CrossMark

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Anger Issues: Mark 1.41 in Ephrem the Syrian, the Old Latin Gospels and Codex Bezae*

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While the vast majority of manuscripts portray Jesus in Mark 1.41 as 'moved to compassion' (σπλαγχνισθείς) before healing a leper, five putative witnesses in three languages depict him 'becoming angry' (ὀργισθείς/*iratus*). Following Hort's dictum that 'knowledge of documents should precede final judgments on readings', this article offers the first thorough examination of the witnesses to 'anger', with the result that the sole putative Syriac witness is dismissed, the Old Latin witnesses are geographically isolated, and the sole Greek witness linked to the Old Latin as a Greek–Latin diglot. Since the final grounds for Jesus' 'anger', that it is the *lectio difficilior*, also prove insubstantial, σπλαγχνισθείς is concluded to be original, with 'anger' originating in the Old Latin manuscript tradition.

Keywords: textual criticism, Mark 1.41, Codex Bezae, Ephrem, *Diatessaron*, Old Latin

1. Introduction

Few verses have been the object of as much text-critical debate as Mark 1.41, a verse in which the manuscript tradition gives us two widely diverging pictures of Jesus. After Jesus is approached by a man with a skin disease who pleads with him saying, 'If you are willing, you can make me clean' (v. 40), Jesus' response varies:

καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς/ὀργισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἥψατο καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· θέλω, καθαρίσθητι·	And moved to compassion/anger, he stretched out his hand and touched [him] and said to him, 'I am willing, be clean' (v. 41).[1]

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1 All translations are the author's unless otherwise noted.

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A decision between the two readings, between anger and compassion, could shape one's picture of the Markan Jesus in far-reaching ways. And discussion of this variation unit is not restricted to a text-critical enclave. As the scholarly tide moves towards ὀργισθείς,[2] numerous modern translations have followed, including the BJ (1998), CEB, Goodspeed, ERV, NEB, NIV (2011), NIVUK, LEB, PDT (Spanish), REB and TNIV.

Thus far, the vigorous debate on this variation unit has been hampered by two limitations: (1) a rather single-minded focus on the Greek manuscript tradition, and (2) abstract hypotheses about the genesis of either variant – either via scribal error or orthodox corruption – that have not been rigorously grounded in an examination of the extant, material witnesses.

Following Hort's famous dictum – that 'knowledge of documents should precede final judgments on readings' – this article offers the first thorough examination of all of the extant witnesses to 'anger'.[3] Doing so provides fresh insights and a likely explanation for the genesis of 'anger' in the Old Latin manuscript tradition. My argument unfolds chronologically through the putative witnesses to Jesus' anger, beginning with Ephrem the Syrian, then moving on to the four Old Latin witnesses, and finally the sole Greek witness, Codex Bezae.

In order to assess properly the manuscript witnesses to 'anger', I will first consider the arguments in favour of ὀργισθείς, as represented most robustly by Bart Ehrman.[4]

2. Bart D. Ehrman on ὀργισθείς

After nearly two and a half centuries of debate on this variation unit,[5] Bart Ehrman's 'A Leper in the Hands of an Angry Jesus' is the strongest collocation of arguments for ὀργισθείς.[6] Ehrman is to be commended for his accessible, lucid article. However, significant problems affect his case.

Ehrman begins by examining the external evidence. Importantly, he does not limit his inquiry to the manuscript tradition of Mark, but extends it to Matthew

2 For a list of scholars in favour of ὀργισθείς, see H. Greeven, 'Mk 1,41', *Textkritik des Markusevangeliums* (ed. H. Greeven and E. Güting; TFW 11; Münster: LIT, 2006) 120–1.

3 F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, vol. II (London: Macmillan, 1896²) 31.

4 A brief note: I am not arguing against ὀργισθείς on theological grounds, and I began my research intending to argue for its primacy. It should be read and studied as part of Mark's 'living text' (D. C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)). But, as we shall see, it falls short of being the obvious choice for Mark's *Ausgangstext*, and several issues related to it have not been attended to.

5 J. D. Michaelis discusses the variation unit already in *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Bundes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1788) 585.

6 B. D. Ehrman, 'A Leper in the Hands of an Angry Jesus', *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 33; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 120–41.

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and Luke, whom he deems 'the earliest surviving copyists of Mark'.[7] Since both Matthew and Luke lack a participle for Mark 1.41 par., Ehrman argues that this 'minor agreement' 'is understandable if – and only if – the participle in question may have caused offense or dissatisfaction to both authors'.[8] He adds elsewhere that 'in no other instance in which Jesus is said to feel compassion (σπλαγχνίζεσθαι) in Mark's Gospel, do *both* Matthew and Luke change it'.[9] However, there is an instance in which Jesus is asked to show compassion (σπλαγχνίζομαι) in Mark's Gospel that both Matthew and Luke omit, a datum Ehrman never registers in his many publications on this variant.[10] Luke, in fact, lacks *every* use of σπλαγχνίζομαι from Mark.[11] And we have no comparative situation with ὀργίζομαι since its only possible appearance in Mark is the putative case of Mark 1.41.[12] Ehrman likewise notes that Matthew and Luke omit μετ' ὀργῆς in Mark 3.5.[13] But he fails to indicate that both also lack the very next words, where Jesus is '*sympathising*' (συλλυπούμενος).[14] Elsewhere, both omit an instance of Jesus having 'mercy' on supplicants, a cognate of compassion.[15] And these 'minor agreements' cannot be thought of as sanding down the rough edges of Mark's Jesus: why would Matthew and Luke censor sympathy and mercy?

7 Ehrman, 'Leper ', 123.

8 Ehrman, 'Leper', 125. This argument is most convincingly presented by L. Vaganay, 'Marc ı,41: essai de critique textuelle', *Mélanges Emmanuel Podechard* (Lyons: Facultés Catholiques, 1945) 237–52, at 249.

9 Ehrman, 'The Text of the Gospel at the End of the Second Century', *Studies*, 96 (emphasis original).

10 Mark 9.22 par. Though Jesus' compassion is requested and not explicitly shown, J. Marcus identifies Jesus' response as compassionate (*Mark 8–16* (AB 27A; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) 661). Further, for Marcus Jesus heals 'when' the crowd forms, perhaps out of concern for triggers to the boy's epilepsy (ibid., 655). For Ehrman, Jesus' healing is self-serving: 'When Jesus sees a crowd forming – and only then – he performs the miracle' ('Leper', 138).

11 Note also Matthew's addition of σπλαγχνισθείς to Q 18.42 || Mark 10.52. Here, Matt 20.34 parallels Mark 1.41 with a proximal sequence (σπλαγχνισθείς … ἥψατο … εὐθύς/εὐθέως) found in no other antecedent Greek literature, intimating Matthew's knowledge of σπλαγχνισθείς in Mark 1.41.

12 Matthew and Luke do use ὀργίζομαι, especially in parables that characterise God's eschatological judgement: Matt 18.34; 22.7 || Luke 14.21. Cf. Matt 5.22; Luke 15.28. P.Egerton 2.1r also lacks a participle, and much else, in this pericope, though it has ἐμβρειμ[ησάμενος] elsewhere (fr. 2r). Its relation to the Synoptic tradition is unresolved (T. Nicklas, *Gospel Fragments: The 'Unknown Gospel' on Papyrus Egerton 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 42–64, 76–89).

