

THE CREATION OF CHRIST

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*AN OUTLINE OF THE
BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY*

BY

P. L. COUCHOUD

Translated by

C. BRADLAUGH BONNER

IN TWO VOLUMES
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THE CREATION OF CHRIST

(VOL. II)

VIII

GOD INCARNATE

(The Gospel according to St. John)

IN the grave and slow-moving Orient the Gospel of Mark gave rise to the Semitic evangel of Matthew, which is but a later, expanded, revised, and corrected edition of it. In Ephesus, hot-bed of Grecian Asia, it engendered another but very different gospel. If in Mark the reader seems to breathe the close atmosphere of a Roman catacomb and in Matthew the air of a church still heavy with the incense of a synagogue, there rises from John's Gospel the intoxicating perfume of a mystes's thiasos.

Two generations had passed away since men had heard, trembling with hope, expectation, and terror, the formidable tones of the prophet of the Revelation. The Church at Ephesus preserved the tradition of the pillar apostle who had seen the Lord, for in this lay its claim to fame and to authority. But the first force of that revelation had exhausted itself as the time of waiting became more and more prolonged, the hope of the Coming of the Lord deferred. There, too, the rival prophet, Paul, more varied, more profound, had gained a posthumous victory. Ignatius of Antioch congratulated the Christians of Ephesus upon having always adhered to the apostles and upon having been *mystai* with Paul. He compares them to a procession of celebrants such as he had seen winding about the temples of Ephesus. "You all are in the procession," he says to the Ephesians, "theophoroi, naophoroi, christophoroi, and hagiophoroi."¹

All that they retained of Paul's theological poem, beyond

¹ xi. 2; xii. 2 *Παύλου συμμύσται*; ix. 2 (god-carriers, templecarriers, Christ-carriers, carriers of sacred objects). The Epistle-prophecies of Ignatius which imitate those of Paul date about 140, and are contemporaneous with the letter of Polycarp which quotes them (xiii. 2) and which elsewhere attacks Marcion (vii. I, cf. Irenæus, *Hær.*, iii. 3-4) (Turmel-Delafosse). A *mystes* is an initiate into a mystery.

the expiatory cross, was the mystic identification with Christ and union with God. They had developed the mystic idea along new paths. For them baptism had ceased to be what Paul thought it—a symbol of death and a participation in the death and burial of the Christ—it had become the principle of a new life, a second birth, by which they were born from above, like Jesus, children of God. For them baptism had become a reality; the water was real Water of Life, that announced in the Apocalypse, and the life it gave really life everlasting, which began straightway upon baptism. For them the wait for the end of the Age was untroubled. The upsetting of the world and the cloud-borne arrival of the Son of Man thus lost much of their interest and the benefits which he was to bring failed to excite when they could be obtained in the present. What need, then, for a Celestial Jerusalem? Born again of God, born again for time everlasting, the Christian mystes tasted on earth the ineffable experience which was to be the part of the elect within the jasper walls of the sidereal Jerusalem when the millennium had come to an end. Sin would be no longer possible. He would live in the sublime intimacy of Jesus and the Father, in a world of Light, in Life. He would see with his own eyes, touch with his own hands, the miracles which divine life would show him. The greatest of these was Understanding-Love (“we know...because we love”; 1 John iii. 14). The mystic felt himself filled with understanding and love which passed from God to Jesus, from Jesus to himself, from himself to his brethren, an infinite current of love, a universal pervasion of knowledge. This gentle and peaceful communion brought him the plenitude of joy.

The mystic brotherhood of Ephesus were strongly opposed to the Marcionites, their detested relatives. The love they believed in was no loving kindness, it was no bowel-moving pity, no tender goodness which gave its blessings to the stranger and to the enemy in particular; no—their love was mystic, straitly confined to the brethren and the divine beings they worshipped. Among them there was no thought of mingling in one assembly initiates, catechumens,

and outsiders. Marcion belittled the prophets, but not they. On the contrary, they honoured them. Inspired prophets, enfeebled and faded successors of John, revealed divine illumination which was transmitted to them in their mystic trances, and the true believer was careful to test the spirits ("Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world"; I John iv. I).

The Ephesian brethren would be satisfied with no less than the third and last of the great Christian prophets for their evangelist. They did not, as did Marcion, deny the God of Israel, though they might pass Jahweh through a cleansing process, nor did they reject the Hebrew Scriptures, though they retained only some widely-spaced salient elements of them. The reform of Easter which Rome accepted was not for them. Like the other Churches of Asia, they remained faithful to the apostolic usage, and celebrated the death and triumph of Jesus on the same day as the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, the 14th Nisan, and ceased their fasting then. Finally, and foremost, they refused the doctrine taught by Paul and Marcion that the Christ had come in the semblance of a man. In agreement with the Epistle to the Hebrews, they would have it that the body of Jesus was at one and the same time both heavenly and human flesh and blood. They professed the belief that Jesus had "come in the flesh," though they did not admit Matthew's tenet that he was "born in the flesh "in a virgin's womb.

On the other hand, they rejected vigorously Basilides's doctrine that Jesus had not been crucified, and the teaching of Cerinthus, a Jew by birth, which he had brought from the Ebionite communities, that the Spirit entered into Jesus at his baptism and left him at the Passion. Both of these taught that Christ was manifest in the water and not in the blood. The Ephesian Church placed great importance upon the blood and its symbol the wine, which suggests that they had replaced the cup of water of Marcionite eucharist by a cup of wine.²

² The Roman Church adopted a compromise; the cup held both wine and water (Justin, I Apol., 65, 67).

This congregation of mystic prophets disputed with the ascetic battalions of Marcion the forefront of the fight, Rome held the centre, and the little Churches of Matthew the rear, while the Judaist Ebionites of Transjordania were a lagging tail. Ephesus has left four literary monuments of her activity: three epistles and a gospel.

Two very short epistles are letters addressed by someone in authority who calls himself simply the Elder (the Priest), one to a sister church, called in the jargon of the mystics the Elect Lady, to put her on her guard against “the many deceivers . . . who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh,” in particular against “the deceiver and Anti-christ” (Marcion),³ the other to one Gaius to recommend certain missionary brothers and to complain of the chief of one community who would not receive them. The author is in all probability the individual whom Papias calls John the Elder, or simply the Elder, and whom he expressly distinguishes from the Apostle John.⁴ These brief letters were attributed, though not always, to John the Apostle.⁵

The other epistle is much longer and has no superscription. The style and the matter show that it is probably by the same writer as the other two. John the Elder addresses, as a prophet and an older man, his children to communicate to them a message he has received from Jesus. This message, somewhat verbose and diluted, is that God is Light, that the blood of Jesus cleanses us from all sin, and that God is love. The new precept is “Love one another.” He who dwells in love is in the light, is born of God, and is in God. “He cannot sin” (iii. 9). Or at least, since the Elder shows a certain anxiety as to the possible deductions to be made

3 Tertullian perceived clearly that Marcion was aimed at in 2 John, though he imagined that it was by prophetic anticipation (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iii. 8; *De praescr.*, 33; *Adv. Praxeam*, 28).

4 In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 39. After “Aristion and John the Elder” the words “disciples of the Lord” (which do not appear in the Syriac version) are probably a copyist's error for “disciples of the latter”—*i.e.*, of those disciples of the Lord who had previously been named; for τούτων read τούτου under the influence of the preceding line.

5 The decretal of Pope Damasus (382) gives in the list of books of the New Testament: *Johannis Apostoli epistula una, alterius Johannis presbyteri epistulae duo.*

from that axiom, his sins if he confess them are remitted, for he has an Advocate (Paraclete) at the Father's side, Jesus, who is "the propitiation for our sins." To take away sin, Jesus had to have flesh and blood. The Elder casts his anathema on Marcion's doctrine, even if it is uttered by prophets in ecstasy (iv. 2-3):—

Every spirit that confesses Jesus Christ came in the flesh is of God,
Every spirit that confesses it not is not of God;
He is of Antichrist
Whereof you have heard that he comes
And even now already is in the world.

This Antichrist is Marcion, whom a colleague of the Elder, the episcopus Polycarp of Smyrna, also called Antichrist and the eldest son of Satan.⁶ As for the tenets of Basilides that Jesus was revealed only by baptism and that there was no Passion, the veracious witness of the prophets disproved them (v. 6):—

This is he who came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ,
Not in the water only,
But in the water and the blood.
It is the Spirit which bears witness
Because the Spirit is the Truth.

This Epistle is almost as it were the canvas for the Gospel. It contains the leading ideas in a diffuse state, as a nebula contains a star. It opens with a solemn phrase which is like a rough draft of the Prologue of the Gospel.⁷ It ends, before the post-scriptum, with the words (v. 13): "These things have I written to you, that you may know that you have eternal life, you who believe in the Name of the Son of God," which are very much the same as the last words of the Gospel, before the second ending (xx. 31): "These have been written that you may believe... and believing, may have life in his Name." There is little doubt that the Epistle and

⁶ Epistle to the Philippians vii. 1; and in Irenæus, iii. 3, 4.

⁷ With the difference that the Logos is not yet the Christ-Logos, but the Word of Life brought by Jesus to the world (Tobac, in the *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.*; 1928, pp. 213-218).

the Gospel are by the same hand. The Epistle shows itself to be earlier than the Gospel, because the Parousia (ii. 28) is still taught, whereas in the Gospel it is no longer expected, and because the Paraclete in the Epistle is Jesus himself, whereas in the Gospel the Paraclete is a sort of double of Jesus, the Spirit which is to be sent and which, in practice, takes the place of the Son of Man whose Coming was formerly hoped for.

It is evident, then, that between the writing of the Epistle and that of the Gospel the urgent expectation of the Revelation had lapsed. The excitement produced by the terrifying fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy waned when it was seen that the erection of the Abomination in the Temple, despite the ancient oracle, did not forerun the Coming of the Son of Man. To the great wave of hope succeeded a deep trough of disillusionment. The Gospels of Marcion, Mark, and Matthew remained as witness to a false alarm.

As fortune would have it, Christian Gnosis had had the time to build up solidly the Mystery of Jesus which served in place of the worn and shaky story of the Son of Man. The evangelist prophet thrust boldly forward towards a new vision. No longer should the watcher scan the skies for the Rider on the Cloud; no longer should the virgins await the coming of the Bridegroom. *For he had come.* Even as life everlasting was already the endowment of the true believer, even as the resurrection of the dead was a fact for the veritable Christian, so had the Great Advent been already accomplished. For the eyes of the mystic the whole future is present. There are not two advents for Jesus, the one lowly and the other glorious. His earthly life and death were his true glorification. What had to be done was to change the pitch of the Gospel, to raise the tone, to present Jesus as a God who trod the earth revealing his glory to the clairvoyant. Never would he come again. Alone his Spirit, his Paraclete, will come to help and comfort his disciples in the true Church. In this manner a suitable winding up was found for the hope deferred, the bitter disappointment, which had worn and wearied all its believers.

Another leading element of the Gospel is missing from the

Epistle: the struggle with the Jews. There had been no need at Ephesus to make a show of observing the Hebrew Law even more punctiliously than the Jews themselves, as had been the case among the rabbinical churches of the Euphrates. In this region there was no question of the Law. Each brotherhood ruled itself in the light of the commandment to love one another. What had to be upheld against the Jews was the worship of Jesus. After the suppression of Bar-cocheba a number of rabbis with their disciples took refuge in Ephesus and the neighbourhood.⁸ For them the worship of Jesus was to adore a god other than the One God, an apostasy from the Living God. The refugees brought with them all the bitter feelings which the pretended Messiah had raised against the Christians.⁹ They roundly declared: "You have readily believed an empty hearsay, you have fabricated for yourselves a Christ," and they asked if there could be any other god than the Creator of all things.¹⁰ Therefore the Ephesians had to demonstrate that the Christ Jesus had always existed through eternity and that he was really one with the Father.¹¹

The Gospel according to St. John was the product of these disputes and of a study of the Gospel of St. Mark. Mark furnished the story about which a prophetic vision and a mystic meditation were erected. A few scenes were borrowed from Marcion (the centurion's faith, the miraculous catch), and also some fragments of narrative which were fused into Mark's account,¹² as well as certain persons—Lazarus, Martha, and Mary, of whom he makes one family. The author of John did not meet with Matthew's Gospel

8 Justin, *Dial.*, i. 3; ix. 3; where by Tryphon is meant perhaps the famous rabbi Tarphon, a contemporary of Akiba.

9 Justin, 1 *Apol.*, xxxi. 6. An allusion to the violent deeds of Bar-cocheba against the Christians and the definite ruin of the Jewish people was added to 1 Thess. ii. 15–16. It was not there in Marcion's day.

10 Justin, *Dial.*, viii. 4 and lv. 1.

11 The first point is developed by Justin in his Dialogue with Tryphon, and the second is the special endeavour of John's Gospel, and almost brings it into line with Marcion's doctrine.

12 *E.g.*, the scene of the anointing of Jesus in John xii. 1–8 taken from Mark xiv, 3–9 with features borrowed from Marcion (Luke vii, 36–50; feet anointed and wiped with hair).

till late, for he makes no use of it till the second ending.¹³

We know from Papias what the Elder thought of Mark's Gospel, that he said it was true in detail but defective in arrangement, and he imagined that Peter's interpreter had put down in haphazard fashion what Peter had told him at odd moments. This opinion led to his changing Mark's order. He places at the beginning of Christ's ministry the expulsion of the merchants from the Temple, which Mark places at the end. He passes Mark's matter through the sieve of his own opinion, refashions it, and arranges it in a different pattern.

In order to launch the new Gospel with some chance of success, he had to find an authority for it which would give it the necessary weight. In Syria the Apostle Matthew had been exhumed, and at Ephesus the obvious authority would be the Pillar Apostle John.

The fiction by which the Gospel of the second John was attributed to the first was very subtly woven. It is imagined that Jesus had a disciple for whom he had a particular affection, who was his intimate confidant, and therefore his most important witness. At the Last Supper he reclines on Jesus's breast, just as Jesus himself reclines on the bosom of his father. Nowhere is this mysterious friend named. Just as John is not named where he probably appeared, so the reader and his congregation are drawn to suppose that the beloved disciple is none other than John. In the second ending it is definitely declared that the author of the Gospel is the beloved disciple. Evidently no weightier or more interesting author could have been found.¹⁴

The real date of the Gospel of John is indicated by an allusion to Bar-cocheba.¹⁵ Jesus said to the Jews (v. 43):—

13 In John's second ending the investiture of Peter has all the appearance of being copied from Matt. xvi. 17–19. In the main part of the Gospel Matthew seems to have been quite ignored (Streeter, *The Four Gospels*; 1926, pp. 408–416).

14 Similarly John's patronage is given to *The Acts of John*, and so to the doctrine of Basilides that Jesus was not crucified, and did not therefore come in the blood, but in the water only, a doctrine combated in the Gospel and Epistles of John (M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii; Cambridge, 1897).

15 This allusion is made clear in J. Grill, *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des 4. Ev.* ii; Tübingen, 1923, p. 391; another probable allusion to the persecution by Bar-cocheba is in xvi. 2: "yea, the hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God." Cf. E. Schwartz, *Aporien im 4. Ev.*; Göttingen, 1908, p. 147.

I am come in my Father's Name
And you receive me not.
If another shall come in his own name,
Him ye shall receive.

We are not yet far from the year 135. Just as the Epistles of Paul were the work of three or four years, so were the five gospels (Luke is a little later than John) published within a short time of one another. Paul's letters appeared between 50 and 54, and the Gospels between 134 and 145.

The second John was a Jew by birth, "probably the last few to be the spiritual leader of a great Gentile Church."¹⁶ He wrote rather poor Greek and thought in Aramaic.¹⁷ He was well acquainted with the Bible, had a detailed knowledge of Jewish customs,¹⁸ knew Jerusalem as a pilgrim might be expected to know it who had not been there for many years, and then only for some obligatory festival. He did not abandon Judaism, as did Matthew, for the Kingdom of Heaven, but for a rebirth. This placed a vastly greater gulf between him and his former co-religionaries than that between Matthew and the Jews. He looks upon the Jews as having the same father as the Devil (viii. 44), whereas the Christians are born of God. He speaks of the Devil's father where Marcion spoke of the Creator.

Though Marcion was anathema to him, he yet borrows from him a lively feeling of the newness of Christianity and some major notions; such as that the Jews did not know the father (vii. 29; viii. r9 and 55)¹⁹; that Jesus did not come

¹⁶ Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 467.

¹⁷ This is made quite clear in C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*; Oxford, 1922.

¹⁸ *E.g.*, he knew that circumcision is made the eighth day, even if that day be a sabbath (vii. 23). Cf. Strack and Billerbeck, *Komm. zu N.T.*, ii; 1924, p. 487. On the other hand, he was not well documented as to customs which were no longer in force—*e.g.*, he thought the office of high priest was annual like that of a sacerdos of asiarchs (xi. 49; xviii. 13).

¹⁹ Paul had already stated that the Jews did not know God (Rom. x. 2; edit. Marcion, θεὸν ἀγνοοῦντες).

down to earth to judge the world, but to save it (xii. 47; viii. 15); that he who has eternal life is not subject to the Last Judgment (v. 24). To unify Marcion's two gods he does not incorporate the Father in Jahweh, as did Matthew, but, on the contrary, absorbs the Hebrew God into the Father. He runs very close to Marcionism.²⁰ But in the workings of his mind he differed profoundly from Marcion. Far from advancing *antitheses*, as did Marcion, he seeks *syntheses*. He fuses into one what Marcion endeavoured to separate: the traditional God and the Unknown Father, the Jesus of the Clouds and the Jesus of Galilee, the Spirit-Christ and the Flesh-and-blood Christ. His genius lay, as is the case with all great mystics, in postulating irrational identities, in combining in a single equation, such as appeals to the emotions, incompatible terms. Paul's heritage was shared between this John and Marcion: to the latter fell the hostility between the Gospel and the Law, and to the former the mystic gnosis.

The legend of the origin of this Gospel is significant in its naïvety. "John, one of the disciples, when exhorted by his fellows and his bishops, said to them, 'Fast with me to-day for three days. All that is revealed to us we will tell one another.' That very night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that under the control of all (*recogniscentibus cunctis*) John would write down everything in his name."²¹ This simple story indicates that the Gospel was a sort of collective effort. It was no historical study which prepared the authors for their *magnum opus*, but fasting as a prepara-

²⁰ Turmel-Delafosse (*Le Quatrieme Evangile*; Paris, Rieder, 1925) demonstrated the Marcionism of this Gospel. But to explain the passages opposed to this doctrine he had to imagine two editions which contradict one another. An analogous case of writings influenced by Marcion, and yet anti-Marcionite, is the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch. However, it is not necessary to suppose two antagonistic editions.

²¹ Canon of Muratori, ed. Preuschen; *Analecta*, i. 9–16. Clemens Alexandrinus in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, vi. 14, 7, said: "John, perceiving that material things were explained in the Gospels, *being exhorted by his friends*, and divinely inspired by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel." Papias pretended that he knew of the Gospel while John was still living (Wordsworth-White, *N.T. Latin.*, p. 490 s),

tory for ecstatic trance and mystic illumination. The whole is an example of group inspiration, so that the second John says always “we”—“we have seen his glory ... we have received . . . we bear witness . . . we know,” etc.²² The deep mystic experience which is the basis of his Gospel is not that of the evangelist alone but of his whole fraternity.

More so than the other Gospels, this one of John is a cultus poem, which he seems to have composed for a Paschal liturgy.²³ The first and longest section (i–xii) is a preparation for baptism, and presents Jesus to the catechumens as a divine personage attacked by the Jews in order to justify the worship of Jesus against these attacks, to promote it and to purify it. The central section (xiii–xvii) is a eucharistic sermon for initiates only. The evangelist took from Mark the idea of double teaching, the first public and the second secret. Here he concentrates the secret instruction into one scene: that of the Last Supper. The last section unrolls the legend of the festival, the *haggada* of the Christian Passover, the holy reading of the death and resurrection of a god. The aim of the book was to instruct, enlighten, and inspire the true believer during the holy days of the Spring.

A distinctive character of this Gospel is the occurrence of lyric fragments framed in the recital. The work opens with a very beautiful hymn. Several of Jesus's discourses, particularly those of the Last Supper, are also hymns. The thread of the narrative brings them in, interrupts them, brings them back, and finally draws them away. To produce an effect of dialogue, they are cut up by interruptions, which are frequently idle and sometimes stupid. If these tricks are allowed for, it is not difficult to reconstruct the strophes.

Since the days of St. Paul these hymns had been improvised or sung in alternating strophes by the congregations at Eastertide.²⁴ Those of John's Gospel resemble those Syriac

²² John i. 14 and 16; iii. II; xxi. 24; in the Epistle this “we” is the rule.

²³ Originally it was recited in its entirety at Easter. See A. Greiff, *Das älteste Pascharituaie der Kirche und des Johannesevangelium*; Paderbom, 1929, p. 191.

²⁴ I Cor. xiv. 26; Pliny, *Epist.*, 96—*carmen Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem*.

hymns preserved under the title of the Odes of Solomon. They are manifestly anterior to the narrative in which they are imbedded. It is therefore feasible to remove them and to read them apart, before considering the story in which they have been used.

In the first three the catechist chants in the name of the whole brotherhood. In the others Jesus speaks as *mystagogos*.

The first is a sublime definition of Jesus, and imitates the first chapter of the Hebrew Bible, from which it borrows its first words "in the beginning."

In the beginning was the Word;
The Word was near God,
The Word was God.
It was in the beginning with God;
All things were made by it,
Without it was made nothing.

What was done, through it was life²⁵
The Life was the Light of men.
The Light in Darkness shines
And the Darkness understood it not.

It was the true Light,
Which lights every man,
Which came into the world.

It was in the world,
And the world was made by it;
The world knew it not.
It came to its own;
They that were its own received it not.

But to all those who received it
To them it gave the right to become children of God;
To them who believe in the Name of Him
Who not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh,
Nor of the will of man, but of God is born.²⁶

The Word became Flesh,
It dwelt among us.
We saw its Glory,

²⁵ As to the punctuation see Mlle. M. d'Asbeck, *Congris d'hist. du christ.*; Paris and Amsterdam, 1928, pp. 220–228.

²⁶ Read ὅς ἐγεννήθη. The variant οἱ ... ἐγγενήθησαν was introduced by the Valentinians (Tertullian, *De Carne Christi*, xix).

Glory as of the Only Son before a Father,
Full of Grace and Truth.

For of his Fullness we all received,
Grace for grace,
For the law by Moses was given,
Grace and Truth came through Jesus Christ.
No man has seen God at any time;
A God The Only Son who is in the bosom of his Father,
He it is who uttered.

This well-known page fixes the divine state of Jesus. He is not the Spirit God of Marcion. The Christ here is the preexisting Wisdom of God, the everlasting Word, the Life, the Light. He is not, as was the Logos of Philo, merely an intermediary between God and the world, a God of low degree whom imperfect creatures would adore. He is near God, in God's bosom, with a right to God's Name, and, together with God, to the worship of the highest. Like Marcion's Christ, his was no human birth; he was born of God alone²⁷ by spiritual generation, as are those who believe in him reborn of God. But—here the great difference from Marcion's Christ—he became Flesh. How? The reply is Mystery. He is God; and he becomes Flesh by a mystic process. Marcion's God came down into a world to him unknown. John's God descends among His Own, and the world is the more to blame when it repulses him for that very reason. The Father, unlike Marcion's Deity, is the same God as the one who gave the Law through Moses; through Jesus he gives only Grace and Truth. In his manner, by adding to Paul's gnosis the mystic taking on of the Flesh, John corrects Marcion's seductive doctrine. In a few tense and rhythmic phrases the catechumen is instructed in the mystery of Jesus.

The second hymn²⁸ is a warning against the teaching that

²⁷ Monogenes, which in John is a sort of proper noun (i. 14 and 18; iii. 16), apparently means Son of the Unique, on the model of Diogenes, Theagenes, and Hermogenes, and to exclude from the begetting of Christ any female intervention (E. Buklen in *Theol. St. Kr.*; 1929, pp. 55–90). There may have been in this an intended refutation of the Woman of the Apocalypse. Jesus's "Mother" was really nothing to him (ii. 4).

²⁸ i. 6–7, 15, 26b, 27, 29b, 31, 32b–34; iii. 27b–30. The beginning is mixed up with the first hymn.

John the Baptist was the Light and the Christ. The words of John the Baptist are a paraphrase of Mark; John is nothing more than the witness of the Son of God, the Bridegroom's Best Man, but—contrary to the words of Mark—John did not baptize Jesus. All he did was to point him out and to see the Spirit come down upon him, like a dove from heaven, and dwell upon him. He declared him to be “the Lamb of God who takes sin away from the world,” for Jesus is the Paschal Lamb. Having borne his witness, John wanes and Jesus waxes.

In the third hymn²⁹ the catechist's voice, speaking for the whole brotherhood, utters words of a deeper and more secret quality as he explains to the catechumen the mystic significance of the baptism he is about to receive. This is the second birth, the rebirth through the Spirit. Invisibly and immediately, by virtue of the Cross from which Jesus hung, the believer enters into eternal life. He has no future judgment to fear; he has been judged and saved.

Amen, amen, I say to thee,
Except a man be born again
He cannot see the Kingdom of God.³⁰

Amen, amen, I say to thee,
Except a man be born of water and the Spirit,
He cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

What is born of the flesh is flesh,
What is born of the Spirit is spirit.
The wind blows where it lists;³¹

Thou hearest its sound
But knowest not whence it comes, where it goes.
So is he who is born of the Spirit.

Amen, amen, I say to thee,
We speak of what we know,
We testify what we have seen
And you receive not our evidence.

29 iii. 3b, 5b–6, 8, 11–21, 31–36. The end has been tacked on to the end of the second hymn.

30 In the Gospel where this hymn is a part of a discourse of Jesus to Nicodemus, the latter interrupts with the stupid question, “How can a man be born when he is old? How can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born?”

31 The same word *pneuma* is used for both “wind” and “soul.”

If I have told you what is on the earth and you have not believed,
How shall you believe, when I tell you what is in Heaven?

No man has gone up to Heaven
But him, who came down from Heaven,
The Son of Man who is in Heaven.
As Moses raised up the Serpent in the desert,
So must the Son of Man be raised up,
That all who believe in him may not perish,
But may have eternal life.

For God did not send the Son into the world
To judge the world
But that the world might be saved by him.
He who believes in him is not judged,
He who does not believe has already been judged,
For he has not believed in the Only Son of God...

In this hymn the doctrine is very near Marcionism; Jesus comes not to doom, he is Goodness personified. The catechist leads the novice away from the mirages of the Book of the Revelation. "No man has gone up to Heaven," declares John the Second, and thus cancels all the apocalypses. Alone the single being to come down from heaven goes up to heaven, and Jesus himself reveals through this Gospel the secret of divine love. In this Gospel Jesus has not a word to say on the Imminent Advent and Doom. The Last Day, with its Trumpets, its Processions, and its Catastrophes, has gone out of fashion. The True Last Judgment is made when a man accepts or repulses belief in Christ.

A further hymn completes this one.³² Jesus says, "My meat is to do the will of Him who sent me and to finish his work." He is the Reaper who harvests for eternal life. As he is the Judgment, he is also the Resurrection. Like the Father, the Son gives life. It is not at the end of the Age that he will resurrect the dead. He does at the very moment.

32 iv. 34–36; v. 19b–29. In the narrative which leads up to the hymn, the disciples are made to say, "Rabbi, eat!" iv. 37–38 has been added to give the appearance of narrative, but is only apparently in agreement with what precedes.

Amen, amen, I say to you,
The hour comes, and it is now,
When the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God
And they who shall have heard will live.

The next hymn is the mystic explanation of the eucharist.³³ Jesus is the veritable Bread of Life, the Bread of Heaven, the Ambrosia bringing immortality at the very moment, life everlasting, and the resurrection.

Amen, amen, I say to you,
Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man
And drink his blood,
You have no life in you.

He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood
Has eternal life
And I will raise him on the last day,
For my flesh is meat indeed,
My blood veritable drink.

These striking words make us think that the catechist held that in the eucharist there were the real flesh and blood of Jesus.

In another hymn³⁴ Jesus calls himself the Light of the World. He damns the god-slaying Jews and declares to them that he has nothing in common with them, in phrases which show strongly the influence of Marcionism,

You are from below,
I am from above.
You are of this world,
I am not of this world...

If God were your father, you would love me,
For of God I proceeded forth and I come...

You are issued from the father of the Devil
And the lusts of your father you would accomplish.
He was a manslayer from the beginning³⁵

33 vi. 32–33, 35b–40, 44–51, 53–58. In the narrative this hymn is converted into a discourse which Jesus utters before the Jews in the synagogue of Capernaum, and interprets afterwards to his disciples in private. (See Mark iv. 11–19.)

³⁴ viii. 12–58, deducting the interruptions.

³⁵ This refers to the Devil—“through the Devil's jealousy death entered into the world” (Wisdom ii. 24).

And abode not in the Truth
For there is no truth in him.
When he speaks a lie, he speaks of his own nature,
For liar is his father also.³⁶

The later hymns are conceived as Jesus's mystic meditations on his own Passion.

In one³⁷ he makes himself known as the true Shepherd. All before him were thieves and brigands. He is the sublime Shepherd who for his sheep's sake let himself be despoiled temporarily of his life. He is the Divine Shepherd who is One with God.

I am the Good Shepherd.
I know my Sheep, and they know me,
As the Father knows me and I know the Father,
And I lay down my life for the sheep.

Therefore does my Father love me,
Because I lay down my life, that I might take it up again.
No man has taken it from me;
I lay it down of myself.
I have the power to lay it down;
I have the power to take it up again.
This commandment I have from my Father.

My Sheep hear my voice.
I know them and they follow me.
I give them eternal life;
They shall not perish for all eternity.

No man shall snatch them from my hand.
The Father who gave them me is greater than all; None can take them from the hand of the Father.
I and the Father are One.

In another hymn³⁸ Jesus repulses the pusillanimous prayer put in his mouth by Mark (Mark xiv. 35), that, if possible, the hour should be taken from him. When John's Jesus

³⁶ viii. 23; 42a, 44. Who the Devil's father may be is not said, The Evil One is a son of an Evil One (cf. *Acta Thomae* 32). This text is strongly tinged with Marcionism.

³⁷ x. 1–8, except 6–7a, 27–30.

³⁸ xii. 23b–28a, 31–32, 35b–36, 44b–50; xiii. 31b–32; xiv. 1–3, 5, 10b–13, 19–21, 23b–24. It begins “The hour has come when the Son of Man shall be glorified.”

comes to his hour, he says, "Shall I not drink the cup which my Father has given me?" Jesus's death-hour is his hour of glory. Why should it be delayed? In the new plan it replaces the supreme event of the Apocalypse, the Doom of the World and the Casting-out of Satan. From his Cross Jesus marshals his powers. In him the Father is glorified.

Now is my soul troubled and what shall I say?
Father, save me from this hour?
But for this did I come to this hour.
Father glorify thy Name.

Now is the judgment of this world;
Now shall the Prince of this world be cast out.
When I shall be lifted up from the earth,
I will draw all men to me . . .

Yet another hymn sings the true Vine,³⁹ which is Jesus and the Church mystically joined to him. No fruit can the vine bear unless there is the mystic union of believer and his god (xv. 5):—

I am the Vine, you the branches.
He who dwells in me and I in him,
He brings forth much fruit,
For, without me, you can do nothing.

As my Father loved me,
So I have loved you;
Abide in my love . . .

This is my commandment
That you love one another as I have loved you.
Greater love has no man
Than to lay down his life for his friends.

You are my friends,
If you do whatever I command you. . .

Another hymn expresses the feelings aroused by Jesus's disappearance and immediate reappearance;⁴⁰ the lamenta-

39 xv. 1–17.

40 xvi. 16, 20–28, 32–33; xiv. 27–31a. The transposition of the end of the hymn to the end of chapter xiv with the ending "Arise let us go hence" (*Ite, missa est*) is perhaps due to an early copyist's error (see Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, pp. 380–381).

tion and rejoicing of the Christian Easter, the gentle consolation of Jesus.

A little while and you will see me no more
And again a little while and you will see me again.

Amen, amen, I say to you,
You will weep and lament,
And the world will laugh.
You will be grieved,
But your grief will turn to joy.

A woman when she travails has sorrow
Because her hour has come.
But when she is delivered of the child,
She no longer recalls her pain
For the joy that a man is born into the world.

You too, therefore, have sorrow now,
But I will see you again.
Your heart will rejoice
And no man shall take your joy from you. . .

Behold, the Hour comes, yea, has now come,
When you shall be scattered, each to his own home,⁴¹
You will leave me alone,
Yet I am not alone, for the Father is with me.⁴²
I have told you these things
That in me you may have peace.
In the world you shall have sorrow
But be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.

Peace I leave with you,
My peace I give to you;
Not as the world gives do I give to you.
Let not your hearts be troubled, nor be afraid.
You have heard what I said to you,
I am going away and come again to you ...

The last hymn (xvii) is in the form of a prayer which Jesus, about to die, Christ, the everlasting High Priest, utters as a

41 In the narrative the disciples are not scattered. The reference is apparently to the dispersion of the disciples between the death and resurrection of the Christ.

42 This is an intentional contradiction of the cry of distress which Mark places in Jesus's mouth, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Mark xv. 34) (Loisy).

consecration of himself, the sacrifice, and by so doing consecrates his disciples of all time.

Father, the Hour has come
Glorify thy Son, as thy Son glorifies thee.
As thou hast given him power over all flesh,
That to all whom thou hast given him
He may give eternal life.

I pray not that thou shouldst withdraw them from the world⁴³
But that thou shouldst keep them from the Evil One.
Of the world they are not,
Even as I am not of the world
Sanctify them through the Truth;
Thy Word is Truth.

As thou didst send me into the world,
Even so did I send them into the world.
I sanctify myself for their sake
That they may be also sanctified in the truth.

I do not pray for them alone,
But for those who on their word have faith in me,
That they may all be one!
Even as thou, Father, in me and me in thee,
That they may be in us,
That the whole world may believe that thou sentest me.

Father, those whom thou hast given me.⁴⁴
I will that where I am, they may be with me,
That they may see my Glory, which thou hast given me
Because thou didst love me before the foundation of the world.

Righteous Father.⁴⁵ if the world knew thee not,
I have known thee
And these knew that thou didst send me.
I have made known to them thy Name and I will make it known,
That the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them
And I in them.

43 Like the Marcionites who would withdraw from the world.

44 ō, indeclinable relative in place of οὗς

45 Antithesis to the "Good Father" of the Marcionites.

This fine collection of hymns, grave and gentle psalter of the Jesus cult, little office of the Easter liturgy, gave to the Gospel the principal of Jesus's discourses, which differ in tone, style, and matter from any he had been made to utter up to then. They give to John's Gospel that background of pastoral mysticity which is as soft, soothing, and diffuse as the chiaroscuro of a Gothic cathedral.

The recitative in which these hymns are framed is in part borrowed from the other Gospels and in part original.

It is Mark's Gospel which the evangelist has mostly in mind, but he omits the greater part of it, and uses the rest only as it fits in with his plan. He has no hesitation in suppressing episodes as important as Jesus's baptism and his temptations in the desert,⁴⁶ his agony at Gethsemane, and the institution of the eucharist. The God Incarnate cannot be baptized by a mere man nor tempted by Satan, nor can he ask his Father to put away from him the hour for which he came down to earth. Nor is it his duty to baptize men,⁴⁷ nor to celebrate the first eucharistic feast. He is the founder of these rites mystically by his death, as Paul taught. On the Cross itself, from the side of the Crucified, spring forth blood and water, the cup of the sacrament. John, with greater consequence than Mark, saw in Jesus, not the first of martyrs and first of Christian ministers, but the God Redeemer himself.

He retells the story of the vendors driven out of the Temple. He does not, however, place it at the beginning of the Passion, but transfers it to Jesus's first pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Thus he makes a new chronology. While Mark, following Isaiah (lxi. 2, quoted by Luke iv. 19; Jahweh's year of grace), gives Jesus a ministry lasting one year, John tells of three Easters before the Easter of the Redemption.⁴⁸ Jesus's ministry lasted, therefore, three years and a half, the dura-

46 All that John keeps of Mark i. 13 is that Jesus was served by angels (John i. 51).

47 Note in iv. 2 the evangelist says: "Although Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples."

48 ii. 13; v. 1; vi. 4. Cf. Irenæus, *Hær.*, ii. 22, 4; *Secunda vice ascendit in diem festum paschae in Hierusalem quando paralyticum... curavit.*

tion allotted to it in the Book of Revelation. It is the realization of the period of the great trial, even as the death of the Christ is the fulfilment of the Day of Doom and the Expulsion of Satan, the Prince of this World. In this manner the second John carries out his plan of substituting his Gospel for the Revelation of the first John.

When he borrows an episode, he does not make an abridged copy of it, in Matthew's manner; he retells it in his own words. He does not fear either to change the tale in material points or to alter its spiritual meaning. Mark (ii) told that the healing of the paralytic took place at Capernaum. He expanded it with the comic relief of the four porters, who, unable to enter by the door on account of the crowd, made a hole in the roof and let the paralytic down through that. This was an example of saving faith. It is a lesson as clear as can be on the remission of sins by the Son of Man. John (v) places the event in Jerusalem, and changes the picture. For thirty-eight years the paralytic had been waiting beneath the five porticoes of the pool at Bethesda, waiting for someone to help him down into the troubled waters which should heal him.⁴⁹ Jesus asks him abruptly: "Wouldst thou be made whole?" Here is no question of saving faith, but of the divine power. The remission of sins is implied, but not mentioned. Jesus adds a further lesson, for he says to the paralytic, "Sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee." According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is no further remission of sins after baptism. Yet, in spite of profound alterations in this episode, John preserves the words, "Take up thy bed and walk."

Mark mentions two blind men being cured, one at Bethsaida (viii), on whose eyes Jesus spits⁵⁰; the other the blind beggar of Jericho (x). John amalgamates the two, a beggar born blind who is healed by means of the divine saliva.

49 This cistern escaped destruction by the armies of Titus and Hadrian and existed in the days of Origen (*Pr.* 533). It has since been rediscovered to the north-east of the Temple.

50 Mark had perhaps in mind that it was commonly believed that the spittle of a man's first-born could heal blindness (Strack-Billerbeck, ii. 15). Mark's preoccupation was to demonstrate that Jesus was God's first-born.

Again there is no implication of the remission of sins nor of saving faith. The blind man personifies the heathen world, which has not sinned, for the Law was unknown to it. The miracle here signifies that the Word has brought into the world the Light (ix. 1):—

And as he passed by he saw a man blind from his birth.
His disciples asked him,
Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents,
That he should have been born blind?

Jesus answered,
Neither did he sin, or his parents,
But that the works of God should be made manifest in him.

We must do the works of Him who sent me
While it is day;
The night comes when no man can work.
While I am in the world,
I am the Light of the World.

When he had said that, he spat on the ground,
And made mud of his spittle,
Rubb'd his mud on the man's eyes
And said to him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam⁵¹ (Which means Sent).

He went then and washed
And came back seeing.
The neighbours and they who had seen him aforetime,
For he was a beggar,
Said, Is not this he who sat and begged?...

The congregation to whom the Gospel would be read aloud would understand very well that the Light would be brought by the waters of the Sent One—*i.e.*, by baptism in Jesus's name.

The evangelist's true thought is best revealed in the episodes which he has wholly invented.

In ii. 1–11 is the first manifestation of Jesus's glory, which is an anticipation of the glory of his death. It is already, in

51 This reservoir of intermittent waters was also one of the few remains of ancient Jerusalem. Fr. Bliss rediscovered it. Siloam does not mean Sent, but He (or it) who sends, perhaps referring to the canal.

mystery, a manifestation “through the blood.” Jesus gives, beforehand, the eucharistic cup of wine, in place of the water of ablution of the Jews, just as later he gives the eucharistic bread in the miracle of the loaves and fishes which he borrows from Mark.⁵²

On the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee⁵³

The mother of Jesus was there.
Jesus was also bidden with his disciples to the marriage.
There was no wine
For the wine of the marriage was finished.

Then Jesus's mother said to him,
They have no wine.
Jesus said to her,
Woman, what have I to do with thee?⁵⁴
My hour comes not yet.

His mother said to the servants,
Whatever he says, do it.
There were six waterpots of stone
Placed for the ablutions of the Jews,
Each contained two or three measures of water.

Jesus said to them, Fill the pots with water.
They filled them to the brim.
He said to them, Draw out now
And bear to the steward of the feast.
And they took it.

When the steward has tasted the water now become wine
(He did not know whence it came,

52 That this miracle refers to the eucharist is shown by the juxtaposition of the hymn on the Bread of Life. John, it is to be remarked, replaced the word for fish (ἰχθυες) by a word (ὀψάρια), which can mean grilled fish, or any other grilled dish, particularly scones, as in the miracle of Elisha (2 Kings iv. 42–44). Another item from the miracle of Elisha is the substitution of barley loaves for ordinary bread.

53 Cana means “possession, heritage.” Jesus entered into possession of his heritage, when he came to Cana; the Word came to its own.

54 Jesus's mother seems to replace the Woman of the Apocalypse, and symbolizes the first Judæo-Christian Church. Jesus declares that he has no true connection with her (see Mark iii. 33).

But the servants who had drawn the water knew)
He called the bridegroom
And said to him, Every man sets out first the good wine
And then, when men have become drunk, the less good.
Thou hast kept the good wine till now.

Jesus wrought this beginning of his miracles at Cana of Galilee.
He manifested his Glory
And his disciples believed in him.

Dionysos performed this miracle of changing water into wine every year on January 5 at the island of Andros.⁵⁵ John had no hesitation in attributing the same miracle to the Christ. Perhaps he recalled that Melchisedek, who in Philo is the symbol of the Logos of God,⁵⁶ offered wine in the place of water. It is more certain that he wished to refute Marcion and his trenchant aphorism that new wine should not be poured into old wineskins. Though he may be conscious of the newness of Christian doctrine, yet he does not wish to reject utterly the whole of Judaism. Jesus therefore miraculously draws the new wine out of the old pots of the Jews.⁵⁷

The episode of the Samaritan woman (iv) shows what attitude Christians should adopt towards the Samaritans. These fraternal enemies of the Jews, scattered as they were about the Roman empire, formed religious communities separated from the Jewries by an immemorial hatred. They could bring to the Word of God hearts less rebellious than those of Judah. But it was important that their beliefs should not be encouraged. Mount Gerizim was certainly not the veritable Holy Mountain, to take precedence over the hill of Jerusalem. Nor were the Samaritans the true seed of Jacob, for they had worshipped the five gods of the Assyrians.⁵⁸ Jahweh, whom

55 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 231: *Andro in insula templo Liberi patris fontem nonis Ianuarii semper vini saporem fundere Mucianus ter consul credit. Cf. ibid., xxxi. 16.*

56 *Leg. alleg.*, iii. 82, p. 103; quoted by Bauer.

57 The significance of this episode is made quite clear in the Monarchian prologue to John's Gospel, ed. P. Corssen, 1896, p. 6: *ut, veteribus inmutatis, nova omnia quae a Christo instituuntur appareant.*

58 Josephus (*Ant.*, ix. 14, 3) says the five peoples transplanted into Samaria by the Assyrians (2 Kings xvii. 30) left their gods there.

they pretended to worship, but whom they did not know, never chose them for his beloved people, his Bride, but the Jews. "Salvation comes from the Jews." However, Jerusalem's Temple had become a vain thing, even as Mount Gerizim. The Spirit Father no longer chooses peoples, he requires spiritual worshippers, mystai.

This lesson is taught in by means of a tale told in a supple and charming style. Moses, it is said, wearied by travel, sat at the edge of a well.⁵⁹ Similarly John tells of Jesus sitting with his back against a well wall in the Samaritan hamlet of Sychar. A woman comes to draw water, and he asks her to give him some water to drink. She thinks it a surprising thing that a Jew should ask a Samaritan for anything. He says to her:—

If thou knewest the gift of God,
And who it is who says to thee, Give me to drink,
Thou wouldst have asked him,
And he would have given thee living water.

She was surprised. Where would he draw this living water? "Art thou greater than our father Jacob who gave us this well?" He replies:—

Every one who drinks of this water shall thirst again.
He who drinks of the water which I shall give him
Will not thirst for ever and ever,
But the water which I shall give him
Will become in him a well of water springing up to eternal life.

She understands this, which is meant symbolically, in a literal sense. He says to her: "Go, call thy husband." Says she: "I have no husband."

Thou saidst well, I have no husband,
For thou hast had five husbands
And now whom thou hast is not thy husband.
Truly thou hast said it.

The woman said to him,
Lord, I see that thou art a prophet.

⁵⁹ Josephus, *Ant.*, v. I, 16. It is noteworthy that both in Josephus and John occur the rare words ὁδοιπορία and θρέμματα.

Our fathers worshipped on this mountain.
You say that in Jerusalem is the place where men should worship.

Jesus said to her,
Have faith in me, woman.
The hour comes when neither on this mountain, nor at Jerusalem
Shall you worship the Father.

You worship Him whom you know not,⁶⁰
We worship Him whom we know.
For salvation is from the Jews.
But the hour comes, and it is now,
That the true worshippers will worship the Father
In spirit and truth.

Such are they whom the Father seeketh as worshippers.
God is spirit;
Those who worship him
Must worship him in spirit and truth.

Jesus declares himself to be the Messiah whom the Samaritans expect as well as the Jews. The woman goes and fetches her countrymen, and Jesus, at their invitation, dwells among them two days.⁶¹ Many believe in him. They say to the woman: "We have heard for ourselves, and we know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world."⁶²

The most significant, perhaps also the most beautiful, of the episodes peculiar to this Gospel is that in which the Logos-Life, Jesus, is shown bringing the Resurrection into actual life (xi). Nowhere else does the poet display his art in expressing a spiritual truth with all the bright colouring of an historical fact in a manner more subtle or more masterly. Nor does he exhibit anywhere else such freedom of construction. He borrows from Marcion two symbolical sisters, of two species of piety, and their village. To them he adds the symbol of poverty, Lazarus, from whom Dives had asked, without getting, Resurrection, and also the notion that the

60 Indeclinable relative for *ŏv*.

61 Two days is the period an apostle should remain in a community. "If he stops longer, he is a false prophet" (*Didache*, xi. 5).

62 The end of the episode is mixed up with the opening which leads up to the hymn on the Eternal Harvester.

resurrection of Lazarus will not convert the Jews. He makes Lazarus into a brother of Mary and Martha. Then he identifies Mary with the Bethany woman who anointed the Christ with perfume (Mark xiv. 3). He had already identified this woman with the prostitute who, in Marcion, wipes Jesus's feet with her hair.⁶³

Now a certain man was sick,
Lazarus of Bethany,
Of the village of Mary and her sister Martha.
Mary it was who anointed the Lord with perfume
And wiped his feet with her hair,
Whose brother Lazarus was sick.
The sisters sent them to say to Jesus,
Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick . . .

When Jesus came, he found
That he had been four days already in his tomb.
Now Bethany was nigh to Jerusalem,
About fifteen stadia.
Many Jews had come to Martha and Mary
To console for their brother.

Martha, when she heard, Jesus is coming,
Went to meet him.
Mary was sitting in the house.
Martha said then to Jesus,
Lord, if thou hadst been here,
My brother had not died.
Even now I know, what thou shouldst ask of God,
God would give it thee.

Jesus said to her,
Thy brother will rise again.
Martha said to him, I know that he will rise again
At the Resurrection, at the last day.

Jesus said to her,
I am the Resurrection and the Life.
He who believes in me, even if he die, shall live;

⁶³ Marcion-Luke x. 38–42 (Martha and Mary); Luke xvi. 19–31 (Lazarus); vii. 37–38 (the prostitute). The name Lazarus is taken, as in Marcion, from the Jewish martyr Eleazar whose resurrection was celebrated on Dec. 25th at the feast of *Enkainia* (IV *Macc.* xvii. 8–24). John places the resurrection of Lazarus at the time of the *Enkainia* (x. 22) which later was to be held after the Christian festival of Christmas. (B. W. Bacon.)

All who live in me and believe
Shall not die for eternity.
Dost thou believe it?

She said to him, Yes, Lord.
I have believed that thou art the Christ, the Son of God
Who comes into the world.

When she had said that, she went away.
She called Mary, her sister, saying softly,
The Master is here, and calls thee.

She, when she heard it, rose quickly
And went to him
(Jesus had not yet entered into the village;
But was still in the place where Martha met him).

The Jews who were with her in the house, comforting her,
When they saw Mary rise quickly up and go out,
Followed her,
Think that she went to the tomb to wail there.

Mary then, when she came where Jesus was,
At the sight of him fell at his feet, saying to him,
Lord, if thou hadst been here,
He had not been dead, my brother.

Jesus, immediately he saw her wailing
And the Jews who had come with her wailing,
Groaned in his spirit and was troubled.
He said, Where have you laid him?
They said to him, Lord, come and see!
Jesus wept.

The Jews said, Behold how he loved him!
Some among them said,
Could he not, he who opened the eyes of the blind,
Have wrought that this man also should not have died?

Jesus, groaning again within himself,
Comes to the tomb.
It was a little cave with a stone above it.
Jesus said, Raise the stone!

