I had learnt from one of my formative instructors in textual criticism, my esteemed teacher Ernst Bammel, has an impact on the

⁴ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Mark Group at the San Diego SBL (Nov 2007). I am grateful to members of the Mark group for feedback and suggestions. I have explained the choice of topic a little later in this introduction.

⁵ Recent text-critical discussions have focussed on the role of manuscripts (and also variants conceived of as somewhat detached from the manuscripts) in the history of reception of the NT text. One could argue that previous generations were already holding these two ideas together, not least in the conviction that the character of the manuscript was decisive for the consideration of the nature of its witness, or in Hort's dictum that knowledge of documents should precede judgements about readings.

⁶ P.M. Head, 'A Text-Critical Study of Mark 1.1: "The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ"', *New Testament Studies* 37 (1991), 621–629.

⁷ A long footnote highlighting examples where the original text of Sinaiticus and one or other of the Sinaiticus correctors disagreed on the text was deleted (and subsequently lost) in the revision process.

⁸ This remains an important issue, especially the date and nature of the "A" corrections, but I have not dealt with it here.

interpretation of the text and its impact on its early readers.⁹ Thirdly, I had the opportunity to supervise a gifted young PhD student working more broadly on scribal behaviour in Codex Sinaiticus, and this prompted frequent questions and discussions about innumerable issues in relation to the manuscript witness as a whole.¹⁰

5. So my aim in this paper is to investigate the way in which the Greek text of Mark is presented in Codex Sinaiticus. This may well have implications for standard text-critical discussions concerning the character of Sinaiticus' text of Mark, but that is not, by any stretch of the imagination, in primary focus here. More in focus is the question of what Sinaiticus reveals about issues concerning the reception and interpretation of Mark, in particular, what the text of Mark in Sinaiticus might indicate for the study of the reception-history or effective-history of the Gospel according to St. Mark.

General Considerations: Openings and Quire Construction

6. The Codex Sinaiticus [№ 01] originally contained approximately 730 vellum leaves in a single binding.¹¹ Each of these leaves measured approximately 36 x 33 cm;¹² and each leaf contained 4 columns per page (or eight columns to an opening), with a regular pattern of 48 lines per column.¹³ As a book the codex is arranged consistently in quires of 4 sheets (i.e., 8 leaves or 16 pages) enumerated throughout.¹⁴ Although many of the OT portions have been lost, four

⁹ E. Bammel, 'P64(67) and the Last Supper', *JTS* 24(1973), 189. Bammel described P64 as 'the oldest implicit commentary of the early church', arguing that since the *paragaphos* occurred at Matt 26.31, v30 was therefore linked with the preceding section, suggesting that the psalms mentioned therein were Hallel psalms sung at the end of the passover feast.

¹⁰ Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, Texts and Studies, Third Series, 5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007). I am also grateful to Dirk for commenting on an earlier draft of this paper.

¹¹ Tom Pattie has argued that Sinaiticus uses much larger sheets than normal; originally c. 400 x 720 cm—one sheep/goat each—scraped, washed, stretched, polished, trimmed, repaired. If these required one animal per sheet, then for 730 leaves Sinaiticus required the perfect skins of 365 sheep or goats. Thomas S. Pattie, 'The Creation of the Great Codices', in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John L. Sharpe and Kimberly Van Kampen (London: The British Library, 1998), 64-65.

¹² Gregory states that it was 43 x 38 cm when found; but the 'New Finds' are 36.05 x 32.5 – 33.0 cm.

¹³ The poetic books of the Greek OT have a different presentation, but the present description applies to the whole New Testament.

¹⁴ The quire enumeration was originally in the upper left-hand corner of first page of each quire; a second series was added in VIII cent. in the upper right hand corner.

libraries contain the surviving material,¹⁵ with the bulk, including the whole New Testament (uniquely among the majuscules) in the British Library (Add. Ms 43725). This is now bound in two volumes, with Mark contained in the second volume, folios 217b-228.¹⁶ It is obviously enormously significant that in Sinaiticus the gospel according to Mark is presented as one element embedded in this huge and elegant whole Bible scripture codex.

7. As argued by Milne and Skeat (and confirmed in various ways in Jongkind's recent study) three scribes were responsible for extant material of the codex;¹⁷ and the two scribes whose work most closely interacted were also responsible for Mark's Gospel, scribe A (who wrote almost all of the NT and corrected his own work) and scribe D (who corrected the work of scribe A), who contributed one of a number of substitute leaves into scribe A's work (Matt 16.9 – 18.12; 24.36 – 26.6; Mark 14.54 – 16.8; Luke 1.1 – 56; 1 Thess 2.14 – end; Heb 4.16 – 8.1). These are helpful from a number of different angles, even though we cannot know what was wrong with the original work of scribe A at these points. For one example, the replacement leaves in Matthew (fol. 10 & 15) lack any section and canon numbers, which strongly suggests that these had already been added to the manuscript before the point at which the replacement leaves were introduced.

8. Throughout the New Testament of Sinaiticus the words are written continuously in the style that comes to be called "biblical uncial" or "biblical majuscule". The parchment was prepared for writing lines, ruled with a sharp point. The letters are written on these lines, without accents or breathings. A variety of types of punctuation are used: high and middle points and colon, diaeresis on initial iota and upsilon, *nomina sacra*, paragraphos: initial letter into margin (extent of this varies considerably). We shall return to these features in relation to Mark's Gospel shortly.

9. In Codex Sinaiticus the Gospel according to Mark takes up twenty-two pages, or eighty-six columns. Within the New Testament it extends from folio 18b through to 29a: 21 pages altogether, with two columns on the 22nd page. There is nothing structurally significant about

¹⁵ 43 leaves of OT: Codex Friderico-Augustanus: University Library, Leipzig [Tisch. 1844]; fragments of 3 leaves (Gen & Num): Library of Society of Ancient Literature in St Petersburg [1853]; 347 leaves now at British Library, London: Add. Ms 43725 [Tisch 1859]; St Catherine's Monastery (Sinai), 'New Finds': 12 leaves & 14 fragments (Leviticus, Numbers, Deut, Judges, Hermas) [1975].

¹⁶ In this study I have used the Lake facsimile (both a real copy in Tyndale House library and photographs available at CSNTM.org, from which I have pasted some excerpts). New and high-quality images of Mark's Gospel in Sinaiticus are among the first to be made available in the Codex Sinaiticus Project at www.codex-sinaiticus.net, and I have been able to check a number of features in the proofing stages. I have enumerated by NT folio number (add 199 for the British Library folio designation).

¹⁷ *Scribes & Correctors*, 27–29. This modified the older proposal of Tischendorf, followed by Scrivener and Lake that there were four scribes.

the text of Mark in Sinaiticus (in terms of quire construction).¹⁸ The scribe begins Mark on the fourth page of the third quire of the manuscript – following, as expected, Matthew’s Gospel. It is, however, notable that the scribe finishes Matthew with only 3 letters in the fourth column of folio 18a (which also lacks a closing colophon/title). Thus, although the scribe could easily have finished Matthew and begun Mark on the final column, he has actually allowed Mark’s Gospel to begin not only a new column, but a new opening comprising folios 18b-19a. A title occurs above the first column of that page: KATA MAPKON (with some decoration); a running header occurs on each of the intervening openings (with KATA centred on the left hand page and MAPKON centred above the right hand page). This style of running header, alongside the apparently deliberate spacing of the end of Matthew so that Mark would begin with a new opening, suggests that we should think of Sinaiticus in terms of openings with eight columns rather than by folios. In this pattern we should say that Mark comprises ten complete openings (of eight columns) and a final eleventh opening on which Mark finishes four lines down the sixth column (fol 29a), with a closing title/colophon: EYΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ, before Luke begins with the seventh column of that opening.¹⁹ This is perhaps a more appropriate way to think about the presentation of Mark in Sinaiticus than in terms of its relation to quire enumeration (Mark closes just after half-way through the fourth quire), or in single pages. Perhaps some further support for this view could be drawn from the way in which the scribes have prepared the parchment. Dots were used to mark the spacing for lines and are clearly visible in the outside columns of each opening (18b.1; 19a.4; 19b.1; 20a.4 [not so easily visible, but they are present]; 20b.1; 21a.4; 21b.1; [22a.4 no markings visible]; 22b.1; 23a.4; 23b.1; 24a.4; 24b.1; 25a.4; 25b.1; 26a.4; 26b.1; 27a.4; 27b.1.).²⁰ This suggests that the pages were prepared for writing opening by opening, with the quire already bound up at this point.²¹

10. The pattern of quire construction explains one of the features of the present physical appearance of Sinaiticus, especially obvious in Mark’s Gospel but apparent throughout the manuscript, which is the alternating pattern of openings in which the text appears either very clear or rather smudged and abraded. The quires of Sinaiticus correspond to Gregory’s rule, whereby the outside of the quire consists of the flesh-side of the external vellum sheet and the sheets are laid on top of each other matching hair-sides and flesh-sides and leaving a flesh-side

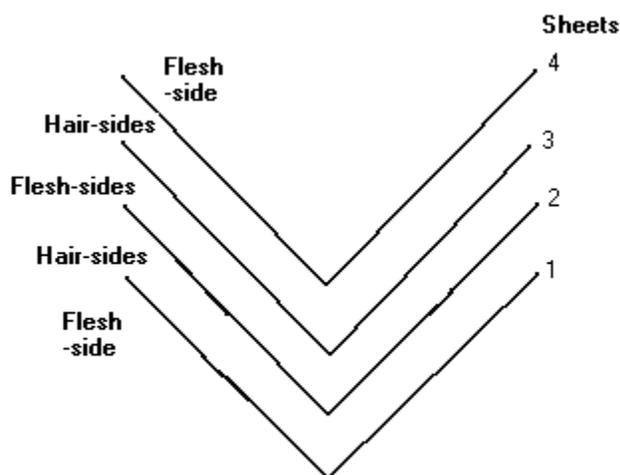
¹⁸ Unlike, for example, both Matthew and John, which begin with the start of a new quire. Luke ends with a truncated quire precisely to enable John to begin a new quire.