13 Ehrman, 'Leper', 125–6.

14 For συλλυπέω in the passive voice meaning 'sympathise', see LSJ s.v. II; Ps 68.21 LXX (NETS). BDAG renders it as 'be grieved with, feel sympathy', though as 'deeply grieved at' for Mark 3.5.

15 Mark 5.19 par.

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Though Ehrman declares that Matthew and Luke omitted the debated participle 'if and only if' they were both offended by it, this is a propositional fallacy – there are many possible reasons. Indeed, it must be admitted that Matthew and Luke omit a great many words when epitomising Mark's pericopes. When used as corroborative evidence for ὀργισθείς in Mark 1.41, these absences are of dubious value.

Another important piece of Ehrman's case is his use of intrinsic probabilities, 'which of the two readings – Jesus as angry or as compassionate – fits better with the portrayal of Jesus in Mark's Gospel'.[16] Ehrman argues that 'Jesus is never described in [Mark] as exercising compassion when he heals. Instead, the emotion commonly associated with him – odd as it may seem – is anger'.[17] We shall consider the points of Ehrman's intrinsic argument in turn.

First, Ehrman says that 'on only one occasion does the term "compassion" (σπλαγχνισθείς) occur in a story in which Jesus heals anyone with a disease or a demon [in Mark]; and in that instance the term is not used to describe him'.[18] But the criterion needs to be applied evenly: aside from the putative case of Mark 1.41, ὀργίζομαι never even appears in Mark, greatly reducing its intrinsic probability.[19] Further, Ehrman only examines the use of σπλαγχνίζομαι in Mark, whereas he examines a wide range of synonyms for ὀργίζομαι. After adjusting for this bias, we find that:

(1) Jesus enjoins the exorcised Gerasene demoniac to proclaim 'how *he has had mercy* (ἠλέησέν) on you' (Mark 5.19);
(2) before being healed, Bartimaeus implores, 'Jesus, son of David, *have mercy* (ἐλέησόν) on me' (Mark 10.47, 48).

In Mark, acts of restoration are explicitly associated with Jesus' mercy, so association with compassion would scarcely be out of place.

Second, one of the narratives of Jesus' anger is equally an instance of his sympathy. Ehrman rightly adduces Mark 3.5 to make his case; indeed, this is the only use (aside from the putative case of 1.41) of Jesus' ὀργή while healing in Mark. Before healing the man with the withered hand, Jesus looks around at the religious elite 'with anger (μετ' ὀργῆς)' (3.5). Yet, as noted above, Jesus is also 'sympathising over the hardness of their heart (συλλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πωρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν)'. Before healing, Jesus shows mixed emotions, both wrath and sympathy.

16 'Leper', 129.
17 'Leper', 129; elsewhere citing Mark 3.5; 8.12; 9.23; 10.14 (132).
18 'Leper', 130.
19 See J. K. Elliott's methodological suggestions ('Using an Author's Consistency of Usage and Conjectures as Criteria to Resolve Textual Variation in the Greek New Testament', *NTS* 62 (2016) 122–35).

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Third, Ehrman notes that 'on two occasions Jesus is explicitly said to feel compassion in Mark', but he dismisses these uses of σπλαγχνίζομαι because they are not associated with healings, only miraculous feedings.[20] Yet this same methodological constraint is not applied to the anger word family when Ehrman speaks of anger 'in the context of a request for a miracle' and in the case of an exorcism.[21] Applying his criterion evenhandedly, we find three instances of σπλαγχνίζομαι in the context of miracles and exorcisms and, of course, zero for ὀργίζομαι.[22]

Fourth, Ehrman argues that Jesus' 'laying hands on the children' could mean healing: 'In our culture laying on hands may be simply a symbolic gesture of blessing; but in Mark's Gospel it is usually a sign of healing.'[23] He then adduces the pericope as evidence that, possibly before healing, Jesus was annoyed (ἠγανάκτησεν). Yet the text gives no indications that the children are ill.[24] And it is not just 'our culture' that associates the laying on of hands with blessing, but Mark's text: 'And he took them up in his arms, laid his hands on them, and blessed (κατευλόγει) them' (10.16 NRSV). Or if a 'transmission of divine power' was meant,[25] then would it not be a miracle rather than a healing, and so inapplicable by Ehrman's own criteria?[26] Again, σπλαγχνίζομαι and ὀργίζομαι have to play by the same set of rules.

Fifth and finally, in none of these cases is Jesus' anger directed at the supplicant. Anger and compassion are directed at the religious elite (3.5) and annoyance at Jesus' own fallible followers (10.14). But Jesus is not annoyed with the little children or irritated with the man with the withered hand. Yet for Ehrman 'Jesus becomes irate with a poor leper who begs to be healed'.[27] Thus Ehrman can scarcely appeal to intrinsic probability, a criterion that looks to similarities within a given text, since Jesus' anger with the supplicant in Mark 1.41 would be *unlike* all other healings in Mark.[28]

In sum, Ehrman is not in a position to maintain that 'never in the Gospel of Mark is the term "compassion" associated with Jesus healing; on several occasions

20 'Leper', 130.

21 'Leper', 131.

22 Obviously I exclude Mark 1.41 (for σπλαγχνίζομαι and ὀργίζομαι).

23 'Leper', 131.

24 Indeed, does the teaching about the kingdom belonging to 'such as these' pertain *only* to children with maladies or, as Jesus says, simply to children (παιδία, Mark 10.14)?

25 'Leper', 131.

26 'Mark mentions no miracles' (J. M. Gundry, 'Children in the Gospel of Mark', *The Child in the Bible* (ed. M. J. Bunge *et al.*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008) 143–76, at 150).

27 'Leper', 120.

28 'Any construction of the passage which makes it to be the *leper* with whom Jesus is angry', notes E. Bevan, 'seems to be hopeless' ('Note on Mark i 41 and John xi 33, 38', *JTS* 33 (1932) 186–8, at 187; emphasis original). Cf. John 11.33, 38, where ἐμβριμάομαι is an internal emotion rather than an externally expressed one ('greatly disturbed', NRSV).

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anger is', and his use of intrinsic probabilities as a basis for ὀργισθείς in Mark 1.41 should be rejected.[29]

This rejection opens up a positive basis for considering σπλαγχνισθείς in terms of intrinsic probabilities, namely that Mark:

(1) associates 'mercy' (ἐλεέω) and 'sympathy' (συλλυπέω) with deeds of power;
(2) associates 'compassion' (σπλαγχνίζομαι) with deeds of power; and
(3) uses σπλαγχνίζομαι three times but never ὀργίζομαι.[30]

Thus, intrinsic probability favours not ὀργισθείς but σπλαγχνισθείς.[31]

The strongest point in favour of ὀργισθείς is transcriptional probability, specifically that it is the *lectio difficilior*, which receives careful consideration below (section 5). Having examined the majority of the arguments for ὀργισθείς, and finding them inadequate, we are now ready to examine the witnesses to Jesus' 'anger' afresh, beginning with the sole putative Syriac witness.

