

## The « Caesarean » Text of the Gospel of Mark: Lake Revisited

By

Didier Lafleur

*IRHT - Paris*

In the field of history and practice of New Testament textual criticism, two major stages were initiated during the last century by Kirsopp Lake. The first of these was the publication, in 1902, of a survey concerning *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies*, in the *Texts and Studies* series (7:3). The second stage was the publication, in 1928, with Robert P. Blake and Silva New, of « The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark » in the *Harvard Theological Review* (21:4). For the first time, the authors emphasized the existence of such text on the basis of three major pieces of evidence: the Greek manuscripts, the patristic witnesses and the Oriental versions. Since then, the question of the « Caesarean » text-type has been a very disputed matter. It still remains an important textual issue.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was first presented during the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting 2012, Chicago, November 18.

Our plan is not to discuss here about the « Caesarean » text and its subsequent developments, but to mainly focus the genesis of Lake's publication. The survey of his preliminary works will help us to better consider, after a short account of Lake's biobibliography, the way he followed until the 1928 « Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark » and which methodology he used. We will then emphasize one of the three pieces of evidence quoted by the authors, the evidence of the Greek manuscripts as described in their tables of variants. We then will examine their grouping of readings of the so-called « Caesarean » Family in order to assess the value of their approach. In that way, our fresh new collations, for that Gospel, of Θ.038 and the all extant manuscripts of Family 13 will help us to evaluate these peculiar features.

### A Short Account of Lake's Biobibliography (1872-1946)

Kirsopp Lake's life and context has been carefully described,<sup>2</sup> but may be his own daughter, Agnes Kirsopp Lake Michels, is the one who best summed up the personality of her father. As she wrote, Kirsopp Lake was a « New Testament scholar with a classical education and a passionate love of beauty ». He told her, she said, « the stories of the classics and, long before I could understand them, read to me a strange assortment of Browning and the Bible; Swinburne, Tennyson, and Josephus. His attitude », she added, « to his own work made me think of scholarship as the opening to a world of adventure, not as a retirement from reality ».<sup>3</sup> Born in Southampton, England, on April 7 1872, Lake was twenty-eight in 1900. At that time, he already held church appointments, and despite physical frailty, has published some important biblical writings, especially *The Text of the New*

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2 See G.K. LAKE, « Biographical Note », in R.P. CASEY - S. LAKE - A.K. LAKE (eds), *Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*, London, Christophers, 1937, p. vii-viii; The Committee [of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*], « Memorial Resolutions », *JBL*, 66 (1947), p. xvii; H.D.A. MAJOR, « In Memoriam Kirsopp Lake », *The Modern Churchman* 36 (1947), p. 302-305; H.D.A. MAJOR, « Kirsopp Lake (1872-1946) », *The Modern Churchman* 46 (1956), p. 330-332; S. NEILL, *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961. The Firth Lectures, 1962*, London, Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 165-167; B.M. METZGER, « Lake, Kirsopp » in J.A. GARRATY - E.T. JAMES (eds), *Dictionary of American Biography. Supplement Four 1946-1950*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974, p. 467-469; W. BAIRD, *History of New Testament Research II, From Jonathan Edwards to Rudolf Bultmann*, Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2003, p. 406-410; F.C. GRANT, « Lake, Kirsopp » in H.C.G. MATTHEW - B. HARRISON (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 32:246; J.K. ELLIOTT, « Lake, Kirsopp (1872-1946) », in D.K. MCKIM (ed), *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, Downers Grove-Nottingham, IVP Academic-Inter-Varsity Press, 2007, p. 636-640.

3 See J. LINDERSKI, « Agnes Kirsopp Michels and the *Religio* », *The Classical Journal* 92 (1997), p. 323-345. The quote comes from Agnes Kirsopp Lake Michels' application for the Ford Foundation Faculty Fellowship (hold in 1953-54) and was found by J. Linderski after Kirsopp Lake's daughter's death.

*Testament*, a pocket-sized manual (1900a),<sup>4</sup> and was starting an academic career, first at the University of Leiden, to the chair of Early Christian Literature and New Testament Exegesis.

### *The First Journeys*

Even if, at first, Lake considered himself as a churchman, he was quickly attracted by a wide range of interests, including the study of the manuscripts, their writings and their history, such as provenance and transfers from monasteries to libraries. In 1900, he went to the Grottaferrata monastery, close to Rome, in order to photograph min. 826 and 828.<sup>5</sup> The results of his trip were mainly included in his survey about the Greek monasteries in South Italy and were published in four instalments during the years 1903-1904 in *The Journal of Theological Studies* (1903c-e, 1904b): for these publications, he won the Arnold Essay Prize at Oxford University in 1902. A few years before, in 1898, thanks to the support of the Trustees of the Revision Surplus Fund at Oxford, he undertook a trip to Switzerland and Italy, visiting Basel, Venice and Rome. Returning home, he was able to ask permission to the librarians of Basel and Venice in order that the manuscripts 1 and 209 be sent to the Bodleian Library for his own private collation (1902a, p. vi). The fruits of that trip were published in the monograph titled *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies*.

In the summers of 1899, 1902 and 1905 he undertook trips in search of more manuscripts to the Greek monasteries on Mount Athos,<sup>6</sup> and published various texts and facsimiles as well as studies on monasticism on the Holy Mountain (1902b, 1905a, 1907a, 1909a). In another 1902 publication, *Texts from Mount Athos*, Lake wrote that « the material which is given and discussed in the following pages is the result of a visit which Mr. G. A. Wathen and < himself > paid to Mount Athos in the summer of 1899 ... to inspect and study New Testament and Patristic MSS. ».<sup>7</sup> If the main purpose of the trip was, at first, a photo-

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4 See the below non-exhaustive Lake's bibliography where author's publications are marked by the printing date followed by a letter.

5 Respectively: Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, A. α. III. [Gr. 346] and Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, A. α. V. [Gr. 219]. Kirsopp Lake reported his trip to Grottaferrata when describing min. 826: « The whole < manuscript > was photographed by K. Lake in 1900, with the help of the late Dom Antonio Rocchi, already an old man, who lavished three days of his valuable time on a very callow youth, instructing him in the characteristics of the Rito Greco and inquiring into the theories of Westcott and Hort » (1941a, p. 20, and *ibid.* p. 21 for min. 828).

