

# Scribal Tendencies and Name Forms: “Mary” in the New Testament\*

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This study seeks to enhance our understanding of scribal activity by examining scribal tendencies in relation to the transcription of the name “Mary.” Though other forms of this very common name appear in materials that date to around the time the New Testament, the textual tradition of the New Testament effectively preserves precisely two forms of the name outside of the genitive. Thus, in transcribing this name, scribes appear to have understood the choice between forms as binary. That situation created space not so much for scribal creation as scribal discretion. This study suggests that an understanding of how scribes exercised this discretion should shape text-critical judgements about the form of a name at any given place of variation. It further suggests that the initial text of each of the gospels contained mixed forms in a distribution not precisely reflected in any contemporary edition of the Greek New Testament. Though there was a tendency among some later scribes to regularize the name forms (for example, by reserving the non-Hellenized form for the mother of Jesus) this was not the case at the earliest stage of transmission. However, the mixing of forms does not appear to be entirely random. Though the reason for the phenomenon is not clear, the study indicates a pronounced tendency for scribes to preserve one exceptional form for particular figures or clusters of uses. In at least some cases the phenomenon seems to have been a feature of the initial form of the text.

## 1. Introduction

F. J. A. Hort famously declared that “knowledge of manuscripts must precede final judgement upon readings.”<sup>1</sup> In practice, many exegetes work with little more than a broad understanding of the general character of manuscripts, their age, and the text type or category to which manuscripts have been assigned. As a result, the work of assessing the external evidence for variants at particular locations in the text remains an essentially latitudinal exercise, that is, a judgement based on what a sampling of scribes responsible for the variants did *at that point alone*. The purpose of this study is to enhance our longitudinal understanding of scribal activity. We propose to examine what individual scribes did across a range of occurrences of a specific textual phenomenon, namely, the transcription of the most common female name in the New Testament, Μαριαμ/Μαρια. For most textual phenomena, this kind of analysis is difficult, if not impossible, because of the number and nature of the variants at any given point. This name, however, is amenable to such study because it is used frequently enough to make

\* I am grateful to Dr. Dirk Jongkind for reading an earlier draft of this article. A conversation helped confirm several conclusions—some of which he had also made independently in his own work on the matter. He also kindly shared a preliminary draft of a paper on the name form (cited below) that I hope, when completed, will resolve some of the puzzles that remain at the end of this study. Thanks also to Olle Larson, who helped confirm the text-critical data on which the analysis is based.

<sup>1</sup> F. J. A. Hort, *Introduction, Appendix*, vol. 2 of *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, 2nd ed. (London: MacMillan, 1897) 31.

analysis of its use significant and because at every point of variation there were no more than two possible forms—an indeclinable, transliterated form and a declinable Hellenized form. (We may leave aside nonsense readings, which, in this case, are infrequent.)<sup>2</sup>

The need for such a study is highlighted by a recent article by Hans Förster on the use of the two name forms in the *Novum Testamentum Graece* of John’s Gospel.<sup>3</sup> Förster observes that the standard critical text has regularized the name toward the indeclinable form, especially in John 11–12, even where the attestation for that form in the manuscript tradition is late and weak.<sup>4</sup> Förster correctly notes that attestation of the indeclinable form is particularly strong when the name occurs in the accusative case in John. This leads to the hypothesis that this has occurred under the force of phonetic exchange between the nasal endings,  $\mu$  and  $\nu$ .<sup>5</sup> Thus, on the uncertain assumption that early manuscripts were dictated, Förster concludes that the preponderance of indeclinable forms in the accusative case arose via scribal error rather than scribal choice. This forms the basis of his recommendation that future editions of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* adopt the Hellenized form for John’s Gospel.<sup>6</sup>

The supposition of erroneous phonetic exchange does not explain why the exchange took place in only one direction in John 11 or why the manuscript tradition as a whole evinces variability not just for the accusative but for the nominative as well.<sup>7</sup> More importantly, it does not take into account patterns that emerge only by understanding what individual scribes did with the name form across a much wider range of usage.<sup>8</sup>

This article will assess the data for the major witnesses and demonstrate that regularization in *any* direction fails to take into account the prevalence of mixed forms in the tradition. In particular, we shall adduce evidence for specific scribal patterns that could only have resulted from an intentional choice to transmit a particular form of inconsistency. It will further show that text critical judgments for this name must take into account scribal tendencies and discernible patterns of use manifest in relation to the various figures named “Mary.”

<sup>2</sup> See Μαριαμαμ in Luke 1:39 of Codex C. Also, note Μακαρια in Mark 15:40 in Codex L, which may be a scribal creation (see discussion below).

<sup>3</sup> Hans Förster, “Μαρία and Μαριάμ in John’s Gospel in the *Novum Testamentum Graece*,” *TC* 19 (2014): 1–7.

<sup>4</sup> Förster, “Μαρία,” 6. The regularization of the indeclinable form in the NA<sup>28</sup> of John 11–12 sometimes influences the exegesis of the texts. This is evident in a recent article by Mary Ann Beavis, who has perhaps given more attention to Mary of Bethany than any other scholar. Beavis correctly notes that both spellings are used of Mary Magdalene in John 20 but then claims that the indeclinable spelling “always refers to the sister of Martha and Lazarus.” Mary Ann Beavis, “Which Mary, and Why It Matters,” in *Rediscovering the Marys: Maria, Mariamne, Miriam*, ed. Mary Ann Beavis and Ally Katueusz (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 29. Beavis suggests that the use of the indeclinable form for some of the references to Mary Magdalene in John 20 contributed to the melding of the two figures in some early Christian tradition.

<sup>5</sup> Förster, “Μαρία,” 6.

<sup>6</sup> Förster, “Μαρία,” 3.

<sup>7</sup> The hypothesis suffers further from the fact that it does not explain why a scribe who had just heard a Hellenized nominative form (as is consistently the case in John 11:20) would then promptly mistake another Hellenized form for a transliterated form for the accusative in 11:28. Yet this sequence may be observed in  $\Psi^{75}$ , 02, 03, 04, 05, 017, 019, and 037.

<sup>8</sup> Förster (“Μαρία,” 1, n. 2) surmises that different books need to be evaluated apart from one another. The reason he gives is that the transliterated form predominates in the witnesses for Luke, whereas in John attestation for both forms is much more mixed. While this is true, the conclusion that each book must be evaluated separately does not follow. The predominance of the transliterated form in Luke is peculiar to the mother of Jesus, not to the other figures named Mary in Luke. Moreover, as we shall see, for some manuscripts a tendency or pattern of usage can be seen across books.

## 2. Methodological Considerations

Assessments of the quality of a witness often involve claims about a given scribe’s tendencies. However, many such claims have been rooted more in intuition than evidence. James Royse has noted this as a feature of a number of text-critical judgements in Bruce Metzger’s widely-used *Textual Commentary*. Decisions to adopt certain readings are supported with comments about a scribe’s tendencies but no evidence for such tendencies is provided. The introduction to the *Textual Commentary* “provides certain general patterns for the imaginative reconstructions of scribal activities. But these general patterns are themselves . . . simply products of the editors’ imaginations.”<sup>9</sup>

Royse has helped refine an important tool for assessing scribal tendencies by examining scribal “singulars,” that is, variants for which no other manuscript evidence exists. It is easy to see why the study of singulars has a proper place in the evaluation of scribal tendencies. The method, however, is not without limitations. As others have recognized, though the singulars do indeed reflect scribally created readings, they do not reflect *all* of them, and it is, in principle, possible that some singulars may be part of the initial text. Moreover, it is possible that some scribal creations have been transmitted by subsequent copyists, that is, nonsingular scribal creations. Nonsingular scribal creations can also come into play even when there is no genealogical relationship between texts. As Peter J. Gurry puts it, “If an error can be made once in a particular context, it can almost certainly be made twice; and the more a text is copied the more possibility there is that two (or more) scribes will make the same mistake independently of the other(s).”<sup>10</sup> Though this is much less likely for nonsense variants, the possibility that two or more scribes will independently alter a text in the same way—whether intentionally or erroneously—increases dramatically in cases where two readings already had a well-established basis in linguistic or scribal practice, as was the case with at least some names.

Two factors seem especially important in considering the forms of names in the New Testament. First, names generally were subject to variability in form.<sup>11</sup> Particular kinds of variation especially attended the appropriation of Hebrew names into Greek.<sup>12</sup> One widely observed phenomenon in the appropriation of names from Hebrew into Greek was the Hellenization of name forms. This was more often the case for names that ended in vowels and more regularly the case in certain writings. The Hellenization of name forms is evident already in the texts of the LXX (the forms of which are typically followed by Philo and the New Testament) and to a much greater degree in Josephus.<sup>13</sup> However, this was manifestly not done with consistency.<sup>14</sup> One need look no further than the genealogy of Matthew for evidence not only of the

<sup>9</sup> James Ronald Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 244.

<sup>10</sup> Peter J. Gurry, *A Critical Examination of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method in New Testament Textual Criticism*, NTTSD 55 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 118.

<sup>11</sup> For examples, see especially Tal Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. Part I: Palestine 330 BCE—220 CE* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002).

<sup>12</sup> See especially the discussion of Larry Perkins, “What’s in a Name—Proper Names in Greek Exodus,” *JSJ* 41 (2010): 447–71 and Robert Crellin, “What’s in a (Personal) Name? Morphology and Identity in Jewish Greek Literature in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods,” in *Postclassical Greek: Contemporary Approaches to Philology and Linguistics*, ed. Dariya Rafiyenko and Ilja A. Seržant (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 248–58.

<sup>13</sup> The name forms in the Hellenistic Jewish writings of Eupolemus, Ezekiel the Tragedian, and Artapanus are mixed, so Perkins, “What’s in a Name,” 455. See also Crellin’s similar assessment of name forms in Josephus, Philo and Ezekiel the Tragedian, “What’s in a (Personal) Name,” 259–66.

<sup>14</sup> Crellin (“What’s in a [Personal] Name,” 271–76) argues that there is a discernible sociolinguistic reason for authors to adapt names to their Hellenized forms. He hypothesizes that authors who

variability of name forms but of the apparently unproblematic way in which one name could be brought into Greek as a straightforward indeclinable transliteration, while another name came over in a declinable Hellenized form. Both declinable and indeclinable names appear to be part of the Septuagintal text that Matthew simply accepted. In other instances, Matthew himself has adopted a Hellenized form where his Septuagintal source has an indeclinable form. In still other cases, Matthew has introduced an indeclinable form not readily evident in his source.<sup>15</sup> Complicating matters further, the same name could be appropriated in a Hellenized form, a non-Hellenized form, or a partially Hellenized form, for example, declinable in only some grammatical cases or when applied to certain individuals. In some instances, this became, in effect, a way of distinguishing people who bore the same name. Thus, in the New Testament, the indeclinable form, Ἰακώβ, is used for the biblical patriarch and the father of Joseph (in the genealogy of both Matthew and Luke), whereas the declinable, Ἰάκωβος, is used for six other figures.<sup>16</sup>

Second, despite the variability of name forms, the orthographic forms available to a scribe were not *infinitely* variable. Rather, the variations took place within limits imposed by the forms of a given name known to the scribe. For some names, the choice was essentially binary. Thus, for the name we shall be considering there appears to be two but only two options for the name in the nominative—ΜΑΡΙΑ or ΜΑΡΙΑΜ.<sup>17</sup> Such a situation created space not so much for scribal creation at any given point where that name was encountered but scribal *discretion*—the selection or preference of an established name-form within a limited number of options. Thus, even for a very common name like “Mary” the options reduce to two.<sup>18</sup>

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make use of Hellenized forms were seeking to “translate the cultural environment of the Bible into a Greco-Roman setting,” whereas those that did not “sought to bring the reader into a Biblical narrative space.” While this may be a reasonable explanation for writings where the practice is generally consistent, it does not explain why nearly all writings evince significant inconsistency or why some Hebrew forms were more likely to be Hellenized than others. It also does not account for the possibility that the inconsistency of the LXX in the choice of forms has influenced the writings that depend on it.