3. Ephrem the Syrian[32]

Various Greek New Testament critical apparatuses list 'Tatian', the '*Diatessaron*', 'Ephrem Syrus' or 'Ephrem's Commentary on the *Diatessaron*' as a witness to ὀργισθείς in Mark 1.41.[33] The passage in Ephrem's commentary reads:

> *If you are willing, Lord, you can cleanse me.* The formula is one of petition and the word is one of fear. 'That you are able to, I know, but whether you are willing, I am not certain'. Therefore, our Lord showed the leper two things in response to this double attitude: rebuke [ܟܐܬܐ *kāʾtāʾ*] through his anger [ܒܦܘܪܬܗ *bpūrteh*], and compassion [ܪܚܡܝ *raḥmē*] through his healing. For, in response to *if you are willing,* he was angry [ܐܬܒܥܪ *ʾettpūr*], and in response to *you can*, he was healed … The leper said to him, *Lord, if you are willing, you can cleanse me.* Through his anger [ܒܦܘܪܬܗ *bpūrteh*], the Lord showed that he

29 'Leper', 132–3.

30 Again, excluding Mark 1.41 for either word.

31 Externally, is compassion or anger more typical to a healing narrative? Apollonius of Tyana is angry before an exorcism (*Vit. Apoll.* 4.20), but not a healing. John 11.33, 38 are difficult to judge. By contrast, compassion (εὐσπλαγχνία) appears with healing in messianic contexts in Second Temple Judaism (T. Zeb. 9.8), the Apostolic Fathers (Herm. 60.4; 66.4), and NT Apocrypha (Acts John 24). Though external grounds are not decisive (a narrative can be unique), compassion in Mark 1.41 is more likely.

32 I am indebted to Philip M. Forness for commenting, with his considerable Syriac expertise, on an earlier draft of this section. Any remaining deficiencies are entirely my own.

33 For a comprehensive list, see T. Baarda, 'Mk 1.41: ὀργισθείς. A Reading Attested for Mar Ephraem, the Diatessaron, or Tatian', *ZNW* 103 (2012) 291–5, at 291.

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> was healing without exception of persons. But, because the leper had believed that *if you are willing, you can*, the Lord showed that he did not spurn this faith. Moreover, the leper had seen that the priests were not cleansing the lepers, but were burdening them by means of the prescriptions in the Law concerning leprosy, and thus the service of the Law was belittled in the leper's eyes. Therefore, he said, *If you are willing, you can cleanse me.* The Lord was angry [ܐܬܬܦܥܪ *ʾettp̄ir*] with regard to this line of reasoning, and so he ordered secondly, '*Go, show yourself to the priests*, and fulfill that Law which you are despising'. The Lord also commanded him in this way, because the leper had been thinking about him in this manner, because he had seen him relax some elements of the Law. It is also said that the Lord was not angry [ܐܬܬܦܥܪ *ʾettp̄ir*] with him, but with his leprosy. (12.22–3)[34]

This passage has long been used as evidence for ὀργισθείς in Mark 1.41. And if Ephrem gives us a faithful glimpse of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the 'anger' reading would reach back to *ca.* 170 CE, making it equal to σπλαγχνισθείς on external grounds.[35] However, several observations call this use into question.

First, if we were expecting the Syriac word that is typically used to translate ὀργίζομαι, we do not find it in Ephrem's text. The Syriac word ܪܓܙ (*rgez*) is used to render ὀργίζομαι in the major Syriac translations of the Gospels, but Ephrem has the exceedingly rare ܐܬܬܦܥܪ (*ʾettp̄ir*), which is never used in the New Testament to translate ὀργίζομαι.[36]

Second, Ephrem never in fact quotes 'anger' from his text of the *Diatessaron*.[37] The UBS committee advises: 'for the citations derived from Ephraem's

34 C. McCarthy, trans., *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron: An English Translation* (JSSSup 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 202–3. Translation modified after consulting the Syriac (*Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant: texte syriaque* (ed. L. Leloir; CBM 8; Dublin: Hodges, 1963) 96). Cf. *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant: version arménienne* (ed. L. Leloir; CSCO 137; Louvain: Orientaliste, 1953) 173–5.

35 J.-C. Haelewyck, 'Application à Marc 1,40–45', *Manuel de critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament* (Brussels: Safran, 2014) 262. M. A. Proctor argues that the readings are external 'text-critical equals' on the basis of Ephrem's witness (and by extension Tatian); but if Ephrem does not 'faithfully preserve the wording of Tatian's Diatessaron', Proctor's external argument fails ('The "Western" Text of Mark 1:41: A Case for the Angry Jesus' (Ph.D. diss.; Baylor University, 1999) 82).

36 ܪܓܙ (*rgez*) for ὀργίζομαι in Matt 5.22; 18.34; Luke 14.21; 15.28. Exod 32.19 has ܐܬܬܦܥܪ (*ʾettp̄ir*) where the LXX has ὀργισθεὶς θυμῷ, but the Syriac is a rendering of Hebrew, not Greek. In Syriac rendering Greek, ܐܬܬܦܥܪ (*ʾettp̄ir*) is used for διαπονηθείς in Acts 16.18 and παροξύνεται in 1 Cor 13.5, but never in the Old Syriac Gospels, only the NT Peshitta, which postdates Ephrem. Thus Proctor errs in saying that Ephrem has 'the Syriac equivalent for ὀργισθείς, namely *pur*' ('Angry Jesus', 67 n. 79).

37 See the caveats of C. D. Osburn, 'Methodology in Identifying Patristic Citations in NT Textual Criticism', *NovT* 47 (2005) 313–43.

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commentary … be cautious in using the Diatessaron as a witness to the text of the New Testament'; instead one should only use 'Diatessaron quotations'.[38] Thus the attempt to recover Tatian from Ephrem's comments, not his citation, is dubious at best. Ephrem's citation of Tatian simply reads, 'If you are willing, you can cleanse me. So he stretched out his hand.' His citation lacks an emotion, as do most other extant *Diatessaron* witnesses.[39]

Third, when initially broaching Jesus' anger, Ephrem attaches it not to Jesus' act of reaching out, touching the leper and cleansing him, but rather to Jesus' *rebuke* of the leper. Since the manuscript tradition testifies univocally that Jesus rebukes the leper in Mark 1.43, whereas the external witnesses to ὀργισθείς in Mark 1.41 are scarce, and since this is the first place in which Ephrem mentions 'anger', it follows that Ephrem derives this anger from Jesus' rebuke of the leper. And the word for 'rebuke' that Ephrem associates with Jesus' anger (ܟܐܬܐ *kāʾtāʾ*) is a nominalised form of the verb in the Old Syriac of Mark 1.43 rendering ἐμβριμησάμενος (ܟܬ *kʾ*).[40] So Ephrem is unambiguously referring to the rebuke found in Mark 1.43 in his initial mention of anger.