¹⁹ Mark, Luke and John all close with the title.

²⁰ The visible dots are holes pricked to mark the spacing for the horizontal line rulings (cf. Milne & Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 73-78)—these can now be seen clearly in the new photographs with raking light available through the Sinaiticus Project (see note 16). The dots/pricking holes are spaced for the ruled lines, and the letters are written on the lines. (Scribe D uses a slightly different technique in the replacement sheets, not necessarily marking and ruling every line, so the phenomenon is not observable in fols. 28a, 28b, 29a.)

²¹ Cf. Milne & Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 73.

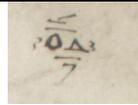
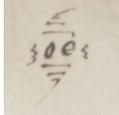
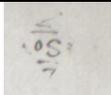
opening in the centre – this results in each opening alternating between hair-sides and flesh-sides, providing a consistency of colour and texture within each opening.²²



This basic quire construction ensures that each opening presents a consistent appearance, alternating between the hair side and the flesh side of the leaves of parchment. At the time of production the differences were probably not particularly pronounced, but due to the different way in which the ink is absorbed, the hair sides preserve the text in a much clearer state than the flesh sides, and this results in the alternation in openings: from appearing very clear and then rather smudged.

²² For Gregory's rule see C.R. Gregory, 'Les cahiers des manuscrits grecs', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1885), 261-68; 'The Quires in Greek Manuscripts', *American Journal of Philology* 7 (1886), 27-32; also cf. *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907), 324: 'I like to tell about this law because I discovered it'.

11. The visible (eighth-century) quire notation provides the basis for making this pattern clear:²³

Folio	Old Quire notation (top left)	Eighth-Century Notation (top right)	
1R (start of Matt)	-	OF 	73
9R	-	OΔ 	74
17R	-?	OE 	75
25R	-	OF 	76

17 begins the third quire of the NT, this will be flesh-hair; 18 will be hair-flesh (and the first opening of Mark, the second opening of the quire, 18b-19a is of the less clear variety); 19 will be flesh-hair (and the second opening of Mark, 19b-20a is perfectly clear); 20 will be hair-flesh (and the third opening of Mark, 20b-21a, the central flesh-flesh opening of the quire is unclear); 21 will be flesh-hair (and the fourth opening of Mark, 21b-22a is perfectly clear); 22 will be hair-flesh (and the fifth opening of Mark, 22b – 23a, is abraded); 23 will be flesh-hair (and the sixth opening of Mark, 23b – 24a, is all clear); 24 will be the last leaf in the quire, hair-flesh (and the seventh opening of Mark will cover the last page of one quire and the first page of the next quire, 24b – 25a which is unclear). 25 marks the new quire, with the same pattern continuing throughout: 25 is flesh-hair (the eighth opening of Mark, 25b – 26a, is all clear); 26 is hair-flesh (the ninth opening of Mark, 26b – 27a, is unclear); 27 is flesh-hair (the tenth opening of Mark, 27b – 28a, is clear); 28-29 form the inner bifolium of this quire and is the replacement sheet which covers the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke; so 28 is hair-flesh (and the eleventh opening of Mark is the inner flesh-flesh opening of this fourth NT quire, 28b – 29a, and is thus unclear).

²³ Cf. Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 7-11; also Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 30-35.

12. The basic format for the presentation of the text is thus the striking eight-column opening with narrow columns exhibiting right and left justification (this is generally most clearly held on the left hand, with the exception of slight ekthesis for paragraph beginnings; but the right hand line is generally attempted to be kept – so for example the use of very small letters (simply, e.g., sigma in line 3 of opening column; omicron in line 6, etc.; also use of line for *nu* – lines 10, 19). This image of the first column, lines 10-20, shows numerous examples:

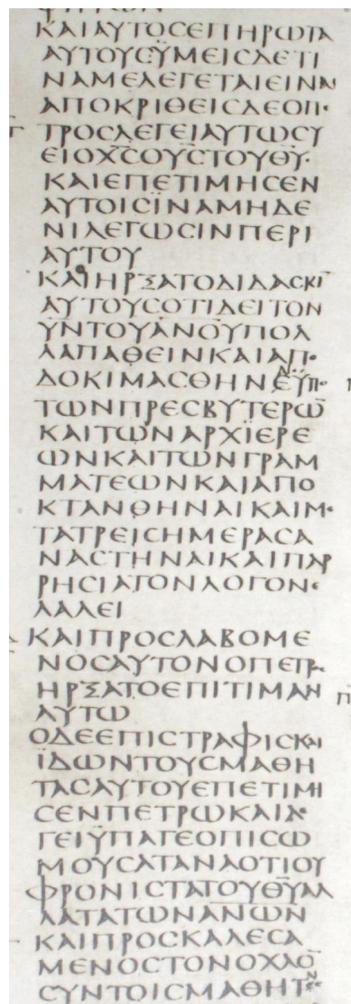


Paragraphing

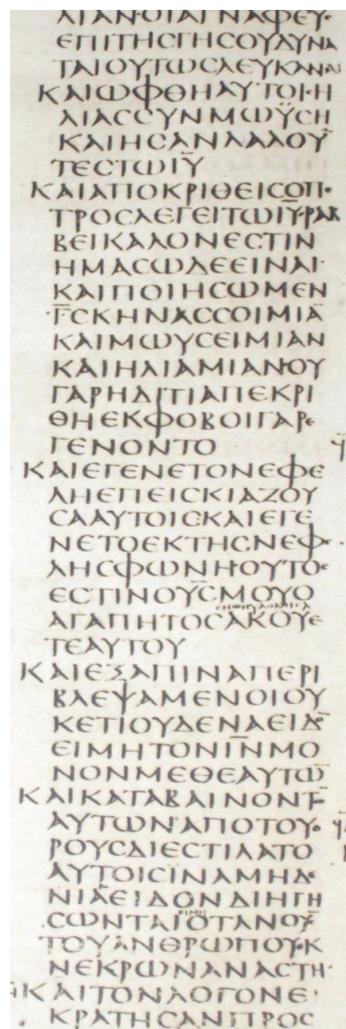
13. An obviously important aspect of the presentation of the text is the issue of paragraphing. In general the textual paragraph markers seem largely equivalent from a compositional perspective. But it is notable that the amount of blank space at the end of the final line of the paragraph offers a visual emphasis on some paragraphs over against others. There are also two particular features of the paragraphing in Sinaiticus that attract attention.

14. The first of these is the significant change which occurs from ch 9 for about one chapter in the sixth opening of Mark (fol. 23b, col. 3 – fol. 24a, col. 4). In distinction from the rather restrained paragraphing which features in earlier openings, in this case the initial letter is entirely outdented into the margin, and there are very frequent paragraphing (even in one connected account, e.g. 9.2-9, etc.). This begins in the third column of the sixth opening. In column two there are some slight outdentations (as is fairly normal throughout Mark); but in column three the initial letter (generally in fact a *kappa* as the first letter of *kai*) is fully outdented into the margin and a large number of small paragraphs are created/signalled.

15. To note the remarkable difference, we shall initially consider the first column of the sixth opening, where a number of paragraphs begin (as is obviously pretty common in Mark) with *καί*: *καί αὐτός ...* (8.29); *καί ἤρξατο ...* (8.31); *καί προσλαβόμενος ...* (8.32b); *καί προσκαλεσάμενος ...* (8.34). These can be observed in the picture of column one and are not particularly markedly outdented into the margin.



16. The contrast, as we shall see, with the third column of the same opening is marked. Here numerous paragraphs are much more clearly marked in various ways. Rather strikingly these begin, not with a series of relatively isolated sayings of Jesus, but in the narrative of the transfiguration: v 4: και ...; v 5: και ...; v 7: και ...; v 8: και ...; v 9: και ...; v 10: και

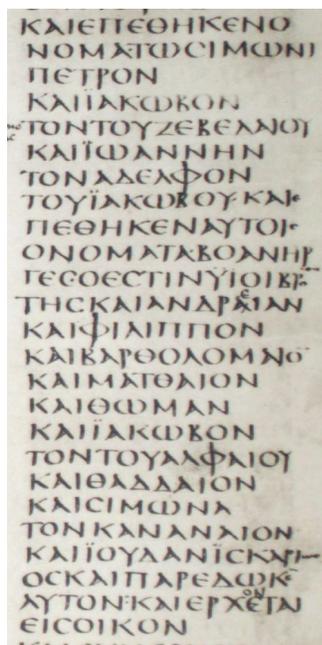


17. The effect of this extreme ekthesis is much more pronounced paragraphing than has been customary in Mark, and it breaks up the neat appearance of the text into a succession of independent textual units. Although appropriate enough for some of the content in this opening, it is by no means generally appropriate (as noted in connection with the transfiguration). Doubtless this extreme paragraphing had an impact on the public reading of Mark using Sinaiticus, with much more regular and pronounced pauses and potentially the fragmentation of the connected narrative. What caused this scribe to paragraph in this manner at this point alone (in the whole New Testament) cannot be determined.