<sup>15</sup> For a thorough discussion of the name forms in Matthew’s genealogy, see now Steven M. Bryan “Onomastics and Numerical Composition in the Genealogy of Matthew,” *BBR* 30 (2020): 515–39.

<sup>16</sup> Walter Bauer, et. al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 464.

<sup>17</sup> Ilan (*Lexicon*, 1:179–84) lists several other Greek spellings of this name from epigraphic, documentary, and literary sources but does not date any source with a spelling beside the two that appear in the New Testament prior to the writing of the New Testament. An ostrakon that dates to around 100 CE has the declinable form Μαριαμός. Writing around the time the gospels were written, Josephus has only declinable forms for this name, which he typically forms by adding feminine endings to the Hebrew form (Μαριάμη), occasionally with the a doubled consonant (Μαριάμμη). Ilan (*Lexicon*, 1:16) notes that the doubling of consonants occurs frequently in the translation of Hebrew names into Greek but is not governed by a “clear rule.” Neither of the two forms used by Josephus appear in any early Greek manuscript of the New Testament nor in any of the later New Testament manuscripts surveyed in this study. In only one instance does Josephus have the declinable form preserved in the New Testament (Μαρία).

<sup>18</sup> Some have questioned whether the declinable, Μαρία, is, in fact a Hellenized form, citing inscriptional evidence for the Hebrew form—מַרְיָה. This view seems to have arisen from 1957 essay by E. Y. Kutscher, “The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon: A Preliminary Study,” *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1957): 23–24. Kutscher’s comment was mediated to New Testament studies through the influential grammar of Blass, Debrunner, and Funk (BDF, §53). According to Ilan (*Lexicon*, 1:181), however, מַרְיָה is attested only once and is not a Hebrew derivation. Instead, the form was a transliteration of a common Latin name belonging to a proselyte to Judaism. In any case, we refer

These factors make the study of singulars ill-suited to the detection of scribal tendencies in relation to names. It may be that newer methods will eventually shed light on the transmission of names. However, it is not clear that the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) offers any real advances in the study of scribal tendencies in relation to variants that arise within fixed parameters. Though the method seeks to address the problems of coincidental agreement, agreement between two witnesses on the form of a given name when only two forms were viable tells us almost nothing about the genealogical relationship between the two witnesses. Gerd Mink suggests that a variant on which more than one witness agrees is unlikely to be coincidental when “the witnesses generally agree to such a degree that coincidental match can be excluded” or “when the variant is too extraordinary to have emerged repeatedly.”<sup>19</sup> In the case of a name such as “Mary,” it would be difficult to describe either the declinable or indeclinable forms as extraordinary. More importantly, when agreement occurs when only two variants are possible, coincidental agreement cannot be ruled out even for witnesses with high overall coherence. While it may be that a broader understanding of the genealogical relationships between witnesses—the so-called global stemma—would help establish probabilities that a given variant derives from the initial text, this simply highlights a second practical reason why CBGM is unlikely to offer insight into scribal tendencies regarding names. As presently being undertaken, the global stemma may focus on too narrow a corpus to be of any real use when it comes to establishing the original reading for a particular name. David Parker and his team are currently applying the method to the Gospel of John.<sup>20</sup> However, the name “Mary” occurs fifty-three times in the New Testament—all but three in the gospels. Of these, just fifteen occur in the Gospel of John, none of which refer to the mother of Jesus. Thus, an understanding of the global stemma for John might prove useful for many purposes but would be of little use in discerning a scribal tendency *manifest across all four gospels* for this name and no use at all in discerning scribal tendencies for the name when used for the mother of Jesus. As we shall see, however, such tendencies do exist.

We shall be looking in particular for tendencies that prevail across gospels that suggest that a scribe has had a role in shaping the transmission of the name. But we shall also be looking for tendencies within particular gospels that run counter to scribal predilections evident in other gospels, whether in relation to the name form generally or the forms used for particular individuals. Awareness of such tendencies may then inform judgments about the initial form of the text that take into account not just the evidence for a given variant in a given text but the wider proclivities of the witnesses.

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to Μαρία as a Hellenized form, because it is declined in all cases, whereas, in the New Testament, Μαριάμ is declined only in the genitive case. (See section III.A below for a discussion of cases.)

<sup>19</sup> Gerd Mink, “Contamination, Coherence, and Coincidence in Textual Transmission: The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) as a Complement and Corrective to Existing Approaches,” in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes, TCS 8 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 146, cited in Tommy Wasserman and Peter J. Gurry, *A New Approach to Textual Criticism: An Introduction to the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 25.

<sup>20</sup> K. Wachtel and D. C. Parker. “The Joint IGNTP/INTF Editio Critica Maior of the Gospel of John: Its Goals and Their Significance for New Testament Scholarship” (paper presented at the Meeting of the Society for New Testament Studies, Halle, 2005).

### 3. Preliminary Observations

The name “Mary” is particularly amenable to the study of scribal tendencies in relation to names. Tal Ilan has demonstrated that it was the most common female Jewish name between 330 BCE and 200 CE and estimates that nearly half of Palestinian women bore either this name or the name “Salome” during the period the New Testament was written.<sup>21</sup> The same holds true for the New Testament. There are fifty-three instances of the name in the New Testament,<sup>22</sup> designating as many as seven individuals, depending on how one associates the various women named “Mary” in the gospels.<sup>23</sup> Since the use of family names was rare in the sources, various devices were employed by authors to distinguish one Mary from another. The absence of a standard convention for doing so is evident in the variety of ways in which the individuals named “Mary” in the New Testament are distinguished. Though Jewish men could be distinguished from other men who shared the same personal name through association with their fathers (e.g., Simon, son of John), this method was not clearly used for any of the women named Mary in the New Testament. Instead, these figures are identified either by the literary context or with reference to their husbands, their sons, or their city of origin. Unusually, the woman we shall refer to as “Mary of Bethany” is identified in John by an act for which she was known (John 11:2). The gospels identify as many as four women named “Mary” as witnesses to the crucifixion, although no more than two are referenced by name in any one account: Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene, Mary of Clopas, and Mary of James and Joses.<sup>24</sup> John alone places the mother of

<sup>21</sup> Tal Ilan, “Notes on the Distribution of Jewish Women Names in Palestine in the Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods,” *JJS* 40 (1989): 186–200. Ilan suggests that the popularity of the names “Mary” and “Salome” stems from their use by the Hasmoneans.

<sup>22</sup> The fifty-three instances do not include the dative form of the name found in the longer ending of Mark 16:9 in reference to Mary Magdalene. Though the presentation of the evidence below does not include this occurrence, in principle, it is possible that the form of the name in the longer ending might be significant for determining scribal practice in relation to a name. In practice, however, the significance turns out to be minimal. The longer ending is not attested in the papyri, Sinaiticus, or Vaticanus. Several other witnesses examined in this study include a note that marks the ending as secondary. (A list of manuscripts that contain such a notation is provided by Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: IV. Die synoptischen Evangelien. Band 1.1 Das Markusevangelium, Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*, ANTF 26 (Berlin: de Gruyter 1998), 407. Discussions of such notations seem to have overlooked the presence of such a note in Codex 2193. In manuscripts that include the longer ending only the original hand of C has the indeclinable form. This accords with the predominance of declinable forms for all but one usage in Mark (15:40) in most witnesses. (See, however, the discussion below of *fi*.)

<sup>23</sup> (1) Mary, the mother of Jesus (19x); (2) Mary Magdalene (13x); (3) Mary of Bethany (11x); (4) Mary, mother of James and Joses (7x); (5) Mary, wife of Clopas (1x); (6) Mary, mother of John Mark (1x); (7) an unspecified and otherwise unknown Mary in the church at Rome (1x). It is possible, perhaps even likely, that Mary, mother of James and Joses is Mary, wife of Clopas. This is well-argued by Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 1015–17.

<sup>24</sup> John mentions three in his crucifixion account, but only two by name: “the mother of Jesus” appears alongside Mary of Clopas and Mary Magdalene. “Mary, mother of James and Joseph” appears in the crucifixion account of the Synoptics alongside Mary Magdalene. The number of women named “Mary” reduces to three if Mary, mother of James and Joseph, is identified with Mary of Clopas (see note above). Less frequently, Mary of James and Joseph is identified as the mother of Jesus—a view taken, e.g., by Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 977.

Jesus at the scene but does not refer to her by name either in his depiction of the scene or elsewhere.

The challenge of distinguishing between individuals of the same name carried into the early church. Thus we find a tendency among certain of the church fathers to identify Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene. We shall thus have to consider the possibility that a given scribe may have been influenced by the conflation of these figures. This has relevance for our understanding of scribal tendencies in relation to name forms in Luke where both figures are named and especially John, where they are the only figures identified by this name.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.1 Grammatical Cases

The name is well-attested in both its declinable and indeclinable forms, although the variability between declinable and indeclinable forms is not evident for all grammatical cases. None of the manuscripts surveyed attests an indeclinable form for any of the seven instances of the genitive (Matt 1:16, 1:18, 2:11, Mark 6:3, Luke 1:41, John 11:1, Acts 12:12), even where there is a clear scribal preference for the indeclinable form.<sup>26</sup> By contrast, no manuscript attests anything but the indeclinable form for the one dative (Luke 2:5), though this may simply correspond to the dominance of the indeclinable form in references to the mother of Jesus.<sup>27</sup>

There are seven accusative forms in the New Testament, and many witnesses prefer the indeclinable form in the accusative. NA<sup>28</sup> adopts the declinable form, Μαριαμ, only at Matt 1:20 (THGNT= Μαριαμ) backed by B L f1 579 1241 co. There is no significant evidence for the declinable form in the two Lucan uses of the accusative (Luke 2:16, 34). However, there is significant support among the witnesses for the declinable form in each of the four instances of the accusative in John (11:19, 28, 31, 45). In the gospels, the papyri preserve evidence for the accusative only in John. Notably  $\Psi^{66}$  uses the declinable form for all four instances of the accusative that it preserves. Similarly, the two accusative forms preserved in  $\Psi^{45}$  (John 11:28, 45) are both declinable. By contrast,  $\Psi^{75}$  preserves all four accusatives in John in the indeclinable form. Two other papyri preserve but one accusative form—both for John 11:45, both indeclinable.<sup>28</sup> There is no evidence in the gospels for a separate vocative form for the name and both instances of the vocative (Luke 1:30; John 20:11) are attested in both the declinable and indeclinable forms that we find for the nominative. Both declinable and indeclinable forms are abundantly attested in the twenty-five uses of the nominative.

<sup>25</sup> In some early Church tradition, Mary Magdalene and Mary of Bethany were conflated, perhaps as early as the second century. See Jane Schaberg, *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene: Legends, Apocrypha, and the Christian Testament* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 82–85. It should be noted, however, that the ten clear references to the latter never include the sobriquet, ἡ Μαγδαληνή, which appears in all but two of the thirteen references to Mary Magdalene. Of the two references where it is missing, one is in the vocative (John 20:16), where its omission is expected. It is less certain why it is missing in 20:11, though it is worth noting that the similarities between Mary Magdalene and Mary of Bethany is highest here, leading Ingrid Kitzberger to suggest that a deliberate fusion or “interfiguration” of the two characters was already a feature of the gospel, “Mary of Bethany and Mary of Magdala—Two Female Characters in the Johannine Passion Narrative: A Feminist, Narrative-Critical Reader-Response,” *NTS* 41 (1995): 564–86.

<sup>26</sup> The indeclinable genitive form of this name is attested in Philo, *Leg.* 1.176, 266.

<sup>27</sup> A declinable dative form is widely attested in the longer ending of Mark (Mark 16:9) in a reference to Mary Magdalene.

<sup>28</sup> The one accusative form outside the gospels is attested in  $\Psi^{45}$  of Rom 16:6, where it is one of a few witnesses to the indeclinable form.

### 3.2 Editions

The variability between declinable and indeclinable forms as well as the text-critical challenges it creates can be illustrated with reference to three widely used editions of the Greek New Testament—the Tyndale House Greek New Testament, the *Editio Critica Maior* of the Nestle-Aland text, and the “critically edited” (as opposed to critical) Society of Biblical Literature Greek New Testament.