Fourth, and relatedly, Ephrem attaches anger to Jesus' rebuke a second time: 'The Lord was angry … so he ordered secondly, "*Go, show yourself to the priests.*"' The scenario is precisely what happens in Mark: Jesus rebukes the leper and casts him out, telling him to show himself to the priests. Again, Ephrem attaches anger to the dismissal, not to the act of touching the leper. Indeed, Kirsopp Lake thought that citations of 'Tatian' for Jesus' anger in Mark 1.41 were 'due to a mistake' since 'the language of Ephrem is fully accounted for by ἐμβριμησάμενος and does not imply that the Diatessaron read ὀργισθείς for σπλαγχνισθείς'.[41]

Fifth, though rarely noted,[42] Ephrem mentions Jesus' interaction with the leper in his *Hymns on Paradise*. As above, 'anger' is mentioned in conjunction with Jesus' 'rebuke':

38 UBS[5] 45*, 60*. Would that the committee had followed its own counsel at Mark 1.41, where they cite '(Diatessaron)'. As Baarda notes, 'it is not wholly clear what the brackets mean here (despite the explanation on p. 47*)' ('Mk 1.41', 292 n. 16).

39 All extant versions of the *Diatessaron* either lack an emotion (cf. Matt 8.3; Luke 5.13) or have 'compassion' (Arabic §22.4).

40 Cf. Mark 1.43 (ܘܟܦ *wakʾāʾ*, Sinaiticus; also Peshitta). On the 'angry' emotional valence of ἐμβριμησάμενος, see J. Marcus, *Mark 1–8* (AB 27; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 206.

41 K. Lake, 'ΕΜΒΡΙΜΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ and ὈΡΓΙΣΘΕΙΣ, Mark 1,40–43', *HTR* 16 (1923) 197–8, at 197 n. 1.

42 But see Proctor, 'Angry Jesus', 55.

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	Stanza 1		Stanza 2[43]
A	Our Lord rebuked (ܟܐ *kā*ʾ) the demon and shut his mouth	A′	Even though he rebuked (ܟܐ *kā*ʾ) the demon, he remains completely serene;
B	He was angry (ܐܬܬܦܥܪ ʾ*ettpʿr*) with the leper	B′	He did not use threats, but gave a rebuke (ܟܐ *kā*ʾ) in order to save;
C	He said 'woe' to the scribes, along with the rich	C′	Even though he said 'woe', yet his nature is peaceable,
D	The swine he cast into the sea	D′	It was not out of anger that he bade the swine be cast into the sea;
E	He dried up the fig tree …	E′	Nor was it hate which withered up the fig at his cursing, for he is in all things good.[44]

Ephrem is clearly puzzled by the emotional valence of Jesus' rebuke of the leper. Like modern commentators, he wonders why Jesus rebukes him and casts him out. But Jesus' anger is paired with 'rebuke'. Recourse to a rare reading (ὀργισθείς) is unnecessary.

Sixth and finally, in his *Commentary* Ephrem contrasts 'rebuke through his anger' with '*compassion* through his healing'; that is, Ephrem appears to know the majority reading 'compassion'.[45] Mark Alan Proctor argues that Tatian's text had anger, and that this reference to Jesus' mercy 'results from Ephrem's explication of Tatian's harmony rather than the text of the Diatessaron itself'.[46] That Ephrem coincidentally mentions 'compassion' and 'healing' at the exact place where over 98 per cent of our witnesses have 'compassion' and 'healing' more

43 A′ and B′ have been transposed for the sake of presentation. If Stanza 2 B′ were not associated with Stanza 1 B, it would be the only couplet without analogue, unlikely in Ephrem's orderly poem.

44 S. Brock, trans., *Hymns on Paradise* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's, 1990) 165–6. Syriac from *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers: Hymnen de Paradiso* (ed. E. Beck; CSCO 174; Leuven: Peeters, 1957) 52–3.

45 J. R. Harris, 'Artificial Variants in the Text of the New Testament', *The Expositor* 24 (1922) 254–61 (260); Baarda, 'Mk 1.41', 293. NB: I am only arguing for Ephrem's familiarity with 'compassion', not that he be used as a textual witness to it.

46 'Angry Jesus', 79–80. Proctor further claims that, though both Tatian and Ephrem had ὀργισθείς, this reading disappeared from every copy in every language of the *Diatessaron* through omission. This means that every *Diatessaron* witness coincidentally dealt with the variant in the same way (omission), the way in which Proctor also suggests Matthew, Luke and some scribes of Mark 1.41 (e.g. b) dealt with it. This scenario relies far too heavily on multiple coincidences.

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than strains credulity. And unlike the rare Syriac root used for 'anger', the same triconsonantal root used to render σπλαγχνισθείς in the Old Syriac of Mark is used here (ܪܚܡ *raḥmē*).[47] Further, Romanos the Melodist's *Hymn on the Leper* (6th cent.), known to be influenced by Ephrem's commentary on the episode,[48] has the following: 'being the only merciful one, [Jesus] stretched out his hand and touched him, and the leper was cleansed'.[49] Since Romanos knew Ephrem's *Commentary* and probably the *Diatessaron*,[50] it is striking that he mentions Jesus' 'mercy' and 'compassion' nine times, but never 'anger'. Positively, Romanos may reinforce that Ephrem knows 'compassion', the reading also represented in the Old Syriac of Mark and in the Arabic *Diatessaron*. Negatively, it further undermines the case for Ephrem's knowledge of 'anger'.

In light of the foregoing six points, it is justified that the Nestle–Aland edition no longer lists Ephrem as a witness to ὀργισθείς in Mark 1.41. In brief, inclusion of Ephrem in critical apparatuses of Mark 1.41 is most probably a result of *our* knowledge of ὀργισθείς, not Ephrem's.[51]

4. Old Latin Witnesses

Of the three purported language groups of witnesses to 'anger', we have urged that Ephrem should be dismissed, and our sole Greek witness, Codex Bezae, is a Greek–Latin diglot. Thus, in discounting Ephrem, we find that all of the extant witnesses to 'anger' are connected with the Old Latin manuscript tradition. The only four Latin witnesses are a, ff², d and r¹*. Let us consider each of these manuscripts in turn.

Codex Vercellensis (a), a late fourth-century text on vellum, is the earliest witness in any language with 'anger' (*iratus*), predating even Codex Bezae according to current scholarly assessments.[52] Frederick Scrivener deemed Vercellensis

47 ܐܬܪܗܡ (*ʾeṯraḥam*) in Sinaiticus, also Peshitta and Harclean; Curetonian lacks this pericope and most of Mark (see G. A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1996) 15).

48 W. L. Petersen, 'The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist upon the Syriac Ephrem', *Patristic and Text-Critical Studies* (NTTSD 40; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 47–61.

49 *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes* (SC 110.375). Romanos uses οἰκτίρμων and ἐλεήμων, but hardly a word of his dramatisation repeats the Synoptic accounts verbatim; such would be unliterary.

50 Petersen: 'there exist more direct, literary parallels between Romanos and the combination of Ephrem and the Diatessaron, than with any other known source, biblical or Patristic' (W. L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist* (CSCO 475; Leuven: Peeters, 1985) 199).

51 Greeven thought σπλαγχνισθείς original but could not explain Ephrem: 'Rätselhaft bleibt nur, wie sie in Efrems Kommentar … gelangt ist' ('Mk 1,41', 120). Hopefully we have provided a satisfying solution to this riddle.