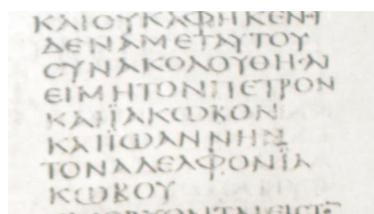
18. The second notable feature of the paragraphing of Mark in Sinaiticus is the use of lists. This is a subset of paragraphing in the sense that the layout of the list is marked by indentation and

short lines. This is not a feature that is unique to Mark, since they occur fairly frequently throughout the codex.²⁴ Five examples can be found in Mark. The best procedure here is simply to present the evidence.

19. Fol. 19b; col. 3 = Mark 3.16-19 (list of disciples)

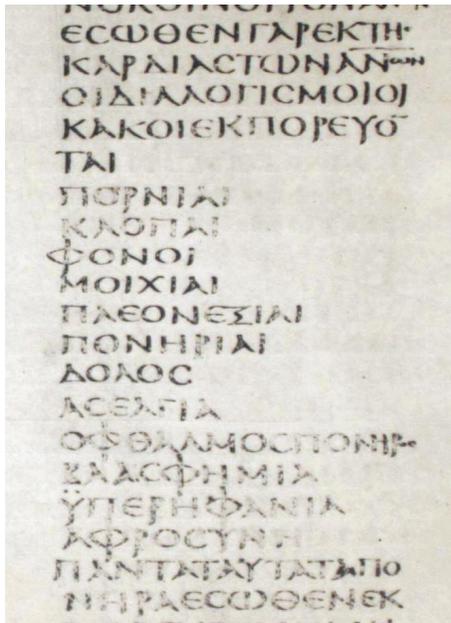


20. Fol. 21a; col. 4 = Mark 5.37 (list of three disciples)



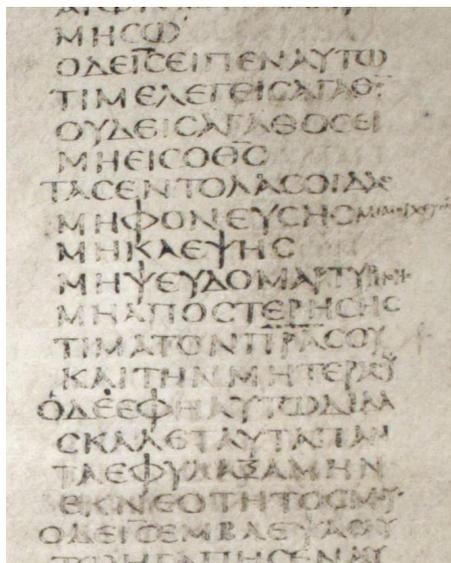
²⁴ See, for example the fruit of Spirit Gal 5; 2 Tim 3.2-4; also see fol. 9b.2: Matt 9 list; 31b.1-2: Luke 3 genealogy; 33a.4: Luke list of disciples; 141A.4: Epistle of Barnabas 19.

21. Fol. 22b; col. 3 = Mark 7.21-22 (list of vices)



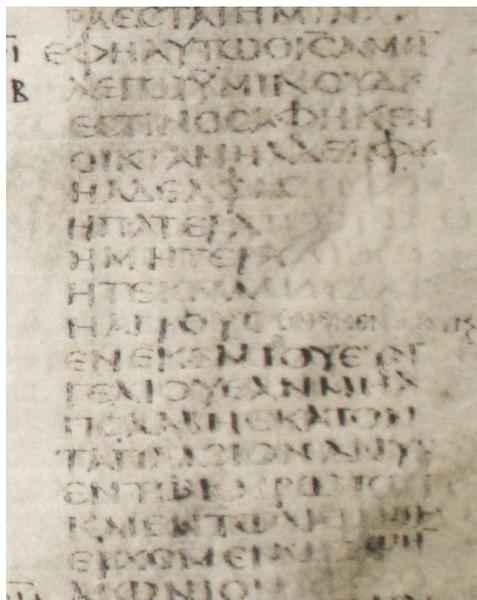
It is noteworthy that 7.23, in referring back to these, uses (singularly in Sinaiticus) the emphatic $\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$ (instead of the simple $\kappa\alpha\iota$).

22. Fol. 24b; col. 3 = Mark 10.19 (list of commandments)



In this passage it is notable that Sinaiticus has a singular reading which involves the omission of MH MOIXEUSHS (added by a corrector within the scriptorium)

23. Fol. 24b; col. 4 = Mark 10.29 (list of things forsaken)

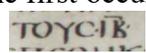


These lists would also have been reflected in public reading of the text of Sinaiticus, with each item pronounced carefully and separately, developing emphasis over the course of the lists.

Abbreviations

24. The textual presentation of Sinaiticus includes a variety of abbreviations which reflect patterns of reading (and even interpretation). These include not only the well-known *nomina sacra*, but also, more clearly marked than the more well-known *nomina sacra*, the use of marked letters to represent numbers.

25. Many numbers are abbreviated in the text by the use of a letter representing the number, with dots on either side and an over line. The first one in the text is a good example of this: at 1.13 the number ‘forty’ (for the forty days Jesus was tempted in the wilderness) is given as the single letter M with over bar and set off by dots on either side of the letter: 

26. Not all numbers are given in this manner, and considerable variety seems to characterise the scribal behaviour. For example, with the number ‘twelve’ – perhaps the most significant number in Mark’s Gospel, we find it in two different forms. E.g., for the first occurrence of ‘twelve’ in 3.14 we find $\overline{\text{IB}}$ with over bar and dots on either side (19b.4.8):  The same abbreviation is used regularly, but not universally, in the text: so also 3.16 (19b.4.17; v.l.); 4.10 (20a.3.47); 5.42 (21b.1.3: ‘twelve years’); 6.7 (21b.2.12: ‘the twelve’); 6.43 (22a.3.8: ‘twelve baskets’); 8.19 (23a.3.48: ‘twelve’ [baskets]); 9.35 (24a.3.16: ‘the twelve’); 10.32 (25a.1.11: ‘the twelve’); 11.11 (25b.1.11: ‘the twelve’). But on other occasions (e.g. 5.25: ‘twelve years’), the number ‘twelve’ is written out in full (as δωδεκα); also 14.10 (27a.3.29: ‘Judas Iscariot, one of

the twelve’); 14.17 (27a.4.30: ‘with the twelve’); 14.20 (27a.4.42-43: ‘one of the twelve’ – with reference to Judas); 14.43 (27b.3.36: ‘Judas one of the twelve’).

27. There is a question as to what explains this. A first thought was that perhaps the abbreviation signals the positive portrayal of the twelve in the main bulk of the gospel. The plene writing is introduced, in relation to the disciples, only when associated with Judas (14.10; cf. also vv20, 43). On this basis (i.e., conscious decision making on the basis of careful scribal thought), we might explain that the plene writing in 14.17 (‘with the twelve’: as introduction to the last supper) as due to the previous signal that Judas’ presence with the twelve somehow contaminates the concept. I could be more persuaded that there was something in this view if there were more consistency in other regards. For example ‘twelve years’ is rendered in two different ways (abbreviated in 5.42; written in full in 5.25). The following examples will also show evidence of considerable variation.

28. The evidence for other numbers is as follows:

29. δυο: with only one exception this is written out in full: as, e.g., 6.7 [bis], 9, 38, 41 [first]; 9.43, 45, 47; 10.8 [bis]; 11.1; 12.42; 14.1, 13; 15.27. The exception is that there is one occasion on which it is abbreviated: as Β with dots on either side and an overline. This appears on the second occurrence in 6.41 (22a.3.3: ‘two fish’); even though the previous reference, in the same verse, to ‘two fish’ writes δυο out in full (22A.2.44).

30. τρεις: generally written in full: 8.2, 31; 9.31; 10.34; 14.30, 58, 72; 15.29. But there is also a single exception at 9.5 (23b.3.19), where the ‘three tents’ proposed by Peter is abbreviated as gamma with overline and dots on either side.

31. τεσσαρες: In 2.3 (19a.2.26) this is abbreviated, in the normal form, as a delta, marked off by dots on either side and an overline (for the ‘four’ people who bore the paralytic); but in 13.27 this is written out in full (for the ‘four winds’ – 27a.1.13).

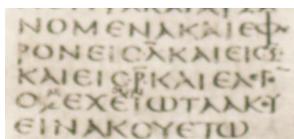
32. πεντε: Written out in full at 6.38, 41; 8.19.

33. ἕξ: written out in full at 9.2.

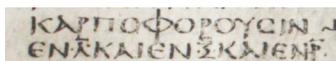
34. ἑπτα: Either can be used: for Ζ with bar and dots on either side: 8.5 (23a.2.20: loaves); 8.6 (23a.2.24: loaves); 12.20 (26a.2.34: ‘seven brothers’); but (in the same contexts) we also find it written out in full: επτα: 8.8 (23a.2.34); 8.20 [bis] (23a.4.1 & 6); 12.22 (26.a.2.43-44: ‘seven’ [brothers]); 12.23 (26a.3.2: ‘seven’ [brothers]). This is striking: in both the clusters of ‘sevens’ we have initial abbreviated usage (i.e., 8.5, 6; 12.20) followed in the immediate context by επτα written out in full (8.8, 20; 12.22, 23). It is simple enough to observe this pattern, it is not at all clear how to explain it.