6 See *Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963-1963. Études et Mélanges II. Actes du « Congrès international de Studio » à la « Fondazione Giorgio Cini » (3-6 septembre 1963) à Venise*, Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini-Éditions de Chevetogne, 1964, chap. XIX, « Savants reçus à la Bibliothèque des manuscrits de la Grande Lavra (1897-1961) », where the name of Kirsopp Lake is mentioned five times: « 19.VII 1899- Kirsopp Lake (Oxford) ... VI. 1902 – Kirsopp Lake ... 6. VII. 1905 – Kirsopp Lake » and « 30.VII. 1931 - Kirsopp Lake (Harvard) ... 6. VIII. 1933 – Kirsopp Lake », p. 333-334.

7 Mr. G.A. Wathen, a Lake's « old school friend », was also part of the Swiss and Italian journey: « I am also especially grateful to ... Mr. G. A. Wathen

graphic campaign for the use of the Cambridge editors, both supported by the Trustees of the Revision Surplus Found at Oxford and the Hort Fund at Cambridge, Lake and Wathen consulted 187 manuscripts and described them in their catalogue of the biblical codices (1902b, p. 170-185).

*Academic Years in the Netherlands*

Kirsopp Lake was only thirty-one years old in 1903 when, on the strength of the above works, he was called to the chair of Early Christian Literature and New Testament Exegesis at the University of Leiden. Actually Lake was following the footsteps of his academic advisor, J. Rendel Harris who was appointed professor at Leiden early 1903 but resigned after a few months.<sup>8</sup> The next year, on January 27, Kirsopp Lake delivered there an inaugural lecture before local curators, professors, doctors and students. The lecture, published the same year he delivered it, emphasized the influence of textual criticism on the exegesis of the New Testament, joining – in a rather bold way facing such a meeting – « correct exegesis » and « correct appreciation of the date and character of the documents of early Christianity » (1904a, p. 3).<sup>9</sup> From the very beginning, textual criticism was defined as a pivotal theme for his professorial appointment. During the next ten years, Kirsopp Lake taught there, publishing in the same period works on historical and exegetical matters, including *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ* (1907b), *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (1911a), and numerous articles and book reviews.

During his Dutch stay, first in the summer of 1908, then in the summer of 1913, Lake undertook with his first wife Helen, two visits to the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg to study and photograph Codex Sinaiticus. The results of these journeys were both published in Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, and contained

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for collating part of cod. 209 at Venice », Lake said, « when for a few days I was ill and unable to go to the Library » (1902a, p. vi).

8 S. Neill described Kirsopp Lake as « one of the most notable English New Testament scholars of the < XXth > century », but added that, « as a young man, had rather surprisingly gone to Leiden in Holland as New Testament Professor », op. cit., p. 165. There was nothing surprising in this: as a brilliant student of Harris, Lake succeeded his advisor. Moreover, ahead of biblical studies and New Testament textual criticism, it seems that a similar concern for human well-being brought James Rendel Harris and Kirsopp Lake closer one to each other. In 1896, Harris and his wife spent six months organizing relief for the Armenians who were suffering persecution in Asia Minor; when young, Lake wrote an history of the London Dock Strike and « went to Lumley in Durham and for a year preached to the pitmen and miners in that North Country mining district », G.K. LAKE, op. cit., p. vii.

9 An anonymous book review, published the same year in *The Expository Times*, proved how the lecture appeared unconvincing: « Professor Lake chose Textual Criticism for his Inaugural Lecture because he believes that there is a vital connexion between the Criticism of the Text, its Exegesis, and Theology. He believes that there is a right order in studying these subjects, and that that is the order. We must be critics of the New Testament text if we are to be successful exegetes, we must be close students of exegesis if ever we are to be theologians », *The Expository Times* 15 (1904), p. 293-295.

introductions, virtually identical, in which the provenance and history of the manuscript are discussed at length (1911b, 1922b).<sup>10</sup> For textual critics, these volumes provided valuable developments and marked improvement from the earlier 1862 Tischendorf's edition.

Parallel to his professorship, Lake produced number of works on early Christian literature, especially two volumes on the Apostolic Fathers prepared for the Loeb Classical Library (1912a, 1913a). Throughout his Leiden stay, Lake had kept very close links with England, especially as a member of a special committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology. In 1913, he applied to be a lecturer in theology at Trinity College, Cambridge, but, unfortunately, failed. As explained by his friend Henry D.A. Major « his intellectual originality combined with the fearlessness of his utterances – he was neither a ‘safe man’ nor a ‘yes man’ – proved detrimental to his promotion both in academic and ecclesiastical circles ». <sup>11</sup> As a consequence, in the fall of 1913, Lake accepted a post to lecture for a year in America, at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and to deliver the Lowell Lectures in Boston, at the Lowell Institute and King's Chapel (1915a).

#### *An American Stay*

Just before he was returning to Europe, Kirsopp Lake was offered a teaching post at Harvard Divinity School. He accepted the position and taught early Christian literature there, from 1914 until 1919. During the same period he was also a lecturer in New Testament at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. The Harvard years provided him enough time to initiate one of his most enduring works: the five-volume introduction on *The Beginnings of Christianity* he directed and edited later on with F.J. Foakes Jackson (1920a, 1922a, 1926b, 1933a-b). In an article about « The Problem of Christian Origins », Lake reviewed his own publications, asserting that they « are specially concerned with the Acts of the Apostles, and discuss it mainly as the chief source of our knowledge about the primitive church. Dr. Jackson and I », he said, « have issued the historical prolegomena in one volume, reserving the critical prolegomena for a second, and the text and commentary for a third » (1922f, p. 98). On the same subject, he published articles in *The Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* (1915b-c), and a survey on « The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles », considering that « little direct effort to discover the theological system which underlies their composition » has been made for « a matter of considerable importance » (1915e, p. 489). In 1919, he

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10 See T.C. SKEAT, « The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine », *The Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1999), p. 583-625 [reprinted in J.K. ELLIOTT, *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 103, Leiden, Brill, 2004, p. 198].

11 H.D.A. MAJOR, « Kirsopp Lake (1872-1946) », op. cit., p. 331.

was appointed to an Harvard chair, becoming Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History which he held until 1932.

Unfortunately, as Lake's privacy was brought to light due to his Reno divorce from his first wife Helen, he was forced to resign the Winn chair on September 28, 1932, and became professor of history in Harvard College.<sup>12</sup> On December the 16<sup>th</sup>, he married Silva Tipple New,<sup>13</sup> his former student, whom remained his close collaborator until his retirement. One of their most fruitful - and most famous - works, in association with Robert Pierpont Blake, was «The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark» (1928c), followed, four years later by *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts* issued as an extra number of *The Harvard Theological Studies* (1932a). Lake's collaboration with R.P. Blake was not isolated: they already published, in 1923, a noteworthy study on «The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex» (1923c), and five years later, they went together to Mount Sinai (1928b).