52 The word spans two folios (*ira-tus*) but is clear. Multispectral images (forthcoming) of fols. 328–9 have been kindly provided by Gregory Heyworth, director of the Lazarus Project

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'the oldest and probably the best monument of the Latin before Jerome'.[53] Scholarship consistently places its origin in northern Italy, where it was discovered and still resides.[54]

Codex Corbeiensis II (ff^2) is a fifth-century witnesses to *iratus*. Buchanan claimed that it 'surpasses in age all other Old Latin MSS with the exception of [Vercellensis]'.[55] Scholarship currently supports an Italian provenance, though an earlier generation favoured Gaul, where it was discovered.[56] Curiously, before representing Jesus as angry (*iratus*), Corbeiensis reads *si vis potest me mundare* rather than *potes* ('if you are willing, *he* can cleanse me).[57] Though this could be considered an early instance of a scribe trying to provide a reason for Jesus' subsequent anger – perhaps Jesus was angry because the supplicant requested God's action, not Jesus' – this interpretation is quite uncertain, and appeals to theological motivation are unnecessary in the case of one added letter. As in analogous cases in the Codex, it is probably a simple unintentional error.[58]

The famous Codex Bezae (hereafter 'd' for its Latin column) is another early fifth-century witness to *iratus* and the only diglot of the group. The provenance of the Codex is endlessly debated, with suggestions 'ranging from Gaul to Alexandria and from Africa to Jerusalem', and remains uncertain.[59] Its Latin ancestor, however, is more certain, being 'recognized as basically European', with Corbeiensis 'provid[ing] the basis for *d*' in Mark.[60]

Our final and most intriguing Old Latin witness is the sixth- or seventh-century Codex Usserianus I (r^{1}*). Its provenance is either Italian or, since the hand is a

(www.lazarusprojectimaging.com/). For the array of dates in scholarship, including a minority who argue it is fourth–fifth century, see B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977) 296.

53 F. D. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (Cambridge: Deighton, 1883^3) 340.

54 So Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 340; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, vol. II (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1902) 599; E. A. Lowe, *CLA* IV.467; P. Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001) 21; H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) 211.

55 E. S. Buchanan, *The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907) vii.

56 Italy: *CLA* V.666; Burton, *Gospels*, 20; Houghton, *Latin*, 214. Gaul: F. C. Burkitt, *Old Latin and the Itala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896) 2 (specifically Corbie, Picardie); E. S. Buchanan, 'The Codex Corbeiensis (*ff*)', *JTS* 7 (1906) 252.

57 See fol. 160v; digital image available through the Bibliotheque nationale de France (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065916g/f160.item).

58 Cf. ff^2 Mark 1.45 (*conveniebat* for *conveniebant*); 2.13 (*veniebant* for *veniebat*).

59 D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 261. He argues for Beirut *ca.* 400 CE. Cf. *CLA* II.140.

60 Burton, *Gospels*, 23, 20.

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precursor of the insular script, Irish.[61] Editions of the NA and UBS often failed to note that a later hand altered *iratus* by adding a supralinear *mis-*, and the same hand subtracted the *a.* Thus: *iratus* → ^{mis}*iratus* → ^{mis}*irtus* (see Fig. 1[62]).

Codex Usserianus I provides the earliest evidence that *iratus* was perceived to be an error in need of correction. Further, *misirtus* (typically *misertus*) was thought of by the final corrector as an acceptable way to write 'compassion'.[63] The corrector's process begs the question: if such simple additions could produce 'compassion' from 'anger', could not similarly simple deletions have originally produced 'anger' from 'compassion'?

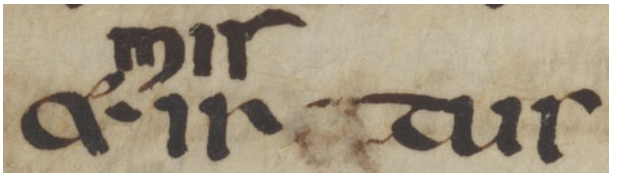


Figure 1. Mark 1.41, r¹ fol. 151v

In addition to being the only witnesses to *iratus*, several factors link these manuscripts (a, d, ff², r¹). First, of course, all are Old Latin (i.e. non-Vulgate). Second, all share the same distinct order for the Gospels (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), even the diglot Codez Bezae.[64] Third, every manuscript except Vercellensis (a) also has the *pericope adulterae*, notably appearing for the first time in the Greek manuscript tradition in Codex Bezae, and not appearing therein again until the eight-century.[65] Fourth, the first line of each book is written in red ink; among all extant Old Latin manuscripts, this feature occurs *only* in these four.[66] Fifth, the witnesses whose provenance we can determine

61 Italy or Ireland: *CLA* II.271; S. Berger, 'De quatre manuscrits des Evangile conservés à Dublin', *Revue Celtique* 6 (1883–5) 348–57, at 350. Ireland, *ca.* 600: Burton, *Gospels*, 23; Houghton, *Latin*, 65, 218. The difference between Irish and Italian provenance may not be as great as it seems: the path between them was well trodden; e.g. Columbanus travelled from Ireland to found a monastery in Bobbio, Italy, where he died in 615.

62 Fol. 151v; digital image used with permission of Trinity College Library Dublin (http://digital-collections.tcd.ie/home/#folder_id=36&pidtopage=MS55_001&entry_point=302). Further, r¹* omits *vis*, creating a nonsense clause (*Si potes me mundare*; 'if you can, be cleansed by me'?), which was corrected.

63 *Misertus*: aur c e f l q vg; *miseratus*: Ambr., *Comm. Luc.* 5.4; Codex Lindisfarnensis (Y; 7th–8th cent.); and hundreds of non-biblical texts (see the *Library of Latin Texts* s.v. 'miseratus').

64 See further Metzger, *Early Versions*, 312. Manuscripts with the same order but without 'anger' are W X b e f q Goth (Codex Argenteus).

65 Codex Basiliensis (E); see Petersen, *Text-Critical Studies*, 303–4.

66 Houghton, *Latin*, 188.

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with a higher degree of certainty are either isolated in Italy or, if we accept the alternative locations, migrate northward through the centuries:[67]

4th century:	a	Italy
5th century:	ff^2	Italy or Gaul
6th–7th century:	r^1	Italy or Ireland

While a question mark still hovers over the origin of Codex Bezae, all of the above factors highlight the isolation of *iratus* in late antiquity. The reading did not stray far, and, since we have urged that Ephrem's witness is to be discarded, we have no evidence for it outside the Old Latin milieu. If 'anger' were original, could this reading have been so effectively stamped out as to appear only in four manuscripts among the myriad Greek manuscripts, lectionaries, versional witnesses and patristic quotations that we possess? The odds that 'anger' is original and was so effectively quashed are tremendous.

Thus Old Latin is the most probable source of the variant reading 'anger'. I propose that it is probably the result of confusion between *misertus/miseratus* and *iratus*. Perhaps this was due to (1) simple haplography followed by (2) emendation: *MISERATUS* → (1) *ISERATUS* → (2) *IRATUS*.[68] Then *iratus* ended where it began: after r^{1*} in sixth/seventh-century Europe, we have no further witnesses.