	THGNT		NA <sup>28</sup>		SBLGNT	
	Declinable	Indeclinable	Declinable	Indeclinable	Declinable	Indeclinable
Nominative	22	13	17	18	19	16
Vocative	0	2	0	2	0	2
Accusative	1	7	2	6	1	7
Genitive	7	0	7	0	7	0
Dative	0	1	0	1	0	1
Totals	30	23	26	27	27	26

At first glance, the three editions do not seem dramatically different in the choices made for this name form. In the vocative, genitive and dative cases—ten of the fifty-three total instances—they differ not at all. However, in the nominative and accusative cases the disagreements become more frequent.

	Case	THGNT	NA <sup>28</sup>	SBLGNT
Matt 1:20	A	Μαριαμ	Μαριαν	Μαριαν
Luke 2:19	N	Μαρια	Μαριαμ	Μαρια
John 11:2	N	Μαρια	Μαριαμ	Μαριαμ
John 11:20	N	Μαρια	Μαριαμ	Μαρια
John 11:32	N	Μαρια	Μαριαμ	Μαριαμ
John 12:3	N	Μαρια	Μαριαμ	Μαριαμ
Rom 16:6	A	Μαριαν	Μαριαν	Μαριαμ

Several of the disagreements arise from the Nestle-Aland’s tendency to regularize references to Mary of Bethany toward the indeclinable form, especially in John, even where the external evidence heavily favors the declinable form.<sup>29</sup> The other editions allow for greater variability, assessing each instance on the merits of the external evidence. In John 11–12, the name is used of Mary of Bethany nine times. Apart from the expected declinable form in the genitive of John 11:1, the Nestle-Aland text uses the indeclinable form for the balance of the name forms (four accusatives and four nominatives). By contrast, the THGNT uses declinable forms not only for the one genitive but for each of the nominatives, the editors opt for indeclinable forms for the accusatives. For these seven texts, at least, the SBLGNT displays even greater variability. Outside of John 11–12, the three editions are in substantial agreement. The three exceptions are for the accusative form at Matt 1:20 (THGNT= Μαριαμ; NA<sup>28</sup> and SBLGNT= Μαριαν), for the accusative at Rom 16:6 (THGNT and NA<sup>28</sup>=Μαριαν; SBLGNT= Μαριαμ), and for the nominative form at Luke 2:19 (THGNT and SBLGNT=Μαρια; NA<sup>28</sup>=Μαριαμ).

<sup>29</sup> For John 11:20, the indeclinable is attested only in Θ 33. 565. 579 sy<sup>h</sup>.



### 3.3 Figures

There are fourteen nongenitive uses of the name for the mother of Jesus—two in Matthew, eleven in Luke, and one in Acts. There is an overwhelming preference in the witnesses for the indeclinable form outside the genitive. Ten of the thirteen forms in the nongenitive cases are strongly attested in the indeclinable form. There is significant though not decisive support for declinable forms for both Matt 1:20 and Luke 2:19 as well as for Acts 1:14.<sup>30</sup>

Name forms for the thirteen references to Mary Magdalene are mixed in most witnesses. Although significant features of the treatment of the name form for this figure will be noted for the manuscripts surveyed, only D K 69 and 1424 preserve only one form—the declinable form.

There are ten nongenitive references to Mary of Bethany—eight in John and two in Luke, with six nominatives, four accusatives. The declinable form is strongly attested for the nominatives at John 11:20, 32. Support is divided between declinable and indeclinable forms for the nominatives at John 11:2, 12:3 and Luke 10:39, 42. As noted above, the indeclinable form is frequently attested for accusative references to this figure, which all occur in John.<sup>31</sup>

There are ten references to other figures named “Mary” in the New Testament. All eight references to other figures named “Mary” within the gospels occur within the passion-resurrection narrative (Mary, mother of James and Joseph [=Joses] in the Synoptics and Mary of Clopas in John). References to these figures occur only in the nominative and are attested primarily with the declinable form, Μαρία. Only *f1* manuscripts strongly favor the indeclinable form, except in Matthew. Two additional uses of the name occur for other figures occur at Acts 12:12 and Rom 16:6. The form at Acts 12:12 is used for the mother of John Mark. As expected for the genitive, the declinable form is used. Another Mary (unknown) is named in Rom 16:6. The evidence for the accusative form is divided between the declinable and indeclinable forms. Longenecker opts for the indeclinable form and supports this conclusion with the claim that the indeclinable form was more easily changed to the declinable form, but this is dubious.<sup>32</sup> As we shall see, though certain scribes show a clear preference for the declinable form, for some scribes the reverse was true. The fact that the form was shorter seems not to have been a primary factor in the way the name was transmitted.

## 4. The Manuscripts

### 4.1 Papyri

Though the number of papyri available for study has slowly risen, the fragmentary nature of this material limits their usefulness for a study of scribal tendencies manifest across a range of usage. The papyri preserve no instances of this name from Matthew or Mark and only four instances from Luke. No references to the name used for the mother of Jesus survive in the papyri published thus far. Nevertheless, they are not without significance for a study of the

<sup>30</sup> The declinable form has been adopted for Matt 1:20 and Luke 2:19 by two of the three editions. It is somewhat surprising that the declinable form has not been adopted for Acts 1:14 by any of the editions.

<sup>31</sup>  $\Phi^{75}$ , B, C, D, L, and  $\Delta$  preserve only the indeclinable form for accusative references to this figure. In the case of D and  $\Delta$ , the nominative forms for this figure are all declinable.

<sup>32</sup> Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 1059. Some have regarded the declinable form in Rom 16:6 as a pagan name, the feminine form of the Latin name Marius, but the support for the Hebrew indeclinable form is considerable. See Hans Forster, “Der Aufenthalt von Priska und Aquila in Ephesus und die juristischen Rahmenbedingungen ihrer Rückkehr nach Rom,” *ZNW* 105 (2014): 218.

form of the name “Mary.” The fact that the evidence of the papyri is concentrated in the gospel of John is particularly serendipitous.

Of the fifty-three instances of the name in the New Testament, p66 preserves the most with twelve references to figures named Mary (P<sup>66</sup>)—all from the Gospel of John. This is closely followed by the P<sup>75</sup> which preserves eleven references to figures named Mary, seven of which are in John. There is a substantial overlap in the texts preserved, but the forms differ markedly. Whereas eleven of the twelve forms in P<sup>66</sup> are declinable, only three of the eleven forms in P<sup>75</sup> are. The lone indeclinable form in P<sup>66</sup> occurs in the final use of the form in the gospel of John (20:18).

The single occurrence of an indeclinable form in the final instance of the name in John’s Gospel is a striking feature of the manuscript. However, two additional indeclinable forms have been introduced by a corrector. Royse has argued that the corrections are from the hand of the original copyist,<sup>33</sup> though not all agree.<sup>34</sup> There is good reason to think that some of the corrections stem from the use of a second exemplar, quite possibly as the original scribe took up the role of a proofreader.<sup>35</sup> However the corrections were made, they are early and do not represent an attempt to regularize the forms. Instead, they result in a text in which the consistent use of the declinable form for Mary of Bethany is disrupted by one indeclinable form (John 11:32) and the one occurrence of an indeclinable form for Mary Magdalene has become two. The corrections themselves attest to the fact that some importance was placed on the distinction between the forms or, at least, on the preservation of the distinction in the exemplar, on the basis of which the corrections were made. But like the original scribe, the corrector displays a willingness to disrupt the consistent use of a single form, even if only slightly.

Of the eleven forms that survive in P<sup>75</sup>, ten are references to Mary of Bethany—eight in John 11 and two in Luke 10. All nongentive forms are indeclinable except for the single declinable nominative form at John 11:20. In this respect, the pattern is the inverse of P<sup>66c</sup>, which has a single indeclinable form for Mary of Bethany (11:32). The declinable form also appears twice in Luke 24:10, designating Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James. The forms for P<sup>75</sup> correspond precisely to those in Codex B, except at Luke 10:42 where B has a declinable form.

P<sup>45</sup> preserves six references in full or part. Five are for Mary of Bethany in John 11. One additional reference to Mary of Bethany is preserved from Luke 10:39. All forms appear to be declinable. P<sup>6</sup> and P<sup>59</sup> both preserve one full form.<sup>36</sup> Remarkably, it is the same form for the same text that survives in both papyri—the indeclinable form for Mary of Bethany in John 11:45.

We may summarize the evidence from the papyri as follows (in order of frequency of occurrence):

Text	Case	Figure <sup>37</sup>	P <sup>66</sup>	P <sup>75</sup>	P <sup>45</sup>	P <sup>6</sup>	P <sup>46</sup>	P <sup>59</sup>
Luke 10:39	N	B	–	Μαριαμ	Μαρια	–	–	–
Luke 10:42	N	B	–	Μαριαμ	Μαρια	–	–	–
Luke 24:10	N	M	–	Μαρια	–	–	–	–
Luke 24:10	N	O	–	Μαρια	–	–	–	–

<sup>33</sup> James Ronald Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*.

<sup>34</sup> D.P. Barrett and P.W. Comfort, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2019), 356–61.

<sup>35</sup> See the discussion of the corrections in Lonnie D. Bell Jr., “Textual Stability and Fluidity Exhibited in the Earliest Greek Manuscripts of John: An Analysis of the Second/Third-Century Fragments with Attention also to the More Extensive Papyri (P<sup>45</sup>, P<sup>66</sup>, P<sup>75</sup>)” (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2015), 33–43.

<sup>36</sup> The name is partially preserved in P<sup>59</sup> at John 11:2, where it appears to be indeclinable.

<sup>37</sup> B=Mary of Bethany; M=Mary Magdalene; O=Mary, Other; J= Mary, mother of Jesus

John 11:1	G	B	Μαριας	Μαριας	Μαριας	–	–	–
John 11:2	N	B	Μαρια	Μαριαμ	Μαρια	Μαριαμ <sup>vid</sup>	–	–
John 11:19	A	B	Μαριαν	Μαριαμ	–	–	–	–
John 11:20	N	B	Μαρια <sup>vid</sup>	Μαρια	Μαρια	–	–	–
John 11:28	A	B	Μαριαν	Μαριαμ <sup>vid</sup>	Μαριαν	–	–	–
John 11:31	A	B	Μαριαν	Μαριαμ	–	–	–	–
John 11:32	N	B	Μαρια* Μαριαμ <sup>c</sup>	Μαριαμ	Μαρια	–	–	–
John 11:45	A	B	Μαριαν	Μαριαμ	Μαριαν	Μαριαμ	–	Μαριαμ
John 12:3	N	B	Μαρια	–	–	–	–	–
John 19:25	N	M	Μαρια	–	–	–	–	–
John 19:25	N	O	Μαρια	–	–	–	–	–
John 20:11	N	M	Μαρια* Μαριαμ <sup>c</sup>	–	–	–	–	–
John 20:18	N	M	Μαριαμ	–	–	–	–	–
Rom 16:6	A	O	–	–	–	–	Μαριαμ	–

The papyri anticipate patterns that predominate throughout the manuscript tradition. Several observations are germane:

- Our earliest documents amply attest both forms, but they do not do so in a completely random way.  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  uses declinable forms exclusively. This preference is also evident for the original hand of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ , except for the final instance of the form in John 20:18.  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  has a clear preference for indeclinable forms in John but attests a single declinable form at John 11:20.
- Across the manuscript tradition there are few exceptions to the use of the declinable form for John 11:20, even in texts that otherwise evince a strong preference for the indeclinable form. With one minor exception ( $\aleph$ ), the same is true for the two declinable forms in Luke 24:10. The forms in these three instances are among the most stable in the manuscript tradition—a stability anticipated by the attestation of these forms in the papyri.
- Both  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  have been characterized as “free” transmissions of the textual tradition they receive, though this requires significant qualification. For  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ , a plausible case has been made that the scribe prepared the manuscript for private rather than public use and thus in a somewhat hurried fashion.<sup>38</sup> We cannot say whether this affected the transmission of the name. However, for the six nominative and accusative forms it preserves, no other majuscule except  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  preserves only declinable forms. All other majuscules preserve mixed forms. This is true even in manuscripts such as D that have a marked preference for the declinable form. The same would be true for the twelve nominative and accusative forms of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  except but for the preservation of a single indeclinable form at John 20:18.
- If the original hand of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  has been charged with carelessness, the same cannot be said for the corrector. The corrector has introduced two indeclinable forms, resulting in a text where the forms are more mixed.
- It should be noted that  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  preserves one but only one use of the declinable form for Mary of Bethany—the stable declinable form at 11:20, just as  $\mathfrak{P}^{66c}$  attests but one use of the indeclinable form for the same figure.