Beside articles and book reviews which Lake published on his own, two major significant projects are still attached to the Lake name. Kirsopp and Silva founded together, in 1934, the learned series of text-critical monographs entitled *Studies and Documents* and edited the first nine volumes until 1937. They also edited, between 1934 and 1939, in the *Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera* series, their large ten-volume facsimiles albums, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (1934a-b, 1935a-b, 1936a-b, 1937a-b, 1938a, 1939a).

#### *The Last Journeys*

These ten photographic albums, still a reference studies for today's paleographers, were completed some years later by an index (1945a). They perfectly illustrate the keen and open mind of Lake's scholarship through Greece to Italy, from Jerusalem to Vienna, from the Western world to the Near East. Kirsopp Lake was 55 years old, when, «in the spring of 1927», as he related himself, «a small expedition, consisting of Professors Lake and Blake, Mrs. Blake, and the Reverend A.W. Johnson, went to Mt. Sinai to study the manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine» (1928b, p. 1). As mentioned above, the results of the trip were published in 1928, in an article about «The Serâbî Inscriptions». A second and third expedition were organized in 1930 and 1935: the results of the 1930 trip were mainly reported by others scholars (S. New, A. Barrois and R.F. Butin) and Kirsopp Lake wrote only the introduction (1932b). From 1931 to 1934, Lake participated to four excavations in Samaria, accompanied by his wife

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<sup>12</sup> On September 29, 1932, *The Harvard Crimson* reported that «Professor Kirsopp Lake, who yesterday resigned from the Winn Professorship of Ecclesiastical History and severed all his connections with the Harvard Theological School, has been appointed a professor in the faculty of Arts and Sciences and will continue to give his courses in the college».

<sup>13</sup> 18th March 1898-30th April 1983.

and R.P. Blake; in 1938-1939, the Lakes and Robert P. Casey conducted a small expedition to Turkey, Eastern Anatolia region, and published their results in the *Journal of the American Asiatic Association* (1939c). As mentioned above, he stayed also on Mount Athos during the summers of 1931 and 1933.

Despite numerous activities in the field of archeology, at Samaria, at Sinai, in search of the early alphabetic inscriptions and at Lake Van, in Turkey, Lake continued to publish in the field of New Testament criticism, mostly in collaboration with his wife: « The Text of Mark in Some Dated Lectionaries » (1933c), « The Acts of the Apostles » (1934d), « De Westcott et Hort au Père Lagrange et au-delà » (1939b), « The Byzantine Text of the Gospels » (1940a). Around 1940, they published two important surveys: *An Introduction to the New Testament* (1937c), and *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group)*, a reconstructed text of the Gospel of Mark for this first order witness of the Greek New Testament, in the *Studies and Documents* series they had founded seven years before (1941a).<sup>14</sup>

After exposing such scholarship activity, as a scholar present in so many wide range of interests, travelling from Europe to Near East, from theology to paleography throughout New Testament textual criticism, it seems rather improbable to assent to the following opinion of Lake's own son, Gerard Kirsopp. In a volume presented to his father by pupils, colleagues and friends, *Quantulacumque*, in 1937, Gerard described him as « delicate » when young, so frail that « an overdose of exercise, too soon after influenza, affected his heart and the doctors told him that law and politics were out of the question » (p. vii). That was true: law and politics were out of the question, but thirst of knowledge was, as reported by his daughter, « the opening to a world of adventure, not as a retirement from reality ». On November 10, 1946, Lake passed away at home, in South Pasadena, California.

### **In Search of Methodology**

It is now obvious to all of us that Lake conducted research in many different fields. While in Oxford as a cataloguer of Greek manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, he added the history of the documents to his first concern which was theology and church life, and developed there a different approach to the texts other than exegesis. Lake had two famous academic advisors: Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, Fellow of University College, Oxford, and James Rendel Harris. Both of them exerted a complementary influence over him. According to Lake's first publica-

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14 In 2004, during one of our stays in Vienna, we noticed that the loan register of min. 124 (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Theol. gr.* 188) indicated that this ms. was borrowed for Kirsopp Lake in June 1938. This is confirmed by the Lakes' accurate description of the quires of min. 124 in *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group)*: « We recollated the ms from the original and checked it from photographs » (1941a, p. 18).

tions, the legacy of the latter appears perhaps more plainly than Conybeare's influence and shows how isolation of smaller groups of minuscules was then an important issue after centuries devoted to uncials manuscripts.

*The Precursory Works*

Born in 1852, the same year as Hermann von Soden, Harris was twenty years older than Lake. In the field of New Testament textual criticism, he was both involved in the study of Greek and Latin and conducted developed research on a special group of manuscripts studied first by William Hugh Ferrar and published in 1877 by Ferrar's colleague and friend, Thomas Kingsmill Abbott.<sup>15</sup> Twenty-three years later, in the preface to his *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-Group*, Harris wrote that he would « hope to return to the Ferrar problem again and perhaps, with the aid of < his > friend, Mr. Lake, who is busy with the same researches, to finally edit and explain the archetypal text which underlies this curious group of manuscripts ». Ferrar and Harris' goal went in the same direction: restoring the text of the archetype for the first, editing and explaining the archetypal text for the second. But even with a unique goal, their ways were different to achieve it and Lake's further publications illustrated these attempts.

As we know from Lake's works the importance of isolating clusters of manuscripts, it is important to briefly mention here Ferrar's methodology. As explained by Abbott in his introduction, Ferrar's published text was a reconstructed text based on Stephens's *editio regia* printed in 1550. Abbott noticed that one of the main objects of the book is « to exhibit as nearly as possible the actual text of his archetype » (p. iii). He stated :

The plan adopted by Prof. Ferrar, of giving, not the text of one MS., but that supposed to represent the archetype, has the advantage that, in looking over the page, the reader's attention is at once attracted to the deviations from the received text, which probably at least, were found in the archetype.