35. δεκα: written out in full at 10.41.

36. The numbers in the conclusion of the parable of the sower (4.8; fol. 20a.3.39-40) are all abbreviated: thirty (*lamda*), sixty (*xi*) and one hundred (*rho*): with overlines and dots on either side:



The situation is the same in the conclusion of the interpretation of the parable (4.20; fol. 20b.1.18):



37. Large numbers are normally written out in full, e.g. διακοσιων (6.37; 22a.2.25); τριακοσιων (14.5; 27a.2.48 – 3.1); δισχιλιοι (5.13; 21a.1.18); τετρακισχιλιοι (8.9; 23a.2.39 & 8.20; 23a.4.2-3); πεντακισχιλιοι (6.43; 22a.3.12-13 & 8.10; 23a.3.43-44)

38. It seems obvious that the scribe(s) exercised considerable freedom in relation to the deployment of numerical abbreviations in the text. They are marked off with dots, perhaps to set this usage off as different from the *nomina sacra*, which share the overlining.

Nomina Sacra

39. The second type of abbreviation deployed in Sinaiticus is a striking visual characteristic of the text, in common with other early Christian Greek Bible manuscripts. These abbreviations of a group of names, terms and other titles are normally known as *nomina sacra*, following the pioneering work of Traube.²⁵ In Sinaiticus these take the same form as in other manuscripts: they are marked with a supralinear line and involve a contraction of the term which preserves the case ending. Characteristic of Sinaiticus are the lack of very consistent usage patterns and the use of both two letter and three letter contractions. We begin with some of the most consistently applied *nomina sacra*.

40. ΘΕΟΣ: This is consistently deployed, for every occurrence in Mark, using a two letter form of the *nomen sacrum*: 1.14f, 24; 2.7, 12, 26; 3.11, 35; 4.11, 26, 30; 5.7 (2x); 7.8, 9, 13; 8.29, 33; 9.1, 47; 10.9, 14, 15, 18, 23, 24, 25, 27 (2x); 11.22; 12.14, 17 (2x), 24, 26 (4x), 27, 29, 30, 34; 13.19; 14.25; 15.34 (2x), 39, 43.

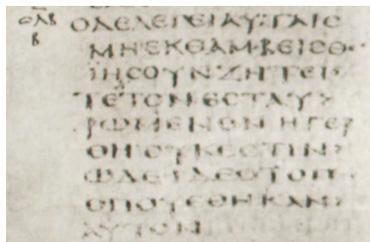
41. ΚΥΡΙΟΣ: This is consistently deployed, for every occurrence in Mark, using a two letter form of the *nomen sacrum*: 1.3; 2.28; 5.19; 7.28; 11.3, 9; 12.9, 29 (2x), 30, 36 (2x), 37; 13.20, 35

42. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ: This is also consistently deployed using a two letter form of the *nomen sacrum*: 1.1; 8.29; [9.41 corr.]; 12.35; 13.21; 14.61; 15.32

43. ΙΗΣΟΥΣ: This is consistently deployed (with one interesting exception), using a two letter form of the *nomen sacrum*: 1.1, 9, 14, 17, 24, 25; 2.5, 7, 15, 17, 19; 3.7; 5.6, 7, 15, 20, 21, 27, 30,

²⁵ For a recent study with reference to numerous other studies see L. Hurtado, 'The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*: A Proposal,' *JBL* 117 (1998), 655-673. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 62-84, discusses the evidence of Sinaiticus in general.

36; 6.4, 6, 30; 8.17, 27; 9.2, 4, 5, 8, 23, 25, 27, 39; 10.5, 14, 18, 21, 23, 24, 27, 29, 32, 38, 39, 42, 47 (2x), 49, 50, 51, 52; 11.6, 7, 22, 29, 33; 12.17, 24, 29, 34, 35; 13.2, 5; 14.6, 18, 27, 30, 48, 53, 55, 60, 61, 62, 67, 72; 15.1, 5, 15, 34, 37, 43. The exception to this rule is the last occurrence in Mark, 16.6: ‘you seek Jesus of Nazareth’, where the word is written out in full.²⁶



44. ΠΝΕΥΜΑ: This is also consistently deployed, for every occurrence in Mark, using a three letter form of the *nomen sacrum*, although plural forms take five letters (with ΠΝΑ and over-bar followed by case ending). It is notable that the abbreviation is used both for the Holy Spirit and completely equivalently for the unclean spirits that are so abundant in Mark (as well as for the human spirit in 14.38): 1.8 [‘Holy Spirit’], 10 [‘the Spirit’], 12 [‘the Spirit’], 23 [‘unclean spirit’], 26 [‘unclean spirit’], 27 πᾶσι [‘unclean spirits’]; 2.8 [Jesus’ Spirit]; 3.11 πᾶτα [‘unclean spirits’], 29 [‘Holy Spirit’], 30 [‘unclean spirit’]; 5.2 [‘unclean spirit’], 8 [‘unclean spirit’], 13 πᾶτα [‘unclean spirits’]; 7.25 [‘unclean spirit’]; 8.12 [Jesus’ Spirit]; 9.17 [‘a dumb spirit’], 20 [‘the spirit’ referring back to the dumb spirit of v17], 25 [‘unclean spirit’]; 12.36 [‘Holy Spirit’]; 13.11 [‘Holy Spirit’]; 14.38 [‘the spirit is willing’].²⁷

45. ΥΙΟΣ: This is not deployed in a consistent manner. A two-letter *nomen sacrum* is used more frequently than not (twenty-five compared with ten), and in significant expressions like ‘Son of Man’ and ‘Son of God’; but at various places the word is also written out in full (and the other term – ‘Man’ in ‘Son of Man’ and ‘God’ in ‘Son of God’ – is not consistently contracted as a *nomen sacrum* either). To begin with the *nomina sacra*: [corr: 1.1]; 1.11 [‘my Son’]; 2.10 [‘Son of Man’], 28 [‘Son of Man’]; 3.11 [‘Son of God’]; 6.3 [‘Son of Mary’]; 8.29 [‘Son of God’], 31 [‘Son of Man’]; 38 [‘Son of Man’]; 9.7 [‘my Son’], 9 [‘Son of Man’ – in this case ‘man’ is spelt out in full], 12 [‘Son of Man’], 17 [‘my son’ – one of the crowd], 31 [‘Son of Man’]; 10.33 [‘Son of Man’], 45 [‘Son of Man’ – in this case ‘man’ is spelt out in full], 47 [‘Son of David’ – vocative]; 12.6 (2x), 37 (‘how is he his son?’); 13.26 [‘Son of Man’ – in this case ‘man’ is spelt out in full], 32 [‘nor the Son’]; 14.21 [2x: ‘Son of Man’ – in both cases ‘man’ is spelt out in full], 41 [‘Son of Man’ – in this case ‘man’ is spelt out in full], 61 [‘Son of God’]. As we already noted, however, the term is also written out in full in ten places; this includes all the plural forms,²⁸ but also in significant (singular) Christological expressions: 5.7: υιε [‘Son of God’];

²⁶ This is the work of the scribe D who wrote the replacement leaf, from Mark 14.54 to the end of Mark; but the full form in 16.6 follows twelve contracted ones from the same pen.

²⁷ The original text of Sinaiticus does not include the relevant phrase in 6.7. A later correction includes the phrase in full: τῶν πνευματῶν τῶν ἀκαθάρτων.

²⁸ Plural forms (all written in full, although occasionally with unusual dots where the supralinear overbar would be): 2.19 [‘sons of the bridegroom’ – the first two letters have a dotted overline];

10.46 ['the son of Timaeus'], 48 ['Son of David' - vocative – also has dots]; 12.35 ['Son of David' - nominative – also has dots]; 14.62 ['Son of Man' in this case neither 'son' nor 'man' is abbreviated]; 15.39 ['Son of God' – υιος θυ].

46. ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ: When contracted this usually forms a four letter *nomen sacrum*, although it is not applied consistently, even within the same sentence (see 2.17; 14.21). In the following list I have reproduced the form which appears in the text, whether the contracted form or the full form: 1.17 ανων ('fishers of men'), 23 ανος ('a man with an unclean spirit'); 2.10 ανου ('Son of Man'), 17: ανον (first occurrence; but spelt in full at second occurrence: 'the sabbath was made for ανον, not ανθρωπος for the sabbath'), 28 ανου ('Son of Man'); 3.1: ανος ('a man was there who had a withered hand'), 3.3: ανω ('he said to the man'), 3.5: ανω ('he said to the man'), 3.28: ανων ('sons of men' – υιοις written in full); 4.26: ανος ('as if a man should scatter seed ...'); 5.2: ανος ('a man with an unclean spirit'), 5.8: ανου ('come out of the man, you unclean spirit'); 7.7: ανων ('the precepts of men'), 7.8: ανων ('the traditions of men'), 7.11: ανος ('if a man tells his father or his mother ...'), 7.15 (3x): ανου ανου ανον; 7.18: ανον (defile a man), 7.20 (2x): ανου ανον ('what comes out of a man is what defiles a man'), 7.21: ανων ('the heart of men'); 7.23: ανθρωπον: written in full: 'they defile a man'; 8.24: ανους ('I see men') [8.27: ανθρωποι: in full: 'who do men say that I am?']; 8.38: ανου ('Son of Man'); 8.33: ανων ('the things of men'); 8.36: ανον ('what does it profit a man ...?'), 8.37: ανος ('what can a man give in return for his life'); 8.38: ανου ('Son of Man'); 9.9: ανθρωπου ('Son of Man' – MAN written out in full); 9.12: ανου ('Son of Man'); 9.31: ανου ('Son of Man'); 10.7: ανθρωπος (written out in full: 'a man shall leave his father and mother ...'); 10.9: ανθρωπος: written in full ('let not man put asunder'); 10.27: ανθρωποις: written in full ('with men it is impossible'); 10.33: ανου ('Son of Man'); 10.45: ανθρωπου ('Son of Man' – MAN written out in full); 11.2: ανθρωπων: written in full ('on which a man has never sat'); 11.30: ανθρωπων: written in full ('from heaven or from men?'); 11.32: ανων: 'from men' (exactly same context as 11.30!); 12.1: ανθρωπος: written in full ('a man planted a vineyard'); 12.14: ανθρωπων: written in full ('you do not regard the position of men'); 13.26: ανθρωπου: written in full ('Son of Man'); 13.34: ανθρωπος: written in full ('like a man going on a journey'); 14.13: ανθρωπος: written in full ('a man carrying a jar of water'); 14.21 (4x): first is written in full, ανθρωπου, as part of 'Son of Man' (Son is NS); second is NS: ανω ('woe to that man'); third is written in full, ανθρωπου, as part of 'Son of Man' (with Son again NS); fourth also written in full, ανθρωπος: 'that man'; 14.41: ανθρωπου: written in full: 'Son of Man' (Son is NS)]; 14.62: ανθρωπου: written in full ('you will see the Son of Man ...' Son here also written in full); 14.71: ανθρωπον: written in full ('I do not know this man'); 15.39: ανθρωπος: written in full ('truly this man was the Son of God').

47. The first level observation about ανθρωπος is that *nomina sacra* predominate in the first eight chapters (28 are *nomina sacra*, 3 are written in full), while the relative frequency is reversed in the last eight chapters (5 are *nomina sacra*, 19 are written in full). A further observation is that there is little correlation between Jesus being the 'man' under discussion and the use of *nomina sacra*, even for the Christological title 'Son of Man' where *nomina sacra* for ανθρωπος are used in exactly half the occurrences (seven out of fourteen) but not in the other

3.17 ['sons of thunder'], 28 ['sons of men' – this also has a line of four dots over the first two letters]; 10.35 ['sons of Zebedee'], 46 ['the son of Timaeus'].

half (for example in 10.45 and 14.62). This is also illustrated in 14.21, where *ἄνθρωπος* occurs four times: the two which refer to Jesus (as ‘Son of Man’) are not contracted, while the other two which refer to ‘that man’ by which he would be betrayed, are presented as a *nomen sacrum* on the first occasion, and written in full on the second occasion. The usage here does not suggest that there was a scribal recognition that the *nomina sacra* was used for particularly ‘sacred’ referents.

48. ΠΑΤΗΡ: When contracted this forms a three letter *nomen sacrum*, which is characteristic and consistently used in the first ten chapters of the gospel: 1.20 *πατ* (‘their father Zebedee’); 5.40 *πατ* (‘the father of the girl’); *πατ* ... *πατ* 7.10 (2x – ‘your father’), 11 *πατ*, 12 *πατ*; 8.38 *πατ* (‘in the glory of his Father’); 9.21 *πατ* (‘his father’ – of a boy), 24 *πατ* (‘the father of the boy’); 10.7 *πατ* (‘a man shall leave his father’), 19 *πατ* (‘honour your father ...’). From this point, however, the full form is used: 10.29: *πατέρα*, as part of a list; 11.10: *πατρός* (‘the kingdom of our father David’),²⁹ 25: *πατήρ* (‘your father who is in heaven’); 13.12: *πατήρ* (‘and father child’ [i.e., will deliver him to death]), 32 *πατήρ* (‘only the father’ [knows the day and the hour]); 14.36 *πατήρ* (‘Abba, father’); 15.21: *πατέρα* (‘the father of Alexander and Rufus’).

49. This is a rather odd pattern – consistent contraction as a *nomen sacrum* in the first ten chapters of the gospel, where it predominantly refers, within the text, to human fathers referred (ten times out of eleven in 1.1 – 10.19), and only once for God the Father (8.38 – the father of the Son of Man). Following 10.19 it is consistently not abbreviated in the last six chapters of the Gospel, even though three of these are explicitly referring to God the Father and three are referring to human fathers, one refers to David. It does not seem that the sacred nature of the referent was in the primary line of thought of the scribe in the deployment of this contraction.

50. ΜΗΤΗΡ: when contracted this also forms a three letter *nomen sacrum*: e.g., 3.31 *μητ* (‘his mother’), 32 *μητ* (‘your mother’), 33 *μητ* (‘my mother’), 34 *μητ* (‘behold my mother ...’), 35 *μητ* (‘... and mother’); 5.40 *μητ* (the mother of the child); 7.10 *μητ* (2x ‘your mother’), 11 *μητ*, 12 *μητ*; 10.7 *μητ* (‘leave ... his mother’). The word is also written out in full: in 6.24 *μητρι* (re Herodias), 28 *μητρι* (gives the head of John the Baptist to her mother); 10.19: *μητέρα* (in list of commands: ‘honour your father and your mother’ – father is NS, but mother is not), 29 *μητέρα*: in list; [10.30: absent from Sinaiticus original text]; 15.40 *μητηρ* (‘Mary the mother of James the younger and of Joseph’).

51. This is also an unusual pattern, although somewhat similar to *πατήρ*: a shift occurs in chapter ten with most of the preceding occurrences being abbreviated and all of the following occurrences written in full. The exception to the pattern is the two references to Herodias in the context of the death of John the Baptist (6.24, 28); perhaps the scribe balked at using the *nomen sacrum* for such an unsavoury character.

52. ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ: This is always written in full: 8.34 (‘take up his cross’); and at 15.21 (‘so that he [Simon of Cyrene] might carry his cross’); 15.30 (‘come down from the cross’), 32 (‘come down now from the cross’). *ΣΤΑΥΡΟΝ:* The verbal form is written out in full at 15.13 (‘crucify him’), 14 (‘crucify him’); but contracted in 15.15: *σταυρη*: ‘he [Pilate] delivered Jesus over ... so

²⁹ This is written out in full at the end of the line with the final two letters much smaller.

that he might be crucified'; and written out in full at v20 ('they led him out to crucify him'), 24 (and they crucified him'), 25 (and they crucified him'), 27 ('with him they crucified two robbers'); 16.6 ('you seek Jesus ... the one who was crucified ...').

53. So only one of twelve occurrences is abbreviated, none of the nouns and only one (out of eight) of the verbal forms. There is nothing particularly striking about the occurrence in 15.15 either; it narrates Pilate's intention, not the doubly retold narrative of the event (15.20, 24), nor even the angelic announcement at 16.6 (although rather strikingly on that occasion even 'Jesus' is not abbreviated).

54. ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ: When contracted this appears as a five or six letter *nomen sacrum*, but the practice is inconsistent: 1.10: ουρους (the heavens opened), 1.11: ουρων (voice from the heavens); 4.32: ουρου (birds of the heaven); 6.41: plene: ουρανον (he looked up to heaven); 7.34: ουρον (looking up to heaven); 8.11: plene: ουρανον (seeking a sign from heaven); 10.21: plene: ουρανω (treasure in heaven); 11.25: plene: ουρανοις (father who is in heaven); 11.30: plene: ουρανου (baptism of John from heaven?); 11.31: plene: ουρανου (if we say 'from heaven'); 12.25: plene: ουρανοις (angels in heaven); 13.25 (2x): 13.25a: plene: ουρανου (stars falling from heaven); 13.25b (page break between): ουροις (powers in the heavens); 13.27: plene: ουρανου (to the ends of heaven); 13.31: plene: ουρανος (heaven and earth will pass away ...); 13.32: plene: ουρανω (angels in heaven); 14.62: plene: ουρανου (coming with the clouds of heaven).

55. This term is contracted five times (four out of the first five occurrences) and written in full twelve times (especially after chapter eight: eleven out of twelve occurrences). There does not seem to be any theological or referential distinction between the two.

56. Of the other words that are often contracted in New Testament manuscripts we can note the following: 'Jerusalem' is never contracted (1.5; 3.8, 22; 7.1; 10.32, 33; 11.1, 11, 15, 27; 15.41); σωτηρ does not occur in Mark; 'David' is consistently contracted as the three letter *nomen sacrum* δαδ: 2.25; 10.47, 48; 11.10; 12.35, 36, 37. ΙΣΡΑΗΛ is contracted at 2.12 ιηλ (a variant reading harmonizing to Matt 9.33); and at 12.29 ιηλ; but not at 15.32 where it is written in full.