<sup>38</sup> See especially Bell, “Textual Stability,” 25–43.

## 4.2 Early Majuscules

### 4.2.1 Sinaiticus Ⲛ (ⲟⲓ)<sup>39</sup>

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	2/2		2/3	0/3	4/8
Mark			0/3	0/3	0/6
Luke	10/11	1/2	1/2	0/1	11/16
John		0/8	5/5	1/1	6/14
Total Gospels	12/13	1/10	8/13	1/8	21/44
Acts	0/1				0/1
Romans				1/1	1/1
Total New Testament	12/14	1/10	8/13	2/9	22/46

Recent assessments have concluded that though Codex Sinaiticus is the work of three scribes, most of the New Testament stems from the work of scribe A, who then corrected his own work. However, another scribe, scribe D, “contributed a number of substituted leaves into scribe A’s work.”<sup>40</sup> The substitution of these leaves must be taken when assessing scribal patterns across the codex, because the substitute leaves comprise all six instances of the name in Mark and eight forms from Luke 1. The forms in Luke 1 conform to the tendency observed across the tradition—the preference for the indeclinable form outside the genitive for the references to Jesus’s mother.<sup>41</sup> The same may be said for the exclusive use of the declinable form for Mary, the mother of James, in Mark. We shall address the use of the declinable form for Mary Magdalene in Mark below.

There is no clear preference for one form over the other within the codex. The forty-six forms outside the genitive are evenly divided between declinable (23x) and indeclinable forms (23x). Within the gospels, twenty-one of forty-four forms are indeclinable. There are, however, certain patterns manifest across the gospels for the use of the name for particular figures. This suggests that the copyist or the exemplar distinguished some individuals from others by means of the forms of names used. Thus, indeclinable forms are used almost exclusively for the mother of Jesus in the gospels. The exception to this rule falls within material original to the primary scribe, who wrote a declinable form at Luke 2:19. It is possible that the indeclinable ending was omitted by haplography.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps this was the assumption of the corrector who made the form indeclinable. However, it should be noted that several other manuscripts (B, Θ, 1424) evince the same pattern, that is, the use of the indeclinable form for all nongentive references to the mother of Jesus except at Luke 2:19.

By contrast, only the declinable form is used for Mary of Bethany, except for the single indeclinable form at Luke 10:39. Given that the name is followed by the definite article, it is possible that the copyist initially wrote M for H. The first corrector—possibly the copyist him-

<sup>39</sup> The first number in the tables below represents the number of indeclinable forms in relation to the total number of forms.

<sup>40</sup> Peter M. Head, “The Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus: Textual and Reception-Historical Considerations,” *TC* 13 (2008): 4. Head draws on the work of H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum, 1938), as well as Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, *Texts and Studies* 3/5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007).

<sup>41</sup> A corrector has achieved uniformity by making this an indeclinable form.

<sup>42</sup> Compare ΜΑΡΙΑΜΠΙΑΝΤΑ with ΜΑΡΙΑΠΙΑΝΤΑ.

self—has inserted the H above the line to indicate the declinable form. The correction leaves no indeclinable forms for Mary of Bethany—a consistency that mirrors the consistent use of declinable forms for the Mother of Jesus in the corrected form of Luke in Sinaiticus.

Forms are mixed for Mary Magdalene, though the indeclinable form is used exclusively in the Gospel of John (5x), while the declinable form is used exclusively in Mark (3x). However, the forms in Mark for this name belong to leaves that have been inserted by scribe D. Forms in Matthew and Luke are mixed, though it is worth noting that in Synoptic passages, the indeclinable forms in Matthew and Luke do not follow Mark’s declinable forms except at Matt 27:56. It is possible that the regularization of the Magdala’s name was deemed unnecessary given that with only one exception (20:11) the name is followed by the reference to Magdala.

Sinaiticus is distinctive for its use of an indeclinable form for Mary of Clopas in John 19:25, which is only lightly attested elsewhere ( $\Psi$ ,  $f_1$ ). This may simply reflect a decision to represent Mary of Bethany exclusively with the declinable form (8x), while using the indeclinable form for all other figures named Mary (Mary of Clopas, 1x; Mary Magdalene 5x). The effect of this is to make this the only indeclinable form used for a “Mary” other than the mother of Jesus, Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene within the gospels. The indeclinable form is also used of the unknown Mary of Rom 16:6. A similar exception to the pattern of the gospels should be noted in the use of the declinable form for the mother of Jesus in Acts 1:14

#### 4.2.2 Alexandrinus A (02)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew			0/3	0/3	0/6
Mark			0/3	0/3	0/6
Luke	11/11	0/2	1/2	0/1	12/16
John		1/8	1/5	0/1	2/14
Total Gospels	11/11	1/10	2/13	0/8	14/42
Acts	0/1				0/1
Romans				0/1	0/1
Total New Testament	11/12	1/10	2/13	0/9	14/44

Recent studies attribute the gospels portion of Codex Alexandrinus to two scribes—one responsible for Matthew and Mark and another responsible for Luke and John.<sup>43</sup> The scribe responsible for Luke and John was also responsible for Acts and Romans. Parker judges the Codex “less valuable in the Gospels than in other parts of the New Testament.”<sup>44</sup>

Forty-eight of the fifty-three occurrences of the form are extant in A, including forty-four of forty-six nongenitive forms. This leaves forty-two rather than forty-four nongenitive forms extant within the gospels. The five missing occurrences fall within the missing part of Matthew’s Gospel, and all refer to the mother of Jesus. As a result, no reference to the mother of Jesus in Matthew survives. All six references to the two other figures named “Mary” (Mary

<sup>43</sup> W. Andrew Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 244, confirming the earlier judgment of Frederic G. Kenyon, ed., *The Codex Alexandrinus (Royal MS. 1 D V-Viii) in Reduced Photographic Facsimile*, vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1909).

<sup>44</sup> David C. Parker, “The New Testament Text and its Versions,” in *From the Beginnings to 600*, vol. 1 of *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 413.

Magdalene [3x] and Mary of James [3x]) survive, and all are declinable. These are all in material for which there is a parallel in Mark where the forms are all declinable.

The indeclinable form is used for only fourteen of the forty-four nongenitive occurrences that survive. All but two of these fall within Luke’s gospel. Twelve of the indeclinable forms occur in Luke—including all of the eleven references to the mother of Jesus. The other indeclinable form in Luke occurs for the initial reference to Mary Magdalene (Luke 8:2). The other two indeclinable occurrences are in John’s Gospel where one finds the indeclinable form used for just one of the nine references to Mary of Bethany (11:28) and one of the five references to Mary Magdalene (20:1).

Setting aside the references to the mother of Jesus, only three of the thirty-two forms for other figures are indeclinable—once in the accusative for Mary of Bethany (John 11:28) and twice in the nominative for Mary Magdalene (Luke 8:2; John 20:1). These three occurrences push against a clear scribal tendency and should be accepted as forms received by the copyist. For the two nominative references to Mary Magdalene, the NA28, THGNT, and SBLGNT all have declinable forms.

#### 4.2.3 Vaticanus B (03)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	1/2		1/3	0/3	2/8
Mark			1/3	0/3	1/6
Luke	10/11	2/2	0/2	0/1	12/16
John		7/8	2/5	0/1	9/14
Total Gospels	11/13	9/10	4/13	0/8	24/44
Acts	1/1				1/1
Romans				0/1	0/1
Total New Testament	12/14	9/10	4/13	0/9	25/46

The New Testament of Codex Vaticanus is widely regarded as the work of a single scribe whose careful work has made it especially valuable. The twelve name forms it shares with  $\Psi^{75}$  correspond precisely.<sup>45</sup>

Indeclinable forms outside the genitive are found in twenty-five times of the forty-six times the name occurs in the New Testament and twenty-three of forty-four in the gospels. The indeclinable forms include six of seven accusative forms and all four accusative forms in John’s Gospel. The twenty-two declinable forms outside the genitive are found in all four gospels and for each of the three key figures named “Mary.” Of the twenty-two declinable forms, all but two are in the nominative. The two declinable accusative forms are found at Matt 1:20 and Rom 16:6. In both cases, the indeclinable form is more strongly attested.

The most notable feature evidenced is the appearance of one exceptional form in each book for major figures named Mary—the mother of Jesus (Matthew and Luke), Mary of Bethany (Luke in B<sup>3</sup>, John), and Mary Magdalene (Matthew and Mark). The exceptions to this are the use of declinable forms for the two references to Mary Magdalene and indeclinable forms for Mary of Bethany in Luke (B<sup>\*</sup>). We note as well that there are two indeclinable forms among

<sup>45</sup> The one possible exception is at Luke 10:39, where the apparatus of the Nestle-Aland text indicates that Μαρία is the reading of the original hand, which has been corrected to Μαρίαμ. However, in an unpublished paper, Dirk Jongkind (“The Spelling of Μαρία and Μαρίαμ Once Again: Further Observations”) persuasively shows that the accenting of the text indicates the reverse, that is, that Μαρίαμ was the original reading. This is reflected in the table above.

the five references to Mary Magdalene in John may also be an exception. It is unclear whether the fact that one of these indeclinable forms is vocative affected the choice of the forms. For the two other figures named Mary, only the declinable form occurs in all four gospels.

The indeclinable forms for just one of the three references to Mary Magdalene in both Mark and Matthew has not occurred through harmonization, given that the indeclinable forms are not in parallel material.

	Matthew	Mark
Crucifixion	Μαρια	Μαριαμ
Burial	Μαριαμ	Μαρια
Empty Tomb	Μαρια	Μαρια

#### 4.2.4 Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus C (04)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	1/2		3/3	1/3	5/8
Mark			1/3	0/3	1/6
Luke	5/8	1/2			6/10
John		5/6			5/6
Total Gospels	6/10	6/8	4/6	1/6	17/30
Acts	0/1				0/1
Romans				0/1	0/1
Total New Testament	6/11	6/8	4/6	1/7	17/32

Though this somewhat neglected fifth century codex was judged by Tischendorf to be the work of a single scribe in the New Testament, Lyon has made a strong case that a second scribe was responsible for the gospel of John and possibly also the Apocalypse.<sup>46</sup> That possibility must be borne in mind when assessing the name forms in the New Testament—a task made more challenging by the fragmentary nature of the codex.

Thirty-seven of fifty-three New Testament uses of the name are extant and thirty-five of the fifty references in the gospels. Thirty of the thirty-five are nongenitive forms. Of the thirty nongenitives, thirteen are declinable and seventeen are indeclinable (including all five extant accusative forms in the gospels). The original hand has indeclinable forms for five of six extant uses of the form in John. The five indeclinable forms include all four accusative forms in the gospel. The sole declinable is at John 11:20 where the use of the declinable form is stable across a range of witnesses. This pattern of a single exceptional form—the declinable nominative at John 11:20—is shared with  $\Psi^{75}$  and B.

A corrector or correctors have modified three—but only three—of the four accusatives in John, leaving one accusative indeclinable. Förster argues that this is evidence that the correctors of C recognized phonetic interchange on the part of the original copyist and believed that “such an interchange has to be corrected towards the Hellenized form of the name.”<sup>47</sup> However, the fact that one accusative was left unaltered weighs heavily against this, as does the presence of both indeclinable and declinable forms in the nominative. A better solution posits the use of

<sup>46</sup> Robert W. Lyon, “A Re-examination of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus” (PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, 1959), 16–17.

<sup>47</sup> It should also be noted that a number of manuscripts attest only the indeclinable form for the accusative in John ( $\Psi^{75}$ , B, D, L). The phenomenon is especially striking in D, which has an overwhelming bias toward declinable forms.

an exemplar in the correction in which the accusative form at John 11:28 was indeclinable but those at John 11:19, 31, 45 were not. This configuration is attested in A.