Two further considerations require attention for the argument to hold that 'anger' originated in the Old Latin manuscript tradition. First, a common counter-argument is that 'anger' is the more difficult reading, and therefore its isolation within the Old Latin tradition need not surprise. That is, it is isolated not because it is unoriginal, but because it is unpalatable. Second, if 'anger' originated in the Old Latin manuscript tradition, we must still explain its presence in the Greek–Latin diglot Codex Bezae. We will deal with each of these considerations in turn.

5. *Lectio difficilior potior*

The keystone of any case for ὀργισθείς is that it is the *lectio difficilior* and therefore preferable. Ehrman claims that 'there can be little question about which reading scribes would have been likely to prefer … Confronted with a text such as this, it is no wonder that scribes would have wanted to change it.'[69] But the

67 Greeven ('Mk 1.41', 120) notes that the manuscripts are localised (*örtlich*) without specifying further.

68 Or parablepsis with *AUTEM MISERTUS* → *AUTEM IRATUS*. The former is well represented in the Old Latin manuscript tradition (aur c f l; also vg).

69 Ehrman, 'Leper', 127.

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question about which reading is more difficult does indeed merit consideration,[70] and a number of assumptions have gone unexamined.[71]

An angry Jesus is purportedly difficult for 'those (like ancient scribes and modern commentators) who assume Jesus must have been compassionate at all times and reserved his anger only for his hardhearted and willful enemies'.[72] These grounds for difficulty are theological or, more specifically, christological. But would ὀργισθείς have been a theologically difficult reading in most scribal contexts?

Ambrose of Milan gives the following commentary on our passage:

> In fact, according to Saint Mark, the Lord 'had compassion' (*miseratus*) for [the leper], which is fittingly noted … [Jesus] says 'I am willing' because of Photinus; he 'commands' because of Arius; he 'touches' because of the Manichean.[73]

Ambrose is an early witness to 'compassion'. But, for argument's sake, let us imagine instead that he had *iratus* in his text of Mark. Would this have been problematic? Or would it have been profitable since, with 'anger', Ambrose could have also attacked Marcion in addition to the other heretics? This requires elaboration.

Marcion taught that the god of 'the Old Testament … is wrathful', 'the lord of wrath', different from the divine father of Jesus.[74] With 'anger' in our hypothetical situation, Ambrose could have countered Marcion by showing that *not only is the Old Testament God loving, but even Jesus can be wrathful.*[75] Indeed, Ambrose makes precisely this type of argument – Marcion blames the Old Testament god for *X*, but even Jesus does *X* – elsewhere.[76] And Marcion is a common target for Ambrose.[77] So 'anger' would not have been difficult for Ambrose. Quite the contrary, when wielded against Marcionism, Jesus' anger would have become a powerful weapon.

70 E.g. P. J. Williams notes that σπλαγχνίζομαι is rarer and therefore in some sense *difficilior* ('An Examination of Ehrman's Case for ὀργισθείς in Mark 1:41', *NovT* 54 (2012) 1–12, at 8).

71 I leave aside the argument that scribes changed σπλαγχνισθείς to ὀργισθείς to fit the harshness of ἐμβριμησάμενος (1.43) (*inter alios*, B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *Notes on Select Readings* (New York: Harper, 1881) 23; B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994^2) 65).

72 Ehrman, 'Leper', 127.

73 *Comm. Luc.* 5.4 (SC 45.184). Presumably, a non-incarnate being cannot will (Photinus); a creature cannot command (Arius); an enlightened one would not touch sullied matter (Mani).

74 According to Origen, *Princ.* 2.4.4 (SC 252.288); Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.17.9 (*ANF* III.466). Cf. Origen, *Hom. Ezek.* 1.1–3; *Cels.* 4.11.6; *Comm. Rom.* 1.18.

75 *Pace* Ehrman ('scribes have changed [1.41] so that [Jesus] reacts in a way more appropriate for the kindly divine presence on earth', *Studies*, 331). But *divine* wrath is an important and common category in early Christianity (Rom 1.18; 3.5; 9.22; 1 Thess 1.10; 5.9; LXX passim). Origen (*Princ.* 2.4.4) agrees that 'both the Old and New Testament speak of God's *ira*'.

76 *Ep.* 69.10.

77 *Fid. Grat.* 2.5, 36; *Off.* 1.25.117, 42.17.

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Indeed, Origen had employed a similar anti-Marcionite strategy over a century earlier:

> But at the same time observe, because of the use made of this parable by the heretics,[78] that if they accuse the creator god of being wrathful (ὀργίλου), because of words that declare the anger (ὀργήν) of God, they also ought to accuse this king, because, 'becoming angry' (ὀργισθείς), he delivered the debtor to the tormentors. But it must further be said to those [heretics] who do not want anyone to be handed over to the tormenters *by Jesus* – how else do you explain to us, good sirs, *who the king is who delivers the wicked servant to the tormentors*? Let them also pay attention to this: 'Similarly then will my heavenly father *also* do to you' [Matt 18.35]. And to the same people we could also point to the things in the parable of the Ten Pounds, where *the Son* of the good God said, 'But as for these enemies of *mine* who did not want *me* to be king over them', etc. [Luke 19.27]. (*Comm. Matt.* 14.13.134–57 (PG 13.1220–1))

Origen's argument runs as follows: whereas the Marcionites suppose the king's anger is the demiurge's, in fact it is Jesus' since (i) the Father *also* will do such-and-such, implying the king is not God the Father, and (ii) Jesus is the 'king' elsewhere, e.g. the Parable of the Pounds (Luke 19.11–27).[79] Origen's strategy is weighty for our reading of Mark 1.41. Far from being embarrassed by Jesus' anger, in countering Marcion Origen appears to be *searching* for an angry Jesus, one who hands an unrepentant servant over to torture. Indeed, the very same participle that Ehrman supposes scribes would resist applying to Jesus (ὀργισθείς) is here applied to him.

Marcionism forms an important context within which 'compassion' and 'anger' were transmitted, and the vanguard against it stretched from Gaul to Syria.[80] Already Justin says that Marcion led astray 'many of every nation' and Marcionism had expanded 'even to the ends of the earth'.[81] And Marcionism continued in some regions as late as the tenth century.[82] Thus the greater the opposition to Marcionism, the greater the number of contexts in which 'anger' was not necessarily problematic, but potentially profitable.

Therefore, though I agree with Ehrman that ὀργισθείς is the *lectio difficilior* 'for modern commentators', the burden of proof falls on proponents of ὀργισθείς to demonstrate that Jesus' anger was theologically problematic for 'ancient scribes', especially in the first to third centuries when the change

78 *ANF* (IX.504) here glosses 'Marcion'.

79 Cf. *Comm. Matt.* 14.10, 11.

80 B. Aland, 'Marcion', *TRE* 22.89–101.

81 *Apol.* 1.26.5; B. Aland, 'Marcion', *EncChr* 3.384.

82 M. Frenschkowski, 'Marcion in arabischen Quellen', *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung* (TUGAL 150; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002) 39–63, at 45–9, 62.