The sister of the dead man, Martha, said to him,
Lord, by this time he stinks; he hath been there four days.
Jesus said to her, Have I not said to thee
That, if thou didst believe, thou wouldst see the Glory of God?

So they raised the stone.
Jesus lifted up his eyes and said,
Father, I thank thee for having heard me.
I knew that thou hearest me always
But because of the crowd which stands around I said it, That they may believe
that Thou hast sent me.

When he had said that, he cried in a loud voice, Lazarus, here, come forth!
The dead man came out,
Bound hand and foot with grave-clothes,
His face wrapped about with a napkin.
Jesus said, Loose him, let him go.

A man must be devoid of religious feeling to be unaware that such a narrative symbolizes a doctrine, and does not relate a historic fact. The Lord Jesus is the Resurrection and the Life. He gives to those who believe in him and live in him resurrection at the moment of their death. This living belief has blossomed out, not in a theological formula, but in a sacred story, at once both simple and majestic, the expression of a mystic vision. This is no legend, the amplification of some actual event, it is a *hieros logos*, a divine word. The details are of minor importance. Were there ten times as much, the fundamental character of the text would remain the same. And to attach importance to such things as topography, distance, persons, sentiments, is to allow the truth to escape. To ask whether such a thing could happen is to mistake the whole import of it.

The ritual narrative of the Passion and the Resurrection of the Lord is based on Mark, with a few reminiscences of Marcion.⁶⁴ John has, nevertheless, wholly retold it, making corrections and additions.

It is adapted to the ancient Paschal liturgy which the non-Marcionite Churches of Asia held to faithfully, and in which Hebrew and Christian Easters met. Jesus dies on the 14th Nisan, on the day and at the hour when, according to the Law, the Paschal Lamb is sacrificed. From this it follows that the Last Supper is an ordinary meal, and not the Pass-

⁶⁴ *E.g.*, the *two* angels in the tomb (Marcion-Luke xxiv. 4), the first apparition to the disciples taking place at Jerusalem (Marcion-Luke xxiv. 36-42).

over. The Lamb of God pierced on the Cross is substituted for the earthly lamb which had to be offered up at Jerusalem.

The Christ was not sacrificed as in the Apocalypse “before the foundation of the world,” but at the very instant of the most solemn sacrifice of the old religion. Just as the wine of Cana was drawn from Hebrew pots, so does the Christian festival of the true Redemption fall on the festival of the Jewish Redemption. To make the relation more certain, John adds a detail to the crucifixion—soldiers are sent to break the thighs of the crucified, but, as Jesus was already dead, they did not do so to him; for it is written of the Paschal Lamb “not a bone of him shall be broken” (xix).⁶⁵

In the old liturgy the fast ceased on the day of Jesus's death, before the day of the Resurrection.⁶⁶ Thus Jesus's death was celebrated as a triumph, just as was his resurrection; this was the key idea of John's Gospel.

Is it fitting that Jesus should appear to suffer death, when that is his most potent act and the most deliberate? Until his hour has come, he escapes mysteriously from his enemies (viii. 59; xii. 36). But when a whole Roman cohort, led by Judas, who is possessed at the time by the Prince of this World, Satan, comes to arrest him, he has only to name himself for the whole cohort to fall backward to the ground (xviii. 6). He gives himself up of his own free will, on condition that his disciples are allowed to go free.

When Pilate asks him whether he is the King of the Jews, he does not, as Mark relates, refuse to answer; but, says John, he tells of his real kingdom (xviii. 36–37):—

My kingdom is not of this world.
If of this world had been my royalty,
My servants would have fought
That I should not have been delivered to the Jews.
No, my kingdom is not of here.

Thou, thou sayest that I am king.
For this I was born,
For this I came into the world;
To bear witness to the Truth.
All who are of the Truth hear my voice.

⁶⁵ Exod. xii. 46; John xix. 33 and 36.

⁶⁶ Irenæus, Letter to Victor, in Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 24, 12.

Pilate inquires: "What is Truth?" This question may have introduced another strophe which has been lost.⁶⁷

By way of refuting those who claimed that Simon of Cyrene replaced Jesus on the cross, Mark enrolled Simon to carry the cross for a while, but John disdains this expedient, suppresses Simon of Cyrene, and states definitely that Jesus carried his cross himself (xix. 17), nor does he surround Christ's death with darkness, for his doctrine was that the crucifixion was a triumph.

Among the complementary details charged with meaning which John brings in, Christ's testament from the cross should be noted (xix. 26–27):—

When Jesus saw his mother
And the disciple standing by whom he loved,
He said to his mother, Woman, behold thy son.
Then he said to his disciple, Behold thy mother.

From that hour the disciple took her into his own home. In this Gospel Jesus's mother takes the place of the Woman in the Apocalypse, and Jesus never calls her "Mother." She personifies the old Church with its Hebrew nature, and the beloved disciple symbolizes the truly initiated Christians, the mystics. These two are to live together, but not as Matthew would have had it, for the mother is to dwell in the son's house. In veiled words, this is a blessing on the Ephesian mystics, who show a pious attachment to ancient tradition, and a condemnation of the Marcionites, who repudiate any connection with these traditions.

A detail of capital importance for the author is the wounding of the Christ's side after his death (xix. 34–35):—

One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side,
And straightway there came out blood and water.
He who saw it has borne witness ;
His witness is true.
That man⁶⁸ knows that he spoke truly
That you also may believe.

67 There is what is perhaps an echo of this in the *Acta Pilati*.

68 *That man* (ἐκεῖνος) refers to Jesus as in 1 John ii. 6; iii. 3, 5, 7, 16. The Pythagoreans referred to Pythagoras after his death in the same way (Iamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.*, 255; quoted by Delatte and Lagrange).

At the very hour at which, according to his predecessors, the eucharist was instituted, John sees water and blood come out of the side of the Crucified. In the eyes of the mystic this vision was truer than the other, for it was the death of Jesus which gave their virtue to the blood of the eucharist and to the water of baptism. For that reason he bases the occurrence on evidence, the truth of which is strongly emphasized, and on an appeal to the Christ himself. Not satisfied with that, John brings in a text from Zechariah, obviously the inspiration of the vision— “They shall look on him whom they pierced.”

The risen Jesus appears first to one only of the women named by Mark and Marcion, Mary of Magdala. Like the disciples of Emmaus in Marcion, she fails to recognize him. When he calls her by her Hebrew name, Mariam, she suddenly knows him and seeks to touch him. Jesus says to her (xx. 17):—

Touch me not
For I am not yet ascended to my Father.
Go to my brothers and tell them,
I ascend to my Father and your Father,
My God and your God.

This preliminary apparition is not complete.⁶⁹ The Risen God is not yet to be touched, for his glorification is not yet complete. He has yet to go up to heaven to be invested with the Holy Ghost. On the same evening he appears to the disciples and breathes the Spirit into them, and with it the power to remit sins. Henceforth his body is visible and tangible, completely resurrected, so that a second advent is not necessary. His Ascension and Descent, which recall, in reverse order, the Descent and Ascension of the Gods of the Mysteries, are celebrated in the morning and the evening of Easter Sunday, the festival at one and the same time of the Resurrection, the Ascension, the gift of the Holy Ghost, and of the Parousia.

Since the enemies of the Christians said he had a twin brother Thomas⁷⁰ who was his double, and that the disciples

⁶⁹ It will not be counted among the apparitions of the Resurrection to the disciples (xxi. 14).

⁷⁰ *Thomas* means “twin.”

had mistaken this twin for Jesus risen,⁷¹ the evangelist brings on the scene one Thomas called Didymus (Twin). And this Thomas he makes sceptical of Jesus's resurrection. At the second apparition to the disciples Jesus offers his body to Thomas to touch (xx. 27):—

Reach hither thy finger;
See my hands.
Reach thy hand and put it in my side.
Be not incredulous, but believing.

The Twin cries out, “My Lord and my God.” He is the first to give to Jesus the title of God, which it is the aim of this Gospel to justify.

In conclusion, John refers to the other miracles of the Christ which can be found in the other Gospels. He does not deny them; he has made his choice of them in the design that many might believe (xx. 30–31):—

Many other miracles, surely, did Jesus do in the presence of his disciples,
Which are not written in this book.
These have been written that you may believe
That Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God,
And that believing you may have life in his Name.

John settled once and for all the great mystery of the nature of Jesus. Marcion had posed two dilemmas. Jesus cannot be at one and the same time God and Flesh. The Father of the Christ cannot be the God of the Jews. John solves them, not by a victory of reasoning, but by mystic illumination. Jesus is at one and the same time God and Flesh. There is nothing to explain, nor to endeavour to understand, but simply something to believe, as Thomas saw and touched. In the Christian mysteries there is mystically present an inconceivable being, who is God, since he and the Father are one, who is also human flesh and blood, whose flesh the Christian chews, whose blood he drinks. Thus the God-Man came into theological existence.

The Jewish religion is put on one side almost bodily. Only one festival remains of it—the Passover of the 14th Nisan—

71 Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, quoted by Rendel Harris.

and a few prophetic texts. The Hebrew God seems to be quite different from the Father of the Christ, for the Jews have the same father as the Devil. Nevertheless Hebrew and Christian Gods are identical, and “salvation comes from the Jews.” Here again the mystic poet makes no attempt to obtain logical reconciliations. Marcionism is not refuted: it is simply absorbed into a wider theology, the leading principle of which is love.

The second John, having dug the grave of the first John, proceeded to bury all those Israelitish hopes which till then had inspired and stimulated Christians, with which Marcion even had compromised—the cosmic catastrophe, the Last Judgment, the General Resurrection. He goes further than Marcion, for he does away with the Second Advent. Though he keeps the traditional title of “Son of Man,” he removes from it all that recalled its apocalyptic derivation. The God-Man is freed from the chrysalis of the Final Judge. But the evangelist is careful to do nothing to alarm Christian sensibilities, and plunges his audacities in a mist of devotion and muffles them behind the harmonies of poetic incantations.

The Gospel according to Matthew and the Gospel according to John were fated to rivalry. Each of them pretends to authorship by one of the Twelve. Each was grounded on the anterior Gospels of Mark and Marcion. But their aims were opposed. The one preached the New Law, and the other All-sufficing Love. The one taught that the Christ was the Messiah of Israel, and the other that he was Eternal God. The one made its appeal to Messianist Jews and to Christians of the Hebrew school, the other to Greeks schooled in mysteries and to enthusiastic Christians.

Matthew's rabbinical evangel made its way throughout Asia, where the authority of the Elder met with opposition.⁷² The Church at Smyrna received it in full conviction that “Jesus was truly of the race of David according to the flesh, truly born of a virgin and baptized of John that all righteousness might be fulfilled”⁷³; all of which the Church of Ephesus denied. However Smyrna held with Ephesus the

⁷² Bishop Diotrephes rejected it (3 John. 9).

⁷³ Ignatius of Antioch, *Magnesians*, ix.

Easter rite homologated by John's Gospel.⁷⁴ Other Christians raised a dispute because according to Matthew the Lord was not dead on the 14th Nisan, the day on which they celebrated his death in Asia.⁷⁵

On the other hand, John's lyrical Gospel was learned and meditated throughout Syria. Its unavowed influence is to be noted in the Odes of Solomon and the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch.⁷⁶ But until Theophilus of Antioch (*Ad Autolyicum*, ii. 22; c. 181) he is not definitely quoted.

The mysterious, whispered name of the disciple whom Jesus loved had less power to bring the Churches under a single discipline than that of the first of the apostles, Peter, on whom Jesus had conferred the ultimate power, according to Matthew. Peter certainly owes to Matthew his later domination. True that John made no pretensions to place the beloved disciple over Peter in the hierarchy, simply to show him as the first to discover the secrets of Jesus, but he left Peter under the shadow of a triple denial of his God.

Outside Ephesus John had fallen into a certain disrepute, for it had been believed and much repeated that, as foretold by Jesus himself, John would not die till the Lord came again.⁷⁷ He died at a great age in the reign of Trajan (96–117).⁷⁸ The Advent so positively promised had not occurred then.

The evangelist found it necessary to take up the calamus

74 Irenæus, Letter to Victor, in Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 24, 10: "Anicet [Bishop of Rome] was unable to convince Polycarp [Bishop of Smyrna] not to hold with John, the disciple of our Lord... he had always held with him."

75 Apollinarius of Hierapolis (c. 160) in Routh, *Reliq. sacr.*, i., p. 167: "There are some who through ignorance raise a dispute... they say that the Lord ate mutton with his disciples on the 14th (Nisan), and that he suffered death on the great day of unleavened bread (15th Nisan). They declare that Matthew supports their opinion. Their doctrine is contrary to the Law [Exod. xvii. 17 *et sqq.*] and would introduce an apparent conflict between the Gospels."

76 *E.g.*, Odes of Solomon xli. 15: "A Light shone from the Word which was with him [God] from the beginning." Ignatius, *Magnesians*, v. 19: "The Lord wrought nothing without his Father." Cf. John v. 19.

77 Mark ix. I had endeavoured to correct this belief by making Jesus say that some of those who were alive when he spoke would not die till they had seen the Kingdom of God, which might refer in Mark's day to some known or unknown centenarian.

78 Irenæus, in Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii. 23–24.

once more in order to put this right; and he published a second edition of his Gospel with a longer ending.⁷⁹ With his usual skill, he combined the story of the miraculous catch of fish from Marcion and the investiture of Peter and the Appearance to the Eleven in Galilee from Matthew into a third apparition of the Christ to his disciples.

Seven disciples, who had returned to Galilee, were fishing in the Lake of Tiberias, but not a fish did they catch. Jesus came to the bank, but they saw him not. He tells them what to do, and their nets are immediately filled with fish. The disciples did not even then recognize their Master, save the beloved disciple. He tells Peter, who throws himself into the lake, to swim to the Christ. Jesus gives food to them and makes them count the fish they have taken—153, the number of species of fish, and by symbol of the races of men. Then he asks Peter thrice whether he loves him. Thrice Peter replies, each time cancelling one of his denials, “Yes, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee.” Each time Jesus bids him tend the sheep, thus conferring on him the post of chief shepherd. Then in terms as obscure as any oracle he foretells Peter's martyrdom.

Then says Peter, pointing to the beloved disciple: “What shall this man do?”

Jesus said to him,
If I will that he abide till I come,
What is that to thee?
Follow thou me.

The saying went abroad among the brethren
That this disciple would not die.
Jesus did not say to him that he should not die,
But, if I will that he abide till I come,
What is that to thee?

79 Chapter xxi. This second ending was intended to replace the first (xx. 30–31). The copyists, faced by two manuscripts, copied the two endings, placing the second after the first. The same thing happened in the Book of the Revelation of St. John (*The Book of Revelation*; London, Watts, 1932, p. 22), and in certain manuscripts of Mark. The name of the high priest Caiaphas was probably added in the second edition, due to Matthew's influence (xi. 49; xviii. 13–14, 24). In the first edition Jesus was brought before Annas (deposed in the year 15, long before Pilate's appointment to Judæa).

Having made his point with subtle craft, the evangelist roundly and naïvely declares that this beloved disciple was the author of this Gospel.

This is the disciple who bears witness of these things
And who has written them;
We know that his witness is true.

Exalted by a vision of infinite developments possible to evangelic literature, John ends his poem with a somewhat flat hyperbole:—

There are also many other things which Jesus did;
If they were to be written one by one,
Not even the world itself, I suppose, could contain
The books which should be written.

IX
JESUS OF NAZARETH
(The Gospel according to Saint Luke)

THAT most chaste master and most fearless pilot, the man who gave to evangelic literature its first impulse, Marcion, must have read in his own lifetime the Gospels which arose from his own and in opposition to it. He cast them aside, in particular those of Matthew and John, which laid claim to the patronage of the old apostles.⁸⁰ We know what he said of one of those rare passages in Matthew of which he might have approved, that in which Jesus speaks of those “which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake” Matt. xix. 12). He disapproved of such a manner of referring to voluntary continence. In his eyes the precepts of Jesus were always simple and clear, never enigmatic nor charged with double meaning.⁸¹

He felt his different opponents unite against him. He beheld barriers raised against his proposed radical reform of the Churches and against his chimerical plan of utterly separating Christianity from Judaism. Matthew's followers were joined together against him in Syria, and the theology of John opposed him in Asia. When he landed at Ephesus as the official delegate of the churches of Pontus, bearing their credentials, he was driven away as an enemy by the very author of the latest Gospel,⁸² who, in his epistles, refers

80 Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem.*, iv. 3; *Marcion... connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum quae propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur vel etiam apostolicorum.*

81 Origen, *Comm. in Matth.*, xv. 3.

82 Papias in the Latin prologue to the Gospel of John (Wordsworth White, *N.T. Latin*, Part I, p. 490): *Marcion hæreticus cum ab eo (sc. Iohanne) fuisset reprobatus eo quod contraria sentiebat, abiectus est a Iohanne. Is vero scriptum vel epistulas ad eum pertulerat, a fratibus missus qui in Ponto erant fideles in domino nostro.* Where his text speaks of the Apostle John must be understood the author of the Gospel.

to Marcion in cryptic expressions as the Deceiver and the Antichrist (2 John 7; I John iv. 2–3). When Marcion put in at Smyrna, he called on the chief bishop, old Polycarp who was a Syrian by birth, and asked to be recognized by him, and the answer came: “I recognize thee as the first-born of Satan.”⁸³ It was to Satan Paul consigned the great apostles, and to whom John sent Paul. In a letter to the Philippians, Polycarp anathematizes Marcion without naming him, enumerating all his grudges against him: “Whoever does not admit that Jesus Christ came in the flesh is Antichrist. Whoever does not admit the witness of the Cross [*i.e.*, as a proof of Jesus’s flesh] is of the Devil. Whoever twists the sayings of the Lord (and in particular the words of the Apocalypse) to suit his own wishes and denies the Resurrection and the Judgment is the eldest son of Satan” (Polycarp, *Philipp.*, 7).

The quarrels of provincial Churches made echoes in Rome; here, to the imperial capital, it was only natural that such disputes should be brought for arbitration. When, therefore, Marcion found himself attacked in Asia, he sought to save the cult he had originated by boldly establishing his headquarters in the Eternal City itself; he believed that his God would give him strength to gain the recognition he sought. His hopes were great, for his followers were to be found at Carthage, Lyons, and Rome itself. Moreover, the Roman Church would have no truck with the Jews, and celebrated Easter at another time than the Jewish Passover, even as did the Marcionite Churches, as well as those who held to the Gospel according to St. Matthew. This the Asiatic Churches looked on as scandalous. Moreover, at Rome the Christians fasted on Sunday, just as the Marcionites did, as if they would spite the Jews. The Roman Gospel according to St. Mark, save in the cardinal matter of the deity, walked in the footsteps of its neo-Pauline model. Marcion could think that at Rome the minds of the faithful had been prepared to receive him and his message. As forerunners he sent one of the holy women of his order (Jerome, *Epist.*, 133, 4). He knew the power of asceticism

83 Irenaeus, *Hæc.*, iii. 3–4.

over chastened hearts; and the Roman should see a chosen sample of the first Christian nuns in history. Then he hoisted his sails on his own boat and braved the hazards which his master Paul had braved eighty years before.

In the year 138 he came to Rome in the last months of Hadrian's reign.⁸⁴ Emaciated by fasting, burned up by the fever of the evangelist, obsessed with goodness, Marcion was already an old man. In the swarming alleys of the great city he sought out a sure roof to shelter his Church, and then to the Elders of the Roman community he wrote a letter in which he set out his beliefs in such terms that it was accepted by them.⁸⁵ That his faith and charity might be proved to the best advantage, Marcion practised what he had preached in the Gospel he taught. Therein Jesus says to a rich young man who sought eternal life: "Sell that thou hast and give to the poor." And again: "Make to yourself friends with the Mammon of Unrighteousness." And also: "He among you that does not give up all which he possesses cannot be my disciple." Marcion handed over to the Church a great sum—200,000 sesterii—probably his whole fortune (Tertullian, *De praescr.*, 30; *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 4). The decisive struggles came later.

Marcion's Gospel was not questioned by the Roman Church, which revered it as the source of genuine teachings of Jesus. Marcion, however, insisted on proving to the Elders and doctors that Judaism was repudiated in the Gospel.⁸⁶ In particular he stressed two passages. "Neither do men put new wine into old bottles," said Jesus harshly, "else the bottles burst and the wine runneth out. But they

84 Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, vii. 17: περὶ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως [sic] χρόνους ὡς πρεσβύτης. On the other hand, Tertullian always speaks of Marcion as if he were at Rome under Antonine; *Adv. Marc.*, i. 19: *Antonianus haereticus est, sub Pio impius, De praescr.*, 30: *Antonini Jere principatu.*

85 Tertullian pretended that Marcion later withdrew this declaration of belief. *De carne*, 2: *excidisti rescindendo quod retro credidisti, sicut et ipse confiteris in quadam epistula.* Cf. *Adv. Marc.*, i. 1: *primam illius fidem nobiscum fuisse, ipsius litteris testibus;* and iv. 4. It is more likely that later discussions led to the respective doctrinal positions of the Elders and Marcion being more clearly laid down.

86 Epiphanes, *Pan.*, 42, 2; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, i. 2.

put new wine into new bottles and both are preserved." This passage, declared Marcion, could only mean that the new wine of Christianity should not be poured into the old bottles of Judaism. Therefore all that concerned the Jews and their ways must be eliminated.

Jesus says again: "For a good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit; neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit; for every tree is known by his fruit." The two trees, said Marcion, are the two Gods. Can evil come from the True God? The Hebrew God cannot be the true, good tree, since he himself declares, by the mouths of Jeremiah and Isaiah, his prophets, that he brings forth evil. The good tree, the True God, is the Father of Jesus, who is goodness itself and brings forth good only. Render to the Jews who hate you their Bible and their God.

O Elders of Rome, ye prudent and pious house-fathers, a terrible gospeller summons you, who are no subtle casuists or profound theologians, in the name of the Gospel to resolve the insoluble problem, whence comes Evil? Moreover, he would compel you by his fearful logic to abjure as impieties your most cherished traditions, tear from your hands your revered Bible and ban the worship of the Creator. How could they be expected to do anything of the sort? Neither in matter nor morally had the Roman Church anything in common with the Jews, from whom they took little but kicks. Since this recent revolt in Palestine the Roman Christian had been at greater pains than before to keep himself distinct from the Israelite, to display his loyalty in his festivals and customs. None could any longer confuse Christian and Jew. What more could be asked of them reasonably?

It was not reasonable to take away from them that sacred writ in which was foretold even the blindness of those Jews, which was their source of texts for daily consumption, their guide to morality, their instrument of faith, on every page of which could be traced the story of Jesus. No; this was too much to ask.

If we may believe that naïve worthy, Justin, the philosopher of the community, the thing which exasperated the Elders most was Marcion's pretension to have brought with

him in his ship from Pontus a new God superior to the old one they were accustomed to worship. "One, Marcion of Pontus," he wrote to the Emperor Antonine, "considers he has a god mightier than the Creator. Throughout the whole human race, by the help of demons, he caused blasphemies to be uttered, the Architect of the Universe to be denied, another god to be confessed as more puissant and a doer of greater things than him" (Justin, *I Apol.*, 26).

No matter how it is looked at, Christianity is a revolution in gods; and the uncompromising Marcion pushed the opposition of the new god to the old to its utmost limit. The instinct of the Churches was for compromise, and the mystery of the Trinity was its outcome.

There was another point on which this emaciated old man was inflexible. He insisted that Jesus had no true flesh, that he could not grow old, that his being was not corruptible. From this he deduced that there could be no resurrection of the body. This doctrine in spite of its Pauline origin clashed with the dearest and most firmly embedded prejudices of the Elders. Their inmost wish was to rise in their flesh and their bones for the great Coming, and to feel the blood pulse through their veins on the day of their Election. Nor could they conceive that Jesus might really have suffered if his flesh was other than theirs, whatever defects that might have.

Marcion was supported by the disciplined exaltation of his cohorts of martyrs, of ascetics, and of virgins who all bade farewell to the world and whom a bloodless Jesus and the sublime rule of the Gospel satisfied. The Elders had with them the great bulk of Christians, who, though they might be educated and kept within bounds by the Bible, were yet bound to earth and weighted down by their terrestrial passions, and therefore had eyes only for a Christ of flesh and blood like themselves. No agreement could be possible between these two parties. At length Marcion came to the end of his patience; he despaired of further effort, and felt that his nerves could endure no more. He was impelled to the grave step of breaking away. "I divide," he cried, "your Church and place between the parts an

abyss for all eternity" (Epiphanius, *Pan.*, 42, 2). Straightway they thrust him forth from the Church and cast back at him the sum which he had given to it (Tertullian, *De præscr.*, 30; *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 4). Henceforth hate and calumny were his part. A brother, more than any other, is an enemy when he ceases to be loved as a brother. Marcion, on his side, emphasized more and more strongly his doctrine of the two gods, and stressed with sharper definition the antithesis between the Law and the Gospel in a commentary he entitled *Antitheses*.

A few years later, in July 144,⁸⁷ Marcion died. For three more centuries his Church lived on, governing itself, and then passed into Manichæanism.

The Roman Church survived this severe test and came out of it a firm believer in the Bible and in the carnal Jesus. Moreover, it was determined not to suffer any more trials of this kind, and with that marvellous practical sense of the Roman, that genius of conquest and organization, it took steps to protect its flock for ever from the Jewish question and from the Marcionite heresy by boldly despoiling in wholesale manner both the Jews and Marcion.

The atrocious Jewish revolt was repressed with equal atrocity; Jerusalem was replanned by the wand of the augur, and the Jews had all the appearance of being marked down for destruction. The moment had evidently come to seek a successor to Judaism. Why should the Roman Church not declare itself the universal legatee of the Jews? Why not firmly annex the whole Bible? It would then be the exclusive property of the Christians, and the Jews would have no further right to it. The Bible (Old Testament) was merely the antechamber of Christianity.

⁸⁷ This date which may be deduced from Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, 1, 19 (...*anni fere cxv et dimidium anni cum dimidio mensis. Tantumdem temporis ponunt inter Christum et Marcionem*) is the date of Marcion's death and not his defeat at the hands of the Roman Elders. (E. Barnikol, *Die Entstehung der Kirche im zweiten Jahrhundert und die Zeit Marcions*; Kiel, 1933.) From this it follows that the first Apology of Justin in which Marcion is referred to as living must be anterior to July, 144, and that agrees with Eusebius, *Chron.* (140–141), and with the title of Philosopher given to Verissimus (Marcus Aurelius).

Then that annoying question would be settled once and for all as to what and how much of this book was to be taken or left. Matthew wanted to take it all—in a purified sense, of course; Marcion would not take any. All was to be taken, without a cut or a correction, but as ancient history. The Epistle to the Hebrews showed the way. The Bible is an old design of God's, an edifying book, but no longer final. God willed one law, and now he willed another. He made a Covenant with one people, and now he would make a Covenant with another people. That was all; the same God whose change of mind it was better to adore than to accept the new god Marcion had dreamed of. The lasting success of this policy showed its wisdom.

Moreover, there was in this a noteworthy political advantage. If the Christians were the successors of the Jews and the sole authorized holders of the Holy Writ, they were of the standing of Jews, and all the juridical privileges of the Jews must be transferred to them—in chief the right to be dispensed of the imperial cult and of the cult of idols. Then would persecution cease and the Church rise in procession out of the catacombs and display itself proudly before all. And, behold, a new Emperor was about to take his seat on the throne. In the place of the harsh and sceptical Hadrian came the kindly, just, and benevolent Antoninus Pius, and at his court shone those two young philosophers who in their turn succeeded him—Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius. That philosopher of the Church, Justin, addressed to these two virtuous princes a long and candid defence of Christianity of which much was expected.

To complete the plan of two Covenants, or, as they said in Latin, two *Testaments*, of God, the second was required, To the Bible, which now became the *Old Testament*, a *New Testament* had to be added—*i.e.*, a second collection of books expressing the true will of God. Here it was that the inheritance left by Marcion was convenient; for Marcion had left to Christianity two Holy Books—a Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul. He had destined them to replace the Bible. Instead of that they were to become

the nucleus of the New Testament, and round about them were to be constructed other books in which were to be recognized the true words of the Lord—*viz.*, the Gospels of Matthew, of Mark, and of John—perhaps, thanks to the appendix, the prophecy of Hermas (for some), the Epistle to the Hebrews (for others), the Revelation of John (this not without opposition). If there were need for any corrections, erasures, or additions, the Church would be equal to it, with the help of the Holy Ghost.

As a matter of fact a new gospel was not necessary to the Roman community; for it made use of Mark's Gospel, which was adapted to its creed and liturgy. There was, however, another use for the Gospel taken from Marcion. The Church had a pressing need of an historical document which it could place before the world, bring to the notice of the rulers, of the literati, and of sympathizers, as the story of early Christianity; not a special pleading such as Justin meditated, but an easy, striking, and moving tale. Flavius Josephus had done this work only too well for Jewry, and what was lacking from the Church was a Christian Josephus, whose first volume should be the story of Jesus and the second the tale of the Apostles, the whole making a strong appeal to both believers and pagans. The Gospel which the Church had wrested from Marcion would serve as the first volume, or at any rate as a basis for it; well-chosen additions would suffice to give it the right note; and it would, of course, be preceded by a circumstantial proof of Jesus's birth according to the flesh. In fact, the more they thought it over, the clearer they saw that to begin in the historian's manner with Jesus's pedigree would be a sufficient refutation of Marcion. Treat him wholly as a historical person, and he ceased to be pure Spirit, having put on flesh.

Who and what was the man of genius in the Church who imagined this scheme and carried it into performance? It can be only in the Roman Church that he is to be sought; nor does the search appear likely to be in vain.

There are striking and peculiar affinities among the latest parts of the New Testament (by these I mean those

parts of Luke which are not to be found elsewhere, neither in Marcion, nor in Mark, nor in Matthew, the second edition of the Acts,⁸⁸ the corrections in Paul,⁸⁹ the Pastoral Epistles, the two Epistles of Peter, and that of Jude) even though they are attributed to different authors. In all there is the same modified bastard Paulinism, the same Presbyterian idea of the Church, the same Biblical culture with a tincture of stoicism, the same accusations against the same heretics, the same moral themes (submission, good works, and sanctification), a marked taste for quotations (which are at times curious in origin), for the marvellous, and for prayer as well, the same sort of restrained emotionalism, and a kind of theological ineptitude. It is difficult not to think that, under various disguises and despite a real talent for make-up, it is the same author at work in all cases. Furthermore, the same characteristics are to be found in that letter from the Roman Church to the Corinthians, which is attributed with some reason to Clement of Rome. It may, then, be looked on as not at all improbable that the Elders of the Roman Church commissioned Clement to complete and publish this edition of the New Testament.

In those days, when the breath of the Spirit in the mouth of the prophet Hermas threatened the stability of the Church, Clement was Church Secretary. It was his duty to send to the other Churches the edict of remission of sins which the prophet had received in a dream from an aged woman from heaven.⁹⁰ He had been able to see for himself from close at hand the disadvantages of a prophet and the inconveniences of the absolute power of the Spirit. When the intermittent dictatorship of the prophets gave way to the government of the Elders, Clement kept his old office, and also increased his authority. He was probably one of the Elders whom Marcion encountered and by whose tenacity he was worsted. In any case, he was an important member of the Council of the Church when he wrote in the

88 This has been studied by P. L. Couchoud and R. Stahl in *Premiers Ecrits du Christianisme*; 1930, pp. 163–214.

89 *Premiers Ecrits du Christianisme*, pp. 7–3 I.

90 Hennis, *Vis.*, ii. 4: "Clement will address it to the other towns, for he is charged with this duty."

name of the whole Church to the Corinthian Church to dissuade it from taking the power from the Elders, no doubt in order to vest authority in the bishop alone, and to wrest that Church from the Marcionite enemy.⁹¹

He owed his office to his cunning as a writer, to his vast knowledge of profane and sacred literature, and to the fact that he was well learned in both the Roman and the Hebrew fashion. In all likelihood he was born a heathen, and to the end his heart was with the Gentiles. His is the right Roman tone. He speaks of “our princes, the soldiery subject to *our* chiefs.”⁹²

His admiration is for examples of Roman virtue. Both the Greek muse and the Latin inspire him. His reading includes Herodotus, Euripides, Cicero, Ovid, Aratos, and even the little-known poem of Epimenides, *Minos*.⁹³ He wrote good literary Greek, his style was supple and varied, lending itself to different modes. In him there flowed no fiery tide of Hebrew blood, but he was a Jew by conquest. What he knows profoundly is Hebrew literature in the Greek translation, and above all the whole Bible, including the Book of Enoch.⁹⁴ Then the Apocrypha, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the story of Ahikar, a lost Book of Jannes and Jambres,⁹⁵ the Fourth Book of the Maccabees,

91 See H. Delafosse (J. Turmel), “L’Épître de Clément Romain aux Corinthiens”—in the *Revue de l’Hist. des Religions*; Jan. 1928. This Epistle is dated by its anti-Marcionite note.

92 1 Clem. ix. 4; xxxvii. 2

93 Herodotus, story of the phoenix (1 Clem. xxv). Reminiscences of Euripides in 1 Clem. xxxviii. 2 (Lightfoot), in Acts xxi. 39 (As Ion says, Delphi, city not without renown, so Paul says, Tarsus, a city not without renown; A.V., no mean city). Cicero, *Pro Milone* is recalled in 1 Clem. liv. 2. From Ovid, *Metam.*, viii, 621–726 (the earthly journey of Jupiter and Mercury) comes Acts xiv. 12. In Acts xvii. 28 is a quotation from Aratos, and one verse from Epimenides, *Minos*, appears in Titus I, 12, while another verse appears in Acts xvii, 28 (Rendel Harris, *St. Paul and Greek Literature*; Cambridge, 1927, p. 7). Epimenides accuses the Cretans of lying when they told that Zeus had a tomb in Crete, “They have made thee a tomb, O thou the Holy and the High, the everlying Cretans, evil wild beasts, voracious bellies [cp. Titus], but thou art not dead, thou livest, art living, and for ever alive; for in thee we live and move and have our being” (cf. Acts).

94 Quoted as Scripture in Jude xiv.

95 Cited in 2 Tim. iii. 8

and the Jewish apocalyptic books such as *The Assumption of Moses* (which is alluded in Jude ix and perhaps in Clem. xvii. 6). He was well read in the Hebrew writers of Greek tongue, such as Philo, who wove tales of Moses, and Flavius Josephus, who was his model and arsenal. In the exegesis of the Bible he is the disciple of the great Didascalus of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He does not rise to the heights of his master in thought, but he possessed a better sense of what was practicable, a warmth in exhortation, the gift of persuasion, and the art of varying his tale. Most of all he is the chief of the Church, whose portrait he never tired of drawing, that affable and moderate man of broad mind and firm hand. His library was ever at the service of the government of souls.

Matthew, whom he resembled in his deep sense of the Church, was a Jesuine rabbi who urged the Jew to adopt the Crucified; whereas he is the Jesuine Gentile who appeals to the redeemed Gentiles to take possession of the unclaimed goods of the Hebrew, of which he would lose nothing. In opposition to a Jew by race such as the second John, he restores the traditional hopes of the Jews, the Last Judgment, the Resurrection of the Body. These prophecies converted him, because the Gentiles are in Jesus the beneficiaries of them. He says: "Our father Abraham, our father Jacob" (I Clem. xxxi. 2; iv. 8), because he knows that the parentage is established by faith and not by race. He feels that he is the son of the God of Israel—the younger son maybe, but one preferred to the elder. The same good works which the exact Israelite fulfilled in the Law, the penitent Gentile fulfilled even better in the Church; and the sanctity of which Israel boasted was now a privilege open to all mankind.

Never had the continuity of the Old Law and the New been established in more admirable fashion, never had the Old Law been more completely mingled with the New in an indissoluble whole.

But continuity is not repetition. At no price would Clement agree that the Christian prophets were the legitimate successors of the prophets of Israel. He had seen too much of the instability and the unexpected and arbitrary jolts

which the prophets gave to the Church. That period must be closed for ever, for the Church would perish if Liberty of the Spirit is to be an everlasting impediment to order and certainty. Marcion had understood that also, and he had suppressed the prophets in his churches, for he could do it without difficulty, since he had rejected the authority of the Hebrew prophets. Clement's problem was to find a means of reducing these unruly members, the prophets of his day, to subordinate positions, and yet venerating and magnifying those of days gone by.

In this lies his masterpiece. He endowed the Church with a doctrine of the Holy Ghost which was to assure its stability and give it the means of checking the last prophetic explosions—those of Montanus and his prophetesses and *energumens*. The Holy Ghost is a celestial being derived from God and from Jesus; at times it appears in the form of a dove, at others in the shape of tongues of flame.⁹⁶ It is burning and weighty, and *it falls* on him to whom God sends it; it seizes him. The Holy Ghost took possession of the prophets of the Old Testament and spoke by their mouths. But—here take heed!—it did this only to foretell the coming of Jesus, his sufferings, and his glory. This preparation was not done for the benefit of the prophets nor of their auditors, but for Christians.⁹⁷ Since Jesus's birth all that has changed. The Holy Ghost fertilized a virgin and consecrated Jesus on earth. When Jesus returned to heaven, he caused the Holy Ghost to fall on the Apostles. Whereon they announced the coming of Jesus, told of his sufferings and his glory; the very things which the prophets of old had foretold. Prophecy is therefore replaced by the Gospel, and the two converge on Jesus. Both to-day are fixed by the written word, and should be the constant reading of the faithful; there is left no further room for prophecy. (Nevertheless Jesus gave some special revelations as to the last days to certain of his apostles.) No longer does the Holy Ghost

96 The dove comes from Mark i. 10 and the tongues of fire perhaps from Enoch lxvi. 5: "In heaven I saw a house builded of blocks of ice and among those blocks tongues of living fire."

97 I Clem. xvii. I; 1 Peter i. 10–12; there are numerous examples in Luke and the Acts.

fall on the prophets alone, for the apostles were able to make it fall on all Christians; such was the power of their prayers. after them the power passed to their established succession—*i.e.*, to the Elders of the Churches. The Holy Ghost's action is the purification of hearts and the giving of strength to perform all manner of holy works. To receive the Holy Ghost it is not enough to be baptized; the Marcionites were baptized, but it would not have done to admit that they received the Holy Ghost. In fact, it was not even necessary to be baptized. The requisite was to be in communion through the Elders with the Apostles. In each and every Church the Elders were the responsible ministers of the Holy Ghost, and Clement when he wrote in agreement with them felt himself to be the mouthpiece of the Holy Ghost.⁹⁸

This College of Elders (or of *episcopos*), in which Clement sees reproduced for eternity the august college of the Apostles, was not to keep the sovereignty for long. Far from enjoying the long duration Clement foresaw for it, it was but a short space of time ere the power fell into the hands of the bishops as single rulers.

Nor was it long before a general demand arose from all the Churches for an organization better equipped to withstand heresy. The Roman Church organized itself under the control of a single Bishop, Anicet, about 154. As might be looked for, it was declared later that this institution had existed from the very beginning of the Church, and Hegesippus, when he came from Palestine, endeavoured to establish a sequence of bishops of Rome as he had done for the bishops of Jerusalem up to the war of Bar-cocheba.⁹⁹ It is the irony of history that the man who defended the principle of a collective episcopate should be inscribed in the list of pseudo-popes; such was the fate of Clemens Romanus. In a certain sense this may be looked on as just, for the administration of the Holy Ghost passed into the hands of a new head, the pope, largely through his efforts, and his dearest dream was realized; in two or three generations

98 1 Clem. lxiii. 12: "What we write through the Holy Ghost . . ."

99 Hegesippus in Eusebius, *H.E.*, iv. 22, 3; "At Rome where I was I made a succession (διαδοχὴν ἐποίησα) up to Anicet."

the interminable period of the prophets and their gropings came to an end and their confusion was effaced from history. In fact, nothing would seem to intervene between the Apostles and Clement himself.

It was about the year 142 that his indispensable work was written—indispensable since it related for the benefit of the lettered Roman Christians in opposition to Marcion a divine epic in which the Holy Ghost was the central character. This date lies between the Marcionite schism of c. 139 and the earliest allusion made to the book in Justin's *Apologia*, i. 34 (Quirinius's census), before Marcion died in 144. It is dedicated to Theophilus, an unknown person—perhaps the Mæcenas who paid for the first edition, or perhaps a false name concealing some noble but pious reader, a bona-fide inquirer. A dedication must perforce contain the author's name, but the name may be discretion itself and reveal nothing. Later it was to be spread abroad that the author was one Luke, Paul's comrade, the sole companion of his journey, they said, to Rome.¹⁰⁰

As was the custom among profane writers, the dedication is in fine rhythmic prose. The author refers to the number of Gospels and Acts of the Apostles already in existence, and lets his readers infer that he has drawn his information from them and that he flatters himself that he is in a position to give them something of more ancient authority and better continuity.

“For as much as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent

100 Irenæus (c. 185) was the first to speak of Luke as the author of the two volumes dedicated to Theophilus (*Hær.*, iii. 1, 2). Luke is mentioned in Col. iv. 14, where “the beloved physician” has been interpolated into the original, and in 2 Tim. iv. II: “Only Luke is with me.” It is within the bounds of possibility that this latter is part of an authentic Pauline letter; but in that case Paul was at Nicopolis in Epirus, and not at Rome, as the fictitious epistle in which this letter was inserted would make out.

Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things in which thou wast instructed.”

With an acrobatic leap he passes from the fine style of a Greek rhetor to that of Biblical narrative.

There was in the days of Herod, King of Judæa,
A certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abijah;
And his wife of the daughters of Aaron,
Her name Elizabeth.

They were righteous both, walking before God
In all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.
They had no child because Elizabeth was barren;
Both were well stricken in years.

To this old priest amid the incense of the Temple came an angel of Jahweh, Gabriel, announcing to him that he would have a son, John, who will be great and holy. He will be that one who was to come “in the spirit and power of Elijah” before the Messiah of Israel. In punishment for his astonishment at this news, Zacharias is struck dumb. Elizabeth conceives, and hides herself for five months.

In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent by God
To the city of Galilee named Nazareth,
To a virgin betrothed to a man named Joseph
Of the house of David.
The name of the virgin was Mary.

Going into her room he said, Hail, O endued with grace!
The Lord is with thee!
At this saying she was troubled
And asked herself what was this greeting.

The angel said to her, Fear not, Mary.
Thou hast found favour with God.
Behold thou shalt conceive and bring forth a son,
And shalt call his name Jesus.

He will be great and will be called the Son of the Most High.
Jahweh God will give him the throne of his father David.
He will reign over the house of Jacob for ever,
To his kingdom there shall be no end.

Mary said to the angel, How shall this be
Since I know not a man ?
The angel answered her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee,
The Power of the Most High shall o'ershadow thee;
Wherefore the child who will be born holy shall be called the Son of God.

Behold Elizabeth, thy kinswoman
Has also conceived in her old age a son.
This is the sixth month of her that was called barren
For no word is impossible to God.¹⁰¹
Mary said, Behold the slave of Jahweh,
Be it done to me according to thy word!
The angel left her.

Mary, thus mysteriously pregnant, hastens to visit her kinswoman; the child John leaps in Elizabeth's womb at the sight of her, and Elizabeth is filled with the Holy Ghost and blesses Mary and the fruit of her womb. Mary then thanks God in a psalm.¹⁰² Three months later John is born and Zacharias recovers his voice, is filled in his turn with the Holy Ghost, blesses the Messiah the Son of David, for the little child will be a prophet of Jahweh, the forerunner of Jesus, and will reveal to the people their salvation through the remission of sins.

This fine beginning is a step forward on Mark and Matthew. John is the pre-ordained forerunner of Jesus from before their births. He is the heir of the Jewish priesthood, and is to be a prophet of the Most High; which is to say, in Biblical manner of speech, that the Law and the Prophets are the forerunner of Christianity. Jesus, kinsman after the flesh of John the Baptist, is, through his mother, in the line of Aaron the High Priest, and will be "the high priest of our offerings" (I Clem. xxxvi. 1; lxi. 5; lxiv). He is in this manner at one and the same time that Messiah the Son

101 Word, *Logos*, probably borrowed from John, means at one and the same time Jesus, of whom the apostles were the eye-witnesses and the Word of God, of which they were the announcers.

102 This psalm, the *Magnificat*, and Zacharias's psalm, the *Benedictus*, should be carefully compared with Clement's great prayer in I Clem. (lix. 3–lxi). In each case keen emotion is expressed by means of a mosaic of Biblical quotations.

David foretold by the prophets, that Messiah the Son of Levi¹⁰³ predicted by others, and that Messiah the Son of Joseph awaited by certain sects; in addition his birth by a virgin made him physically the Son of God. The virginal conception is not told from the viewpoint of Joseph, as in Matthew, but from that of Mary, which is far more delicate and touching.

Mark and Matthew gave Jesus Nazareth for his native place, for they misunderstood an ancient title, Jesus the Nazaræan. The new Gospel places his parents in Nazareth, whereas Matthew placed them in Bethlehem. They had to be taken to Bethlehem that Jesus might be born there in accordance with Micah's inexorable prophecy. Our author had a true stroke of genius in managing this. He offered material proof of Jesus's birth by reference to the Roman Census. What Josephus¹⁰⁴ told as a fact for the first census made in Palestine by the Syrian governor Quirinius some ten years after Herod's death, he tells of a surprising census taken over the whole length and breadth of the Empire, in which every individual had to return to the natal place of his ancestors; Joseph had therefore to go to Bethlehem as a descendant of David.

Now it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree of Cæsar Augustus
That all the world should be counted.
This was the first census, when Quirinius was governor of Syria.
All had to be enrolled, each in his own city.

Joseph therefore went up from Galilee, from the city of Nazareth,
Into Judæa to the city of David which is called Bethlehem,
Because he was of the house and family of David,
To be counted with Mary his wife, who was big with child.

It came to pass while they were there that the days of her delivery were completed.
She brought forth her first-born son;

103 See R.H. Charles, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*; Black, London, 1908.

104 *Antiq.*, xvii. 13, 5; xviii. I, I.

Wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger,
Because there was no room for them in the inn.

In such sorry conditions was born the Son of Man, come to share the deepest wretchedness of mankind, who should not have for himself a stone where to lay his head. After this who could now have doubts as to his birth after the flesh? What is more, he was born a Roman subject and officially enrolled as one. Justin naïvely begged the Emperor Antonine to have the registers of Quirinius searched so that he might be convinced himself of so transcendent a proof (*I Apol.*, 34).

As to what follows, the narrator is not satisfied with what he read in Matthew of the adoration of the Magi and the massacre of the Innocents by Herod. Whatever smelled of the Magus and of Magic was dubious in his eyes, and he made Paul burn heaps of books of magic.¹⁰⁵ His style leans more to the idyllic and graceful; so he replaces the pompous Magi with simple shepherds. In accordance with Isaiah lxi. 1 he has the good news announced by the *poor*.

There were shepherds in the same country
Living in the fields and keeping watch at night over their flocks.
An angel of Jahweh came to them;
The glory of Jahweh shone about them.

They were sore afraid.
The angel said to them, Be not afraid,
For behold I bring you good tidings of great joy
Which shall be to all the people.

There is born to you this day a Saviour
Who is the Lord Christ in the city of David.
This will be a sign to you;
You shall find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger.

Suddenly there was with the angel a troop of the heavenly army
Praising God saying:

105 Acts xix. 19; see also what he said of Simon Magus and of the magus Barjesus in Acts viii. 9; xiii. 6.

Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased!¹⁰⁶
It came to pass when the angels went away from them to heaven
That the shepherds said one to another:
Let us now go to Bethlehem,
Let us see this word fulfilled which the Lord has made known to us.

They went in haste, they found Mary and Joseph
And the child lying in the manger.
When they saw it they made known the word
Which had been said to them about this child.

At Jesus's birth the gospel has therefore been announced by angels, as the prophets had announced it beforetime and as Jesus and the Apostles were to preach later. In this manner there is not the slightest interruption to the continuity of Old and New Testaments.

Yet another link is the circumcision which places the seal of the Old Law on the flesh of the founder of the New. Yet mother is the recognition by a holy one of Israel, inspired by the Holy Ghost, of Jesus as the Messiah of Israel and the Saviour of the Gentile.

Behold there was a man at Jerusalem
Of the name of Simeon.
This man was righteous and devout,
Awaiting the Consolation of Israel.

The Holy Spirit was on him.
It had been revealed to him by the Holy Spirit
That he should not see death,
Till he had seen the Christ of Jahweh.

He came by the Spirit to the Temple.
When the parents brought the infant Jesus
That they might do the prescriptions of the Law,
He received him in his arms, blessed God, and said,

Now thou lettest thy servant depart, O Master,
According to thy word in peace.
For my eyes have seen thy Salvation

106 *I.e.*, among the men chosen by God.

Which thou hast prepared before all the peoples;
Light for the revelation to the Gentiles
And Glory of thy people Israel.

This old man Simeon is the double of the old apostle John, of whom it was said, according to a widespread and dangerous belief, that he would not die till Jesus came. In this manner an awkward belief is suavely undermined; it is explained away as a confusion, which is a more subtle artifice than the misunderstanding supposed in the appendix to John.