Only indeclinable forms are used for Mary Magdalene in Matthew. This is unusual, as is the use of a declinable form for the mother of James and Joseph. In Mark, the forms in C correspond to those in W – all declinable except for the initial reference to Mary Magdalene in 15:40. The original hand has mixed forms for Mary of Bethany and, unusually, for the mother of Jesus as well.

#### 4.2.5 Codex Bezae D (05)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	2/2		0/3	0/3	2/8
Mark			0/2	0/2	0/4
Luke	1/11	0/2	0/2	0/1	1/16
John		4/8	0/5	0/1	4/14
Total Gospels	3/13	4/10	0/12	0/7	7/42
Acts	0/1				0/1
Total New Testament	3/14	4/10	0/12	1/8	7/43

The fourth century Codex Bezae is the work of a single scribe, who was remarkably free in his rendering of the New Testament. This freedom extends to the choice of forms used for figures named “Mary” in the New Testament, as the scribe is in many instances a contrarian voice vis-à-vis the rest of the manuscript tradition. The Codex preserves forty-six of fifty occurrences of this name in the gospels and forty-eight of fifty-two overall, including forty-three outside of the genitive.<sup>48</sup> In the gospels, forty-two nongenitive forms survive. D has a pronounced tendency toward the declinable form for individuals, including the mother of Jesus. Of the forty-eight instances of the name preserved in the Codex, the indeclinable form appears only seven times. It should be noted, that five of the seven indeclinable forms are accusatives, including all four accusative forms used for Mary of Bethany in John’s Gospel. Outside of John, only the accusative forms at Matt 1:20 is indeclinable.<sup>49</sup>

The thirty-four nominatives are all declinable, except for two indeclinable forms used for the mother of Jesus in Matt 13:55 and Luke 1:27. These two indeclinable forms occur as terminal words in their lines in the manuscript, creating the possibility that the final  $\mu$  was added by a corrector or the original scribe where it was convenient to do so. But, if so, it has not been done for the line-ending declinable forms at 1:30 and 1:38. The work of a corrector to add a final  $\mu$  to a declinable name form is evident at Luke 1:30. Given the dominance of the indeclinable form in the manuscript tradition, it is curious that the declinable forms are corrected only once.

The table above reflects the forms as they appear in the codex prior to the introduction of the one, certain correction in Luke 1:34. If this is the original form of the text produced by the copyist, we have the inverse of the phenomenon observed in  $\Psi^{75}$ , B, and C. Whereas these manuscripts have only indeclinable forms for the mother of Jesus in Luke except for the sole declinable form at 2:19, D has only declinable forms except the sole indeclinable form at 1:27.

Given the strong tendency of D for declinable forms, its support for the seven declinable forms it attests is the primary significance of D’s witness to this name form in the gospels.

<sup>48</sup> The first part of Matt 1 comprising two genitive forms of the name is not extant. The opening phrase of Mark 16:1, including two instances of the name, has been omitted in D.

<sup>49</sup> The order of the gospels in D—the so-called “Western order” (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark) means that these accusatives are the first five accusative forms in the codex.



#### 4.2.6 The Freer Codex W (032)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	2/2		0/3	0/3	2/8
Mark			1/3	0/3	1/6
Luke	11/11	1/2	0/2	0/1	12/16
John		0/8	2/5	0/1	2/14
Total Gospels	13/13	1/10	3/13	0/8	17/44

This gospel codex preserves all fifty occurrences of the name in the gospels. Of the forty-four nongenitive forms, seventeen are indeclinable. Thirteen of these are used for the mother of Jesus.

The codex reflects different textual traditions. The parts of the gospels that contain the name “Mary” have been characterized as follows:

- Matt 1, 2, 13, 27, 28; Luke 10, 24—close alignment with the Byzantine text
- Mark 6, 15, 16—close alignment with  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$
- Luke 1, 2, 8; John 11, 12, 19, 20—close alignment with  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  and B.<sup>50</sup>

These shifts in textual affiliation must be taken into account when assessing the use of the name form in the codex, although the shifts in textual affiliation do not inherently rule out the possibility of scribal tendencies manifest across lines of textual affiliation.

The alignment of the Freer Codex with  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  and B in John and the early chapters of Luke is not reflected in the name form in W, at least not in the Johannine material. In John, W and B agree only on five of the fourteen nongenitive forms. The disagreements arise primarily from W’s use of declinable forms for all eight references to Mary of Bethany. The material in Luke is more closely aligned, but this simply reflects the prevalence of the indeclinable form for the mother of Jesus. W is alone among the early witnesses in utilizing only one name form for the mother of Jesus, anticipating a practice that becomes more uniform in later manuscripts. (A is uniform in Luke, but the occurrences in Matthew are not extant.)

As with many early witnesses, W uses the indeclinable form for one of two references to Mary of Bethany in Luke and one of ten overall. In Mark, the indeclinable form appears only for the initial reference to Mary Magdalene in the crucifixion scene.

### 4.3 Later Majuscules

We consider below the later majuscules, several of which are codices of the four gospels. The discussions will highlight significant features of material from Acts or Romans where this exists.

<sup>50</sup> Larry W. Hurtado, *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts : Fresh Studies of an American Treasure Trove* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 7–8; D. Jongkind, *An Introduction to the Greek New Testament, Produced at Tyndale House, Cambridge: Produced at Tyndale House, Cambridge* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2019), 53. A similar shift in textual affiliation occurs in Codex Sinaiticus, although not for a part of John that contains a reference to Mary. The shading of the table below reflects these shifts in textual affiliation.

### 4.3.1 Codex Cyprius K (017)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	2/2		0/3	0/3	2/8
Mark			0/3	0/3	0/6
Luke	11/11	0/2	0/2	0/1	11/16
John		2/8	0/5	0/1	2/14
Total Gospels	13/13	2/10	0/13	0/8	15/44

Codex Cyprius is a ninth-century majuscule manuscript of the gospels. All fifty occurrences of this name in the gospels are extant. The outstanding tendency of this manuscript is to reserve the indeclinable form for the mother of Jesus. All thirteen nongenitive forms (2x in Matt; 11x in Luke) are indeclinable. By contrast, only two of the thirty-one forms used for other figures named Mary are indeclinable. Both of these are for accusative forms in John 11 (11:28, 31). This further strengthens already strong evidence for the indeclinable form for these two texts.

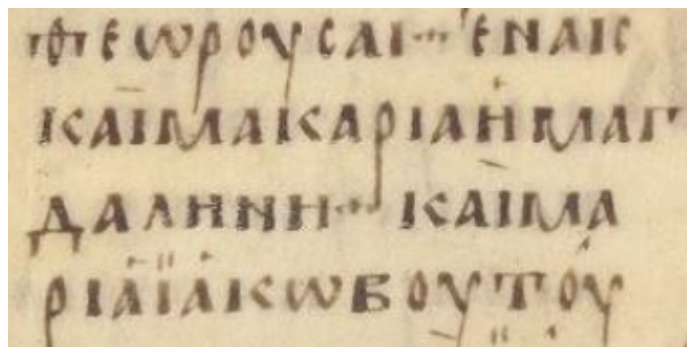
### 4.3.2 Codex Regius L (019)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	1/2		3/3	1/3	5/8
Mark			0/3	0/3	0/6
Luke	11/11	2/2	0/2	0/1	13/16
John		5/8	4/5	0/1	9/14
Total Gospels	12/13	7/10	7/13	1/8	27/44

Codex Regius is an eighth-century codex of the gospels and preserves all fifty occurrences of this name in the gospels. According to Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, the codex is “badly written by a scribe who committed many ignorant blunders,” but “its type of text is good, agreeing frequently with Codex Vaticanus (B).”<sup>51</sup> Outside the genitive, it preserves only one declinable form for the mother of Jesus—the accusative form in Matt 1:20 that appears as a similar exception to the use of the indeclinable form for the mother of Jesus in B and L. It preserves one indeclinable form (Matt 28:1) for the eight references to the woman or women named “Mary” who appear with Mary Magdalene in the crucifixion, burial and resurrection scenes of the gospels. The text is remarkable for the abundance of indeclinable forms used for Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene, especially in the Gospel of John, where all four accusative forms in John 11 are indeclinable, along with four of the five references to Mary Magdalene.

For Mary of Bethany the situation is more mixed. While the four accusative forms are all indeclinable, only one of four nominative forms is indeclinable in John. Both references to this figure in Luke are indeclinable as well—a phenomenon attested elsewhere only in  $\Psi$ <sup>75</sup>.

Four of the five references to the Magdala in John are indeclinable in John as are all three references in Matthew. The five references to the same figure in Mark and Luke all appear to



<sup>51</sup> Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 77.

be declinable, including a defective form at Mark 15:40. An intriguing possibility is that this defective form constitutes an intentional scribal creation. Instead of the expected Μαρια, we find Μακαρια, the feminine form of the adjective μακάριος “blessed”). The feminine form of this adjective occurs twice in the New Testament, both in reference to Mary, the mother of Jesus (Luke 1:45; 11:27).

#### 4.3.3 Codex Sangallensis Δ (037)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	2/2		3/3	3/3	8/8
Mark			0/3	0/3	0/6
Luke	11/11	0/2	0/2	0/1	11/16
John		3/7	0/5	0/1	3/13
Total Gospels	13/13	3/9	3/13	3/8	22/43

Codex Sangallensis is a ninth-century majuscule manuscript of the gospels. All fifty occurrences of the name are extant. A textual adjustment in John 11:45 has resulted in the replacement of a nominative form with a genitive form. This leaves forty-three nongenitive forms, of which twenty-one are indeclinable. Metzger and Ehrman discern a different textual basis for the Gospel of Mark: “In Mark, its text belongs to the Alexandrian type, similar to that of L; in the other Gospels, however, it belongs to the ordinary Koine or Byzantine type.”<sup>52</sup> The use of only the declinable form in Mark corresponds to pattern found in some other Alexandrian manuscripts, including  $\aleph$  and L.

But for the fact that the three accusatives in John are indeclinable in relation to Mary of Bethany, no indeclinable form would be reflected in the manuscript except in Matthew and for the Mother of Jesus. The manuscript is idiosyncratic in its exclusive use of the indeclinable form in Matthew, diminishing the value of its attestation for indeclinable forms in this book.

#### 4.3.4 Codex Θ (038)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	3/3		3/3	2/3	8/9
Mark			3/3	2/3	5/6
Luke	10/11	0/2	0/2	0/1	10/16
John		4/8	0/5	0/1	4/14
Total Gospels	13/14	4/10	6/13	2/8	25/45

Codex Coridethianus (Θ, 038) comprises the four gospels and is usually dated to the ninth century. It is the product of a rough hand, possibly that of a scribe unfamiliar with Greek. All references to figures named “Mary” survive, though it should be noted that a textual adjustment at Matt 1:16 has resulted in an additional indeclinable nominative form. The balance of the textual tradition surveyed for this text has only the genitive form for this verse. The Codex is remarkable for the high percentage of indeclinable forms. In both Matthew and Mark, all but one of the name forms is indeclinable. In Luke, all but one form of the name used in reference to the mother of Jesus is indeclinable. As in B, the exceptional form occurs at 2:19. No such exceptional forms occur in John, where the Codex evenly divides the eight non-genitive ref-

<sup>52</sup> Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 82–83.

erences to Mary of Bethany between the declinable (three out of four nominatives) and indeclinable forms (three out of four accusatives). All references to Mary Magdalene are declinable.

#### 4.3.5 Codex Athous Laurae Ψ (044)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew					
Mark			0/3	0/3	0/6
Luke	10/11	1/2	0/2	0/1	11/16
John		0/8	2/5	1/1	3/14
Total Gospels	10/11	1/10	2/11	1/5	14/36

Codex Athous Laurae is not extant for Matthew or for the first occurrence of the name in Mark. This leaves thirty-six nongenitive forms in the gospels. Of these, fourteen are indeclinable. However, all but four of these are for the mother of Jesus. These four occurrences are most significant for our understanding of the earliest form of the text as they run counter to the overall tendency of the document. We note, in particular, the use of the indeclinable for Mary of Bethany in Luke 10:39 and for two of the five references to Mary Magdalene in John. This is the only use of this form for this figure in the Gospels in this manuscript and, in this respect, mirrors the pattern found in W. Though other manuscripts preserve a single declinable form among the eleven nongenitive references to the mother of Jesus in Luke, this codex alone preserves the declinable form at Luke 1:30.