Ferrar's method of inquiry tried to consider what were the affinities between this group and other well-known witnesses. According to him :

There are two ways of examining such questions as these. One is, to enumerate the unusual readings found in our MSS., and then to ascertain what other MSS. agree with them in a greater or less number of these readings. This

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15 W.H. FERRAR, *A Collation of Four Important Manuscripts of the Gospels With a View to Prove their Common Origin, and to Restore the Text of their Archetype*, Dublin-London, Hodges, Foster and Figgis-MacMillan, 1877. Amongst Harris' works, see J.R. HARRIS, *Codex Bezae: A Study of the So-Called Western Text of the New Testament*, Texts and Studies II:1, Cambridge, University Press, 1891; *The Codex Sangallensis (Δ): A Study in the Text of the Old Latin Gospels*, London, C.J. Clay and Sons, 1891; *On the Origin of the Ferrar-Group: A Lecture on the Genealogical Relations of New Testament MSS. Delivered at Mansfield College, Oxford on Nov. 6th, 1893*, London, C.J. Clay and Sons, 1893; *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-Group*, London-Cambridge, C.J. Clay and Sons-University Press, 1900.

is the most obvious method, and is that generally followed by critics. ... The alternative is to reckon differences.

Even if Ferrar's plan was obvious, i.e. to reconstruct the text of the archetype from a cluster of manuscripts, his methodology as explained by Abbott, was not significant enough. Just as for Harris and others, the *ideal thing* of the last two decades of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century – truly long before and far beyond – was the search of a New Testament text « in the original Greek », as published by Westcott and Hort in 1881.<sup>16</sup>

This was clearly obvious in Lake's first edition of *The Text of the New Testament* (1900a). There Lake explained his views about what kind of methodology could be adopted concerning New Testament textual criticism. His first chapter (p. 1-10), concerned the object and method of textual criticism « in order to be certain that the text which < historians > are using really represents the original writing of the author ». Lake added that :

The object of all textual criticism is to recover so far as possible the actual words written by the writer. But in order to do this properly the critic has to explain how each successive deviation from the original came to be currently adopted.

In that way, he said, « four stages ... are distinguishable and ought not be confused ». They are :

I. *The study of each manuscript by itself*, correcting obvious mistakes which are due to slips of the pen and cognate reasons, and such readings as seem clearly to be corrupt forms of other recorded readings.

II. *A comparison of the manuscripts to which this process has been applied, and their arrangement into groups*, according to similarities of reading, the rule being followed that, speaking generally, *community of error implies community of origin*. This process is carried on until all the known MSS. have been put into groups, each with a presumably distinct ancestor or archetype.

III. *These archetypes are then compared, and a provisional text is constructed* out of them, the archetype of the archetypes being arrived at as closely as possible.

IV. This provisional text is finally subjected to the process known as *conjectural emendation*. That is, an attempt is made to explain and emend all the passages which still seem corrupt.

The most striking feature of Lake's textual criticism practice is the development of the genealogical method. On the one hand, it has to be noted that Lake never wrote formal canons of New Testament textual criticism, the *canones critici*, published during the last centuries by others scholars, especially Christoph Matthäus Pfaff (1709), Gerhard von Mastricht (1711), and, perhaps less formally, by John Mill (1707), Richard Bentley (1721), Johann Albrecht Bengel (1734), Johann Jakob Wettstein (1751-1752), Johann Jakob Griesbach (1777, 1785), and so on. On the other hand, Lake's publication – as we have recalled it above – was a pocket-sized manual, intended for all interested in biblical studies. As a proof of this, his chapter five (p. 59-72), devoted to the his-

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16 B.F. WESTCOTT - F.J.A. HORT, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, Cambridge-London, MacMillan 1881-1882.

tory of modern criticism, briefly mentioned some of the great names of the previous scholarship, mostly focussing on Westcott and Hort's recent survey. As summarized by Eldon Jay Epp, « at the end of the nineteenth century, then, there were ... two sets of criteria, external and internal, and these were joined ... by the text-type or grouping phenomenon that assisted in explaining the historical transmission of the text »<sup>17</sup>. In this, Lake was a leading figure, and his popularizing work, *The Text of the New Testament*, a bestseller.

*A First Attempt : A Single Manuscript Edition*

Oddly enough, another Lake's first well-known work, *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies*, published in 1902, was not the reconstruction of a text but a single manuscript edition (1902a). Contrary to all expectations, Lake published the text of one single manuscript, minuscule 1, and not the reconstructed text of the family he gathered. He explained it in his preface (p. v-vi), arguing that his survey was :

an attempt to represent in a convenient form the text of a group of minuscule manuscripts of the Gospels, which have long been known to be remarkable for many important and probably ancient readings.

He added that :

It is not quite certain what is in general the best method of editing the text of a group of manuscripts which closely represent a common archetype. The late Professor Ferrar in his edition of the manuscripts which are usually called after him attempted to reconstruct the text of the archetype. He was probably justified in doing so, because the manuscripts with which he was dealing were, with one exception, of the same date, and did not differ greatly from one another in value. But I have not followed his example in the present case, because cod. 1 is both older and better than any of the others. It has seemed preferable to print continuously the text of cod. 1, and to give the readings of the other manuscripts in an *apparatus criticus*, adding for convenience the readings of the Received Text.

Even we may wonder what qualifies as « better » and « in value », we notice here that the 1902 Lake's edition was surely a reaction against the Ferrar's 1877 publication. But certainly not the only one. We may also consider Lake's views about the Westcott and Hort's 1881 edition. During his inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Leiden, in 1904, Lake said that « in the 19th century the efforts of textual critics were directed constantly to the construction of the 'true text' of the Gospels, by an examination of the evidence contained principally in Greek MSS. and an attempt to classify it historically and genealogically. The culminating point in this process », Lake added, « was probably the great work of Westcott and Hort < with > two sides, a destructive and a constructive – the former successful, the latter a

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<sup>17</sup> « Traditional "Canons" of New Testament Textual Criticism: Their Value, Validity, and Viability- or Lack Thereof », in K. WACHTEL - M.W. HOLMES (eds), *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament. Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, Leiden, Brill, 2012, p. 84.

failure, though a splendid one » (1904a, p. 3). Lake confirmed this on the next page, adding that « Westcott and Hort's constructive work was a failure, when judged by their own standard as implied in their title », but he noticed also that « it was one of those failures which are more important than most successes ». At this stage, and reconsidering the very first study about Family 1, Kirsopp Lake was definitely not a Hortian advocate.<sup>18</sup>

*The Second Try: A Reconstructed Text*

Even if in 1932 Lake published collations of two minuscule manuscripts (1932a\*, 1932a\*\*), he completely changed his views in 1941 while editing, with Silva New, the text of the Gospel of Mark for Family 13 (1941a). The authors recalled that « a few years ago we announced, with an optimism which was hardly justified, that we should 'soon' publish a reconstruction of the Caesarean text » (ibid., p. 8). If this was too much optimistic, *at least* the reconstructed text of one of the « Caesarean » witnesses was possible and they proved it by their publication. That time, they reconstructed the archetype of the family text – as Ferrar did sixty-four years before – but not the continuous text of a single manuscript. « The publication of this volume requires a few words of justification », the authors said, « for what it contains and for what it does not ». Reminding the reader that their work is « the partial completion of a plan originated by Rendel Harris about the year 1899 », they stated that :

In spite of the claims of Westcott and Hort and of von Soden, we do not know the original form of the Gospels, and it is quite likely that we never shall. We can, however, reconstruct many of the various stages through which they passed between the third century and the invention of printing. There is, unfortunately, no short-cut. It is impossible to reconstruct the Ferrar text or similar groups merely by using Tischendorf or Legg. Not only are many of their collations inaccurate and incomplete, but it is almost beyond the power of man to pick out and reconstruct the text of any single group in a long and unclassified apparatus.