Josephus furnished the material for an anecdote of Jesus's youth. He would have us believe that at the age of fourteen Jesus had such a reputation for knowledge that the chief priests and magistrates of Jerusalem conferred with him that they might learn from him certain interpretations of difficult points of the Law.¹⁰⁷ At the age of twelve, says Luke, Jesus escaped from the care of his parents on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was found by them seated in the midst of a group of doctors, listening to their words and asking them questions, "and all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers" (Luke ii. 47). The motive of this tale is to demonstrate that Jesus was a doctor of the Old Law before he instituted the New Law. Moreover, it brings in neatly verse 49, "How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" This instructs the reader that when Jesus speaks of his Father, he means the God worshipped in the Temple of Jerusalem, Jahweh the God of Israel.

Such is the remarkable opening to Luke's Gospel (no matter the name of the author; let us call it Luke's). It is not uniform with the rest of the narrative, and this variation is intentional, for it allows Jesus's words to be interpreted in a special light, attenuates their meaning at times, gives them a conservative meaning, or at any rate takes from them their flexibility. It allowed Jesus to say of John the Baptist, "He that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he" (Luke vii. 28) without suggesting a rupture with

107 *Vita*, 2.

John's worshippers; or of Mary, "My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of God and do it" (Luke viii. 21) without formally disavowing his relation to Mary after the flesh. He can even declare, "How say they that Christ is David's son?" (Luke xx. 41); and the reader, forewarned that Jesus is a Son of David, will not perceive that this is a declaration denying that he is the Israelite Messiah. The impress given so strongly to this Gospel in its opening chapters is borne by the whole narrative.

Luke then comes to Marcion's renowned beginning, "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor, Jesus Christ the Son of God came down from heaven and appeared at Capernaum, a town in Galilee." This precious date he keeps and decorates it with reminiscences of Josephus:—

Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar,
Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa,
Herod tetrarch of Galilee,
His brother Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and the region of Trachonitis,
And Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene,
Annas (and Caiaphas) being high priest(s).¹⁰⁸

Luke discards the words "Jesus came down from heaven," or at least he utilizes in iv. 31, "and came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee." In the space so produced he inserts John the Baptist's prediction, ". . .the word of God came to John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness." this text is taken from Matt. iii. 1 *et sqq.*¹⁰⁹ To it he adds a

108 The name of Caiaphas was probably added by a copyist. Luke placed the trials of Jesus and of Peter and John in the time of the high priest Annas (Acts iv. 6). He seemed unaware that this high priest was deposed A.D. 15—*i.e.*, 13 years before "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar" (A.D. 28–29). Nor did he note that the census of Quirinius (A.D. 6–7) was ten years later than "the days of Herod, King of Judæa" (Luke i. 5), nor again that Judas of Galilee was well anterior to Theudas (Acts v. 36–37). The Abilene is referred to by Josephus as having been, before Claudius, the tetrarchy of Lysanias (*Antiq.*, xx. 7) and this agrees with an inscription found at Abila.

109 There is no need to suppose a source Q common to Matthew and to Luke. In place of Q there are (1) Matthew's borrowings from Marcion, which are characterized by being entirely remodelled in Semitic style, and (2) Luke's borrowings from Matthew (passages which do not appear in Marcion) which are distinguished by their quasi-literality.

fragment of dialogue to show that John, like Jesus, preached to the crowd, to publicans and to soldiers—*i.e.*, to the Gentiles.

Jesus's baptism and the consequent descent of the Holy Ghost, the supreme evidence that Jesus has been called by God His Son, is completed by a genealogy which, though it differs from that given by Matthew, is none the less to prove that Jesus is the son of David, and yet of God by the indirect link of human generation. Luke diminishes Jesus's age from 46 to “about thirty years of age” (Luke iii. 23), probably to spare divine flesh any suspicion of lessening powers. If he had paid any serious attention to the true date of the census of Quirinius, he would have written *about twenty years of age*. From Matthew he also takes the tale of Jesus's temptation in the desert—a further demonstration of his human nature.

From this point on Luke makes free use of Marcion's Gospel. He still employs all Matthew's material, but gives it a different sense or different importance. Where Matthew adopted Mark's matter and enriched it with stuff from Marcion, Luke follows Marcion and adds fragments taken from Mark,¹¹⁰ others from Matthew, and a few personal details and occasional touches from John.¹¹¹ Matthew effectively published an enlarged edition of Mark; Luke gave an orthodox and completed edition of Marcion.

Nevertheless before Luke accepted Marcion's story he transposed the first two episodes. In Marcion Jesus first manifested himself at Capernaum, then went to Nazareth. Luke makes him begin at Nazareth, for he wishes him to preach his Gospel first to his compatriots, and only to take

110 B. H. Streeter (*The Four Gospels*; London, 1924) and V. Taylor (*Behind the Third Gospel*; Oxford, 1926) have both perceived that in Luke borrowings from Mark are localized and secondary and that another source is constantly followed.

111 *E.g.*, that certain think John the Baptist to be the Christ (Luke iii. 15; cf. John i. 20); Pilate's triple affirmation of Christ's innocence (Luke xxiii. 4, 14 and 22; cf. John xviii. 38; xix. 4 and 6).

it to others when his fellow-countrymen have rejected it. The Gospel, as understood by Luke, is not the Kingdom of God, but the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament in Jesus. Where Marcion imagined only the insult of the Jews to Jesus the Healer—"Physician, heal thyself"—Luke conjures up an impressive confrontation of the Book of Isaiah with Jesus, of the written prophecy and the object of the prophecy (Luke iv. 16 *et sqq.*):—

He came to Nazareth where he had been brought up,
And, as his custom was, he entered into the synagogue on the sabbath,
And stood up for to read.
And there was delivered to him the book of the prophet Isaiah.

When he opened the book, he found the place where it was written,
The Spirit of Jahweh is upon me
For he has anointed me to preach the good news to the poor,
He has sent me to preach deliverance to the captives, and sight to the blind,
To set at liberty the oppressed,
And to announce a year of grace of Jahweh.

He rolled up the book and gave it to the servant and sat down.
The eyes of all who were in the synagogue were fastened on him.
He began to say to them,
This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.

All bore him witness.
They marvelled at the words of Grace
Which came out of his mouth.
They said, Is not this Joseph's son?

He said to them, Surely you will say to me this proverb,
Physician, heal thyself!
Whatever we have heard done at Capernaum,
Do also here in thy country!

By an odd clumsiness on the editor's part the Jews' insult is merely hypothetical, and quite ineffective. Moreover, it

is not in Luke's narrative that cures have been made at Capernaum, but in Marcion's Gospel. Jesus goes on to say that a prophet is not accepted in his own country. The cures would henceforth be made among pagans, then. When the Jews threaten Jesus with death, he passes "through the midst of them" and goes his own way.

After this the editorial hand appears rarely, save to mingle the three very different Gospels into a sufficiently homogeneous whole. He links together, supplies a frame or two, smooths out, and occasionally comments. In little corrections and tendentious additions his work may be recognized, though on the whole he alters his texts relatively little.¹¹² Ever on the look-out for anything which may depreciate the Old Testament, he is unable to resist attaching to the famous parable of the new wine in old skins the impertinent comment: "No man, having drunk old wine, desires new; for he says, the old is better" (v. 39). The Gospel is good to him, just because it was not new wine. In the words "The disciple is not above his master" he scents a reflection on the *didascaloi*, for it obviously meant that Jesus was the sole doctor. He therefore has no hesitation in adding boldly, "But every disciple who is perfect shall be as his master" (vi. 40). For him the Old Testament characters are concerned only with Christ's passion. What, then, had Moses and Elijah to do with the Transfiguration? They "spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem" (ix. 31). If Jesus announce the resurrection of the dead, the reader must not be allowed to forget that the Old Testament had taught that long before: "That the dead are raised, Moses showed in the chapter of the Bush, saying, Jahweh, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. For he is not a God of the dead, but of the living; for all live in his sight." The argument may appear subtle.¹¹³

112 What gave the impression of a far greater editorial interference was that this gospel was compared with that of Mark as a source, whereas it follows the Marcion text closely.

113 Clement gives other proofs of the resurrection drawn from the Old Testament (1 Clem. xxvi. 2–3). He also mentions the chapter of the bush—*i.e.*, the section in which the episode of the burning bush is recounted (1 Clem. xvii. 5).

The events of the year 135 did not pass without leaving their traces in this gospel. Luke no longer awaits the imminent coming of Jesus. He who is otherwise so absorbed in the accomplishment of Old Testament prophecy quite overlooks the abomination of desolation and the realization of Daniel's prophecy. Far from it; according to Luke Jesus expressly forbids his faithful to follow those who say in his name, "The time draws near." He relates a parable to those who believe that "the Kingdom of God should immediately appear" (Luke xix. II)—a parable in which a prince goes away to a far country to become king. His citizens hate him, and send after him a deputation to declare that they do not want him for a king. Josephus's relation of the adventure of Archelaus, who went to Rome to be invested king by Augustus, and the deputation of Jews sent to Rome to protest against his becoming king, furnished Luke with this story. In the parable the deputation signifies the refusal of the Jews to accept the Kingdom of God. The prince, when he returns as king, rewards and chastises his servants according to their merit.

But those mine enemies
Which would not that I reign over them
Bring hither
And slay them before me!¹¹⁴

This means, apparently, that the extermination of the Jews is God's plan, and will be part of the last act of the human comedy. Jews and not Gentiles, dear readers of the Apocalypse. Behold a God who can hate his enemies! Lo, a God who is no Marcionite! Does such an act revolt tender souls? Shall the innocent perish with the guilty? Jesus has no hesitation in his answer (xiii. 1-5):—

There were present at that time
Some that told him of the Galileans
Whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.
He answered them:

114 This little parable of the exterminating king is mixed up with that of the talents (imitation of Matthew), which tells of the reward or punishment allotted according to the use made of the gift of grace. Luke corrects Matthew in that all receive the same gift; there is no inequality in the eyes of the Holy Ghost.

Do you suppose that these Galileans
Were sinners above all the Galileans
Because they suffered such a fate?
I tell you, No. But unless you repent
All of you shall likewise perish.

Or those eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam fell and slew them,
Do you believe that they were more guilty
Than all the men who inhabit Jerusalem?
I tell you, No. If you do not repent,
All of you shall likewise perish.

Luke's Jesus is as rigorous as his father. Israel is a barren fig-tree which cumber the ground, to which a space of time has been given in which to bear fruit, and now the hour has come when it must be cut down (xiii. 6–9).

Jesus can, however, shed a tear over the needful destruction of the Jews. Alas, why did they not recognize him in time? The evangelist plagiarizes the celebrated pages of Josephus in which Titus laments the coming destruction of Jerusalem (Luke xix. 41–44):—

When he drew nigh, he saw the city
And wept over it, saying,
If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, that which gives peace¹¹⁵
But now they are hidden from thy eyes.

For the days shall come upon thee
When thy enemies shall cast a stockade about thee
And shall compass thee round, keep thee in on every side,
And shall crush thee and thy children within thee,
Because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.

Here is a lament which recalls, and at the same time gives the lie to, John's lament in Revelation over the destruction of Rome. In these brief lines throbs all the horror of a doomed people's last throes.

115 Pun on the word *Jerusalem*, which contains the word *salem*—peace (cf. Heb. vii. 2). Peace or salvation for Jerusalem meant its conversion to Jesus.

As he goes up to his death, Jesus turns towards the women who bewail him (xxiii. 28–31):—

Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me!
But weep for yourselves and your children!
Behold the days are coming in which they shall say,
Blessed are the barren and the wombs which never bare
And the breasts which never gave suck!
Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us!
To the hills, Cover us!
For if such things be done to the green tree,
What shall be done to the dry wood?

This is a proverb of which the meaning is: I am innocent and am crucified; what shall then happen to you, the guilty? The apocalyptic *cliche* of the mountains and the hills shows that in the eyes of the evangelist the doom of the Jews is an act in the last tragedy of mankind. In days gone by it had been held that in the last days some part of the Jews would be converted and the heathen would be utterly annihilated, but the unfathomable will of God has decided otherwise.

Luke's finest contribution to the story of Jesus consists of two exquisite parables, which give a delicately veiled answer to that painful problem as to why God should prefer the Gentile to the Jew in these days. The answer here given is to the effect that the Gentiles are better capable of good works than the Jews, and more wholly given to that filial repentance which rejoices the heart of the Father.

The doctor in the Law who would obtain everlasting¹¹⁶ life is referred to the Law's ordinance, "Thou shalt love Jahweh thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbour as thyself." Then he asks Jesus, "And who is my neighbour?" To which Jesus replies (x. 30–37):—

116 *Everlasting* is an addition of Luke's. According to Marcion, the Law gave life only, terrestrial existence such as is promised in Lev. xviii, 5 (and so quoted by Paul; Gal. iii. 12). To obtain *eternal life* the complete renunciation of all wealth was an essential; but Luke wants eternal life to be bestowed by the Law of Jahweh as interpreted by the Christian Church.

A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho.
He fell among robbers.
They stripped him, covered him with wounds,
And went away leaving him half dead.

By chance a priest was going along this road.
When he saw him, he passed by on the other side.
In like manner a Levite who came to the place
When he saw him, passed by on the other side.

But a Samaritan as he journeyed came where he was.
When he saw him his bowels were moved.
He went up to him and bound up his wounds, pouring into them oil and wine,
He set him on his own beast and led him to an inn and took care of him.

On the morrow he took out two deniers
And gave them to the host and said, Take care of him!
Whatever thou spendest more
I, when I come back again, will repay thee.

Which of these three, thinkest thou, proved neighbour
Unto him who had fallen among robbers?
He said, He who showed pity on him.
Jesus said to him, Go thou and do likewise.

A Gentile, a Samaritan, is given to the Jews as a model for behaviour.

Israel's God had two sons : the Jews and Mankind. The latter had been away from his Father for a long time, and had been drawn into squalid and vile places, but he repented, and God opened out his arms to him, so that the other son became jealous unrighteously (xv. II-32):—

A man had two sons.
The younger of them said to his father,
Father, give me my due part of thy wealth.
He shared his wealth between them.
A few days after, having realized all his share,
The younger son went away to a distant country.
There he wasted his substance in riotous living.

When he had spent all,
There arose a mighty famine in that country.
He began to be in want.

He took service with a citizen of that country
Who sent him into his fields to feed the swine.
He would fain have eaten the carobs which the swine did eat,
But none was given him.

He communed with himself and said,
How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare
While I perish here with hunger.
I will arise and go to my father and say to him,
Father I have sinned against Heaven and in thy sight,
I am no longer worthy to be called thy son. . . .

The Father then said to his slaves,
Bring forth quickly the best robe and do it on him;
Put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet;
And bring the fatted calf, kill it, and let us eat and make merry:
For this my son was dead and is alive again;
He was lost and is found.

They began to be merry.
Now the eldest son was in the fields.
As he came and drew nigh the house,
He heard a bagpipe and dancing.
He called to him one of the knaves
And asked him what was afoot.

The fellow said to him, Thy brother has come
And thy father has killed the fatted calf
Because he has received him safe and sound.
But he was angry and would not enter.
His Father went out and entreated him.
He answered and said to his Father,

Lo, these many years do I serve thee;
Never have I failed to obey an order of thine.
Yet never hast thou given me a kid
That I might make merry with my friends.
But when this thy son came, who has devoured thy living with harlots,
Thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

He said to him,
My child, thou art ever with me,
All that is mine is thine.

But it was meet to be merry and glad
For this thy brother was dead and is alive again,
Lost and is found.

This delightful parable has a terrifying epilogue, which is omitted, but of which we learn from other passages. The jealous son rebels, and the Father has him put to death before him.

In all probability we must attribute to Luke a charming story of analogous meaning.¹¹⁷ Pagan mankind is brought before Jesus in the guise of an adulterous woman. Shall he condemn her? She has gone whoring with false gods. True, but the Jews have done as much all through their history:—

The Scribes and the Pharisees bring a woman taken in adultery.
Having set her in the midst, they say to Jesus,
Master, this woman has been taken in adultery, in the very act.
In the Law Moses commanded us to stone such.
What sayest thou?

Jesus, stooping down, wrote with his finger on the ground.
When they kept on asking him,
He lifted himself up and said, He that is without sin amongst you,
Let him first cast a stone at her!
Stooping once more, he wrote with his finger on the ground.

They, when they heard it, went out one by one, beginning with the eldest,
He was left alone, and the woman who was in the midst.
Jesus lifted himself up and said to her, Woman, where are they?
Did no man condemn thee?

¹¹⁷ In the Ferrar group of manuscripts, which offer a good text of Luke, this tale is inserted after Luke xxi. 37. It would look as though it had been excised from the gospel and replaced by xxi. 37 because its literal application could be interpreted as too indulgent towards adulterous women. Later it was copied at the end of the gospels—*i.e.*, at the end of the Gospel of St. John like an erratum; later still it was incorporated in the majority of manuscripts after John vii. 52.

She said, No man, Lord!
Jesus said, Neither do I condemn thee.
Go thy way; from henceforth sin no more!

The narrative of the Passion gains an incident or two of importance. Even as Matthew, Luke was desirous of whitewashing Peter, but he went about it in a different manner. Just before he foretells Peter's triple default, Jesus makes known that Peter "will turn again," and that his faith will be the firmer for it.

Simon, Simon, behold Satan asked to have you
To sift you like wheat.
But I prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.
Do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren.

When he leaves to be arrested by an armed band, Jesus corrects his precept to carry neither purse nor scrip nor shoes. Now purse and wallet are to be taken and a sword bought by selling a cloak. The apostles produce two swords among the twelve of them. "He said to them, it is enough." In this fashion Luke prepares the way for Peter's sword-stroke. In a strange manner he finds justification in Isaiah's words: "And he was reckoned with the transgressors." In particular Luke was anxious to soften the Marcionite rules of renouncing wealth and of absolute non-resistance. In days of persecution it is going too far to let oneself be pillaged without resistance and to remain utterly unarmed. That, at any rate, was the experience of a head of the Church.

In the sacred drama each of the two evildoers crucified on either side of Jesus play a part; the one typifies the rebellious sinner—*i.e.*, the Jew—and the other the repentant sinner—*i.e.*, the Gentile. Such antitheses were dear to the heart of the evangelist.

And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed at him,
Art thou not the Christ? Save thyself and us!
But the other answered, rebuking him,
Dost thou not even fear God, thou who art in the same death?

And we indeed justly, for we receive the due reward of our deeds;
But this man has done nothing amiss.

He said, Jesus, remember me
When thou comest into thy kingdom!
And he said to him, Amen I say to thee;
To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

This Paradise is a place analogous to Hades; the souls of Christians, Christ's the first of them, await there for two days the resurrection of the flesh.

The risen Jesus has genuine flesh: "Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having" (Luke xxiv. 39). Yet St. Paul (I Cor. xv. 50) taught that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." The evangelist has little heed of Paul's doctrine, and offered the veritable flesh and blood of the Christ as a sure warrant of the Christian's most concrete hope. The carnal body of the risen Christ took precedence in faith, and even determined the carnal body of the living Jesus.

In Marcion the risen Jesus reminds the disciples at Emmaus of his own words, that the Christ must suffer. Luke adds (xxiv. 27), "And beginning from Moses and from all the Prophets, he interpreted to them all the scriptures concerning himself."

This is a replica of the scene at Nazareth, with the addition of the fervent enthusiasm of his hearers: "Was not our heart burning within us, while he spake to us on the way, while he opened to us the Scriptures?"

Marcion's Gospel closed with those words of Jesus which resume the whole Gospel:—

Thus it was that the Christ should suffer,
And rise again from the dead the third day
And that there be preached in his name
Repentance and remission of sins to all the nations.

But Luke was not satisfied with that, and introduced them in such a manner as to link them with the Old Testament:—

These are my words that I spoke
While I was yet with you;
How that all things must needs be fulfilled as it is written
In the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms of me.
Then opened he their mind
To understand the Scriptures.

Thus Jesus's last teaching links up with the first, and Marcion is refuted; the Old Testament and the Gospel are not opposed, for the Gospel is contained in the Old Testament.

As for the Apostles, they are the witnesses of these things, whom Jesus announces that he will send down to them power from on high. In this manner we are led to expect a further portion of the epic of the Holy Spirit.

In the second volume dedicated to Theophilus we return to Jesus's Ascension. After Judas has committed suicide, the Apostles complete their ritual number of twelve by invoking the direction of the Holy Ghost by means of lots. Originally 120 persons made up a church, a Christian community of the type Clement would have liked to see in the churches of his time. Then comes the festival of Pentecost, when the Jews celebrate the giving of the Law as a sounding river of fire, so they said, which was divided into seventy tongues for the benefit of the seventy nations.¹¹⁸ By substituting the Holy Ghost for the Law, the festival became a Christian one.

And when the day of Pentecost was now come
They were altogether in one place.
Suddenly there came from heaven a sound
As of the rushing of a mighty wind.
It filled all the house where they were sitting.

They saw tongues like fire dividing
That sat upon each of them.
They were filled with the Holy Ghost.
They began to speak with other tongues
As the Spirit gave them utterance.

This scene is a sequel to the baptism of Jesus in the first volume. The same Holy Spirit which came down upon

118 B. W. Bacon, *The Gospel of the Hellenists*; 1933, pp. 68, 185.

Jesus now descends on the Mother Church, and will descend also on those Churches which the Apostles will establish. As for the glossolalia, that hoarse and inarticulate stammering which was to burst forth in the Pauline Churches, Luke wanted to place its origin in the Jerusalem Church, and to prove that it was no other than a marvellous and valuable polyglottism.

Starting thus from an utterly mythical point of departure Luke undertakes the history of the early Church. He had at his disposal meagre tales current among the Palestine communities and a Life of St. Paul which was probably by Marcion. He did not hesitate to employ matter of his own and took care to balance evenly the relative importance of Peter and Paul, from both of whom the Roman Church pretended to derive its origin, attributing to them both the same doctrine and the same miracles. It was his aim and his craft to model the difficult transition from the religious myth to genuine history in a convincing manner by means of a very free hagiographic legend.

The Holy Ghost had to be transported from Jerusalem to *Rome*, like the torch in the classic race. In each stage of its journey the same ritual had to be repeated; the Gospel is offered to the Jews, who reject it, then offered to the Gentiles, who accept it. The Jews must refuse it first so that it may clearly be shown as the true religion of Israel, denied by those who should have been born its adepts, and no new religion as Marcion would have had it. To preach the Gospel was to teach that the divine facts of Jesus's life conformed to the predictions and precepts of the Old Testament; to accept the Gospel was to accept this conformity. The cry of imminent doom was thrust into the background, and replaced by a simple affirmation of the bodily resurrection. In fact, Luke presents as the most ancient Christian doctrine that which was in reality the teaching developed against Marcion in the middle of the second century.

The sermons to the Jews which he places in the mouths of Peter, Stephen, and Paul are not inspired by an earnest and sober desire to convert them, as was the case in Matthew's Gospel, but are formalities. The case of the Jews is lost

beforehand, as it had to be. The true objection of the Jews which John dealt with directly was the difficulty of recognizing any other God than God, and it is evaded by Luke. Peter accuses the Jews of having crucified and denied “Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God unto you,” whom God raised again and made Lord and Christ. That the Jews may have still less excuse, the divinity of Jesus is reduced to what it became in the degenerate christology of Hermas, adoption¹¹⁹ by God. As for Stephen, he thought to convict the Jews of having ever rebelled against their own God (Acts vii. 51–52).

Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcized in heart and ears,
Ever do you withstand the Holy Ghost.
As did your fathers, so do you.
Which of the prophets did your forefathers not persecute?
They slew those who foretold the coming of the Righteous;
Of whom you now have become traitors and murderers.

On the other hand, the sermons to the Gentiles are persuasive, different in tone and effect from those to the Jews. Peter tells them that the God of Israel is “no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that fears him and does right is acceptable to him” (Acts x. 34). That same Holy Ghost which the Jews withstand comes down on the heathen. Barnabas and Paul teach the Lycaonians that the Creator has “suffered all the nations to walk in their own ways,” and has made himself manifest by the good he has done, “in that he gave you from heaven rain and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness” (Acts xiv. 16).¹²⁰ Had not the finest of the pagans discovered that already for themselves? Luke places at Paul's service the finest flowers culled from his acquaintance with Attic

119 This *adoptianism* is there for good reason. It must not be taken to be the conception out of which Christianity emerged. It is a residue, not a germ.

120 Compare these expressions with those in which Clement speaks of the Creator in I Clem. xx. 4: “The teeming earth, according to his will, abounds in its proper seasons, in food for man and for beast.”

orators, Stoic poets, and philosophers when he makes him speak before the Athenian Areopagus:—

O men of Athens, I see in all things that you are very religious.¹²¹
As I passed along and examined the objects of your worship,
I found also an altar with the inscription, To The Unknown God.
He whom you worship without knowing him
It is whom I preach to you.

The God who made the world and all it contains
Who is Master of heaven and of earth
Dwells not in temples made by hands;¹²²
Is not served by men's hands, as though he needed anything,
He who gives to all life, breath and all things.

Of one he made every kind of man
Who inhabits the face of the earth,
Having determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitation;
That they should seek God,
If they might feel after him and find him.

Oh, he is not far from each one of us,
For in him we live and move and have our being.¹²³
As certain of your own poets have said,
For we are also his offspring.¹²⁴

Here is indeed a surprise: the God of the Stoics turns out to be Jahweh himself. That very God which Israel had failed to know the heathen had perceived and adored.

When a Church was established, it was governed by its Elders, in whose charge was the Word of God, and by deacons who looked to its material well-being. Luke would say that such had been its organization from the very beginning. He therefore made the Apostles to be the original College of Elders; and the first deacons were, willy-nilly, the Hellenist Christians who were in opposition to the

121 Cf. Lycurgus, *Leocr.*, 15: "You know, O Athenians, that you are distinguished from other men especially by the piety you show towards the gods."

122 Note that Luke does not believe that the God of Israel dwells in the Temple which Solomon built in opposition to his will (Acts vii. 46–50).

123 From Epimenides.

124 From Aratos.

Hebrews. His fiction was that Stephen and his group were nothing more than deacons of the apostolic college; this his own narrative gives the lie to. For Luke the power of the first Apostles was always collective. The Peter legend had therefore to be corrected, and to Peter Luke joined John. He even does it as clumsily as this, "And Peter, fastening his eyes upon him, with John, said ..." (Acts iii. 4).

Luke depicts a primitive church in which there is no private property. The faithful sold their possessions and handed over the proceeds to the Apostles. Those who held back any part of the sale-money were punished with death at God's own hand. This is his way of interpreting the large collections which were sent to the Jerusalem Apostles. The faithful learn that the ancient rigour in the obligation of giving to the Elders a share of their wealth for the needs of the Church has been relaxed in some degree.

The deacons could baptize. But the prayers of the Elders were required before the Holy Ghost would come down with his gifts. After the Samaritans had been baptized by the deacon Philip, the Apostles Peter and John came down from Jerusalem and laid hands on them that they might receive the Holy Ghost. From this we deduce that there were baptized Christians who nevertheless had not received the Holy Ghost. Who can these be? you may ask. They were those Christians who did not belong to the communion of the Apostles. These would be the Marcionites, you think, and the narrator of Acts brings in Marcion's very self in the guise of Simon Magus. This Simon was a Samaritan Gnostic as to whom Justin, a native of Samaria, could have given the author some information;¹²⁵ here he is introduced as a mighty magician known as the Great Power of God. Mark what follows! Simon is baptized. He sees Peter and John giving the Holy Ghost.

Now when Simon saw that through the laying on of the Apostles' hands
The Holy Ghost was given,

125 1 *Apol.*, xxvi; lvi. He made out, confusing Simon with the god Semo Sancus, that the Romans had raised a statue to him on the island of Tiberius.

He brought then a sum of money, saying, Give me also this power
That on whomsoever I lay my hands he may receive the
Holy Ghost.

Peter said to him,
Thy silver perish with thee,
Because thou hast thought to obtain the gift of God with money.
Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter,
For thy heart is not right before God.

Beneath the mask of Simon, called the father of al heresies, stood the recent heretic who had thought to buy with money the communion of the Church of Rome. Marcion had not yet died. Did the Church dream that the power of God might be moved by prayer to bring him back repentant to the fold, that the Church might not be divided? Peter adds:—

Repent therefore of this thy wickedness
And pray the Lord,
If perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven
thee,
For I see that thou art in the gall of bitterness
And in the bond of iniquity.

And Simon answered,
Pray ye for me to the Lord
That none of the things which ye have spoken may come upon me.

Simon's answer left some hope.

Paul's case had to be treated with the greatest care, for Paul was the Apostle by whom the Holy Ghost had been brought to Rome. The greater part of this book is devoted to his story, and his epistles were intended to complement the Gospels. Yet this terrible fellow had always taught that he held his title of Apostle from God himself. In fact he had been a prophet, the most untameable of the lot, and to bring him in was to risk upsetting the whole orderly system. Luke had therefore to bring him into line. Into what place did he fall in the order: The Prophets, Jesus, the Apostles, the Elders? Fortune had directed that Paul, after many

years of free apostleship, had entered into the communion of the Apostles of Jerusalem, and again, after he had quitted that community, had returned to it. Our author's aim was to efface all traces of independence and of variation. He therefore brought Paul, immediately after his conversion, into the company of the Twelve. The title of Apostle was left to him, as it was also to Barnabas.¹²⁶ The number of apostles, authorized authors or inspirers of the New Testament, was thus brought up to fourteen. The Holy Ghost was not given to him by one of the Twelve, but by a pious disciple, at Jesus's command.

The narrator found in the story of Paul, which he was following and which he endeavoured to fill out with gross miracles and embellish with marvellous and edifying episodes, the relation of Paul's conversion to King Agrippa (xxvi. 12–20) very much as it is to be found in the Epistle to the Galatians. Paul became a Christian solely through hearing the voice of Jesus, and received no investiture from man's hands. The narrator of Acts takes this episode in its chronological position¹²⁷ and boldly adds a human intermediary, pilfering, it would seem, from Josephus's tale of the conversion of King Izat by the Jew Ananias.

Saul arose from the earth.
Though his eyes were open, yet he saw nothing.
Leading him by the hand, they brought him to Damascus.
He was for three days without sight; he neither ate nor drank.

There was a disciple at Damascus named Ananias.¹²⁸

126 Barnabas and Paul are termed Apostles in Acts xiv. 14. Everywhere else in Acts this title is reserved for the Twelve. Barnabas, a Levite of Cyprus, was a link between the Jewish priesthood and the Apostles. He is depicted as having laid the price of his personal property at the feet of the Twelve (Acts iv. 36–37). This is probably an allusion to the collections made among the Helleno-Christians. Some attributed to him the Epistle to the Hebrews (Tertullian, *De pudicitia*, 20).

127 Acts ix. 3–19. He repeats it with the addition of Ananias in a speech Paul makes at the time of his arrest (xxii. 5–16).

128 In xxii. 12, Ananias is called “a devout man according to the law.” Once more we remark the Old Law being welded on to the New.

The Lord said to him in a vision, Ananias!
He said, Here I am, Lord!
The Lord said to him, Arise,
Go to the Street called Straight,
And inquire in the house of Judas for one named Saul of Tarsus.
Behold he prays; he has seen a man named Ananias
Coming in and laying his hands on him that he may see...

Ananias departed, went in to the house
And laid his hands on him, saying,
Brother Saul, the Lord sends me
Even Jesus who appeared to thee on the road thou earnest,
That thou mayest receive thy sight and be filled with the Holy Ghost.
Straightway there fell from his eyes as it were scales.
He saw, rose, and was baptized.
He took food and was strengthened.

Immediately he preached the Christian faith at Damascus, and then, “when many days were fulfilled,” he went up to Jerusalem, where Barnabas presented him to the Apostles, and he “was with them, going in and going out at Jerusalem.” Fortified with this knowledge, the pious reader can read the Pauline Epistles without running any risk. He will be able to put the right interpretation on them and will be able to correct what Paul said himself about his first apostleship.

Invested with the Holy Ghost, Paul can now undertake his long and fruitful journeys. At Ephesus he happens to meet disciples who had been baptized with the baptism of John and who had not received the Holy Ghost. With equal power to that of Peter and John, he lays his hands on them and causes the Holy Ghost to come down on them (xix. 1–8). He appoints Elders with Apostolic authority. On his last free journey he assembles the Ephesian Church and, penetrating the future, warns them of the future heresy which is to break out in Asia (xx. 28–30):—

Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock,
In which the Holy Ghost has made you bishops¹²⁹

129 The Apostolic origin of the Elders is set forth in 1 Clem. xlv.

To feed the Church of God
Which he purchased with his own blood.¹³⁰
I know that, after my departing, grievous wolves shall enter in among you,
Not sparing the fold.
From among yourselves shall men arise, speaking evil
To draw away the disciples after them.

Paul comes at last to Rome as a prisoner, and for the last time he preaches the Gospel, at first to the Jews, then to the gentiles. Isaiah's prophecy of Israel's unbelief is fulfilled utterly. At this point the book breaks off abruptly. Either the end of the original manuscript has been lost, or the author was content to bring his Apostle as far as Rome, where he introduced the Holy Ghost, and did not trouble to tell the tale of Paul's condemnation by the officers of the emperor.

When the two volumes dedicated to Theophilus have been read through, the apparent naïvety of the author can be accepted only with a certain reserve. The reader retains, however, a gentle serenity. The origins of Christianity now appear perfectly simple and clear. Once the way is indicated, the road unrolls itself in perfect order. Only by an effort of thought can the reader distinguish the artifice with which the parts have been joined together, with which a jumble of myth and confused history have been mingled and moulded into these grand, calm, and noble forms.

There remained the labour of perfecting the New Testament. First in order came an orthodox edition of the Pauline Epistles. To do this the editor followed a method very similar to that which he had applied to Marcion's Gospel. He picked out an Epistle suitable for the initial position and wrought on it till it could serve as the terms of reference for the whole volume, and thus furnish a body of doctrine and dominate the entire collection of letters. All, then, that was needed in the other Epistles was a little revision of details.

The Epistle to the Romans is taken from the fourth place which it occupied in Marcion's selection and put in the place

130 The Holy Ghost donned flesh and blood in Jesus.

of the Epistle to the Galatians, which Marcion placed first. Then it was enlarged to twice its original size.¹³¹ Paul's jerky style is superficially imitated.¹³² In the beginning where Paul solemnly declares himself to be an apostle ("separated unto the Gospel of God," "concerning his Son," "declared with power"). is added an echo of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke ("who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh"). In this leading place these words are a refutation of Marcion. With respect to the Jewish Law, Paul's attitude becomes that of Luke. What of the Law? "Do we then make the Law of none effect through faith? God forbid; nay, we establish the Law" (iii. 31). It is not established in Matthew's manner by its fulfilment. It is established as a prophecy. For example, Abraham, who had faith in God, is no other than the mysterious prophetic father of the Christians, "our father" (iv. 12 and 16; compare "Abraham our father" in 1 Clem. xxxi. 2). The whole Bible takes on a secret meaning which is hidden from the Jews. The mystery of God "which hath been kept in silence through times eternal," wherein the Catholic "Paul" is of the same opinion as Marcion, is now revealed to Christians "by the scriptures of the prophets"; in this Paul is opposed to Marcion. The heathen, who could know God in the creation (see the sermon in Acts), had been guilty of worshipping idols. God punishes them by making them victims of unnatural lust (i. 26–27). But he grants all the privileges of the Jews to those who have repented. The incredulity of the Jews is, most regrettably, utterly incurable; we remember Jesus's tears over Jerusalem. God has willed that the fall of the Jews should be the salvation of the Gentiles, so that the Jew may be jealous of the pagan (xi. II; the theme of the prodigal son). Paul orders the Roman Church to offer absolute submission to the imperial

131 Massive additions were: i. 19–end and ii. 1; iii. 21–end : vi; ix; x. 5–end; xi. 1–32; xv; xvi. These parts did not appear in Marcion's edition.

132 The doxologies in the body of the epistle, together with the Amen (i. 25; ix. 5; xi. 36) are not in Paul's style, but in Clement's (I Clem. xx. 12; xxxii. 4; xxxviii. 4; xliii. 6; xlv. 7; L 7; lxiv). They are also to be met with in 1 Tim. i. 17 and in I Peter iv. II.

authorities and to pay to the last penny the imperial taxes xiii. 1–7). He foresees the fate of Jerusalem, and intends to complete his message to the Gentile by preaching in Rome and in Spain.¹³³ However, the editor pinned on to the original a Pauline relic, a recommendation of Phoebe, a deaconess of a Corinthian port, which had been probably addressed to the Ephesian Church, or to certain Ephesian faithful, whom it enumerates.¹³⁴

In the touched-up Epistle to the Galatians¹³⁵ the proud recital Paul makes of his communications with the Jerusalem Apostles becomes overloaded. To give an air of accuracy, Paul is made to visit Jerusalem three years after his conversion, instead of the short and vague delay mentioned in Acts. His opposition to the Apostles is obscured, and, on the other hand, the scene of their reconciliation is emphasized.¹³⁶ Further on a discreet reference to the first chapters of St. Luke is inserted. Then in the phrase “God sent forth his Son that he might redeem them which were under the Law” (Gal. iv. 4) the editor slips in “born of a woman, born under the Law.” Marcion would scarcely dare refer now to this Epistle where the Law was so ingeniously termed “our tutor unto Christ” (Gal. iii. 24). Abraham appears once again with the Christians as his sole legitimate seed, The Jews of the day deserved their servitude; they had to be cast out, for “cast out the handmaid and her son, for the son of the handmaid shall not inherit with the son of the freewoman.” Nothing so severe on the Jews had been

133 This mention of Spain by an editor who knew what had actually happened confirms Paul's journey there, just as Clement said he did attain the Limits of the Occident (I Clem. v. 7).

134 Rom. xvi. 1–23. Epænetus is greeted as the first Asiatic Christian (xvi. 5; compare I Cor. xvi. 15, Stephanas the first Achaian Christian). The apostle Andronicus greeted in verse 7 is referred to in the Acts of John as one of the chiefs of the Church at Ephesus (B. W. Bacon, *Expository Times*; 1931, pp. 300–304). In this letter Paul, the genuine Paul, denounces the Christians who do not serve our Lord Christ, but their bellies—*i.e.*, who expect Christ's Coming to bring material abundance.

135 The chief additions are: i. 18–24; ii. 6–9; iii. 6–9, 15–25; iv. 27–30; iii. 10–14 and iv. 21–26 have been edited.

136 *La Premiere Edition de St. Paul (Premiers Ecrits du Christianisme, 1930)*, pp. 24–25.

written by a Christian who pretended to be a disciple of the Bible.

Of one thing there was not a trace in Paul, and for a very good reason, and that was of the institution of the Elders. At the head of Paul's Churches were the Prophets. This grave defect had to be remedied, so our editor manufactured three new Epistles. For that he made use of another remnant—a letter of simple news addressed to Timothy by Paul from Nicopolis in Epirus. Out of this little thing he made three: two letters to Timothy and one to Titus; and the second letter to Timothy was Paul's testament written at Rome.¹³⁷ The selection which opened with a letter addressed to the Romans ended with letters from Rome. In these there is no longer any attempt to imitate Paul's style; they are in the same “homily” manner which is employed in Clement's letter to the Corinthians, with the same hackneyed phrases—good works, good confession, good fight. These last letters appear to have been made up in a hurry.¹³⁸

This false Paul founded the canonical succession of the Elders with an apostle. He laid down the rules for their selection. An elder or an episcopos had to be married—“If a man knoweth not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?”—but to one wife only, obeyed by his children, be sober, peaceful, hospitable, righteous, holy, and master of himself. The faithful were enjoined *to* provide liberally for their Elders, and give them double honour. The main duty of an Elder was to preserve the Apostolic tradition such as the editor of the New Testament had made it, defending it like a good soldier against all innovators. Of these there were two sorts: the one, pretended doctors of the Law, Talmudic

137 Titus iii. 12–14; 2 Tim. i. 15–18; iv. 9–22. This is a single letter cut into three parts. “Give diligence to come unto me at Nicopolis” (Titus iii. 12) is repeated by “Do thy diligence to come unto me shortly” (2 Tim. iv. 9), and “do thy diligence to come before winter” (2 Tim. iv. 21). Paul has forgotten a “cloak” (φέλδης) at Troas on his way from Miletus to Nicopolis. He has escaped from his enemies at Ephesus, and he thanks his friends by Timothy. The words “in Rome” have been added to 2 Tim. i. 17 so that the fictitious letters may appear to have been written in Rome.

138 For the style of these so-called Pastoral Epistles see P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*; Oxford, 1921.

Christians, who invented problems and “old wives’ fables,” Jewish myths, and interminable genealogies; the other, who forbade marriage and the use of foods given by the Creator to his faithful—these were the Marcionites. Continnence and abstinence had their dangers; Paul advises Timothy to drink a little wine and disavow Marcion: “Be no longer a drinker of water.” Between our editor and Marcion there was a personal duel. Marcion read the Gospel dedicated to Theophilus and criticized it in his book the *Antitheses* as “interpolated by the protectors of Judaism, who would incorporate in it the Law and the Prophets.”¹³⁹ This was to criticize too well, and finds its reply already written in Paul’s letter to Timothy: “Guard the deposit and turn away from the profane babblings and *antitheses* of a so-called *gnosis*. Some who profess it have missed the mark concerning the faith” (1 Tim. vi. 20–21).

Even the Gospel of John—that puissant weapon against Marcionism—ran the risk of being wrongly interpreted. “Hymenreus and Philetus, men who have missed the mark concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is past already” (2 Tim. ii. 17–18). This doctrine of the resurrection being past already is clearly taught by John and by Paul himself (Rom. vi. 4–11). Evidently the reader must not be allowed to proceed without a guide. All Scripture has been divinely inspired, and all Scripture requires a living interpreter capable of making wholesome comment on it and even of correcting it. In every Church the body of Elders should be such a living interpreter.

The perfect balance of the New Testament still stood in need of a counterweight. Just as the tale of Peter counterbalanced that of Paul in Acts, so the letters of Paul required as counterpoise letters from the Twelve. There were already in existence a letter by James and three by John. To make up seven, our editor produced two letters by Peter and one by Jude, John’s brother.

Peter’s first Epistle is a warrant for Mark’s Gospel. Peter

139 Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 4: “*Evangelium quod Lucae refertur apud nos, Marcion per Antitheses suas arguit ut interpolatum a Protectoribus Judaismi ad concorporationem legis et prophetarum.*”

calls Mark “my son” (v. 13), and is supposed to be in his company at Rome (Biblically called Babylon). The natural deduction was that Mark wrote down Peter's version of Christ's life and Passion, of which he, Peter, had been an eyewitness (v. 1). Hence the accuracy of Justin's name for the Gospel of St. Mark, the Recollections of Peter.¹⁴⁰ The epistle itself is a homily addressed to the baptized heathen of Asia Minor at the time of a persecution. He teaches them that the Jewish prophecies were meant solely for Christian (i. 10–12), and that the imperial authorities should be treated with the greatest respect; Pontius Pilate is referred to as “him that judgeth righteously” (I Pet. ii. 23). Moreover, a reply is given to a strange question. If the pagans of that day could be redeemed by the Blood of the Lamb, what was the fate of their forefathers, the poor sinners? Were they excluded from Jesus's redemption? Marcion had affirmed superbly that Cain, the Sodomites, the Egyptians—in fact, every criminal of every nation—had been saved when Jesus went down to hell and when they had come to him there.¹⁴¹ Peter was not to be outdone by Marcion, and declared that Christ went and preached to the “spirits in prison which aforetime had been disobedient, when the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing”—*i.e.*, that the pre-historic dead judged as other men might live again spiritually even as other men.¹⁴²

The brief Epistle of Jude is an affirmation that the Christian faith has been given “once for all” by the Apostles, and a violent condemnation of all who “in their dreamings defile the flesh and set at nought dominions and rail at dignities,” and those who would classify people into *psychics*

140 *Dial.* 106

141 Irenæus, *Hær.*, i. 27, 3 : *Marcion dicit, Cain et eos qui similes sunt et Sodomitas et Aegyptos et similes eis et omnes omnino gentes quae in omni permixtione malignitatis ambulaverunt salvatas esse a domino cum descendisset ad inferos et accurissent ei.*

142 I Peter iii. 19–20; iv. 6. The First Epistle of St. Peter is linked with the Pastoral Epistles by a curious prohibition to women that they should not plait their hair. This plaiting of the hair was the fashion in the time of Antonine (1 Peter iii. 3; I Tim. ii. 9). It is also related to Clement by the aphorism “Charity covereth a multitude of sins” (1 Peter iv. 8; I Clem. xlix. 5.)

and *spirituals* and have not themselves the Spirit. We can recognize in these the Alexandrian Gnostics, Basilides, Carpocrates, who sought the way of salvation in the freedom the flesh, and Valentinus in particular. The latter came to Rome shortly before Marcion and attempted to force himself into the Roman episcopacy. His astonishing Gospel of Truth and his sacrilegious and disorderly theology stunned the faithful.

The Second Epistle of St. Peter was perhaps the most coherent of these bits of filling. It pretends to be, as we have already noted, Peter's testament. Its middle part is little more than a repetition of Jude. There are, however, three particular aims. Firstly, it is addressed to those disillusioned persons who spoke ironically of the Coming of the Lord : "Where is the promise of his Coming? For from the day that our fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation" (2 Peter iii. 4).¹⁴³ After the great expectations of the year 135 came impious doubt. Peter assured them that the Lord is not slow, but patient, and that in his eyes a day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years are as a day. So we have the impatient Christians put off to the year One Thousand. Secondly, Peter approved of the right edition of Paul's epistles and his disapproval of the Marcionite interpretation (iii. 15-16):—

Account the longsuffering of our Lord is salvation,
Even as our beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom given
him, wrote unto you,
And also in all his letters when he speaks therein of this subject.
Some things are hard to understand.
The ignorant and the unsteadfast falsify them,
As also the other scriptures, to their destruction.

Peter also laid emphasis on a book he intended to write before he died so that the faithful "may be able after my departure to call these things to remembrance," for he had been with Jesus on the "holy mount" and had heard a voice

143 Clement answers the same doubt in his Epistle to the Corinthians in similar terms: "We have already heard tell of that time by our fathers: lo, we have grown old and nothing of all that has come about" (I Clem. xlix. 5).

“from the excellent glory” which said, “This is my Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.” Evidently he had in mind a Revelation “more sure” than any other, including the Revelation of St. John:—

We have the word of prophecy more sure
To which you do well to take heed
As to a torch shining in a dark place
Till the Day dawn
And the Day-star arise in your hearts.¹⁴⁴

What scripture did Peter refer to here? Probably to the Apocalypse of St. Peter. This work was intended by our editor to be the completion and perfection of the New Testament, doubling the older Revelation of St. John which was too hard for the Gentile and not over-edifying. Peter's Revelation was used in the Roman Church till the end of the second century.¹⁴⁵ but then lost ground before its powerful rival. There are still extant two fragments of it and an Ethiopian paraphrase.¹⁴⁶

This Revelation was presented as an episode omitted from the volume dedicated to Theophilus, and was one of the “many proofs” (Acts i. 3) of the Risen Christ when he showed himself to the Apostles during the forty days and spoke to them of the Kingdom of God.¹⁴⁷ Jesus is with them on the Mount of Olives, “the holy mount.” At their request he tells them of the Great Judgment which is to be preceded by the destruction of the fig-tree. Peter wants to know what fig-tree, and the answer is the fig-tree of the parable in Luke—the Jews and the false Jew Messiah who persecuted the Jews (Bar-cocheba). Then there would be false prophets who would teach doctrines of destruction (Marcion and his like).

144 2 Peter i. 15–19. Note the word μεγαλοπρεπής applied to God; it is a favourite with Clement, appearing seven times in the Epistle to the Corinthians.

145 According to the Canon of Muratori. Clement of Alexandria quotes it as part of the New Testament (Eusebius, H.E., vi. 14, I).

146 Fragment of Akhmim, published first by Bouriant (*Memoires de la miss, arch. francaise du Caire*; 1892). Another Greek fragment was published by James (*The Journal of Theological Studies*; April 1931); Ethiopian version published by S. Grébaut (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*; 1907–1910), translated into German by Weinel in Henneke, *N.T. Apokryphen*; second edition, 1930.

147 This verse of Acts i. 3 looks as though it had been inserted as leading up to Peter's Revelation.

When they have prayed with him,¹⁴⁸ the Apostles ask him to show them the face of one of the elect. Two men appear to them; these men are dazzling with beauty, white as snow, pink as roses, with a halo of hair as glorious as a crown of flowers or as a rainbow. Peter beholds a vast and splendid land, carpeted with flowers and sweet with fragrance. It is inhabited by high priests who partake of the life of the angels. In the other direction Peter beholds a dark, slimy, putrid, stinking, and fiery place in which fourteen kinds of criminal are being tortured. In this lake of flame, for example, women who have conceived out of wedlock and have committed abortion are plunged into blood up to their shoulders and their still-born babes sit beside them weeping, flames coming from them which strike their mothers' eyes. The Elect are witnesses of these tortures, and are privileged to obtain a remission of punishment for their acquaintances among the damned. Jesus predicts to Peter that he shall die in a great city of the West.¹⁴⁹ Then with his disciples Jesus goes up to the top of the holy mount, where the scene of the Transfiguration is reproduced and the voice of the Father says "This is my Beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." A cloud envelops Jesus, and the Apostles go down the mount again blessing God¹⁵⁰ who has written the Names of the Elect in the Book of Life. What is lacking in this literary vision, which is in spirit more pagan than Biblical, is sincerity, power, emotion, spontaneity, glamour, and the mighty sweep of the lofty vision of the seer of Patmos. The age of the prophets had surely heard its last hour strike.