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purportedly occurred.[83] What evidence we have attests to no difficulties with Jesus' anger.[84] Indeed, nowhere in the manuscript tradition of Mark is Jesus' anger or annoyance censored or altered.[85] On the contrary, some manuscripts *increase* Jesus' acerbity, adding that he rebukes (ἐπιτίμησας) his disciples in Mark 10.14 and that he acted 'in anger' (ἐν ὀργῇ) in Luke 6.10.[86] Another ancient Markan reader applies a Septuagint passage on God's wrath to Jesus.[87] Even d itself magnifies Jesus' wrath in Mark, uniquely portraying him as displaying '*indignant* anger' (*ira indignationis*, 3.5).

To conclude, the argument put forward for ὀργισθείς as the *lectio difficilior* is circular: the textual witness was purportedly changed because the word was offensive, and the word is ostensibly offensive because the textual witness was changed.[88] Conversely, what evidence we possess demonstrates that Jesus' anger was not problematic for many readers in antiquity, and was even increased by some.[89] Therefore, unless better corroborative evidence can be produced, arguments that ὀργισθείς is the *lectio difficilior* are necessarily circular and should be rejected.

83 Ehrman's attempt to contextualise using the controversy with 'Celsus' over the proper comportment of the one called 'Son of God' fails because (a) it lacks supporting evidence – Celsus never attacks Jesus' anger, and Ehrman must 'infer' much ('Leper', 141 n. 30) – and (b) even if Celsus had, changing Mark 1.41 changes little. Celsus could still have attacked Jesus as wrathful using other texts (e.g. Mark 1.43; 3.5; John 2.13–22); and Origen could still have defended him as compassionate using other texts (e.g. Mark 6.34 par.; 8.2 par.; etc.). He did not need Mark 1.41 to 'aid in the rebuttal of the charges against Jesus made by opponents like Celsus' (B. M. Metzger and B. D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005[4]) 291–4).

84 As noted, the absence of μετ' ὀργῆς from Matthew and Luke (Mark 3.5 par.) cannot be used as corroborative evidence since they omit both Jesus' anger and his sympathy.

85 Surveying Mark 3.5; 8.12; 10.14 (for resources consulted, see n. 98). Ehrman thinks that scribes did not alter Mark 3.5 and 10.14 because Jesus' anger is explicable there, whereas 1.41 is 'far less obvious, and therefore far more open to misconstrual' ('Leper', 127). But why, then, would scribes not also alter 1.43, where Jesus rebukes and expels the leper, especially right after they purportedly altered 1.41? And appealing to the *inexplicability* of 'anger' will not do since that increases the likelihood it resulted from scribal error. If one were to reply that 'anger' is consistent with rebuke and expulsion and thus likely original, then it is no longer the more difficult reading on narrative grounds – compassion is (I owe this last line of argument to Francis Watson).

86 Witnessing to the former: W Θ $f^{1.13}$ 28 543 565 2542 $Sy^{s\ hmg}$ Arm; witnessing to the latter: D X Θ $f^{1\ 13}$ it sy^{h} 2542 $Sy^{s\ hmg}$ Arm.

87 (Ps.-)Irenaeus (TU 36/3.183–4).

88 I thank Christina Harker for this suggestion.

89 That is, while Ehrman and Wayne Kannaday (*Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition* (TCS 5; Atlanta: SBL, 2004) 129–34) *suppose* some scribes disliked Jesus' anger, we have *demonstrated* here that scribes often increased his anger.

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6. Codex Bezae

We arrive at our final witness, the fifth-century diglot Codex Bezae (hereafter 'D' for its Greek column). Though minuscule 1358 had previously been listed as one of two Greek witnesses to ὀργισθείς,[90] this was done in error.[91] Left with only D as a Greek witness, David C. Parker's cautionary conclusion in his magisterial monograph on the Codex is worth considering: 'the longer I have studied [D], the more I have become convinced that its many unique readings only very rarely deserve serious consideration if one is trying to establish the best available text'.[92]

Since D is a bilingual manuscript, an obvious solution for the appearance of ὀργισθείς is that it is due to the influence of the Latin column,[93] either in D itself or in one of its exemplars.[94] To substantiate such a hypothesis, however, requires careful analysis of D and its scribal *Tendenzen*.

Several points about the scribe's tendencies command our attention:

(1) Within the Gospels, D shows considerable variability in its orthography of σπλαγχνίζομαι,[95] producing a defective spelling of the word in 64% of the cases (7/11).[96]
(2) D's orthography for ὀργίζομαι is 17% defective (1/5) with no variant spellings.

90 Clerical mistake in K. Aland and B. Aland, eds., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. IV/1.2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998) 47.

91 J. Cate, 'The Unemotional Jesus in Manuscript 1358', *The Folio* 28 (2011) 1. The manuscript has an omission (cf. 169 505 508 *l*866).

92 *Bezae*, 1. Regrettably, his monograph does not consider Mark 1.41. J. K. Elliott similarly comments that D might only 'preserve on occasion' a 'uniquely original text' ('Codex Bezae and the Earliest Greek Papyri', *New Testament Textual Criticism* (NovTSupp 137; Leiden: Brill, 2010) 79–101, at 100).

93 So Greeven, noting that Latin influence on the Greek column of bilingual texts 'ist bekannt' ('Mk 1,41', 120).

94 Parker argues that D/d had a bilingual exemplar (*Bezae*, 119).

95 All readings were done by the current author using digital images of D via the Cambridge University Digital Library (http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/1); the IGNTP transcription was consulted only at a secondary stage. In my study I assume that D features the same scribal hand throughout, though with several correctors, and supplementary leaves for Matt 3.8–16; John 18.14–20.13; Mark 16.16–20 (so Parker, *Bezae*, 23, 166–74). The supplementary leaves and Acts have been omitted from consideration, though neither contains the words surveyed.

96 The νχ spelling for γχ is not a general phenomenon in D (*pace* F. H. A. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge: Deighton, 1864) xlvii). D faithfully transmits all instances of γχ forms or gives an acceptable variant spelling *except* in the case of σπλαγχνίζομαι. Further, the νχ spelling of σπλαγχνίζομαι is *only* attested elsewhere in a NT manuscript related to D (W: Matt 20.34; Mark 6.34) and never in extra-biblical literature. Thus the νχ spelling of σπλαγχνίζομαι should be labelled defective.

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(3) After analysing six randomly chosen control words (i.e. verbs that do not appear in Mark 1.40–5 and appear the approximate number of times as σπλαγχνίζομαι), I find that the scribe produced no defective forms.[97]
(4) Thus the scribe of D struggles in an inordinate degree with σπλαγχνίζομαι, but not with the other words analysed, including ὀργίζομαι.

The use to which we can put these four observations is complicated. At the very least, the data show that for one scribe, σπλαγχνίζομαι was a difficult word. But one could argue, rather commonsensically, that σπλαγχνίζομαι is simply a difficult word to transcribe; surely D is not alone in struggling with this cumbersome verb. Yet after surveying hundreds of manuscripts using a methodology designed to determine singular readings, I find that none struggle with σπλαγχνίζομαι to the degree that D does.[98] Indeed, if we omit from our consideration the post-ninth-century εὐσπλα- spelling,[99] D alone displays as much variation with the word σπλαγχνίζομαι as the entirety of the surveyed manuscript tradition.[100]

One error in particular is a fascinating window into the mind of D's scribe. When copying Mark 6.34 (fol. 305v), the scribe wrote ΕΠΛΑΝ, mistakenly omitting the sigma (C) and substituting N for Γ.[101] But he appears to have realised his mistake *in scribendo*[102] and, while re-inking, erased the N (which is still

97 Ἀνακείμαι, ἐπιτάσσω, ἐπιτιμάω, παράγω, φιμόω and χορτάζω. Among these words, D produces no defective spellings and three variant spellings, which are all itacisms. The number of itacisms is typical; see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. II (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1975) 189.