57. This evidence shows that the *nomina sacra* are deployed inconsistently in Mark in Sinaiticus. It suggests that even into the fourth-century there was some considerable variety in the treatment of the *nomina sacra*, with the exception of the common and consistently deployed ones. The difference in practice seems to confirm the traditional scholarly distinction between the four core terms: θεος, κυριος, χριστος, ιησους (two letter forms consistently applied) and the remainder (three letter forms inconsistently applied). In this latter group of *nomina sacra* it is notable that reverence, in particular, does not seem to be the defining feature of the use of *nomina sacra* as opposed to writing out the words in full.

58. We noted in particular that the inconsistent deployment of the contracted forms of ανθρωπος, πατηρ and μητηρ, was reflected in a marked change of practice which occurs around chapter nine or ten of Mark's Gospel. Since this does not seem explicable in terms of scribal logic is it possible that the explanation for this phenomena might lie in different practices reflected in the exemplar(s) of Mark in Sinaiticus? The first half of Mark might reflect an exemplar which more consistently applied these *nomina sacra*, while the second half of Mark

might reflect (ultimately) a different exemplar with less consistent application of the contractions.³⁰ On the other hand, given the inconsistencies of scribal behaviour in the deployment of these *nomina sacra* throughout the New Testament of Sinaiticus (as documented by Jongkind), it might be simpler to regard these as unexplained aberrations.³¹ Another factor could be that the quire break occurs at Mark 10.31 (fol. 25a begins the new quire with the words πρωτοι εσχατοι και εσχατοι πρωτοι); perhaps in starting a new quire the scribe was conscious of having plenty of space and thus used more uncontracted forms.

Eusebian Sections

59. Accompanying the text throughout Mark's Gospel are running headers, and marginal notations of the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons. Both of these are contemporary with the production of the manuscript. The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons are very close in style to the hand of the main text (written in at almost the last stage of the manuscript by Scribe D according to Milne and Skeat).³² These do play a significant role in the visual impact of the text upon the reader. The visual impact varies considerably from opening to opening – some openings have relatively few (e.g. 20b-21a has only eleven, 22b-23a has ten), while others have very many (e.g. 27b-28a has forty-four). This type of variation occurs in the other gospels as well, and the first level of visual impact provided by the appearance of the Sections and Canons is simply to identify the text as a gospel text within the four gospel canon (this works both visually, since only gospel texts have the double numbering characteristic of this system; and conceptually, since the purpose of the system is to enable cross-referencing among the four gospels).

60. Mark contains 233 numbered sections (as NA27).³³ In general the sequencing of the section and canon numbers is acceptable, but the positioning is often incorrect. There are copying errors in the enumeration; e.g.:

³⁰ Perhaps this distinction in exemplar could be connected with the unusual paragraphing in Mark 9.

³¹ Jongkind documents inconsistencies of practice across the gospels – offering figures for Matt, Mark, Luke and John, but not differentiating within a gospel (*Scribal Habits*, 70-74). He kindly showed me some information from his database of information on *nomina sacra* in Sinaiticus which does show a marked increase in the use of uncontracted forms: none in chs 1-4; eight in chs 5-9; then eight in ch 10; 6 in ch 11; 2 in ch 12; 6 in ch 13; 4 in ch 14 and 4 in ch 15 (figures for Scribe A).

³² For discussion of the evidence see Milne & Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 36-37; Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 109-120.

³³ The numbers given in Mark do not always correspond to those given in the inner margins of NA27 – the source of which is not indicated in that edition. I take the NA27 information as providing a basically 'correct' view of the numbers.

- At Mark 1.3 which is given as $2/4$ – clearly a *delta* where it should be an *alpha*.
 - At 8.16 the scribe appears to have begun to write a *rho* and then has simply corrected it to a *pi* – for 80/VI.
 - At 13.1 the number is given as 137/VI where it should be 137/II.
 - At 6.47 the section number 67/IV is simply omitted (the sequence moves from 66 to 68 – both correctly positioned).
 - At 7.33 the section number is given (out of position) as 75/VI (should be 75/VIII positioned at 7.36).
 - At 8.1 the section number is given as 76 without any canon number (also out of position: should be 76/VI next to 7.37).
 - At 8.12 the section number 78/VI is omitted (the sequence moves from 77 to 79 – both correctly positioned).
 - At 8.22 the section number 81/X is omitted (the sequence moves from 80 to 82 – both correctly positioned).
 - At 9.33 the section number 94/X is omitted (the sequence moves from 93 to 95 – the latter is a little out of position).
 - At 9.48 the section number 101/X is omitted (the sequence moves from 100 to 102 – the former is a little out of position).
 - At 10.35 the section number 113/VI is omitted (the sequence moves from 112 to 114 – the former is a little out of position).
 - At 11.19 the section number 123/X is omitted (the sequence moves from 122 to 124 – both correctly positioned).
 - At 13.7 the section number 144/II is omitted (the sequence moves from 143 to 145 – both correctly positioned).
 - At 15.23 the section number 211/IV is omitted (the sequence moves from 210 to 212 – both correctly positioned).
 - At 15.25 the section number 213/X is omitted (the sequence moves from 212 to 214 – both correctly positioned).
-

- At 15.29 the section number 217/VI is omitted – this is probably due to the absence of 15.28 in Sinaiticus: 216/VIII is placed opposite 15.29 where 15.28 would be expected, the next reference, which should stand for 15.29f is omitted.

61. The errors of positioning are fairly frequent. The first is introduced in the opening column of Mark – the third section should begin at verse 4 (3/VI – a text in Matthew and Mark), but this notation appears instead at the beginning of verse 7 (3/VI – when it should have been 4/I – a text unit in all four gospels). This leaves the next one also out of position (4/I at v9 instead of v7). The error is then resolved by introducing a unit at v10 (5/I). Combined with the error in the second unit this means that of the first five numerical notations only the first one is actually correct, the next four are all incorrect – anybody attempting to use these to consult parallel passages would find it impossible, because either they would be referred to the wrong canon table (in the second instance), or they would be referred, using the canon tables, to passages that are not parallel passages at all.

62. For example, using 2/IV at Mark 1.3: there is no entry in Canon IV for Section 2 in Mark so no parallels can be found for Mark 1.3-6. Using 3/VI at v7 would lead to Section 9 for Matthew – Matt 3.4-6, which is not parallel to Mark 1.7 (Matt 3.11 is needed). Using 4/I at v9 would lead to Section 11 for Matt – Matt 3.11, when Matt 3.16-17 is needed (Section 14 in Matthew), to Section 10 for Luke – Luke 3.16, when Luke 3.21-22 is needed (Section 13 in Luke), and to Sections 6, 12, 14 & 28 in John – John 1.15, 26-27, 30-31 & 3.28, when John 1.32-34 is needed (Section 15 in John). Using 5/I at v10 would lead to the relevant parallel passages (given above), only one verse late. Given these multiple problems it is striking that no attempts at correction have been made. It raises the question as to whether any actual users of Sinaiticus also actually consulted these number systems.³⁴

Singular Readings

63. A pattern of analysis using singular readings has become a useful tool in analysing scribal behaviour.³⁵ I have analysed these in Mark using a number of resources.³⁶ A complete list is included as an Appendix.

64. There are 296 singular readings in Mark. Many of these deal with spelling, and 92 reflect scribe A's tendency to use an iota for epsilon-iota. On a small scale there are fairly large

³⁴ Relevant here are the following facts: the enumeration (of both types) is missing in Luke after 9.61 (#106); there are also no Eusebian canon-tables in Sinaiticus.

³⁵ Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 131-246, has an extensive discussion, with reference to earlier contributions in this area.

³⁶ Most importantly Reuben Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus. Mark* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); also F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the Received Text of the New Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1864). For the purposes of this investigation I have defined a singular reading as one with no other attestation in Swanson.

numbers of additions and omissions of words: on 38 occasions between 1 and 5 words are omitted (most of these, 25, concern just one word), for 58 words in total. There are four more substantial omissions: at 1.32-34 (20 words); 10.30 (13 words); 10.35-37 (22 words); 15.47-16.1 (16 words). In terms of additions there are 25 occasions when between 1 and 4 words are added (again, most of these, 19 in all, concern just one word), for 35 words in total.

65. A notable subset of these additions are a number of very clear harmonisations to the text of Matthew.³⁷

2.12	ειδομεν] εφανε εν τω Ισραηλ	substitution; add three words; harmonise to Matt 9.33 (corrected Ca)
7.18	εις τον ανθρωπον ου δυναται αυτον κοινωσαι] ου κοινοι τον ανθρωπον	harmonisation to wording of Matt 15.11, 18, 20 (cf. Mark 7.23)
9.45	adds κυλλον η	addition of two words (harmonised to Matt 18.8?)
10.28	adds: τι αρα εσται ημιν (after σοι)	addition of four words (harmonisation to Matt 19.27)
14.64	adds ιδε νυν (start of verse)	addition of two words (harmonisation to Matt 26.65)
15.46	adds μεγας (after λιθον)	addition of one word (harmonisation to Matt 27.60)

65. There are also numerous word order variations (15 occurrences), word substitutions using near synonyms (12 occurrences), and changes to prefixes of compound verbs (occurrences). Very little evidence of intentional, theological or Christological variation can be found among these singular readings.