This completed the New Testament. It included twenty-eight Scriptures—four groups of seven.¹⁵¹ The first fourteen came from the Twelve Apostles and their authorized interpreters. In the first group fall the four Gospels, the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Two Revelations. Their authors are Matthew, John, and Peter—Apostles; Mark—Peter's "son"—and the dedicator to Theophilus, who had carefully

148 This plethora of prayer is characteristic of Luke.

149 To fit in with the two Epistles of Peter which imply Peter died at Rome.

150 As they do after Jesus's Ascension (Luke xxiv. 53). Peter's Revelation gives a third account of the Ascension; the others are at the end of Luke (xxiv. 51) and at the beginning of Acts (i. 6–12).

151 Reduced to 27 by the suppression of the Revelation of Peter.

collected the traditions of the Apostles. The second group is that of the seven “Catholic” Epistles—*i.e.*, those addressed generally. They purport to have been written by James, Peter, Jude, and John, all Apostles. The remaining fourteen Scriptures come from the second group of Apostles—that of Paul and Barnabas (if we accord the Epistle to the Hebrews to Barnabas); there are thirteen Pauline Epistles and that to the Hebrews. Between these two groups there is no conflict; on the contrary, harmony reigns. Peter approved Paul's Epistles, and so the Twelve walk hand in hand with Paul and Barnabas. The link between them is that writer to Theophilus who was such a diligent historian of the whole brigade of Apostles. There were no other Apostles than those fourteen, and they wrote nothing beyond the twenty-eight Scriptures. Hermas's prophecy cannot be accepted, as it is not a prophecy before the day of Jesus, or alternatively because it is not by an Apostle.¹⁵² Such was the compact and numerous Bible, closely linked with the Bible of the Jews, which the great Church henceforward opposed to the Scriptures of Marcion.

This ingenious, bold, liberal, and prudent builder has a right to applause, for he constructed out of a hotch-potch of writings a coherent and durable whole, strong to resist and powerful to prevail. In it all spiritual needs are satisfied. Its preservation is entrusted to the colleges for whose authority it is itself the foundation. Not a source of riches has been neglected in its compilation. Books sown and ripened in differing climates find in it a common strength in which all are strong in the support of their fellows. The four Gospels in this association appear as four independent testimonies which mutually corroborate and complete one another. The critical historian may reproach the architect with building wings under false names, with repairs, renovations, and false windows. Still he will admit that the architect was driven by necessity, and that without him the most ancient Christian documents might have been lost or dispersed.

152 “It cannot be read to the people in church, either as among the Prophets, whose number is complete, or as among the Apostles at the end of days.”—Muratorian Canon.

JESUS FORMED

Jesus has been definitely formed. His features have been determined and composed. He is still the great heavenly Judge of the Day of Doom; that he has been from the beginning; it was his first function and for long his only function. His Judgment will be preceded by the Resurrection of the Body; on this point the doctrine of the Roman Church has overcome that of St. Paul. It will be followed by eternal life. His Kingdom on Earth will last a thousand years, and in the eyes of God a thousand years are as a single day. His true Kingdom is not of this world, and the expectations founded upon it are not material. The oppressed may not dream of an earthly recompense from him, but after the Judgment is over they will put on as a garment their heavenly glory. The Advent withdraws to a remote future, and the dead will find paradise or hell till the coming of the awaited Day. In the meantime the Church makes its plans for its earthly continuation. The grand descent in glory will be Jesus's second visit to earth; the first, in humiliation and sacrifice, is henceforth to be the subject of the Christian's meditation.

Jesus remains, as he is portrayed in John's Revelation, the holy sacrificial Lamb which redeems all mankind with its blood. Jesus is, as Paul would have him, the Crucified, in whom all suffering and tortured men can behold themselves. Yet his agony is not that of a man; it is that of a God, and hence is eternal, infinite, and universal. Sacrificing priest and offering at one and the same time, Jesus is also the High Priest of mankind. In addition, he is the Messiah and the Redeemer of Israel, foretold by the Prophets, and Israel includes all men who have faith in Jesus and for whom Jesus has given his blood. The Jews of their own will have been excluded from the New Israel.

The relations of Jesus to the God of Israel took a long time in developing clear outlines. In the beginning the terms Judgment of Jesus and Judgment of God were synonymous, and *The Lord* meant either God or Jesus indiscriminately. Both Paul and John combine God and Jesus in a single sentence with a verb in the singular following them. Paul teaches that Jesus, when he has completed his mission, will be absorbed once again in God (I Cor. xv. 28). Marcion's attempt to separate Jesus from the God of Israel, and to teach that he was the Son of the True God, unknown till then, was a failure. Yet it had its influence in giving Jesus a greater divine individuality. On the other hand, Hermas's endeavours to portray Jesus as a Great Angel of a lower grade than God and the Holy Ghost were rebutted vigorously by the author of Hebrews and by Mark. Finally Jesus is enthroned in a Holy Trinity, seated between God and the Holy Spirit, enjoying powers as great as theirs and sharing with them, O Mystery, Divine Unity.

The most ruthless warfare was engaged over Jesus's human nature. Since the day of St. Paul, the Crucifixion implied a "likeness of men," the "form of a servant" (slave) (Phil. ii. 7μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος). Thanks to Marcion, it became recognized that the story of the Divine Passion could be told as though it were an historical narrative. Jesus becomes crucified "under Pontius Pilate." His teaching is that of utter abnegation and of infinite goodness, which alone is compatible with a God doomed to sacrifice. It was surely a blasphemy to think that such a God could be human flesh and blood, and scandalous to think of such a deity being conceived and taking shape in a woman's womb. Mark evaded the problem, and it might be said, paradoxically, that Jesus was dead before he was born. His death in Saint Paul and in Marcion had no implication of birth; it was not of this world. The Syrian Elder it was who gave to Jesus, the Messiah of Israel, this human birth, and to God the physical paternity; he did it in order to bring Jesus into line with certain prophecies. On a higher plane the Ephesian Elder preached the veritable embodiment in the flesh of the

Word of God. This, after the Crucifixion of a God and the historicity of a God, is the most startling innovation of Christianity. When these difficulties have been overcome, the Roman Elder, by means of an account in the form of recollections, engineered the admission into the history of ordinary men of one Jesus of Nazareth, born a subject of Augustus, numbered in the Census by Quirinius. The miracle is at last complete. Jesus is utterly God, and at the same time he is completely man.

The writer to Theophilus gained his greatest success when he persuaded even the unbelievers to accept his Jesus of Nazareth. The distant day was to come when the sceptics were to explain Christianity back to front; putting at the beginning what came last and taking this Jesus of Nazareth away from his true beginnings, they complacently endeavour to elucidate his legend. They attempt to reconstruct the greatest religious movement which has ever disturbed humanity by means of an uncertain name, of a Jew unknown to Josephus and of a commonplace spiritual illusion. Their self-imposed task is impossible. If Jesus is not to be thought a God, he cannot be thought a man. Only the believer who affirms his belief in the God Jesus can affirm his belief in the Man Jesus. In the years 150–160 the Roman Church believed in faith, and also in that recent credo “was crucified and buried under Pontius Pilate,” and in the still more recent “was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary” as well as that most ancient of all “ascended to heaven, is seated on the right hand of the Father, whence he will come down to judge the quick and the dead.”¹⁵³ Jesus of Nazareth is only one of the names under which he is known, and it was the last given him in the course of his development from the Mysterious Being seen by Daniel next to God's Throne, invested with the Dominion of the Universe.

Judge and Redeemer, truly God and truly Man, Jesus offers to mankind an unparalleled object for hope, worship, faith, and love. By believing in him, a worshipper can, turn

153 Lietzmann, “Symbolstudien xiv” (*Zeitschrift f.d. N.T. Wiss.*; 1927, p. 81).

and tum about, cast himself into the depths of grief, pity, and lamentation for his agony and suffering, or intoxicate himself in the splendour of his victory over death, taking to himself the pain and the abasement, or the glory and the triumph. Nothing quite like this had ever been met with before in the whole world. There had been no lack of gods slain and risen, but none had possessed at one and the same time divine fullness and human completeness. Here is a Mediator come from God and returned to God, having touched the uttermost depths of wretchedness and suffering. Who shall be stronger than he to prevail over the vulnerable hearts of men? His is truly the power that shall prevail over all other Gods.

And his destiny it was to overcome them all, these other deities. The weary Pantheon of Rome and Greece could put up little resistance. Two brief centuries passed away, and the Oracle at Delphi closed its doors, the torches of Eleusis were extinguished for ever, great Artemis of the Ephesians, Olympian Zeus, the Virgin Athena, Capitoline Jupiter, Cybele, Isis, Mithras—all will have been swathed in their burial linen. In the green groves of Gaulish forests, amid the oaks and firs of the German, on the steppes of the Slav, the Irish heaths, and along the shores of Scandinavian lakes, obscure gods reigned till Jesus shattered their might each in his turn. There was not one of the European peoples who did not surrender sooner or later, offering tribute of faith, genius, and strength. In every land Jesus brought a new era in history and a new civilization. His outposts were to be Armenia in Asia and Ethiopia in Africa, but Europe was to be wholly his stronghold, and the conquests the European nations made abroad were to be made in his name. Companion of the white man in his hard toil, his sorrow, and his dreams, Jesus was to become the God of the White Man, that restless and hardy being, whose heart grieves for his own sin and rejoices in his own election, who is raised from despair by certainty in strife, who attains and renounces for an invisible reward.

The peoples who were to resist the spell of Jesus were those who professed a strict monotheism, such as the Jews and the

Mussulmans. They who proclaim that there is no God but God can see no enticement in the compromise of God and of Man called Jesus. Those nations, too, who have no perception of a personal deity, but divine a power immanent in all Nature, find no attraction in Jesus. The Hindu Yoga, the Buddhist Nirvana, the Chinese Tao are ways of salvation that are not compatible with Christianity; the yellow races have no affinity with Jesus.

The Christ Jesus, the God-Man, is not a metaphysical Absolute, nor an elemental power of Nature. Never did humanity draw from its own sufferings a more human god. Man's everlasting protest against death is in Jesus at once incarnate and renounced. Jesus is the Good Companion who comforts a man in his anguish and his loneliness. Really he is no more than man's own heart, aware of itself mysteriously in the agony of its infinite feebleness and in the exaltation of its measureless strength.

APPENDIX
I
THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARCION

Foreword

MARCION's Gospel is here given for the first time in translation in a continuous form.

The letters in the right-hand margin indicate the sources and authorities for the text. Such parts as have no direct source are reconstructed after a consideration of their relation to attested contexts. Hence a glance will show what parts are certain, which are very probable, or only probable, or just plausible. Moreover, the reader can see that the web of well-supported text is sufficiently great and sufficiently close to give us a very near approximation to the lost gospel.

Like the books of the New Testament, the Gospel of Marcion is written in a rhythmic style, which, though easy to perceive, is difficult to fix in rule. Short phrases, noticeably equalized, are joined in a sort of strophe of a roughly uniform length. Hebrew poetics, so difficult of definition, and the Greek Septuagint gives an idea of this simple and expressive style of composition in which rhythm is allied with freedom. The Epistles of St. Paul and the Apocalypse, before the Gospel of Marcion, are perfect models of it.

This rhythm, which is the life of the text, the translator has endeavoured to retain to some degree. The short lines have this additional advantage, that they allow each phrase to be near the note showing its origin.

The Left-hand Margin

Marcion's Evangel was inserted in a wholesale manner into the Gospel of Luke. It has therefore been thought advantageous to retain for reference the traditional number-

ing of this gospel; this appears in the left-hand margin. Naturally it is discontinuous, since not only parts of verses, but whole verses—even whole chapters—are to be found in Luke which do not belong to Marcion. For example, Marcion's text begins at Luke iii. 1 and then jumps to iv. 31, comes back to iv. 16, and then goes on, with many gaps, to xxiv. 47. The sign * before a line shows that this line differs from the text in Luke, maybe in part, maybe wholly.

The sign † before a line indicates that this line was in Marcion, but not in Luke. It therefore marks those parts, relatively few in number, which have been excised in Luke.

Other symbols in this margin show what source has been followed.

An examination of the text of Marcion in those parts where it is most strongly authenticated shows that it most resembles that text of Luke which is called, with no particularly good reason, *Occidental*, which is represented chiefly by the D manuscript, the Latin version called African, and the ancient Syriac versions which are derived from a single lost archetype. The readings of this series of manuscripts have therefore a great value in reconstructing the Gospel of Marcion. Where they have been confirmed by reference by some reader of Marcion's Gospel, and where they have seemed more likely, on account of their relationship to the other gospels which we believe to be derived from Marcion, they have been indicated.

D = the Codex Bezae in the Public Library at Cambridge.

e = the Codex Palatinus which contains the African Latin version of Luke (Hans van Soden, *Das lateinische N.T. in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians*; Leipzig, 1909).

Syc. = the Syriac version edited by Cureton, London, 1858.

Sys. = the Syriac version discovered at Sinai. (A.S. Lewis, *The Old Syriac Gospels*; London, 1910).

Syp. = the Syriac Vulgate (Peshito).

Sy. = a reading common to the Syriac versions.

When a “D” reading is corroborated by other manuscripts of the same group, it alone is indicated; similarly for “e.” A symbol is placed in brackets when it applies to part of a line only.

Right-hand Margin

In this margin the evidence for the text is marked. On account of their number and length, they could not be set out in full. They can be found diligently collected and sorted out in Harnack's book *Marcion, Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*, 2nd edit., Leipzig 1924, *Beilagen*, pp. 183–240. Harnack made an almost exhaustive collection, but he put on one side a small number which relate to the parts suppressed by Luke. These are given here in notes.

Authors who have quoted or made reference to Marcion are indicated by means of abbreviations as follows, in order of importance:—

T. = Tertullian: *Adversus Marcionem, libri v* (especially book iv); Kroymann, Vienna, 1906.

A. = Dialogues of Adamantios, *περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὀρθῆς πιστέως*, *Dialogues I & II*, W. H. van de Sande, Bakhuyzen; Leipzig, 1901.

(Ruf.) = Rufinus, ancient Latin translation of the dialogues.

E. = Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Book I, Vol. III; *Hær.*, xlii. *κατὰ Μαρκιωνιστῶν* Holl (*Griech. christl. Schriftsteller*); Vienna, 1931.

I. = Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*; ed. Harvey, Cambridge, 1857.

H. = Hippolytus, *Philosophumena (Refutatio omnium hæresium[sic])*; ed. Paul Wendland; Leipzig, 1916. *Syntagma* (according to Filastre, *Hær.*, 45).

Cl. = Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*; ed. O. Staehlin.

O. = Origen; esp. *Hom. in Luc.*, xxv.

Heg. = Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* (ch. 44, letter of Diodorus to Archelaus), ed. Beeson; Leipzig, 1906.

Ephr. = Ephrem, esp. *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio*, ed. Moesinger; Venice, 1876.

Chr. = Chrysostom, *Hom. in Phil.*, vii, etc.

Isid. = Isidore of Pelusium, *Epist.* 1, 371 (Migne, *P.G.T.*, 78).

Esn. = Esnik of Kolb, *Against Sects*, Armenian text, trans. into German by J. M. Schmid; Vienna, 1900.

Jer. = Jerome, *Contra Johannem Hierosol.*, 34; *In Matth.* xii, etc.

The symbol is placed in brackets when it refers to a line in part or indirectly.

In the right-hand margin are shown the references to the other gospels, when they confirm the text, certain or probable, of Marcion, or a reading from a manuscript of the occidental group. Mk. = Mark; Mw. = Matthew; Jn. = John.

NOTES

The translation is, moreover, annotated so as to show how Marcion and the Marcionites interpreted their gospel.

Marcion added to his gospel a commentary—the *Antitheses*—in which he expounded clearly what was obscure in the gospel, in particular the opposition of the god of the Jews, Creator of the earth, and the good god, the Father of Jesus. This commentary has been lost, but the leading points of it have often been repeated by Marcionites and refuted by Catholics. Harnack has collected a great number of quotations dealing with Marcion's doctrine and the Marcionite exegesis of the gospel.

These quotations have been arranged in this volume in such a fashion as to throw light on as many passages as possible. The reader will therefore have for his consideration a commentary such as Marcion himself would have authorized, or, at least, one which displays the spirit in which his followers read his gospel.

For brevity's sake such phrases as "Marcion said" or "the Marcionites held" have been suppressed. The reader can supply them, and will please not attribute to Tertullian, etc., quotations drawn from their works but

which give the opinions of their Marcionite opponents. The *Dialogue of Adamantios* alone gives direct Marcionite matter.

The same letters and abbreviations are used in the Notes as in the right-hand margin.

Frequent quotations are made from St. Paul. Marcion's New Testament consisted of his gospel and of the *Apostolicon*, the collection of St. Paul's Epistles which he had made. The latter is in many ways the key to the former. Where the Marcionite text of St. Paul differed from the Catholic, the difference is indicated by the word *Apostolicon*. It must not be forgotten that the Marcionites called the Epistle to the Ephesians the Epistle to the Laodiceans (shown as Laod.).

Often reference is made to readings in other gospels.

Marcion's book, in spite of its dispersion, had a deep and essential unity, which produced its echoes and reactions. Marcion's Jesus is his own best commentator.

THE GOSPEL¹

THE COMING OF JESUS—PROCLAMATION TO THE JEWS

Lk. iii. 1	In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar ²	I. H. A. E.
*	In the days of the governor Pontius Pilate ³	I. A.
iv. 31	Jesus Christ, Son of God, came down from heaven ⁴	T. H. A.
*	And appeared at Capernaum, a town in Galilee. ⁵	T. A. O.
*	He taught in the synagogue:	T. H.; cf. Mw.
†	Do you believe that I have come	
†	To fulfil the Law or the Prophets?	Isid.; cf. Mw. v.17
†	I have come to do away with them, not to accomplish them! ⁶	A. Isid.; cf. Mw. v.17
32 *	All were astonished at his teaching ⁷	T.; cf. Mw. v.17
	For his words had authority.	T.

¹ Figures refer to notes given at end of this Appendix.

THE CASTING OUT OF A DEVIL

33	In the synagogue was a man	
D	Who had an unclean demoniac spirit.	
	He cried out in a great voice,	
34 *	What hast thou to do with us, Jesus?	T.
	Hast thou come for our perdition?	T.
	I know who thou art, the Holy One of God! ⁸	
35	Jesus threatened ⁹ him saying,	T.
	Be silent! Come out of him!	
	The devil, casting him down in their midst,	
	Came out of him without doing him harm.	
36 D	Fear came upon all.	
	They whispered among themselves, saying,	
	What is this Word	
	That with authority and power	
	It gives commands to unclean Spirits	
	And they obey? ¹⁰	

THE JEWS REJECT JESUS

iv.16 D	Coming to Nazareth. ¹¹	T. Jer. (Ephr.)
D	Where he usually dwelt ¹²	
	He went on the sabbath day	(Ephr.)
	Into the Synagogue.	
†	He did nothing further in public	T. Ephr. (T.)
		Ephr.
†	Because they said nought ¹³ to him	
*	Save this saying,	E. Ephr. (T.)
		Ephr.
23	Doctor, heal thyself!	
D	All which we know happened at Capernaum,	
	Do that here also, in thine own country! ¹⁴	
29	They cast him forth from the Synagogue	T.
†	And, seizing him with their hands,	T. Ephr.
29	Led him to the summit of a mountain	T. Ephr.
	Where their town was built	
	To cast him down,	T. Ephr.
30	But he went his way through their midst. ¹⁵	T.

HEALINGS-THE DEPARTURE OF JESUS

iv. 40	On the going down of the sun, ¹⁶ All those who suffered from divers maladies Were brought to him.	cf. Mk. i. 32
D	Laying his hands on each one of them, ¹⁷ He cured them.	T. T.
41	Devils came out of them, crying, Thou art the Son of God! Threatening them, he forbade them to speak.	T. T. T.
42	When day broke, He went out into a desert. Crowds followed him. They came up to him And held him back That he should not abandon them.	T. T. T.
43	But he said to them, In other towns also ¹⁹ I must proclaim the good news of the Reign of God! ²⁰ For this end was I sent. ²¹	T. T. T.

FISHERS OF MEN ²²

v.1	He stood on the shore of Lake Gennesaret	cf. Jn. xxi. 1
2	He saw two ships moored near the bank. The fishermen had left them To wash their nets.	
3	He went up into one of the ships Which belonged to Simon	T.; cf. Jn. xxi. 2
4	And said to Simon, Launch out into the deep! Cast your nets for a catch!	T.; cf. Jn. xxi. 6
5	Simon replied, Master, all night we have toiled And have caught nothing But at your word I will let down the nets.	cf. Jn. xxi. 3 cf. Jn. xxi. 3

6	They did so And caught a vast quantity of fish. Their nets were torn.	cf. Jn. xxi. 6 T. cf. Jn. xxi. 6
7	They signalled to their companions in the other ship To come to their help. They came And filled the two ships D Till they almost sank.	
8D	When Simon saw this, He threw himself at Jesus's feet saying, Go far from me, For I am a sinful man, Lord! ²³	
9	Fear seized him And all those who were with him, At the catch of fish which they had	T.
10	And also James and John, the sons of Zebedee, ²⁴ Who were Simon's companions. Jesus said to Simon, Do not be afraid! Henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men! ²⁵	T. T. T.
11	They brought their ships to the shore. Leaving everything, they followed him.	cf. Jn. xxi. II T.

THE OFFERING OF THE CLEANSED LEPER

v. 12 D	Behold a man with leprosy. Seeing Jesus He fell on his face and begged him, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst purify me.	T.; cf. Mk. i 40
13	Stretching out his hand, He touched ²⁶ him saying, I will it; be clean!	T.
D	Immediately he was clean. ²⁷	T.; cf. Mw. viii. 3
14	He bade him Tell no one But, Go, show thyself to the Priest	T. T. T. E.

	And offer for thy cleansing	T.E.
*	The due offering as Moses prescribed,	T.E.; cf. Mw. viii. 4
D	That it may be a witness for you! ²⁸	T.E.

THE REMISSION OF SINS

v. 17	As he was teaching	
	Pharisees and Scribes were seated about him.	T.
18	Men came bearing on a bed	
	A paralysed man. ²⁹	T.
	They sought to bring him in	
	And to place him before him.	
19	Not finding a way to bring him in,	
	On account of the crowd,	
D	They went up on to the roof	
D	And took off tiles above the place where he was	cf. Mk. ii. 4
D	And let the bed with the paralytic down	cf. Mk. ii. 4
	Amidst them, before Jesus.	T.
20	Seeing their faith, ³⁰	
D	He said to the paralytic,	cf. Mk. ii. 5
	Man, thy sins are forgiven thee. ³¹	Ephr.
21	The Scribes and the Pharisees began to reason,	cf. Mk. ii. 6
D	Saying in their hearts,	
D	What is this man?	
D	He speaks blasphemies!	
	Who can forgive sins	T.
	But God alone?	T.
22	Jesus, perceiving their thoughts.	
D	Said to them,	cf. Mk. ii. 8
D	Why do you think evil in your hearts?	cf. Mw. ix. 4
23	Which is the easier	
D	To say, Thy sins are forgiven thee	cf. Mk. ii. 9
D	Or to say, Rise, take up thy bed!	T. Heg.; cf. Mw. ix. 6
24	That you may know	E.
	That the Son of Man ³³ has power	T. E.
	To pardon sins on earth:	T. E.
D	Rise, take up thy bed!	T. Heg.; cf. Mw. ix. 6

	On the instant he rose before them.	
D	He took up his bed	c.f. Mw. ix. 7
	And went out to his house.	
*	This was on the sabbath day ³⁴	Heg.; cf. Jn. v.9

ASSOCIATION WITH SINNERS

v. 27	D	Returning to the sea, He taught the crowd which followed him.	cf. Mk. ii. 13 cf. Mk. ii. 13
	D	As he passed by, he saw Levi, the son of Alphaeus, Sitting at the office of toll. ³⁵ He said to him, Follow me!	cf. Mk. ii. 14 T. T.
28		Leaving all he rose And followed him.	
29		Levi made him a great feast In his own house. There was a great crowd of publicans and sinners	T.
	D	Seated with them.	
30		The Pharisees and the Scribes grumbled Saying to his disciples, Why do you eat and drink ³⁶ With these publicans and sinners?	T.
31		Jesus answered them, Those who are well have no need of doctor, But those who are ill.	T. T.
32		I have not come to call the just, But the sinners. ³⁷	
*			cf. Mk. ii. 17

THE FASTS

v, 33		They said to him, The disciples of John ³⁸ often fast And pray And so do the disciples of the Pharisees. ³⁹ Thy disciples eat and drink!	T. T. T.
34		Jesus said to them, Wedding guests may not fast ⁴⁰ As long as the Bridegroom ⁴¹ is with them. When the Bridegroom shall be taken away Then shall they fast in those days.	T.; cf. Mk. ii. 19 T.; cf. Mk. e ii.19 T. T.

NOVELTY OF CHRISTIANITY

v, 35	He spoke also this parable to them: ⁴³	T. Ephr.
37 *	New wine is not poured	T.H.E.; cf. Mw. ix. 17
	Into old wineskins.	T.H.E.
*	Or the skins burst and the wine is spilled.	H.; cf. Mw. ix. 17
38 D	But new wine is poured into new skins	A.
*	And both are preserved.	A.; cf. Mw. ix. 17
36 *	Nor does one sew a patch of new cloth	T.H.A.E.; cf. Mk. ii. 21
	To an old cloak,	
*	Or it will tear the old:	E.; cf. Mk. ii. 21
	And it will not agree with the old	
†	For the tear will become greater. ⁴⁴	E.; cf. Mk. ii. 21

SABBATH BREAKING

vi. 1	It happened that on one sabbath	T.Heg.
	As he walked through the corn	
†	His disciples were hungry.	T.; cf. Mw. xii. 1
D	They began to pluck ears of corn	T.Heg.
D	And, rubbing them between their hands,	T.Heg.
†	They prepared food.	T.; cf. Jn. vi. 27
2	The Pharisees said,	T.
D	Look! Why do thy disciples do	T.
	What is forbidden on the sabbath?	
3	Jesus answered them,	T. (Heg.)
	Have you not read what David did	T.E.
	When he was hungry, he and his companions?	T.
4 *	On the sabbath he went into the House of God,	T.E.
	Took the shewbread,	
†	Broke it, made food of it,	T.
	And gave of it to his companions,	
D	To whom it was not lawful to eat	
	But to the priests alone. ⁴⁶	
D	The same day, seeing a man at work on the sabbath,	
D	He said to him,	
D	Man, if thou knowest what thou dost,	

D	Blessed art thou!	
D	But if thou knowest not,	
D	Thou art accursed and a breaker of the Law. ⁴⁷	
6 D	As he entered one sabbath into the Synagogue,	cf. Mk. iii. 1
	There was a man	
D	Who had a withered arm,	T.; cf. Mk. iii. 1
7	The Scribes and Pharisees spied him	
	Whether he would heal on the sabbath day,	
	That they might find an accusation against him.	
8	He knew their thoughts.	
	He said to the man with the withered arm,	
	Stand up and come forth amid the people!	
	He arose and stood forth.	
9	Jesus said to them,	T.
	I ask you,	
	Is it lawful on the sabbath day	T.
*	To do good or not,	T.
	To save a soul or to lose it?	T.
D	They held their peace.	cf. Mk. iii. 4
10 D	Looking upon them all with anger,	cf. Mk. iii. 5
	He said to him,	
	Stretch forth your arm!	
	He did so,	
	His arm was whole.	T.
5 D	He said to them,	
D	The Son of Man is Master	T. E.
D	Even of the sabbath! ⁴⁸	T. E.; cf. Mk. ii. 28

CHOICE OF THE FIRST APOSTLES

vi.12 *	He went up on to the Mountain. ⁴⁹	T.; cf. Mk. iii. 13
D	He passed the night there in prayer. ⁵⁰	T.
†	The Father granted all his prayers.	T.
13	When day broke,	
	He called his disciples.	
	He chose twelve of them	T.
	Whom he called Apostles:	T.

14 D	First Simon whom he called Peter, And Andrew, his brother,	T.; cf. Mw. x.
D	James and John, his brother,	Cf. Mk. iii. 17
D	Whom he called Boanerges That is to say Sons of Thunder; ⁵¹ Philip and Bartholomew;	
15 D	Matthew and Thomas called Didymus,	Cf. Jn. xi. 16
	James, the son of Alphaeus, and Simon called Zelotes;	
16	Judas, the son of James, and Judas Iscariot Who was a traitor. ⁵²	E. E.

SERMON TO NEW CHRISTIANS

vi. 17 *	He went down among them.	E.
* (D) (e)	A great multitude of people assembled From the borders of Tyre and of Sidon And from other towns, even from beyond the sea	T. T.
18	Who had come together to hear him And to be healed of their maladies. ⁵³	
19	All the crowd essayed to touch him For a Power went out of him ⁵⁴ And healed them all. ⁵⁵	E.
20	Raising his eyes, he said to them, ⁵⁶ Blessed are the beggars! ⁵⁷	E. T.
* 21 *	For theirs is the Kingdom of God. Blessed are those who hunger!	T.; cf. Mw. v. 5 T.
e *	For they shall be filled. Blessed are those who weep!	T.; cf. Mw. v. 6 T.
* 22 *	For they shall laugh. Blessed shall you be Whom the people hate, ⁵⁸	T. T.
* 23	Then they shall abuse you, And proscribe your name as evil, ⁵⁹ For the sake of the Son of Man! The same was done to the Prophets By their fathers! ⁶⁰	T. T. T. E. T. (E.)

24	Woe ⁶¹ is you, ye rich!	T.
	For you have received your desire.	T.
25 D	Woe is you, ye who are filled!	T.
	For you will be hungry.	T.
	Woe is you who laugh now!	T.
*	For you shall weep.	T.
26 D	Woe! when the people shall bless your name!	T.
	Thus did to the False Prophets	T.
	Their fathers!	
†	You have heard that it has been said ⁶²	Esn. (I.); cf. Mw. v. 21
†	Kill not!	Esn. (I.); cf. Mw. v. 21
†	But I say to you,	Esn. (I.); cf. Mw. v. 22
†	He who is angry unjustly against his brother	Esn. (I.); cf. Mw.
†	Hell waits for him! ⁶³	Esn. (I.); cf. Mw.
†	You have heard that it has been said,	Esn. (I.); Mw. v. 27
†	Thou shalt not commit adultery!	Esn. (I.); Mw.
†	But I say to you,	Esn. (I.); Mw. v. 28
†	He who casts his eye on a woman to desire her	Esn. (I.); Mw.
†	Is an adulterer in his heart!	Esn. (I.); Mw.
†	You have heard that it has been said,	Esn. (I.); Mw. v. 33
†	Thou shalt not swear falsely	Esn. (I.); Mw.
†	But thou shalt keep thy oaths to the Lord!	Esn. (I.); Mw. v. 33
†	But I say to you,	Esn. (I.); Mw. v. 34
†	You shall not swear at all! ⁶⁴	Esn. (I.); cf. Mw.
†	You have heard it said,	(A.); cf. Mw.
†	Love him who loves you	A.; cf. Mw.
†	And hate your enemy!	A.; Mw.
27	Well ⁶⁵ I say to you who listen,	T.
	Love your enemies, ⁶⁶	T. A.
	Do good to those who hate you	
28	Bless those who curse you ⁶⁷	T.
*	Pray for those who do you harm!	T. A.; cf. Mw. v. 44
†	You have heard that it has been said,	(A.); Mw. v. 38
†	An eye for an eye,	A.; Mw.
†	And a tooth for a tooth.	A.; Mw.

†	But I say to you,	(A.); Mw. v. 39
29 *	If a man gives you a blow on one cheek	T.A.
	Offer him the other also! ⁶⁸	T.A.
	* If a man takes your cloak from you,	T.A.(Heg.)
	* Offer him your shirt also. ⁶⁹	T.A.(Heg.)
30	To whomsoever asks, give; ⁷⁰	T.
	From him who takes your goods, ask nothing back.	
31	As you would that people should treat you, So treat them also. ⁷¹	
32	If you love them who love you What grace is yours?	
D	Sinners do as much.	T.; cf. Mw. v. 46
34	If you lend to those who you hope will reimburse you, What grace is yours? Sinners to sinners lend also	T.
D	For repayment.	
35	But love your enemies, Do good ⁷² and lend Without hope of ought in exchange, ⁷³	
	* You will be the Sons of God, ⁷⁴	T.
	For he is Good ⁷⁵ to the ingrates and the wicked.	T.
36	Be pitiful,	T.
	* As your Father is pitiful towards you. ⁷⁶	T.
37	Judge not ⁷⁷	T.
D	Lest you be judged.	T.; CF. Mw. vii. 1
	Condemn not, ⁷⁸	T.
D	Lest you be condemned.	T.
	Forgive,	T.
	You shall be forgiven.	T.
38	Give,	T.
	It shall be given you;	
Syp.	Good measure, pressed down, running over, Shall be poured into your lap.	T.
	With the same measure with which you deal to others	T. A.
	It shall be measured to you.	T. A.

THE BAD GUIDES

vi. 39	He told them a parable. Can a blind man lead a blind man? ⁷⁹ Will not both fall into the ditch?	T. T. T.
40	No disciple is above his Master. ⁸⁰	
41	Why do you regard the mote In your brother's eye? And do not remark The beam in your own eye?	
42	How can you say to your brother, Let me take the mote out of your eye, And behold there is a beam in your own!	cf. Mw. vii. 4 T.
D	Hypocrite, first remove the beam from your eye. Then you will see To take out the mote from your brother's eye!	T. T.
†	They come to you disguised as sheep, But within they are greedy wolves.	A.; cf. Mw. vii. 15 A.; cf. Mw.
†	By their fruits you will know them well. ⁸¹	
43	* A bad tree cannot * Bear good fruit, * Nor can a good tree Bear bad fruit. ⁸²	T. H. A. O.; cf. Mw. vii. 18 T. H. A. O.; cf. Mw. T. H. A. O.; cf. Mw. T. H. A. O.; cf. Mw.
44	* By its fruit the tree is known; Figs are not gathered on thorns, Nor from a bramble grapes.	T. O.; cf. Mw. xii. 33
45	* The good man, from the good treasure of his heart, brings forth good. The wicked man, from the evil treasure of his heart, brings evil. ⁸³ From the superabundance of the heart the mouth speaks: It is from the heart that evil thoughts spring.	T.A.; cf. Mw. xii.35 T. A. T. A. T. A. A. A. cf. Mw. xv. 19
46	* Why do you call out, Lord! Lord! And do not practise what I say? ⁸⁴	T. T.

THE FAITH OF PAGANS ⁸⁵

vii. 1 *	As he came into Capernaum,	Mw. viii 5; cf. Jn. iv, 46
†	A centurion came up to him	T.; Mw.
†	And besought him saying,	Mw. viii. 6
†	Lord, my child is lying at my house	Mw.; cf. iv. 51
†	Paralysed, cruelly tortured.	Mw.
†	He said to him,	Mw. viii. 7
†	I will come and heal him.	
†	The centurion replied,	Mw. viii. 8
6	Lord, I am not such that you may enter beneath my roof. ⁸⁶	
7	Say but a word, Let my child be healed!	
8	I am a subaltern Who has soldiers under me. I say to one, Go!, he goes; To another, Come!, he comes; To my slave, Do this!, he does it. ⁸⁷	
9	Hearing this, Jesus marvelled at him. Turned to the crowd which followed him, he said,	T.
D	Amen, I say to you,	T.E.; cf. MW. viii. 10
*	Such faith, never have I found it in Israel. ⁸⁸	T.E.; cf. MW. viii. 10
†	He said to the centurion,	Mw. viii. 13
†	Go, as you have believed,	Mw.; cf. Jn. iv. 50
†	May it be done to you!	Mw.
†	The child was healed at that moment. ⁸⁹	Mw.; cf. Jn. iv. 53

THE RESURRECTION OF A DEAD MAN

vii. 11D	On the next day he went to a town called Nain.	
12	When he was near the gate of the town, Behold a company with a dead man, The only son of his mother. And she was a widow. ⁹⁰	T. T. T.
13	Seeing her, the Lord had compassion on her, ⁹¹ He said to her, Do not weep!	

- 14 He came up and touched the bier.
The bearers stopped and he said,
Young man, I say to you, Rise! T.
- 15 The dead man sat up,
And began to speak.
He delivered him to his mother. ⁹² T.
- 16 Fear came upon all.
They glorified God saying,
A great prophet has appeared among us.
And, God has visited his people. ⁹³ T.
T.
T.

JUDGMENT ON JOHN THE BAPTIST

- † John, learning in his prison (T.) A.; cf. Mw.
xi. 2
- † The works of Christ T. A.; cf. Mw.
† Was scandalized. ⁹⁴ T. E.
- vii. 19 * He sent his disciples to say to him,
Art thou He who comes
Or shall we await another? ⁹⁵ A.; cf. Mw.
T. A.
T. A.
- 21 D At that moment he was healing many people
Of sickness, of plagues, of evil spirits.
To several blind men he had restored their sight. ⁹⁶ A.
- 22 He said to them,
Go and tell John
What you have seen and learned.

Blind men see again,
Lame men walk,
Lepers are cleansed,
Deaf hear,
Dead rise again,
Beggars receive the good news. ⁹⁷
- 23 * Blessed he who shall not be offended at me! T. E.
- 24 When John's messengers departed,
He began to speak to the crowds concerning John,
What did you go into the wilderness to see? T.
T.

26	A prophet?	
*	Yes, and more still; as it were an Angel.	T.
27	He it is of whom it is written, Lo, I send my Angel Before thy Face, Who will prepare thy way Before thee! ⁹⁸	T. A. E. T. A. E. T. A. E. T. A. A.
28	I tell you, Greater than all the sons of women ⁹⁹ Is the prophet John. But the least in the Kingdom of God Is greater than he. ¹⁰⁰	T. T. T. T.

LOVE

vii. 36	A Pharisee invited him To eat with him. Entering into the house of the Pharisee, He took his place at table.	E. E.
37	Behold a woman who was a sinner in the town.	T. E.
38	Standing behind him, at his feet,	E.
D	She made his feet wet with tears,	E.
(D)	Wiped them with her hair,	T.; cf. Jn. xii. 3
*	Anointed them and kissed them.	E.
44 *	He said to the Pharisee, I entered thy house. Thou didst not pour water on my feet. She watered my feet with her tears,	E.
45-6*	Anointed them, and kissed them.	E.
47	I tell you, That her sins so numerous are forgiven Because she has loved much. ¹⁰¹	T.
50	He said to the woman, Thy faith has saved thee. ¹⁰²	T. T.

GENEROUS WOMEN

- viii. 2 * There were with him women T.
Who had been healed of Evil Spirits and of maladies:
Mary, called Magdalene,
From whom seven devils had been cast out,
3 Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's minister, T.
Susanna and several others,
(D) Who helped him according to their means. ¹⁰³ T.

THE SEED

- viii. 4 As a great crowd assembled
And the people of the towns came to him,
He told them a parable: ¹⁰⁴ T.
- 5 The Sower went forth to sow his seed.
As he sowed, some of it fell by the wayside.
It was trodden underfoot,
The birds of heaven ate it.
- 6 Some fell on the rock.
As it sprang up, it dried away
For lack of moisture.
- 7 Some fell among thorns.
Springing up with it, the thorns choked it.
Some fell on good earth.
When it sprang up, it bore fruit a hundredfold. ¹⁰⁵
- * He who has ears, hearken! ¹⁰⁶ T.; cf. Mw. xiii. 9
16 When a man has lit a lamp, T.
He does not hide it behind a screen, T.
Nor does he place it beneath a bed.
No, he puts it in a candlestick
So that all who enter may see the light.
- 17 Nothing is hidden T.
Which should be shown; T.
Nothing is secret
D Which should be known cf. Mk. iv. 22
And discovered. ¹⁰⁷

8	Mark then how you listen! For if a man has, It will be given him. If he has not, Even what he believes he has will be taken away. ¹⁰⁸	T. T. T.
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THE KIN OF JESUS

viii. 20	He was told, Thy mother and brothers Are without, And seek thee. ¹⁰⁹	T.E. Ephr. T. Ephr.; cf. Mk. iii. 32
*	He answered, What mother, what brothers have I? ¹¹⁰ But those who listen to my words And practise them. ¹¹¹	T. Jer.; cf. Mk. iii T. T.

THE STORM

viii. 22	He went up into a ship, He and his disciples. He said to them, Let us cross to the other shore of the lake. They unmoored.	T.
23	As they sailed He fell asleep. A storm of wind swept across the lake. They took in water And were in jeopardy.	E. E. T.
24	Coming to him, they woke him, saying, Lord, Lord, we sink!	cf. Mw. viii. 25
D	He awoke and threatened the Wind and the Sea.	T. E.; cf. Mw. viii. 26
	They were lulled; And there came a calm.	T. Ephr.
25	He said to them, Where is your faith?	

Afraid, they marvelled,	
Saying among themselves,	
Who is this	T.
Who commands the Winds and the Sea	T.
And they obey him? ¹¹²	T.

THE LEGION OF DEVILS

viii. 27 Syc.	When he landed, A man came to him Who had Devils. For long he had worn no clothes. He dwelled in no house, But among tombs.	T.; cf. Mk. v. 2 T. (A.)
28	Seeing Jesus, He cried out and fell down before him. He said in a loud voice,	
*	What hast thou to do with me, Jesus, Son of God? ¹¹³ I beseech thee, Torture me not!	T.; cf. Mw. viii, 29
30	Jesus asked him, What is thy name? He said, Legion, For many Devils were in him.	A. A. T.A. T.
31	They prayed him Not to order them To go out into the Abyss. ¹¹⁴	T. T. T.
32	He granted it to them. ¹¹⁵	T.

FAITH WHICH SAVES

viii. 42 * (D)	It happened as they went along That the multitudes thronged about him.	E. E.
43	A woman who had had a loss of blood For twelve years,	T.E.
44	Coming behind him, Touched his cloak. ¹¹⁶	T.E.; cf. Mk. v. 27
D *	And was cured of the bleeding.	E.; cf. Mk v. 29

D	The Lord said, Who touched me?	T.E. T.E.; cf. Mk. v. 30, 31
*	His disciples said to him,	T.; cf. Mk. v. 31
D	* Crowds press on thee and throng about thee And thou dost ask, who has touched me?	cf. Mk. v. 31
46 (D) *	He said again, Someone touched me; I felt Power go out of me. ¹¹⁷	E, T.E. T.E.
47	The woman, seeing that she was not hid, Came trembling and fell before him. For what reason she had touched him, She declared before all the people And that she had been cured immediately.	
48	He said to her, Thy faith has saved thee! ¹¹⁸	T. T.

THE SENDING OUT OF THE FIRST APOSTLES

x. 1	Calling together the Twelve, He gave them Power and Authority Over all devils, And to heal the sick.	A. A. A. A.
2	He sent them out to announce the Kingdom of God And to heal.	T.A.
3	He told them, Take nothing for the road;	T. T.
(e) *	Neither shoes for your feet, Nor stick nor sack.	A.; cf. Mk. vi. 8 (T.) A.
*	Do not take two tunics, Nor small coins in your girdles. ¹¹⁹	(T.) A.
4	In whatever house you enter, Stay there and thence depart.	
5	When they will not take you in, Leave that town, Shake the dust from your feet, As a witness against them. ¹²⁰	T. T. T.

6	Going forth, they went Through towns and villages Preaching the Good News and healing everywhere. ¹²¹	A. A. A.
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HEROD'S PERPLEXITY

8	* Herod the tetrarch learned what was happening. * He was uneasy because some said, John is risen from the dead; Others said, it is Elias And others again, it is one of the old Prophets. ¹²²	(T.) (T.) T. T.; cf. Mk. vi. 15
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9	Herod said, John I have beheaded. Who is this of whom I hear such things? He sought to see him. ¹²³	
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THE MIRACULOUS INCREASE OF LOAVES AND
FISHES

10	On their return the Apostles told him All that they had done. Taking them with him, he withdrew privately. The multitudes, when they knew it, followed him.	cf. Jn. vi. 2
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12	The day began to wear away. Coming to him the Twelve said to him, Send away the crowd, So that they may go to the villages and farms near at hand For lodging and food; Here we are in the desert.	T.
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13	He told them, Give them to eat. They said, We have only five loaves and two fish. Shall we go ourselves and buy victuals for all this people?	T. (T.)
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14	There were about five thousand persons. He said to his disciples, Make them lie down in table companies of fifty!	
15	Thus they did, and each found a place.	
16	Taking the five loaves and two fish, ¹²⁴ Raising his eyes to heaven, ¹²⁵ He spoke over them a blessing And broke them into fragments. He gave these to the disciples To serve to the crowd.	T. A. E. A. E. cf. Mw. xiv. 19
17	They ate And were all satisfied.	(T.)
D	Of what remained there were taken away ¹²⁶ Twelve baskets. ¹²⁷	T.; cf. Mw. xiv. 20

WHO IS JESUS?

ix. 18	It happened, as he was alone, His disciples came to him. He questioned them, Who do they say I am, I, the Son of Man?	(A.) T. A. A.; cf. Mw. xvi, 13
e		
†		
19 Sy.	They replied, John the Baptist Others, Elias; Others, a prophet of old risen again.	A.; cf. Mw. xvi, 14 A. A. A.
20	He asked them, You, who do you say I am?	T. A. T. A.
*	Peter answered for all,	T. A.
*	Thou art the Christ!	T. A.; cf. Mk. viii. 29
21	Reprimanding them, he bade them Tell none such a thing, ¹²⁸	T. T.
22	The Son of Man, said he, Must suffer greatly, ¹²⁹ Be rejected of the Elders, the Scribes and High Priests, ¹³⁰ Be crucified, ¹³¹ And after the third day rise again.	T. A. E. T. A. E. T. A. (T.) A. (E.) T. A. (E.)

23	If any will go after me, Let him deny himself, Take up his cross, And follow me! ¹³²	
24	He who would save his soul Will lose it. He who should lose it for my sake Will save it. ¹³³	T. T. T. T.
25	What does it serve a man To have gained the whole world And to be destroyed Or lost himself? ¹³⁴	cf. Mk. viii 36 cf. Mk. viii 36
26 *	Who shall be ashamed of me I shall be ashamed of him. ¹³⁵	T. T.

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF JESUS

ix.28	Taking with him Peter, John and James, He went up on to the mountain to pray. ¹³⁶	T. T.
29	It happened, as he was praying, That the shape of his person was altered And his raiment became of shining white.	T.
30 *	Behold two men stood beside him, Moses and Elias, in his Glory.	T. (E.) (Ephr.) T. E. Ephr.
32	Peter and his comrades Were heavy with sleep. Awaking, they beheld his Glory And the two men who stood beside him.	
33	It happened, as they left him, ¹³⁷ That Peter said to Jesus, MASTER, it is good that we are here ; We will make three tabernacles here, One for thee, one for Moses and for Elias one (Not knowing what he said). ¹³⁸	T. T. T. T.; cf. Mw. xvii. 4 T. T.; cf. Mk. ix. 6
34	As he said this, There was a Cloud. It covered them with its shadow.	T. T.

They were afraid
When they entered into the Cloud.

- 35 D A Voice came out of the Cloud, T. E. Ephr.; cf. Mk.
ix. 7
D This is my Beloved Son. T. E. Ephr.
Listen to him! ¹³⁹ T.
36 While the Voice was speaking
Jesus was alone. ¹⁴⁰

THE UNWORTHINESS OF THE FIRST APOSTLES

- i. 37 It came to pass on the morrow
That they went down the Mountain,
And a great crowd came to meet them.
- 38 Behold from a crowd a man cried out,
Master, I pray you look upon my son;
My only child.
- 39 D A Spirit seizes him,
Cries aloud suddenly,
Twists him with foaming mouth,
And quits hardly, after having bruised him. ¹⁴¹
- 40 I begged thy disciples; E.
* But they could not cast it out. E.; cf. Mw. xvii. 16
- 41 * Jesus cried to them, T. E.; cf. Mk. ix. 19
e Brood without faith, T. E.; cf. Mk. ix. 19
How long shall I be with you?
e How long shall I suffer you? ¹⁴² T.
* Bring him hither to me! T.E.; cf. Mw. xvii. 17
Mw. xvii. 17
- 42 Jesus threatened the unclean spirit
D And drove it out.
D He gave the child back to his father.
- 43 All were struck with stupor
At the Greatness of God. ¹⁴³
- 44 As they all marvelled at all he did,
He said to his disciples,
Put these words into your ears!
The Son of Man will be delivered
Into the hands of men! E.
E.