98 The method applied is equivalent to that of J. R. Royse for singular readings (*Scribal Habits in Early New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Leiden: Brill, 2008) 65). I have used C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869[8]); H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913); S. C. E. Legg, *Nouum Testamentum Graece: Euangelium secundum Marcum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1935); *idem, Nouum Testamentum Graece: Euangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940); IGNTP, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984); R. Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995); Aland and Aland, *Text und Textwert*; UBS[5]; NA[28]. Readings have been confirmed with digital images wherever possible.

99 The variant spelling probably stems from confusion with the cognate εὔσπλαγχνος (Eph 4.32).

100 Eight variants in D (including Mark 1.41); eight in the MS tradition. Further, D has five singular spellings of σπλαγχνίζομαι.

101 The faint outline of the 'N' can be seen clearly and is not due to bleeding from the Latin recto, which does not extend this far.

102 I thank Joel D. Estes for this suggestion. On corrections *in scribendo*, see L. Havet, *Manuel de critique verbal* (Paris: Hachette, 1911) §§417, 850, 1091. In the event that this is not correction *in scribendo*, this would only strengthen my argument: the scribe would not have even recognised his mistake, only the later *diorthotes* did.

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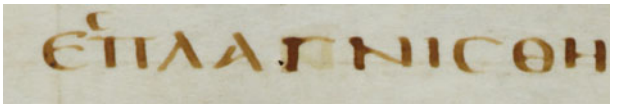


Figure 2. Mark 6.34, D fol. 305v.

discernible) and correctly wrote Γ, which appears darker because of the scribe's fresh ink (Fig. 2).[103] Finally, the scribe, or perhaps a later *diorthotes*, added a supralinear sigma. The order of correction was: ΕΠΛΑΝ → ΕΠΛΑ~~Ν~~ → ΕΠΛΑΓΝΙCΘΗ → E^{C}ΠΛΑΓΝΙCΘΗ.

The upshot of the foregoing is that D's scribe realised that he had made a mistake while re-inking, paused, consulted his exemplar, attempted to correct the word, and *still* managed to leave out a letter of the word's stem (X). That such concentration on his exemplar ultimately resulted in this error confirms his profound difficulties with the word.

The scribe's issue with σπλαγχνίζομαι suggests a possible transmission history for the appearance of ὀργισθείς into D Mark 1.41. A scribe,[104] faced with a discrepancy in his Greek and Latin exemplar, i.e. with *iratus* and σπλαγχνισθείς, is forced to choose. The scribe is familiar with the common participle *iratus*, which is correctly transcribed in every instance.[105] The Greek word σπλαγχνισθείς, a form of σπλαγχνίζομαι, is by all accounts unfamiliar to this scribe. Forced to choose between a familiar word and an unfamiliar one, the scribe harmonises the Greek to the Latin column, changing σπλαγχνισθείς to ὀργισθείς.[106] *Ex hypothesi*, the scribe of D inserted ὀργίζομαι, a word he knew and did not struggle with, in place of σπλαγχνίζομαι, a word with which he did struggle.

Indeed, an analogous Latinisation is found in Codex Bezae's witness to Mark 3.5.[107] Whereas all other Greek witnesses have τῇ πωρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν,

103 Digital image used with permission of Cambridge University Digital Library. On erasing ink on vellum *in scribendo*, see Royse, 'The Corrections in the Freer Gospels Codex', *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts* (ed. L. W. Hurtado; Atlanta: SBL, 2006) 185–226, at 188, 190.

104 I hold this to be either D's scribe or one of his exemplars'. Since none of the latter are extant, D's difficulties with σπλαγχνίζομαι may be extrapolated to his exemplars. See further Parker, *Bezae*, 119.

105 I examined the Latin parallels to ὀργίζομαι and the Vulgate (wherever *iratus*) in d: Matt 2.16 (6r); 5.22 (13r); 18.34 (62r); 22.7 (74r); John 3.36 (114r); Luke 3.7 (194r); 14.21 (246r); 15.28 (250r); 21.23 (270r); Mark 1.41 (289r); 3.5 (292r).

106 Yet Parker (*Bezae*, 256) holds that the Greek verso was copied before the Latin recto, though not necessarily for D's exemplars.

107 See Parker, *Bezae*, 256: 'Present opinion rightly discards the theory that wholesale Latinization of the Greek has occurred. However, the fact remains that in a number of places Latinization remains the best explanation of the text.' So too Burton, *Gospels*, 22.

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D uniquely has τῇ νεκρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, the 'deadness of their hearts'. As with Mark 1.41, the Latin column provides the answer to the origin of D's singular Greek reading. Along with most Old Latin witnesses, d has *emortua*.[108] So D's rather strange νεκρώσει, a form unattested in Greek literature until Galen,[109] must have been derived from the Old Latin *emortua*. The Latin column influenced the Greek here, increasing the likelihood that the same happened in D/d Mark 1.41.

The transmission history I have sketched for the entrance of ὀργισθείς into D above is by no means the only possibility.[110] The *how* of ὀργισθείς in D is not certain. But, increasingly, the *whence* is: the Old Latin manuscripts. The continuing debate on this variant would do well to focus on these witnesses.

7. Conclusion

Guided by Hort's dictum that 'knowledge of documents should precede final judgments on readings', we have carried out the first full analysis of the manuscript witnesses to Jesus' 'anger' in Mark 1.41. The results of this fresh examination are that the putative Syriac witness was dismissed, the Old Latin tradition was found to be geographically isolated, and the sole Greek witness was recognised a Greek–Latin diglot known occasionally to Latinise. Since the final grounds for Jesus' 'anger', that it is the *lectio difficilior*, also proved insubstantial, σπλαγχνισθείς is concluded to be the initial reading, with 'anger' most probably originating within the Old Latin tradition where the variant died out, its end in its beginning.

108 c d f ff² i r¹.

109 E.g. Galen, *Hipp.* 17a.757.5.

110 Williams ('Mark 1:41') argues that there are enough graphic similarities between ΣΠΛΑΓΧΝΙCΘΕΙC and ΟΡΓΙCΘΕΙC to account for an accident in transmission. In the abstract, Williams' ingenious solution is plausible. But his and others' focus upon *Greek* transcriptional probabilities appears unwarranted in light of the extant *Latin* witnesses, especially because Codex a is likely earlier than D. Others have suggested that σπλαγχνισθείς could have been translated with *iratus* (J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891) 186–7; J. Cate, 'Having a Gut Feeling for Anger: Mark 1:41 and Visceral Emotions' (paper presented at the International Meeting of the SBL, London, July 2011)).

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