Conclusions

66. This paper as it stands is long on data and short on conclusions. In particular there is simply not a great deal of evidence for peculiar Sinaitican interpretative moves in the re-presentation of Mark. Some of the peculiarities of Sinaiticus (the extreme paragraphing) have not been explained at all in relation to the content of Mark. Significant features, such as abbreviation, show

³⁷ Jongkind notes three singular readings in Luke (5.18; 7.35; 8.7) which also exhibit harmonisation to a Matthean parallel (*Scribal Habits*, 231-232).

considerable flexibility in unpredictable ways. We might say that neither of the two main patterns of abbreviation, numerals and *nomina sacra*, are carried through in a consistent (or ‘massoretic’) manner. Flexibility and variation in practice abound, and not due to some discernable consistent ideological or theological set of agendas. Similarly paragraphing seems rather haphazard.

67. Several features confirm the obvious, that the Gospel of Mark in Sinaiticus is presented as one of the four canonical gospels, as a member of the four-fold gospel. The consistency of running titles, used for all four gospels, the title and closing title/colophon, the appearance and function of the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canon numbers, all reinforce the sense of Mark embedded as one of the four gospels. These features distinguish the gospels from other parts of the Scripture in which the four-fold gospel finds its place. There is some sense of canonical statement made by a codex such as this.

68. We could, however, note that compared with other parts of Sinaiticus Mark lacks liturgical markings (found in Acts in Sinaiticus), it lacks markers for OT citations (found for example in Matthew and Romans), and it lacks notes of the OT source of citations (found sometimes in Matthew).

69. We have observed a concern with the presentation of Mark’s Gospel in terms of the eight-columned openings. Some concern for the visual impact may be reflected in the decision to replace leaves, presumably since some form of gross error occurred, the correction of which would have badly marred the appearance of the volume (these occur only within the NT). Some level of gentle correction is permitted (note the small and ‘soft’ corrections made by the contemporary corrector A).

70. The lack of observable ‘agenda’ in the presentation of Mark in Sinaiticus may make its contribution to the reception-history of Mark somewhat meagre; but this has the advantage that the scribe(s) seem more concerned to present rather than improve the text.

Appendix: Singular Readings in Sinaiticus in Mark

Reference	Reading	Comment
1.7	ειμη κανος	Spelling (corrected)
1.8	Lacks υμας 2°	Omission of pronoun (corrected Ca)
1.10	αναβενων	Spelling
1.15	Lacks: λεγων	Omission of participle (corrected A)
1.15	βασιλια	Spelling
1.19	Lacks: ολιγον	Omission of word (corrected Ca)
1.21	εδιδαξεν	Aorist tense (corrected to impf. Ca)

1.24	απολεσε	Spelling
1.25	Lacks: λεγων	Omission of participle (corrected A)
1.27	συνζητιν	Spelling
1.27	επιτασσι	Spelling
1.28	ιουδαιας	Word substitution (corrected Ca)
1.31	χιρος	Spelling
1.32-34	lacks: και τους ... νοσοις	First four words omission shared with W; hence singular omission of 16 words (corrected Ca)
1.34	εξεβαλλεν	Spelling
1.38	αγομεν	Spelling/mood
1.39	κηρυσσιν	Spelling/mood (corrected Ca)
1.44	σαυτον	Spelling
1.45	εισελθιν	spelling
2.4	προσσενεγκαι	Spelling (line ending confusion)
2.4	κραβακτον	Spelling
2.5	Adds: μου (after τεκνον)	Additional word (corrected Ca)
2.6	καρδιες	Spelling
2.8	καρδιες	Spelling
2.9	κραβακτον	Spelling
2.10	εχι	spelling
2.11	εγειρε σοι λεγω	Word order variation
2.11	κραβακτον	Spelling
2.12	κραβακτον	Spelling

2.12	δοξαζιν	Spelling
2.12	ειδομεν] εφανε εν τω Ισραηλ	Subst.; add three words; harmonise to Matt 9.33 (corrected Ca)
2.13	εξηλθον	Verb person (corrected Ca)
2.13	παρα] εις	Word subst. (prep.) (corrected Ca)
2.13	αυτον] αυτους	Pronoun person (consistent with verb) (corrected Ca)
2.14	Λευει	Spelling (name) (corrected Ca)
2.15	κατακισθαι	Spelling
2.21	ουδισ	Spelling
2.21	Lacks: το (before πληρωμα)	Omission of article
2.26	φαγιν	Spelling
3.3	χιρα	Spelling
3.5	χιρα	Spelling
3.5	χιρ	Spelling
3.8	Lacks: και 4°	Word omission (corrected Ca)
3.20	φαγιν	Spelling
3.24	σταθηνε	Spelling
3.27	ουδισ	Spelling
3.27	εισελθων εις την οικιαν του ισχυρου	Word order variation
3.28	αφεθησετε	Spelling
3.31	σταντες	Verb form
3.32	περι] προς	Preposition subst. (corrected Ca)

3.35	διδασκιν	Spelling
4.2	πολλα εν παραβολαις	Word order variation
4.6	ανετιλεν	Spelling
4.7	αλλο] αλλος	Spelling/gender
4.11	βασιλιας	Spelling
4.18	ακουσαντες τον λογον	Word order variation
4.19	συνπνιγει τον λογον και αι παρα τα λοιπα επιθυμια εισπορευομεναι	Word order variation
4.19	συνπνιγει	Person of verb
4.19	περι] παρα	Preposition subst.
4.21	Lacks ινα	Word omission
4.21	τεθηναι	Diff verb form (consistent with no ινα)
4.24	προστεθησετε	Spelling
4.28	Lacks: ειτα σταχυν	Two words omitted (corrected Ca)
4.31	Lacks: ος	Omission of rel. pron.
4.31	Adds: ο (before μικροτερον)	Addition of article
4.32	αναβαινι	Spelling
4.35	εκινη	Spelling
4.37	μεγαλη] μεγας	Different word (corrected Ca)
4.37	Lacks: ωστε ηδη γεμιζεσθαι το πλοιον	Five words omitted (corrected A)
4.38	εγιρουσιν	Spelling
5.4	Lacks: δαμασαι	Word omitted (corrected Ca)

5.8	ελεγεν γαρ] και ελεγεν	Different connective (and placement)
5.9	λεγι	Spelling
5.11	Lacks: ορει	Word omitted (corrected A: ορι)
5.14	απηγγιλον	Spelling / verb form
5.15	ηρχοντο	Verb form (corrected A & Ca)
5.17	παρακαλιν	Spelling
5.17	απελθιν	Spelling
5.19	ο κυριος πεποιηκεν σοι	Word order variation
5.23	εχι	Spelling
5.23	χιρας	Spelling
5.24	ηκολουθι	Spelling
5.27	οπιθεν	Spelling (corrected A & Ca)
5.31	λεγισ	Spelling
5.33	Add: και (after τρεμουσα)	Additional word (corrected)
5.36	παρακαουσας	Spelling (corrected)
5.39	καθευδι	Spelling
5.41	χιρος	Spelling
5.41	πεδιου	Spelling
5.43	μηδισ	Spelling
6.3	ιωσηφ	Name/spelling
6.4	Lacks: και εν τοις συγγενεσιν αυτου	Omission of four words (omission of pronoun not singular) (corrected A)
6.5	χιρας	Spelling
6.7	αποστελλιν	Spelling

6.10	μινάτε	Spelling
6.12	Add: αυτοίς (after εκηρυξάν)	Additional word (corrected A)
6.16	ούτος Ιωάννης	Word order variation
6.18	εχίν	Spelling
6.22	εισελθουσης] ελθουσης	Lacking prefix - compound verb (corrected Ca)
6.25	εισελθουσης] ελθουσης	Lacking prefix - compound verb (corrected Ca)
6.27	ενεγκε	Spelling
6.34	Lacks: ως πρόβατα	Omission of two words (corrected Ca)
6.35	γινόμενης	Spelling
6.37	φαγίν	Spelling
6.38	γνοντες] ελθοντες	Different word (context?) (corrected Ca)
6.55	επι] εν	Prep. Subst. (corrected Ca)
6.55	κραβακτοίς	Spelling
6.55	ηκουον] ηκουσθη	Verb form
6.56	Adds: η (after αγρους)	One word addition
7.4	ραντισωντε	Spelling
7.15	εις] επ	Prep. Subst. (corrected Ca)
7.15	κοιναυντα	Spelling
7.18	εις τον ανθρωπον ου δυναται αυτον κοινωσαι] ου κοινοι τον ανθρωπον	Harmonisation to wording of Matt 15.11, 18, 20 (cf. Mark 7.23)
7.19	εκβαλλετε	Spelling / word choice
7.20	εκινο	Spelling

7.23	και] κακεινα	Word choice (emp. re list?)
7.24	λαθειν] λαλειν	Verb choice (spelling?) (corrected Ca)
7.25	αλλ] αλλα	Spelling
7.28	εσθιουσιν αποκατω της τραπεζης	Word order variation
7.28	υποκατω] αποκατω	Spelling/prefix subst.
7.29	δεμονιον	Spelling
7.33	κατ ιδιαν απο του οχλου	word order variation
7.33	εβαλεν] ελαβεν	word subst. (spelling?)
7.34	διανυχθητι	spelling
7.37	λαλιν	spelling
8.4	lacks αυτω	omission of one word (pronoun)
8.4	adds: και ειπαν	addition of two words
8.4	δυνησετε	spelling
8.6	παραγγελι	spelling
8.7	lacks ειπεν	omission of one word (corrected A)
8.7	παρεθηκεν	different verb form
8.9	lacks ως	omission of one word
8.11	adds: ιδιν (after σημειον)	addition of one word
8.15	διετελλετο	spelling
8.18	lacks και (after βλεπετε)	omission of one word (corrected A)
8.23	χιρας	spelling
8.25	χιρας	spelling
8.26	εις οικον αυτον αυτου	word order variation