45 They did not understand this Word.
It was hidden from them
So that they did not perceive it.
They feared to ask him
As to the Word. ¹⁴⁴

46 There came to them a thought,
Who was the greatest among them? ¹⁴⁵ T.

47 Jesus, who knew the thought in their hearts
Drew to him a child whom he placed beside him ¹⁴⁶ (T.)

48 And said to them,
If a man receive this child in my Name,
He receives me. ¹⁴⁷
If a man receives me,
He receives Him who sent me. ¹⁴⁸

D The least among you all, (T.)
Behold one who is great! ¹⁴⁹ (T.)

49 John spoke,
Master, we have seen a man
Who expelled Devils in thy name.
We prevented him
For he walks not with us. ¹⁵⁰

50 D Jesus said,
Do not prevent him!

e There is no one who may do a miracle in my Name cf. Mk. ix. 39
e And may curse me; ¹⁵¹ cf. Mk. ix. 39
He who is not against you
Is with you.

52 On the way they came into a Samaritan village. T.
53 They did not take him in.
54 Seeing this the disciples James and John said, (T.)
Lord, wilt thou that we call
Fire down from heaven and destroy them, T.
As Elijah did?

D He turned and rebuked them, saying, T.
55 D You do not know of what Spirit you are!
D

4	Carry neither purse nor bag, * Nor shoes nor stick. Greet none on the way.	T.; cf. Mw. x. 10 T.
5	Into whatever house you enter, Say first, Peace to this dwelling!	T.
6	If there is there a Son of Peace ¹⁶² Your peace will remain with him; If not it will return to you.	
7	Remain in the same house, Eating and drinking what there is, For the labourer has a right to his wage. ¹⁶³ Do not go from house to house!	T.
8	In whatever town you enter, Wherever they receive you, Eat what is offered you. ¹⁶⁴	
9	Heal the sick! Tell them, <i>e</i> The Reign of God is at hand! ¹⁶⁵	T.; cf. Mk. i. 15
10	In whatever town you enter, In which they do not receive you, Go out into the streets and say,	T. T.
11	Even the dust which clings In your town to our feet, * We shake it off for you as a witness! ¹⁶⁶ Know this, however, The Reign of God is at hand!	T. T.; cf. ix. 5 T.
16	He who listens to you, listens to me, He who repulses you, repulses me.	T.
D	He who listens to me, listens to Him who sent me.	cf. Mw. x. 40
17	The Seventy came back in joy, saying Lord, even the Devils are subject to us In Thy Name! ¹⁶⁷	I Cor. xiv. 32
18	He said to them, * I saw Satan as lightning Fall from Heaven. ¹⁶⁸	A. A.

D	Behold I have given you the Power To tread on serpents and scorpions And over all the Might of the Enemy. ¹⁶⁹ He will do you no harm.	T. T.
D	But of this rejoice not, That the Devils are subject to you. Rejoice that your Names Are written in Heaven! ¹⁷⁰	
*	I thank thee and bless thee,	T. E.
*	Lord of Heaven,	T. E.
*	What has been hidden from the wise and the learned ¹⁷¹	T.
	Thou hast revealed to the little children, ¹⁷² Yes, Father, For so was it a good thing in thy sight.	T. E.
22 D	All things were delivered to me by my Father. ¹⁷³	T.
*	None knew who was the Father	T. A. Chr.; cf. Jn. xvii. 25
*	* Save the Son. ¹⁷⁴	
*	None knows who is the Son	T. A.
*	Save the Father	T. A.
*	And he to whom the Son has revealed it. ¹⁷⁵	T.
23	Blessed the eyes which see What you see.	T. T.
24	I say to you, Prophets did not see What you see. ¹⁷⁶	T. T.

THE WORTH OF THE LAW

x. 25	Behold a Lawyer stood up To test him saying, (D) * What must I do to obtain life? ¹⁷⁷	T. (T.) T.
26 *	He said to the Lawyer, In the Law what is there written? How dost thou read it?	E. E.
27	He answered, Thou shalt love Jahweh thy God	T.E. T.

	With all thy heart,	T.
	With all thy soul,	T.
D	With all thy might,	T.
	And thy neighbour as thyself. ¹⁷⁸	T.
28	He said to him,	E.
	Thou hast said rightly.	
	Do that and thou shalt live. ¹⁷⁹	

MARTHA AND MARY ¹⁸⁰

x. 38 D	It happened as he went that he entered a village.	cf. Jn. xi. 1
	A woman named Martha took him into her house.	cf. Jn.
39	She had a sister called Mary	
	Who sat at the feet of the Lord	
D	And listened to his Words.	
40	Martha was hindered by much service.	
	Stopping she said,	
	Lord, dost thou not care	
	That my sister leaves me alone to serve?	
	Tell her therefore to come to my help!	
41 D	Jesus replied,	
D	Martha, Martha, thou squanderest thyself.	
42	Mary has chosen the best part;	
	It shall not be taken from her. ¹⁸¹	

HOW TO PRAY

xi. 1	As he was in a place of prayer	T.
*	One of his disciples came to him and said,	T.
	Lord, teach us how to pray ¹⁸²	T.
	As John taught his disciples. ¹⁸³	T.
2 D	He said,	
D	When you pray,	
D	Do not mumble as do others.	cf. Mw. vi. 7
D	Some think that the flood of their words	cf. Mw.
D	Will make them heard!	cf. Mw.
D	But when praying, say	

	*	Father, let thy holy Spirit come upon us	T.
†		And purify us!	
		Let thy Kingdom come! ¹⁸⁴	T.
3	*	Thy Bread to come ¹⁸⁵	T. O.
		Give us it each day!	T. O.
4		Forgive us our sins	T.
D		As we forgive also our debtors!	cf. Mw. vi. 12
	*	Do not let us be led into Trial! ¹⁸⁶	T.
5	D	He said,	
		If one of you had a friend	T. E.
		And went to him at midnight	T. E.
	*	To ask for three loaves,	T. E.
7		And the other answered from within,	
		The door is already bolted,	(T.)
		The children are in bed with me,	T.
		I cannot get up to give them to thee;	
8		Even if he should not get up to give them to him	T.
		Because he was his friend;	T.
		On account of his importunity	T.
		He will awake and give him	
		All that he wishes. ¹⁸⁷	
9		I also, I say to you,	
		Ask, it will be given you.	T. E.
		Seek, you will find.	T.
		Knock, it shall be opened to you.	T.
10		Whoever asks, obtains;	
		Whoever seeks, finds;	
		To him who knocks it shall be opened.	
11		What father among you,	(T.) (A.) E.
		Of whom his son were to ask bread	T. A. E.
		Will give him a stone?	A.
D		If He ask further for a fish	T. A. E.; cf. Mw. vii. 10
		In place of a fish will give him a serpent?	T. A. E.
12		If he ask further for an egg	T. A. E.
		Will give him a scorpion?	T. A. E.
13		If you then, all evil that you are, ¹⁸⁸	
		Know how to give good gifts to your children,	A. E.

	How much more the Father	E.
	Will he give from Heaven a Holy Spirit ¹⁸⁹	T.
	To those who ask it.	

CASTING OUT DEVILS

xi. 14	D	After he had said this, A deaf demoniac was brought him.	T.; cf. Mw. xii 21
	D	When he had cast it out,	T.
	D	All marvelled.	
15		Some amongst them said, By Beelzebub. ¹⁹⁰ the Prince of Devils, He casts out Devils.	T. T. T.
17		He, who knew their thoughts, said to them, Every Kingdom divided against itself is laid waste; House on house falls to the ground.	(T.)
18		If Satan is also divided against himself,	(T.)
	D	His Kingdom will not stand.	cf. Mk. iii. 26
19		If I drive out Devils by Beelzebub, Your sons by whom do they cast them out? ¹⁹¹ Therefore shall they be your judges.	T. T.
20		But if I expel the Devils by the finger of God, ¹⁹² Is it not because the Kingdom of God is come upon you?	T. T.
21		When the Strong Man Armed guards his palace, What is his is in peace. ¹⁹³	T.
	D	But when a Stronger, surprising him, overcomes him, He takes away all the armour ¹⁹⁴ In which he trusted And divides the spoil. ¹⁹⁵	T.

THE TRUE KIN OF JESUS

xi. 27		A woman, raising her voice from the crowd, Said to him,	T.
	*	Blessed the womb which bore thee,	T. Ephr.
	e	The breasts which gave thee suck! ¹⁹⁶	T.

28	But he said, Blessed rather Those who hearken to the Word of God	T. T.
*	And practise it. ¹⁹⁷	T.

NO SIGN

xi. 29	Multitudes being gathered together, He began to say, This generation is an evil generation. ¹⁹⁸ They seek a Sign But no Sign shall be given them.	E. T. E. T. E.
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33	A lamp has not been lit To be placed in a cellar But on a standard	T. T. T.
*	That it may shine for all. ¹⁹⁹	T.; cf. Mw. v. 15

THE PHARISEES AND THE LAWYERS

xi. 37	A Pharisee invited him To dine with him. When he came in he took his place at table.	T. T.
38 D	The Pharisee, surprised, said to himself, Why has he not washed before going to table? ²⁰⁰	T. T.

39 sys.	Jesus said to him, Now you Pharisees, hypocrites,	T. cf. Mw. xxiii. 25
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	You clean the outside of the cup and the dish And your inside is full of rapine and wickedness.	T. T.
†	You clean the outside of the cup	
†	And within you do not clean.	T.

40	Fools, to have cleaned the outside And left the inside unclean! ²⁰¹	T. T.
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41	No, give in alms what you have ²⁰² And behold all things will be pure for you! ²⁰³	T. T.
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42	Woe to you Pharisees! For you tithe mint and rue and all herbs	T.
*	And neglect the Call of God ²⁰⁴ and his love.	T. E.

43	Woe to you Pharisees! For you love the seats of honour in the synagogues, The greetings in the streets, D The couches of honour at the dinners!	T. T. cf. Mk. xii. 39
44	Woe to you! D For you are hidden tombs, On which men walk without knowing it. ²⁰⁵	
46	To you also; Lawyers, woe! For you load the people with insupportable burdens ²⁰⁶ * And do not touch the burden even with the tip of your finger.	T. A. T. T.; cf. Mw. xxiii. 4
47	Woe to you! For you build tombs to the Prophets, But your fathers killed them.	T. E. T. E. T. E.
48	You bear witness then that you do not favour The deeds of your fathers; ²⁰⁷ They slew, And you, you build.	T. T.
52	Woe to you Lawyers! For you have taken away the key of Knowledge. Yourselves you have not entered in, And those who were entering, you have hindered. ²⁰⁸	T. A. T. T. T.

CONFESSION OF FAITH

xii. 1	He began to say to his disciples Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees Which is hypocrisy. ²⁰⁹	T. T.
2	Nothing is hidden Which should be manifest; Nothing concealed Which shall not be made known, ²¹⁰	T. T. T. T.
3	Therefore what you have said in the shade Must be heard in the light ;	T. T.

	*	What has been whispered in the ear Must be proclaimed from the housetops.	T. T.
4		To you, my friends, I say, Be not afraid Of those who slay the body But cannot slay the soul	T. E. T. E. T. E.
D	*	And after have no further power over you.	cf. Mw. x. 28 T.
5		I will point out to you what you must fear. Fear Him who, after having slain, Can cast into Gehenna. ²¹¹	T. T. E. T. E.
D		Yea, I say to you, Fear Him!	T. T.
8	*	For I say to you,	T.
	*	Whosoever shall avow me before men	T.
	*	I shall avow him before God.	T.
9	*	Whosoever shall deny me before men	T. A.
	*	Shall be denied before God. ²¹²	T. (A.); cf. Mw. x. 33
10 D		To him who shall have said a word against the Son of Man It shall be pardoned him; But to him who shall have said a word against the Holy Spirit It will not be pardoned Neither in this age nor in that which comes. ²¹³	T.; cf. Mw. xii. 32 T. T.; cf. Mw. xii. 32 T. cf. Mw. xii.
11		When you shall be led before the synagogues, The authorities and powers, ²¹⁴ Do not consider How to defend yourself, Or what you shall say.	(T.) T. T. T. T.
12		The Holy Ghost will teach you in the very moment What you must say.	T. T.

WORLDLY GOODS

xii. 13		A man said from the crowd, Master, bid my brother Share with me the heritage!	T. T. T.
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14	He said to him, Man, who made me judge over you? ²¹⁵	T. T.
15	He said to them, Take heed! Keep you from all covetousness. Vain it is to live in abundance; Life does not depend on the goods you possess.	
16	He told them a parable. A rich man had great harvest of his land.	T. T.
17	He thought to himself, What shall I do? I have no place to hold all my harvest.	T.
18	He said, Behold what I shall do. I will pull down my barns D And will make them greater; I will store in them all my harvest and my goods.	
19	I shall say to my soul, Soul, thou hast great wealth In store for many long years. Take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry!	
20	God said to him, Fool, this very night Thy soul shall be required of thee. What thou hast provided Whose shall it be?	T. T. T. T. T.
22	That is why I say to you, Take no thought for your life, What you shall eat? Nor for your body What you shall wear?	T. T. T. T. T.
23	Life is more than food; The body than clothing.	T. T.
24	Consider the ravens. They do not sew, nor do they reap; Nor do they store in barns. God feeds them. ²¹⁶	T. T. T.; cf. Mw. vi. 26 T.
D	Are not you more than the birds?	T.; cf. Mw. vi. 26

27	*	Consider the lilies and the grass in the fields, They do not spin nor do they weave. Solomon himself in all his glory Was not arrayed as one of these.	(T.); cf. Mw. (T.) T. T.
29		O folk of little faith, do not seek What you shall eat? nor what you shall drink? With what you shall be clothed?	T. (T.)
Sy.		For these, the nations of the world seek them; ²¹⁷	(T.); ct. Mw. vi. 31
30 D	*	The Father knows what you need. ²¹⁸	T. T.
31 e		Seek the Kingdom of God, All these things shall be given you to boot. Fear not, little flock ²¹⁹	T. E.; cf. Mw. vi. 33 (T.) E.; cf. Mw.
D	*	The Father has been good To give you the Kingdom. ²²⁰	E.

WAITING FOR THE LORD

		Let your loins be girded up, Your lamps lit, Even as people awaiting their Master, When he goes to his wedding, So that when he will come and knock, They may open to him immediately.	T. T. T. T.
		Blessed those slaves Whom the Master shall find awake on his coming.	T.
38 D		If he comes in the evening watch And find them thus, Blessed those slaves!	
		You know That if the Master of the house were aware At what hour the thief comes, ²²¹	T. T.
(D)		He would not allow his house to be broken into.	T.
		Be you also ready, For at the moment you think not, The Son of Man will come.	T.
		Peter said, Lord, is it for us that thou tellest this parable,	T. T.

	Or for all as well?	T.
42	The Lord said, ²²² Well, who is the faithful and prudent steward, Whom his Master shall place over his servants To give out to each his due portion at the hour due?	T.
43	Blessed that slave When his Master on his coming Shall find him so doing.	T. T.
44 D	Amen, I say to you, Over all that he has he will place him.	cf. Mw. xxiv 47 T.
45	But if this slave should say in his heart, My Master is late in coming; If he begin to beat the slaves and the maidens, To eat, to drink, and be drunken,	(T.)
46	The Master of that slave will come One day when he expects him not, At a moment he knows not. He will set him apart; ²²³ His lot shall be with the unbelievers.	T. E. T. T. T. E. T. (E.)
47 *	The slave who knew and did not act Shall be well beaten.	T. A. T. A.
48	He who did not know and merited stripes Shall be lightly beaten.	A. T. A.
	To whom much has been given, Of him much shall be required; To whom much has been entrusted Still more shall be asked.	T. T. T. T.

FIRE ON THE EARTH

xii. 49	Fire I have come to launch on the earth. ²²⁴ I would that it burned already!	T. A.
50	With a Baptism I must be baptized. ²²⁵	E.
*	I would that it were already accomplished!	E.
†	A Cup from which I must drink. ²²⁶	E.
†	I would it were already full !	E.

51 Do you think that I have come T. A.
sys. To bring Peace on the earth? T. A.; cf. Mw. x. 34
No, I say to you, but division. T. (A.)

52 Five in a household shall henceforth be divided
Against themselves, three against two,
Two against three.

53 Father shall be divided against son T.
And son against father, T.
Mother against daughter, T.
And daughter against mother, T.
The mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, T.
And the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. T.

TO DISCERN THE TIME OF THE COMING

xii. 54 If you see a cloud which rises from the sunset,
You say immediately, Rain is coming.
And so it is.

55 If the south wind blows,
You say, It will be hot.
And so it is.

56 Hypocrites, T.
You discern the face of the sky and of the earth T.
And you do not know how to discern this time! ²²⁷ T.
57 D Even of yourselves judge you not justly!

THE NEED OF RECONCILIATION

xii. 58 When you go with your adversary before the magistrate,
Take care on the way
To be reconciled with him,

Lest he drag you before the Judge, T. E.
And the Judge deliver you to the sergeant, E.
And the sergeant cast you into prison. T.

59 I tell you, T.
You will not come out T.; cf. Mw. v. 26
D Until you have paid the last quarter of an as. ²²⁸

THE USE OF THE SABBATH

- xiii. 10 He was teaching
In one of the synagogues one Sabbath. T.
- 11 Behold a woman who had a spirit of weakness
For eighteen years.
She was bowed
And could not straighten herself.
- 12 Seeing her,
Jesus called her and said to her,
Woman, thou art loosed from thy weakness.
- 13 He placed hands on her.
Whereon she lifted herself up.
She glorified God.
- 14 In answer, the archisynagogue,
Wroth that Jesus should have healed on a
Sabbath,
Said to the crowd,
For six days man should toil.
On those days come to be healed
But not on the Sabbath day.
- 15 The Lord replied to him,
Hypocrites, does not every one of you on the Sabbath T.
- * Loose his ass or his ox from the stall T.
And lead it to drink ?
- 16 * And that daughter of Abraham ²²⁹ E.
* Whom Satan had bound ²³⁰ E.
Should she not be loosed from that bond
On the Sabbath day?

THE GROWTH OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

- xiii. 18 He said, T.
With what shall I compare the Kingdom of God? T.
What does it resemble ?

THOSE WHO ARE CALLED

xiv. 12	When you give a dinner or a supper,	T.
D	Do not invite your friends nor your brothers,	(T.)
D	Your neighbours nor rich men.	
	It might be that in their turn they would invite you;	T.
	And this would be a recompense for you.	T.
13	When you make a feast, Call the beggars, the maimed, the lame, and the blind.	
14	You shall be blessed; For they have not wherewith to recompense you. ²³⁶	T.
*	You shall be recompensed at the Resurrection. ²³⁷	T.
16 e	A man prepared a supper And invited many guests.	T. T.
17	He sent his slave at supper time To say to the guests,	T. T.
D	Come, now all is ready.	cf. Mw. xxii. 4
18	All together they began to make excuses. The first said, I have bought a field; I must go and see it. I pray thee have me excused.	T. T.
19	Another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen; I am going to try them.	 T.
D	That is why I cannot come.	
20	Another said,	
D	I have taken a wife. Therefore I cannot come.	
21	The slave came back And told this to his master.	 T.
*	Then the Master of the house, angered, ²³⁸ Said to his slave,	T.

	Go swiftly through the streets and lanes of the town!	T.
	The beggars, the maimed, the blind, the halt,	
	Bring them hither!	T.
22	The slave said,	
D	It has been done as thou hast commanded,	
	And there is still room.	T.
23	The master said to his slave,	
D	Go by the alleys and hedges!	T.
	Compel them to enter,	
	That my house may be filled.	
24	For I say to you	
D	None of those who were invited	T.
	Shall taste my supper. ²³⁹	T.

HOW TO BE A DISCIPLE

xiv. 26	If a man come to me	
	And hate not his father and his mother,	
	His wife and his children,	
	His brothers and his sisters,	
	Even his own breath,	
	He cannot be my disciple.	
27	Who does not bear his cross ²⁴⁰	
	And walk after me	
	Cannot be my disciple.	
33	Whoever among you does not renounce	Heg.
	All that belongs to him ²⁴¹	Heg.
	Cannot be my disciple.	Heg.

THE CONVERTED SINNER

xv. 3	He told them this parable,	
4	What man among you	
	Who has a hundred sheep,	
	And has lost one of them,	T.
	Does not leave the ninety-nine in the desert	
D	To seek the lost one	T.
	Till he has found it?	

5	When he has found it He puts it on his shoulder with joy. Returned to his house,	T. T.
6	He calls together his friends and his neighbours Saying to them, Rejoice with me! I have found my sheep which was lost.	
7	I say to you, Likewise will there be joy in Heaven Over one sinner converted More than over ninety-nine just Who need no conversion. ²⁴²	T. T.
8 D	Or a woman who has six drachmas And lost one, Lights a lamp, does she not? And sweeps the house And seeks carefully Till she has found it?	T.
9	When she has found it She calls together the neighbours and friends saying, Rejoice with me, I have found the drachma which I had lost.	T. T.
10 *	Even as, I tell you, There is joy before God Over a single sinner who repents.	T. T.

MONEY

xvi. 1	He said to his disciples again, There was a rich man Who had a steward. The same was accused to him Of wasting his goods.	(T.)
2	He called him and said to him, What is this I hear of thee? Give an account of thy stewardship. Thou canst no longer be steward.	T.

3 The steward said within himself,
What shall I do,
For my master takes away the stewardship?
Dig? I cannot.
Beg? I am ashamed.

4 I have thought of what I will do,
So that, having lost the stewardship,
They may receive me in their houses. T.

5 Calling one by one the debtors of his master, T.
He said to the first,
How much dost thou owe to my master?

6 One hundred jars of oil.
Take thy bill,
Sit down and write quickly, fifty. T.

7 Then to another,
How much dost thou owe?
One hundred sacks of corn.
Take thy bill.
Write, eighty. T.

8 The master praised the unjust steward
For having done wisely.
D That is why I say to you,
The Sons of this Age ²⁴³
Are wiser than the Sons of Light ²⁴⁴
Towards their own generation.

9 I tell you, T.
Make friends with the money of unrighteousness, ²⁴⁵ T.
So that, if this fail you,
They may receive you into everlasting tents. ²⁴⁶

10 He who is faithful for little
Is faithful for much.
He who is unjust for the very little
Is unjust for the great also.

11 If you have not been faithful with unjust money, ²⁴⁷ T.
Who will trust you with the true? ²⁴⁸

12 Svs.	If you have not been found faithful with the property of another?	T.
<i>e</i>	Mine, who will give it you? ²⁴⁹	T.
13 *	None can serve two masters; ²⁵⁰	T. A.; cf. Mw. vi. 24
	Either he will hate the one and love the other Or he will hold to the one and scorn the other. You cannot serve God and money. ²⁵¹	A. T. A. T. A.
14	Hearing all this, The Pharisees, friends of money, Sneered at him.	T. T.
15	He said to them, You it is who justify yourselves before men. But God knows your hearts. Yes, what is highest among men Is filth before God.	T. T. T. T. T.

THE ANNULMENT OF DIVORCE

xvi. 16	The Law and the Prophets were till John. ²⁵²	T. E.
*	Since his time, Good Tidings is announced of the Kingdom of God; ²⁵³	
	Every man presses towards it.	T. E.
17	It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away Than for a single syllable of my words to fail. ²⁵⁴	T. T.
18	Whoever repudiates his wife And espouses another Commits adultery. Whoever marries a woman repudiated by her husband	T. T. T. T.
*	Is equally adulterous.	T.

THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS THE BEGGAR

xvi. 19 D	He told them yet another parable. There was a rich man. He arrayed himself in purple and byssus, And fared each day sumptuously.	(A.) T. A. E. A. A.
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20	A beggar of the name of Lazarus	A. E.
*	Lay at his gate, full of ulcers,	A.
21	Avid to feed on	
D	The crumbs which fell from the rich man's table.	A. (Ruf.).
*	And the dogs even came and licked his sores.	A.
22	It came to pass that the beggar died	A.
*	And was carried by Angels	A. E.
D	To the bosom of Abraham. ²⁵⁶	T. A. E.
	The rich man also died	A.
	And was buried in Hell.	T. A.
23	Raising his eyes,	T. A.
	As he is in torment,	T. A.
	He sees Abraham afar	T. A.
	With Lazarus in his bosom. ²⁵⁷	T. A.
24	He cried out,	A.
	Father Abraham have pity on me!	A.
	Send Lazarus	A.
	To dip the tip of his finger in water	A.
	And cool my tongue.	A.
	I suffer in this flame.	T. A.
25	Abraham said,	A.
	My child, remember	A.
	How thou hast received the good things in thy lifetime,	A.
	And Lazarus the ill things.	A.
	Now he is comforted	T. A. E.
	And thou art afflicted. ²⁵⁸	T. A.
26	Moreover	A.
*	Between you and us a great abyss is placed	T. A.
*	So that those within cannot pass to you	T. A.
D	Nor those without cross hither. ²⁵⁹	T. A.
27	I pray thee then, Father, said he,	A. (Ruf.).
	To send to the house of my father,	A.
28	I have there five brothers.	A.
*	To adjure them	A.
D	Not to come hither also	A.
	Into this place of torment.	A.

29	<i>e</i>	He said to him,	A.(E.)
	*	They have there Moses and the Prophets.	T. A. E.
		Let them pay heed to them!	T. A. E.
30	*	He replied, No, Father,	A.
		But if one from the dead were to go to them	A.
	*	They would be converted.	
31		He said,	A.
	*	If they have not listened to Moses and the Prophets,	A.
D		Even if one were to go to them from the dead	A. E.
	*	They would not listen to him. ²⁶¹	A. E.

SHAMEFUL OFFENCE

xvii. 1	*	He turned to his disciples, saying,	T.
		It is inevitable that offences should occur;	
	<i>e</i>	But woe to him through whom the offence comes!	T. A.; cf. Mw. xviii. 7
2	D	Better would it be for him	T.
		That he had not been born	T.; cf. Mw. xxvi. 24
D		Or that a millstone had been hanged about his neck	T.
D		And that he had been cast into the sea	T.
		Than to have offended against one of these little ones. ²⁶²	T.

FORGIVENESS

xvii. 3		If thy brother has sinned,	T.
		Rebuke him.	T.
		If he repents,	
		Forgive him.	
4	*	If he sins seven times against thee	T.; cf. Mw. xviii. 21
		And seven times has come to thee, saying,	
		I repent.	
D		Forgive him. ²⁶³	

THE POWER OF FAITH ²⁶⁴

xvii. 5	The Apostles said to the Lord, Increase our faith.	
6 D	He said, If you had faith but as this grain of mustard seed	
D	You would say to this mountain,	cf. Mw. xvii. 20
D	Go from here to there!	cf. Mw. xvii. 20
D	It would go.	
D	And to the mulberry tree,	
D	Be planted in the sea!	
	It would obey you. ²⁶⁵	

THE HEALED AND GRATEFUL LEPER

xvii. 11	He was going through Samaria.	T.
12	As he came into a village	
*	There came to meet him ten lepers Who stopped at a distance.	T. E.
13 D	They cried in a loud voice, Jesus, Master, have pity on us!	
14 *	He sent them, saying, Go show yourselves to the priests! ²⁶⁶	E. T. E.
(iv. 27)	There were many lepers in Israel	T. E.
*	In the days of the prophet Elisha; None was cleansed But Naaman the Syrian. ²⁶⁷	T. E. T. E. T. E.
xvii. 15	It happened, while they were going, That they were cleansed. ²⁶⁸	T. T.
16	One of them seeing himself healed, Turned back, Glorifying God aloud.	T. T.
	He fell on his face at his feet Giving him thanks.	T. T.
	He was a Samaritan.	
	Jesus answered him, Were there not ten cleansed? Nine, where are they?	T.

18 Is none found to return
 And render glory to God
 But this foreigner?
 19 * Marvelling at him, he said to him,
 Thy faith has saved thee. ²⁶⁹

THE MANNER OF COMING OF THE SON OF MAN

xvii. 20	The Pharisees having asked him, When the Kingdom of God shall come? He answered them, The Reign of God will not come with observation. ²⁷⁰	T. T. T. T.
22	He said to his disciples, There will come days when you will wish to see A single one of the days of the Son of Man.	E. E.
23	You will not see them. They will say to you, Lo here! Lo there! Do not go after them! Do not hurry!	
24 D	As the flash of the lightning Lights up from horizon to horizon, Even so will the Son of Man in his Day.	(T.)
25 *	But beforehand he is doomed to suffer greatly And to be rejected.	T. T.
26	As it happened in the days of Noah So will it be in the days of the Son of Man.	T.
27 D	Men did eat and drink And take to wife Till the day Noah entered into the Ark. Then there was the Deluge. It destroyed them all.	
28	As it happened in the days of Lot; Men did eat, drink, Buy and sell, Plant and build, The day when Lot left Sodom, Fire and brimstone fell from heaven And destroyed them all.	T.

30 It will be thus T.
On the Day when the Son of Man shall be revealed. T.

31 On that Day,
Let not him who shall be on the housetop
And his tools in the house,
Go down to get them!
Nor him also, who shall be in the fields,
Turn back!

32 Remember the fate of Lot's wife. ²⁷¹ T.

33 D He who would preserve his soul in life
Shall lose it.
He who would lose it,
Shall keep it alive. ²⁷²

34 I tell you, on that Night
Two shall be in a bed;
D One is taken and the other left.
Two shall be grinding together;
One shall be taken, the other left.
D Two shall be in a field;
D One shall be taken, the other left.

cf. Mw. xxiv. 40

37 They answered him,
Where, Lord?
He told them,
Where the body is,
There the vultures gather. ²⁷³

UNCEASING AND HUMBLE PRAYER

xviii. 1 He told them a parable T.
On this that men should always pray T.
And not lose heart; (T.)

2 In a town there was a judge T.
Who neither feared God
Nor respected man.

3 There was in this town a widow T.
Who came to him, saying, (T.)
Do me justice against my adversary!

4 For a time he would not.
 Then he said to himself,
 Although I neither fear God
 Nor respect man,
 Because this widow tires me T.
 D I will do her justice T.
 Lest she importune me without end.

6 The Lord said,
 Listen to what said this judge of Unrighteousness!
 7 Would not God do justice for his elect T.
 Who cry to him day and night? T.
 Is he slow towards them?

8 I tell you,
 He will do them justice promptly. ²⁷⁴ T.
 But when he comes, shall the Son of Man
 Find faith on earth? ²⁷⁵

9 He said also to certain
 Who thought themselves just
 D And scorned other men,
 This parable,

10 Two men went up to the Temple to pray, T.
 The one a Pharisee, the other a publican. T.

11 The Pharisee, standing upright, prayed thus for T.
 himself,
 God, I render thanks to thee
 That I am unlike other men,
 Extortioners, unrighteous, adulterous,
 Nor am I like this publican;
 12 I fast twice a week,
 I give a tithe of my revenues.

13 The publican, stopping far off, T.
 Dared not even raise his eyes to heaven.
 But beat his breast, saying,
 God be merciful to me, a sinner!

14 I tell you
 It was the latter who came down absolved T.
 * While the former was condemned. ²⁷⁶

LITTLE CHILDREN

- | | | |
|-------------|--|---------------------------|
| xviii. 15 D | They brought to him children
That he might touch them.
When his disciples saw this, they threatened
them. | |
| 16 | Jesus called them to him, saying,
Let the little children come to me; ²⁷⁷
For to such as they are is the Kingdom of Heaven. | A.
A.; cf. Mw. xix. 14 |
| 17 | Amen I say to you;
He who shall not welcome the Kingdom of God as
a child
Shall not enter therein. ²⁷⁸ | |

RELINQUISHMENT OF RICHES

- | | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| xviii. 18 e | A certain man asked him,
Good Master, by doing what
Shall I obtain eternal life? ²⁷⁹ | T. A. E.
T. A. E.
T. A. E. |
| 19 D | He said to him,

Why do you call me Good?
One alone is Good, God the Father! ²⁸⁰ | T. A.; cf. Mw.
xix. 17
A. (E.) H.
T. A. E. H. O |
| 20 * | He said, | T. A. |
| *
21 D | I know the commandments:
Do not kill; do not commit adultery;
Do not steal nor bear false witness;
Honour thy father and thy mother.
All these I have kept since my youth. | T. A. E.
T. A.
T. A.
T. A.
T. A. |
| 22
Syr. | When he heard him Jesus said to him,
One thing is lacking you.
All that you have, sell it.
Give it away to the beggars!
You shall have a treasure in Heaven.
Come, follow me! ²⁸² | T. A.
T. A.
T. A.
T. A.
T. A.
T. |
| 23 | When he heard this, he was downcast,
For he was very rich. | (T.)
(T.) |

24 Looking on him, Jesus said,
 With what difficulty those who have riches
 Shall enter into the Kingdom of God!
 It is easier for a camel
 To go through a needle's eye
 Than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God. ²⁸³

THE SEATS ON JESUS'S EITHER HAND ²⁸⁴

†	Coming up to him James and John,	Mk. x. 35
†	The sons of Zebedee, said to him	Mk.
†	Master, whatever we ask of thee we would	Mk.
†	That thou dost it.	Mk.
†	He said to them,	Mk.
†	What will you that I do for you?	
†	They said to him,	Mk. x. 37
†	Grant us, the one on thy right, the other on thy left,	O.(Mk)
†	To be seated by thee in thy Glory.	O.(Mk)
†	Jesus said to them,	Mk. x. 38
†	You know not what you ask.	Mk.
†	To be seated on my right and my left!	O.(Mk)
†	It is not mine to grant you	Mk. x. 40
†	These are prepared for others. ²⁸⁵	O.(Mk)

THE HEALING OF A BLIND MAN

xviii. 35	It happened, as he approached Jericho,	A. E.
D	That a blind man was begging, seated on the roadside.	A. E.
36	As he heard a crowd go by,	T. A.
	He asked who it was.	A.
37	They told him,	
	Jesus passes by.	T. A.
38	He cried out,	T. A. E.
	Jesus, son of David, take pity on me! ²⁸⁶	T. A. E.
39 D	But those who were in front of him,	T.
	Threatened him to make him hold his peace.	T.

40	Jesus stopped and commanded them To bring him to him.	A. (Ruf.) A.(Ruf.)
41	When he was near, he asked him, What wilt thou that I do for thee? He replied, Lord, may I see again!	A. A. A. A.
42 D	Jesus answered him, See again! Thy faith has saved thee. ²⁸⁷ Immediately he saw again.	T. A. T. A. E. A.
*	All the people gave praise to God.	T.

THE GOOD RICH MAN SAVED

xix. 1	He entered and went through Jericho.	
2 D	Behold a man named Zacchaeus. He was chief of the publicans. He was a rich man.	T.
3	He sought to see who was this Jesus. He could not on account of the crowd Because he was a man of small stature.	
4	Running in front, He climbed up a sycamore to see him, For he was to pass that way.	
5	When he came to that place, Jesus, raising his eyes, said to him, Zacchaeus, make haste and come down! To-day thou must lodge me in thy house.	T.
6	He hastened to come down And received him joyously.	T.
7	Seeing this all grumbled, saying, To a sinner's house he has gone to lodge.	
8	Standing, Zacehaeus said to the Lord, Behold, the half of my wealth, Lord, I give it to beggars. ²⁸⁸ If I have extorted aught from any man I will restore it fourfold.	T. T. T. T.

9	Jesus said to him,	T.
	To-day Salvation has been for this house,	T.
10	For the Son of Man has come	T.
*	To save what was lost. ²⁸⁹	T.

SPIRITUAL GIFTS

xix. 11	He told them a parable,	T.
12	A nobleman went to a distant country	T.
	To receive a throne ²⁹⁰	T.
	And return.	
13	Calling ten of his slaves	T.
	He distributed among them ten minæ. ²⁹¹	T.
	He said to them,	
	Trade till I come!	T.
15	It happened, when he returned,	
	After having received the kingdom,	T.
	That he had these slaves called to him	
	To whom he had given the money,	
	To know what business they had done.	
16	The first came to him, saying,	
	Lord, thy mina has brought in ten minæ.	
17	He said to him, Bravo, good slave!	
	Since thou hast been faithful for little,	
	Be governor of ten towns!	(T.)
18	The second came to him, saying,	
	Lord, thy mina has produced five minæ.	
19	He said to this one,	
	Govern five towns!	(T.)
20	Another came to him, saying,	
	Lord, here is thy mina!	
	I kept it wrapt in a napkin.	
21	I was afraid of thee,	T.
	Because thou art a hard man.	T.
	Thou takest what thou hast not put down,	T.
	Thou harvestest what thou hast not sown. ²⁹²	T.

22 He said to him,
 By thy mouth I judge thee, evil slave,
 Thou knewest I am a hard man, (T.)
 Taking what I do not put down, (T.)
 Harvesting what I have not sown. (T.)

23 Why hast thou not placed my money in a bank?
 Then on my return I could have drawn the interest.

24 He said to those who were present,
 Take away from him the mina.
 Give it to him who has ten minæ.

26 I tell you,
 To him who has will be given; (T.)
 But to him who has not T.
 Even what he seems to have will be taken away.²⁹³ T.
 After he had said that, he went forward,
 Going up to Jerusalem.

WHENCE COMES THE AUTHORITY OF JESUS?

xx. 1 It happened on one of those days,
 As he was teaching the people in the Temple
 And proclaiming the Good Tidings,
 * That Pharisees came in. T.

2 They said to him,
 Tell us,
 On what authority ²⁹⁴ dost thou this?
 Or who is he who has given thee this authority?

3 He replied to them,
 I shall ask you a single thing. T.
 Tell me,
 * John's baptism, ²⁹⁵ was it of Heaven T.
 Or of man?

D They reasoned with themselves,
 If we say, Of Heaven, (T.)
 He will say, Why then have you not believed? T.

6	But if we say, of men, All the people will stone us, Convinced as they are that John is a Prophet. ²⁹⁶	T. T.
7	They answered That they knew not whence. Jesus replied, Nor do I tell you Of what authority I do this. ²⁹⁷	T. T. T. T. T.
19	* They sought to lay hands on him * And they were afraid.	E. E.

SHOULD THE ROMAN TAX BE PAID?

xx. 20	D Going away, they sent spies Who feigned to be honest men D To surprise his words D That they might deliver him to the Governor. 21 They questioned him, saying, Master, we know thou speakest and teachest rightly; D Thou takest of none, But teachest truly the way of God. 22 Is it permissible to pay tax to Cæsar, Or no? ²⁹⁸ 23 D Knowing their wickedness He said to them, D Why do you tempt me? 24 Show me a denarius! ²⁹⁹ Whose is the image and the inscription? They said, Cæsar's. 25 He said to them, Render to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, What is God's to God. ³⁰⁰	cf. Mw. xxii. 18 cf. Mk. xii. 15 T. T. T. T.; cf. Mk. xii.17
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MARRIAGE IN THE HEREAFTER

xx. 27	Coming up to him, certain Sadducees Who say that there is no Resurrection ³⁰¹ Questioned him.	T. T. T.
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28 D	Master, Moses wrote for us; If a brother die without child, having a wife, Let his brother take the woman And raise up seed to his brother. ³⁰²	(T.)
29 D	There were among us seven brethren. The first, having been married, died childless.	T.; cf. Mw. xxii. 25
30, 31 D	The second and the third also. The seven died childless.	cf. Mw. xxii T.
32	At last the woman died also.	
33 D	At the Resurrection whose wife shall she be? The seven will have had her for wife.	T.
34 Sys.	Jesus answered them, The Sons of this Age ³⁰³ Marry.	T.; cf. Mw. xxii. 29 T. T.
35 *	But those whom the God of the Other Age has judged worthy ³⁰⁴ To take part in the Resurrection of the dead ³⁰⁵ Neither marry nor are given in marriage. ³⁰⁶	T.
36 D	For they shall no longer die.	T.
D	For God they are as the Angels ³⁰⁷ Once they have become Sons of the Resurrection.	T. T.

IS CHRIST THE SON OF DAVID?

xx. 39	Some of the Scribes asked, Master, thou hast well said. ³⁰⁸	T. T.
41 e e e e	He said to them, What do you think of the Christ? Whose son is he? They said, David's. ³⁰⁹	cf. Mw. xxii. 42 T.; cf. Mw. cf. Mw. T.; cf. Mw.
42 e e	He said to them, How said David himself in the Book of Psalms, Jahweh said to my Lord, Sit on my right hand ³¹⁰	cf. Mw. cf. Mw. xxii. 43
43 D e 44 e	Till I place thy enemies beneath thy feet? If David call him Lord, How can he be his son? ³¹¹	cf. Mw. T.; cf. Mw.

SIGNS OF THE ADVENT OF THE SON OF MAN

xxi. 5	As it was said of the Temple That it was adorned with goodly stones and gifts,	
6 D	He said, You see	
D	The days will come when there shall not be left	
D	One stone on another in this wall Which shall not be thrown down. ³¹²	
7 D	The disciples asked him,	T.; cf. Mw. xxiv. 3
D	Master, when shall it be?	
D	And what shall be the sign of thy Coming? ³¹³	(T.); cf. Mw.
8	He said, See that you are not deceived. Many shall come in my name	T.
e	Saying, I am the Christ. ³¹⁴ Follow them not!	T.; cf. Mw. xxiv. 5
9	When you shall learn of battle and revolutions, Be not afraid!	T.
*	These must happen But not immediately the End.	T.
10 (D) *	For kingdom will rise against kingdom, Nation against nation. ³¹⁵	T.
*	Plagues, famines, earthquakes there will be.	T.
11 *	Horrors and Signs from heaven there will be.	T.
12 *	But before that they will lay hands on you, Will persecute you, beat you,	T.
*	Handing you over to synagogues and prisons, ³¹⁶ Bringing you before kings and governors ³¹⁷ For my Name's sake.	T.; cf. Mw. xxiv. 9
D	It will be held to you as Martyrdom and Salvation. ³¹⁸	T.
13 *	Settle well in your hearts Not to consider how to defend yourselves.	T.
14	I will give you wisdom Which none shall withstand. ³¹⁹	T.
15 *	You will be betrayed by father and mother, By brother, kinsfolk, and friends.	(T.)
16	Some of you shall be put to death.	T.

17	You will be hated of all For my Name's sake.	T. T.
19	* By patience you will be saved. ³²⁰	T.; cf. Mk. xiii. 13
20	When you see Jerusalem encircled by camps, Then know that the day of its sack is at hand. ³²¹	T. T.
25	There will be Signs in the sun, moon, and stars; On earth distress of nations,	T. T.
	* Hemmed in by the thunder of foaming seas,	T.
26	Men dying of fear	
	* And of expectation of the evils which will overwhelm the world	T.
	* For the Powers of Heaven even will be shaken. ³²²	T.
27	Then shall be seen the Son of Man	T.
	* Coming down from heaven with great might. ³²³	T.
28 (D)	* When these things come about, Look up, lift your heads, For your Deliverance is nigh. ³²⁴	T. T. T.
29	He gave them this comparison: Look at the figtree and all the trees!	T. T.
30 D	When they bear fruit	T.
	* Men know that summer is near.	T.
31	Even so you, when you will have seen these things come to pass, Will know that at hand is the Reign of God.	T. T.
32	Amen, I say,	
	* Heaven and earth will not pass away	T.
	* Till all this happen.	T.
	* Earth and Heaven will pass away,	T.
	* But my Word will remain for ever and ever. ³²⁵	T.
34	Take heed to yourselves: Lest your hearts be weighed down By gormandizing, drunkenness, and the cares of life, ³²⁶ And that the Day fall not upon you unawares Like a net.	(T.) T. T. T. T. T.

JUDAS'S TREASON

xxi.37	Every day he went and taught in the Temple. Every night he went out and spent them on the Mount of Olives. All the people came early in the morning to him, To listen to him in the Temple.	T. T. T.
xxii. 1 D	Drew near the Feast of Unleavened Bread called the Passover. ³²⁷	(T.)
2 D D	The High Priests and Scribes sought How they might destroy him. But they feared the people.	
3 *	Judas, called Iscariot, Who was one of the Twelve,	(T.)
4 *	Plotted with the officers As to the manner of his betrayal. ³²⁸	E. (T.) E.
5	They rejoiced. They agreed to pay him money.	T.
6	He promised and sought an occasion To deliver him to them away from the multitude.	

THE LORD'S SUPPER

xxii. 7 D	The day of the Passover came When the Paschal Lamb was to be sacrificed.	T.; cf. Jn. xiii. 1
*	He said to Peter and the others, Go, prepare	E. E.
*	That we may eat the Paschal Lamb.	E.; cf. Mk. xiv. 12
14	When the moment came, He reclined at table And the Twelve Apostles with him.	E. E.; cf. Mw. xxvi. 20
15	He said to them, With great desire I have desired To eat this Paschal Lamb with you Before I suffer. ³²⁹	E. T. E. Esn. T. E. Esn. T. E.
19	Taking a loaf, Giving thanks, he broke it.	T. (A.)

*	He gave the morsels to his disciples, saying, This is my body	T.; cf. Mw. xxvi. 26 E. Ephr.
*	Which is betrayed for you. ³³⁰	T.
20 *	Likewise the cup, saying, This cup is my testament, by my blood Which is shed for you. ³³¹	T. T.
21 *	But behold the hand of him who betrays me	
D	On the table. ³³²	
22	The Son of Man goes as it was decreed, ³³³	
(D) *	But woe to him who betrays the Son of Man!	T.
†	He rose from supper,	(Jn. xiii. 4)
†	Took off his garments.	(Jn.)
†	Taking a towel, he girded himself with it.	Chr.; cf. Jn.
†	Then he poured water into a basin.	(Jn.)
†	He began to wash the feet of his disciples,	Chr.; cf. Jn.
†	And to wipe them with the towel	(Jn.)
†	With which he was girded. ³³⁴	(Chr.) (Jn.)
25	He said to them, The kings of the nations treat them as masters; Those who lord it over them they call Benefactors. ³³⁵	
26	For you it is not so.	
D	Let the greatest number among you be as the least, He who governs as he who serves	
27 D	Rather than as he who sits at table.	
D	For I am come among you	cf. Mk. x. 45
D	Not as one who is at table	
D	But as one who serves. ³³⁶	
D	You too will become great in my service	
D	As one who serves. ³³⁷	
†	I give you a new commandment	A.; cf. Jn. xiii. 34
†	To love one another	A.; cf. Jn.
†	As the Father loved you. ³³⁸	A.
†	If the world hate you,	(Jn. xv. 18.)
†	Know that it hated me before you.	(Jn.)

†	If you were of this world	A.; cf. Jn.
†	The world would love what is its own. ³³⁹	A.; cf. Jn.
†	But because you are not of this world	(Jn.)
†	And I have chosen you from this world ³⁴⁰	(Jn.)
†	For that this world hates you. ³⁴¹	(Jn.)
28 D	You who have constantly remained with me	
	In my Trials,	
29	In my turn I bequeath you	
	What my Father assigned me, a Kingdom. ³⁴²	
33 *	Peter said to him,	T.
	Lord, with thee I am ready	(T.)
	To go to prison and to death. ³⁴³	(T.)
34	He said to him,	
	I tell thee, Peter,	
	Cock to-day will not crow	
	Ere you will thrice have denied to know me.	T.

JESUS BETRAYED

xxii. 39	He went out as was his custom	
	To the Mount of Olives.	
	The disciples also followed him.	
40 D	Having come to a place, he said to them,	
	Pray that you may not enter into Trial. ³⁴⁴	
41	He went apart from them	E.
	About a stone's throw.	E.
	Kneeling down, he prayed, saying,	E.
42 D	Father, let not my will be done, but thine;	
D	If thou wilt take away this Cup from me. ³⁴⁵	
45	Having risen from his prayer,	
	He came to his disciples.	
	* He found them asleep.	cf. Mk. xiv. 37
46	He said to them, You sleep!	
	Rise and pray	
	That you may not come to Trial.	
47	As he was still speaking	
D	Behold a great crowd.	cf. Mw. xxvi. 47

D He who was called Judas Iscariot, one of the
Twelve,
Went before them.
He came up to Jesus to kiss him T. E.
D And said, Hail, Rabbi! (E.); cf. Mw.
Jesus said to him,
Judas, with a kiss thou betrayest the Son of Man.³⁴⁶ T.

PETER DISOWNS HIM ³⁴⁷

xxii. 54 Laying hands on him, they led him away.
They carried him into the High Priest's house
Peter followed from afar.

55 They lit a fire in the midst of the courtyard
D And sat round it.
D Peter sat with them warming himself. cf. Mk. xiv. 54

A serving woman saw him sitting by the flame,
Looked upon him and said,
This man also was with him.

57 But he denied it, saying, (T.)
D I know him not.

58 A little later, another said, seeing him,
Thou also, thou art one of them.
But Peter said,
Man, I am not. (T.)

59 About an hour having passed,
Another maintained,
D I tell you truly,
This man too was with him;
He is a Galilean.

60 But Peter said,
Man, I know not what thou sayest. (T.)
At the very moment he was speaking,
The cock crew.

61 The Lord turned and looked at Peter.
 Peter recalled the words of the Lord,
 How he had said,
 Before the cock crow to-day,
 Thou wilt have denied me thrice. ³⁴⁸

JESUS REJECTED

xiii. 63	The men who held him prisoner made merry.	E.
64 *	They beat him and gave him blows, saying, Prophecy, who has struck thee. ³⁴⁹	E. E.

66	When day broke, There assembled the senate of the people And the High Priests and the Scribes. They summoned him before their Sanhedrim	T.
67 D	Saying, Art thou the Christ? ³⁵⁰	T.