The Lakes did not say much more about their choice of a reconstructed text instead of a single manuscript edition but the reason for their methodology appears between the lines. Things had changed since the 1902 Lake's Family 1 publication: new documents, such as papyri studied by Kenyon, more and more minuscules manuscripts brought to light by various scholars and further developed studies on genealogical methods, had spread a new breath of hope about a New Testament text « in the original Greek ». Moreover, one of the most important stages, on the way to publish in 1941 a reconstructed text instead a single manuscript edition, was certainly the authors' own publication in 1928 concerning the « Caesarean » text.

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<sup>18</sup> See F. WISSE, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* [= *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence as Applied to the Continuous Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke*], Studies and Documents 44, Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1982, p. 22.

### The « Caesarean » Text Background

In 1945, when reviewing the several stages in the isolation of the component parts of « The Caesarean Text of the Gospels », <sup>19</sup> Bruce M. Metzger considered that Family 13 and the Ferrar-Abbott's 1877 publication were « the beginnings », soon followed by Family 1, regarded as « further advances » of it. Even if Metzger's judgment might seem perhaps a little bit abrupt, he was mostly right in so far as we have developed it above. Nevertheless Family 13 witnesses did not appear first with Ferrar: some of them were already quoted at an early date in numerous printed editions of the New Testament and their readings closely analyzed, especially in relation to *codex Bezae*.<sup>20</sup>

When gathering min. 1, 118, 131 and 209 within Family 1, Lake already stated, in 1902, that « it is never quite easy to establish the textual affinities of late manuscripts. There is so large an amount of mixture and assimilation to more ordinary types », he said, « that the real character of the text is obscured » (1902a, p. xlvi). In spite of this, he pointed out that a « large group < including > *fam*<sup>1</sup> *fam*<sup>13</sup> 22 28 565 700 might represent a pre-Antiochian recension in variously corrupted forms; but it more probably represents either one local text or several local texts; and, if the latter hypothesis be taken, the localities in question were probably neighbouring » (ibid., p. li). Here is one of the very first try to gather these isolated minuscules manuscripts in order to link up their peculiar text to a same neighbourhood, though two years before, in 1900, he already discriminated between the text of « the old Syriac < and > the text implied by Origen in Matthaum, which differs from that of the other works of Origen, almost certainly because it was written at Caesarea. The suggestion », Lake concluded, « is that the text represented by 1-118-131-209 and Origen in Matthaum goes back to a Caesarean origin; but this cannot yet be regarded as certain » (1900a, p. 20-21).

As far as we know, the adjective « Caesarean » was firstly used within Lake's 1900 first edition of the *Text of the New Testament*.<sup>21</sup> Its definitive acceptation firmly appeared in Streeter's 1924 publication, *The Four Gospels, A Study of Origins*.<sup>22</sup> Taking support

<sup>19</sup> *Journal of Biblical Literature* 64 (1945), p. 457-489.

<sup>20</sup> As an example, see Griesbach's 1785 diagram which showed min. 1, 13 and 69 close to D (*Symbolae criticae*, p. CLXIV).

<sup>21</sup> See B.M. METZGER, op. cit., p. 463, n. 24, where the author recalled, *mutatis mutandis*, that « Kirsopp Lake had, indeed, so long ago as 1900, thrown out the suggestion that one ought to localize the text of some of these < Family 1 > minuscules at Caesarea »: Lake did not throw out the question, he was only doubtful. Moreover Metzger also pointed out that Lake « removed the statement from the following editions ». As far as we may check, none of the following (1902, 1906, 1908) have the same utterances, a proof of which Lake accurately followed the works then in progress.

<sup>22</sup> ... *Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, & Dates*, London, Macmillan and Co., 1924.

from a very fresh study about the uncial codex Θ.038, the Koridethi codex, published in July of the previous year by Kirsopp Lake and Robert Pierpont Blake (1923c), Streeter demonstrated that the group composed of « the new Koridethi MS. Θ ... the cursives 1 &c., 13 &c., 28, 565, 700 ... may appropriately be styled *fam. Θ* » (p. 77). He stated how the text of that group was related to other ancient texts,<sup>23</sup> and emphasized the connection between the uncial and the text of Origen. « Griesbach discovered that Origen used two different texts of Mark », Streeter argued, « but owing the paucity of MS. evidence then available, he slightly misinterpreted the facts ». After a detailed study of which texts Origen used in the different places he stayed, Streeter concluded that « significant fact that the local texts < he has > identified form a series corresponding to the geographical propinquity of the churches with which they are connected » (ibid., p. 78). Thanks to the demonstration of the relation between Θ and the group of cursives, Streeter recalled that « the first and most important step was made by Lake in the brilliant article referred to above in the *Harvard Theological Review* ». Henceforth, according to Streeter and his *local texts*, New Testament scholarship added a new text to those already established: the « Caesarean » text, as quoted – for the very first time – in Streeter's index of subjects (ibid., p. 609).

Streeter's research suggested to him a name for the text which was then studied and we know today how the qualifying « Caesarean » went down to posterity. During these years, since he had published his *Text of the New Testament* in 1900, Lake's name remained one of the leading figures of New Testament textual criticism. He was not anticipating a move, he was within the move, in the heart of it, and for long. One of the most impressive features of the last decades of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century – added to the first decades of the following – remains what we can call a kind of scholarship feverishness: printed in 1924, Streeter's *Four Gospels* already included the results which Lake and Blake had published a few months before and the last lines of his chapter about the text of Caesarea announced the further examination of Lake, Blake and New, published four years later in their 1928 « Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark ».