#### 4.4 Select Minuscules

We have selected manuscripts 1, 69, and 1424 to round out our analysis. Manuscripts 1 and 69 are widely regarded as representatives of Family 1 and Family 13 witnesses respectively. Manuscript 69 and the ninth-century manuscript 1424, one of the earliest of the minuscules, are “diverse and significant witnesses,” according to the editors of the THGNT,<sup>53</sup> and thought to preserve a number of early readings. We have selected representatives rather than reconstructions of family prototypes because the variations between the manuscripts that make up a family in the handling of this name make it unlikely that a reconstructed prototype will precisely capture what an actual scribe did.<sup>54</sup> Since *f*<sub>1</sub> and *f*<sub>13</sub> are cited as witnesses for the gospels, only the data for the gospels is presented below.

##### 4.4.1 Codex Basiliensis (1) – Family 1 (*f*<sub>1</sub>)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	1/2		2/3	0/3	3/8
Mark			3/3	3/3	6/6
Luke	11/11	2/2	2/2	1/1	16/16
John		1/8	5/5	1/1	7/14
Total Gospels	12/13	3/10	12/13	5/8	32/44

The *f*<sub>1</sub> family of minuscule witnesses date as early as the tenth century. Amy Anderson has argued that “the Family 1 text is much older than any of the physical documents themselves,

<sup>53</sup> Dirk Jongkind, ed., *The Greek New Testament* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2017), 516.

<sup>54</sup> A comparison between two *f*<sub>1</sub> manuscripts—1 and 1582—indicates just two points of variation (Matt 1:20, and John 11:20). In both cases, the reading of minuscule 1 is more probable.

based on the care taken by the scribe Ephraim and the evidence that [*fi* manuscript] 1582 transmits the work of an ancient compiler, who cited church fathers no later than Cyril of Alexandria (d. mid-5th c.).”<sup>55</sup> The core manuscripts that make up Family 1 (1, 1582, and 2193) agree on many of the name forms in the gospels, but there are significant points of disagreement as well. Among the most important differences are the use of the declinable form for the mother of Jesus in Matt 1:20 of Codex Basiliensis. A corrector of 2193 has regularized the name forms, resulting in a text that has only the indeclinable form for the mother of Jesus and only the declinable form for all other figures.

The hallmark of the three core manuscripts of *fi* is consistency. Often this is reflected in strong, shared preference for the indeclinable form. The three agree entirely in Mark and Luke, where, unusually, they preserve only the indeclinable form for all figures, except for the single declinable form for Mary Magdalene in the longer ending of Mark (16:9). The fact that the three *fi* manuscripts examined contained a note between 16:8 and 16:9 indicating the secondary nature of the longer ending may explain why the name form at 16:9 differs from all others in Mark and Luke.

Both 1 and 1582 agree with Sinaiticus in using only indeclinable forms for the five references to Mary Magdalene in John, whereas 2193 uses only declinable forms. In 1582, the use of the indeclinable form for Mary Magdalene has been regularized, except for the single occurrence in the longer ending of Mark. The three manuscripts agree on the form used for Mary, mother of James, but the form varies by gospel: in Matthew, only the declinable form is used, while in Mark and Luke only the indeclinable form is used, as noted above.

This consistency is not maintained in Codex 1, which has one declinable form in Matt 1:20 for the mother of Jesus, one declinable form in Matt 28:1 for Mary Magdalene, and one indeclinable form for Mary of Bethany in John 12:3. The exceptional form in John 12:3 is also present in 1582 and 2193, which preserve an additional indeclinable form in 11:20.

Metzger and Ehrman note that analysis of Mark’s Gospel indicates that “the type of text preserved in these minuscules often agrees with that of Codex Θ.”<sup>56</sup> Indeed Θ and *fi* agree against all other witnesses surveyed here on the use of the indeclinable form for the two instances of the name in Mark 15:47. But the alignment in other gospels is not particularly close in the way the name forms are used.

#### 4.4.2 Codex Leicester (69) – Family 13 (f13)

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew			0/3	0/3	0/6
Mark			0/3	0/3	0/6
Luke	11/11	0/2	0/2	0/1	11/16
John		0/8	0/5	0/1	0/14
Total Gospels	11/11	0/10	0/13	0/8	11/42

Codex Leicester is a minuscule manuscript of the New Testament, including the gospels, and is widely regarded as a key representative of the *f13* family of witnesses. Matthew 1:1–18:15 is not extant. This leaves forty-two occurrences in the gospels outside the genitive. This manuscript represents an extreme form of regularization, with the declinable form used for all figures except for the mother of Jesus for whom it is never used. This singularity pertains to the gospels

<sup>55</sup> Amy Anderson, “Codex 2193 and Family 1 in Mark,” in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Michael W. Holmes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael W. Holmes and Daniel M. Gurtner (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 100.

<sup>56</sup> Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*.

only, as a declinable form is used for the mother of Jesus in Acts 1:14 and an indeclinable form is used for the unknown Mary of Rom 16:6.

#### 4.4.3 Codex 1424

	Mother of Jesus	Mary of Bethany	Mary Magdalene	Mary-Other	Total
Matthew	1/2		0/3	0/3	1/8
Mark			0/3	0/3	0/6
Luke	10/11	0/2	0/2	0/1	10/16
John		0/8	0/5	0/1	0/14
Total Gospels	11/13	0/10	0/13	0/8	11/44
Acts	0/1				0/1
Romans				1/1	1/1
Total New Testament	11/14	0/12	0/13	1/9	12/46

All New Testament instances of the name are extant in Codex 1424, which is typically dated to the ninth or tenth century. The manuscript attests the indeclinable form only for the mother of Jesus and, remarkably, the otherwise unknown Mary of Rom 16:6. Despite the near-exclusive use of the indeclinable form for the mother of Jesus, the manuscript does use the declinable form for this figure in three texts (Matt 13:55, Luke 2:19, Acts 1:14). This, in itself, is surprising, given the rigorous consistency with which the declinable form is applied to other figures named Mary in the gospels. Still, of the three declinable forms applied to the mother of Jesus, two are in texts where the declinable form is relatively stable across a range of witnesses.

It is worth noting that the name forms of Codex 892—a codex of the gospels that dates from the same period as Codex 1424—attests name forms that correspond precisely to 1424 with only one exception. Whereas 1424 attests one declinable form for the mother of Jesus at Luke 2:19, Codex 892 has only declinable forms for this figure in Luke.<sup>57</sup>

## 5. Observations about the Textual Tradition

From this survey of papyrological, early majuscule, and a selection of later majuscule and minuscule witnesses, a number of observations may be made regarding the role of scribal discretion in the transmission of the name Μαριαμ/Μαρια. One broad observation is that neither form prevailed over the other at any stage of transmission. Only in the case of  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  (for which the data are limited to eight extant forms for a single figure) is only one form—the declinable—attested. In every other manuscript, the forms are mixed. Both forms are well-attested at the earliest stages of the textual tradition and remain so in the latest.

### 5.1 The Text-Critical Significance of Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of Μαριαμ/Μαρια

Only by evaluating the tendencies of particular scribes and witnesses with regard to individuals, books, and corpora (gospels or New Testament) is it possible to strengthen text critical judgements about how to weigh specific instances of a given form in a given witness. The probability that a witness has transmitted a form as found in the exemplar is greatly increased when that form constitutes a clear exception to the tendency evinced in the witness as a whole. Even

<sup>57</sup> The data for 892 was manually compiled by Jongkind, “Spelling.”

here, however, care must be taken. For example, the strong tendency of D toward declinable forms makes it an insignificant witness for most instances of the declinable form. However, D also evinces a strong propensity toward the indeclinable form for the accusative, reducing the significance of its witness even for the indeclinable accusative forms it attests. However, of the thirty-five nominative forms in the New Testament, D attests two indeclinable forms—in Matt 13:55 and Luke 1:27. These should be given much more weight than the attestation of D to declinable nominative forms, and, indeed, it is precisely in these two texts that D agrees with most of the tradition.

In *fi* manuscripts there is a strong tendency toward indeclinable forms, which are used exclusively for all figures in Mark (except for the single declinable form in the longer ending) and Luke, and for Mary Magdalene in Matthew and John. Thus, we should give more weight to the testimony of *fi* witnesses to a handful of declinable forms used for Mary, mother of James, in Matthew. The use of only declinable forms for Mary of Bethany in John is much less significant when it is noticed that the two figures who bear this name in John are distinguished by the name form in these witnesses.

## 5.2 Stable Forms

The forms in a significant number of texts are stable across the manuscript tradition *regardless of the overall propensity of the witness* or with only one or two exceptions in witnesses with a demonstrable tendency toward the exceptional form. Instances of support for an exceptional form in only one or two witnesses have not been included when those witnesses do not display a tendency toward the use of that form. The nineteen texts that evince this kind of stability are listed below in canonical order.

Text	Figure	Well-Attested Form	Exceptions	Tendency of Exceptional Witness
Matt 13:55	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	C, 1424	C—many declinable forms for the mother of Jesus 1424—only one indeclinable form in Gospels outside of Luke
Matt 27:61	Mother of James	Declinable	Δ	8/8 forms in Matt indeclinable
Mark 15:40	Mother of James	Declinable	Θ, <i>fi</i>	Θ—13/15 forms in Matt and Mark indeclinable <i>fi</i> —all forms indeclinable in Mark and Luke
Mark 15:47	Mary Magdalene	Declinable	Θ, <i>fi</i>	13/15 forms in Matt and Mark indeclinable <i>fi</i> —all forms indeclinable in Mark and Luke
Mark 15:47	Mary of James	Declinable	Θ, <i>fi</i>	13/15 forms in Matt and Mark indeclinable <i>fi</i> —all forms indeclinable in Mark and Luke
Mark 16:1	Mary Magdalene	Declinable	<i>fi</i>	13/15 forms in Matt and Mark indeclinable
Mark 16:1	Mary of James	Declinable	<i>fi</i>	<i>fi</i> —all forms indeclinable in Mark and Luke
Luke 1:27	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	None	

Luke 1:30	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	D	Exclusive or near exclusive use of declinable form outside the accusative
Luke 1:34	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	C, D	C—Unusual prevalence of declinable form for this figure D—Exclusive or near exclusive use of declinable form outside the accusative
Luke 1:38	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	C, D	C—Unusual prevalence of declinable form for this figure D—Exclusive or near exclusive use of declinable form outside the accusative
Luke 1:39	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	D	Exclusive or near exclusive use of declinable form outside the accusative
Luke 1:46	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	C, D	C—Unusual prevalence of declinable form for this figure D—Exclusive or near exclusive use of declinable form outside the accusative
Luke 1:56	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	D	Exclusive or near exclusive use of declinable form outside the accusative
Luke 2:5	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	D	Exclusive or near exclusive use of declinable form outside the accusative
Luke 2:16	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	D	Exclusive or near exclusive use of declinable form outside the accusative
Luke 2:34	Mother of Jesus	Indeclinable	D	Exclusive or near exclusive use of declinable form outside the accusative
Luke 24:10	Mother of James	Declinable	None	
John 11:20	Mary of Bethany	Declinable	Θ <sup>58</sup>	4/8 forms indeclinable

### 5.3 The Relationship between Name Forms and Named Figures

The assessment of scribal tendencies must take account the association between a particular name form with particular figures in a number of manuscripts.

For the mother of Jesus, the form that was dominant in the earliest stages of transmission became more so over time. In the early witnesses, the indeclinable form is dominant for most instances. However, only A and W use the indeclinable form for all references to the mother of Jesus in Luke. Among the later manuscripts, only Θ and 1424 do not. In several minuscules, the indeclinable form is reserved for the mother of Jesus alone (69, 892, 1424), even though the declinable form is also used for this figure. A tendency to reserve the indeclinable form for the mother of Jesus is also evident in A and W, which use the indeclinable form for other figures only rarely (for A, 3/33; for W, 4/32, in agreement only at John 20:1).

For Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene, the forms are relatively mixed in most of the manuscript tradition, except in manuscripts that reserve the indeclinable form for the mother of Jesus. Though these two figures were sometimes conflated in the history of interpretation, this does not appear to have shaped the transmission of the name. Indeed, in one manuscript (Sinaiticus), the figures appear to have been distinguished in John’s Gospel by the use of one form for Mary of Bethany and the other form for Mary Magdalene but, as we will see, this is unlikely to have been a feature of the initial text of John.

<sup>58</sup> The declinable form is attested also in a few *fi* manuscripts (565, 884, 1582, 2193\*) in line with the analysis, noted above, that suggests close alignment between Θ and *fi*.



A strong case can be made for the exclusive use of the declinable form for the other figure(s) named Mary in the Gospels in the initial form of the text. Each of the four gospels place a figure named “Mary” other than Mary Magdalene at the Crucifixion, Burial, and/or Resurrection scene. Among the early witnesses, the indeclinable form is attested only once (for “Mary, the wife of Clopas” in John 19:25 of Sinaiticus).<sup>59</sup> In later witnesses, the indeclinable remains rare, apart from Δ (3 of 8), Θ (4 of 8) and *f1* manuscripts, which mostly have the indeclinable form for this figure (except in Matthew) in keeping with a strong preference for the indeclinable form generally.

#### 5.4 Splitting of Forms

The persistence of both forms across the manuscript tradition is reflected in a particularly striking way in the use of both forms in references to the same individual, even within the same book. This predilection must be weighed against evidence for scribal preference for one form over another. We can illustrate this in the way the two forms for Mary of Bethany in Luke 10:39, 42 are deployed. Many of the earlier witnesses split the two references—one declinable and one indeclinable; among the later witnesses, only Ψ does. This splitting of forms is not reflected in any modern edition, perhaps because the early witnesses that are split do not split the forms in the same way. ℵ, C W, Ψ have the indeclinable form followed by the declinable; a corrector of B has the declinable form first, then the indeclinable. At the same time, the early witnesses that use the declinable form for both references have a demonstrable tendency toward that form elsewhere (℘<sup>45</sup>, A, and D). B\* and ℘<sup>75</sup> seem to attest the indeclinable form for both instances, and this cannot be discounted as a possible reading of the initial text. However, the phenomenon of split forms is early and strong, and the propensity of later witnesses for the two forms is to use the same form in both verses, whether declinable or indeclinable. In this particular instance, a strong case can be made for thinking that the initial text had the indeclinable form in Luke 10:39 and the declinable form in 10:42, given that the indeclinable form is attested much more frequently in 10:39 (℘<sup>75</sup>, ℵ, B, C, W, L, Ψ, 1) than 10:42. This is supported in particular by the fact that W attests an indeclinable form for 10:39 against a very strong preference for declinable forms for figures other than the mother of Jesus.

A similar split is attested across several manuscripts for the two nongenitive references to the mother of Jesus in Matt 1:20 and 13:55 (B, C, L, 1, 892, 1424). These manuscripts do not all split the forms in the same way. Indeed, C, 892, 1424 are alone in attesting the declinable form at 13:55, and for this reason the indeclinable form was probably the initial form of the text. Still, a good case can be made for the unexpected declinable form at 1:20. Though it is attested in only three texts, this does not mean that the indeclinable form is strongly attested. In part, this is because several manuscripts are lacunose for the two references to Jesus’s mother in Matthew (A, Ψ, 69). But two of the three early witnesses to the indeclinable form (A and W) have regularized the form for all references to the mother of Jesus. The only other early witness to the indeclinable form is D, which evinces a marked tendency to use the indeclinable form for the accusative case (as at 1:20). By contrast, for the three manuscripts that have the declinable form at 1:20 but not at 13:55 (B, L, 1), the use of the declinable form at 1:20 runs counter to the tendency of the manuscript as a whole for this figure.

<sup>59</sup> The use of the indeclinable for Mary of Clopas in Sinaiticus may be accounted for by noting that Sinaiticus (against much of the tradition) uses only declinable forms in John 10–11 and only indeclinable forms from that point.

## 5.5 Exceptional Forms

The use of both forms for a given figure and the splitting of forms that occur in pairs leads to the consideration of a striking phenomenon in which a single exceptional form occurs within a book or corpus either for a specific figure or for a cluster of uses. Take, for example, the important witness, Vaticanus. It may seem no more than a curiosity that the scribe employs an indeclinable form in just one of two references to the mother of Jesus in Matthew, one of three references to Mary Magdalene in Matthew, and one of three references to Mary Magdalene in Mark (not in parallel to the indeclinable form in Matthew). But it is more difficult to assign to coincidence the same phenomenon when it occurs for figures for whom the name is used more frequently: outside the genitive, only one of eleven references to the mother of Jesus in Luke is declinable; the same is true for one of eight references to Mary of Bethany in John.<sup>60</sup>

The phenomenon is reflected in a particularly interesting way in the papyri. The original hand of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  has only declinable forms for Mary of Bethany in John. However, a corrector has introduced one but only one indeclinable form among the eight nongenitive references to this figure. In  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  the pattern is reversed: of the seven extant references to Mary of Bethany, only one is declinable (John 11:20). It is possible that the phenomenon was, to some degree, already part of the textual tradition at its earliest stages, but the phenomenon is sufficiently widespread as to suggest that in some instances it is a product of scribal activity. We should perhaps pay particular attention to instances in which an exceptional form is attested in witnesses that otherwise share little in common. We note the following:<sup>61</sup>

Witness	Phenomenon	Figure	Text
L	1/3 indeclinable—Matthew 1/8 indeclinable—Gospels	Mary—Other	Matt 28:1
<i>fi</i> (MS 1)	1/3 declinable—Matthew 1/13 declinable—Gospels	Mary Magdalene	Matt 28:1
⊖	1/3 declinable—Matthew 1/8 declinable—Matthew	Mary—Other Mary—All Figures	Matt 27:61
B	1/3 indeclinable—Matthew	Mary Magdalene	Matt 27:61
C	1/3 indeclinable—Matthew	Mary—Other	Matt 27:56
L	1/2 declinable—Matthew 1/13 declinable—Gospels	Mother of Jesus	Matt 1:20
<i>fi</i> (MS 1)	1/2 declinable—Matthew 1/13 declinable—Gospels	Mother of Jesus	Matt 1:20
892	1/2 declinable—Matthew 1/13 declinable—Gospels	Mother of Jesus	Matt 1:20
⊖	1/3 declinable—Mark 1/6 declinable—Mark	Mary—Other Mary—All Figures	Mark 16:1

<sup>60</sup> We might also note that for the references to Mary Magdalene in John, only one of four nominatives is indeclinable. The scribe may have believed the indeclinable form was the only form available for the one vocative form. This would leave four forms subject to scribal discretion.

<sup>61</sup> When an exceptional form occurs, it is not always easy to determine whether its exceptional nature should be seen as a feature of the transmission of the gospel within which it occurs or of a wider corpus. For instance, Sinaiticus has thirteen nongenitive references to the mother of Jesus—two in Matthew and eleven in Luke. All but Luke 2:19 are indeclinable, making this form exceptional for this figure both in Luke alone and in Luke and Matthew taken together. When this is the case, I have noted both possibilities on separate lines.

W	1/3 indeclinable—Mark 1/6 indeclinable—Mark	Mary Magdalene Mary—All Figures	Mark 15:40
B	1/3 indeclinable—Mark 1/6 indeclinable—Mark	Mary Magdalene Mary—All Figures	Mark 15:40
D	1/11 indeclinable—Luke	Mother of Jesus	Luke 1:27
Ψ	1/11 declinable—Luke	Mother of Jesus	Luke 1:30
Ⲛ	1/11 declinable—Luke 1/13 declinable—Gospels	Mother of Jesus	Luke 2:19
B	1/11 declinable—Luke	Mother of Jesus	Luke 2:19
⊙	1/11 declinable—Luke 1/13 declinable—Gospels	Mother of Jesus	Luke 2:19
1424	1/11 declinable—Luke	Mother of Jesus	Luke 2:19
W	1/2 indeclinable—Luke 1/10 indeclinable—Gospels	Mary of Bethany	Luke 10:39
Ⲛ	1/2 indeclinable—Luke 1/10 indeclinable—Gospels	Mary of Bethany	Luke 10:39
Ψ	1/2 indeclinable—Luke 1/10 indeclinable—Gospels	Mary of Bethany	Luke 10:39
B	1/8 declinable—John	Mary of Bethany	John 11:20
C	1/6 declinable—John	Mary of Bethany	John 11:20
ⲡ <sup>75</sup>	1/7 declinable—John	Mary of Bethany	John 11:20
A	1/8 indeclinable—John 1/10 indeclinable—Gospels	Mary of Bethany	John 11:28
ⲡ <sup>66c</sup>	1/8 indeclinable—John	Mary of Bethany	John 11:32
<i>fi</i> (ms 1)	1/8 declinable—John	Mary of Bethany	John 12:3
Ⲛ	1/8 indeclinable—Gospels	Mary—Other	John 19:25
Ψ	1/5 indeclinable—Gospels	Mary—Other	John 19:25
ⲡ <sup>66</sup>	1/5 indeclinable—John 1/12 indeclinable—John	Mary Magdalene All	John 20:18
A	1/1 declinable—Acts 1/12 declinable—New Testament	Mother of Jesus	Acts 1:14

In some instances, the phenomenon seems to be a feature not simply of a single manuscript but of the tradition. It is particularly striking when the dominant form is otherwise stable in the manuscript tradition. As indicated in the table above, five of the six nongenitive uses of the name are stable in the Gospel of Mark, that is, the declinable form is very strongly attested for five of the six uses of the name.<sup>62</sup> The sole exception is for the initial reference to Mary Magdalene in 15:40, for which the evidence for the indeclinable form is surprisingly strong (B C W ⊙ *fi*). For the three early witnesses—B, C, W—this is the only indeclinable form in Mark. Its exceptional nature may explain why none of the three most widely-used editions of the Greek text adopt it. However, it is surely easier to explain how dominance gave way to uniformity, as it clearly did in most minuscules.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The name occurs in a cluster of three pairs, referring to Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James and Joses, in the crucifixion, burial, and resurrection scenes. This does not include the reference to Mary Magdalene in the longer ending (on which, see n. 19 above).

<sup>63</sup> Harmonization between gospels appears to play little role in this phenomenon. For example, in the sequence of crucifixion-burial-resurrection scenes of Vaticanus (B), Mary Magdalene and

Similarly, within Luke, ten of the eleven references to the mother of Jesus are stable in the indeclinable form. The exception to this occurs at Luke 2:19. It is not surprising that a fair number of manuscripts have the indeclinable form at this point as well (A W L Δ Ψ 69). Much more unexpected is the strength of the attestation for the declinable form at 2:19 (Ⲛ B D Θ 1424). In all of these witnesses except D, 2:19 is the *only* declinable form used for the mother of Jesus in Luke. This phenomenon is all the more remarkable when we recall the developing tendency to *reserve* the indeclinable form for this figure.

The evidence for Mary of Bethany is rather more complex, but it is quite possible that the initial form of the text had a single exceptional form for this figure in John. In several witnesses, the accusative references to Mary of Bethany in John are found only in the indeclinable form (ⲡ<sup>75</sup>, B, C, D, L).<sup>64</sup> This constitutes strong support for the indeclinable accusative forms in John 11, which can be set alongside the declinable nominative form in John 11:20—the most stable of the eight references to Mary of Bethany in John. But what of the other three nominative references to Mary of Bethany? The nature of the evidence for the accusatives and John 11:20 make it highly probable that the forms for this figure were mixed in the initial text. We should thus be somewhat skeptical toward witnesses that have only declinable forms for Mary of Bethany in John (ⲡ<sup>45</sup>, ⲡ<sup>66</sup>, 69, 892, 1424). Of these, the minuscules do so as part of a systematic repudiation of indeclinable forms for any figure except for the mother of Jesus.