	He said to them,	T.
	If I told you, you would not believe.	T.
68	If I questioned, you would not answer.	T.
69	But from this moment the Son of Man shall sit At the right hand of the Power of God.	T. T.

70	They all said,	T.
	Thou art the Son of God;	T.
*	But he answered,	T.
	You say it. ³⁵¹	T.

xxiii. 1 D	Rising, they led him before Pilate.	T.
2	They began to accuse him, saying,	T.

	This man, we found him upsetting the people,	E.
e	Doing away with the Law and the Prophets,	E.
*	Telling them not to pay taxes,	E.
e †	Perverting women and children,	E.
Sy,	Calling himself Christ the King	T.
†	Who will sit on the right hand of God. ³⁵²	T.

3	Pilate asked him,	T.
*	Art thou the Christ? ³⁵³	
	He answered,	
	Thou sayest it.	

4 Pilate said to the High Priests and to the crowds,
 I find no fault in this man.
 5 But they cried again louder,
 He raises a revolt amongst the people,
 Teaching through all Judæa,
 From Galilee to this place.
 6 Hearing that, Pilate asked
 D Whether the man was from Galilee.
 7 Informed that he was a subject of Herod,
 He sent him to Herod T.
 Who was also at Jerusalem
 In those days.
 8 Herod, seeing Jesus, was exceeding glad. T.
 For long he had been desirous of seeing him,
 For he had tell of him. ³⁵⁴
 He hoped to see him do some miracle.
 9 He questioned him with many words.
 But he answered nothing. T.
 13 Pilate, summoning the High Priests,
 D The Magistrates, ³⁵⁵ and all the people
 14 Said to them,
 You have accused this man to me
 For perverting the people.
 Behold I, having examined him before you,
 D I have found no fault in him.
 15 Nor Herod either,
 D For I sent him to him. (T.)
 Lo, nothing worthy of death
 Has been done by him.
 16 I will release him after he has been scourged.
 18 But they all cried out together,
 D Kill him, kill him! ³⁵⁶ T.
 Release Barabbas for us! ³⁵⁷ T.
 Who had a sedition in the city (T.)
 And for murder had been thrown into prison. T.

20 Again Pilate raised his voice,
 Wishing to release him,
 But they drowned his words, saying,
 Crucify him, crucify him! ³⁵⁸ T.

24 Pilate gave sentence that their request should be
 done.

25 He released him who was in prison for sedition T.
 and for murder,
 For whom they asked.
 He handed Jesus over to their will. ³⁵⁹

JESUS CRUCIFIED

xxiii. 32 *e* Two malefactors were led also T.
 To be crucified with him, ³⁶⁰

33 * Come to the place of the Skull, so they name it, ³⁶¹ E.; cf. Jn. xix. 17
 D They crucified him there ³⁶² and the two malefactors, T. E.
 The one on his right hand and the other on his left.

34 Jesus said, Ephr.
 Father, pardon them, Ephr.
 For they know not what they do. ³⁶³ Ephr.

44 It was about noon. T.
 There was darkness over all the earth. E. Ephr. Esn.

45 D The sun was darkened. E. Ephr. Esn.
 The veil of the Temple was rent in the midst. ³⁶⁴ E. Ephr. Esn.

46 Jesus, uttering a great cry, said T. A. E.
 Father, into thy hands I return my Spirit. ³⁶⁵ T. A.
 Having said that, he died. ³⁶⁶ T.

JESUS RESURRECTED

xxiii. 50 Behold a man named Joseph T. A. E.
 D Member of the Council, good and just,
 51 (He had not consented T.
 To their decision and their deed) T.
 52 Came and found Pilate T.
 And asked him for the body of Jesus. T. A.

53 D	He took down the body of Jesus, Wrapped it in fine linen	T. E. T. A. E.
*	And laid it in a new sepulchre.	T. A. (E.); cf. Mw. xxvii. 60
D	When he had laid it there, he placed over the tomb a stone.	cf. Mk. xv. 46
54	It was the Day of the Preparation. The Sabbath was being lit. ³⁶⁷	
55 D	Two women had followed him	cf. Mk, xv. 47
D	Who had come from Galilee with him. ³⁶⁸ They saw the sepulchre And how his body had been laid	
56 *	They returned and prepared spices.	T. (E.)
*	The Sabbath they kept the rest according to the Law.	E.
xxiv. 1	On the First day of the week, at break of day, They went to the tomb	T.
	Carrying the spices which they had prepared,	(T.)
D	And certain women with them.	cf. 10
2 D	They thought to themselves,	T.; cf. Mk. xvi. 3
D	Who then will roll away the stone?	cf. Mk. xvi.
D	When they came there they found the stone rolled away from the tomb.	
3 D	They went in and found no body.	T.
4	It happened, while they were uneasy	T.
*	That, behold two Angels stood before them	T.
(D) *	In shining garments	E.
5 *	And said to them,	E.
	Why do ye seek the living among the dead?	E.
6 *	He has risen again.	E.
D	Remember what he said to you	T.E.
*	When he was still with you in Galilee;	T.E.
7 *	That the Son of Man must suffer,	T.E.
D	Be betrayed into the hands of men, Be crucified,	T.E. T.
	And on the third day rise again. ³⁶⁹	T.

8	They recalled his words.	
9	They came back from the tomb	T.
	And related all that to the Eleven	
	And to all the others. ³⁷⁰	T.
10 D	Mary Magdalene, Johanna, Mary, of James, ³⁷¹	
	And their other companions told it to the Apostles.	
11	To them their tale seemed an idle one.	
	They did not believe it.	T.
13 D	Now two of them went away ³⁷²	T. E.
	* That same day to the country.	cf. Mk. xvi. 12
14	They talked among themselves	
	Of all these happenings.	
15	It came to pass, while they were talking and	
	discussing,	
	That Jesus himself came up to them and went	T. E.
	with them.	
16	But their eyes were hindered	T.
	From recognizing him.	T.
17	He said to them,	
	What are these words	
	Which you say to one another	
	As you walk looking so sad?	
18	One named Cleopas answered him,	E.
	Art thou the only one who lodged in Jerusalem	
	And knew not what has happened these days?	
19	He said to them, What?	(T.)
	They answered,	
D	As to Jesus the Nazarene	
	Who was a prophetic man	
	Mighty in deed and in word	
	Before God and all the people; ³⁷³	
20	How the High Priests and the Magistrates	
	betrayed him	
	To condemnation to death	
	And crucified him.	

21	We think, we do,	T.
*	He was the Redeemer of Israel. ³⁷⁴	T.
	But with all that	
D	We are come to the third day since it happened.	
22 D	Moreover certain women have deluded us.	(T.)
	They went early in the morning to the tomb	
23	And having found no body,	
	Came and told us they had seen an apparition of	
	Angels	
	Who said he was living.	(T.)
24	Some of us went to the tomb,	
	And found it as the women said,	
	But they did not see him.	
25	He said to them,	T. A.
	Dolts and slow of heart	T. A. E.
*	To believe all that I have spoken	(T.) A. E.
26 D	That Christ must suffer thus	(T.) A.
*	And thus come into his Glory. ³⁷⁵	A. (Ruf.)
28	They came to the village where they were going.	
	He feigned to go farther.	
29	They constrained him, saying,	
	Stay with us,	
D	For the day is going down to the evening.	
	He went in to stay with them.	
30	It came to pass, when he reclined at table	
	That he took the loaf and blessed it.	(E.)
	Breaking it, he offered them of it. ³⁷⁶	(E.)
31	Their eyes were opened.	E.
	They recognized him.	E.
	He then disappeared from their side.	
33	They rose at the same hour	
	And turned back to Jerusalem.	
	They found there assembled the Eleven and their	
	companions.	
35	They related to them the happenings on the way	
	And how they had recognized him	
	When he broke bread.	

36	As they were saying this, He himself stood amongst them.	
37 D	They, horror-stricken and affrighted, Thought they saw a phantom.	T. A.
38	He said to them, Why are you troubled? Why do doubts rise in your hearts?	T. A. T. A. E. T. A.
39	Look at my hands and my feet, It is I myself.	T. A.
*	For a spirit has no bones, As you see I have. ³⁷⁷	T. (A.) E.
41	Since they did not yet believe, He said to them Have you anything to eat here?	T. T.
42	They offered him a slice of roast fish ³⁷⁸ Taking it he ate it before them. ³⁷⁹	Esn. T. Esn.
45	Then he opened their understanding.	
46	He said to them,	
Sys.	Thus it was needful for Christ to suffer, To rise again from the dead the third day	
47	And that there should be preached in his name Conversion and forgiveness of sins To all the nations. ³⁸⁰	T. T.

NOTES

¹ The Gospel of Marcion has no author's name (T. iv. 2; E. 42, 10). It is *the only gospel* (A. i. 6; cf. Origen, *In Joh.*, v. 104; Chrysostom, *In Gal.*, i. 7). It is the gospel of which Paul spoke when he said (Gal. i. 7) "which is not another" (cf. Chrysostom, *loc. cit.*). The author of it is the Christ, or Paul, but not Peter (A. i. 8; ii. 13). The word evangel (εὐαγγέλιον), "gospel," borrowed from Paul, means the Good Tidings of the Glory of the Christ (2 Cor. iv. 4) and the salvation which his death gained for men. These Tidings were to be made by Jesus (v. 3; viii. 1; xx. 1) and the first Apostles (ix. 6) then by Paul (Gal. i. II; I Cor. xv. I-II, *Apostolicon*).

THE COMING OF JESUS.

² From the 28th to 29th August of our era. Adamantios: "When did he (Jesus) come down to save mankind? Marcus: As it is written in the gospel, the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, in the time of Pilate" (A. ii. 3). "2900 years after the fall of Adam, 100 years before the manifestation of Marcion and the epoch of the end of the world" (Esnik, p. 176).

³ Procurator of Judæa from 26 to 36. His cruelties are told at length by Josephus (*Ant.*, xviii. 5-7).

⁴ Jesus is neither born nor incarnate. "Without birth, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar he came down from above... to teach in the synagogues" (Hippolytus, *Philosoph.*, ii. 3). "God could not have taken flesh and remained pure" (Chrysostom, *Hom. in Eph.*, 23, 6). "The birth of a god is a most shameful thing" (T. iii. II). Jesus came down from the heaven of the Good God which is the third heaven of which Paul speaks (2 Cor. xii. 2), "the increate heaven" (A. ii. 19), on a higher plane than the heaven of the Creator (T. iv. 7). He took "a human resemblance," as Paul says (Phil. ii. 7, "the likeness of men") for "if he had become truly man he would have ceased to be god" (Tertullian, *De Carne Chr.*, 8). "He appeared in Judæa, not born of a virgin, but a man of thirty years of age" (Origen, *Comm. in Tit.*, v. 283).

⁵ Jesus came down among the Jews who were strangers to him (T. iii. 6). The purpose of his coming was "the salvation of souls, the annulment of the god of the Jews, of the Law, and of the Prophets" (E. 42, 4). Capernaum, according to Jerome (*Onomast.*), means the "village of the Consoler."

⁶ These three lines suppressed by Luke are vouched for by Adamantios, ii. 15, *Marcus*: "The Judaists have written, I am not come to abolish the law, but to accomplish it. Whereas Christ could not have said this. He said, I am not come to accomplish the law, but to abolish it." Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep.*, i. 321 (Migne, T. 78, col. 393). "Reversing the words of the Lord, I am not come to destroy the law or the prophets, they [the Marcionites] have made of it, Do you believe I am come to fulfil the law or the

prophets? I am come to abolish them, not to accomplish them.” Jesus “undoes the prophets, the law, and all that is of that god who made the world” (Irenæus, i. 27, 2). “At his first coming he went against the creator, destroying the law and the prophets of this god; at the second he will go against the Christ (of the creator)” (T. iii. 4). In front of Pilate Jesus is accused of abolishing the law and the prophets (xxiii. 2).

⁷ “Because he taught against the law and the prophets” (T. iv. 7), indirect authentication of the phrase vouched for by Adamantios and by Isidore of Pelusium and of the place where it occurs.

THE CASTING OUT OF A DEVIL.

⁸ The Devil is aware of the power of Jesus, but he takes him for a particularly holy man such as Aaron, *the Holy One of Jahweh* (Ps. cvi).

⁹ “Because this one lies in saying that Jesus comes from the god of the Jews” (T. iv. 17).

¹⁰ Jesus makes himself known immediately by his miracles (T. iv. 4). “He has no need of authority, for he makes men believe in him by his words of salvation full of power which he preaches and by miracles capable of impressing anyone to the point of stupefaction” (Origen, *Comm. in Johan.*, ii. 199).

THE JEWS REJECT JESUS

¹¹ Nazareth is the place given as that where Jesus dwelt in order to explain his title of Nazarene (Ναζωραῖος) traditionally given him (cf. xxiv. 19). In the copy of Marcion with which Ephren was acquainted the name of Nazareth was replaced by Bethsaida.

¹² This line is preserved in MS. D and is replaced in the other MSS of Luke by “where he had been brought up”—reference to the story of Jesus's childhood which was added later.

¹³ These two lines are suppressed in Luke but vouched for by Ephrem (*Evangelii Concordantis Expositio*, Moesinger; p. 129) and by Tertullian (iv. 8). Luke lengthened this episode and placed it before the preceding one.

¹⁴ The Jews take Jesus for one of them. They ask him arrogantly to produce miracles as signs (cf. I Cor. i. 22). But Jesus refuse signs to the evil race of the Jews (xi. 29).

¹⁵ He escapes in a supernatural manner “because he has an impalpable body” (T. iv. 8).

HEALINGS-THE DEPARTURE OF JESUS

¹⁶ During the sabbath all carrying was forbidden; it finished with the going down of the sun.

¹⁷ As opposed to the god of the Jews who needs matter for his miracles, Jesus makes use of no instrument or of any form of matter (T. i. 15).

¹⁸ Because they take him in error for the Son of the Creator God

¹⁹ *I.e.*, in the whole world. The Jewish Christ is for the Jews only; Jesus's mission is to liberate the whole of mankind.

²⁰ Jesus is still in the kingdom of the god of the Jews (T. i. 24) but he announces the coming of a new dominion: the kingdom of heaven which has never yet been proclaimed (T. iii. 24). “Jesus did away with the law and the prophets and proclaimed his own kingdom” (Esnik, p. 187).

²¹ Paul's teaching: "When we were children under the Elements the world, we were in bondage. But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption" (Gal. iv. 3-5).

FISHERS OF MEN.

²² This episode, placed here on the authority of Tertullian, has been transposed after the resurrection in the appendix of the Gospel of John.

²³ Simon, a Galilean and a man of the people, is a sinner, who does not observe the law exactly, and for that reason is looked upon as impure by the Pharisees. That is why he asked Jesus to stand away from him, for he takes him to be a holy miracle-worker. Jesus, however, came to call such sinners.

²⁴ With Simon they form the First Apostles (vi. 14).

²⁵ This catch is an allegorical miracle representing the success of the early apostles. In the legend of Pythagoras, the Master comes to Cortona to preach, and meets on the road some fishermen about to cast the nets which became the first announcements of his glory (cf. Isidore Levy, *La Légende de Pythagore*; Paris, 1927, pp. 30 and 301).

THE OFFERING OF THE CLEANSED LEPER

²⁶ Jesus breaks the law against touching a leper (T. iv. 9). He cannot be defiled, since his body is spiritual (Anon., quoted by Harnack, *Marcion*, 2nd ed.; Berlin, 1924, p. 188*).

²⁷ Whereas Elisha did not heal a Jew leper, Jesus, not a Jew, did so. Whereas Elisha used water seven times to cleanse Naaman, Jesus used only a word (T. iv. 9).

²⁸ It is noteworthy that Jesus confirms the Mosaic law in this respect (T. iv. 9). The leper healed symbolizes the purified sinner—*i.e.*, the new convert to Christianity, who owes to the Church what a cleansed leper owes to the priests (cf. T. iv. 9: *hominem quondam peccatorem, verbo mox dei emaculatum, offerre debere munus deo apud templum... scilicet apud ecclesiam*). Paul required new converts to make an offering (I Cor. xvi; 2 Cor. ix, etc.). Jesus promulgates Paul's practice. "For you" means all purified sinners, of whom the leper is symbolic.

THE REMISSION OF SINS

²⁹ This paralytic symbolizes the sinner, "prisoner to the sin which is in his limbs" (Rom. vii. 23).

³⁰ A demonstration of the power of faith in which the paralytic takes part precedes the remission of sins in accordance with Paul's teaching (Rom. iii, etc.).

³¹ The paralytic sinner "is freed at once from vengeance by pity and goodness" (Ephrem, p. 60). Jesus pardons his sins without punishing him for them (T. i. 27). This is an example of mercifulness without precedent (T. iv. 10). Sins are pardoned if faith is shown as in this case, or love (vii. 47), if those who sin against you are pardoned by you (xi. 4), if you make a humble avowal (xviii. 13), if, in sinning, you knew not what you did (xxiii. 34). "The Good God, seeing that men were condemned by the Evil God, came down to deliver them from this doom and to bring them an amnesty and pardon for their sins" (A. ii. 2).

³² Whereas the Jews' god is unaware of certain things—*e.g.*, he asks Adam, Where art thou?; and Cain, Where is thy brother?—and does not know that Sodom and Gomorrah have been burned (T. i. II; A. i. 17), Jesus knows all, even the secret thoughts of men; cf. vi. 8; ix. 47; xx. 23; xxiv. 38.

³³ The Son of Man, divine person described by Daniel (vii. 13, etc.), has, as an essential attribute, the power of judging, and, therefore, of pardoning. Jesus assumes this traditional title by comparison (A. i. 7), just as he does that of Christ and in preference to the latter. "How could he have made his way into the faith of the Jews except by means of a name which was for them familiar and traditional?" (T. iii. 15). The name is taken in a new sense, for the Son of Man must now suffer and die (ix. 22; xxiv. 7) of which Daniel said nothing. "Under ancient names, Jesus is new" (T. i. 8).

³⁴ This healed paralytic, symbol of the new convert, receives the order to carry his bed—*i.e.*, to break the sabbath (Hegemonios, p. 67).

ASSOCIATION WITH SINNERS

³⁵ Tax and toll collectors were looked upon by the Pharisees as notorious sinners, and it was forbidden to mix with them. Jesus chooses a man who was a transgressor against the law and defiled (T. iv. II)

³⁶ This is the opposition of Paul to Peter at Antioch (Gal. ii). Jesus decides in Paul's favour. Cf. vii. 37.

³⁷ Intentional attack on Judaism which is essentially a quest for "justice." The good god has no need of the just nor of sinners, but he takes pity on the sinners (A. i. 3) "Here is surely a deity worthy of respect who would have for sons sinners that another has condemned" (Celsus in Origen, *Contra Cels.*, vi. 53).

THE FASTS

³⁸ John the Baptist, prophet in the sect from which Christianity was derived. Jesus looks on John as belonging still to Judaism (xvi. 16). The Christians, on the contrary, are initiated to a new god (T. iv. II).

³⁹ The Pharisees fast twice a week (xviii. 12), Monday and Thursday (Didache, viii).

⁴⁰ Literally, the Sons of the Nuptial Canopy. Paul compared Jesus to a Bridegroom to whom the Christian community is presented as a chaste virgin (2 Cor. xi. 2). Here the Christians are not the Bride, but the companions of the Bridegroom.

⁴¹ The Bridegroom is Jesus. "The Marcionites called the Church the Betrothed and our Lord the true Bridegroom and the symbol of the wine in the cup is the wedding-feast at their holy days" (Ephrem, *Hymn*, xlvi. 2). Speaking of Jesus, they used the Hebrew term Emmanuel (Lord with us) (T. iii. 12).

⁴² Jesus teaches the keeping of fasts on the days preceding Easter, during which the Bridegroom is taken away from the Church. The Marcionites fasted every Saturday, "because the Jew god rested on the seventh day, we fast on that day in order not to do according to the rites of the Jew god" (E. 42, 3). The weekly fast is therefore kept between the day of Christ's death and that of his resurrection, *i.e.*, between Friday and Sunday.

NOVELTY OF CHRISTIANITY

⁴³ Different from the god of the Law, Jesus makes use of a new form of teaching, the parable (T. iv. II).

⁴⁴ Marcion insisted in these two parables to show the Elders of the Roman Church the incompatibility of Christianity and Judaism (E. 42, 2). "The new is not the fulfilment (πλήρωμα) of the old...Nor Christ nor the Apostle are the fulfilment of the law" (A. ii. 16). Paul said, "*If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature*" (2 Cor. v. 17). "Paul, preaching a new god, desired to reject the law of the old god" (T. i. 21). The Judaizing apostles mingled the new and the old, "the precepts of the law with the words of the savior" (Irenæus, iv. 5, 5). "They have perverted the gospel by retaining the old law" (T. v. 3).

SABBATH-BREAKING

⁴⁵ The Law forbade the preparation of food on the sabbath day (Exod. xvi. 23, etc.).

⁴⁶ See I Sam. xxi, where it does not specify the sabbath day. The Marcionites looked down on David as a murderer and adulterer (Chrysostom, Hom. in Matt., 26, 6). The argument is addressed to the Jews, who venerated David, although he violated the sabbath. By justifying the acts of his disciples, Jesus takes responsibility for the breaking of the sabbath (T. iv. 12).

⁴⁷ This passage, which is preserved in MS. D, does not appear in other MSS. of Luke. Jesus does not annul the sabbath for the Jews, but only for the Christians, who know what they do—*i.e.*, know that the reign of the Law has come to an end and been replaced by the Gospel of the Kingdom of God (xvi. 16), and that "where there is no law there is no transgression" (Rom. iv. 15).

⁴⁸ Jesus "must destroy the sabbath which was of another god...He transforms the Sabbath" (T. iv. 12; cf. Irenæus, iv. 8, 2). He is thus a proof of another deity (T. iv. 12). He consecrates the sabbath to good works, in particular the deliverance of souls, typified by the paralytics. Cf. v. 18–25; xiii. 10–16.

CHOICE OF THE FIRST APOSTLES

⁴⁹ Mountain in some liturgical sense on the summit of which he will be transfigured (ix. 28–29) and where he meets his father (ix. 35).

⁵⁰ Having annulled the sabbath, he institutes the vigil of prayer which opens the Christian Sunday.

⁵¹ *I.e.*, thunder-makers (cf. ix. 54). One of them—John—is the author of the Apocalypse, in which he converses with Seven Thunders (Rev. x. 3–4).

⁵² These first apostles show themselves to be stupid and unworthy. The first denies Jesus, the last betrays him. Iscariot or Scarioth (MS. D) is apparently a Syriac epithet meaning "one who betrays" (W. B. Smith, *Ecce Deus*; London, 1912, pp. 303–317). Judas Scarioth is then the equivalent of *Judeus Traditor*.

SERMON TO NEW CHRISTIANS

⁵³ This multitude represents the pagan converts, and Christ refers to the Jews as foreigners ("their fathers" vi. 23 and 26).

⁵⁴ Jesus feels this Power pass out of him like a fluid (viii. 45). Paul had felt in his sickness the Power of Christ (2 Cor. xii. 9).

⁵⁵ “The God of Goodness is good towards all, whereas the Creator God promises to save only those who obey him” (A. ii. 4).

⁵⁶ This discourse is “the edict of Jesus, the sentences of (δόγματα) which replaces the commandments of the god of the Jews (T. iv: cf. Laod., ii. 15, Apostolicon; overthrowing the law of the commandments (ἐντολαί) with sentences (δόγμασι).”

⁵⁷ “The Greek word πτωχοί here means ‘beggars,’ *mendici*” (T. iv. 14). “The god of the law says, I have made the rich and the poor (Prov. xxii. 2), but Christ calls the poor blessed” (Heg., ch. Xliv). Paul says that Jesus, “though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich” (2 Cor. viii. 9).

⁵⁸ Occult expression meaning the Jews, whose “fathers” are put on trial. Jesus foretells persecutions by the Jews; cf. xxi. 12.

⁵⁹ Probably an allusion to the persecutions of Christians in Palestine during the war of Bar-cocheba, cf. xxi. 12. Marcion calls the Christians “you who are wretched with me, are hated with me” (συνταλαίπωροι καὶ συμμισούμενος) (T. iv. 9).

⁶⁰ Jesus does not undertake the defence of the Jewish prophets but simply show that the Jews were impious towards their own prophets (T. iv. 15).

⁶¹ Woe (οὐαί) is not here a curse, but a warning (T. iv. 15).

⁶² These three strophes are confirmed by Esnik, p. 193. Luke did not reproduce them, but Matthew made use of them in altered form. They place in opposition “the law of the just god and the grace of Jesus (Esnik, p. 193). Irenæus (iv. 13, 1) confirms that the Marcionites repeated teaching on the subject of adultery, murder, and oaths which contained, according to them, the counterpart and denial of the ancient maxims.

⁶³ The good god does not punish directly; he casts from out his sight the reprobate (cf. xiii. 27–28) and they are punished in the fiery hell of the creator (T. i. 27–28).

⁶⁴ The Essenes held that an oath was a greater sin than perjury (Josephus, Bell., II. viii. 6). The Apocalypse (x. 5–7) presents an angel making a solemn oath. The Marcionites reproached the Jew god with swearing (T. ii. 26).

⁶⁵ This word “well” (ἀλλά) supposes the three preceding lines which are attested by Megethios in Adamantios (A. i. 12) and have been excised by Luke.

⁶⁶ The good god gives the example of loving strangers such as we are for him (T. i. 23).

⁶⁷ The Marcionites set up against the Law which cursed Paul precept in Rom. xii. 14, “bless and curse not” (Origen, *Hom. in Num.*, xv. 3). “In the law is the malediction, in faith the benediction” (T. v. 3).

⁶⁸ The contrary of the *lex talionis* (T. v. 5). Jesus teaches here “a new patience” (T. iv. 16). By this patience the Christians will be saved from the persecutions of the Jews (xxi. 19).

⁶⁹ “Moses took gold and silver from the Egyptians, when the people fled out of Egypt. Jesus, on the contrary, commands that nought should be left which another might covet” (Heg., *Acta Archelai*, ch. xliv).

⁷⁰ “The Jewish god ordered giving to brothers, but Jesus to all who ask. This is new and contrary” (T. iv. 16).

⁷¹ “Joshua with violence and cruelty conquered the holy land.

Jesus, on the other hand, forbids all violence and preaches pity and peace” (Origen, *Hom. in Jes. Nave*, xii. 1).

⁷² The Marcionites call Jesus the Beneficent (Esnik, p. 179).

⁷³ Read ἀντελπίζοντες in place of ἀπελπίζοντες (T. Reinach).

⁷⁴ According to Paul, Jesus had been sent that men might become sons of God (Gal. iv. 5). Here this affiliation (υἰοθεσία) is gained by imitating the goodness of God. It shows that men were strangers to God, who never makes son (υἰοποιεῖται) that which is his? (A. ii. 19). Those who become sons of God must renounce their parentage by the flesh (cf. T. iv. 16). The new Christians were *born* by the Marcionite sacrament of milk and honey (T. i. 14).

⁷⁵ χρηστός phonetically the same as χριστός. The Father is χρηστός; Jesus also is called χρηστός, in preference to χριστός in the Marcionite inscription of Lebaba (Harnack, 341). Goodness is the unique attribute of the Father, and he alone has it in perfection (cf. xviii. 19): *tantummodo et perfecte bonus* (T. i. 24). It is universal and supreme (*catholica et summa bonitas*), detached from all judiciary sentiment (*remota a iudicariis sensibus*), pure in its state (T. ii. 17).

⁷⁶ The good god “takes pity on unfortunate mankind from the moment of the creation by the Creator” (Irenæus, v. 2, 1). “Having had pity, he sent his son, also good, and delivered us.... His bowels being moved, he had pity” (σπλαγχνισθείς), (A. i. 3). This ecstasy of pity is the sole visible work of the good god; “it is enough for him” (T. i. 17).

⁷⁷ “The very gentle god does not threaten, because he does not judge nor become angered” (T. iv. 19). “Calm and mildness” are his characteristics (T. iv. 29). “He is the cause of trouble neither to himself nor to others; meditating this, Marcion removes from him the severity and might of the judge” (T. i. 25). Jesus, similarly, does not judge (xii. 14).

⁷⁸ “The good god saves those who believe in him, but does not condemn those who do not believe in him” (A. ii. 4).

THE BAD GUIDES

⁷⁹ The Pharisees took the name of “guides of the blind” (Rom. ii. 19). The first apostles are here compared to them. Blinded by a beam (the law), they pretend to guide those who are blinded by a mote.

⁸⁰ Christ’s disciples should be guided by Christ, and not by the law.

⁸¹ These three lines are attested by Adamantios (i. 28), and were cut out by Luke and Matthew.

⁸² “The bad tree is the law, whence came the idea of sin” (Origen, *Comm. in Rom.*, iii. 6). Tertullian says that Marcion, troubled by the problem of evil, found these words of the creator god, “ego sum qui condo mala” (Is. xlv. 7) and “ecce ego emitto in vos mala” (Jer. xviii. II). He applied to the creator god the simile of the bad tree which produces bad fruit—*i.e.*, evils. He supposes that another god must be the good tree producing good fruit (T. i. 2), “Thou seest here two natures, two gods” (A. i. 28).

⁸³ This allegory implies two gods (T. iv. 17). The epithet “evil” (πονηρός and not κακός, bad) is applied by the Marcionites to the Jewish god who is just and evil (Theodoret, *Hær. fab.*, i. 24; cf. Origen, *Philo.*, x. 27). The good man typifies the good god.

⁸⁴ Christians who invoke Jesus without practising his true doctrine will be rejected by him (xiii. 24–28).

THE FAITH OF PAGANS

⁸⁵ The beginning and end of this episode have been edited by Luke. Matthew's version, which is simpler, is obviously nearer the original.

⁸⁶ Because pagan, therefore sinner and unclean for the Jews.

⁸⁷ The faith of this pagan is that the Logos of Jesus operates from a distance, like a messenger. Unlike the god of the Jews, Jesus has no need of material media for working his miracles (T. iv. 9).

⁸⁸ Jesus sets up as a model the faith of the pagans (T. iv. 17). It is they, rather than the Jews, who are converts to Christ.

⁸⁹ The healing of the child of the centurion symbolizes the conversion of the pagans to Jesus. This led Marcion to the question: Who are those pagans who believe in the Jew god? (T. iii. 21).

THE RESURRECTION OF A DEAD MAN

⁹⁰ This widow apparently symbolizes Sion, the widow of the Bridegroom after the destruction of the temple. In the fourth Book of Esdras, which Marcion may have known, Sion is represented as a desolate woman who has lost her only son. It is promised her that this son—*i.e.*, the terrestrial Jerusalem—shall be given back to her (4 Esdras ix. 38 to x. 16). Nain seems to mean “the agreeable,” and refers to the land of Israel according to Gen. xlix. 15.

⁹¹ Literally “was moved in the bowels” (ἐσπλαγχνίσθη). The same word was used for the compassion of the good god.

⁹² This resurrection is a proof without precedent, *novum documentum* (T. iv. 18). The resurrection of Jerusalem which the Jews expected of the false Messiah Bar-cocheba will be accomplished by Jesus.

⁹³ The Jews mistake Jesus for a prophet of their own god. He does not rebuke them, such is his divine patience (T. iv. 18).

JUDGMENT ON JOHN THE BAPTIST

⁹⁴ These three lines, authenticated by Tertullian (iv. 18, *scandalisatur Johannes auditis virtutibus Christi*), Adamantios (i. 26 *in his prison*), and Epiphanius (42, sch. 8, on “Blessed are those who are not scandalized at me,” applied by Marcion to John), are left out by Luke. Josephus tells of the imprisonment of John the Baptist (*Ant.*, xviii. 5, 2). John is scandalized because the miracles of Jesus are not of the god of the Jews (T. iv. 8). “John belongs to another god; he is the man of the creator and is unaware of the new deity” (Origen, *Comm. in Joh.*, i. 82).

⁹⁵ “John does not accept Jesus, for it is impossible that a prophet of the creator god should not recognize his own Christ” (A. i. 26). Jesus is therefore not *He who comes* (ὁ ἐρχόμενος—the term in Revelation), if the Jewish Christ is to be understood by this. But he is *He who comes after* (ὁ ἐπερχόμενος)—who comes after the Jew Christ and overthrows him. John is just as doubtful about him as is Herod (ix. 7–9).

⁹⁶ “The god of the creation did not give back his sight to Isaac when he became blind. Our Lord, on the contrary, who is good, opened the eyes of many blind men” (A. i. 20).

⁹⁷ These are the works of the Jewish Messiah, *vide* Is. xxxv. 5–6 lxi. 1–2, and, in addition, the cleansing of the lepers and the raising of the dead. They are also the works of the Man-God of the

Mandæans (cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*; Heidelberg, 1919, 9, 23). Jesus does them to the scandal of John.

⁹⁸ Mal. iii. 1 (Aramæan paraphrase). John is, according to the Jewish prophecies, the forerunner of the Jewish Messiah. He is as an angel of God for the Jews, and thus more than a prophet. But “though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel ... let him be accursed” (Gal. i. 8).

⁹⁹ Less great than Jesus who was not born of woman, less great than any Christian who is reborn in becoming a son of God (vi. 35).

¹⁰⁰ Because the least of Christians belongs to the Kingdom of another god than that of John (T. iv. 18). “Marcion says to himself, better in nature than the creator” (Jerome, *Comm. in Eccl.*, p. 450). “If the god of the Jews is the creator of this universe, another god still greater will have done still greater things than he” (Justin I *Apol.*, xxvi. 5). “The Father is above the god who made this world” (Irenæus, i. 27, 2).

LOVE

¹⁰¹ An allusion to the law even of the Pharisee: “Charity covers multitude of sins” (Prov. x. 12), “love covereth all sins.” Love (ἀγάπη) is the sentiment which the good god has for men (xi. 42; cf. Ephes. iii. 19). Men should return his love as does the sinful woman here. Like him, they should love even their enemies (vi. 35).

¹⁰² Faith in Christ has given rise to repentance in the sinner (T. iv. 18). In Paul's teaching faith acts by love (Gal. v. 6) and men are saved by Grace, by means of faith (Ephes. ii. 8, etc.). The same expression appears in viii. 48; xvii. 19; xviii. 42.

GENEROUS WOMEN

¹⁰³ Jesus made himself poor (2 Cor. viii. 9). Those healed by him should out of gratitude share in the expenses of his cult (cf. v. 14). The women mentioned here play a part in the burial of Christ and the discovery of the empty tomb (xxiii. 55–56; xxiv. 1–11). Paul was helped by wealthy Lydia (Acts xvi. 14–15). In the Marcionite Church women played an important part. As Paul sent Phœbe to Rome, so Marcion sent a woman beforehand to prepare a welcome (Jerome, *Ep.*, 131).

THE SEED

¹⁰⁴ Parables have to be interpreted; otherwise the words of Jesus are to be taken to mean what they say (A. i. 7).

¹⁰⁵ Mark, and, after him, Matthew, and Luke apply this parable to the word of God. The parable of the minæ (xix. 11–26) indicates that it is rather of the Holy Ghost and spiritual gifts which remain fruitless in some and become fruitful in others.

¹⁰⁶ The god of the Jews said, *Aure audietis et non audietis* (Is. vi. 9). Jesus, on the other hand, wishes all ears to be opened (T. iv. 19). All should listen, since there is no longer anything hidden; everything is made clear.

¹⁰⁷ The mystery of the redemption of mankind by Jesus “had been hidden to the creator god” (Ephes. iii. 9; *Apostolicon*), “kept secret since the world began, but is now made manifest” (Rom. xvi. 25–26; Marcionite doxology). Now it must be proclaimed before all, even at the cost of one's life. Cf. xii. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Faith comes by hearing (Rom. x. 17) and the promise of the Spirit through faith (Gal. iii. 14). Spiritual gifts are made greater for them who make them fruitful, and are taken from those who have them as though they had them not. Cf. xix. 26.

THE KIN OF JESUS

¹⁰⁹ Apelles, disciple of Marcion, said, "It is to tempt Jesus that they announce the presence of a mother and brothers which he cannot have" (T. *De Carne*, 7). "They tempted Jesus with these words in order to know whether he was born or not" (Ephrem, *Evang. Conc. Expos.*; Moesinger, p. 122).

¹¹⁰ In this manner Jesus declared that he was not born (T. iv. 19; cf. Jerome, *In Matth.*, xii. 49). "It is the most frequent argument of those who discuss the birth of the Lord" (T. iv. 19).

¹¹¹ The true kinsfolk of Christ are the Christians who have become Sons of God (vi. 35) and not the Jew apostles some of whom were called "brothers of the Lord" (1 Cor. ix. 5) nor the Judæo-Christian community which they wished to call his mother (cf. Rev. xii).

THE STORM

¹¹² Jesus shows in this way that "he is the new lord and master of the elements of the creator, henceforth subjugated and overthrown" (T. iv. 19); cf. The Strong Man Overcome (xi. 21). By faith Christians can also overcome the elements (cf. xvii. 6). The storms which attack them will be appeased, if they have faith.

THE LEGION OF DEVILS

¹¹³ The devils take Jesus for the Jewish Messiah, termed Son of Jahweh in Psalm ii. 7. "They are unaware that the virtue of a new and unknown god is at work on earth" (T. iv. 20).

¹¹⁴ The Abyss is the subterranean home of the devils whence the rise and where they will be imprisoned during the period permitted to the Jewish Messiah (cf. Rev ix. 1; xx. 10).

¹¹⁵ Jesus is gentle even towards devils. He even consents at times not to cast them out; whence, no doubt, the uselessness in all seeming of certain exorcisms.

FAITH WHICH SAVES

¹¹⁶ The law declares a woman with a flow of blood to be impure and forbids her to touch anyone; "what is more indecent than this dishonour of a flesh which is already red?" (T. iv. 5). Jesus not only allows the contact, but restores health to her (T. iv. 20).

¹¹⁷ This Power consists of forces which come out of him (δυνάμεις) (1 Cor. xii. 10, 28, etc.) and act for him (Gal. iii. 5; 2 Cor. xii. 9). Similarly his word is compared to a Messenger (vii. 7-8). Here the Power acts automatically through the woman's faith.

¹¹⁸ Saving faith (cf. vii. 50; xvii. 19; xviii. 42) is here the woman's disregard for the Jewish law (T. iv. 20).

THE SENDING OUT OF THE FIRST APOSTLES

¹¹⁹ Jahweh led the Jews out of Egypt laden with jars of gold and of silver, with garments and provisions. Jesus, on the contrary forbids his followers to carry even a stick (T. iv. 24; cf. A. i. 10).

¹²⁰ As did Paul and Barnabas at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 51).

¹²¹ The first apostles preached a gospel which still was tainted with Judaism (Irenæus, iii. 14, 3). Paul, in Galatians, attacks them because they do not walk in the way of truth, and accuses some of them of perverting the gospel of Christ (T. i. 20). At times, so weak is their faith, they cannot heal the sick (ix. 40–41).

HEROD'S PERPLEXITY

¹²² Popular error mistakes Jesus for a messenger of the Jew God. This divinity knows naught of Jesus, while the latter preaches his gospel (T. v. 5).

¹²³ He sees him, but the true nature of Jesus may not be revealed to his profane curiosity (xxiii. 8).

THE MIRACULOUS INCREASE

¹²⁴ Jesus institutes a ritual meal (bread and fish) differing from that of bread and wine which will be established at the Passover (xxii. 19–20). Marcion, following the teaching of Paul, forbade the eating of meat (Rom. xiv. 21; 1 Cor. viii. 13; Esnik, p. 197). He permitted fish as a “more holy food” (T. i. 14). The Marcionites observed “perpetual abstinence” (Hippolytus, *Phil.*, vii. 30; x. 19; Tertullian, *De Jejunio*, 15, etc.). Jesus abstains from the Paschal Lamb and after his resurrection eats a fish (xxiv. 42).

¹²⁵ A heaven “not made with hands, but increate” (A. ii. 19), the dwelling-place of the Father (x. 21; xi. 13).

¹²⁶ This liturgical miracle symbolizes the spiritual abundance of the Christian agapes and their perpetual renewal. The characteristic detail of the scraps left over recalls the miracle of Elisha (2 Kings, iv. 22–44), which would give colour to the idea that Christ was a prophet of the Jewish God.

¹²⁷ Κόφινος—a deep and flexible basket specially used by the Jews (Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 14).

WHO IS JESUS?

¹²⁸ Peter is mistaken in taking Jesus for the Jewish Christ; Jesus does not wish the lie to be spread (*noluit mendacium disseminari*) (T. iv. 21). However, he allows them to give him the traditional title of Christ (“How could he otherwise have entered into the faith of the Jews than by a name which was at once traditional and familiar to them?” T. iii. 15). But it is on the condition that all know that, unlike the Jewish Christ, he must suffer, die, and rise again. There are then two Christs, “the one [Jesus] who in the time of Tiberius was revealed by an unknown god for the salvation of the heathen, the other is destined by the creator god to restore the kingdom of the Jews when he will come. Between them there is a great gulf, just as there is between the just god and the good god, between the law and the gospel, between Judaism and Christianity” (T. iv. 6). In order to avoid mistakes, here as in front of the Sanhedrim (xxii. 67–69), Jesus prefers the title of Son of Man.

¹²⁹ Jesus is by nature impassible (*naturaliter impassibilis*) (Irenæus, iii. 16, 1). But he is ready to undergo suffering. “Marcion does not suppress Christ's sufferings” (Tertullian, *De Carne Chr.*, 5). By these sufferings he redeemed us from the creator god (A. i. 27), as Paul said, “Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law” (Gal. iii. 13) and “ye are bought with a price” (1 Cor. vi. 20; vii. 23).

¹³⁰ *I.e.*, all the Jews as represented by the Sanhedrim.

¹³¹ “The passion of the Cross was not foretold for the Israelite Christ, and it would not be credible that the creator god should expose his son to this sort of death, since he himself uttered the curse, he that is hanged from a tree is accursed of god” (Deut. xxi. 23; cf. Gal. iii. 13) (T. iii. 18).

¹³² Paul's doctrine, a consequence of faith in Jesus Christ Crucified. “I am crucified with Christ” (Gal. ii. 20). “They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with affections and lusts” (Gal. v. 24). Imperfect Christians are “enemies of the cross of Christ” (Phil. iii. 18).

¹³³ Ψυχή means both “soul” and “life.” Read “he would save his life shall lose his soul.” “Who shall lose his life for my sake will save his soul.” “The Good One came to save the soul alone” (A. ii. 7). “There is no resurrection, no life, no salvation, but of the soul only” (E. 42, 3). “There will be no salvation but of souls who will have accepted the teaching of Jesus; as for the body, since the earth has taken it, it can have no part in salvation” (Irenæus, i. 27, 3; cf. v. 4, 1). “The god of Marcion to those he saves gives an imperfect salvation; they are saved by the soul, lost in the flesh which according to him does not rise again” (T. i. 24). The soul has to be saved; Marcion does not believe in Plato's idea of the divinity of the soul. (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 3, 13).

¹³⁴ Paul's teaching. “But what things were *gain* to me, those I counted *loss* for Christ ... for whom I have suffered the *loss* of all things and do count them but dung, that I may *win* Christ” (Phil. iii. 7–8).

¹³⁵ On the day he will present them to his father. “Jesus came into a stranger world in order to present man, made by another, to the god which had neither made nor formed him” (Irenæus, v. 2, 1). Whoever is not presented by Jesus “will be seized by the fire of the creator” (T. i. 28).

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF JESUS

¹³⁶ The Mountain “where he passes the night in prayer” (vi. 12).

¹³⁷ This leaving of him (διαχωρίζεσθαι) means that “Jesus has put aside the prophecies and writings of Moses and Elias from his gospel” (T. iv. 22). Jesus alone has his *Glory* (δόξη)—*i.e.*, a divine radiation.

¹³⁸ “He is mistaken in thinking that Jesus is the Christ of Moses and of Elias” (T. iv. 22). Despite the teaching of Jesus, he remains a “man of the law” (*Petrus legis homo*) (T. iv. 11). “It must be understood that Peter and the other apostles are closer to Judaism” (T. v. 3).

¹³⁹ “Listen to him—*i.e.*, do not listen to Moses or Elias any more” (T. iv. 22). The voice of the Father confirms that Jesus “came to destroy Moses and Elias” (T. iv. 22).

¹⁴⁰ The Transfiguration of Jesus is the type of the transfiguration of the Christian, which is permanent as opposed to the temporary transfiguration of Moses (2 Cor. iii. 7–18).

THE UNWORTHINESS OF THE FIRST APOSTLES

¹⁴¹ Description of an attack of epilepsy.

¹⁴² Jesus “is very angered against the disciples” (T. iv. 23). The first apostles are without faith because “they mingled the things of

the law with the words of salvation" (Irenæus, iii. 2, 2). "They are prevaricators and dissimulators and deprave the gospel" (T. iv. 3). "Their churches are corrupt from their beginning" (T. i. 20). As they are without faith they fail in their exorcisms, and therefore Jesus no longer supports them, but hastens to choose new apostles.

¹⁴³ The Father "had hidden his Greatness which he revealed by Jesus" (T. i. 25). In greatness "he is above the Creator" (T. i. 9).

¹⁴⁴ The first apostles did not understand Paul's doctrine of the redemption, "the apostles did not know the truth" (Irenæus, iii. 13). Like the Jews (2 Cor. iii. 14–15), a veil was stretched over their hearts. "Paul alone knew the truth, to whom the mystery had been made manifest by revelation" (Irenæus, iii. 13, 1).

¹⁴⁵ Paul often railed at the pride of those first apostles who had themselves called (Gal. ii. 2 and 6) persons of reputation and notables, pillars (Gal. ii. 9), the very chiefest apostles (2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. II). The *greatest among them* was either Peter (Matt. xvi. 18–19), John (xxi. 15–17), or James, the "brother of the Lord" (Gal. i. 19), called also the "Lord, Bishop of Bishops" (Homel. Clement, *Ad Initium*).

¹⁴⁶ In the Pauline churches the new Christians were termed *little children* (1 Cor. iii. 1; 2 Cor. vi. 13). These are the *children* who should be welcomed rather than the great. Cf. xviii. 15–17.

¹⁴⁷ To receive Jesus is to be saved. "The Lord in his coming has done so much to save those who received him" (T. ii. 13).

¹⁴⁸ The Father, "having had pity, sent his son, himself good, and saved us" (A. i. 3).

¹⁴⁹ Paul, with a play on his name *Paulus*, calls himself *the least* of the Apostles (1 Cor. xv. 9). Here he is referred to in a hidden manner.

¹⁵⁰ This same John in his Apocalypse rejects the Nicolaitanes, the disciples of Nicolas, the companion of Stephen, according to Irenæus (i. 23, 3; iii. 11, 1), although they had apostles and prophets and called on the name of Jesus, for the reason that their practice was not that of the first apostles.

¹⁵¹ Paul said: "No man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed" (1 Cor. xii. 3). Jesus applies the same reasoning to the exorcists.

¹⁵² "God the creator adjudges the penalty of the scourge of flame when Elias asks it against the false prophet" (I Kings xviii. 38). "I admit the severity of the judge and its antithesis, the gentleness of Jesus, who rebukes the disciples, who show the same animosity against the Samaritan village" (T. iv. 23). In the Apocalypse John describes two prophets who shall have the power of Elijah, "fire proceedeth out of their mouth and devoureth their enemies" (Rev. xi. 5). He sees the fire of heaven fall all about him. He and his brother were called the "sons of Thunder" (vi. 14).

¹⁵³ "Jesus came down from Heaven as a spirit of salvation" (T. i. 19). "Paul called the Jews *sons of anger* (Ephes. ii. 13); therefore the creator is the Lord of Wrath." (T. v. 17). James and John have still somewhat of the spirit of the God of the Jews.

¹⁵⁴ "Moses, prophet of the creator god, stretched forth his arms to his god in order to kill men in the greatest quantity in battle (Exod. xvii. 12). Our Lord who is Good stretched forth his arms (on the cross) not to kill them, but to save them" (A. i. 11). Jesus came "for the saving of souls" (E. 42, 4). "The Good One saves

those who believe in him, but does not condemn those who have not believed in him” (A. ii. 4). Only souls win salvation and life for there is no resurrection of the body (E. 42, 3). To the Christ of the Apocalypse, the destroyer of mankind, is opposed the Son Man for whom “man’s salvation is the urgent thing to be sought before all other” (Tertullian, *De Resurrect.*, 2).

WHAT MUST BE DONE TO FOLLOW JESUS

¹⁵⁵ “He says this from presumption or hypocrisy” (T. iv. 23). By parallelism with xxii. 33, Peter seems to be aimed at.

¹⁵⁶ Jesus owns nothing in this world, which is foreign to him. “Christus non in sua venit sed in aliena” (Irenæus, iii. II, 2).

¹⁵⁷ The name of Philip is given by Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 4, 25.

¹⁵⁸ The flesh of the living is only a little less unclean than that the dead. “What has the same composition of flesh (as a corpse) has a corrupted corpse” (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 4). Funerary rites and the cult of the tomb concern the dead body, and are foreign to the true disciples of Jesus.

¹⁵⁹ The first apostles looked *backward*; they were unable to leave their household without farewell or to “hate father and mother” (xiv. 26), *i.e.*, they were unable to shake themselves free of Judaism That is why Jesus chooses new apostles.