#### « The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark »: Analysis of the Tables of Variants

All things considered, Lake, Blake and New analyzed 460 readings in their tables of variants; all were from chapters 1 (1:1-45), 6 (6:1-41, 6:43-56) and 11 (11:1-15, 11:17-33) from Mark's Gospel. Each of these readings was divided into three parts. In the middle, the authors presented the text evidence for Θ.038,

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23 « The text of *fam. Θ* is slightly, but only slightly, nearer to the Western than to the Alexandrian type; also it has a large and clearly defined set of readings peculiar to itself ... In *fam. Θ* are found certain striking additions to the T. R. which the Syriac shares with D and the Old Latin ... », op. cit., p. 77.

Families 1 and 13, minuscules 28, 565, 700 and the two Georgian versions: they called these eight witnesses the « Caesarean » Family - not « Family Θ » as initiated by Streeter. Inside Family 13, whenever min. 13, 69, 124 or 346 got a different reading, they were developed in a footnote; min. 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689 and 1547 never appeared neither in the text nor in footnotes.<sup>24</sup> On the left-hand side, the authors added the « Caesarean » text and its chief supporting evidence and, on the right-hand side, the *textus receptus*, with its supports too. To each one of these eight « Caesarean » witnesses was attributed a letter: either « f » for « non-ecclesiastical » reading, or « ζ » for the *textus receptus*. When there was a two, three, four or five times variation reading, the authors gave the divergent reading(s) below the main one, with the evidence of each. The 460 readings were distributed as follows: 4 occurrences had five times variations (1:29 1:33 6:3 6:5), 12 had four times variations (1:20 1:27 6:25 6:36 6:39 6:51 6:55 11:1 11:7 11:13 11:28 11:32) and 33 had three times variations (1:6 1:8 1:16 1:21 1:29 1:35 1:38 6:2 6:9 6:11 6:15 6:18 6:25-26 6:29 6:35 6:45 6:51 6:53 6:56 11:3 11:10-12 11:14-15 11:19-20 11:32; 1:5 6:33 6:50 11:23 were quoted twice). There were also 123 double variations and, as a result of which, 284 were unique. In the tables, these readings were indicated by the numbers attached to them.

It has to be noted that for Mark 1:1-45 the authors included *codex Washingtonianus* (W.032) as a support of either the « ecclesiastical » text or the *textus receptus*; from 1:45 to the end, they inserted the text of codex W alongside the « Caesarean » witnesses, in the middle of their tables.

We have reexamined, as accurately as possible, Lake, Blake and New's 460 tables of readings. Next we have compared them according to our own exhaustive collations of Θ.038 and all extant Family 13 witnesses: min. 13, 69, 124, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689 and 1547. Our collations, as provided in grey colour in the following *Appendix*, are located in the below part of each table. They confirm or invalidate authors' positions. Considering the extant collations provided to the authors before and during their publication, some points can be easily underlined:

1) Inside Family 13 the often misquoted witnesses are min. 983 and 1689 as in 1:2 1:5 1:8-10 1:13 1:16 1:20 1:40-41 6:3-5 6:7-8 6:11 6:15-16 6:19 6:29 6:32 6:35-37 6:39 6:45 6:49 6:53 11:1 11:3 11:5 11:13-14 11:21 11:23 11:31-32. These two manuscripts never appeared in footnotes as they have peculiar readings. One explanation of this misquotation – or lack of thereof – could be found in Hermann von Soden's collations.

2) Min. 69, 124 and 788, is the second misquoted group. Sometimes the authors rightly indicated that, when the family reading is the one from the Majority Text, one witness read a

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<sup>24</sup> There are no footnote for Family 1.

« non-ecclesiastical » reading, but omitted one or two supplementary witnesses.

We may note a few non precise quotations of min. 69 as in 1:9 6:3 6:5 6:22 6:26 6:33 6:36 6:52 and 11:23.

As a core member of Family 13, min. 124 is often quoted by the authors because it read a peculiar feature within the group. Most of the time, the authors emphasized the singular variants of min. 124 when it represented the « non-ecclesiastical » text against the *textus receptus* read by Family 13. On the contrary, they never developed the peculiar reading of min. 124 when it read the *textus receptus* against the « Caesarean » text of the family. We may notice some defective readings of min. 124 as in 1:6 1:11 1:13 1:18 1:21 1:29 1:44 6:2 6:4 6:8 6:13-14 6:16 6:23-24 6:31 6:33 6:35 6:39 6:54-55 11:2 11:5 11:11-12 11:14 11:17-18 11:23 11:26 11:31 and 11:33.

Min. 788 was never mentioned by the authors, neither in the tables nor in the footnotes. Our extensive collations show that, amongst the Family 13 witnesses, min. 788 is the only one – with or without min. 124 and/or min. 69 – to give a « Caesarean » reading as in 1:6-8 1:13-14 6:9 6:33 6:36 6:44 6:53 11:4 11:15 11:17 11:23 and 11:32.

3) It has also to be noted that three tables are mirrored, which means that the « Caesarean » text should be read instead the *textus receptus* (6:33 6:37 11:22). In that way, we have re-established the correct tables in footnotes.

With only four Family 13 core members, Kirsopp Lake, R.P. Blake and Silva New achieved to determine precisely, early in the XX<sup>th</sup> century, the exact position of this cluster of minuscules within the « Caesarean » text. This attempt was a success and a long life one: nearly one century after, apart a few discrepancies, the results of their survey are still accurate and confirm undoubtedly Family 13 as a first order witness of the Greek New Testament, especially here for the Gospel of Mark. Even Lake, Blake and New did not considered min. 788, the today results of the following tables emphasize, one more time, the special position of this manuscript as a special link to the « Caesarean » text.

### A Non-Exhaustive List of Lake's Works

(organized by date of publication, reviews and co-authored works included)

#### 1896

(1896a) Review of *Scrivener's Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, E. MILLER, *The Classical Review* 88:10.5 (June 1896), p. 263-265.

(1896b) « The Text of the Gospels » [Review of *The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels*, D. BURGON - E. MILLER], *The Classical Review* 91:10.8 (November 1896), p. 395-397.

#### 1897

(1897a) « Note on *Didache* 1, 2, and Acts 15, 20, 29 », *The Classical Review* 95:11.3 (April 1897), p. 147-148.

#### 1900

(1900a) *The Text of the New Testament*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., *Oxford Church Text Books*, London, Rivingtons [cf. 1902, 1906, 1908, 1922, 1929].

(1900b) « Some New Members of the 'Ferrar Group' of MSS of the Gospels », *JTS* 1 (1900 [October 1899]), p. 117-120.

(1900c) « The Text of Codex  $\Psi$  in St. Mark », *JTS* 1 (January 1900), p. 290-292.

(1900d) « On the Italian Origin of Codex Bezae: 1. Codex Bezae and Codex 1071 », *JTS* 1 (1900), p. 441-445.