8.29	εινε	spelling
8.31	αποδοκιμασθηνε	spelling
8.34	αυτου] εαυτου	spelling/pronoun type
8.38	επαισχυνθησετε	spelling
9.1	βασιλιαν	spelling
9.4	λαλουντες	lacks prefix συλ-
9.6	ηδι	spelling
9.6	απεκριθη	spelling (harmonised to common form)
9.7	εκ της νεφελης φωνη	word order variation
9.9	lacks ει μη	omission of two words (corrected Ca)
9.12	αποκαταστανι	spelling
9.13	lacks οτι (after υμιν)	omission of one word (corrected Ca)
9.13	γεγραπτε	spelling
9.25	lacks εγω (after πνευμα)	omission of one word (corrected Ca)
9.27	χιρος	spelling
9.28	ημης	spelling
9.31	χιρας	spelling
9.31	αποκτανθις	spelling
9.34	διελεγχθησαν	spelling
9.34	adds εστιν (after μειζων)	addition of one word
9.36	adds ειπεν (after 2nd και)	addition of one word (corrected)
9.36	αγκαλισαμενος	omission of prefix – compound verb
9.37	lacks αν (2°)	omission of one word
9.37	δεχετε	verb form (consistent with omission of αν)

9.39	ουδισ	spelling
9.39	δυνησετε	spelling
9.41	αν] εαν	spelling / form of word
9.41	χριστου] εμον	word subst. (Christological?) (corrected Ca)
9.42	βεβλητε	spelling
9.43	απελθειν] εισελθειν	different prefix to compound verb (corrected Ca)
9.45	εισελθιν	spelling
9.45	adds κυλλον η	addition of two words (harmonised to Matt 18.8?)
9.45	εις την γεενναν βληθηναι	word order variation
9.47	lacks εισελθειν	omission of one word
9.47	βασιλιαν] ζωσιλιαν	spelling / word subst. (corrected Ca)
9.50	ιρηνευετε	spelling
10.7	ανθρωπων	spelling/case ending (nonsense?)
10.10	τουτων (after περι)	number change
10.16	χιρας	spelling
10.19	lacks μη μοιχευσης	omission of two words (corrected A) [list]
10.23	βασιλιαν	spelling
10.23	εισελευσοντε	spelling
10.24	βασιλιαν	spelling
10.25	τρυμαλιας] τρηματος	word subst. / synonym (perhaps infl Lk 18.25) (corrected Ca)
10.25	βασιλιαν	spelling
10.25	εισελθιν 2°	spelling

10.28	λεγιν	spelling
10.28	ημης	spelling
10.28	adds: τι αρα εσται ημιν (after σοι)	addition of four words (harmonisation to Matt 19.27)
10.29	αυτω (after εφη)	additional word (cf. Β Δ); sing. (cf. Ψ 579: αυτοις)
10.29	lacks εμου και (after first ενεκεν)	omission of two words (corrected Ca) [Christological?]
10.30	lacks οικιας ... διωγμων	omission of thirteen words (corrected A & Ca) [list?]
10.32	λεγιν	spelling
10.33	αναβενομεν	spelling
10.34	εμπτυουσιν	verb form (ind. cf. fut.) (corrected Ca)
10.35	παραπορευονται	prefix subst.
10.35-37	ινα ... ημιν	omission of twenty-two words (corrected Ca)
10.41	adds και (before περι)	addition of one word
10.42	lacks ο (before Ιησους)	article missing
10.46	adds και (after τυφλος)	addition of one word
11.2	λεγι	spelling
11.2	lacks: την κατεναντι υμων	omission of three words (corrected Ca)
11.7	αυτων (τα ιματια) αυτω	spelling or word order variation (corrected Ca)
11.7	εκαθισαν	verb person [disciples sit on colt?]
11.11	εις ις 1°	spelling
11.12	lacks επαυνασεν	omission of one word (corrected A)

11.15	εις] ις 1°	spelling
11.15	κατεστρεψεν και τας καθεδρας τωο πωλουντων τας περιστερας	word order variation (fronting κατεστρεψεν) (corrected Ca)
11.18	αρχιερις	spelling
11.20	παρεπορευετο	verb form (impf. cf. ptc.) (corrected Ca)
11.20	adds και (before ιδον)	addition of one word (corrected Ca)
11.23	εστε	spelling
11.35	στητε	verb form
11.27	εις] ις	spelling
11.27	γραμματις	spelling
11.31	προσελογιζοντο	prefix subst. – compound verb (corrected Ca)
11.33	λεγι	spelling
12.1	λαλιν	spelling
12.2	λαβοι	verb form (corrected Ca)
12.4	lacks δουλον (after αλλον)	omission of one word (corrected Ca)
12.5	αλλους] ολλους	spelling (infl of immediate context)
12.7	εστε	spelling
12.14	βλεπις	spelling
12.14	διδασκις	spelling
12.15	πιραζετε	spelling
12.15	adds ωδε (after δηναριον)	addition of one word
12.25	lacks: ουτε γαμουσιν	omission of two words (corrected A)
12.31	adds εστιν (after αυτη)	addition of one word
12.32	αληθιας	spelling

12.33	lacks της (before ισχυος)	omission of article (corrected Ca)
12.34	βασιλιαν	spelling
12.34	ουδισ	spelling
12.38	περιπατιν	spelling
12.41	εξεβαλλον	prefix added to verb (corrected Ca)
12.42	adds γυνη (after μια)	addition of one word
12.43	πλεον	spelling
12.43	εβαλλεν	verb form (impf. cf. aorist) (corrected Ca)
13. 1	adds διδασκαλε to διδασκαλε	addition of one word (corrected A & Ca)
13.2	βλεπισ	spelling
13.2	καταλυθησετε	spelling
13.5	λεγιν	spelling
13.8	lacks βασιλιξα επι	omission of two words (corrected Ca)
13.8	lacks κατα τοπους (εσονται) λιμοι	singular omission of three words (actual omission of four words) (corrected Cb)
13.10	adds προς τον λαον (after εθνη)	addition of three words (partly corrected)
13.11	λαλιτε	spelling
13.11	υμισ	spelling
13.12	γονισ	spelling
13.14	δι	spelling
13.21	ιδε] ειδε 1°	spelling
13.22	ψευδοπροφητε	spelling
13.27	αποστελλι	spelling
13.29	υμισ	spelling

13.30	lacks ου (or οτου) (after μεχρι	omission of one word
13.34	αφισ	spelling
14.1	αρχιερισ	spelling
14.1	γραμματισ	spelling
14.1	αποκτωνωσι	spelling
14.4	εαυτους] αυτους	word form/spelling (corrected Ca)
14.5	δοθηνε	spelling
14.7	lacks αυτοις	pronoun missing (corrected Ca)
14.10	αρχιερισ	spelling
14.11	απηγγιλαντο	prefix subst. – compound verb (corrected Ca)
14.13	αυτου] αυτους	spelling / person & case of pronoun (nonsense)
14.13	απαντησι	spelling
14.16	lacks και ηλθον	omission of two words
14.17	γενομενους	spelling / form of verb (corrected Ca)
14.19	λεγιν	spelling
14.21	υπαγι	spelling
14.21	εκινω	spelling
14.22	εκλασεν ευλογησας	word order variation
14.30	απαρνησει	spelling / verb form
14.31	δεη] η	verb subst. (corrected Ca)
14.31	ωσαυτως] ομοιως	word subst. (corrected Ca)
14.33	lacks τον (before πετρον)	omission of one word (article) (corrected Ca)
14.35	lacks ινα (before ει)	omission of one word

14.35	lacks εστιν (after δυνατον)	omission of one word (corrected Ca)
14.35	παρελθιν	verb form (consistent with lack of ινα)
14.37	καθευδισ	spelling
14.38	ελθηται	spelling
14.40	καταβεβαρημενοι	verb form (corrected Ca)
14.41	χιρας	spelling
14.45	adds και (after ευθυσ)	addition of one word (corrected Ca)
14.46	χιρας	spelling
14.47	adds και (after μαχαιραν)	addition of one word (corrected Ca)
14.58	ημεις ... λεγοντος] ειπεν	word subst. (difficult to classify)
14.64	adds ιδε νυν (start of verse)	addition of two words (harmonisation to Matt 26.65)
14.67	του Ιησου ησθα του Ναζαρηνου	word order variation
14.70	lacks και (before μετα)	omission of one word (corrected Ca)
14.71	lacks ον λεγετε	omission of two words
15.10	εγινωσκεν] εγνωκει	verb form (corrected Ca)
15.22	lacks τοπον (after Γολγοθαν)	omission of one word (corrected Ca)
15.24	αυτου] εαυτου	spelling / diff form of pronoun
15.34	σαβακτανει	spelling (corrected Ca to σαβαχθανει)
15.34	εκατελιπες	spelling (corrected Ca to εγκατελιπες)
15.46	adds μεγας (after λιθον)	addition of one word (harmonisation to Matt 27.60)
15.47 – 16.1	lacks: η δε Μαρια ... σαββατου	omission of twelve words (singular) (sixteen words omitted in total) (corrected Ca)

16.4	ανακεκυλισμενον	verb form
16.7	Γαλιλαιαν	spelling

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