THE NEW APOSTLES

¹⁶⁰ These new apostles are sent out on the same mission as the Twelve, but to the Gentile world also. They are worthy of their duty, for “their names are inscribed in heaven” (x. 20) and the god whom the Jews do not know have been revealed to them by Jesus (x. 22). These apostles are such as the Seven and Paul. If the Twelve were sent out to the twelve tribes of Israel, these are sent out to the three score and ten nations of the earth (Gen. x).

¹⁶¹ *I.e.*, in the whole world. Such was the mission of Paul and Barnabas (Acts xii–xiv).

¹⁶² *I.e.*, one predestined. Peace comes of the good god, and not of the Hebrew god: “The first made the Light, the second the Darkness; the first made peace, the second evil” (Jerome, *Comm. in Is.*, xii. 45). The Elect are also called the Sons of Light (xvi. 8). Paul calls them the Children of Faith (Gal. iii. 26; *Apostolicon*).

¹⁶³ So Paul teaches: “The Lord hath ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel” (1 Cor. ix. 14). If Paul worked for nothing, it was through pride.

¹⁶⁴ Paul's teaching (1 Cor. x. 27), as opposed to that of John, who in Revelation, forbids categorically all meat coming from a pagan temple. “Paul rejects the law and Moses when he attributes to a superstition established by angels (Col. ii. 16–21) the prohibition of certain foods” (T. v. 19). “What is more contemptible than to prohibit certain food?” (T. v. 5). “The great argument of the good god is the permission to eat all manner of food, against the law” (T. v. 7).

¹⁶⁵ “Jesus preaches a Reign of God new and unheard of” (T. iv. 24).

¹⁶⁶ Paul and Barnabas did this at Pisidian Antioch (Acts xiii. 51). The repeating of the mission to the new apostles as to the old shows that the new are the equals of the old (1 Cor. ix. 1–5, etc.).

¹⁶⁷ God gave to Jesus “the Name above all Names, so that at his

Name every knee in heaven might bend, and on earth and in hell" (See Phil. ii. 10).

¹⁶⁸ Satan or the Devil, the most powerful and evil of Demons, is an "Angel of the Creator" (T. v. 16; cf. v. 12). "The Creator is the author of the Devil" (T. ii. 10). That is why the creator is often mistaken for the devil. "If the Devil is the Creator, who is the Devil by the Creator" (T. v. 18). "Christ by his coming has vanquished the Devil" (A. i. 4); tableau of Satan falling from heaven comes in Rev. xii. 9.

¹⁶⁹ By Enemy is meant Satan and the creator god behind him, for he created serpents and scorpions which image devils. The good god has "no scorpion" (T. iv. 26). The creator god "was at fault in most of his works and did not do as he should have. Of what use to man are serpents, scorpions, crocodiles, fleas, and bugs and mosquitoes?" (Jerome, *Comm. in Is.*, vii. 18). "The Marcionites apply themselves to destroy the work of the creator" (T. i. 13).

¹⁷⁰ The idea of a book in which are inscribed the names of the elect is allied to the expectation of the Coming of the Son of Man (Dan. xii. i). The good god whom it pleased to predestine Paul from his mother's womb and to call him by his grace (Gal. i. 15) predestined also the new apostles to remain faithful to him, whereas the old ones went back to the god of the Jews.

¹⁷¹ *I.e.*, from those who come from the Hebrew god. "The Jews who know not God..." (Rom. iii. 3; *Apostolicon*). "The fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hidden in god who created all things..." (Ephes. iii. 9; *Apostolicon*). "The new god in the old world in the old age and under the old god was unknown and unheard... Jesus revealed him and none before him" (T. i. 8).

¹⁷² Little children (νήπιοι) is the Pauline term for converts of pagan origin (1 Cor. iii. 1; Gal. iv. 3; Ephes. iv. 14).

¹⁷³ "All things means all men, all nations" (T. iv. 25).

¹⁷⁴ "Jesus here speaks of an unknown god, of whom no one had heard" (Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matt.*, 38, 2) "The creator god was known of Adam and others who are mentioned in Scripture. But the Father of Christ is unknown" (A. i. 23). "Our God, say the Marcionites, has been revealed in Jesus Christ" (T. i. 19).

¹⁷⁵ This mystery was first revealed to Paul. "It pleased God ... to reveal his son in me" (Gal. i. 15-16). "Alone Paul knew the truth, for to him the mystery had been revealed by manifestation" Irenæus, iii. 13, 1).

¹⁷⁶ The Jewish prophets neither knew nor foretold Jesus. "The Lord was unknown of Abraham, and also the Father of the Lord" (Irenæus, iv. 5, 5). "Marcion was the first who dared to deny the witness (of the prophets)" (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.*, vi. 16). "They [the Marcionites] try to overthrow the testimony of the prophets on Christ" (Origen, *Comm. in Joh.*, ii. 199). Paul says: "The mystery of Christ in other generations was not made known to the sons of man as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit" (Ephes. iii. 5).

THE WORTH OF THE LAW

¹⁷⁷ "The doctor apparently seeks a consultation on the subject of that life which the law promises to make long, and the Lord, there-

fore, gives an answer according to the law” (T. iv. 25). It is a question of earthly life—*i.e.*, of longevity—and not of eternal life, which will be the subject of another question (xviii. 18–22).

¹⁷⁸ The combination of these two commandments (Deut. vi. 4 and Lev. xix. 18) was the traditional manner of expressing the essence of the law (cf. *Test. des XII Patr.*, Issachar, v. 2; Dan. V. 3). Paul said that all the commandments of the law are “briefly comprehended in this saying, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself” (Rom. xiii. 9).

¹⁷⁹ This God of the Jews, though he offers neither a Heavenly Kingdom nor Life Eternal, gives, however, some good advice for life hereunder. “The promises of the creator were earthly, but those of Jesus heavenly” (T. iv. 14). It is, then, with good reason that the law promises life (Lev. xviii. 5; cf. Gal. iii. 11). “The creator saves by his special salvation who believes in him” (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, v. 1, 4). The Marcionites “do not call the law bad (κακόν) but merely just” (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, ii. 8, 39). As for Life Everlasting, the law alone cannot give that (xviii. 18–22).

MARTHA AND MARY

¹⁸⁰ This episode is not confirmed as Marcion's. Its relation to a passage in 1 Cor. vii. 34 and the allusion made to it in John xi. 1 make it probable that it appeared in Marcion's gospel.

¹⁸¹ Martha is like the married woman of whom Paul said that she “careth for the things of the world” (1 Cor. vii. 34). Mary the other hand, like the virgin attends on the Lord (εὐπάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ) “without distraction” (*ibid.*, 35).

HOW TO PRAY

¹⁸² He asks this “because he thinks that another god (than that of the Jews) should be differently worshipped” (T. iv. 26).

¹⁸³ Mention has already been made of the supplicatory prayers (δεήσεις) with which the disciples of John accompanied their fasts.

¹⁸⁴ The gifts of the Father are the Spirit (xi. 13) and the Kingdom (xii. 32). The Marcionite lesson—“Let thy holy ghost come upon us (and purify us)” —has been preserved by Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor, and in other MSS. (Harnack).

¹⁸⁵ ἐπιούσιος is a rare adjective, derived probably from τὸ ἐπιόν (future), confirmed by Origen, *E. Catena Mazariniana*; Harnack, p. 207. This refers to the Living and Incorruptible Bread which will be eaten in the Heavenly Kingdom and which, according to John, is Jesus himself (vi. 27 and 51).

¹⁸⁶ This Trial is martyrdom. Christians should pray to avoid it (xxii. 40 and 46), but suffer it, like Jesus, if such is the will of the Father (xxii. 42).

¹⁸⁷ See later a similar parable (xviii. 2–5). In praying, the worshipper should fear neither boldness (ἀναιδία) nor importunity.

¹⁸⁸ “The Father alone is Good” (xviii. 19).

¹⁸⁹ The first request in the prayer which Jesus has just taught them.

CASTING OUT DEVILS

¹⁹⁰ Etymologically “The Master of Dung”—*i.e.*, of the pagan gods. According to verse 18, it is one of Satan's names with magic power.

¹⁹¹ Jesus “brands the Jews as exorcising in the name of Beelzebub” (T. iv. 26). It is the Jews, and not himself, who make use of this exorcism, which is absurd, since the Prince of Demons cannot divide himself against himself.

¹⁹² In the miracles of Moses, the Egyptian magicians thought they perceived the “finger of god” (Exod. viii. 19). Jesus here works by the power of the finger of the new god, which has already been seen.

¹⁹³ The god of the Jews who is called in the Bible “the armed warrior,” “he is proclaimed a soldier and armed warrior, not figuratively nor allegorically. . .” (T. iv. 20).

¹⁹⁴ Another god overthrows the Jewish god, “the creator subjugated by another god” (T. iv. 26). This god comes upon him, ἐπελθών, unexpectedly. Hence the name Marcion gives to the true Christ; *He who surprises*, ὁ ἐπερχόμενος (T. iv. 23 and 25) instead of *He who comes*, ὁ ἐρχόμενος, the title used in Revelation (i. 4 and 8; iv. 8; cf. xxii. 20).

¹⁹⁵ “The Christ by his coming has vanquished the Devil and overthrown the laws of the creator” (A. i. 4). “As, at his first coming, he went against the creator and destroyed the law and the prophets, so at the second coming he will go against the Christ (of the creator) and will make his kingdom naught. Then he will bring about his dominion” (T. iii. 4).

THE TRUE KIN OF JESUS

¹⁹⁶ “By these words a test is made as to whether Jesus was really born” (Ephrem, *Evang. Conc. Expos.*; Moesinger, p. 122). “The Marcionites preach with all the bitterness of which they are capable against the foulness of birth and of giving suck and against the unworthiness of the flesh itself” (T. iv. 21).

¹⁹⁷ The answer given by Jesus is the same as when mention is made to him of a mother and brothers which he did not possess (viii. 20–21). “He denies that he has a mother” (T. iv. 21).

NO SIGN

¹⁹⁸ He spoke of the Jews; cf. 1 Cor. i. 22: “For the Jews require a sign.”

¹⁹⁹ Repetition of viii. 16. The mystery of salvation is not to be known by a sign such as the Jews ask for. It is now revealed to all.

THE PHARISEES AND THE LAWYERS

²⁰⁰ By not washing as prescribed by the law, Jesus “shows that he has come to destroy the law” (T. iv. 27).

²⁰¹ “What is more absurd than to purify plates and beds?” (T. v. 5).

²⁰² ποιεῖν has here the meaning of “do”—*e.g.*, the hair, boots, etc., the German “machen,” French “faire” (Wellhausen).

²⁰³ To purify the inside, which alone counts, Jesus substitutes almsgiving for the lawful ablutions.

²⁰⁴ “The high calling of God” (Phil. iii. 14) and the love which God has for man are what matter.

²⁰⁵ *I.e.*, without perceiving your hidden corruption.

²⁰⁶ Jesus “condemns the burden of the law, covering it with curses” (T. iv. 27).

²⁰⁷ The Lawyers boast of following the traditions of their fathers (*Pirké Aboth*).

²⁰⁸ “The Pharisees are reproached here with reference to God (T. iv. 27). They have not served the true god and have hindered their proselytes from knowing him.

CONFESSION OF FAITH

²⁰⁹ “The leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy, is to preach the creator” (T. iv. 28). It is hypocrisy for the Christians to remain attached to the Jew God.

²¹⁰ Repetition of viii. 17. “Jesus presents the revelation and full knowledge of a god till then unknown and hidden” (T. iv. 28). Similarly, the Christians should preach their God openly at risk of persecution by the Jews.

²¹¹ Jesus “indubitably means the creator.... He condemns the severity of the creator who must slay in Gehenna” (T. iv. 28). The god of the Jews said himself: “I kill” (Deut. xxxii. 39). “This passage is constantly brought to our notice with the remark, You see how savage and inhuman is the god of the law” (Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.*, i. 16). He it is who “rages” (T. ii. 13). He it is, then, who is to be feared. “The judge god desires to be feared, for his are the objects of fear, anger, cruelty, judgments, vengeance, condemnation” (T. iv. 8). “The good god is not to be feared” (T. iv. 8). “The Marcionites boast that they do not fear their god at all; the evil god is to be feared, they say, but the good god is to be loved” (T. i. 27).

²¹² “The good god condemns by separating, but rejects without taking vengeance” (T. i. 27). “What will be the end of him who is rejected by him? He will be taken by the fire of the creator”

(T. i. 28).

²¹³ The confessor from whom a word against Jesus shall have been torn will be pardoned; Peter was guilty of this crime (xxii. 57). But if he has blasphemed against the Spirit which inspires him (verse 12), he will not be pardoned. The Romans made accused Christians utter curses on Christ (Pliny, *Letters*, x. 96). The Jews probably required them to avow that they were inspired by an evil spirit (cf. John vii. 20; viii. 48 and 52).

²¹⁴ “The apostles (of the good god) renounced the elders, the magistrates and the priests of the Jews as messengers of another god” (T. iii. 22).

WORLDLY GOODS

²¹⁵ Jesus “belongs to the very good god and not to the judge god” (T. iv. 28). “The Marcionites do not allow to god the power of judging, for they think it unworthy of god... They say that one god judges and another saves” (Irenæus, iii. 24, 2). Jesus applies here the precept he had given—Judge not! (vi. 37).

²¹⁶ The creator god who sees impartially to the needs of animals, plants, and men.

²¹⁷ “The world means the god of the world” (T. v. 4; v. 7). Paul warns us against “the things of the world” (1 Cor. vii. 33–34). “Jesus, the destroyer of the creator, does not permit preoccupation with frivolous things of this sort” (T. iv. 29). Marcion practised a “perpetual abstinence” (Tertullian, *De Jejuniis*, 18).

²¹⁸ It is useless, then, to ask him frivolous questions. “The good god is the father of those who believe, for Paul says that we have been adopted by him as sons (Gal. iv. 6; Ephes. i. 5)” (A. ii. 19).

²¹⁹ The elect are few; “the creator is with the greater number; the Saviour is with the sole elect” (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 10, 69). “All will not be saved, but a less number than all the Jews and the Christians of the creator” (T. i. 24).

²²⁰ “Different is the Father who makes a gift of the Kingdom, different the God who has prepared the fire” (Irenæus, iv. 40, 2). The Kingdom alone should be in our thoughts. “Our political state (πολίτευμα) is in Heaven” (Phil. iii. 20), a passage to which Marcion attached particular importance (T. v. 20; iv. 24).

WAITING FOR THE LORD

²²¹ The thief does not mean the Lord in this place. “The thief in parable is placed in the personage of the creator” (T. iv. 29). The blows of the creator fall unexpectedly (cf. xii. 20). Similarly the Lord will come at an unforeseen moment.

²²² The answer is addressed to the apostles, who here represent the heads of the Christian community.

²²³ The good god “only puts him aside and casts his lot with the unfaithful as if he had not been called, in order that he may return to his first state” (T. iv. 29). Rejected in this manner, “he is taken by the fire of the creator” (T. i. 28).

FIRE ON THE EARTH

²²⁴ “This is a figure of speech” (T. iv. 29), not real fire as in Revelation, but the fire of division (verse 51).

²²⁵ The baptism of death. “We have been baptized in the death of Jesus Christ” (Rom. vi. 3).

²²⁶ The Cup of the Trial which Christ will undergo by his Father's will (xxii. 42). The Marcionites baptized on three occasions on account of this passage (E. 42, 3); probably on account of the three expressions, fire, baptism, and cup. The two latter, omitted by Luke, are confirmed by Epiphanius (42, 3).

TO DISCERN THE TIME OF THE COMING

²²⁷ The time of the coming of the Son of Man; cf. xxi. 5–34. “And that, knowing the time, that now is high time to awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than we believed” (Rom. xiii. 11).

THE NEED OF RECONCILIATION

²²⁸ “The judge who casts into prison represents the creator” (T. iv. 29). He does justice without mercy. Reconciled with God (2 Cor. v. 18–20; Rom. v. 10), men must also be reconciled with one another in order to escape the severities of the creator's justice.

THE USE OF THE SABBATH

²²⁹ The Daughter of Abraham delivered from Satan becomes then the Daughter of God. “Men of faith, the same are the children of Abraham” (Gal. iii. 7).

²³⁰ Satan, the Angel of the Creator (cf. x. 18), binds men with palsies, which typify the bonds of sin (cf. v. 17–25).

THE GROWTH OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

²³¹ “What must be understood by the person of the man? Certainly Jesus. . . . He sowed in his garden, certainly in the world,

by which we must here understand in man" (T. iv. 30). In the parable of the Sower (viii. 4–8) the Sower is also Jesus.

²³² Jesus "compares (the Kingdom) to yeast, not to unleavened bread, such as is more familiar to the creator" (T. xii. 21). The Kingdom is understood to be the Spirit which is already fermenting in the hearts of men. "In the gospel the Kingdom of God is Christ himself" (T. iv. 33).

THE DAMNED

²³³ Few will be saved; the "little flock" of Christians, Pauline and Marcionite, less numerous than the Jewish Christians. "All are not saved, but a smaller number than all the Jews and Christians of the creator" (T. i. 24).

²³⁴ These are the "deceitful workers" of 2 Cor. xi. 13—*i.e.*, the Jews. They have eaten before the Lord—*i.e.*, have taken part the eucharistic supper. They shall nevertheless be set aside.

²³⁵ And are therefore delivered over to the Gehenna of the creator. Cf. xii. 5 and 46.

THOSE WHO ARE CALLED

²³⁶ "Do good hoping for nothing again" (vi. 35). In this he asked for the example of the good god to be followed as shown in the following parable.

²³⁷ Resurrection from the dead will be granted to those whom the good god will judge worthy (xx. 35).

²³⁸ He is not angered against the guests, as Tertullian thought him to be, but seized with compassion for the disinherited. "The good god took compassion on sinners who were unknown to him...and, his bowels being moved, had pity on them" (A. i. 23).

²³⁹ "The invitation to this supper represents the heavenly banquet at which satisfaction and rejoicing will be spiritual" (T. iv. 31). The guests who make excuses are the Jews. The beggars, the lame, the halt, and the blind are the sinners [the heathen]. Cf. the feast at Levi's (v. 29).

HOW TO BE A DISCIPLE

²⁴⁰ Bear his cross to crucifixion with Jesus (cf. Gal. ii. 20; v. 24); this is to deny himself (ix. 23).

²⁴¹ *I.e.*, the goods of this world. "The Marcionites, through hate of the creator, are unwilling to employ what he has created" (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 3, 12). "Marcion, through enmity to the creator, denied himself the use of things of this world" (*ibid.*, iv. 25). Marcion "thinks to annoy the creator by abstaining from what has been created and established by him" (Hippolytus, *Philosoph.*, x. 19).

THE CONVERTED SINNER

²⁴² The impulse of infinite pity (*profusae misericordiae*) produces a corresponding impulse of conversion from the sinner (T. v. 4). The relations of the good god with his faithful are based on emotion; those of the Jewish god with his worshippers on justice.

MONEY

²⁴³ *This Age* as opposed to the *Other Age* (xx. 35)—*i.e.*, the Time to Come. Each Age has its Sons and its God. Paul speaks of the

“god of this age” (2 Cor. iv. 4) or world. This is the creator god (T. v. 11.; cf. v. 7; Irenæus, vi. 7, 1 ; A. ii. 21). The good god is “the author of light and of the time to come; the other god of darkness and of the present Age” (Origen, in Jerome, *Comm. in Gal.*, i. 4).

²⁴⁴ *I.e.*, the sons of the time to come; see Paul, I Thess. v. 5; Ephes. v. 8. The Sons of Light will strive against the Sovereigns of darkness—*i.e.*, against the Powers of the Creator (T. v. 18). They form a nation (γενεάν), since they are the sons of the good god (vi. 35; xx. 36).

²⁴⁵ The *Mammon (Money) of Injustice* is an expression of the Book of Enoch (lxiii. 10), meaning the money of this world. Just as the unjust steward employed it to make friends, so should you use it to make friends by distributing it among the poor. Cf. xviii. 22; xix. 8.

²⁴⁶ The good god alone is everlasting (αἰώνιος; Rom. xvi. 26; Marcionite doxology). Jesus announces the “everlasting place” (T. iv. 34).

²⁴⁷ *I.e.*, have not distributed among the poor. The Christian must be *faithful* in a Christian sense of the word, and not in the worldly sense. This is not an allusion to the unjust steward.

²⁴⁸ *Mine* is the real wealth, which is not of this world, but a Treasure in Heaven (xviii. 22), and, in this life, the grace of spiritual gifts (cf. xix. 11–26).

²⁴⁹ All worldly wealth is foreign to the good god and to Jesus. “Christ did not come in his own, but in that of another” (Irenæus, iii. 11, 2) “*In aliena dicunt deum venisse*” (Irenæus, v. 2, 1). The *true wealth* of the Father and of Jesus is the Kingdom of God or everlasting Life (cf. xviii. 18 and 24), and in this life the Holy Ghost (cf. xi. 2 and 13). This wealth will be given to those who will have distributed in alms the wealth of another—*i.e.*, unjust money.

²⁵⁰ A passage appealed to by the Marcionites to show that there are two gods, “thou seest that there are two natures and two lords (κύριοι)” (A. i. 28).

²⁵¹ “By Mammon (Money) must be understood the creator; Jesus has withdrawn his servants from the service of the creator” (T. iv. 33). Mammon here represents the creator because he typifies the whole of the wealth of this world, which is all extraneous to the good god.

THE ANNULMENT OF DIVORCE

²⁵² “John the Baptist is established like a boundary mark between the old and the new, at the frontier where Judaism ends and Christianity begins. . . . At this point end the Law and the Prophets and begin the Gospel, the Kingdom of God, and Christ himself” (T. iv. 33). “John belongs to another god, he is the man of the creator and is unaware of the new deity” (Origen, *Comm. in Ioh.*, i. 82). John did not prepare Jesus (*nihil administravit*, T. iv. 11).

“Jesus rejected John's discipline, as that of another god, and forbade it to his disciples, who were to follow other ways, as initiates of a different and opposed god” (T. iv. 11). Therefore Jesus rejects John's fasts. (v. 33–34).

²⁵³ “The Law and the Prophets are the instruments of the Princes of this World” (E. 42, 4)—*i.e.*, of the creator. Jesus is the end of the Law (see Rom. x. 4). “The Jews did not know of a higher god, they who had established against him their justice—that is to say,

their law—and did not receive Christ who is the end of the Law” (T. iv. 14). There is no longer any reason for taking thought of the Law, but to seek only for the Kingdom.

²⁵⁴ “Earth and Heaven will pass away, but my Word will remain for ever and ever” (xxi. 33). “when [heaven and earth] will pass away, then must the god enthroned on them also pass away; he it is not who is above all therefore” (Irenæus, iv. 3, 1). This preamble of five lines indicates the authority which Jesus has to annul the divorce instituted by the Jew god.

²⁵⁵ Paul says as much (I Cor. vii. 10–n). “Christ forbids divorce... Moses, on the other hand, permits repudiation in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 1)... Thou seest the antagonism between the law and the gospel, between Moses and Christ” (T. iv. 34).

THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS THE BEGGAR

²⁵⁶ The Alexandrine Jews believed that “Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob will receive (ὑποδέξονται) the Jews who have suffered” (4 Macc. xiii. 17). “Your Christ [of the Jews] promises, after life is ended, that you shall be refreshed in Hell in the bosom of Abraham . . . ; our Christ will make a Kingdom of God which will be everlasting and heavenly” (T. iii. 24). “Abraham, the friend of the Jewish god, knew not the true god, nor ought of the Christ” (Irenæus, iv. 5, 5). “Abraham has glory, but not in the sight of god” (Hegemonios, p. 64). This is a reference to *Sheol* (Hades) where the Jewish god rewards his own.

²⁵⁷ “Abraham is in Hell” (T. iv. 34). “Abraham is in Hades, not in the Kingdom of Heaven; the rich man speaks to him, which shows they are in the same place” (A. ii. 11). According to Marcion, Cain, the Sodomites, and the other sinners of whom the Bible speaks were saved by Jesus when he went down into Hell. But “Abel, Enoch, and Noah, and the other just and those who were patriarchs such as Abraham, together with all the prophets and those who pleased god (the creator), have not shared in this salvation; their souls have remained in hell” (Irenæus, i. 27, 3; cf. Theodoret, Hær. Fab., i. 24).

²⁵⁸ The story of the rich man and the poor man appears in legend of Pythagoras, of which there existed an Egyptian version before there appeared this Jewish variant. (See Isidore Levi, *La Légende de Pythagore*; Paris, 1927.)

²⁵⁹ In spite of this abyss, the place of refreshment and the place of torment are adjoining. “Marcion makes out that the two hereafters of the creator, both that of pleasure and that of pain, are in hell for those who have obeyed the law and the prophets. He defines as heavenly the bosom and the haven of Christ and his god” (T. iv. 34).

²⁶⁰ The people of Israel are usually represented by twelve. The *rich* man and his five brothers symbolize half Israel; the rest are the *poor*.

²⁶¹ The parable is aimed at the Jews alone. By obeying Moses and the Prophets they gain their reward in the bosom of Abraham. “The creator saves him who has believed in him, by the salvation which is his” (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, v. 1, 4). For them Moses and Prophets are enough; a sign such as the resurrection of a dead man will not be given them (cf. xi. 29), for even in their own religion a sign could not overcome their incredulity. As for the Christians,

“the warning of our god from the height of heaven (ix. 35) commands them not to listen to Moses and the Prophets, but to Christ preaching the everlasting realm” (T. iv. 34).

SHAMEFUL OFFENCE

²⁶² The little ones are the new Christians of the Pauline communities (cf. ix. 47; x. 21). Those who are stumbling-blocks to them are the Jew apostles.

FORGIVENESS

²⁶³ By pardoning his brother, the Christian obtains from the good god pardon for his own sins (xi. 4). “To pardon thy brother seven times is a new precept” (T. iv. 35).

THE POWER OF FAITH

²⁶⁴ This passage is not confirmed, but its relation to viii. 25 (Where is your faith?) and ix. 41 (faithless ... generation) makes it probable that it appeared in Marcion's gospel.

²⁶⁵ The moving (μεταβολή) of the mountain or of the mulberry symbolizes the difficulty of the change which must be operated in the sinners. “The good god changed (μετέβαλε) by faith men who were evil and made them good who believed in him” (A. ii. 6).

THE HEALED AND GRATEFUL LEPER

²⁶⁶ “Because they will have, when healed, a debt to pay (cf. v. 14). Jesus also says this, but in mockery of the law, since they will be healed on the road and the law and its priests be for nought” (T. iv. 35).

²⁶⁷ “Elisha, prophet of the creator, purified a single leper, Naaman the Syrian, among so many Israelitish lepers; whereas Jesus, better in this also, cleanses, although he himself is no Jew, a Jewish leper (v. 13) whom his own god had been unwilling to cleanse” (T. iv. 35). Four lines of Marcion's gospel have been transposed by Luke in the episode of Nazareth (Luke iv. 27).

²⁶⁸ Jesus “goes in front of the formalities of the law in the healing of the ten lepers, whom he cleanses by the way, without touching them even, and even without a word of command, just by his silent power and his single will” (T. iv. 35). “The creator healed one, Christ healed ten” (T. iv. 35). “Immediately he perceives that they recognize that the law must be erased, he cures them as being justified by faith, without the prescription of the law” (*ibid*).

²⁶⁹ Jesus, “having marvelled at the Samaritan, does not send him to offer a sacrifice according to the law, because he has already made an offering by giving thanks to god” (T. iv. 35). This leper, who represents the sinner, is saved not by his purification but by his faith. Cf. vii. 50; viii. 48; xviii. 42.

THE MANNER OF COMING OF THE SON OF MAN

²⁷⁰ Jesus “answers with reference to another kingdom than that as to which he is questioned” (T. iv. 35). The Pharisees ask him, in fact, of the reign of God such as they understand it to be. He answers of the reign of God the Father. In one sense this reign is already come among those who ask, since Jesus drives out devils (xi. 20). “The Kingdom of God in the gospel is Christ himself”

(T. iv. 33). In another sense the reign will be inaugurated by the fulgurating coming of the Son of Man—*i.e.*, Jesus again.

²⁷¹ Who turned back and was changed into a pillar of salt (Gen. xix. 26).

²⁷² Repetition of ix. 24. “If the soul is sown, it rises again a spiritual thing (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 44)... The soul at the resurrection will become spirit” (T. v. 10).

²⁷³ Proverb, the meaning of which is, the place will be seen when the time comes. Neither time nor place is revealed.

UNCEASING AND HUMBLE PRAYER

²⁷⁴ The prayer for the end of the world and the coming of the Son of Man was resumed in the formula Maranatha (Lord, come!) (1 Cor. xvi. 22).

²⁷⁵ The true believers are only a “small flock” and there will be many renegades; cf. *The Ascension of Isaiah*, iv. 13: “Of those who will have believed in him [Jesus], a small number will remain his servants during these days, fleeing from desert to desert, in expectation of his coming.”

²⁷⁶ According to the doctrine of St. Paul, man cannot justify himself by himself, nor by the works of the law (Gal. ii. 16). He is justified by God who grants grace gratuitously to the sinner. Compare the absolution of the paralytic (v. 20).

LITTLE CHILDREN

²⁷⁷ “Elisha, the prophet of the creator, called bears out of a forest to devour the children who mocked him (2 Kings ii. 24); the Good Lord, on the other hand, said, Let the little children come to me” (A. i. 16). “Christ loves the little ones; the creator, on the contrary, sends bears against the children to avenge his prophet Elisha who had suffered their cries” (T. iv. 23).

²⁷⁸ The *children* or the *little children* (x. 21) or the *little ones* (xvii. 2; cf. vii. 28; ix. 48) represent the new Christians, converted from paganism and without Jewish prejudices. They received the Kingdom—*i.e.*, Christ—openly (*In evangelio est Dei regnum christus ipse*. T. iv. 33). In the Marcionite Church they were *born* by the sacrament of milk and honey. “The good god has not rejected the combination of milk and honey with which he causes to be born his own ... in his sacraments” (T. i. 14).

RELINQUISHMENT OF RICHES

²⁷⁹ This does not refer to earthly life, but to life everlasting. The law of Moses can give life (x. 28), but not life everlasting. “The promises of the creator are earthly, but those of the Christ are of heaven” (T. iv. 14).

²⁸⁰ “The Marcionites think that the *shield* (scutum) which was given them for their own is the Word of the Lord in the gospel: None is good, but one, God the Father. They say it is the true name of the Father of Christ” (Origen, *De Princip.*, ii. 5, 1). “Marcion does not give the creator any epithet of goodness” (*ibid.*). “The very good god is good of himself. . . . Of the two gods, only one is good” (T. iv. 36). “God uniquely and perfectly good” (T. i. 24). “The very good god, singly and solely good” (Tertullian, *De Carne*, 5). “The good, as they call him, because he is, as they say, good

by nature and evil does not exist in him” (Esnik, p. 181). It was remarked that the words θεός and ἀγαθός were *isopsephes*—*i.e.*, their letters, in numerical value, were equal in total (284). Jesus rejects the title of “good.” “Being in the form of a god he does look upon as lawful equality with God” (Phil. ii. 6). Nevertheless “our God has revealed himself by himself in Jesus” (T. i. 19). The Marcionites give to Jesus the epithet of “good.” “The death of the good one became the salvation of men” (A. ii. 9).

²⁸¹ The essential commandments are given in the same order as by Paul (Rom. xiii. 9). The commandments (ἐντολαί) of the Law are replaced by the maxims (δόγματα) of Jesus (cf. Ephes. ii. 15; *Apostolicon*).

²⁸² *To follow Jesus* is to deny oneself, to take up one's cross, to lose one's life (ix. 23–4) and to distribute one's goods among the poor (xvi. 9; xix. 8). Marcion fulfilled this last by distributing 200,000 sestertii among the community at Rome (Tertullian, *De Præscr.*, 30).

²⁸³ Zacchæus is the example of a rich man saved (xix. 2–10).

THE SEATS ON JESUS'S EITHER HAND

²⁸⁴ This episode is based on the authority of Origen, *Hom. in Luc.*, xxv : *Hoc quod scriptum est sedere a dextris salvatoris et sinistris de Paulo et Marcione dici quod Paulus sedeat a dextris, Marcion sedeat a sinistris*. It has been omitted by Luke, but preserved and developed by Mark (x. 35–41) and, consequently, by Matthew (xx. 20–24).

²⁸⁵ Mark x. 40, *k*; *aliis paratum est*. These two places are destined for the author of the Apocalypse and his brother, but “Paul will sit on his right and Marcion will sit on his left” (Origen, *Hom. in Luc.*, xxv).

THE HEALING OF A BLIND MAN

²⁸⁶ This blind man is deceived, as were the Jewish apostles (ix. 20) into believing that Jesus was the Christ, son of David, “he lies as to the son of David” (T. iv. 36). Really Christ is not the son of David (xx. 41–44). Jesus does not correct the blind man, “because the Lord is patient” (T. iv. 36). But he cures him of his blindness.

²⁸⁷ The faith of the blind man consists in believing that he would be cured by Jesus, although he was mistaken as to whom he was. Jesus “enlightens his blindness so that he should believe no more that he is the son of David” (T. iv. 36). “Once upon a time blind men attacked David, gainsaying his entry into Sion (2 Sam. v. 6–8); that is why Christ, on the contrary, helps a blind man in order to show by that that he is not the son of David and that by antithesis of spirit, he is good to the blind whom David commanded to be slain” (T. iv. 36).

THE GOOD RICH MAN SAVED

²⁸⁸ Zacchæus begins to follow the advice given by Jesus to the rich man (xviii. 22). He therefore shows his faith, and by that is saved. According to the witness of Tertullian, Zacchæus is *alloyphylus* (T. iv. 37)—*i.e.*, not an Israelite.

²⁸⁹ *I.e.*, the sinner, compared above with a lost sheep and with a lost coin (xv. 1–10). “This work alone is enough for our god, to have freed man by his supreme and distinctive goodness” (T. i. 17). “The salvation of man is the most urgent of things, to be sought for

before all other" (Tertullian, *De Resurrectione*, 2). Cf. ix. 56: "The son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

SPIRITUAL GIFTS

²⁹⁰ In the manner of kings who went to Rome for their investiture.

²⁹¹ Each received a weight of silver of the value of about 1 oz. of gold to-day.

²⁹² A proverbial expression meaning a hard man of business (Solon in Diog., Laert., x. 2, 9).

²⁹³ Repetition of viii. 18. The mina is the spiritual gift made to each one, "the manifestation of the spirit is given to each man to profit withal" (1 Cor. xii. 7). This spiritual gift is increased for every man who uses it rightly and withdrawn from him who make no use of it and yet still thinks he has it.

WHENCE COMES THE AUTHORITY OF JESUS?

²⁹⁴ *I.e.*, on what authority do you teach in the temple?

²⁹⁵ The disciples of John the Baptist were initiated by a baptism of purification (Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii. 5, 2).

²⁹⁶ They are convinced that John is the greatest prophet of the God of the Jews (vii. 27–8; xvi. 16). In not recognizing him the Pharisees have failed to recognize a messenger from their own God. Still less are they likely to recognize the messenger of another god.

²⁹⁷ "If Moses was believed because of his own words and his miracles, not needing the testimony of those before him, and if each of the prophets was received by the people as God's messenger, then still more should he who is above Moses and the prophets be able, without testimony, to declare what he will and serve the human race" (Origen, *Comm. in Ioh.*, ii. 199). "Marcion was the first who dared to omit the testimony of the prophets and to leave without authority (ἀμάτυρον) the gospel of the doctrine of faith" (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.*, vi. 16).

SHOULD THE ROMAN TAX BE PAID?

²⁹⁸ To pay the Roman tax was for the fanatical Jews to recognize another master than their God (Josephus, *Bell.*, ii. 8, 1). From the time of Vespasian the Jews were subjected to the tax *fiscus iudaicus* by which they had to pay to the benefit of Jupiter Capitolinus the two drachmæ they had formerly paid to the temple at Jerusalem; this raised it into a matter of conscience.

²⁹⁹ Coin struck by the Emperor.

³⁰⁰ What is of God, is the holy spirit which God gives (xi. 2 and 13) and which should be employed for him. As for the tax, it belongs to Cæsar, since it is paid in money which comes from Cæsar, and not, as was the tax to the temple, with shekels struck in Palestine. Jesus ratifies Paul's precept: "Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due ..." (Rom. xiii. 7).

MARRIAGE IN THE HEREAFTER

³⁰¹ The Sadducees, a priestly sect, did not admit the resurrection nor the immortality of the soul (Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii. I, 4).

³⁰² This law of the Levites (Deut. xxv. 5–10) was probably no longer in force. The woman with the seven husbands (cf. Tobit iii. 8) is an academical case making fun of the resurrection.

³⁰³ The same expression as in xvi. 8—*i.e.*, “the men of the creator who permits the marriage” (T. iv. 38). “The god of this world [age]” (2 Cor. iv. 4) is the creator (T. v. 11).

³⁰⁴ The good god, a very different deity from the god of this age. “Different is the god of this age, different from him who is above all Princes, Powers, and Potentates” (Irenæus, iii. 7, 1). “Marcion did not postulate two similar gods” (T. i. 6).

³⁰⁵ This resurrection is for the elect of the good god only (cf. xiv. 14).

Jesus, asked as to the resurrection such as the Jews believe in, replies with reference to another resurrection “as to which he was not asked” (T. iv. 38). He does the same thing with reference to the Kingdom of God (xvii, 20–21).

³⁰⁶ Neither in the time to come nor in the present. “Even now they do not marry, for they are the sons of the time to come” (T. iv. 30). “The disciples of Marcion, since they do not wish that the world created by the creator should be peopled, require abstinence from marriage” (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 3, 12). “Marcion's god forbids marriage as an evil and a commerce in shame” (T. i. 29). Marcion calls marriage “perdition and debauch” (Hippolytus, *Philosoph.*, x. 19). According to Tertullian, “he does not admit married persons, only baptizes celibates and eunuchs, or reserves baptism to the widowed and divorced” (T. iv. 11).

³⁰⁷ “Those who deny the resurrection (of the body) quote this passage, saying, the angels have no body, do not eat, have no sexual commerce, therefore there is no resurrection of the body” (Ps. Justin, *De Resurrect.*, 2). “Thy God promises men the true substance of angels” (T. iii. 9). According to the teaching of St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 35–50), men will take on “a spiritual body ... the fleshly covering will be shed” (T. v. 10). The God of Marcion “gives to those he saves an imperfect salvation; they are saved by the soul, lost in the body, which, says he, does not rise again” (T. i. 24). “The only salvation will be that of the soul; as for the body, since it is taken by the earth, it cannot possibly be saved” (Irenæus, i. 27, 3). “Recently someone of the school of Marcion said, Woe to him who would raise the body with this flesh, in these bones!” (Jerome, *Lib. contra Iohannem Hierosol.*, 36).

IS CHRIST THE SON OF DAVID?

³⁰⁸ Contrary to the Sadducees, the Pharisees, to whom the Scribes belonged, believed in the resurrection of the good (Josephus, *Bell.*, II., viii. 14). Jesus is to differ from them on another question.

³⁰⁹ Like the blind man of Jericho (xviii. 38), the Pharisees believed, according to the passage in Isaiah xi, that Christ would be the son of David. This was also the belief of the Jewish Christians (cf. Luke i. 32). Certain words supporting this doctrine were inserted in the post-Marcionite edition of St. Paul (Rom. i. 3).

³¹⁰ Psalm cx. I, called the Psalm of David. Jesus's argument has weight only if the Psalm is looked upon as Messianic, if *My Lord* means the Christ. Now, the Pharisees meant by *My Lord* Abraham (Strack and Billerbeck, *Komm. z. N.T.* IV., Excursus 18). Not so the Christians, especially Paul (1 Cor. xv. 25; cf. Acts ii. 34). The argument is therefore addressed only to Christians.

³¹¹ As in regard to the Sabbath, Jesus puts forward against the Jews passages from their own Writ. David recognized Christ as his Lord; the God of the Jews himself announced that he would place

under Christ's feet all the latter's enemies. Here the reference is to the true Christ—Jesus. The Marcionites “say that the master of the world destroys himself and the world for all eternity” (Esnik, p. 190). On the other hand, the other Jewish prophecies refer to the Jew Messiah. “The prophecy of Isaiah xi refers to that Christ, who, simply a man, solely of the race of David, will receive later the spirit of his God” (T. v. 8). “First the Christ of Isaiah will call himself Immanuel, then will seize the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria...” (T. iii. 12). He will be a military Christ, “an armed soldier” (T. iv. 20).

SIGNS OF THE ADVENT OF THE SON OF MAN

³¹² The temple at Jerusalem was burnt down by Titus in 70, razed to the ground, and replaced by a pagan temple by Hadrian in 135.

³¹³ The Coming of Jesus is connected with the destruction of the Temple of the Jew God.

³¹⁴ Bar-cocheba in 132 was accepted by a part of the Jews as the Christ and as the Star announced by Balaam (Numb. xxiv. 17). The Jewish Messiah will come under the name of the Christ, which also belongs to the Jews. There will also be false Jewish Christs; it is not therefore sure that Bar-cocheba was the true Jew Christ. This Christ “is destined by the Creator to restore the Jewish realm” (T. iv. 16), which Bar-cocheba attempted to do. He “promises to the Jews their former empire and the restoration of their country (T. iv. 24). He will bring his “gospel” with him (T. v. 2), but will bring no message as to the Kingdom of Heaven of which he knows nothing” (T. iii. 24).

³¹⁵ Recognized as the Christ, Bar-cocheba declared the independence of Judæa and war against the Romans. Battles and revolutions accord with the “severe and atrocious god” (T. iv. 38). The Jewish Messiah is *bellipotens* (T. iii. 21) *militaris et armatus bellator* (iv. 18).

³¹⁶ “In the late Jewish war, Bar-cocheba, the leader of the revolt, commanded that terrible punishments should be meted out to the Christians if they did not deny Christ Jesus and blaspheme his name” (Justin, I Apology, xxxi. 6). “The (Christian) apostles are ill treated by the Jews as heralds of another god” (T. iv. 39). “They have undergone all the iniquity of persecution from the men of the creator, enemies of the god they preach” (T. iii. 22); cf. vi. 22–23.

³¹⁷ The Jews not only persecuted the Christians directly, but denounced them to the imperial authorities, the *kings and governors* (cf. Acts xvii. 5–8; xviii. 12–13; xxiv. 1; etc.). “Because we are often persecuted and hated, is it not evident that we belong to another god and are unaccepted by the God of the Creation? The latter has said, the king's heart is in the hand of the Lord (Prov. xxi. i). It is clear that the creator persecutes us, since he has in his hand the hearts of kings” (A. i. 20).

³¹⁸ Cf. Phil. i. 19: “This shall turn to my salvation,” and Job xiii. 16: “He also shall be my salvation.”

³¹⁹ Repetition of xii. 11–12. But here the Holy Ghost is replaced by Jesus himself, an identification in conformity with Paul (2 Cor iii. 17). “Now the Lord is that Spirit.” The Marcionites called Jesus the *Inner Man* (Hippolytus, *Philosoph.*, x. 19) applying the

expression of Paul “the inward man” (Rom. vii. 22), “the inner man” (Ephes. iii. 16).

³²⁰ The god of the Jews is *æmulus, zelotes, impatiens*. Jesus, on the other hand, teaches patience, a novel virtue, *nova patientia* (T. iv. 16); cl. vi. 29.

³²¹ Hadrian destroyed Jerusalem, after Pompey and Vespasian had done so (Appian, *Syr.*, 50). Jerusalem is the city of the Jewish God, but not the city of the Great King (Ps. xlviii. 2; cf. Matt. v. 35), if by this phrase is meant the superior god. “If Jerusalem had been the City of the Great King, it would not have been deserted” (Irenæus, 4, 1).

³²² “These commotions (*concussiones*) are attributed by Marcion to the creator—*i.e.*, to the god of cruelty—but the promises (*promissiones*) to the good god, for the creator who was unaware of the latter could not have predicted them” (T. iv. 39).

³²³ The Son of Man, Jesus, is quite distinct from the Jew Christ (T. iv. 39). “Marcion showed that the Christ, who in the days of Tiberius was revealed by an unknown god for the redemption of all the nations, was quite other than the one destined by the creator god to restore the kingdom of the Jews, when he will come” (T. iv. 6).

³²⁴ By his death Jesus redeemed (ἐξήγορασε Gal. iii. 13) his faithful from the creator god (A. i. 27). But the execution of this, the *liberation* properly speaking (ἀπολύτρωσις), or the “day of redemption” (ἀπολύτρωσις τῆς περὶ ποιήσεως Ephes. iv. 30), will not take place till the Coming of the Son of Man; then will be the day of Liberation.

³²⁵ Repetition of xvi. 17. Heaven and earth are the “elements of the world” (Col. ii. 8) which are studied by the philosophers, whose knowledge is vain and to be avoided by Christians (T. v. 19). “When they shall pass away, the God who is enthroned upon them must pass away also” (Irenæus, iv. 3, 1).

³²⁶ See Paul: Rom. xiii. 13; 1 Cor. vii. 33–34.

JUDAS'S TREASON

³²⁷ The Passover, day of sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, preceded the seven days during which the Jews had to eat only unleavened bread. The name of Passover was sometimes extended to the eight days (Josephus, *Ant.*, xiv. 2, 1).

³²⁸ Judas Iscariot, or Scarioth (MS. D), the *Jew who betrays* (cf. vi. 16), represents among the first Jew apostles the traitor, as Peter does the renegade.

THE LORD'S SUPPER

³²⁹ The word πάσχα (Paschal lamb and Easter) is compared by a play on words with πάσχω, to suffer.

³³⁰ Instead of the Paschal Lamb Jesus gives to his disciples to eat bread which represents his own body. Thus is realized Paul's teaching—“Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us” (1 Cor. v. 7). Jesus introduces a new rite which he substitutes for the Passover and in which he is himself the consumed sacrifice. “This is my body—that is to say, the symbol of my body” (T. iv. 40). Jesus symbolized his body by a loaf just because he lacked a real body (T. iv. 40).

³³¹ The cup of wine which was to be drunk on several occasions in the Jewish Passover is replaced in the new rite by a cup, the contents of which are not specified; in the mysteries of the Marcionites it held water only (E. 42, 3). This cup appears in the

covenant (διαθήκη) sealed and signed with the blood of Christ which is to be shed, “*testamentum sanguine suo obsignatum*” (T. iv. 40) This covenant is explained further on, verse 29, “I bequeath you (διατίθεμαι) what my Father assigned me, a kingdom”—*i.e.*, the kingdom which the Christians will possess at his coming. That is why Paul in a parallel passage says: “For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death *until he come*” (1 Cor. xi. 26).

³³² “The creator did not know where Adam was, since he said Where art thou? But Christ knew even the thoughts of men” (A. i. 17); cf. v. 22, etc.

³³³ Jesus goes to his death at the will of the Father (xxii. 42).

³³⁴ This passage is vouched for by Chrysostom, *Hom. in Phil.*, vii: “He took the form of a slave, they say [*i.e.*, the Marcionites] when, girded with a towel, he washed the feet of his disciples.” It has been cut out by Luke, who preserves, however, the allusion which Jesus makes further on (verse 27). John preserved it and developed it. In thus doing the work of a slave, Jesus fulfils Paul’s words: “He took upon him the form of a slave” (Phil. ii. 7).

³³⁵ *Euergetes*, a title commonly taken by the rulers of Syria and Egypt.

³³⁶ Allusion to the washing of feet, service rendered by a slave.

³³⁷ Cf. ix. 48: “The least among you all, behold one who is great.”

³³⁸ These three lines are vouched for by Adamantios, ii. 16: “I shall read; I give you, said he, a new commandment; to love one another as the Father loved you.” They are omitted by Luke and preserved by John. “The Saviour says clearly, I give you a *new* commandment. . . . Then the Christ is not the fulfilment of the law” (A. ii. 16); cf. vi. 36.

³³⁹ These two lines appear in Adamantios, ii. 20: “The good god said, if you were of this world, the world would love what is its own.” The passage has been left out by Luke, kept and enlarged by John. Jesus “calls neither the world nor the creatures which are in it good” (A. ii. 20). “The world—*i.e.*, the creator of the world” (T. v. 4). The “nations of this world” have other interests than the Christians (xii. 30).

³⁴⁰ “God hath chosen the foolish things of the world . . . and God hath chosen the weak things of the world... and base things of the world and things which are despised” (I Cor. i. 27–28).

³⁴¹ “You will be hated of all” (xxi. 17). Marcion called the Christian “you who are wretched with me, are hated with me” (T. iv. 9).

³⁴² It is the Kingdom or Throne (βασιλείαν) which the Father was pleased to give the “little flock” (xii. 32). It is the object of the covenant by blood in which figures the eucharistic cup (διαθήκη explained here by διατίθεμαι).

³⁴³ Peter has the presumption to think that he is one of those who will never leave Jesus “through all his Trials,” and is therefore one of the little flock to whom the Kingdom is promised. The first Trial shows that he is for nothing in it.

JESUS BETRAYED

³⁴⁴ This is the last request in the prayer Jesus taught them (xi. 4).