#### 1902

(1902a) *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies*, col. *Texts and Studies* 7:3, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

(1902b) *Texts from Mount Athos*, *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* 5:2, Oxford, Clarendon Press, p. 91-185 [1903<sup>repr</sup>].

(1902c) « The Text of the Gospels in Alexandria », *The American Journal of Theology* 6:1 (January 1902), p. 79-89.

(1902d) « New Testament Textual Criticism » [Reviews of 14 publications including « I. *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes...* by Caspar René Gregory. Vol. i; 2. *Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament*, E. Nestle; 3. *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, F. G. Kenyon; 4. *Textkritik der vier Evangelien...* by Bernhard Weiss; 5. *Die vier Evangelien im berichtigen Text...* by Bernhard Weiss; 6. *A Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels...* by the late Edward Miller; 7. *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar Group...* by J. Rendel Harris; 8. *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae*, J. Rendel Harris; 9. *Two Lectures on the Gospels...* by F. Crawford Burkitt; 10. *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels*, F. Crawford Burkitt; 11. *The Old Latin Versions...* by H. A. A. Kennedy in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. iii; 12. *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, Vol. ii, by Sp. Lampros; 13. *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, Fridericus Blass; 14. *A New Uncial of the Gospels*, W. C. Braithwaite »], *JTS* 3 (January 1902), p. 295-304.

(1902e) « The Practical Value of Textual Variation Illustrated from the Book of Acts », *The Biblical World* 19:5 (May 1902), p. 361-369.

(1902f) *The Text of the New Testament*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., Oxford Church Text Books, London, Rivingtons (cf. 1900, 1906, 1908, 1922, 1929).

### 1903

(1903a) Review of *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, F.G. KENYON, 1901, *The Biblical World* 21:3 (March 1903), p. 229-231.

(1903b) « Dr. Weiss's Text of the Gospels. The Thoughts of a Textual Critic on the Text of an Exegete », *The American Journal of Theology* 7:2 (April 1903), p. 249-258.

(1903c) « The Greek Monasteries in South Italy I », *JTS* 4:15 (April 1903), p. 345-368.

(1903d) « The Greek Monasteries in South Italy II », *JTS* 4:16 (July 1903), p. 517-542.

(1903e) « The Greek Monasteries in South Italy III », *JTS* 5:17 (1904 [October 1903]), p. 22-41.

(1903f) « Some Further Notes on the MSS of the Writings of St. Athanasius », *JTS* 5:17 (October 1903), p. 108-114.

(1903g) « The Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets », *JTS* 5:17 (October 1903), p. 76-114.

### 1904

(1904a) *The Influence of Textual Criticism on the Exegesis of the New Testament. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the University of Leiden, on January 27, 1904*, Oxford, Parker and Son.

(1904b) « The Greek Monasteries in South Italy IV », *JTS* 5:18 (January 1904), p. 189-202.

(1904c) « The Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets II », *JTS* 5:18 (January 1904), p. 242-253.

(1904d) « The New Sayings of Jesus and the Synoptic Problem », *The Hibbert Journal* 3 (October 1904-July 1905), p. 332-341.

(1904e) « [The] Curetonian Version of Gospels » *sic* [Review of *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe. The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels*, F.C. BURKITT], *The Hibbert Journal* 3 (October 1904-July 1905), p. 843-846.

### 1905

(1905a) *Facsimiles of the Athos Fragments of Codex H of the Pauline Epistles*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

(1905b) « The Didache », in A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology (eds), *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, p. 24-36.

(1905c) « Further Notes on the MSS of Isidore of Pelusium », *JTS* 6:22 (January 1905), p. 270-273.

(1905d) Review of *Das Aposteldecree nach seiner Ausserkanonischen Textgestalt*, A. RESCH, *Review of Theology and Philosophy* 1 (1905), p. 385-392.

(1905e) Review of *Die Auferstehung Christi*, A.O. MEYER, 1905, *Review of Theology and Philosophy* 1 (1905), p. 631-635.

### 1906

(1906a) « Galatians II. 3-5 », *The Expositor*, 7<sup>th</sup> Series, 1 (1906), p. 236-245.

(1906b) « Did Paul Use the Logia ? » [Review of *Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis untersucht*, A. RESCH, 1904], *The American Journal of Theology* 10:1 (January 1906), p. 104-111.

(1906c) « The 'Ammonian' Harmony and the Text of B », *JTS* 7:26 (January 1906), p. 292-295.

(1906d) « Tatian's Diatessaron and the Martyrdom of Abo », *The Expository Times* 17:6 (March 1906), p. 286.

(1906e) *The Text of the New Testament*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., *Oxford Church Text Books*, London, Rivingtons (cf. 1900, 1902, 1908, 1922, 1929).

### 1907

(1907a) *Facsimiles of the Athos Fragments of the Sheperd of Hermas*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

(1907b) *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, *Crown Theological Library* 21, London, Williams & Norgate.

(1907c) Review of *Sprüche und Reden Jesu. Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas*, A. VON HARNACK, 1907, *Review of Theology and Philosophy* 3 (1907-1908), p. 480-487.

### 1908

(1908a) « Professor H. Von Soden's Treatment of the Text of the Gospels », 36 p., Edinburgh [reprinted from the *Review of Theology and Philosophy* 4 (1908-1909), p. 201-207, 277-295].

(1908b) *The Text of the New Testament*, 4<sup>th</sup> revised ed., *Oxford Church Text Books*, London, Rivingtons (cf. 1900, 1902, 1906, 1922, 1929).

### 1909

(1909a) *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

(1909b) « The Date of Q », *The Expositor*, 7<sup>th</sup> Series, 7 (1909), p. 494-507.

### 1910

(1910a) Notices « Baptism (Early Christian) », « Christmas » and « Epiphany », in J. HASTINGS (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vols. II, III and V, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, p. 379-390, 601-608, 330-332.

(1910b) Notices « 2. Texts and Versions » and « 3. Textual Criticism », article « Bible (B) New Testament », in *The Ency-*

*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 3, Cambridge, University Press, 1910, p. 878-886.

(1910c) « The Text of the Gospels », *The Expositor*, 7<sup>th</sup> Series, 9 (1910), p. 457-471.

(1910d) « The Early Christian Treatment of Sin After Baptism », *The Expositor*, 7<sup>th</sup> Series, 10 (1910), p. 63-80.

(1910e) « The Earliest Christian Teaching on Divorce », *The Expositor*, 7<sup>th</sup> Series, 10 (1910), p. 416-427.