Three other witnesses (Ⲛ, W, Ψ) have no indeclinable forms for Mary of Bethany in John but do attest a single form for the same figure in Luke. Given the reasonably strong attestation for the indeclinable form at Luke 10:39, these witnesses may have received that form but eliminated any other indeclinable form that may have been present for Mary of Bethany in the exemplars from which they worked. In short, though the three manuscripts do not correlate particularly well for the six uses of this name in John 19–20, they agree entirely in attesting a single indeclinable form for Mary of Bethany in Luke and John.

Text	Ⲛ (01)	W (032)	Ψ (044)
Luke 10:39	Indeclinable	Indeclinable	Indeclinable
Luke 10:42	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:2	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:19	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:20	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:28	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:31	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:32	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:45	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 12:3	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable

Mary, the mother of James, appear together in each scene in Matthew and Mark. The material is parallel and, in both Matthew and Mark, one of the six uses of the name is indeclinable. In both Matthew and Mark the indeclinable form is used for Mary Magdalene, but the forms are not in parallel passages. In Mark, the exception form occurs in the crucifixion account whereas in Matthew, it occurs in the story of Jesus’s burial. Similarly, in Θ, one of the six forms is declinable in Matthew as well as Mark, as a designation of the mother of James, but again the declinable forms do not appear in parallel passages.

<sup>64</sup> Similarly, though only three of these accusative forms survive in Δ, all are indeclinable. Three of the four accusatives are indeclinable in Θ.

In three additional witnesses ( $\mathfrak{P}^{66c}$ , A, and 1) we note a strong tendency toward the declinable form. However, in each case, one indeclinable form persists within John, though not at the same point in the text. Alexandrinus displays a strong preference toward the indeclinable form for all figures except for the mother of Jesus, so its support for the indeclinable accusative is particularly important.

	Case	p66 <sup>c</sup>	A	1
John 11:2	N	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:19	A	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:20	N	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:28	A	Declinable	Indeclinable	Declinable
John 11:31	A	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:32	N	Indeclinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:45	A	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 12:3	N	Declinable	Declinable	Indeclinable

A final trio of witnesses—all early—have only indeclinable forms except for the single declinable form in 11:20 (though the forms are not extant for C at 11:2 and for both  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  and C at 12:3).<sup>65</sup>

	Case	p75	B	C
John 11:2	N	Indeclinable	Indeclinable	not extant
John 11:19	A	Indeclinable	Indeclinable	Indeclinable
John 11:20	N	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 11:28	A	Indeclinable	Indeclinable	Indeclinable
John 11:31	A	Indeclinable	Indeclinable	Indeclinable
John 11:32	N	Indeclinable	Indeclinable	Indeclinable
John 11:45	A	Indeclinable	Indeclinable	Indeclinable
John 12:3	N	not extant	Indeclinable	not extant

The remaining witnesses attest mixed forms for the nominatives. Accounting for these witnesses as well as the tendency to regularize the declinable form in other witnesses, we are able to see that B receives significant support for its nominative as well as accusative forms, including, notably, the support of  $\mathfrak{P}^6$  for the nominative forms at 11:2 and 11:45. The fact that the strongest support for B in the use of this pattern come from manuscripts that are lacunose at 12:3 is unfortunate, but what first appears to be strong support for the declinable at 12:3 is sharply mitigated when we account for the preference of these witnesses for the Hellenized form.

	Case	Form	
John 11:2	N	Indeclinable	B, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , $\mathfrak{P}^{6vid}$ , [C lacunose]
John 11:19	A	Indeclinable	B, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , C, D, L, $\Delta$
John 11:20	N	Declinable	B, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ , $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ , $\aleph$ , A, B, C, D, W, K, L, $\Delta$ , $\Psi$ , 1, 69, 892, 1424
John 11:28	A	Indeclinable	B, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , C, D, L, K, $\Delta$ , $\Theta$ , A
John 11:31	A	Indeclinable	B, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , C, D, L, K, $\Delta$ , $\Theta$
John 11:32	N	Indeclinable	B, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ C, D, L, $\Theta$ , $\mathfrak{P}^{66c}$

<sup>65</sup> Minuscule 33 similarly has only one declinable form for Mary of Bethany in John, but unusually it is the accusative in John 11:19.

John 11:45	A	Indeclinable	B, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , $\mathfrak{P}^6$ , C
John 12:3	N	Indeclinable	B, <i>fi</i> , [ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , C lacunose]

Despite differences about the location of the single exceptional form, a number of witnesses attest the presence of such a form for Mary of Bethany. This may indicate the presence of the phenomenon *in some form* at an early stage. The text critical task of deciding which form of the pattern is earliest remains, of course, but it would be unwise to make judgements about particular variants without taking the pattern into account. Given the stability of the declinable form in 11:20, the strength of support for the indeclinable accusatives, and the demonstrable tendency of a number of manuscripts to regularize the Hellenized form, we suggest that the earliest pattern was probably the one evident in B, supported by  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  and C.<sup>66</sup>

If this conclusion must remain tentative, we must remain even more so about the forms preserved for Mary Magdalene in John. We have suggested that the forms for this figure were very likely split in the initial form of the text in Luke. We have also noted above that a single exceptional form for this figure has fairly strong support in Mark and the significant support of Vaticanus in Matthew. For the five forms in John, however, this is not clearly the case. Among the early witnesses, only  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{66c}$ , and A attest a single exceptional form in the five uses of the name in John.<sup>67</sup> Because  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  is lacunose at both 20:1 and 20:16, we cannot know whether the scribe or his corrector intended one and only one exceptional form. The indeclinable form at 20:1 in A is remarkable for the fact that this scribe attests only two indeclinable forms apart from those used for the mother of Jesus. Among the later majuscules, only L and  $\Psi$  attest an exceptional form—the latter, against a strong overall preference for declinable form for figures other than the mother of Jesus. The configurations, however, differ in each of these witnesses.

	$\mathfrak{P}^{66}$	$\mathfrak{P}^{66c}$	A	L	$\Psi$
John 19:25	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable	Indeclinable	Indeclinable
John 20:1	-	-	Indeclinable	Indeclinable	Declinable
John 20:11	Declinable	Indeclinable	Declinable	Declinable	Declinable
John 20:16	-	-	Declinable	Indeclinable	Declinable
John 20:18	Indeclinable	Indeclinable	Declinable	Indeclinable	Declinable

The form is regularized in two early witnesses, most majuscules and in the minuscules surveyed – some toward the declinable form (D, K,  $\Delta$ ,  $\Theta$ , 69, 892, 1424), others toward the indeclinable form ( $\aleph$ , 1, 33, 1582). However, B and W (along with  $\mathfrak{P}^{66c}$ ) each attest two indeclinable forms. This is significant especially in W, which attests only four indeclinable forms for figures other than the mother of Jesus, two of which are for Mary Magdalene in John. However, the two witnesses do not agree on the location of the indeclinable forms:

	B	W
John 19:25	Declinable	Declinable
John 20:1	Declinable	Indeclinable
John 20:11	Declinable	Declinable

<sup>66</sup> This sequence is reflected in the SBLGNT.

<sup>67</sup> Two of the nongenitive forms in John are not extant in  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ . Among the twelve extant forms, the original hand has a single indeclinable form in John—the final occurrence at 20:18. A corrector has introduced a single indeclinable form for Mary of Bethany, leaving seven of eight declinable. An additional indeclinable form has been introduced for Mary Magdalene, resulting in two of three indeclinable.

John 20:16	Indeclinable	Indeclinable
John 20:18	Indeclinable	Declinable

Excluding for the moment witnesses that have regularized the form, we can see the following picture:

	Declinable	Indeclinable
John 19:25	ϕ <sup>66</sup> , A, B	L, W, Ψ
John 20:1	B, Ψ	A, L, W
John 20:11	ϕ <sup>66</sup> , A, B, L, W, Ψ	ϕ <sup>66c</sup>
John 20:16	A, Ψ	B, L, W
John 20:18	A, W, Ψ	ϕ <sup>66</sup> , B, L

The major editions follow the pattern of B. This is certainly defensible—especially for 20:11, 16, 18. At the same time, once we have accounted for the overall tendencies of the manuscripts, we must acknowledge the strength of support for indeclinable form in both 19:25 and 20:1. The claim is sometimes made that the use of the indeclinable in 20:16 is intended by the author of the text to mark the fact that Jesus calls the Magdalene by name, using her mother tongue.<sup>68</sup> This would be more compelling if this were the only indeclinable form in the sequence. This, however, is unlikely. If the sequence followed a pattern, it is much more likely to have been the use of a single declinable form in 20:11. If our tentative conclusion that the pattern was part of the initial text in relation to Mary of Bethany is sound, we should perhaps not be surprised to find that the same pattern was used for Mary Magdalene as well.

## 6. Conclusion

Knowledge of scribal tendencies in relation to “Mary” as a name form does not always lead to clear-cut decisions about the form of the text that gave rise to every other form. However, the fact that scribes were faced with two but only two possible forms for each nongenitive instance of the name can help us see where scribal tendencies were in play and therefore know how to weigh a given witness.

At a minimum, the nature of the textual tradition suggests that the initial form of the text contained mostly mixed forms for most figures who bear this name in the New Testament. *It would therefore be a mistake to regularize the name in the direction of either form.* It would likewise be unwise to draw exegetical or theological conclusions based on a supposition of consistent usage.<sup>69</sup> However, if scribes were not consistent in the use of one form, we have discovered

<sup>68</sup> H. Thyen (*Das Johannesevangelium*, HNT 6 [Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005], 762) comments, “Darauf sagt Jesus in ihrem eigenen Idiom zu ihr: Mirjam (Μαρίαμ). Und daran erkennt sie nun in ihm ihren Herrn wieder. ... Wie er sie mit ihrem hebraischen Namen Mirjam genannt hat, so antwortet sie ihm jetzt in der ihnen gemeinsamen Muttersprache mit der Anrede: ῥαββουῦνι, was der Erzähler durch die Bemerkung kommentiert, das heißt: mein Meister.” Cited by Förster, “Μαρία,” 2, n. 11.

<sup>69</sup> The inconsistency may also have some bearing on a recent discussion of how the name should be rendered in translation. On the basis of Luke’s use of the indeclinable form for the Mother of Jesus in Luke 1:27, Diedre Good argues that *all* references to this figure should be translated as “Mariam” in order to make visible her Jewish identity, “What Does It Mean to Call Mary Mariam?,” in *A Feminist Companion to Mariology*, edited by Amy-Jill Levine (London: T&T Clarke, 2005), 99–106. Though the present study does not address the question of translation, it is evident that the question of how to translate this name cannot be resolved by appeal to the name form used.

that, at times, there is consistency even in their inconsistency. In particular, we have noticed an unusual and surprisingly common phenomenon according to which scribes transmitted one but only one exceptional form for particular figures or clusters of uses.

We readily admit that to observe the phenomenon is not to explain it. Moreover, the phenomenon challenges our ability to determine the earliest form of the text. For instance, we might suspect that the pattern was imposed by the subsequent introduction of an exception into the consistent usage of the exemplar. Against this, we have adduced evidence that the exceptional forms are in some cases surprisingly well-attested. Thus, it is possible that the pattern already existed in the initial form of the text. We have suggested that this was quite possibly the case with the single use of the indeclinable form in Mark 15:40 (for Mary Magdalene) and the single declinable reference to the mother of Jesus in Luke. Less certain is the possibility that the pattern was part of the initial form of the text in John’s references to Mary of Bethany. Least certain of all is the possibility that the name forms for Mary Magdalene in John may have included a single declinable form.

Though we have not solved every challenge related to this name form in the New Testament, we have demonstrated that the text critical task does not comprise only the evaluation of variant units taken individually. It must also include the assessment of scribal tendencies and account for the possibility that a particular and intentional form of scribal inconsistency may have been part of the text in its initial form.

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It is not clear, for example, why “Mariam” should be used for the mother of Jesus and not also for the many other figures in the gospels for whom the Semitic form is used. Good’s statement that Luke uses “the name *Μαριάμ* in Luke 1–2 and not elsewhere” is mistaken, since the form also appears for Mary of Bethany in Luke 10:39, if not also 10:42.