³⁴⁵ The cup into which his blood will be poured (xxii. 20). Jesus

here sets an example to Christians not to seek Trials, but to pray that they may be spared them. Having neglected this prayer Peter, the first, will fail in the Trial.

³⁴⁶ The holy kiss (φίλημα ἅγιον) was a sign of recognition and communion among Christians (Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Thess., etc.). In particular the kiss preceded the eucharist (Justin, *Apol.*, 65). Judas symbolizes the apostate Christians who betray their brethren by the signs even of the communion they have with them. This is the fulfilment of Jesus's prophecy—"The Son of Man shall be delivered into the hands of men" (ix. 44).

PETER DISOWNS HIM

³⁴⁷ This episode is vouched for by indirect testimony only; the renegation was foretold by Christ (cf. T. iv. 41: *Petrum... negationi destinando...*).

³⁴⁸ Peter here symbolizes those Christians who deny Jesus before men and will be denied by him before god (xii. 9). This part is given him because he failed to "walk uprightly according to the truth of the gospel" (Gal. ii. 14). He called himself a "pillar," a rock (this is the meaning of Cephas). He is one of those to whom Paul addressed this rebuke, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor. x. 12).

JESUS REJECTED

³⁴⁹ As they do not know who Jesus is, they take him for a Jewish prophet (cf. ix. 8), and ill-treat him as their fathers ill-treated the prophets of old (cf. vi. 23; xi. 47). Fulfilment of the prophecy: "The Son of Man must suffer greatly" (ix. 22).

³⁵⁰ By the Christ the Sanhedrim means the Jew Messiah, the Son of David. Jesus is not this Christ. But his hearers are not disposed to be instructed and learn. He prefers to use the title of Son of Man as he did when rebuking the first apostles (ix. 20–22).

³⁵¹ "And not I" (T. iv. 41). The title of Son of God is also equivocal since for the Sanhedrim it refers to the God of Israel. "As to which Christ should the Jews ask but as their own? Why then should he [Jesus] not announce the other? In order that he should be able to suffer" (T. iv. 41).

³⁵² Of these complaints the first refers to Jesus's early teaching (iv. 31); the second puts a false interpretation on Jesus's answer as to the tax (xx. 25); the third refers to the women who followed him (viii. 2–3), and the children he welcomed (xviii. 15–16); the fourth to his speech before the Sanhedrim (xxii. 69), but wrongly replaces the title Son of Man by Christ the King.

³⁵³ Pilate meant the Jew Messiah, just as the Jews did.

³⁵⁴ Ref. to ix. 9. Herod personifies frivolous curiosity which does not deserve to know the truth.

³⁵⁵ These Magistrates (ἄρχοντες) are brought in because Paul spoke of the *Princes* (ἄρχοντες) of *this World* who crucified Jesus (I Cor. ii. 8). Paul meant the Invisible Powers. Here they are represented by the Magistrates of the Jewish people. They are the agents of the Jew God. "The Princes of this World have crucified the Lord—*i.e.*, the Christ of another god—in order that the guilt of the crime should fall on the creator himself" (T. v. 6). "The creator, seeing that the good god was destroying his law, made a

plot against him, not knowing that the death of the good one would be the salvation of mankind" (A. ii. 9).

³⁵⁶ Fulfilment of Jesus's prediction that "the Son of Man must be rejected of the Elders, the Scribes, and the High Priests . . ." (ix. 22). The story is constructed so that the Jews are responsible for the death of Jesus, although the Roman punishment of the Cross is ordered by Pilate.

³⁵⁷ This is a very peculiar name. It means the Son of the Father or the Son of His Father. It seems to be an allusion, perhaps, to Bar-cocheba, who, though stained with murder, was preferred by the Jews to Christ Jesus.

³⁵⁸ Jesus had to be crucified since Paul had said: "Christ hath redeemed us from a curse, being made a curse for us; for it is written, cursed be he who hangeth from a tree" (Gal. iii. 13); cf. Deut. xxi 23. "He humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death on the cross" (Phil. ii. 8). "He was taken to the cross by the Powers and Principalities of the creator, who were jealous" (T. iii. 23).

³⁵⁹ The Jewish magistrates (ἄρχοντες) and not the Romans are to crucify Christ in spite the historical unlikelihood (cf. xxiv. 20).

JESUS CRUCIFIED

³⁶⁰ The Christian martyrs whom Christ typified were often put among civil criminals (cf. Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.*, vi. 3).

³⁶¹ A legend recounts how the body of Adam had been buried at the spot where Christ was crucified (cf. Origen, *Comm. in Matth.*, 126). This is a mystic deduction from Paul's words, "As in Adam all die so in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Cor. xv. 22). "The skull of Adam, head of the human race, will be resurrected with all his race by the resurrection of the Saviour who suffered himself and rose again" (Origen, *ibid.*).

³⁶² Fulfilment of Jesus's prediction, "the Son of Man must be slain (ix. 22) (be crucified)." "The death on the cross could not have been foretold of the Christ of the creator" (T. iii. 18). "Since the creator said, Cursed be whoever hangeth on a tree, evidently he is the Christ of another god and for that reason he was accursed of the creator in his law" (T. v. 3). Jesus accepted the curse of the creator when he was hanged upon a tree" (T. i. 11). "At a given price he bought the men which the creator had made" (Origen, *Hom. in Exod.*, vi. 9). "Jesus redeemed mankind by his crucifixion" (Esnik, p. 188).

³⁶³ Jesus acts according to the precept "Bless them that curse you" (vi. 28). Paul believed that if the Princes (ἄρχοντες) of this world had only known the Wisdom of God—that is, the more divine—"they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory" (1 Cor. ii. 8). They knew not what they did. "The creator killed Jesus without knowing who he was, unaware that he was God" (Esnik, p. 172); cf. the Ascension of Isa. ix. 14: "they shall raise their hands against him and hang him from the tree without knowing who he was."

³⁶⁴ The creator god, having seen his mistake, "rent in his anger his vestment and the veil of his temple" (Esnik, p. 172).

³⁶⁵ The Spirit is given by the Father (xi. 2 and 13).

³⁶⁶ As he died, Jesus went down to Hell. "The good god said to his son, . . . after thy death thou wilt go down to hell and liberate mankind" (Esnik, p. 172). According to the Marcionites, Jesus

freed Cain, the Sodomites, and other sinners; but he left in Hell Abel and the other just, Abraham and the patriarchs, and the prophets of the god of Israel (Iren., i. 27, 3; E. 42, 4).

JESUS RESURRECTED

³⁶⁷ The day of preparation for the sabbath is Friday. The sabbath began Friday evening and was celebrated by a profusion of lighted lamps. (Persius, *Sat.* v. 176; Tertullian, *Ad Nat.* i. 13.)

³⁶⁸ Mentioned in viii. 2–3.

³⁶⁹ See ix. 22 and 44; xvii. 25.

³⁷⁰ The new Apostles, not the Twelve (x. 1).

³⁷¹ Mary Magdalene and Johanna, the wife of Chuza, were mentioned in viii. 1–2. Mary, the daughter of James, is added to them here in the place of Susannah.

³⁷² Cleopas does not appear among the Twelve (vi. 14–15), yet an apostle.

³⁷³ These apostles are still under the error of taking Jesus for a prophet of the God of Israel (cf. ix. 8). Nazarene means the “man of Nazareth” (cf. iv. 16). This term seems to have been substitute for Nazaræan (Ναζωραῖος), used by Jewish Christians for Jesus (cf. Acts ii. 22, etc). Nazaræan seems also to have been applied to the disciples of John the Baptist (see the Mandæan texts) as well as to the Christians (see Acts xxiv. 5).

³⁷⁴ They thought then that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah. This was the mistake of the first apostles (ix. 20–21) and of the blind man of Jericho (xviii. 38). Jesus will correct them.

³⁷⁵ Refers to Jesus's predictions (ix. 22 and 44; xvii. 25) which showed he was not the Jewish Messiah. “What he said proved he was another god” (T. iv. 43).

³⁷⁶ Jesus repeats the eucharistic repast (xxii. 19). He therefore establishes it for the Sunday of the Passover, prototype of all Sundays.

³⁷⁷ The risen body of Jesus is the same as before the resurrection; it is not of the flesh. “God, if he had taken a body of the flesh, could not have remained pure” (Chrysostom, *Hom. in Eph.*, xxiii. 6). But he had bones, those of his hands, feet, teeth. He has the spiritual body of an ascetic.

³⁷⁸ “Christ, after his resurrection, ate fish, but not meat; that is why we eat fish and not meat also” (Esnik, p. 195). The Marcionites practised unceasing abstinence (from meat) and looked upon fish as the “most holy” food (T. i. 14) cf. ix. 16.

³⁷⁹ “The body of our saviour is an apparition like those of the angels who ate in the tent of Abraham” (Ephrem, *Evang. Conc. Expos.*; Moesinger, p. 255).

³⁸⁰ Christ, having been thus crucified and raised again, saviour of mankind, is definitely distinguished from the Jewish Messiah.

The anti-Judaism of the Marcionites is occasionally emphasized in these notes by the use of “Jew” as an adjective.

II THE HISTORICITY OF JESUS¹⁵⁴

M. Loisy has devoted two articles in the *Hibbert Journal* to the criticism of my book, *Jésus le Dieu fait homme*, here translated into English under the title: *The Creation of Christ*. He has developed his criticism with much sarcasm in a book of 220 pages: *Histoire et Mythe à propos de Jésus-Christ*.

To reply in detail I should need a space equally great. I deem it more useful and fitting that I confine myself here to the essential question which M. Loisy has adopted as the title of his articles: "Was Jesus an Historical Person?"

In other words: Is the God-Man Jesus a Man made into a God, or a God made into a man?

I.—HISTORICITY WHOLE AND ENTIRE

For believers—that is, for the immense majority of those interested in the truth about Jesus—the alternative of a *process*, either from man to God or from God to man, does not exist. To suggest it, for them, is a scandal.

They confess that in God there exists a man-God, a once true God and true man, who lived a human life on earth and died by crucifixion before re-ascending to heaven, his eternal abode. For them Jesus is a being absolutely unique, like God himself, of whom he is one of the Persons. His human history is also an event comparable to no other historical event. Men there have been of the highest sanctity, true instruments of God; but none of them was himself a God. There have also been theophanies, both in biblical antiquity and even up to our own time: but they were swift apparitions accorded by God in secret. Once only

¹⁵⁴ Article from the *Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1939.

in history, and once for all, God in his fullness came down from heaven and publicly assumed the human condition in its fullness for the salvation of the human race. This unique event cannot be judged as having proportions comparable with any other event in the history of the world.

The faith of which I here give a brief indication inspires me with boundless respect. My position is that of one who regards it with regret and with envy. It has been the faith of many generations, gentle and strong, humble and proud. It has passed through secular catastrophes and survives them. It has spread over half the civilized earth—the distinctive mark of the European, the white man. It has produced a splendid harvest of virtues, monuments, disciplines, consolations. When I embrace in my vision its innumerable army of believers and great captains, past and present, the miserable minority of its “independent” critics seems to pass out of sight.

Twenty years devoted to the study of the ancient Christian texts have convinced me that the present faith of Catholics, when reduced to its bare and simple substance, is identical with the primitive faith. There is not a single text of primitive Christianity which, when taken in its true sense, does not presuppose belief in the God-Man, the only God, of whom the Christ is the mysterious double. Apart from this belief Christianity is non-existent. By means of it we can effect the radical separation of a Jewish text from a Christian text. It is the original base of Christianity, its final precipitate, its irreducible principle, comparable to the formula of a chemical body or the nuclear individuality of a living being. Diverse expressions were sought for it before it assumed canonical form. It was developed in many directions, explained, and enriched. Vain to represent it as gradually arising by an interior evolution of Christianity. It is Christianity itself. I shall return to this capital point.

The integral historicity of the Gospels is the corollary, nearly if not quite immediate, of the faith in the God-Man. The question being of facts which by their nature could only *once* have taken place, their historicity cannot be made the object of reasonable doubt. The virgin birth,

the walking on the water, the transfiguration, the resurrection of Lazarus, that of Jesus himself, contain nothing to give the reader pause. Here the activity is that of God. *Per contra*, the modesty, the indignity, the atrocity of other episodes are equally in keeping. Here the activity is that of man. The whole is balanced at the centre.

Catholic criticism has produced fine work which I sincerely admire. The *Jésus-Christ* of Père de Grandmaison, the four commentaries on the Gospels of Père Lagrange, are works of honest and solid scholarship. Their learning is evident and well controlled; their philology sound; controversy dignified and calm. We walk on ground that is firm under the foot. The gospel texts are taken as meaning what they say. There is no discordance between their plain sense and the explanation offered, and nothing is super-imposed. We recognize at once that the faith which the words express and the faith which comments on the words are one and the same. They remind me of noble gentlemen doing the honour of some ancient family house. They introduce me by the great gate, show me the distribution of the parts, and explain the reason of it all. With the independent critics, on the other hand, I feel that I am breaking into the house; they show me a chaos and pretend to reconstruct the plan.

The integral historicity of Jesus is an irreproachable solution. It rests upon a postulate at once simple and unique—faith.

2.—APOTHEOSIS?

Difference of opinion arises when the lay mind, lacking the postulate of faith, becomes interested in interpreting the history of Jesus.

The solution which presents itself immediately, and is easy to the point of appearing self-evident, is as follows: Jesus was an obscure Jew, more or less seditious, and condemned to death more or less justly, whom the unexampled fanaticism of his followers elevated to the Godhead. This is the idea which imposes itself at once on the hostile, or even on the detached, reader of the Gospels, and has always

been adopted by the enemies of Christianity. It was held in antiquity by Tacitus, Celsus, Porphyry; nearer our own time by Voltaire and the majority of Rationalists; and in all times by the Jews.

The originality of Renan was to deprive this idea, at least in form, of its anti-Christian point. He made Jesus into a prophet, the greatest of the prophets, a "sombre giant," a superman, regarding his introduction into the Trinity as an unfortunate aberration, best covered under a modest veil. As Sainte-Beuve well remarked, Renan offered Jesus a seat at the summit of humanity on condition of his abdication from the throne of God.

The method of Renan and his followers is subtly to remove from the Gospels, as legendary additions, everything which seems to belong to God, and then to enlarge with literary art on whatever is distinctively human, taking this as a firm datum of history. In other words, it consists of distilling a sacred history into history properly so called. Its most apparent defect lies in its arbitrariness: everyone is left free to cut down the historic kernel to please himself. Its hidden vice is that it breaks up the profound equilibrium established by the Gospels between the God and the man.

The real initiator of this method was Strauss, who reduced the historic kernel to its extreme limit. The Jesus of Renan, more filled out than that of Strauss, was more interesting, more romantic, and, we may add, more romantically treated.

After Strauss and Renan an immense critical labour has been devoted to ascertaining the historical facts of the life of Jesus. The principle of Strauss and of Renan was adopted not only by independent critics but also by liberal Protestants, thereby winning a signal but partial victory of "modern" philosophy over traditional Catholicism. Against such "modernism" Catholicism was not slow to defend itself.

Little by little came the recognition that the evangelical narratives had, more strongly marked than their legendary aspect, a doctrinal, catechetical, liturgical character which was in part polemic. It was perceived that the moulds in which the stories had been cast were even more significant than their contents. To write a life of Jesus was declared

to be, in strictness, impossible. Nevertheless, it was maintained, as evident to common sense, that the historical existence of Jesus could alone explain the rise of the Christian faith.

Many differences exist between the views, in Germany, of Bousset, Bultmann, Dibelius, and, in France, of Loisy, Guignebert, Goguel. But none of these scholars would allow the legitimacy of conceiving Jesus otherwise than as an historical figure. What they leave standing of this figure varies greatly. As fully assured facts of history M. Loisy accepts little more than the crucifixion and the name Jesus; M. Guignebert recognizes that the name Jesus is cult-name; nevertheless he draws a portrait, somewhat highly coloured, of the nameless prophet. All these scholars agree that *nearly* everything in the Gospels is a product of faith. But none of them goes to the limit of asking himself whether this may not be true of the *whole*. A minute and intangible residuum of history has to be retained, because it is needed to explain the faith from which everything else proceeds.

The whole question, then, resolves itself into this: Can a fact of so ordinary and modest a character as to escape the notice of the historian Josephus be made to explain, by its religious elaboration, the rise of the Christian faith? The effect of Josephus's silence in regard to Jesus is to reduce "the historic fact" to very narrow dimensions. Admitting for the moment that there was such a fact, its scope would be as follows: in the places and times of which Josephus gives a detailed description, a Jewish prophet, overlooked by him, and more or less resembling the Theudas and the "Egyptian" whom he does mention, announced the coming advent of God, was arrested by the Roman procurator, condemned and executed. Such, on the supposition, was the unelaborated "fact."

Now turn to the religious elaboration. About twelve years afterwards another Jew, Paul—for us the earliest witness of Christianity—speaks of this compatriot of his, who was also his contemporary, as an eternal being who is to be adored equally with God, but without impairing the

unity of the Godhead. Of his fellow-Jew, so recently dead, he knows nothing, except that he is God-Man, associated in the creation of the heavens and of the earth, and sole author of salvation for the whole human race. So closely does he identify this Jewish martyr with God that in the most ancient of Christian documents, the Epistle to the Thessalonians, he avoids the use of the plural when naming God and Jesus as common subjects of a verb in the optative. Is such a development thinkable? Is it not evident that something has here gone wrong?

To the criticism which has followed the line of Strauss and Renan, Christianity, in the final analysis, is the deification of a man, an apotheosis. The Apotheosis of Jesus is the title of a book in which M. Hollard sums up the position of that school. The deification of a man? Who does not know that nothing inspired the Jews with greater horror? Consider the religious fury that raised the whole country when Antiochus Epiphanes would have had himself worshipped. Consider the despairing revolt against Caligula when he had the same pretension. To render divine honours to a man, even if the man had been Moses, was for a Jew of all crimes the most execrable. Paul boasts of being a good Jew, brought up as a Pharisee. How could he have shown his face in any synagogue, or been allowed to speak there for one minute, if the novelty he brought had been the deification of a man?

M. Loisy maintains that the deification of a Jew by Jews was rendered possible inasmuch as it must have been progressive, and "was not accomplished entirely on Jewish ground but only developed when the Gospel came into contact with the pagans who gravitated round the synagogues" (p. 10). This progression is pure hypothesis. We have nothing older than the Epistles of Paul where the doctrine of the God-Man is already complete and well balanced. What stages of progression, then, are imaginable? Granting that the Jewish prophet was the instrument of God, the highest of all created beings and the most privileged, an infinite distance still remains between him and God—as between Mahomet and Allah. To the man who adores the

God of Israel accession to the Divine Splendour is impossible. What influence in the matter could have been exercised by Judaizing pagans? They also worshipped the one and only God. Apotheoses were not made by them. They were rare in those times. In the case of the emperors they were not taken seriously, least of all in the neighbourhood of a synagogue. The only example I know of, in the first two centuries, of the deification of an individual with an established cult was that of the youth Antinoüs to whom temples were erected by his lover, the Emperor Hadrian. Are we asked to believe that the worship of Jesus as a God was a pagan extravagance?

There is no more seductive enterprise than the search for “the historic kernel” of the Gospels. It will continue to occupy, in the Universities, the studious hours of many a scholar. Many a writer will go on dreaming of a hundredth “Life of Jesus” in which art would succeed where exegesis has failed. The paradox in which that seductive enterprise is bound to end must be frankly faced. The religion which has made the deification of a man for ever impossible in the world would itself be, when all veils were drawn aside, sacrilegious instance of that deification.

3.—A RELIGIOUS FIGURE¹⁵⁵

If it is vain to seek an “historical kernel” in the Gospels, what is the other solution?

We are brought back to the religious conception (*représentation*) of the God-Man as the distinctive mark of Christianity. In spite of a superficial resemblance it has no relation to the conception of a man elevated to divinity nor to that of the anthropomorphic God, both of which were familiar to the religion of antiquity. It is an intimate and unique synthesis in which God retains his glory in its fullness

¹⁵⁵ M. Couchoud consistently uses the French *représentation* (here translated “figure”) in connection with the term *Dieu-homme*. This word cannot, however, be consistently rendered, if at all, by the English “representation.” It is used by M. Couchoud in the sense given it by the French sociological school of an idea-image common to a group and imposed by its adopted faith. The translator has to some extent been guided by the context in choosing an equivalent.

— (Translator's note.)

and man his mortal destiny in its bitterness, without change of God into man or of man into God. It was a new idea, and it was by this new idea that the world was conquered.

It was no myth. Myth is a word I have never employed in this connection. The history with which I am concerned is the history of a *religious conception*. Myth is a word easily taken in a derogatory sense; it is a way of explaining a natural fact, a rite, or a philosophic idea under the form of a narrative. Like the parable, of which it is a variety, the myth speaks a language of its own for helping the mind to grasp, and to retain in memory, what ought to be done or believed. A religious conception, on the other hand, has a nature far simpler and deeper, far more unsophisticated and fertile. Its relation to rites and myths is primordial. Zeus is a religious conception. The punishment of the Danaids is a myth.

I regard it as philosophically impossible that the conception of the God-Man, the Saviour of the world, can have originated in any event of history, no matter of what kind. Induction had nothing to do with it. Whence, then, did it come? In my judgment it is a great religious creation which arose in the context of the mystery cults and was founded on earlier conceptions and vitalized by mystic illuminations. Its consequences were developed slowly and in sequence.

To make this clear I will cite a religious creation of far lesser import, lame though the analogy be. In the seventeenth century there arose, in one book of mysticism after another, a queer but insistent interest in the Heart of Jesus, considered as distinct from Jesus himself. Finally Jesus appeared to Marguerite-Marie Alacoque and showed her within his body "*ce Cœur qui a tant aimé les hommes.*" The worship of the Sacred Heart was founded. In two centuries it became powerful enough for a National Assembly to consecrate France to the Sacred Heart and to order the erection of a temple of the Sacred Heart on the high ground of Paris. To be sure, a new sect was not born; it was not on the question of the Sacred Heart that Catholics and Protestants were divided. To be sure, again, the Sacred

Heart did not become a Divine Person distinct from Jesus, as Jesus is from God. To be sure, the conception of the Sacred Heart is far from being as new, or as rich in effective power, as that of the God-Man at its first appearance in the world. None the less the birth of this idea, at a time so near our own, may help us to understand the birth of Jesus.

Is it possible that a being conceived at first as purely divine could be taken, later on, for a character in human history? The case is not rare. The worshippers of Isis regarded Osiris as having been the human King of Egypt. For the mystics of Eleusis Demeter, figured as a Cretan slave, had really served as nurse in the house of Keleos near a well which was shown to travellers. Bolder spirits went further. They said, with Euhemerus, that all the gods adored by men had once lived and died. Zeus had been a King of Crete; Aphrodite a courtesan of Cyprus to whom exceptional honours had been rendered. Two peoples had a special genius for giving an historical turn to their religious conceptions: the Hebrews and the Romans. Religious legend in the Bible is distinguished from that of Babylon by appearing as history of real events. As a single example of the Roman tendency, Quirinus, a minor god, is identified by Livy as the first King of Rome. The conversion of Jesus into an historical figure, almost inevitable as a consequence of the double nature of the God-Man, presented no insurmountable difficulty, especially in view of the late date at which the Gospels were composed. But, in contrast to the other gods who had died and been resuscitated, Jesus could not be placed in the remote past of pre-history, seeing that he was the God of the last days and his appearance the beginning of the world's final epoch.

The view so far presented is theoretical only—the inner aspect of our alternative. Many people are unable even to conceive that Jesus, in spite of his obviously divine character, his cult, his temples, his sacrifice renewed every day and in every place, his flesh and his blood distributed to the faithful, can have been anything else than a man with a place in human history. In theory at least they ought to admit another possibility—as we have endeavoured to show.

If the explanation sketched above is to stand on firm ground it must conform to three conditions:—

(1) Religious ideas (*representations*) as yet timid and groping, must have preceded and prepared the idea of the God-Man. The great creations of faith, like those of art, have a slow gestation.

(2) The most ancient ideas of Jesus, those of the first century of our era, must be in continuity with these earlier ideas and, on the other hand, be clear from all dependence on an historic life of Jesus.

(3) The Gospel literature must have the characteristics of a secondary and later outcome of faith, and not have the characteristics of its original stratum.

We proceed to show briefly that the view given above conforms to these conditions.

4. —THE IDEA OF THE HEAVENLY MAN

In the course of the two centuries preceding the birth of Christianity we may watch, on the margin of official Judaism, and in the circle of the apocalyptists, the gradual sketching of a strange speculation about a Heavenly Man who would be near to the Throne of God and receive a mandate to judge and destroy the world in God's place. The principal document is a section of the composite Book of Enoch (ch. xxxvi to lxii).

This Book of Enoch, quoted as Scripture in Jude 14, and part of the most ancient Bible known to us (the papyrus Codex Chester Beatty) is an amorphous collection of revelations about heavenly things. The antediluvian patriarch Enoch ("the seventh from Adam," Jude 14), supposed to have been carried up into heaven, is assumed to be their author.

The future Judge, seen by Enoch in heaven, is certainly related to Saôsyant, the future Saviour of Persian theology. The immediate origin of the Judge is clear. He derives from the emblematic Man in Daniel's dream whose reign succeeds the empire symbolized by animals. The emblem here becomes a reality.

Already the Heavenly Man resembles, in outline, the Jesus of Paul and the Apocalypse. He is “with” God. In the day fixed by God he receives, before God, the Name which invests him with power—an august scene of investiture to be found again in Paul and John (the Apocalypse). He is to execute God's judgments; to punish the kings and the mighty of the earth; to gather his elect from the resuscitated dead; to cast the bad angels into the furnace of fire; to condemn and destroy the wicked, who will beg for mercy in vain; “his sword is drunken with their blood.” Thereafter he is to live among his elect, clothed in a glorious body; “they will eat, lie down, and rise up with him for ever and ever.” Not one of these traits will be found missing in the Pauline Jesus.

Two essential traits of Jesus are, however, lacking. Near to God as the Heavenly Man may be, not a single attribute of God has yet been assigned him. He is a created being; his glorious investiture is not preceded, nor merited, by a redeeming sacrifice. In the last direction only a fragmentary indication is given. He is identified with the Servant of God announced by Isaiah who will be “the light of the nations” and “will heal the broken hearts.” Had the assimilation been carried further he would have assumed the atoning sufferings of the “man of sorrows.” But the indication remains partial.

The distance between the Heavenly Man of Enoch and the Jesus of Paul is immense. One sees nevertheless how the means will be found to overcome it. The Christian creation, unexampled in its audacity, and yet intelligible, will consist in taking possession of the Heavenly Man, who is neither God nor man, and conferring upon him, together and fully, the attributes both of God and of man, insomuch that, as man, he will experience a bloody death followed by resurrection while, as God, his nature will confer on this death an infinite atoning value for the salvation of men.

Such is the sublime extrapolation effected with important differences by the Epistles of Paul and the Apocalypse of John on the basis of the doctrine of the Heavenly Man. Certainly it is not the peculiar property of these two religious

geniuses. It is nothing other than Christianity itself as it first came into being (*dès son premier battement*). No sooner was it effected, whether by the intellect or the heart, than a radical revolution took place in the conception of God and a new religion was born.

We may well ask how a religious creation of such devastating originality was rendered possible. Intense meditation on Chapter liii of Isaiah and on certain Psalms of the same resonance, in which were revealed the redemptive sufferings and triumph of a mysterious Servant of God, furnished a fertile theme. The sufferings of the God-Man, in Paul and John, are modelled on those of the Servant of God. Apparitions and mystic visions were factors still more decisive: we are assured of this by the claims made, with so much fervour, by Paul and John. But how are we to assess the exact measure in which these visionary experiences created the new faith, affirmed it, or confirmed it? The absolute determinant of a spiritual creation will escape us for ever.

A part which cannot be defined must be attributed to the reaction of the pagan environment. The overwhelming victories of the new religion would have been impossible had it not answered to the religious needs of the time, as other cults, founded on the imagery of divine beings who had died and come to life again, had answered before it. Coré, descended into hell, is drawn back to the light for two-thirds of the year by the constant love of Demeter. Dionysus Zagreus, torn to pieces and devoured by the Titans, ancestors of mankind, is re-born among the gods and perpetuates his mysterious life in man. Osiris, slain and cut up, is reconstituted and re-animated as a god by the magic of Isis. Attis castrates himself and expires in the service of the Great Mother who gives him a place by her side and makes him a sharer in her power. The great Bull, sacrificed by Mithra at the foundation of the world, becomes the food of the mystics in their sacred repasts. All these mysteries have the common feature of offering salvation to men by intimate communion with a divine being who had triumphed over death. The Christian mystery, without knowing it, is of one family with these salvation cults, which it attacked

without mercy. The imagery of the God-Man suffering, dying, entering into glory, eaten by the faithful in a sacred repast, was able to displace the other mystery cults, because of the profound analogy between it and them. The Christian imagery is less encumbered than the others with mythical elements, more theological, and more appealing to the heart. It owed its greater strength to the fact that it was the last comer and was grafted on the robust stock of Jewish monotheism.

5.—JESUS AS PRESENTED BY PAUL

It is, I imagine, a proposition in no need of proof that Jesus, in Paul's Epistles, is not a created being but "the Son of God," participating, with God, in the divine nature. I have already pointed out that Paul does not use God and Jesus as a grammatical plural. If we suppose the existence, in the earliest Christian faith, of a Jesus inferior to God in his nature (Arianism before Arius), the Epistle to the Colossians and all the others are there to prove the contrary.

That Jesus is a real man (real in the thought of Paul) is also beyond doubt. Only in his character of a real man could he have undergone an ignominious death, the condition of human redemption.

Whence came this conception of a God-Man who died for men? This is the question to which an answer is needed. Did it come from a recent event in real history, or by revelation from on high? From judicial records, or from a treasury of mystic speculations, old and new, the old commonly accepted, the new peculiar to Paul?

No doubt would exist as to the answer, were it not that the Gospel literature intervenes between Paul and ourselves. Now this literature belongs to a period much later than Paul. For that reason it ought not to intervene when the question is placed in its right setting.

How did Paul become acquainted with Jesus? We have the answer in his own words (Gal. i. 15):—

Quand il plut à Celui qui m'a choisi du ventre de ma mère et appelé par sa grâce
de révéler son Fils en moi . . .¹⁵⁶

Révéler is the proper term for an apocalyptic vision. Paul proclaims with pride that he had gone up into heaven, whether with or without his body he knew not, and had there heard unspeakable words “which it is not lawful to utter” (2 Cor. xii. 4). Of information which was common knowledge there is not a trace.

How did Paul picture to himself the human form of the Son of God and of his propitiatory death? His hearers knew the answer clearly from his own word of mouth. In the Epistles he recalled it twice only, in recommending humility to the Philippians and wisdom to the Corinthians.

The first passage, a famous text if there is one, runs as follows (Phil. ii. 6–12):—

...Lui qui était en forme de Dieu
il n'a pas cru bon à prendre d'être à l'égal de Dieu
mais il s'est lui-même vidé
en prenant forme d'esclave.
devenu en ressemblance des hommes.
Et par l'aspect trouvé comme homme,
il s'est abaissé lui-même,
devenu obéissant jusqu'à la mort
et la mort de la croix.
C'est pourquoi Dieu aussi l'a surexalté
et lui a conféré le Nom supérieur à tout nom
pour qu'au Nom de Jésus tout genou fléchisse
des êtres célestes, terrestres, et infernaux
et que toute langue confesse: Seigneur est Jésus Christ,
pour la gloire du Dieu Père.

And here is the second (I Cor. xi. 8):—

... (sagesse) que nul des Princes de cet Age n'a connue:
s'ils l'avaient connue,
ils n'auraient pas crucifié le Seigneur de la Gloire.

There is no need to quibble over details of translation.

M. Loisy would have us read “lui qui était en forme de dieu” (without the capital for the last word)—a suggestion entirely inopportune, since Paul was a monotheist, recognizing no

¹⁵⁶ As an English translation of this and the two following citations would destroy the rhythmical form of M. Couchoud's version, and so involve some loss of dignity, it has been thought better to leave them in the original French.

god save God, and not hesitating to give to Jesus crucified the name “lord of Glory,” one of the names of the only God he recognized. For reasons of rhythm M. Loisy cuts out the line “*et la mort de la croix.*” I was before M. Loisy in recognizing the rhythmical style of the New Testament, but I do not regard its laws as sufficiently sure to authorize the correction of the text.

In the presence of these two texts, the only relevant texts we have, let us straightforwardly face the question. Do they incontestably reflect an historical event? Can they, on the contrary, be sufficiently explained in terms of spiritual revelation?

A divine Being, in humility without parallel, assumes the human condition. He is crucified by supernatural agents, *the Princes of this Age*, who are, in Paul's language, Satan and his acolytes. By way of increasing his exaltation he receives the name Jesus and the title Lord. Who does not see in this a complete theological picture in which the intrusion of an historical event would serve no purpose?

The God-Man does not receive the name Jesus till after his crucifixion. That alone, in my judgment, is fatal to the historicity of Jesus. M. Loisy maintains, in opposition to the text, that the name given after the crucifixion is not Jesus, but only the title of Lord. Unfortunately for that argument the text is perfectly clear.

The crucifixion, as presented by Paul, is that of a supernatural being executed by beings who are also supernatural. M. Loisy objects that in the thought of Paul the Princes of this Age (the demons) might have acted through human intermediaries—a supposition without the least support in the text. When Satan, in the Gospel of John, employs Judas as his intermediary, an entirely new picture has been substituted for that of Paul, but the retention of Satan as the prime agent remains as witness to the original theme. In the Ascension of Isaiah the original theme has been preserved: here it is Satan and the other *Princes* who crucify Jesus with their own hands.

By no possibility can the resurrection be construed as a ridiculous product of human illusion. It is the essential

attribute of a God who submits to death for the sole purpose of passing through it as a conqueror and achieves the resurrection because he *is* the Resurrection.

The sources of Paul's theological poem are scriptural. The scene of investiture in which the all-powerful Name is conferred comes straight out of the Book of Enoch. The crucifixion by demons and the triumph which follows it are drawn from Psalms xxii and xxiv, mystically interpreted as revelations regarding the Son of God. The exceptional term *Lord of Glory* applied to Jesus crucified is doubtless a reference to the latter Psalm.

The famous fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, where the prophet chants the sufferings, death, burial, and survival of the Servant of God, dying as a ransom for "our sins," had furnished, before Paul, another schema for the death of the Son of God. This initial faith is resumed by Paul in three articles and in a list of visions (I Cor. xv. 3-8). The three articles are as follows: (1) Christ died for our sins. (2) He was buried. (3) He rose again the third day. The expression "died for our sins" and the special mention of burial clearly recall the revelation of Isaiah. M. Loisy argues that this mention of burial guarantees the historicity of Christ. It ought, then, to guarantee the historicity of the Servant in Isaiah's poem!

The list of recognized visions of the Christ, from that of Cephas to that of Paul "born out of due time," shows the extreme importance attached to these direct revelations alongside the mystical exegesis of the scriptures. The two together account largely for original Christianity.

The Jesus of Paul is entirely free from historical attachments. He is a mystery God, a God of salvation pure and simple—the name Jesus meaning precisely that. His divine acts are accompanied by no indication either of time or place. They take place in the intemporal, in the eternal present. The faithful are buried with him and with him raised from the dead: "*Coënsevelis avec lui au baptême, en lui aussi vous avez été ressuscités*" (Col. ii. 12). He is the Crucified in perpetuity: "*Je suis conrucifié à Christ*" (Gal. iv. 10). His passion, never ending, is continued in

the flesh of the Christian: "*Je complète en ma chair ce qui manque aux souffrances du Christ*" (Col. i. 24). The figure of Jesus presented by Paul, a masterpiece of mystical creation, is the exact polar opposite to a figure of history.

6.—THE SAME IN THE APOCALYPSE

After the Epistles of Paul the Apocalypse of John, addressed to the seven churches of Asia, is the only Christian document to be assigned with certainty to the first century Catholic exegesis is on firm ground in attributing its authorship to the John who, with Peter and James, was one of the three "pillars" of the mother-community. The language, the tone, the literary characteristics of the book, and the testimony of Justin support the traditional attribution. M. Loisy would have it, against Acts, that John was killed at Jerusalem, with his brother, in 44. May one reply that this is a "fantasy"?

The Apocalypse has this advantage over the Epistles, that in it we have a complete and ordered revelation, in which we can see, otherwise than by occasional disclosures, precisely what faith in the God-Man was in the first century.

On the side of God, John uses a freer hand than Paul in distributing between God and Jesus what the Old Testament ascribes to God alone. Familiar with the scriptures as with his mother tongue he inclines to heap on Jesus all that his memory contains of the aspects, epithets, and acts of God. Oftener than Paul he associates God and Jesus ("the Lamb") without putting either verb or pronoun in the plural.

On the side of man, contrariwise, John is more reserved than Paul. For John the human element in the God-Man consists simply and solely in his passing through the article of death. The Jesus of the Apocalypse dies and rises from the dead, but *he is not a sufferer and his death is not by crucifixion*. His followers experience suffering, torments, martyrdom. But from all that the Lamb is preserved.

How, then, does John conceive his death? As the sacrificial slaughtering under the knife (*égorgement*) of a heavenly Lamb. The shedding of a victim's blood is necessary for the expiation of sins. By his blood, ritually poured

out, the Lamb-Jesus ransoms his elect. This conception, which is, in its substance, older than Paul's, has a certain relation to the Christian feast of Easter. The power of the feasts in suggesting religious imagery is well known. The Christians of Asia celebrated Easter on the same day as the Jews sacrificed the paschal lamb. M. Loisy is right in saying "the death of Christ was substituted for the sacrifice of the lamb as the active principle of salvation" (p. 37).

When is the sacrifice of the Lamb supposed to have taken place? A single text gives the answer: the passage where the visionary damns the idolators "whose names are not written in the book of the Lamb sacrificed from the foundation of the world" (xiii. 18). M. Loisy introduces a comma after "sacrificed," thereby making the text to mean "whose names are not written, since the foundation of the world, in the book of the sacrificed Lamb." The comma is not in the text and nothing compels us to place it there. It is true enough that the inscription or non-inscription in the Book of Life was determined at "the foundation of the world" (xvii. 8). All the more reason for affirming that the sacrifice of the Lamb, the cause of which inscription in the Book is effect, also took place at "the foundation of the world." When Jesus is named "the first born of the dead" (i. 5), when he says "I hold the keys of death and Hades" (i. 18), these words are to be taken in their plain sense. He is the first Being who has both known and conquered death. The Lamb sacrificed from the world's foundation is of the same order as the Bull of Mithraism from whose sacrifice, at the beginning of time, issued the fountain of universal life. They are both mystery-images with a sacred repast as the link between them. In both cases a primeval sacrifice is the condition of salvation for the believer.

Another relationship, this time conscious, *opposes* Jesus to Attis, in Asia the most redoubtable of the mystery gods. Robert Stahl and I have shown that the famous figure of the Beast is meant for Attis, two enemy couples being in conflict: on one side the infernal couple Attis and Cybele; on the other, the celestial couple, the Lamb and the Woman (the Woman is the mother, then the spouse of the Lamb, as

Attis is of Cybele): finally that Attis is defined by a mystic formula "*he who was, is not, and is to rise up,*" analogous and opposed to the mystic formula of God "*He who is, was, and is to come*"—a line of research rejected by M. Loisy with precipitation and habitual sarcasm, but without troubling to understand it.

A hard task is in store for those champions of historicity who would find in the Apocalypse "transpositions" of an historical life. The majority are shy of it. M. Loisy has the hardihood to interpret historically the scene where the celestial woman brings forth her child, immediately carried off to the throne of God. In the perspective of the Apocalypse the scene lies in the future. It forms part of that which "is to come." M. Loisy, nevertheless, sees in it an allusion to the historic life of Jesus. Strange allusion! The birth of Jesus instantly followed by his ascension! All the rest—the life, preaching, passion, death, resurrection—is omitted as a "parenthesis"! What would M. Loisy, so prompt to qualify the views of another as "glorious ineptitude, burlesque phantasmagory, defiance of reason" say if our places at this point were interchanged?

We may leave the poem of Patmos as too recalcitrant to historical exegesis. Had a mortal disease arrested the development of Christianity at the end of the first century, and were the documents then in existence all that remained, the idea that Jesus was an historical person would never have occurred to anybody.

7. —THE GOSPEL LITERATURE

The second century witnessed the appearance and triumph of a new representation of Jesus—that of the Gospels—which has, for us, the effect of *masking* the earlier presentation. The God-Man is here furnished with a human life on earth, developed and to all appearance historic.

I will try to show that, to the four canonical Gospels, there must be added the Gospel of Marcion, now lost but almost completely reconstituted from quotations. M. Loisy assigns it "an intermediary rank between the fixing of the synoptic type and the diffusion of the fourth Gospel"

(p. 137). That is not saying enough. In my judgment the Gospel of Luke is a revision of Marcion's made in the interests of Catholic orthodoxy. I will cite only two indications of this, because they are recognized by M. Loisy. In the text of Marcion the first clause of the Lord's Prayer runs as follows: "Father, let thy holy Spirit come upon us and purify us." This reading, says M. Loisy, is guaranteed as authentic by the context to which it directly refers (xi. 13: "...how much more will the heavenly Father give the holy Spirit to them that ask him"). Luke reads: "Father, hallowed be thy name"—clearly a correction of Marcion made after Matthew. To escape the obvious conclusion, M. Loisy imagines a precanonical recension of Luke which Marcion must have copied. This recension is a hypothesis; the text of Marcion a reality. Why imagine an unknown text when a known text is there to explain the matter?¹⁵⁷ M. Loisy also recognizes an addition to the body of the Gospel in the stories of the infancy. In Marcion they are absent. To invent in the interests of argument an older version of Luke in which these stories were not to be found is merely another device for escaping the conclusion that Marcion was prior to Luke.

At what period did the Gospel literature make its appearance? Hermas, about 120, is ignorant of it; Justin, about 144, alleges its existence. The only historic allusion which can be used to furnish a date is that to "the abomination of desolation." This curious biblical term refers to the profanation of the Temple of Jerusalem by the erection of a pagan idol, the supreme offence which, according to Daniel's prophecy, will let loose the final catastrophe—the end of the

¹⁵⁷ Another example of the same kind. Marcion reads (xvi. 17):

"It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of *my words*"—again guaranteed by the context (xxi. 33) "heaven and earth will pass away but *my words* will not pass away." Luke reads: ". . . than one tittle of *the Law* to fall"—again a correction made after Matthew. Here M. Loisy maintains the priority of Luke (in spite of the context) on the ground that the "tittle" or "point" is a minute sign used in writing which could not be used in connection with spoken words (*paroles*). He forgets that the Greek term translated *paroles* often indicates the *written* word—as it does here.

world. Since the distant times of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the statue of Olympian Zeus was set up in the Temple, the abomination had occurred once only. This was in 135 when, after the war of Bar Kochba, Hadrian imposed the worship of Jupiter Capitolinus on the ruined Temple and gave Jerusalem the name of Ælia Capitolina. This ominous event which announces the end of the world is the point of arrest for the perspective of the synoptic Gospels and of Marcion. The Gospel of John also contains a clear allusion to Bar Kochba. The composition of the Gospels, therefore, falls approximately between 135 and 142.

M. Loisy extends the composition of the Gospels over a long period. For each of these writings he imagines numerous editorial stages—*"étapes rédactionnelles."* This overlooks their organic unity. The Gospels are linked together, the new confirming or correcting its predecessor or predecessors. Moreover, each one is a *book*, in the full sense of the term, a literary composition, in which the hand of a single author is distinctly perceived. Clumsiness in authorship, even contradictions, may be found. Are we obliged by this to assume a multiplicity of authors without more ado? At this rate I could prove that M. Loisy's own book has two authors. On p. 192 I read the quotation of a passage where I have pointed out in John an intention to contradict Mark, and on the following page 193 that of an analogous passage where M. Loisy notes in John the same intention. He adds "this matter is not one of those which interest Couchoud." I ask: can it be that the author of p. 193 is also the author of p. 192?

The presentation of Jesus in the Gospels appears at first sight to be quite other than those of Paul and the Apocalypse. In reality it is a development of them. The same God-Man is there, converted by the fine art of the evangelists into a human figure. The mysterious Being who manifests divine power by the bruising and humiliation of his flesh is here rendered plausible as a hero. The abnormal, the unique, the adorable, in which are united two natures separated by an abyss—this they succeed in bringing to life. The Passion is the paroxysm in which divinity explodes at the very moment when humanity comes to the extremity of its

weakness. The Christian who listens to the story knows well that he is hearing about the passion of a God, since nothing save the blood of a God can ransom the human race. At the same time his emotions are stirred and his heart is torn because the pangs he is witnessing are those of a man. Masterpieces of theology as well as of literature!

How did *the Gospel*, which was an apocalyptic revelation in the first century, become, in the second, a narrative in legendary form? If the transition escapes us, the persistence of the word "Gospel" through both phases is an assurance that the change was of form only. Between the time of the Apocalypse and that of the Gospels an entire generation, of which we know next to nothing, had passed away. Masses of men had entered the churches for whom a new presentation of their faith had become necessary. A medium was found in the *Parable* which was, along with the Vision and the Precept, as we may see in Hermas, one of the familiar forms of inspired catechesis. By means of the Parable narrative form can be given to spiritual ideas and the colour of reality to spiritual truths. Hermas sets out to put the work of Jesus, whom he conceives in a way of his own, but not historically, into a long and formless parable. In the Gospels, among the parables preserved as such, many incidents seem to have been parables in their origin: walking on the waters, cursing the fig-tree, the resurrection of Lazarus. The whole Gospel narrative is, as it were, a synthetic parable admirably conceived and executed.

To one who makes a comparative study of the Gospels the creative liberty which each author allows himself is matter for continual surprise. Matthew with Mark under his eyes recomposes, displaces, cuts down, and adds at his pleasure. John takes even greater liberties. He radically alters the type of the Gospel—setting, narratives, discourses. Is it not obvious that the manner of the evangelists throughout is the manner not of historians but of inspired catechists? They are composing on a theme, and feel themselves masters of their material, on condition always that faith in the God-Man is exalted by their treatment.

Shall we raise the cry of fraud? We know nothing of

the life of religion if we do. Fraud would indeed be there if the foundation of the Gospel were a real biography neither malleable nor extensible. But if faith herself created the story of Jesus she can develop it endlessly and always renew it. Were all to be written the world would not contain the books, as one evangelist says (John xxi. 25).

The Gospels are different because they answer to the religious life and liturgical practice of diverse Christian provinces. The fine discovery of B. W. Bacon shows that John and the synoptics rest upon different paschal liturgies; hence the difference between them in the date chosen for the death of Jesus. Mark is a catechetical preparation for martyrdom addressed to the Roman church in a time of persecution. Matthew is a demonstration to the Jews of the Euphrates region that the God-Man is the true Messiah of Israel. John is the affirmation, before the mystics of Ephesus, and against Marcion, of a union effected between Godhead and the flesh. Luke, in his two volumes—Gospel and Acts—is a *Christian Archæology* opposed to the *Jewish Archæology* of Josephus. As records of the faith, cult, polemics, and politics of the great churches in the second quarter of the second century the Gospels are valuable historical documents.

Naturally the presentation of the God-Man as an historical person was for some time fluid before it was fixed by the Gospels. From enemies of the faith it evoked the immediate reply that the pretended God was a simple fomenter of sedition who had got his deserts, a reply indicated in the line of Tacitus about the Chrestus executed by the procurator Pontius Pilate. This saying, the source of which is not given, probably rests on the evidence of the Christians whom Tacitus, as proconsul, had examined in Asia. It is in contradiction to the silence of Josephus and of Justus, and cannot be traced back to any document of the first century when the God-Man had not yet assumed historical form. It is the anti-Christian rejoinder to the Christian presentation of the second century.

CONCLUSION

There are many clear ideas accepted as self-evident which have to be renounced when closely examined. The historicity of Jesus is one of them. It is a false key for the unlocking of the Christian texts. It renders them incomprehensible. In spite of appearances it is not self-evident that the God-Man is a man who has been turned into a God. When pressure is put upon the God-Man conception, it is the man, not the God, who vanishes. What the Gospels have converted into legend is not a fond memory nor a tragic episode. It is a religious concept, the newest and the highest. The problem of Christian origins will become clear and simple when a religious theme is no longer confounded with an historical fact.

The historicity of Jesus is an article of faith. *Passus sub Pontio Pilato* is integral to a *Credo* which must be accepted or rejected in its entirety. If we believe, as so many generations have believed, in the existence of a God-Man who has walked upon earth, then Jesus is an historical person and nothing in the Gospels must be cut out or turned from its proper sense. If we do not believe it, we have no right to put the Gospels to the torture to make them yield up a secret which is not in them. The deification of a man is equally offensive to religious feeling and to historical probability.

Jesus has to be understood in a different way. To understand is to class. Jesus is misclassified when placed in the series of great religious reformers—Zoroaster, Confucius, Mani, Mahomet, Luther. His true place is among the resurrection Gods, his predecessors and inferior brethren—Demeter, Dionysus, Osiris, Attis, Mithra, whose mysteries before his, but with lesser power, had offered to men the great hope of winning the victory over death.

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