(1910f) « The Shorter Form of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans », *The Expositor*, 7<sup>th</sup> Series, 10 (1910), p. 504-525.

(1910g) « 2 Thessalonians and Professor Harnack », *The Expository Times* 22:3 (December 1910), p. 131-133.

### 1911

(1911a) *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul: Their Motive and Origin*, London, Rivingtons.

(1911b) *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus: The New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, Preserved in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg*, with Helen Lake, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911.

(1911c) « The Shepherd of Hermas and Christian Life in Rome in the Second Century », *HTR* 4:1 (January 1911), p. 25-46.

(1911d) Article « Peter, Epistles of » in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 21, Cambridge, University Press, 1911, p. 295-297.

(1911e) « The Debt of the Clergy and Theologians to William James », *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 44 (1911), p. 526-530.

(1911f) « The Judaistic Controversy, and the Apostolic Council », *Church Quarterly Review* 71 (1911), p. 345-370.

### 1912

(1912a) *The Apostolic Fathers, with an English Translation: I Clement, II Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Didache, Barnabas*, vol. I, *The Loeb Classical Library* 24, London-Cambridge, Heinemann-Harvard University Press, 1912.

(1912b) « The Date of Herod's Marriage with Herodias and the Chronology of the Gospels », *The Expositor*, 8<sup>th</sup> Series, 4 (1912), p. 462-477.

### 1913

(1913a) *The Apostolic Fathers, with an English Translation: The Shepherd of Hermas, The Martyrdom of Polycarp, The Epistle to Diognetus*, vol. II, *The Loeb Classical Library* 25, London-Cambridge, William Heinemann-Harvard University Press.

(1913b) « The End of Paul's Trial in Rome », *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 47 (1913), p. 356-365.

### 1914

(1914a) « Critical Problems of the Epistle to the Philippians », *The Expositor*, 8<sup>th</sup> Series, 7 (1914), p. 481-493.

(1914b) Review of *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, H.A.A. KENNEDY, 1913, *HTR* 7:3 (July 1914), p. 428-431.

### 1915

(1915a) *The Stewardship of Faith: Our Heritage from Early Christianity, Lowell Institute Lectures 1913*, London, Christophers.

(1915b) Articles « Acts of the Apostles » and « Luke », in J. HASTINGS - J.A. SELBIE - J.C. LAMBERT (eds), *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, vol. I, , Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, p. 15-29, 718-722.

(1915c) Article « Acts of the Apostles (Apocryphal) » with J. de Zwann, in J. HASTINGS - J.A. SELBIE - J.C. LAMBERT (eds), *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, vol. I, , Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, p. 29-39.

(1915d) Review of *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. The Schweich Lectures for 1913*, F.C. BURKITT, 1914, and *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments*, R.H. CHARLES, *HTR* 8:3 (July 1915), p. 426-431.

(1915e) « The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles », *The American Journal of Theology* 19:4 (October 1915), p. 489-508.

(1915f) Review of *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, A. PLUMMER, 1914, *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians*, J.O.F. MURRAY, 1914, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, W.F. BURNSIDE, 1913, *HTR* 8:4 (October 1915), p. 557-559.

### 1916

(1916a) Review of *Judaism and St. Paul*, C.G. MONTEFIORE, 1915, *HTR* 9:2 (April 1916), p. 242-245.

### 1917

(1917a) « Simon Zelotes », *HTR* 10:1 (January 1917), p. 57-63.

(1917b) « American, English, and Dutch Theological Education » [An address delivered before the Alumni Association of the Harvard Divinity School, June 20, 1917], *HTR* 10:4 (October 1917), p. 336-351.

### 1918

(1918a) Article « Theophilus », in J. HASTINGS - J.A. SELBIE - J.C. LAMBERT (eds), *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, vol. II, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, p. 568-569.

(1918b) « The Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts and the Copies Sent by Eusebius to Constantine », *HTR* 11:1 (January 1918), p. 32-35.

### 1920

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(1920b) *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity*, London, Macmillan (cf. 1922).

(1920c) Review of *Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Liturgische und Archäologische Studien*, H. LIETZMANN, 1915, *The American Historical Review* 25:3 (April 1920), p. 483-484.

### 1921

(1921a) « The Epistola Apostolorum », *HTR* 14:1 (January 1921), p. 15-29.

(1921b) « Simon, Cephas, Peter », *HTR* 14:1 (January 1921), p. 95-97.

### 1922

(1922a) *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I, The Acts of the Apostles*, F.J. FOAKES JACKSON - K. LAKE (eds), vol. II, *Prolegomena II, Criticism*, London, Macmillan.

(1922b) *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus et Friderico-Augustanus Lipsiensis: The Old Testament Preserved in the Public Library of Petrograd, in the Library of the Society of Ancient Literature in Petrograd, and in the Library of the University of Leipzig*, with Helen Lake, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

(1922c) *Immortality and the Modern Mind, The Ingersoll Lecture 1922*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

(1922d) *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity*, New York, The Macmillan Company (cf. 1920).

(1922e) *The Text of the New Testament*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., *Oxford Church Text Books*, London, Rivingtons [cf. 1902, 1906, 1908, 1929].

(1922f) « The Problem of Christian Origins » [Review of six publications including « Johannes Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*; Alfred Loisy, *Les Actes des Apôtres*; F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. I; Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*; Roland Schütz, *Apostel und Jünger*; B. H. Streeter, "Fresh Light on the Synoptic Problem" »], *HTR* 15:1 (January 1922), p. 97-114.

### 1923

(1923a) « ἘΜΒΡΙΜΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ and ὈΡΓΙΣΘΕΙΣ, Mark 1,40-43 » *HTR* 16:2 (April 1923), p. 197-198.

(1923b) « The Catholic Argument for Church Unity » [Review of *Unity and Rome*, E.S. MIDDLETON, 1922], *The Journal of Religion* 3:3 (May 1923), p. 324-325.

(1923c) « The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex » with Robert Pierpont Blake, *HTR* 16:3 (July 1923), p. 267-286.

(1923d) « A Lost Manuscript of Eusebius's Demonstratio Evangelica Found », *HTR* 16:4 (October 1923), p. 396-397.

(1923e) « The Date of the Slavonic Enoch » [Review of G. NATHANAEL BONWETSCH, *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs*], *HTR* 16:4 (October 1923), p. 397-398.

### 1924

(1924a) « The Apostles' Creed », *HTR* 17:2 (April 1924), p. 173-183.

(1924b) « Jesus », *The Hibbert Journal* 23 (1924-1925), p. 5-19.

### 1925

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